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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC RESPONSE ON FACEBOOK

A dissertation submitted and publicly defended on March 23rd 2026, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master's of Arts (M.A.) degree in Bilingual Studies.

Specialisation: Language

By

YONTA DANIEL MARCELIN

[redacted]

BA Bilingual Studies

DIPES II

University of Yaounde I

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SUPERVISOR	**Dr. ERIC EKEMBE**	**SENIOR LECTURER**	**HTTC YAOUNDE**
Yaounde, *23rd March 2026*			

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Yaounde, *23rd March 2026*			

DEDICATION

This work is entirely dedicated to my lovely parents, Wagoum Jean Pierre and Wando Anne.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am beholden to many individuals for their valuable support in the completion of this thesis.

Most importantly, I am immensely indebted to my supervisor, Dr Eric Ekembe for first, accepting to supervise this work, his meticulous guidance, constructive feedback, and unwavering support throughout the realisation of this study to increase my desire to present original ideas.

I also extend my sincere gratitude to all the lecturers of the Department of Bilingual Studies of the University of Yaoundé I for their academic guidance and support throughout my studies. We are particularly grateful to Prof Sokeng for her commitment to excellence.

Special thanks to Mr Mekueko Yemeli Christophe and Mrs Guimeya Danielle Valerie for their relentless efforts in supporting me throughout my academic journey.

I am profoundly grateful to all our family members whose multifaceted contribution and support in cheering us up. To friends and relatives, especially Jablak Blessing Fanwi and Tchamou Valdez for their mutual support, fruitful discussion and enriching collaborations.

Finally, I acknowledge the numerous authors whose works served as valuable reference in shaping this journey.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this study, titled **"*The English language and the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon: A critical discourse analysis of the public response on Facebook*"** which I personally supervised is the original work of Yonta Daniel Marcelin. This dissertation is original and has not been submitted for any examination at any other university. The sources of information in this research are duly acknowledged and the list of references provided.

Dr Eric Ekembe

Supervisor

Department of English

Higher Teacher Training College, Yaounde

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ABSTRACT

The advent and expansion of digital communication media have significantly transformed patterns of interaction in the English language and reshaped political discourse, particularly within contexts of socio-political tension. In Cameroon, the resurgence of the Anglophone crisis has attracted sustained attention on Facebook, which has become a contested space for power struggles, ideological framing, and narrative construction. Through public responses on this platform, netizens articulate socio-political grievances using English as the principal medium of communication. This study investigates the role of the English language in online public discourse on Facebook in relation to the Anglophone crisis. It examines how Facebook users construct *in-group* and *out-group* legitimacy through ideological representations, focusing on the ideological strategies through which English is assigned ideological functions in online public responses. The analysis is grounded in two complementary theoretical frameworks: Dayan and Katz's (1992) theory of media events and Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (1988b, 1995, 1998b, 2000, 2006, 2013). Data were collected from pictures from Facebook comment sections responding to selected crisis-related events between October 2023 and November 2024 and analyzed using Van Dijk's ideological strategies and ideological square. The findings reveal discursive polarization, with English strategically deployed to reinforce competing ideological positions: pro-government narratives emphasizing national unity and pro-separatist narratives advocating self-determination and autonomy. Online public responses are shown to intensify ideological polarization through mechanisms of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Overall, the research shows that English language does not serve as a neutral language in the digital space of Cameroon. It rather functions as a deliberate and ideological instrument employed by netizens to affirm identity, challenge authority and engage in interaction. The study enhances the understanding of how English language influences power, resistance and affiliation on Facebook public response.

Keywords: The English language, social media discourse, public response, Facebook, Anglophone crisis, Cameroon.

DECLARATION ON HONOUR

I, the undersigned, **Yonta Daniel Marcelin,**

Born on: [redacted]

Of: Cameroonian nationality,

National Identity Card No. [redacted],

Residing in: [redacted]

Registration number: [redacted],

Master's student in Bilingual Letters at the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences (FALSH), University of Yaoundé I, hereby declare on my honour that this dissertation entitled:

"The English Language and the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Public Response on Facebook" is the result of my personal work.

I certify that it has been carried out in accordance with scientific and academic standards, particularly:

-Absence of plagiarism

-Respect of the methodological standards of academic research

-All sources are dully mentioned in the references.

I am aware that any false declaration exposes me to sanctions in accordance with the university regulations.

Issued to serve and avail as the case may require.

Yaoundé, on February 20th, 2026

Yonta Daniel Marcelin

A BRIEF COPY OF THE DISSERTATION

The English language and the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon: a critical discourse analysis of public response on Facebook.

1. Introduction

The spread of digital communication platforms has profoundly reshaped political discourse and patterns of interaction in contemporary societies. Social media, particularly Facebook, has emerged as a central space where public opinion is constructed, contested, and circulated. In contexts of socio-political contention, such platforms function not merely as channels of communication but as ideological arenas where power relations, identities, and narratives are actively negotiated. In Cameroon, the Anglophone crisis has generated intense online engagement, especially on Facebook, where users express political grievances, defend competing ideological positions, and mobilise public sentiment.

2. Research problem

Despite the growing influence of digital media in shaping conflict discourse, limited scholarly attention has been devoted to examining how language specifically English is deployed in online public responses to the Anglophone crisis. Existing studies largely focus on political developments, historical grievances, or traditional media representations, often overlooking the linguistic mechanisms through which ideology is constructed and reproduced in social media spaces. This study therefore seeks to bridge this gap by critically analyzing the role of the English language in Facebook public discourse related to the Anglophone crisis.

3. Objectives of this study

The central objective of this study is to explore how English is used in Facebook public responses to construct ideological meanings and group identities within the context of the Anglophone crisis.

Specifically, the study aims to identify key features typical of public responses to Facebook discourse events, describe the linguistic characteristics of these responses, and examine the factors shaping audience engagement with crisis-related discourse. Particular

attention is paid to the ways users construct in-group and out-group legitimacy through ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4. Theoretical Framework

The analysis is anchored in two complementary theoretical perspectives. The first is the theory of media events developed by Dayan and Katz (1992), which conceptualises major socio-political occurrences as mediated moments that attract collective attention and generate intense public participation. This framework helps explain why crisis-related events in Cameroon provoke large-scale engagement on Facebook.

The second framework is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), particularly Van Dijk's approach to discourse, ideology, and power especially *US* versus *THEM* dichotomy and ideological square. Van Dijk's (1998; 2006) ideological strategies and ideological square provide analytical tools for examining how language is used to emphasise positive representations of in-groups and negative portrayals of out-groups while minimizing opposing perspectives. This theoretical combination enables a nuanced understanding of how social media discourse reproduces ideological conflict.

5. Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative case study design, drawing data from public Facebook responses to selected Anglophone crisis-related media events between October 2023 and November 2024 on Memi Mefo Info page. Data were collected through pictures of Facebook comment sections, capturing user-generated textual comments written in English. These comments were transcribed and analysed using a triangulated methodological approach combining Van Dijk's (2006) ideological strategies, ideological square and Short (2017) qualitative critical content analysis. These approaches enabled the systematic interpretation of language use within its broader socio-political context.

6. Findings

The analysis reveals a high degree of ideological polarisation in Facebook public responses to the Anglophone crisis. Users aligned with the government consistently employ discourse that constructs the state as a legitimate authority, protector of civilians, and symbol of national unity. Military actions are often framed as peacekeeping efforts, while separatist

actors are depicted as criminals, terrorists, or destabilising forces. Conversely, pro-separatist users frame themselves as freedom fighters and defenders of an oppressed Anglophone population identity. Their discourse emphasises historical marginalization, resistance, and moral righteousness while portraying the Cameroonian state as violent, colonial, and illegitimate. These narratives rely heavily on emotional language, victimization strategies, and moral evaluations.

Across both ideological camps, the dominant discursive pattern is the strategic use of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This binary construction reinforces the **"US"** versus **"THEM"** dichotomy central to Van Dijk's ideological square. Importantly, the study demonstrates that English plays a crucial ideological role in these processes. Rather than functioning as a neutral medium of communication, English becomes a symbolic resource for expressing identity, mobilising resistance, asserting power, and legitimising political positions through the emergence of distinct ideological uses of English often conceptualized as "Cameroon English" versus "Ambazonia English".

7. Discussion

The findings confirm that language use in crisis situations is deeply ideological and conflict-sensitive. Facebook serves as a discursive battlefield where political identities are constructed and contested in real time. The emotional intensity, polarisation, and moral absolutism observed in public responses align with broader theories of digital conflict discourse and ideological communication. The study also resonates with principles of peace linguistics, particularly Friedrich's argument that language can either escalate conflict or foster reconciliation as well as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to an extent, demonstrating how language structures political perception and frames social reality during crises.

8. Implications and Recommendations

The study has important theoretical, social, and practical implications. Theoretically, it reinforces the relevance of Critical Discourse Analysis in understanding digital political communication and crisis discourse. It also contributes to sociolinguistic debates on language, ideology, and identity in postcolonial and conflict contexts. Practically, the findings highlight the need for responsible language use on social media platforms. Recommendations are directed toward pro-government and pro-separatist actors to adopt inclusive, peace-oriented

communication strategies, avoid dehumanising rhetoric, verify information, and promote dialogue.

9. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Facebook public responses to the Anglophone crisis are characterised by strong ideological polarisation driven by strategic language use. English functions not as a neutral communicative medium but as an ideological instrument through which identities are constructed, power is negotiated, and conflict narratives are reinforced. Ultimately, it argues that transforming conflict discourse requires not only political solutions but also conscious, ethical, and peace-oriented language practices in digital spaces.

RÉSUMÉ

L'avènement et l'expansion des médias de communication numériques ont considérablement transformé les modèles d'interaction en langue anglaise et remodelé le discours politique, en particulier dans des contextes de tensions sociopolitiques. Au Cameroun, la résurgence de la crise anglophone a attiré une attention soutenue sur Facebook, devenu un espace contesté de luttes de pouvoir, de cadrage idéologique et de construction narrative. Grâce aux réponses publiques sur cette plateforme, les utilisateurs expriment leurs griefs sociopolitiques en utilisant l'anglais comme principal moyen de communication. Cette étude examine le rôle de la langue anglaise dans le discours public en ligne sur Facebook en relation avec la crise anglophone. Il examine comment les utilisateurs de Facebook construisent une légitimité au sein du groupe et hors groupe à travers des représentations idéologiques, en se concentrant sur les stratégies idéologique par lesquelles l'anglais se voit attribuer des fonctions idéologiques dans les réponses publiques en ligne. L'analyse s'appuie sur deux cadres théoriques complémentaires : la théorie des événements médiatiques de Dayan et Katz (1992) et l'analyse critique du discours de Van Dijk (1988b, 1995, 1998b, 2000, 2006, 2013). Les données ont été collectées à partir des photos des sections de commentaires de Facebook répondant à certains événements liés à la crise entre octobre 2023 et novembre 2024 et analysées à l'aide des stratégies idéologique et du carré idéologique de Van Dijk. Les résultats ont révélé une polarisation discursive marquée, l'anglais étant stratégiquement déployé pour renforcer des positions idéologiques concurrentes : des récits pro-gouvernementaux mettant l'accent sur l'unité nationale et des récits pro-séparatistes prônant l'autodétermination. Dans l'ensemble, l'étude démontre que l'anglais ne fonctionne pas comme un outil de communication neutre dans l'espace numérique camerounais, mais comme une ressource idéologique pour la construction de l'identité, la négociation de pouvoir et la résistance dans le discours public en ligne.

Mots-clés : la langue anglaise, le discours numérique, la réponse publique, Facebook, crise Anglophone, Cameroun.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCON: Africa Cup of Nations

AfrE: African Englishes

ANTIC: National Agency of Information and Communication Technologies

BBC: British Broadcasting Channel

BSAfrE: Black Southern African English

BEPC: Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle

CRTV: Cameroon Radio Television

CamE: Cameroon English

CamFE: Cameroon Francophone English

Camfranglais: Cameroon Français Anglais

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CDC: Cameroon Development Corporation

CEP: Certificat d'Etudes Primaire

CMC: computer-mediated communication

CTE: Cameroon Tea Estate

EAE: East African English

ENAM: Advanced School of Administration and Magistracy

EMIA: Inter-Army Military School

ENL: English Native Language

ESL: English as the Second Language

EFL: English as foreign language

EIL: English as the International Language

ESL: English as the Second Language

FrancoE: Francophone English

FSLC: First School Living Certificate

GCE: General Certificate of Education

GhaE: Ghana English

ICT: Information Communication Technology

IPC: Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Kamtalk: Cameroon Pidgin English

NamE: Namibia English

NigE: Nigeria English (NigE)

NOP: Negative Other-Presentation

OCL: Online Communicative Language

OHADA: Organisation for the Harmonisation of Business Law in Africa

PAMOL: Palm Oil Limited

PSR: Positive Self-Representation

QCCA: Qualitative Critical Content Analysis

RP: Received Pronunciation

SBE: Standard British English

SBEP: Special Bilingual Education Programme

SLE: Sierra Leone

SM: Social media

SSAE: Sub- Saharan Africa English

SONARA: National Refinery Company Ltd.

UK: United Kingdom

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNVDA: Upper Nun Valley Development Authority

USA: United State of America

WAE: West African Englishes

WEs: World Englishes

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, social media has become an integral part of our daily lives regardless of our area of expertise. Their emergence has redefined human relationship, serving various function such as escapism, information, work, entertainment, communication, education and business and this is not exhaustive. This section delves into the study's background, problem statement, research question, research objectives, the motivation, the scope and the significance of the study. The integration of the English language into online platforms has fostered new communication forms like emoticons, emojis, hashtags, and internet slang, which are vital for online interaction. The global spread of English influences diverse human activities, necessitating an exploration of social media in Cameroon to analyse its relationship with public responses and its interplay with English, generating ideological discussions.

Social media represents electronic communication facilitating user interactions and content sharing. The advent of Web 2.0 has transformed communication, emphasizing user-generated content such as creation, sharing, exchange and discussion of information connectivity (Boyd, 2008, 2010; Kaplan, 2010; Mbayong, 2017). Cameroon as Africa in miniature is entirely taking part in this globalisation upheaval. According to Tabe (2017), Facebook is the most used digital platform while WhatsApp is student's favourite (Nkemleke, 2020). The recent statistics from the International Telecommunication Union shows that more than 68% of the 3.5 billion internet users in the world use social digital networks: Facebook, Tweeter, LinkedIn, WhatsApp, Pinterest, Nairaland to name a few. In Cameroon, most of these social media are used by netizens regarding their specific need. Apart from Western platforms, which dominate, we also have local social network sites such Netiwooki, Afritudes, Schoolmobile, Harambii, Go Africa Tv by Jean Baptiste Essimina and Dikalo by Alain Ekambi. Social media serve various purposes including communication, entertainment, education and gaining accessibility via smartphones (Besong, 2020; Kemp, 2022). However, it also faces challenges, including the prevalence of hate speech and state control by agencies enforcing laws on cybersecurity and communication, which stand against hate speech and fake news (Barach-Youseifi, 2018; Kweitsu, 2019; Nounkeu, 2020; Sawalda, 2020). Social media enhance the spread of events to elicit public reactions, extending discussions beyond geographical barriers. Platforms like Facebook facilitate expansive dialogue and interaction compared to limited offline responses. This is due to the work of the users, bloggers and influencers as well as the traditional media pages and activists. This enables the users to freely create content, engage in a discussion, express their opinions then exchange with others that can be known or unknown.

Whereas offline, this is curbed by the force of order and security following certain restrictions. Social media play a key role in public response as well as event framing. Interestingly, regarding the Anglophone crisis, they were used to share content of different orders netizens of different ideological border establish in and out of Cameroon to bolster mobilisation as well as awareness (Sawalda, 2018; Nganji, 2019). Furthermore, Bruce (2014) argued that social media played a significant role in the Arab spring by sharing instantly content. Other movements happened across like Bring Back Our Girls, Black Lives Matter and the MeToo Movement and their usage enhance content sharing mobilization and awareness; (Chiluwa, 2012 & 2016; Ajiboye, 2013; Blas, 2018; Nganji, 2019).

According to Daschel et al. (2019) social media and English language shares a special dynamics status. Online networks play a crucial role in social science research by making it possible to analyse and understand communication, culture and human behaviour. In Cameroon, French and English are official languages. This strengthens the current dissent between the main linguistics communities namely the Anglophone and Francophone. The language used in crisis plays a greatest role in communication, expression and advocacy. In the context of this study, this is perceived as the principal aspect of the crisis as this stems from historical grievances related to the language, political engagement and cultural recognition of the Anglophone minority (Ezemenaka, 2021). Language is being used as element of protest, advocacy, identity, resistance and communication. It enhances netizens public response based on anger, anxiety, dread, pain and vulnerability that therefore become a philosophy shared amidst member of virtual community. According to Mostafa (2021, p. 144) social media platforms are essentially ideological. This is to say that digital platforms facilitate control used by dominant group to express their hegemony. In the context of these studies, Facebook tend to be a battlefield of ideological expression where stakeholders use the English to communicate their view. Most often, this is achieved in compliance to internet linguistic features. Facebook public response is quite bound of informal orthography (Crystal, 2001). Several scholars attempted its features (Tabe, 2013a & 2018; Thurlow, 2003 & 2004, Willie, 2020a, Afuhtendem, 2021).

Social media refers to online platforms that enable to share and exchange of various types of content including images, text, and videos within a specific community or network. These are user-generated content based that enable the creation and the sharing of information enhancing interaction and collaboration among users. In the context of the Anglophone crisis, Facebook in particular has become a prominent arena for public response through ideological

confrontation and political affiliation. The crisis stems from long-standing historical, political and cultural dissent between both Francophone and Anglophone. These issues are increasingly played out through online public response. English language has become a key communication tool in identity and resistance framing between subscribers who use it to voice their concerns, gather support, mobilise and challenge dominant narratives. Despite the significant role of English in these discussions, there is still not detailed analysis of how various users shape it on social network sites. Few studies have attempted at the strategies netizen use in their online feedbacks. Existing studies has not fully examined how English language influence public response, strengthen dissent and frighten peacebuilding advocates. Therefore, this study investigate how subscribers use English language to frame the crisis, construct, negotiate, and challenge power on the Anglophone crisis on Mimi Mefo Info Facebook page. This calls for a thorough examination of online public response hinging on Critical Discourse Analysis and Van Dijk's 25 ideological strategies and ideological square to uncover how English language display power and opposing narratives in social media discourse.

This study Seeks to investigate and provide answers to the following questions that frame this study:

1. What do the Cameroonian netizens use to respond to social media discourse on events related to the Anglophone crisis?
2. What linguistics features do Facebook users employ to construct ideological positions to events on the Anglophone crisis?
3. What are the key ideological factors that shape audience engagement with English language Facebook discourse on the Anglophone crisis?

This study intends:

1. To examine the key ideological features that characterise public responses to Facebook event on the Anglophone crisis.
2. To analyse the linguistics characteristics of Facebook users in constructing ideological positions about the Anglophone crisis.
3. To identify the key ideological factors that shape audience engagement with English-language discourse in relation to the Anglophone crisis.

The research under this topic is motivated by two key factors: academic relevance and personal interest. This study is driven by the increasing role of social network sites in influencing political discussions and language use in society affected by the crisis. Language serves as a strong tool in ideology framing, so dealing on how Cameroonians netizens

communicate in English on Facebook during the Anglophone crisis can provide important insights into public opinion, resistance and power imbalance. It further emphasise on social media and Facebook in particular as new arena of political discourse. At the individual level, the researcher is passionate by a vivid interest in language, social media, and culture. This enable to understand how English language and varying media shape public opinion and strengthen hegemony. This closeness driven the ambition to societal issues and the impact of language in addressing them. In addition, the choice of this case study is inspired by the resurgence of actions on the field despite the organisation of the Major National Dialogue (MND) of 2019.

There exists a superabundant social media platform including WhatsApp, Twitter, Yahoo, LinkedIn and Facebook to name a few. This study will emphasise on the analysis of public response on social media discourse on Facebook page especially Memi Mefo Info page. This study's data will be analysed following the categorisation of linguistic features provided by Van Dijk (2006) 25 discursive devices and the dichotomy of positive self-representation and negative other-representations harboured in ideological square (Van Dijk, 1998).

The social media platforms and Facebook blogs in particular are becoming new spaces of the propagation of diverse contents. Since the beginning of the Anglophone crisis in 2016 associated with the last past presidential election of 2018, digital platforms are battleground between various ideologies. Nevertheless, these technological outlets were created to easy human communication with others locally, internationally and exchange content of divers' orders. This research is significant for understanding public response and engagement in crises, media literacy, and digital communication. It will contribute to the fields of information sciences, discourse analysis, and media studies, providing insights into the dynamics of online discourse and the influence of social media on public response.

Besides the general introduction and the general conclusion, this work is divided into five chapters. The general introduction gives some preliminary information on this research topic. The first chapter deals with the conceptual orientation of this study. Chapter Two deals with the theoretical framework, the literature review and the contribution of this study. The Chapter Three presents the methodology used to carry out this investigation. Chapter Four clearly presents the results of the analysis. The Chapter Five provides a summary of the findings and highlights their critical implications and recommendation for further research.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL MEDIA

1.0 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the general overview of the English language, which is one of the most spoken language in the world today. Its role in the cybernetic space is no longer to be demonstrated, as it is the outstanding means of communication for internet users. In this regard, this study aims to inquiry on the ideological stance harboured in their public response. This chapter further presents its historical background, its scope, its status as well as its emerging trend in social network sites.

1.1 The global role of the English Language

Several factors highlights the global role of the English language situation in the world.

1.1.1 Historical Overview of English Expansion

The trajectory of English from a regional language to a global phenomenon spans several distinct historical periods. Graddol (1997) identifies seven developmental phases, from Pre-English to Contemporary English, tracing a linguistic evolution that gradually positioned English as what Crystal (2003) aptly designates a "global language". This globalisation of English has produced a highly differentiated community of speakers worldwide. Crystal (2003) classifies users into three broad categories English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL), a framework that parallels Kachru's (1985) influential concentric model of Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. Graddol (1997, p.10) captures this diversity by distinguishing between "those who speak it as a first language, those for whom it is a second or additional language, and those who learn it as a foreign language". In numerical terms, Graddol (2006) estimates approximately 375 million L1 speakers, 375 million L2 speakers, and 750 million EFL learners, while Schneider (2011) places the total number of English users as high as two billion a figure that underscores the language's unprecedented global reach.

1.1.1.1 Native English Speakers

Native English speakers represent communities for whom English functions as the primary or mother tongue. These communities are predominantly found in Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, with significant native-speaking populations also present in Liberia, Zimbabwe and Kenya (Xiaohui, 2017, p.615). However, Davies (2003, pp.210-211) cautions that native speakerhood is not reducible to place

of birth or accent alone, but encompasses bio-developmental competence, grammatical intuition, fluency, spontaneity, creative language use and cultural identity. Mauko (2014, pp.17-20) similarly argues that native speaker status involves a complex matrix of core identity, social positioning, self-ascription, and external recognition, positioning it as a multifaceted social construct rather than a purely linguistic one.

1.1.1.2 Non-Native Speakers

Non-native speakers constitute the majority of the world's English users and are divided into ESL and EFL communities. ESL settings, largely corresponding to former British colonies, are characterised by English holding official or co-official status and serving as an important medium of communication in public life. Countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, India, Pakistan, Singapore, and Cameroon belong to this category. Ngefac (2010) classifies Cameroon as an ESL country given that English operates as one of its two official languages. In these contexts, English functions simultaneously as a language of instruction, a marker of social prestige and a medium for international cooperation and business. EFL contexts, by contrast, involve settings where English holds no official status and is used primarily within educational institutions for specific academic or professional purposes. Crystal (1997, p.4) notes that English is learned in this capacity in over 100 countries, including China, Russia, Germany, Brazil, and Indonesia. Unlike ESL learners, EFL users have limited exposure to the language outside the classroom, which constrains the development of fluency and practical communicative competence (Kouam, 2024, p.34).

1.1.2 Factors That Enhanced the Spread of English

Crystal (1997) identifies three principal forces behind the global diffusion of English: historical and geographical expansion, technological development, and economic influence.

a) Historical and Geographical Factors

The colonial enterprise of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, driven first by Britain and later reinforced by American cultural and economic dominance in the twentieth century, was the primary vehicle for transplanting English across the globe (Schneider, 2011). Ngefac (2002, p.17) argues unequivocally that colonialism was “the main force that transported and transplanted the English language to the different corners of the world”. Kachru (1986) further distinguishes between two waves of colonial expansion: settlers who emigrated in

search of new homelands and those who travelled for trade, whose commercial activities gradually transformed into colonial occupation. In Cameroon, this process gave rise to Pidgin English as a contact language between local populations and British traders in Douala (Ngoh, 1979, p.2), illustrating how colonial encounter shaped new linguistic realities.

b) Technological Advancement

The progress of telecommunications and the internet from the eighteenth century onwards created unprecedented conditions for the global diffusion of English. The internet and social media platforms have made it possible for speakers from vastly different linguistic backgrounds to interact simultaneously in English, effectively compressing the world into what Danesi (2008a) describes as a global village. Sanel (2016) estimates that English commands approximately 3.70 270 490 584 billion internet users, while Halliday (2006, pp.362-363) identifies English as both a medium of literary production and a co-architect of the technological age, cementing its hegemonic status in global digital communication.

c) Economic Factors

English has become indispensable to international commerce, science, diplomacy, and professional advancement. Wareing (2004, p. 174) characterises Standard English as "the dialect of literacy and education", taught to foreign learners worldwide and associated with higher social classes. Pennycook (1995) argues that English has evolved into "one of the most powerful means of inclusion or exclusion from further education, employment or social positions", a dynamic that is inseparable from the economic and military dominance of the United States. Danesi (2008b, p.264) adds that the appeal of American popular culture has further accelerated the economic motivations driving global English learning, rendering proficiency in English a near-universal prerequisite for career advancement in multinational contexts.

1.1.3 Domains of English global dominance

The pervasiveness of English extends across virtually every domain of contemporary human activity. Atechi (2016, p.109) identifies its prominence in international relations, technology, aviation, commerce, and education. Graddol (1997) observes that 60 countries designate English as an official language, 85% of international organisations use it as a working

language, and 80% of internet publications are produced in English figures that collectively attest to its status as the de facto language of globalisation.

a) Language of political conquest

Jiao (2013) argues that language functions as an instrument for projecting national values and interests, and English-speaking powers such as Britain and the United States have consistently deployed the language as a vector of soft power and cultural influence. English pervades the domains of politics, economics, trade, culture, diplomacy, tourism, and academic research. Furthermore, the global statistics of English language summarize the previously mentioned ideas: 60 countries use English as official language, 85% of international organization use it as common language, and 75% use this in their mail writing while 80% of internet publication are done in English. As Graddol (1997) presciently observed, the future of English lies increasingly in the hands of its non-native speakers, who today constitute its largest user base and principal drivers of linguistic change.

b) Language of diplomacy and business

English serves as the primary language of international diplomacy and inter-state relations, functioning as the common working language of 53 Commonwealth nations spread across the globe. Mirvan (2022) identifies it as the elementary language of international relations and diplomacy while Afgan (2010) notes that English surpassed French as the dominant diplomatic language following World War II. Its role in global commerce is equally decisive, as it serves as the default language of multinational corporations, international finance, electronic media, and online platforms.

c) Language of research and education

In the academic sphere, English functions as the lingua franca of scientific publishing, international conferences, and higher education mobility. Graddol (2006) highlights its role in facilitating the international circulation of researchers, while Bolton (2013, p.9) lists its functions as the official language of government, parliament, courts, education, literature, and industry across numerous polities. Crystal (1997) further catalogues its presence in books, newspapers, airports, air-traffic control, medical supply, and pharmacy, while Micu (2010)

notes that English proficiency has become a fundamental requirement for recruitment in multinational organisations.

d) Language of media and digital communication

English has emerged as the dominant language of global media production and consumption. Willie (2020b, p.57) documents its pervasive use across cinema, television, pop music, diplomacy, literature, commerce, and digital communication. Major international broadcasters such as the BBC and CNN disseminate content in English to global audiences, while Hollywood and the digital entertainment industry continue to project English as the medium of global popular culture. Leila (2021) further identifies English as the language of advertising, internet communication, international safety protocols, scientific publication, and global tourism. Drawing on Althusser (1970) and Chomsky and Herman (1988, p.298), the media's deployment of English is also understood as an ideological function, serving to reproduce dominant social, economic and political agendas through linguistic hegemony. In the context of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, social media platforms and Facebook in particular have emerged as key sites where English operates as a medium for narrating, debating, and contesting political realities through both formal and informal language(Crystal, 2001).

1.2 English language in Cameroon sociolinguistic context

The English language in Cameroon encompasses a range of varieties, including the basilectal (Pidgin English) and the acrolectal or educated English (Epoge, 2012, p.132). This section examines the state of English in Cameroon, tracing its pre-colonial and post-colonial trajectory, its official status, patterns of usage, and the varieties it has developed within the national linguistic landscape.

1.2.1 Pre-Colonial Overview

The relationship between English and Cameroon predates independence, with its origins traceable to the fifteenth century through the arrival of missionaries and explorers. However, its significant impact was not felt until the eighteenth century, primarily through trade, evangelisation, and regrettably the slave trade.

a) Evangelisation

The formal introduction of English through missionary activity is widely documented. Walter (2006) identifies Pastor Joseph Merrick of the Baptist Missionary Society of London as the first missionary to reach the Cameroon coast in 1843, who subsequently opened the country's first primary school in Bimbia in 1844, with English as the medium of instruction (Che, 2008). Other missionaries, including Saker and Johnson, opened schools in Douala in 1884 and by the time of the German protectorate, there were reportedly 24 mission stations in operation (Fonlon, 1969; Todd, 1983). The English language further consolidated its presence in 1890 with the arrival of German Catholic Pallottine missionaries (Simo Bobda, 2003). Despite German colonial masters showing limited interest in promoting indigenous languages and initially resisting English, they eventually adopted Pidgin English for communication in domains such as evangelisation, administration, education, commerce, and military operations (Wolf, 2001; Simo Bobda, 2003). The establishment of mission schools thus constitutes, as the literature suggests, the birth of formal English language teaching in Cameroon.

b) Trade

British commercial engagement along the Cameroonian coast played a significant role in spreading English. Dike (1956) notes that Britain consolidated its presence through the introduction of factory and trust systems in the eighteenth century to foster contact with local populations. Ngoh (1979, p.4) further observed that competition between German and British commercial interests led Douala chiefs to propose British annexation of their territory, though British hesitancy ultimately allowed Germany to establish its protectorate on 12 July 1884.

1.2.2 Colonial Period

The colonial era was characterised by language policies designed to promote settler languages at the expense of indigenous ones. German missionaries initially advocated the use of German, but in practice, many preferred local languages for teaching and evangelisation, including Basa'a, Bulu, Duala, Ewondo and Mungaka (Mbuagbaw, 2000, p.135). Following Germany's defeat in World War I, Cameroon was partitioned between France and Britain. In the British-administered territory, indirect rule allowed local traditional rulers some degree of administrative and judicial autonomy and local languages such as Shupamum, Fulfulde, Duala, Mungaka, and Pidgin English were used as medium of instruction alongside English (Nkwi, 1982; Echu, 2004; Kouega, 2008). In sharp contrast, the French territory adopted a repressive and assimilationist linguistic policy, imposing French as the sole language of administration

and instruction (Echu, 1999) and closing schools that used indigenous languages, including those established by King Njoya and American Presbyterian missionaries (Mac Ojong, 2008).

1.2.3 Post-Colonial Period

The post-colonial period brought heightened complexity to Cameroon's linguistic landscape. The country is characterised by heavy multilingualism alongside the dominance of the two colonial languages inherited from Britain and France. Successive constitutions of 1960, 1972, 1984, and 1996 recognised French and English as official languages, with only the 1996 constitution making explicit reference to the promotion of indigenous languages. Alongside state institutions, organisations such as PROPELCA (*Programme de Recherche Opérationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun)*, International Society of languages SIL, the Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy CABTAL and the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees NACALCO have contributed to the preservation and promotion of national languages (Echu, 2004). Furthermore, Tadadjeu and Sadembouo (1979) developed a standardised writing system for Cameroonian languages, with some of these languages now taught at secondary and university levels.

1.2.4 Official Bilingualism

Following reunification in 1961, French and English were adopted as co-official languages of equal status. This commitment was enshrined in the 1996 1996 clearly justifies the language policy of Cameroon. In this order of idea, its first article paragraph 3 provides that:

"The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages".

The law n°2019/19 of 24 December further reinforced this exoglossic official bilingualism. In practice, official bilingualism has been implemented across key sectors including administration, education, the media, health, and the judiciary. In the educational sphere, Kouega (2013, p.88) notes that English was introduced as a subject in Francophone schools while French was taught in Anglophone schools following independence, producing two parallel sub-systems. The Special Bilingual Education Programme (SBEP), launched in 2010 by the Ministry of Secondary Education, sought to strengthen this dual approach. In the

media, the state-owned newspaper Cameroon Tribune publishes in both languages, and news broadcasts are often delivered in both English and French.

Despite these institutional frameworks, scholars remain sceptical about the genuine implementation of official bilingualism. Chumbow (1998) notes that bilingualism in Cameroon concerns primarily the French/English dichotomy at the institutional level rather than at the level of individual citizens. This reality is captured in the widely cited popular expression: “it is Cameroon that is bilingual, not Cameroonians” (Nsom, 2015). Sokeng (2006) further points the uneven implementation of bilingual programmes across public universities, while Biloa (1999) on the other hand highlights inadequate infrastructure, poorly organised programmes and a lack of learner motivation. The translation crisis surrounding the OHADA code, triggers the 2016 Anglophone protests, stands as a concrete illustration of how the non-respect of official bilingualism can have far-reaching political consequences.

1.2.5 The Vitality of English in Cameroon

Despite the challenges surrounding official bilingualism, English maintains a dynamic and growing presence across several domains of national life.

a) Education

English functions both as the primary medium of instruction in the Anglophone sub-system and as a subject taught as a foreign language in Francophone schools, a configuration aligned with Kachru's (1985) Expanding Circle model. Notably, English is attracting increasing numbers of Francophone learners: Ekembe (2013, p.64) observes that many Francophones are enrolling in Anglophone institutions, and Takam and Fassé (2020) found that 88% of students surveyed in Yaoundé schools were of Francophone background. Conversely, Anglophone students have been drawn to Francophone institutions to access prestigious professional schools such as ENAM (Advanced School of Administration and Magistracy) and EMIA EMIA (Inter-Army Military School) (Atechi, 2015). At the tertiary level, English becomes more specialized (ESP), with institutions like the University of Yaoundé I offering tailored programs. Language centres such as the Pilot Linguistic Centre, the B & K Language Institute, the British Council and the American Cultural Centre and other institutes offer linguistics courses for international certification. This cross-linguistic mobility suggests that English is increasingly functioning as a shared national resource rather than merely a regional marker (Ngefac, 2010, p.149).

b) Administration

English remains the primary language of administration and official communication in the Anglophone regions. Ekembe (2021, p.2) notes that “French serves as a lingua franca in the francophone zone whereas English is used in the Anglophone areas, mostly in specific domains such as education, administration, diplomacy, and politics”. It is likewise the working language of key public corporations in these regions including SONARA, CDC, PAMOL, and UNVDA, though the ongoing crisis has severely disrupted their operations.

c) Business, Diplomacy, and Media

English serves as a language of international commerce and diplomacy, underpinned by Cameroon's membership in the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Willie (2020b, p.57) highlights its widespread use across media, cinema, music, diplomacy, and digital communication. Safotso (2020, p.1210) further identifies it as a medium of law, official documentation, radio, television and literature.

d) Justice

The English-speaking regions operate under the Common Law system inherited from Britain, as distinct from the Civil Law tradition of the Francophone regions. Atingdogbé and Dissake (2019, p.27) note that judicial proceedings are carried out in both official languages. The 2016 lawyers' protests, triggered by the imposition of Francophone magistrates in Anglophone courts and the untranslated OHADA (Organisation for the Harmonisation of Business Law in Africa) code, compelled the government to establish Common Law divisions in both the Supreme Court and ENAM (Advanced School of Administration and Magistracy (Dissake, 2022, p. 39).

1.2.6 The English Language Question in Cameroon

Despite its official status, English faces several practical challenges in Cameroon's complex sociolinguistic environment.

a) Standardisation

The question of which variety of English to teach and promote remains contested. Kouega (2019) notes that Standard British English (SBE) and Received Pronunciation (RP)

remain the officially taught models, yet scholars increasingly advocate for Cameroon English (CamE) as a more contextually appropriate norm. Language learning cannot be isolated from the contextual realities such as ecological, socio-cultural, economic, pragmatic, and political features. Some scholars termed this as indigenisation, nativisation hence the "Ukolonia" theory propounded by (Bokamba, 2011). Interestingly, Ngefac (2012, p. 169) opined that English has significantly embraced the contextual realities of postcolonial contexts due to the process of nativisation through which each new English setting has acquired new norms of correctness, which very few reflect the twist and turns the language has undergone is such context. Ngefac (2011, p.40) famously described English teaching in Cameroon as "the blind leading the blind", arguing that teachers should promote educated CamE pronunciation rather than attempting to replicate inner circle norms. Angwa (2016) found that Anglophone learners hold positive attitudes toward CamE while Francophone learners tend to prefer SBE.

b) The School environment

In schools, motivational challenges persist. Fonkah (2014) found that French remains the dominant language even in English-medium schools in Yaoundé. Putz (2020, p.303) confirms that French continues to dominate communication while English is relegated to secondary status within the state. Soh (2020) points out that the slow of eradication of the Anglo-Saxon sub system of education is one of the factors that prompted the ongoing emergency in the Anglophone region. Safotso (2011, p.68) documents further structural challenges for English for Academic Purposes (EAP), including unclear language policies, outdated teaching methods, under-qualified teachers, and absent language laboratories.

c) Influence of Mother Tongue and Pidgin English

Cameroon's approximately 250 to 300 indigenous languages exert a significant influence on English language use. Cameroon's exoglossic official bilingualism has fostered the integration of indigenous linguistic elements into the use of the official languages, thereby giving rise to new linguistic structures that are prominently reflected in Cameroon English (Kouega, 2005, p.1205). Essomba (2014, p.25) identifies mispronunciation due to native phonological interference, lexical borrowing from local languages, and structural transfer as characteristic features. The conflation of Pidgin English and Standard British English, particularly in writing, also poses a recurring pedagogical challenge.

d) Motivational Challenges

Among Francophone learners, English is sometimes perceived as an incomprehensible subject. According to Ekembe (2021, p. 4) English language (henceforth anglais) is colloquially termed a "God-given" language implying that its mastery is beyond ordinary effort. Sokeng (2006) identifies this attitude as a significant barrier to engagement as well as in other discipline, suggesting decolonised efforts by both teachers and policymakers can bolster learner's mentalities by valuing effort as well as the practice of English and the importance of English language as a tool for openness, insertion and integration and progress.

1.3 Cameroon English (CamE)

The spread of English languages is further illustrated through Kachru's (1985) Circles Model. According to (Kachru, 1985; Graddol, 1997; Crystal, 1997 & 2003; Mesthrie, 2008; Schneider, 2011), globally we have four distinctive categories of English language including the standard variety, substandard variety, sub-regional variety and the ethnic variety. Furthermore, Todd (1982) opines that: "there is an almost infinite set of English varieties in Cameroon".

1.3.1 Definition

Cameroon English emerged from contact between Standard British English, Pidgin English, French, and the country's numerous indigenous languages. Its terminology remains contested: it has been referred to as "Cameroon Standard English" (Mbassi-Manga, 1973; Mbangwana, 1987), "Cameroon Educated English" (Simo Bobda, 1994), and simply "Cameroon English" (Simo Bobda, 1992; Atechi, 2004). Mbangwana (1992), quoted in Sala (2003), defines it as "English in form but Cameroonian in content and mood", while Mbangwana (1987, p.423) argues that Cameroonians should prioritise expressing their cultural identity through CamE rather than imitating native British speakers. CamE is today used across a wide range of domains including newspapers, radio, television, political arenas, universities, churches, markets, literature, and digital communication (Anchimbe, 2006a; Safotso, 2020; Willie, 2020a).

1.3.2 Varieties of CamE

The classification of CamE varieties has generated considerable scholarly debates. Simo Bobda (1993) distinguishes between Pidgin English, pidginised English, and educated Cameroon English. Kouega (1999) on the other part proposes four varieties: Pidgin English,

pidginised English, General Cameroon English, and Educated Cameroon English. Ubanako (2008) offers a five-fold classification comprising pidginised, mainstream, near-RP, Americanised, and Frenchised CamE. At the sub-regional level, distinctive varieties have emerged, including Lamnso English, Bafut English, Kom English, and Ambazonia English (Nkwain, 2022, p.258), reflecting what Ubanako (2008) terms a "macrocosm of microcosms" or indicator of regional trait and identity. Tegha (2018) highlighted five major varieties of CamE in audio-visual materials comprising the pidginized audio-visual CamE, mainstream audio-visual CamE, near-RP audio-visual CamE, Americanized audio-visual CamE and Frenchised audio-visual CamE. In other words, Cameroon English is the collection of many varieties based on geographical traits, ethnic groups and social factors. Hickey (2013) highlights that variation in spelling, grammar, and vocabulary is inherent across English-speaking communities, even within what speakers themselves regard as standard forms. This underscores the fact that each variety of English develops its own norms and conventions accepted by its users. In the Cameroonian context, the question of mutual intelligibility across its multiple English varieties has attracted scholarly attention. Atechi (2004) concludes that, despite phonological divergences that may occasionally impede comprehension, speakers of CamE, British English, and American English remain largely mutually intelligible. These are mostly propounded by both British Council and American Cultural Center (Wolf, 2001p. 185).

1.3.3 Features of Cameroon English

Cameroon English mirrors the impact of Standard British English and Received Punctuation, local language, French and Pidgin creating a noticeable and dynamic variety. Some scholars have presented its linguistics features regarding phonology, syntax, semantic and morphosyntax.

a) Phonology

CamE has developed a quasi-autonomous phonological system distinct from RP (Simo Bobda, 1994), characterised by the shortening of vowels, the simplification of consonant clusters, the devoicing of final consonants, the monophthongisation of diphthongs, and distinctive stress and intonation patterns (Mbangwana, 1987; Ngefac, 2010; Ngwa, 2015).

b) Semantics

Lexical innovation in CamE occurs through borrowing from French, Pidgin English, and indigenous languages (Mbangwana, 1999; Simo Bobda, 1994b), as well as through semantic extension, compounding, clipping, derivation, and reduplication (Mbangwana & Sala, 2009).

c) Syntax

Sala (2003) identifies distinctive syntactic features, including the rendering of Wh-questions and passivisation through the use of an unspecified "they". Ndzomo (2013) further notes that yes/no question formation in CamE diverges significantly from British English patterns.

d) Pragmatics

Atechi (2004) established that CamE is largely mutually intelligible with both British and American English, though closer to the former. Ngefac (2021) and Menge (2023), drawing on Speech Act Theory, confirm that communicative acts in CamE are heavily context-dependent.

1.3.4 CamE in Digital and Social Media Contexts

The digital era has opened a new frontier driving a notable shift from traditional writing conventions toward electronic discourse styles. Despite this growing phenomenon, research on English language use in social media remains limited in the Cameroonian context, with only a few scholars having explored the influence of platforms such as Facebook on CamE. Some studies were done on speech act (Ngouo, 2020; Fombo, 2021; Tabe, 2024). The results obtained by Fombo (2021) revealed four categories of speech act used by activists including assertive, declarative, commissive, and directive as well as the one of Tabe (2024) who established three features of greeting in social media involving time free greeting, time bound greeting and seasonal greeting.

Nkwain (2022) investigated the impact of the Anglophone crisis on the indigenisation of English, identifying pragma-stylistic resources including dysphemisms, symbolism, allusion, and rhetoric. On the other hand, he opined that the current use of the English language unveils the development of a new variety of English specific to the separatists, that is to say Ambazonia English may be coming a fast linguistic reality bearing their identities (p.258).

Willie (2022) examined violent speech across digital platforms in the context of the crisis, revealing the extensive deployment of metaphor, neologism, and stylistic imagery by content creators and citizen journalists. Collectively, these studies confirm that social media has become a significant site for the evolution and documentation of CamE, particularly within the context of the Anglophone crisis.

The word formation process was appraised by Tabe (2018) seminal works on e-morphology. She analysed the word formation process in Cameroon social media context. Focusing on e-mail, Facebook, and Yahoo Messenger, she explored the morphological process that dominates in those online communication sites. The analysis of 230 informal e-mail and chats revealed the most features of word formation process including accent stylizations, clipping, borrowing, neologisms, clitics, onomatopoeia, substitution, abbreviations, compounding, conversion/inflection, reduplication, hybrid, blending, slang, and smileys. Similarly, other scholars have attempted in describing the features of CamE on numerous social network sites including Facebook (Tabe, 2004, 2013b, 2016, 2017b; Menge, 2005; Maga, 2016; Wanji, 2017; Willie,2020a; Afuhtendem, 2021; Nkwain, 2022; Alobwede, 2023; Djiotsop, 2023; Mbibeh, 2025).

Tabe & Nouhou (2021) examined the changing forms of English spelling on e-messages from three different social media platforms including Facebook, Messenger and WhatsApp forums of Cameroonians. Furthermore, they investigated the spelling features atypical in English. They conclude that the globalisation through computer mediated discourse have heightened changes in English spelling, and it is a positive development in the English language overall.

Willie (2022) examined the instance of violent speech in some digital information sites including *Cameroonweb*, *MmimiMefos*, *Journalducameroun* in Cameroon in the context of anglophone crisis. This study revealed that those media made use of diction and various stylistics devices including synonyms, the polysemy, imagery and symbolism. On the other hand, it is about extensive use of metaphor and imagery, personification, neologism which are very prominent in the domain of war and conflicts but online they expressed by content creators, bloggers and journalists.

1.3.5 Cameroon Francophone English (CamFE)

A distinct variety known as Cameroon Francophone English (CamFE) has been identified and theorised, notably by Safotso (2012) and Kouega (1999, 2008) and Frenchised Cameroon English (Ubanako, 2008). Its terminology is controversial between scholars. For instance, Safotso (2012, p.2471) argues that the label CamFE is more appropriate than Kouega's "Francophone English" as it anchors the variety specifically within the Cameroonian context. Its defining features include difficulties with consonant clusters, deviant word stress, H-dropping and H-insertion, the use of nasal vowels, and French-induced pronunciation patterns (Amah, 2012; Simo Bobda, 2013; Atechi, 2015), all of which reflect the pervasive influence of French as a primary language on speakers' acquisition and use of English.

1.4 World Englishes (WEs) and West African Englishes (WAE)

The global spread of English has generated a multiplicity of regional varieties shaped by local linguistic and historical realities. This section examines the theoretical framework of World Englishes before narrowing the focus to West African Englishes, within which Cameroon English constitutes a significant variety.

1.4.1 World Englishes: A global framework

The concept of World Englishes, introduced by Kachru (1965, 1985, 1986), captures the pluricentric nature of contemporary English use, referring to the numerous regional varieties that have emerged through historical contact, colonisation, and localisation (Kachru, 1992). Platt et al. (1984) designate these as "new Englishes", with Kachru (1985, p.119) emphasising that the majority of English users today are located in Africa, Asia, and Southeast Asia rather than in traditional Anglophone heartlands. His Three Concentric Circles Model the Inner Circle (UK, USA, Australia), the Outer Circle (Cameroon, Nigeria, India), and the Expanding Circle (China, Russia, Sweden) remains the foundational framework for understanding this global stratification, though Quirk (1990) contested it by advocating a single British Standard English norm for all non-native learners. Jenkins (2015, p.6) further distinguishes between a first diaspora producing native varieties and a second diaspora linked to colonisation, which gave rise to the new Englishes now recognised as autonomous linguistic systems.

1.4.2 West African Englishes and their linguistic features

Within this framework, the spread of English across Africa has produced distinctive regional varieties embedding structural features of indigenous languages at all linguistic levels what Bokamba (1992, p.126) terms "Africanisms". CamE belongs to this broader family alongside Nigerian, Ghanaian, and Sierra Leonean English, all shaped by indigenous language influence and evolving, as Schneider (2007) argues, through five postcolonial phases from foundation to differentiation. Linguistically, Simo Bobda (1995, 2000) identifies phonological parallels between CamE and Nigerian English, including consonant cluster reduction and vowel merger, while Tadjo (2015) highlights shared syntactic features such as subject-auxiliary deletion in Wh-questions, with CamE distinctively employing an "unbounded they" for passivisation (Sala, 2003).

1.6 Social media and the emergence of Englishes

1.6.1 English as social media discourse language

Language is inherently dynamic and subject to constant change (Ebongue, 2017, p.1), and digital platforms have accelerated this evolution significantly. Social media has created new communicative spaces in which innovative language forms including acronyms, abbreviations, emojis, hashtags, and emoticons have become standard tools of expression. Unlike Twitter, which restricts posts to 140-180 characters and promotes linguistic brevity, Facebook permits more elaborate expression, allowing users to develop fuller communicative exchanges. Procter (2013) notes that such platforms have enabled citizen communication that bypasses traditional media gatekeepers, as witnessed during the Arab Spring and the London riots.

The digital environment has also redefined existing vocabulary. Alastair (2017) highlights how words such as like, share, friend, and privacy have acquired new meanings through digital use, while Toyoda (2002) observes that Computer-Mediated Communication has introduced terms such as insert, paste, and format into everyday speech. Crystal (2001) further documents non-standard spelling conventions such as "yep" or "plez" as characteristic features of online English, which tends toward informality and disregards standard grammatical conventions. While Yunus (2012) cautions that such habits may negatively affect academic writing, Chomsky (2014) reminds us that language naturally adapts to the communicative needs of its users.

1.6.2 Definitions and features of social media language

Social media language falls within the category of informal language theorised by Fairclough (1995a), characterised by unconventional orthography (Crystal, 2001). Scholars have designated this emerging variety under numerous labels, including netspeak (Crystal, 2006), cyberlanguage, netlish, internet language, weblish, electronic discourse (Davis, 1996), virtual language (Pop, 2008), Computer-Mediated Communication (Herring, 1996), and e-discourse (AbuSa'aleek, 2015). For the purposes of this study, four key features are examined.

a) Cyberlanguage

Cyberlanguage constitutes a hybrid system combining oral and written registers, characterised by speed-driven communication that disrupts conventional linguistic rules (Dejong, 2002). Dennis (2018) defines it as a code shared particularly among social network users to signal group identity. Its defining features, as identified by Bouillaud (2007) including the absence of capitalisation, reduced punctuation, the use of logograms and syntactic simplification.

b) Netspeak

Coined by Crystal (2001, 2006), netspeak refers to the language specifically used on the internet, encompassing digital jargon and nonce words. Thurlow (2004) defines it as the diverse linguistic forms and practices that characterise online interaction. Crystal (2001) identifies fourteen features of netspeak, including blending, contraction, emotive punctuation, non-standard spelling, typographical errors, omission of copular verbs and the use of nicknames.

c) Online Communicative Language (OCL)

Maynor (1994) defines Online Communicative Language as a hybrid form situated between written and spoken language. Stapa (2012), in a study of Malaysian Facebook users, identifies its key features as spelling innovations, alphanumeric combinations, vowel reduction, acronyms, abbreviations, and emoticons features that are equally observable in Cameroonian Facebook discourse.

d) Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC)

Herring (1996, p.5) defines CMC as communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers, while Crystal (2001) argues that it more closely resembles written than spoken discourse. Hartley (1993, p.225) identifies its principal characteristics as the absence of non-verbal cues, distinctive language patterns, the management of identity, and the potential formation of online communities all of which are directly relevant to the analysis of public response on Facebook.

1.7 The Anglophone crisis

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is one of the most complex socio-political conflicts in contemporary African history. Rooted in colonial legacies, political marginalisation and deep linguistic and cultural grievances, it has progressively escalated from peaceful protest into armed conflict. The following sections trace its origins and trajectory from the colonial period to the present impasse.

1.7.1 Colonial origins and the partition of Cameroon

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon reflects, as noted by Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997, p.207), a long-standing pattern of "exploitation, assimilation, marginalisation, and re-annexation of the English-speaking minority by the Francophone-dominated state". Its roots are deeply embedded in the colonial partition of Cameroon between France and the United Kingdom following Germany's defeat in World War I, which resulted in two structurally distinct administrative, legal and educational systems developing in parallel across the French-speaking East and the English-speaking West. Overall, the first signs of discontent among Anglophones emerged in the 1960s largely because of political homogenisation and extreme centralisation of power (Tatchim, 2025, p.7). The defining moment came in 1961, when United Nations organised plebiscite led Southern Cameroon to vote for reunification with the newly independent French Cameroon, establishing the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Foumban Conference was intended to enshrine a bicultural and bilingual federation. As Anchankeng (2015) observed, Southern Cameroon entered Foumban with the aspiration of building a unique federation in which the distinct cultural and linguistic values of each state would flourish. However, these commitments were systematically dismantled. In this regard, Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) argue that the adoption of the single-party state was a deliberate manoeuvre by the Francophone-dominated central government, which culminated in the 1972 replacement

of federalism with a unitary state an act perceived by Anglophones as both political exclusion and cultural assimilation (Kamé, 2018; Nna-Emeka, 2018; Angwanda, 2020; Talla, 2020).

1.7.2 Political, administrative marginalisation and economical marginalisation

Centralisation and marginalisation further entrenched Anglophone grievances. Abouèm à Tchoyi (2017) identifies several structural causes including the transfer of decision-making to Yaoundé, the failure to honour the commitments of the Foumban Conference, the disregard for official bilingualism, and the symbolic renaming of the state from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon a move that, for many Anglophones, erased the bilingual and bicultural character of the nation. Nkumbe (2016) similarly underscores the limited political representation, economic discrimination, and the fear of cultural assimilation through education as central dimensions of Anglophone marginalisation. Ngoh (1999) went as far as describing English-speaking nationals as second "class citizens", a characterisation further elaborated by Lyombe (2003) in terms of intensified discrimination in public life. On the other hand, economic marginalisation reinforced these political grievances. Ekah (2019) documents the considerable natural wealth of the North-West and South-West regions encompassing petroleum refined by SONARA, rich agricultural lands, and mineral resources yet, as Chereji and Lohkoko (2012) note, native populations in key public corporations are frequently relegated to subordinate positions while senior posts are occupied by Francophones. Foninchong (2013) further highlights the central government's systematic encroachment into the educational and administrative domains of the English-speaking regions.

1.7.3 Linguistic and cultural grievances

On the linguistic front, Musah (2022, p.24) defines the Anglophone problem as a struggle to uphold and preserve cultural identity particularly the common law legal system, the Anglo-Saxon educational model, and the English language in the face of deliberate attempts at erosion and assimilation by successive Francophone-dominated regimes. These accumulated grievances eventually crystallised into organised resistance, notably through the All Anglophone Conferences held in Buea (1992) and Bamenda (1993), which gave rise to movements such as the Southern Cameroon National Congress (SCNC) and later, more radical separatist formations (Orock, 2021).

1.7.4 Escalation into armed conflict and ongoing impasse

The crisis escalated sharply in 2016, when lawyers and teachers launched coordinated protests against the imposition of Francophone magistrates and educators in Anglophone institutions. As Tembon (2018) recounts, the government's repressive response radicalised the movement, and by October 1, 2017, separatists proclaimed the independence of the self-proclaimed Republic of Ambazonia. The International Crisis Group (2023) reports that the ensuing armed conflict resulted in more than 6,000 deaths and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of civilians between 2017 and 2023.

The Major National Dialogue of 2019, convened under pressure from the United Nations and the African Union, failed to produce a lasting resolution, as the government unilaterally shaped its outcomes according to Institute for Security Studies (2021). Worthy of notes, this was done under both international pressures and some political parties such as MRC (Cameroon Renaissance Movement) and SDF (Social Democratic Front). According to Ngonjo (2024), its main outcome was to grant a “special status to the Anglophone North-West and South-West” regions which was rejected by the Separatists and other factions (Menyoli, 2021). To date, the crisis endures, sustained by unresolved political grievances, continuing violence, and the persistent absence of genuine inclusive dialogue.

1.8 Language, ideology and media discourse

Language does not function as a transparent or ideologically neutral instrument of communication; rather, it is constitutively embedded within social, political, and institutional structures that actively shape the construction, representation, and contestation of reality. This section interrogates the theoretical nexus between language, ideology, and media discourse, drawing upon a broad corpus of critical scholarly perspectives to establish the analytical foundations of the present study.

1.8.1 Language and ideology

The relationship between language and ideology has constituted a central problematic within School of Thought such as critical linguistics, discourse theory and the sociology of knowledge. Althusser (1971) was among the first to systematically theorise ideology as a material practice reproduced through ideological state apparatuses institutional formations encompassing the media, education, religion and the law through which dominant social classes

secure and perpetuate hegemonic relations. Within this framework, language and English language (henceforth) is not merely a reflective medium that passively mirrors social reality, but an active and constitutive force in its production and reproduction. Fairclough (1989, p.2) consolidates this position by asserting that "language is a medium of domination and social force", functioning to naturalise and legitimise asymmetrical relations of organised power. Van Dijk (1998, p.8) further elaborates this nexus by defining ideology as "the shared framework of social beliefs that organise and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups" foregrounding language as the primary semiotic system through which ideologies are expressed, internalised and socially reproduced.

Gramsci's (1971) theorisation of hegemony provides an indispensable conceptual lens for understanding the ideological work performed by language. He opines that the maintenance of dominant power relations is achieved not exclusively through coercive mechanisms, but pre-eminently through the manufacture of consent a discursive and cultural process in which language plays a constitutive and irreplaceable role. Chomsky and Herman (1988) subsequently operationalised this Gramscian insight in their propaganda model of mass communication, which demonstrates how the language of mainstream media systematically functions to inculcate, normalise and defend the economic, social and political interests of privileged institutional actors. Bourdieu (1991) deepens this analysis through his theorisation of symbolic power, arguing that, language constitutes a form of symbolic capital whose legitimacy and social value are determined by the objective conditions of its production, circulation and reception. In postcolonial and multilingual contexts such as Cameroon, the selection of a particular language of communication whether English, French, Pidgin English, or an indigenous variety is never ideologically neutral, but invariably reflects and reproduces the existing configurations of linguistic power and social stratification (Chumbow, 1998; Anchimbe, 2006; Kouega, 2008, Ngefac, 2008b).

1.8.2 Media discourse and the social construction of reality

Media discourse constitutes a privileged and consequential site in the social construction of reality. Drawing upon the foundational sociological work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), critical scholars have consistently argued that social reality is not a pregiven datum but is actively constructed through symbolic systems of which language remains the most fundamental and pervasive. In the domain of media, this constructive process operates through institutionalised practices of selection, framing and representation that are never politically or

ideologically innocent. Hall (1980), in his seminal encoding/decoding model, demonstrates that media texts are produced within specific ideological horizons and are decoded by audiences in ways that may align with, negotiate, or actively resist the preferred or dominant reading encoded within the text.

Entman (1993, p.52) defines framing as the selective process of making "some aspects of a perceived reality more salient in a communicating text", thereby systematically promoting particular problem definitions, causal attributions, moral evaluations, and remedial prescriptions. Goffman (1974) has earlier established the conceptual foundations of frame analysis, demonstrating how communicative actors organise experience and guide action through interpretive frameworks that render events meaningful. Pan and Kosicki (1993) subsequently developed a multidimensional model of framing applicable to political communication and media analysis. In the Cameroonian context, the framing of the Anglophone crisis by state-controlled media has systematically privileged narratives of national unity, territorial integrity, and secessionist criminality, while Anglophone digital media platforms have counter-framed the conflict through discourses of historical marginalisation, cultural rights, linguistic identity, and the right to self-determination (Willie, 2022; Tabe, 2018; Musah,2020 &2021; Nounkeu, 2020; Ngange,2022; Ntaima, 2022).

1.8.3 Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) constitutes the primary analytical framework through which the intersection of language, ideology, and media discourse is examined in this study. Emerging from the theoretical contributions of Fairclough (1989, 1992) and Van Dijk (1993, 1998, 2001) proceeds from the premise that discourse simultaneously is a form of social practice that reflects, constitutes, and transforms social reality. However, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach most directly foregrounds the analytical orientation of this study, particularly its theorisation of the ideological square and the *US* versus *THEM* dichotomy.

Van Dijk (1998) argues that ideology mediates between macro-level social structures and micro-level textual production through socially shared cognitive representations such as attitudes, values and belief systems collectively held by social groups. These representations organise how groups perceive, interpret and discursively construct social reality. The ideological square comprising positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, mitigation of in-group negatives, and suppression of out-group positives (Van Dijk, 1998, 2006)

constitutes the primary discursive mechanism through which this polarised representation is enacted in text. As van Dijk (2006, p.115) observes, “the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is typical of all ideological discourse”, operating across lexical choice, rhetorical strategies, narrative organization and argumentation namely the ideological strategies.

Inseparable from the ideological square is the *US* versus *THEM* dichotomy, which Van Dijk (1998, 2001, 2006) identifies as the foundational cognitive and discursive mechanism through which group identity and intergroup conflict are constructed, enacted and contested. Operating from the macro-level of narrative framing to the micro-level of pronoun selection and lexical choice, this binary opposition constructs the in-group as morally superior and legitimately aggrieved, while positioning the out-group as morally deficient and politically illegitimate. In the Cameroonian context, Anglophone Facebook discourse systematically constructs an Anglophone *US* defined through shared historical grievances, common law tradition, and Anglo-Saxon educational heritage in systematic opposition to a Francophone “THEM”, constructed as the agent of political exclusion and cultural assimilation (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997; Atechi, 2016; Musah, 2020 & 2022; Willie, 2022). The application of Van Dijk's framework to this Facebook corpus thus enables a critically informed examination of how language functions as an instrument of identity construction, ideological mobilisation, and political contestation in the discourse of the Anglophone crisis.

1.8.4 Social media as an ideological arena

The proliferation of social media platforms has fundamentally reconfigured the landscape of media discourse and ideological contestation in the contemporary period. Unlike the vertically structured and institutionally gatekept architecture of traditional broadcast media, platforms such as Facebook enable decentralised, participatory, and multi-directional communicative flows, constituting what Castells (2009) theorises as “mass self-communication” a historically novel communicative formation that is simultaneously self-generated in content, self-directed in transmission, and potentially global in its reach and impact. This structural reconfiguration has democratised access to public discourse and amplified previously marginalised voices, while simultaneously introducing novel modalities of ideological manipulation, including algorithmic content curation, epistemic echo chambers, and the accelerated viral circulation of disinformation and propaganda (Bennett & Livingston, 2018; Wasserman, 2019).

In contexts of political conflict and armed insurgency, social media platforms have emerged as critical arenas of ideological struggle and discursive power contestation. Chiluwa (2012, 2016) demonstrates how online platforms are constituted as contested spaces for competing discourses of political resistance and institutional repression, while Orock (2021) documents the decisive role of Facebook in amplifying and internationalising Anglophone nationalist discourse beyond the territorial boundaries of Cameroon. The language deployed across these platforms through posts, comments, hashtags, shared multimedia content and networked interaction constitutes a rich and complex discursive field within which ideologies of identity, collective belonging, political sovereignty, and cultural resistance are actively constructed, negotiated, and contested. As Fairclough (1995b, p.2) observes, media language is never a transparent or innocent medium but invariably constitutes "a site of social struggle" in which competing representations of social reality contend for discursive dominance and political legitimacy. This fundamental insight provides the analytical cornerstone of the present study, which critically examines how English functions as a medium of ideological expression, political contestation, and identity construction in the Facebook discourse surrounding the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

1.9. Social media and public response

This section examines user interaction in relation to the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, both within and beyond digital platforms. It explores how public response is constructed, expressed, and circulated across offline and online spaces, with particular attention to Facebook as the primary medium of digital engagement in this study.

1.9.1 Definition of Public Response

Public response occupies a central place in the relationship between media and politics. Powers (2011) argues that media coverage significantly shapes public opinion and policy, while Livingstone (2005) conceptualises the public as an audience united around a shared text. In the digital age, Ito (2008) repositions users as active content creators and distributors rather than passive consumers. On platforms such as Facebook, public response manifests through comments, shares, reactions, and posts generated in real time. Framing theory further underscores how the presentation of information influences public interpretation and reaction, as evidenced by movements such as Black Lives Matter and the Arab Spring. Poell (2018) notes that online and offline responses have become increasingly intertwined, as digital tools

progressively blur the boundaries between virtual and physical engagement. In this study, the terms public response, online reaction, and feedback comment are used interchangeably.

1.9.2 Offline public response

Offline public response refers to the collective reactions, opinions, and behaviours of individuals in response to events occurring in the physical world, independently of digital platforms. It constitutes the precursor to online public response, given that most content circulated digitally originates from real-world events. Offline response manifests through face-to-face interactions, community discussions, public demonstrations, strikes, phone calls, written correspondence, and most critically, organised protest involving direct human interaction, physical presence, and non-verbal communication.

In the Cameroonian context, the streets of the North-West and South-West regions witnessed significant offline mobilisation between 6th October and 21st November 2016, as trade unions of Anglophone teachers and Common Law Lawyers Associations staged coordinated protests, culminating in the proclamation of the Ambazonian Republic on 1st October 2017 (Kamé, 2018, p.111; Awasom, 2020, p.20). Mutsvairo (2016, p.12) emphasises that the success of offline activism depends on effective coordination, arguing that online activism alone remains insufficient without grounded physical mobilisation. Offline response further encompasses audio-visual materials videos, photos, banners, flyers, and symbolic gestures alongside coverage by printed and broadcast media. It is characterised by spontaneity, emotional intensity, and multi-perspectival diversity, bringing together individuals of different ideological and ethnic backgrounds around shared grievances. The state's response to such mobilisation in the North-West and South-West has included arrests, torture, killings, and displacement. Willie (2022, p.32) catalogues the features of this violence in the crisis context:

> "killing, gruesome assassinations, murder, inhuman torture, aggression, assailing, assaulting, to kidnapping, poisoning, raping, exhuming dead bodies, attacking and looting of properties, planting explosive devices, burning down of houses, beating, kicking, slapping, scolding, shouting, verbal insults and hate speech".

A comparative illustration is provided by the Egyptian uprising of 2011, in which Clarke (2020) recounts that street demonstrations coordinated via Facebook and Twitter mobilised diverse social classes against President Hosni Mubarak, ultimately compelling his

resignation a dynamic further analysed by Chiluwa (2012, p.218) in terms of the combined influence of mainstream and social media on resistance discourse.

1.9.3 Online public response

Social media has created a new digital space in which users share messages, photos, videos, and opinions instantaneously. Platforms such as Facebook and Twitter enable individuals not only to consume content but to produce material that reflects their identities and political positions (Taprial, 2012). Kaplan (2010) identifies blogs, online communities, and virtual worlds as key sites of digital engagement used for communication, mobilisation, and entertainment. Online public response is distinguished by its immediacy, expansive reach and participatory nature (Ajiboye, 2013; Chiluwa, 2012, 2016). This frequently enable users to shape narratives more rapidly than traditional media outlets.

In the specific context of the Anglophone crisis, digital engagement intensified even as the government imposed internet blackouts in the North-West and South-West regions to limitate secessionist communication. Drawing on Katz (1974), contemporary users are repositioned as active content producers; however, as Nyamnjoh (2005) cautions, persistent digital divides continue to restrict the inclusivity of online participation across Cameroonian localities. Chomsky (2022) further argues that public response has evolved into a powerful, socially constructed force shaped by digital tools and global connectivity.

1.9.4 Features of online public response

a) Engagement and mobilisation

Social media functions as a critical arena for the expression of political opinion at both local and global levels. Its mobilising capacity has been demonstrated in landmark events including the Arab Spring, the Brexit referendum, and Donald Trump's 2016 electoral campaign (Bennett, 2018). Platforms such as Facebook widely supported non-violent uprisings in Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt against authoritarian regimes (Axel, 2014; Gire, 2014; Hamdy & Gomaa, 2022), illustrating the transformative political potential of digital public response.

b) Diversity of response

Ekaterina (2020, p.420) argues that social media facilitates the dissemination of government-critical information, particularly in autocratic contexts where traditional media

remains state-controlled. These platforms support activism and citizen journalism; however, they equally enable the spread of misinformation false content shared unintentionally and disinformation false content shared deliberately (Ross & River, 2018). In the Anglophone crisis, content producers range from activists and citizen journalists (Nounkeu, 2020). Joseph (2012) notes that reporting is no longer confined to professional journalists, as social media grants unfiltered access to narratives shared by anyone affected by events. Ngange and Makondo (2019) caution, however, that Anglophone activists have at times distorted information to align with their ideological positions.

c) Virality

The virality of content constitutes a defining feature of online public response in the Anglophone crisis. Orock (2021) documents the significant role of the Cameroonian Anglophone diaspora based across Africa, Europe and North America in amplifying the Anglophone cause through Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube. Within Cameroon, many users remain silent out of fear of arrest or reprisals following the 2016-2017 crackdown. Hashtags such as #EndAnglophoneCrisis, #BringBackOurInternet, #FreeMimiMefo, #FreeAllArrested, and #StopBobda have served as digital rallying points, functioning as Kebbuma (2019) and Zane (2022) observe, as unpredictable yet powerful instruments of political mobilisation.

d) Community Building

Digital platforms have enabled the formation and consolidation of Anglophone nationalist communities both within Cameroon and in the diaspora. Media outlets such as Bareta News on Facebook and the Southern Cameroons Broadcasting Corporation (SCBC), broadcasting from South Africa, played pivotal roles in information dissemination despite government attempts to block their transmission. Nationalist formations including the SCNC, SCACUF, and the Interim Government of Ambazonia, led by Sisiku Ayuk Tabe, have actively exploited these platforms for organising and recruitment (Nna-Emeka, 2018; Okereke, 2018; Orock, 2021). As Zepig (2016) cautions, social media equally enables extremist groups to engage in propaganda and recruitment, complicating its role as a vehicle for democratic expression.

e) Anonymity

The open architecture of social media platforms raises significant concerns around privacy, data security, hate speech, and misinformation. Wasserman (2019) notes that unverified content can rapidly circulate as established fact, while public reactions are frequently shaped by the emotional register of posts. The Arab Spring, widely characterised as the "Facebook Revolution," exemplifies how anonymity and digital organisation can converge to challenge authoritarian governance. In Egypt, activist Ahmed Maher mobilised workers via Facebook, a movement that eventually contributed to the resignation of the government (Blas, 2018).

1.8.5 Challenges of Online Public Response

While social media has expanded the space for public discourse, its use in the Cameroonian context is subject to significant institutional and structural constraints.

a) Cybercrime Legislation

The Cameroonian state has progressively extended censorship mechanisms to digital media. Articles 77 and 78 of Law No. 2010/012 on cybersecurity, and Article 241-1 of Law No. 2019/020 modifying the Penal Code, criminalise online content deemed to incite ethnic or tribal hatred. Tande (2011a) argues that these provisions have been instrumentalised to arrest bloggers, journalists, and activists for critical online publications, effectively suppressing digital dissent.

b) Online Censorship

State surveillance of digital activity has resulted in account deletions, restrictions on platform access, and the punishment of activists for online speech. Minister Issa Tchiroma Bakary publicly labelled online critics as “cyber-terrorists”. Most significantly, the Anglophone regions were subjected to a prolonged internet blackout from 17th January to 20th April 2017 (Endong, 2022), severely disrupting online public response during a critical phase of the crisis.

c) Economic Constraints

The high cost of internet packages and the low penetration rate in rural and interior localities significantly limits digital participation across Cameroon. These economic barriers constrain both content production and online presence, reinforcing existing inequalities in

access to digital public discourse and effectively excluding segments of the population from contributing to online narratives surrounding the crisis.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the theoretical and contextual foundations for the study of the English language and the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis of public response on Facebook. It has traced the global trajectory of English from a colonial instrument to a pluricentric global language, situating Cameroon English within the broader framework of World Englishes and West African Englishes. The historical, political, economic, and linguistic dimensions of the Anglophone crisis have been systematically examined, before exploring the dynamics of public response both offline and online in the digital age. In the context of rapid technological advancement, English has further evolved to accommodate emerging digital linguistic features such as acronyms, emoticons, and lexical innovations, all of which are directly relevant to the analysis of Facebook discourse at the heart of this research.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Discourse Analysis constitute the bedrock of this study on the analysis of public engagement on Facebook in response to English language digital media discourse events in Cameroon. This is a research framework that provides systematic evidence about social processes through the detailed examination of speech, writing, and other sign in use. However, for the design of this research, the approach of Media Events and the Critical Discourse Analysis will be the founding blocks of this study. The first theory emphasises on the public consideration, shape general assessment and impact public discourse on a specific issue like the case of the Anglophone crisis. The second theory, the Critical Discourse Analysis looks at and comprehend how language use reflect and perpetuate power elements, social imbalances, and philosophical design inside society. On the other hands, related literature about this particular topic will be also our concern in this paper as recently there has been a lot of interest in the usage of social media platforms.

2.1. Theoretical framework

This section addresses the two frameworks for this study namely: The Media Event and the CDA. Furthermore, an overview of the selected theories are provided, followed by their main tenets, purpose and the principles. At the level of the CDA, several authors have developed CDA but Van Dijk's framework will represent the main analytical framework for this study.

2.1.1 From Discourse Analysis to Critical Discourse Analysis

The intellectual genealogy of Critical Discourse Analysis is rooted in the critical linguistics tradition pioneered at the University of East Anglia by Kress and Hodge (1979) and in Halliday's (1978) systemic functional linguistics. They conceptualises language as a socially embedded semiotic system operating through three metafunctions: the ideational function, through which language encodes speakers' knowledge and experience of the world; the interpersonal function, which regulates social relations between communicative participants; and the textual function, which governs the coherent and contextually appropriate production of discourse. These foundational insights established language not merely as a communicative instrument but as a social practice constitutively shaped by and constitutive of, the social conditions of its production.

Discourse Analysis, as originally developed by Fairclough (1985) in his seminal work *Language and Power*, provided the methodological impetus from which CDA subsequently emerged. Chareaudeau and Maingueneau (2002) observe that CDA derives from DA insofar as it creates an interdisciplinary space uniting sociolinguists, linguists, and social scientists around the central problematic of language, power, and social inequality. The critical turn was consolidated in the early 1980s through the collaborative intellectual work of a group of scholars at the University of Amsterdam Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Theo van Leeuwen, Gunter Kress and Ruth Wodak. Each of whom developed distinct but complementary schools of CDA. Underpinning this critical orientation is a Marxist epistemological commitment, articulated by Weggins (2009), to the proposition that power is asymmetrically distributed across social groups, and that this asymmetry is systematically mediated, reproduced, and naturalised through discourse. This explains the fact that CDA is viewed as a multi-disciplinary approach that underline the relationship between text, culture, social opinion, power, and society (Fairclough, 2006, p. 252).

DA provides powerful tools for examining how language is organised and meaning produced in context, but does not in itself offer the critical and political orientation required to examine the discursive reproduction of colonial power relations and linguistic resistance that characterise the Facebook discourse of the Anglophone crisis. CDA, by contrast, is explicitly committed to examining how language enacts, reproduces, and contests relations of power and domination a commitment directly applicable to the ideologically dense and historically embedded discourse under investigation. Its emancipatory intellectual orientation further aligns productively with the Van Dijk ideological framework. It systematically deploys the ideological square to construct a positive in-group identity grounded in shared historical grievance, common law tradition, and Anglo-Saxon educational heritage while negatively constructing the Francophone-dominated state as the agent of political exclusion, cultural assimilation, and linguistic domination (Musah, 2022; Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997; Willie, 2022). Overall, the present study emphasis on political discourse or socio-political crisis. In the opinion of Chilton (2004), it aims to legitimise or delegitimise the actions of others.

2.1.2.2 The principles of the Critical Discourse Analysis

Prominent CDA practitioners (Fairclough, 1995a, Wodak, 1996) highlight these principles. Hereby, the object of analysis is the language that is to say the reflection of social meaning, social identity, and social facts (Qiyao, 2016). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280), the CDA principles are presented as follows:

a) CDA addresses social problem: All in all, it suggests that CDA investigates how language is used to perpetuate or challenge social injustices, inequalities, and power imbalance within the society. In addition, it seeks to uncover the ways in which language reflects and reinforce issues like discrimination, marginalisation, and oppression.

b) Power relations are discursive: According to CDA, power is not only enforced through direct physical or institutional means, but also by language and discourse. Else said, language is a crucial tool for constructing and maintaining power relation within society.

c) Discourse constitutes society and culture. This is the most important element among the eight principles of the CDA. It acknowledges that language and communication play a pivotal role in shaping and reflecting the values, norms, beliefs, ideology, and power dynamics within a society.

d) Discourse does ideological work: This principle suggests that language users have "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (ibid. p.272). In other words, language and communication are not only means of expressing ideas but also serves to promote and perpetuate specific ideologies and belief system within society.

e) Discourse is historical: According to the CDA, this recognises that language need to be understand based on its context of production. In addition, language and discourse production are not static or ahistorical, but rather deeply rooted in historical context and shaped by historical events, power dynamics, and cultural developments. Furthermore, "discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration" (ibid., p. 276).

f) The relationship between text and society is mediated: This means that the text and society is linked but not directly. In facts, the text including written, spoken, or visual forms of communication do not simply mirror or directly represent societal structures and dynamics. Instead, they are shaped by the means of the social, cultural, and historical context in which they are produced and interpreted.

g) Discourse is interpretative and explanatory: CDA goes beyond the discourse whether spoken or written text as far as "discourse can be interpreted in very different ways, due to the audience and the amount of context information which is included" (ibid. p.278).

h) Discourse as form of social action: Based is essentially a site where power relations, ideologies, and social norms are enacted, negotiated, and contested. By the means of language and English language especially, individuals even groups perform various actions such as resisting, convincing and legitimising which have implication on social life.

However, Van Dijk (1996, p. 84) argue that the aim of CDA is "describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions". Following that, it is worth mentioning that all tenets of CDA are not suitable for this study but we emphasise on the third dimensional approaches of to seek out social relations and practice are shaped through the use of language. The two others being discourse as text and discourse as discursive practice.

2.1.2.3 The features of the Critical Discourse Analysis

The critical discourse analysis emphasises on discourse mainly the written and spoken one in order to uncover hidden meaning, ideologies and unequal power. Its features are as follow:

- **Contextual analysis:** here, the focus is on describing discourse according to its social, political and historical context of production.
- **It addresses the social practices, institutions and power relation that influence the production and interpretation of discourse**. Hereby, the discourse itself can be any discursive event including "written texts, spoken words, pictures, videos, or any other interpretable artefact" (Munir, 2005, p. 1667).
- **We have power and ideology**. Here, it is being used to uncover how the language is used to maintain and challenge existing power structures and ideology. This is confirmed by (Weber, 1992, p. 13) who opined that language is a reciprocal action in which conversation (and communication by extension) fuels, strengthens and spreads out representations orienting human activity".
- **This is an interdisciplinary approach:** that can be extended to broad subjects like anthropology, sociology to name the few. It embeds linguistics analyses to provide a comprehensive understanding and interpretation of the discourse. This interdisciplinary approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of language use in its social, historical and political context.

- **A critical stance toward dominance discourse** and aim to reveal how the language can perpetuate inequalities and injustices in order to challenge and transform oppressive language practices and ideologies. Fairclough (2000, p. 156) while making a distinction between language, discourse and social practice observed that discourse cannot bar language in its every situation given that social activity includes correspondence, subsequently language and different sort of semiotic production. Thus, discursive events are an innate piece of every single social practice.
- **Language semiotics:** in the sense that it pays more attention on how language is built and conveyed through different means of communicative language. In this vein, (Van Dijk,1995, p.17) opined that ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including nonverbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies".

2.1.2.4. Main approaches of CDA

This section delves into three different core approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis.

a) Fairclough approach

Fairclough (2001a) defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a critical social science aimed at addressing social problems through understanding discourse as a "form of social practice." According to Fairclough (2000), "there is no social practice whose activity excludes language. Language is always part of the action". He posits that all language usage contributes to social action, which encompasses three analytical levels: micro (linguistic features of text), meso (discourse transmission and social factors), and macro (discourse influenced by societal power relations). In short, (Fairclough, 2001, p. 20-21) believes that the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole.

b) Wodak Discourse Historical Approach

Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach aligns with Fairclough, emphasizing dialectical links between discourses and production contexts, asserting that discourses can both shape and reflect social practices. Interestingly, Wodak, (2001, p. 66) posits that the situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and on the other, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. Wodak (2009) states that the DHA framework combines knowledge from historical resources and the socio-political environment in which discursive events are embedded. In other words,

discourses as linguistic social practices can be seen as constituting non-discursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, as being constituted by them. Wodak proposes triangulation for contextual analysis, considering immediate language, intertextual relationships, social variables, and broader socio-political contexts.

c) Van Dijk Socio-Cognitive Approach

According to Van Dijk (1993a) language is a social cognition and serve as the mediating part between text and society. He defines the social cognitions as "socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning" (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 257). Furthermore, there is a connection between language's microstructure and society's macro-structure are established, focusing on social cognition, which mediates text and society. He further believes that social groups tend to adopt values aligning with their self-interests, utilizing them to reinforce their position and aspirations within society (Van Dijk, 1995). This approach highlights the influence of shared representations and ideologies on individual attitudes, using an "ideological square" to analyse group dynamics emphasizing on personal knowledge, opinions, attitudes and feeling (Oluwayemisi, 2022, p.6). Overall, the relationship among discourse, cognition, and society underlines the interconnectedness and significance of these frameworks in understanding social interaction and power dynamics.

2.1.2.5. Van Dijk ideological framework

Van Dijk proposed 25 ideological strategies used to construct in-group *(Us)* versus out-group *(Them)* representations, particularly in political and media discourse, in his 2006 framework for Critical Discourse Analysis. These methods, which operate on the lexical, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels, are used to convey ideological meanings either implicitly or explicitly. Examples include hyperbole, euphemism, irony, presupposition, generalization, comparison, and negative other presentation, authority (citing experts), actor description (labelling participants in a biased manner), number game (using statistics for credibility), and example/illustration to cite but a few. In accordance with what Van Dijk refers to as the ideological square, these devices enable speakers or writers to emphasize the positive characteristics of the in-group while de-emphasizing or portraying the out-group negatively. In this study, these strategies were used to code and analyse public comments and posts on MMI, revealing how users discursively constructed attitudes around the Anglophone crisis.

2.1.2.6. Criticism of the Critical Discourse Analysis

This section focusses on some scholars who have significantly criticizes the framework of critical discourse analysis. The most prominent is the works of Widdowson and others.
For Pennycook (2001), the CDA analyst may distorts their findings with partial interpretations that satisfy their agenda. Nevertheless, Chouliaraki (1999, p. 67) believes that interpreting the discourse ideologically do not entails the understanding of texts, but a part of explanations.

Hammersley (1997) Accuses Fairclough and other theoretician of the CDA to assert the need for this theory as unproblematic. He argued that the Frankfurt School cannot be consider as the basis of CDA. The latter, emphasises on language as social change. In addition, he argued that the ambition of CDA practitioners to offer a comprehensive understanding of society is conducted as a spirit of self-reflexive critique (Hammersley, 1997, pp. 244-245).

Bloommaert (2001) points out that critical analysts are using the ethnography methodology of communication, but their failure is to present the description of situation or the description of sample by which they obtained their data. In addition, he argues that this theory lacks ethnographic basis for analysis the context but too much reliance on presuppositions and assumptions. Widdowson (2004) also shared this position.

2.1.2. Media Events

This theory emphasises on events creation, amplification by the media framing in order to attract the public attention. We intend to present this theory from its history, purpose, principle and its limitation.

2.1.2.1. Its origin

In 1992, communication scholars, Daniel Dayan and Elisha Katz, have created the Media Event presented certain feasibility constraints in their book entitled ***media events: the live broadcasting of history***. This book conceptualises Media Events as a distinct area within media and communication studies but also in social science thinking about the interplay between media and public events in modern society. They defined Media Events as "the high holidays of mass communication that spotlight some central value, idealized version of society or aspect of collective memory". They observed two important types of news in the press: routine news concerned fact or situation with limited social impact and non-routine that affects important social segment and may stops current media activities by requiring a special program. Routine news in one hand alludes to the customary, unsurprising, and dreary data that is normally tracked down in everyday newspapers and TV broadcasts and media facilities and outlet. Most often, this includes weather bulletin, news flash and other recognisable data that is

normal as a feature of the everyday consistent pattern of media reporting. Non -routine news on the other hand refers to unforeseen, capricious, and huge occasions that may disturb the typical progression of day-to-day or challenges existing normal practices.

2.1.2.2. Purpose of media event theory

Interestingly, they did not define a media event as a certain incident that is covered by the media, but rather as a specific media genre that takes across eight points that are media events that refer to an interruption of routine in broadcasting as well as everyday life of the audience. Second, they monopolise the media coverage across different media channels. Third, media events are characterised by the fact that they are broadcast live. Fourth, they are not organised by the media themselves, but outside the media. Fifth, media events are pre-planned productions. Sixth, they are presented with reverence and ceremony. Seventh, the coverage of media events celebrates reconciliation. Eight, they electrify wide audiences. Therefore, the original idea considers media events as a powerful genre that can interrupt everyday flow, bring the viewer into touch with society's central values and invite the audience to participate in the audience (Dayan, 1992). In their lexicon, media events are a complete notion in the sense that, they have their own grammar, their own meaning structure and their own practices characterized by live broadcasting. So, media events are devoted to attract the viewer as well as the public.

2.1.2.3. The principles of media events

The principles of media events rests on three principles namely: The contest, the conquest and the coronation Dayan (2008).

a) The contest

It alludes to occasion that are portrayed through contest may be in sport, legislative issues or any other sector of activity. Media inclusion of challenges frequently underlines the battle among members and the mission for final triumph like in Olympic game while catching the crowd's consideration through the snow of rivalry. Worth of note, the continue struggle between the secessionist and government can be seen as a challenge. The media inclusion frequently features the crisis, exchange, and political moves underscoring the battle for power and control.

b) The conquest

It refers to the events that affects the society and generally are dramatic such as the first step on the moon and which focuses on the future in the sense of changing existing rules and the fall of the Berlin wall. All in all, this imply a huge accomplishment or achievement, like

space investigation missions, weighty logical revelations, or military triumph. The conquest frequently depicts the feeling of achievements and progression related with these occasions. Overall, it frequently includes inclusion of huge triumph or losses. With regard to the Anglophone crisis, success may be found in the framing if key military and separatist triumphs, regional additions even critical political advancements that demonstrate one side acquiring the high ground.

c) The coronation

It alludes to crowning rituals that address formal events that mark the rising to drive, acknowledgement of greatness, or festivity of power figures such as the inauguration of the president and of Queen Elizabeth II funeral (Dayan, 1994). These occasions are in many cases saturated with custom and imagery, with media framing that display the crowning liturgy. They indicate that, the significance of media events lies in their ability to reach a larger audience than any event that required physical presence following the five fundamental features of media events theory that include: liveness, organization, semantic factors, audience involvement and structural features. It is less straightforwardly appropriate to the Anglophone crisis, which is best described more by struggle than by festival events.

This theory is useful for this study as far as it allows us to understand how different actors as journalists, politicians, subscribers, audiences and social media influencers, construct social media discourse events. This is also to understand how social media discourse events are perceived and interpret by the users as well as Facebook framed and discuss media events with others.

2.1.2.4 Criticism on the media events theory

The most significant idea is that "certain events do not fall neatly into the tripartite classification of contest, conquest and coronation" (Katerina, 2018). In fact, the distinction is that they do not have individual actors but collective ones. Closely, our authors come to envisioning the content producing audience and today digital media landscape. In addition, (Katerina, ibid) also mentions that, this theory focuses a lot on high profile and dramatic events like big sports events, political rallies instead of mundane events. In addition, this theory is not just under the hand of media stakeholders but can be influenced by a range of artefacts such as political power and cultural norms.

Katz (2007) concept of traumatic events is different from the ceremonial event of Dayan (1992). The latter event is "disruptive rather than integrative, unplanned rather than planned and typically unexpected and unwelcome." So traumatic events focus on the media coverage

which tend to enable the public to better understand the response to the sudden event: crisis, disaster and tragedy. The ceremonial event on the other hand emphasise the symbolism and the significance of the event thus on the ritualistic status.

2.1.3 Theory integration

For the present study, the Media Event theory and the Critical Discourse Analysis are the founding blocks. In one hand, the theory of media events postulates that the great television debates of the moment may have the means to shape public opinion and response thus affects the social and cultural empowerment. The said events are a moment of great intense media coverage, frame and script in order to capture the audience then share understanding through special broadcast programs.

In other hand, the Critical Discourse Analysis deeply explores the discourse achieved by the media practitioners and others forms that entail the communication. It aims to uncover hidden power relations, ideology, social inequality and the context of production are embedded by the languages. This theory emphasises on the questioning of dominant narratives, exposing biases and analysing the socio-political implications of the media. The outlined theories are relevant to this study that is interdisciplinary studies, which is broad to linguistics, intercultural studies, communication, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. It will enable us to decipher the linguistics features that are used by Cameroonian to achieve their response about the ongoing event in the NW/SW regions. Therefore, the combined theories enable to examine, the language, and especially the power dynamic embedded in the social media coverage of the Anglophone crisis.

2.2 Literature review

The technological innovation has transformed global communication and media consumption at large. Once depending on traditional media, audiences now access media events instantly through the internet. This shift driven by globalisation allows individuals to explore and engage with global issues without boundary. The present study examines English language use in social media discourse on Facebook regarding the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. This section therefore shed lights on key studies on public response to such media discourse event focusing on their linguistics feature and lastly the factor shaping audience engagement

2.2.1 Public response to social media events

Public reactions to media events vary regarding the attention a given event attracts. Several factors influence such as event’s popularity, its framing, widespread dimension and the public attention and sensitivity. Subscribe manifest their reaction through likes and shares,

positive and negative comments, and the use of emoticons and emoji's. However, the case under study initially began offline later online as it grained traction on digital platform. This shift highly described the global broader trend currently described as social media revolution in North Africa and Middle East (Ackland, 2011; Chiluwa, 2012; Axel, 2014; Gire, 2014; Clarke, 2020; Mohammed, 2024) but their usage strengthens contentions. According to the International Crisis Group (2020), indicate that Cameroon has faced growing political and ethnic tensions since the aftermath of the 2018 presidential election especially between the Anglophone minorities against the ruling class and the opposition. Initially expressed through offline protestation, they have extended to social media platforms where hate speech, inflammatory language, cyberbullying and harassment have become common impeding social cohesion and ethnic integration.

Besong (2020), brought up to the way that disdain discourse existed in Cameroon as well as Violence attributed to online hate speech has increased worldwide even before the arrival of social media. In his opinion, government officials, government employees as well as ordinary citizen living in metropolitan towns used hate speech. Nowadays, their spread is via internet and social media.

Ngange & al. (2020) investigated the audience response after consuming information about the AC. They used a cross sectional survey where 100 inhabitants of Buea participate. They obtained various reactions from those who have been hearing information on these media events through some national television channels and SM like Facebook and YouTube. Furthermore, they express seven different reactions after watching such insanities. These comprehend: the control of their utterance, fear, hatred against government, anger against government and separatist, frustrated against the separatist, other would like to be enrolled the armed struggle and the last category is neutral about the events. In the same order of ideas, Kebbuma (2019) using summative content analysis argued that social media sites including Mark Bareta news and Southern Cameroon Journal and Southern Cameroon Television (SCTV) are instrumentalised in the publication of information relating to the crisis.

Another study was conducted by Barrach-Youseifi (2018) using online survey, a series of focus groups discussions, and in-depth interviews, he sought out a glossary of common extreme speech terms usually used on some selected Facebook blog on Facebook. For instance, we have: Terrorist, Anglo-fou, Graffi, Cam no go, Ambazonia, wo cubes of sugar in a basin of water, Bamenda, Franco-frog, Rat, Dog, Biafra, Black leg, and Bamileke. These findings are similar to the one carried by (Kweitsu, 2019). His results showed that on Facebook, netizens

make use of the following words: anglofools, franco-frog, cam no go/graffi, Ambazonia, two cubes of sugar in a basin of water, les Bamenda, Boko Haram, and terrorist. In the view of Sawalda (2020), SM is prolific for hate speech and reflects the ethno-political situation of Cameroon (Ntaima, 2022).

Using the gatekeeping theory, Nounkeu (2020) studied the use of Facebook as tools of expanding fake news on the Anglophone crisis. The results showed that among the 133 news stories, 79 lack elements of reference. In addition, most of these were provided by citizen journalist reason why most of them did not have elements of verifiability and reliability especially the one provided by the Anglophone activist blog, Mark Bareta. In short, he opined that "the affordability of social media and especially Facebook facilitates the spread of fake news or at least the circulation of very poor-quality news" (P.31). Similarly, Ngange and Ndobe (2022) while using content analysis, they explored the headlines of some selected articles in English. From their analysis, the result confirmed the previous study. For instance, 65,3 the greater part of the pennant titles was against the government policy; the tone of the principal article was viewed as supportive of the crisis 47% with the focal topic for all account on the AC being resistance 63,3% and less significantly discourse of harmony and struggle to change 36.7%. Following to the survey intended to journalists, social media play a crucial role in the expansion of fake news 70.2% followed by the radio and television.

Furthermore, Ngange and Makondo (2019, p. 55) opined that social media activists used computer software to distort pictures and superimpose content that depict the messages which respond to their view. In addition, they spread rumours using texts, audio clips and distorted videos. This is similar to the study of (Budi, 2021) who argued that pro-Ambazonia propagandists created a number of account through different digital platform to display images of torture of their victim as well as image of "Amba" Boys.

In addition, Salome (2018) conducted a research on the role of SM and small media during the Anglophone crisis in order to measure the relationship between the Anglophone in Cameroon and those abroad. The discoveries uncovered that 90% of Anglophone Cameroonians believe that the use of SM prompted the spread of propaganda and rumour on the crisis, which contribute in debilitating the authenticity of their protest. In addition, online activism without field action looks to be insufficient for their struggle.

Again, Yury (2019) explored hate speeches that addressed to President Joko Widodo. Using qualitative descriptive approach and Culpeper's Impoliteness Strategies, he investigated hate speech in SM in Malaysia. The results showed that on SM, Malaysian make use of four

different categories of hate speech including record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness and sarcasm in the viral posts done by haters. This convergent to the study of (Fadhilah, 2018). Emphasising on the same methodology to examine Facebook account of Kim Jong Un, Donald Trump, and Hillary Clinton Instagram's account. The findings founded were divergent as she revealed the positive impoliteness as the dominant variety.

2.2.2 The linguistic features of public response to social media events

The linguistics features of electronic discourse are described through different frameworks from various scholars. Likewise, Oprea (2019) suggests that online discourse must be seen as a diachronic system. This implies that the language is used to respond specific needs just as the role of users, which can also change overtime. Additionally, some studies investigated on linguistics features of social media and conclude that it is a bound of both formal and informal orthography (Carmen, 2012; Crystal, 2001& 2011). In view of the above, this study focuses on interactions in social networks, particularly Facebook regarding the Anglophone crisis. However, this topic is not often discussed in certain institutions such as the parliament where Wirba, an Anglophone parliamentarian spoke out against the regular army deeds "when injustice becomes law, resistance becomes a duty" (Orock, 2021, p.7). Despite this viewpoint, several scholars have studied the AC. Others for instance have analysed newspapers coverage in both public and private (Tabe, 2018; Fieze, 2019; Tchouape, 2019). The present review sheds light studies done in social media platforms.

According to Sombaye (2018), SM is known to the place fertile for activists hidden in the diaspora to publish their propaganda that set essentially on uprising, vilification, tribalism and the challenge of the public policy. In this vein, a lot of research have been made to appraise their language thus their public response and interaction on SM at large. Among the platforms, Facebook is the more fruitful.

In addition, Nouhou (2022) studied the promotion of peace in SM messages related to the AC. Using the CDA approach, she analysed 150 messages from 75 respondents including 45 males and 30 females. By the use of smartphone, she gathered data. According to her results, on one hand, we have peace rhetoric, and on the other hand, we have the words of war. Furthermore, peace rhetoric call for peace to come back, condemn hate speech, prayer with sound of consolation, a call for national unity and the appeal to stability. Whereas the war lexicon is characterised by the hate speech, dehumanising language, incitement to tension and violence in order to call for an uprising (Nouhou, 2022, pp. 36-37). Comparably, Ngonjo (2024) examined the Major National Dialogue as the main solution to the crisis as being awaited by

some native of English-speaking regions. The data were collected from three sources namely Jeune Afrique, Cameroon Tribune and Phoenix and describable analysed. The study concluded that opinions regarding the dialogue are diverged: in one side, the government perceive the MJN as a solution to the conflicts while the politicians' figures, political parties, activists, religious leaders, the affected populations, and Cameroonians believe that this was a monologue as far as the government selected participants and jailed some activists reason why they proposed a genuine and inclusive dialogue as the main solution.

Nganji (2019) examined the promotion of peace by some SM messages on the AC. Using the CDA theory, they collected data from 150 persons including 100 respondents from WhatsApp and 50 from Facebook. The result showed that there is an intensive use of lexical choice of words that call for incitement of violence conflict, ethnic criticism and large challenge on the Cameroon government. This study concluded that even though activist settled in and abroad are preponderant in SM, it is worth noting that their messages of harmony are probably going to enlist less assailant than those calling for uprising. In addition, Edimo (2021) shares this opinion. In the view of Fanwie (2020) in 2020, there was approximately 7.8 million peoples were estimated to be internet users in Cameroon, with 3.7 million people active on social media with at least 3.8 % on Twitter and this serve as a forum for discussions about the crisis with local and international communities.

Ngange and Makondo (2019) inspected the substance of multimodal data including: graphic, video, sound and text posted on Facebook and WhatsApp. Using qualitative approach, to analyse information of deception engendering in the process of the Anglophone crisis, the data revealed three findings: a) activists are using software to distort images such a way it suits to their ideology; b) they used sounds, images, and videos to share those contents; and lastly c) their content is shared throughout the SM to reach their followers spread abroad and inside the country in order to strengthen the Anglophone community against the government. Likewise, Pelican et al. (2022, p. 28) revealed that apart extreme speech on social media, there is also the taking and sharing of photos of deceased persons for documentation purposes and the stark increase in the number of bodies and injuries being exposed on social media by both Ambazonian and their opponent post pictures and videos showing violent acts or their results alongside mocking captions, insults, and threats.

Additively, Soh (2020) using the method of rhetorical criticism and cluster analysis, she explored the different narratives about the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon by two prominent rhetors involved in the crisis. The formers are President Paul Biya and the Anglophone

establishes abroad Mark Bareta. The findings showed that the President of the republic narrative calls for "peace" and "unity" while the activist narratives on the other hand appeal for secession. Based on the previous analysis, we can say that this is comforted the study of (Nganji, 2019) who concluded that SM is being used by government, Anglophone activists, media organisation and ordinary netizens to express their view.

Ngouo (2020) did another study. Using CDA, he described the trolls and discourse posted on the wall of some stakeholders of this crisis. According to him, the public response on the Anglophone problem is polarised between the pro government and the separatist fighters who are using their dedicated blogs to express their opinion. The first are using SM to express their ideology that is to perpetuate the hostilities while the second are using it to call for a dialog with the government, and maintain that Cameroon is their country. Additively, Budi (2021) conducted a similar study and found that social media encompassing Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram was polarly used. On one hand, it was used to propagate the ideals of 'Ambazonism' while on the other hand, we have the involvement of government agents and agencies on social media saw the creation across numerous social media platforms campaigns and propaganda to save its images. Also, social media is used to raise netizen against the public institutions opined Dooley and al (2009).

Nouhou (2022) examined the teachers discourse on Telegram during the movement "*enough is enough".* In addition, this study investigated the linguistic power of some governmental expressions. Critical approach helps to uncover the 150 data gathered from secondary school teachers through the nationwide. From this study, it is shown that the government press release is most often made up of lexical expression comprising nouns, verbs, and adverbs of degree. In the eyes of teachers, this is to maintain in their precarity given that language of peace is a social institution waged not only by the state but also by the society (Putra, 2020, p. 90). The findings of this study are similar to those of Ngonjo and Fonki (2023). The latter, although using a different theory in particular the semiotic theory of Barthes (1964) who revealed that non-verbal signals were used on social media posts during the Anglophone crisis between 2017 and 2022. This is about the peace plant *(nkeng),* boards, black dresses, banners, body and facial signs and the use of colours namely the black, yellow and white were used to call for the return of peace. Again, these studies also had divergences because that of Nouhou (2022) did not dwell on the signs and symbols.

Afuhtendem (2021) on one hand explained the usage of neologism in the Cameroon's media landscape in the framework of the Anglophone crisis while (Willie, 2022) using both

qualitative and quantitative research method combined to the critical discourse analysis, sematic pragmatic, and the speech act theories, he underlined the feature of contemporary Cameroon English speech on the Anglophone crisis on the other. Their results were convergent in the sense that Afuhtendem focused on the neologisms that have appeared in the Cameroon's media landscape during the period of the AC including the semantic extension, appropriation, borrowing, eponym, acronym, clipping, blending, compounding, semantic, and coinage. On the other hand, Willie's study revealed the different linguistic features, which increase the contemporary Cameroon English in the media. In fact, this is about dialectal and cultural borrowing, self-explained compounds, neologisms, eponym, and inflections. They claimed that the usage of expressions related to neologism was to discredit the actions of the stakeholders and the dynamism of the crisis on one hand, and on the other an asset in the development of mainstream Cameroon English (Willie, 2020a).

Ntaima (2022) conducted a convergent study as the study revealed the usage of inclusive and non-inclusive pronouns as well as word and expression excite hatred but it was also divergent in the sense that it provides some alternative expressions to replace the former inflammatory. The findings revealed that, online, subscribers make use of different linguistics phenomena comprising connotation, imagery, symbolism, synonymy, polysemy and neologism in the forms of verbal abuse, insults, minimisation, and stigmatisation, which are prevalent in our current society. This investigation is at some extent related to the one of (Nkwain, 2022) in terms of results. Overall, according to (Willie, 2020a; Afuhtendem, 2021; Willie, 2022; Nkwain, 2022) the previous characteristics of conflict and act of violence are sources of enrichment of Cameroon English language lexicon.

In another study, Lee & al. (2023) examined the usage of the ♯MyAnglophoneCrisisStory and ♯EndAnglophoneCrisis by capturing and amplifying the stories of the people affected by the current events. Using the informatics program called R, the researchers examined the post gathered between October 2020 and November 2020. In addition, he performed absolute and topical investigations of general tweets, answers, quote tweets, furthermore, specify inside our information by means of manual substances investigation and coding utilising NVivo, a subjective information investigation program. The study revealed that on Twitter, we have three kinds of tweets including: Story, response story and awareness and advocacy

Moreover, Willie (2020b) examined the sign of tribalism and hate in the discourse and in the typical commutive acts of Cameroonians in order to breakdown these as appearances of

tribalism and disdain discourse acts in contemporary Cameroon English discourse while (Willie, 2022) gathered instances of discourse acts intended for demonstrating of savagery used by netizen. The previous used the mixed method and the critical discourse analysis, speech act theory, semantic theory, communicative acts, and the socio-pragmatic theoretical framework. The first on its part used the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and ethno-methodological and psychological methods. Their results were divergent at the level of data collection method. The first used the social media platforms while the data of the second are from different ranges including casual conversations, interviews, radio and TV debates, news broadcast, postages and publications on social media, newspapers and magazine. Their result was convergent in the sense that all studies revealed words and expressions nowadays used by Cameroonians against other communities. Therefore, our choice of lexicon in a speech act, considerations and activities towards others, should be comprehensive using concrete and clear discourse to them rather than dubiousness.

In another study, Anchimbe (2016) described the patterns of belonging to the historical linguistic in-group *Anglophone* and out-group *francophone* in Cameroon digital platform. Emphasising on eight plural pronouns among which four belong to the English-speaking community *(we, us, our, ourselves)* while four others refer to the French-speaking community (*they, them, their, themselves*). The study revealed that the in-group narratives emerges as an autobiographical narrative that underlined the complex relationship between the two communities.

Fuh (2022) asserts that there exist three types of indexical expressions used on social media regarding the Anglophone Crisis. These include among others the person, time, and place deixis. Person deixis were used to incriminate the involvement of some state officials in the Crisis. The time deixis to decry the longevity of the president of the republic in power while the one related to the space was to denounce atrocities committed by the state forces as being conducting a genocide in the English-speaking region of Cameroon.

In another study, Echitchi (2018) used the Wodak Discourse Historical Approach and some features of Chilton Discourse Space in a study comparing the separatist movements in Southern Cameroon and Catalonia. He analysed 15 speeches by Catalan activists on social and 5 letters from prominent figures in the Southern Cameroon separatist movement. The study unveiled similarities of Wodak's Historical Approach by both organisations such as singularisation, autonomisation, unification and cohesivation, assimilation, inclusion,

continuation as well as justification. However, some differences were unveiled in terms of activist's geographical, political and cultural backgrounds.

2.2.3 Keys factors that shape public response on Facebook

Public responses to event on Facebook reflect users' linguistics choice expressing their thoughts, emotions and social values. Similar to offline reactions, online responses are shaped by factors such as content sensitivity. Most often, users engage contents that shapes their personal interest and goal reflecting their emotions such as joy or anger throughout the content framed by celebrities, public figures, activist, blogger, and vlogger. In this perspective, users attain Facebook in order to make and maintain relationship, to escape, make discussions and obtain a possible reward from the brand pages (Mutsvairo, 2016; Nzabandora, 2016; Patrick, 2016; Oprea, 2019).

According to Willie (2022, p. 30), the public response is shaped hatred and love characterised by acts of violence, human rights abuse, torture, kidnapping, and verbal insults. In addition, the public response on social media is motivated by dissatisfaction, intolerance, anger, hatred and wickedness against other fellow human beings (Willie, idem, p.37).

For (Barrach-Youseifi, 2018; Salome, 2018) SM is known to be the fruitful place for falsehood. In addition, (Nounkeu (2020) opined that Facebook and WhatsApp was awashed by dubious contents provided by the citizen journalist. Most often, the activists also spread rumours using texts, audio clips and distorted videos to manipulate the viewers' perception.

Mbayong (2017) explored the overall experience of Facebook users in the business school of the Catholic institute of Buea. This platform allow interaction with interconnected users who produce the content. This research used quantitative research method focused on young users of social media. The survey was also used to gathered data from young students even working people. Thus, 261 responded to the direct questionnaire at school while 236 did through Google but only the answer of the students was appropriate for this study. They were occasional users of Facebook that the age varies between 18 and 24 years. The result concluded that young students use social media for three purposes namely, usefulness and friendly, enjoyment and ease of use. The first revealed that most student use Facebook, to make new friend and to get useful information. The second equal to use this social networking sites to advertise, to do escapism and the use of Facebook is fun. Lastly, using Facebook is easy, no need of mental effort and this digital tool also facilitate learning process.

In another study, Lee & al. (2023) examined the usage of the ♯MyAnglophoneCrisisStory and ♯EndAnglophoneCrisis. Emphasising on the content analysis

methodology, they recorded 1604 tweets and analysis showed the following result: The ‘Story ‘category had four distinct themes: (1) Senseless Loss of Life: Shot and Killed; (2) The Disappeared: Lost and Kidnapped; (3) On the Move/Elusive Safety: Escape, Displacement; and (4) Prevention and Trauma, Mental Health, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. This viewed is similar to Lee and Nganji (2021) who found out 8 distinct theme which highlight the impact of the crisis on health determinants comprising: disregard from public authority to assure social determinants of wellbeing; education; loss of employment; expanded neediness; housing and homelessness; social rejection and abuse; women and gender inequalities and lastly; and the health services.

2.3 Language use in other crises across different context

According to Chiluwa (2016, p.37) language used in crises situations (LUCS) refers to online discourse by individuals who are either directly impacted by social crises or terrorist attacks including both those directly affected and those reacting to crises news. In other words, this implies that language plays a crucial role in shaping interactions, influences opinion and conveys ideologies. Regarding the Anglophone crisis for instance, both government and separatist groups have used emotionally charged narratives to mobilise support and reinforces group identity (*Us* versus *Them*) while delegitimising the opponent (Yonta, 2025). In addition, language in crises is never neutral and pivotal in such context. It reflects power struggles and ideological divisions. In the digital era, especially on social media as in the following crises.

The connection between language and and social media framing of security issues was examined by Eberechi and Chioma (2022).They specially focussed of Facebook frame and its impact on public attention as well as their perceptions. Using frame theory, they examined four Nigerians Facebook private publications related to security issues. Finally, the study unveiled that public response framing is influenced by fear, panic and uncertainty. Similarly, Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) use the same theoretical approach to examine the framing of January 2011 Egypt uprising by analysing the content provided by social media platforms and selected newspapers. Through a quantitative content analysis, the data were gathered from three sources including semi-official newspapers, independent newspapers and social media sites. Overall, the semi-official source of data frame other sources as conspirators, social media as a revolution for freedom and social justice while the independent newspapers were neutral.

Axel et al. (2014) investigated Twitter usage during the 2011 Arab Spring focussing on the participation of English and Arabic speakers in the events in Egypt and Libya. Through the analysis of millions of tweets containing hashtags: #Egypt and #Libya from January to

November 2011, the authors delve into the pattern of information dissemination and interaction among the speakers of English and Arabic. They unveiled the importance of considering language and cultural background while analysing socio-political movement in digital platforms.

Mohammed (2024) investigated the role of language in Israeli-Palestinian conflict (IPC) through the comparative study between United State of America media outlets Fox News and CNN and British BBC and The Guardian made use of Twitter to frame the escalation of violence in Gaza. The researcher stands to understand how ideologies influence Twitter reports regarding the crisis. Applying CDA and the Discourse Historical Approach precisely, the data comprised 176 tweets, which were qualitatively analysed. Overall, the study unveiled that the USA media outlets framed Palestinians as aggressors and Israel deeds as defensively justified. In other words, their framing of the event is remarkably pro-Israel while British media reports used a balance language by maintaining neutrality in crisis casualties.

Nada (2024) studied the statements from tweets and their online feedbacks about the Israel-Iran conflict. Using, language intergroup bias and the language category model to examine how language choice can affect intergroup perception and its influence on conflict dynamics on X. Furthermore, the 10 data were collected using the hashtag #IranIsraelconflict and qualitatively analysed. The findings highlight the use of concrete language in one hand and abstract language on the other hand. The first relies on fact while the second provides subjectivity and bolster negative bias.

Yulian and Surmarlam (2018) explored how language is used to express prejudice, stereotypes or racial bias targeting ethnic group in the Facebook group Info Cegatan Jogja. In other words, this paper investigates how racism is linguistically constructed in online forums. Using CDA and especially the three levels analysis namely macrostructure, superstructure and microstructure, they revealed that online discourse is prevalent with negative representations, dominance, language variation and the standardisation of stereotypes.

Julia et al. (2019) emphasised on the opinion and language used on Twitter in the Catalan independence movement. The data were gathered on Twitter between September and November 2017, period that correspond to the celebration of a referendum on independence contested by the Spanish government. They revealed three distinctive ideologies with a similarity in using language between the main stakeholders. For instance, pro- Catalan movement made more use of disparaging Spanish and Catalan languages as well as pro- Spanish

government while the last ideology or centrist group moderates their view aligning closer to pro- Catalan independence.

Mafu (2024) analyse the extent of the hate speech in the Ethiopian Civil War of 2021 to 2022 also known as Tigray/ Addis Ababa conflict framing on some social media platforms comprising Facebook and Twitter. Three theories hinged the study: discourse analysis, hermeneutic analysis and articulation theory in order to evaluate the meanings and impacts of the publications on the strategy of Ethiopian government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The paper concluded that conflict actors used hate speech to describe their opponents, justify their political positions as well as military deeds.

Chiluwa (2012) investigated the *Biafra separatist movement* based in the South-East of Nigeria. Using the sociolinguistics CDA approach, he examined some blogs and discussion forums ruled by the by the *Biafra* Online Campaign Groups (BOCG). He found that, the discourse of the BOCG advocates clearly undertakes the dichotomy positive self-presentation and negative other representation. In other words, they positively depict themselves (*US*) and negatively depict the Nigerian government (*Them*).

Ahmad (2018) examined User's generated comments on Biafra agitation and Arewa youth's ultimatum to Igbo residents in Northern Nigeria. Relying on CDA, three popular news media on Facebook were purposely selected for this study regarding the coverage of the previously mentioned crises. The public response was categorised in three different categories such as offensive, hateful and inciting online feedbacks. All in all, the data consists of 786 comments revealed the polarisation of comments by derogatory online feedback that can harm national integrity.

Chiluwa and Adegoke (2013) investigated the use of speech act on Twitter online feedbacks related to the *Boko Haram uprising* in Nigeria. They emphasised on the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Their study reveals a variety of pragmatic acts including condemnation, justification, accusation, solidarity and resistance.

The *Kaduna Post-Electoral Crisis* and *Aluu Killings* were examined by Ajiboye (2013). Using the socio-cognitive approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study gathered 201 reader comments from ten Nigerians online news websites. The study aims to analyse the ideological strategies used in digital platforms and their possible impact on reader's opinions and ideological perspectives. The study unveiled that; the online public response is shaped by actor description and polarisation, evidentiality, generalisation and lexicalisation, which significantly influence news framing.

In another study, Chiluwa (2015) critically studied the Occupy Nigeria fuel subsidy removal protest on Facebook including personal profile, social activists and some civil right groups using CDA framework. The data that consists of 245 posts were qualitatively analysed with a focus on content and meaning. Furthermore, the study found out that Nigerians have put to use the virtual space provided by social media networks to carry out and mobilized online protests. It also revealed the multicultural linguistics forms such as code-switching, neologism and some forms of local pidgin as well as some aspect of internet linguistics. Similarly, Akpati (2025) examined how linguistic features regarding fuel protest communicate ideologies. The data source include YouTube video clips captured in three major Nigerian cities in which the protester's speeches were purposely transcribed and analysed under the framework of Van Dijk ideological square. In other words, the study reveals the ideological differences between the protesters on one hand and the Nigerian government on the other hand underlining the good deeds of protesters as well as the bad deeds of the government to the public.

The pragma-semiotic framework was used by Igwebuike et al. (2014) to investigate the Occupy Nigeria fuel subsidy removal on social network sites. An emphasis was laid on both the verbal and visual modes representation of people as well as their actions. Finally, the study discovered different visuals and strategies including prayer, negative labelling, humour, mockery, abuse, passionate and fierce appeal used by protesters in their online narratives.

Another study by Egbunike (2015) adopted framing theory to investigate the coverage of Occupy Nigeria fuel subsidy removal in newspapers, Facebook, Blog post and Twitter. The study relied on three framing actions namely motivation, diagnosis and prognosis. The findings unveiled that motivation diagnosis, prognosis and narration of the protest were better framed by newspapers than digital platforms.

Akpati et al. (2024) conducted a study on fuel subsisdy removal protester's linguistics choices based on 20 comments gathered from Nairaland forum. The data for the study were analysed using critical stylististics, systemic functional grammar and functionalist approach. They revealed the commenters'perspectives on president's Bola Ahmed Tinubu decision of the 29th May 2023. In this regard, they express support, approval, disapproval and satifaction towards the government policy.

Chiluwa and Ajiboye (2016) used Critical Discourse Analysis and the Appraise Framework to examine the online feedbacks regarding the *Navy Yard in Washington D.C* and the *Attack of the Nairobi Westgate Shopping Mall* of September 2013. The study aimed at unveiling ideological strategies in used in 1000 online feedbacks related to the crises. The

qualitative description of the data revealed that in online networks, the language is highly ideological and this is strengthening by the use of flaming, labelling and some forms of rhetoric such as exaggeration, metaphor and irony.

James (2024) examined the dynamic role of language on social media during the Covid-19 pandemic on Facebook. The findings discovered that language was a particular medium for facilitating real-time updates as well as vehicle of information dissemination. The study also emphasises on the new form of languages peculiar to social media such as neologism, metaphoric frames, multilingual use and digital rhetoric. Similarly, Muneera (2022) emphasised on the impact of social media used during pandemic crisis on learning English language. He admits that social are significantly positive in writing style, reading skills, listening and lexical variation, communication skills and grammar usage. Furthermore, Nkemleke (2020) argued that it enhanced students writing skills as well as widening their academic horizons.

In another study, Rutechura (2018) make a critical outlook to the news posted by the European Union condemning the rise of political violence in Tanzania on the online platform *Jamii Forums* in order to perceive how individuals to express their opinion use language and revealed the following: negative labelling, rhetorical question, political allusion, metaphors and curses

2.4 The originality of this study

Prior researchers assessed the complex linguistic ecology of Cameroon as well as CamE at large. Others on the other hand, emphasised on the current socio-political crisis from several perspectives. For instance, the Anglophone crisis has been looked at educational perspective (Akame, 2021), geopolitical (Ekah, 2019), complex disaster emergency (Bang & Balgah (2022), medical perspective by (Lee and Nganji, 2021; Fonkwo et al. 2023) (2021), socioeconomic (Nembot, 2023), ethnonational (Njie, 2019), the humanitarian challenges (Tientcheu, 2023) and in the linguistics creativity (Afuhtendem, 2021; Nkwain, 2022; Willie, 2020a & 2022). However, this research emphasises on social media role in shaping public response on the Anglophone crisis. It aims to unveil power dynamics, ideology, and the analysis of narratives constructed and perpetuated through online public response on MMI Facebook page. The current study contributes to understand the dynamic of English language in socio-political context.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the set of theoretical concepts that provide a foundation for the understanding and the analysing of the media events. This is about the Media Event theory

and the Critical Discourse Analysis. In addition, based on existent knowledge on this field, we found that public response on Facebook is motivated by some parameters that led the users to choose their kind of language to respond the events. The upcoming chapter will highlight us about how we intend to fulfil this study on the current Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and approaches that guided the exploration of the textual features of media discourse events regarding public response on Facebook. This chapter explains the method used to achieve the goal of this research. It presents the research design, the context of study, data source and scope, the corpus, the description of research instrument, data collection and analysis procedure and the ethical consideration.

3.1 Research design

Creswell (2014) points that research design enables the researcher in the collection, analysis and the interpretation of the data from his study. A qualitative research approach based on critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used in this study to investigate the English-speaking public's responses to posts MMI Facebook page regarding the Anglophone crisis. Creswell (2009) distinguishes three main types, but only the qualitative method is highlighted in this study. It enables to investigate and comprehend the importance, people or gatherings credit to social or human issue. It was used to deeply understand the online feedbacks provided by users of MMI Facebook page. This methodology enabled a thorough examination of how Facebook users interacted with narratives by dissenting, supporting state discourse, or expressing their viewpoints through comments. Bhattacherjee (2012) described the research design categories including case study research. Through Anglophone crisis, we can make an "in-depth investigation of a problem in real-life setting" which in this study refers to social media platform namely Facebook (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p.40).

3.2 Context of the study

The data environment was characterised by exchange and reaction to stimulus posted by MMI on the Anglophone crisis between October 2023 and November 2024. The response to this topic was not restricted to any specific category of Facebook users. In this case, level of education, age, sex and other sociolinguistic variables were not binding in the conversation. Anyone capable of making meaning from whatever was posted reacted in a democratic spirit both from an ideological and linguistic point of view. This renders the ecology tide and versatile. In such situation of language, language use tends to adopt a different characteristic. In current day discourse, this is referred to content creator. It is supposed that the quality of comments or the intensity of reaction to one's page attract income from the industry.

As violence and political tensions grew in the English-speaking North-West and South-West regions, Facebook became an important platform for people to voice their opinions, share

experiences, and react to current events. One of the most significant platforms in this situation is MMI Facebook page. These posts reach a large audience both inside Cameroon and among those living abroad. The comment sections have turned into lively spaces for interaction where users mainly communicate in English. They use a mix of formal and informal language, often filled with strong emotions. Their comments include support, criticism, sarcasm, and outright condemnation of government actions and military operations. These responses highlight how English is used online during a crisis and reveal the rise of an engaged public that can shape online conversations and influence public opinion. This study aims to explore how language serves as a means for political expression, building identity, and social resistance in Cameroon's digital media landscape.

3.3 The corpus

The corpus of this study is drawn from the Mimi Mefo Info Facebook page, which currently commands approximately 726,000 subscribers. This page was selected for several converging reasons. Mimi Mefo gained significant public and international attention in 2018 following her arrest and the viral hashtag #FreeMimiMefo. As Ambe (2021) observes, the page is distinguished by its commitment to factual reporting on societal issues without overtly foregrounding personal opinions, while Pelican et al. (2022) on the other hand, recognise MMI as one of the most widely followed and reliable sources of news on the Anglophone crisis.

The corpus is organised around ten media events directly related to the Anglophone crisis, selected from the period October 2023 to November 2024 a phase characterised by the continuation of armed hostilities, persistent humanitarian deterioration, the ongoing failure of dialogue initiatives and intensified digital mobilisation by both Anglophone separatist advocates and pro-government advocates. From each media event, 30 comments were selected from the comment sections of the relevant posts, yielding a total corpus of 300 comments collected as picturess using a convenience sampling technique that prioritises easily accessible and contextually relevant data (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Selection was guided by relevance to the tone, argumentative structure, and ideological stance of each post. The pictures were subsequently organised into two categories reflecting Van Dijk's (2006) ideological square: positive and negative presentation of the government and positive and negative presentation of separatist advocates enabling a systematic comparative analysis of how competing ideological representations of the crisis are discursively constructed across the corpus.

3.4 Data source

The data used in this research originated from Memi Mefo Info Facebook page. The page regularly shared updates concerning national events, particularly the Anglophone crisis. These posts, predominantly in English garnered significant engagement in the form of reactions, shares, and comments from the general public, both within and beyond Cameroon. The comments section beneath these posts emerged as a valuable arena for linguistic and ideological exchanges. Public responses were spontaneously articulated in English, showcasing a variety of digital communication elements such as the mixture of both formal and informal writing. Netizens used this platform not only to react but also to express disagreement, approval, or discontent regarding the crisis management. The diversity of perspectives reflected a wide range of ideological stances and linguistic innovations in social media discourse. This setting facilitated the collection of data that illustrated how Cameroonians interacted with crisis-related discussions on Facebook. It also shed light on how language was employed to foster unity, challenge authority, or navigate national identity amid socio-political tensions. In this respect, MMI post on the Anglophone crisis was selected to preserve the validity and quality, trustworthiness, rigor, and credibility (Creswell, 2009).

3.5 Approach to data collection

In order to investigate ideological and discursive patterns in Facebook interactions relating to the Anglophone crisis, the research instruments in this study combined data collection tools with analytical frameworks. A picture-based corpus, a Qualitative Critical Content Cnalysis (QCCA) grid, and an analytical protocol based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were the primary instruments. 300 (three hundred) pictures were manually captured from the Facebook page of MMI, over a selected time frame marked by heightened public engagement with the Anglophone crisis namely October 2023 and November 2024. Pictures were chosen because they allowed the researcher to keep the original layout, emojis, reactions (likes, angry, sad, etc.) even if our concern was solely on the text embedded in the comments. This guaranteed the authenticity and contextual integrity of social media discourse, which is frequently in flux and susceptible to deletion or modification. A Qualitative Critical Content Analysis grid was created with the help of Short (2012) who emphasized the need for flexible, interpretative coding to uncover inequity and power within dominant societal ideologies. The data was organized into categories based on ideological strategies and ideological positioning.

Van Dijk (1998, 2001) socio-cognitive framework most directly informs the analytical architecture of this study. Unlike approaches that operate exclusively at the level of textual structure or social context, Van Dijk's framework introduces cognition as an indispensable mediating level between discourse and society. He further argues that the relationship between macro-level social structures, power relations, historical formations and micro-level textual production cannot be adequately theorised without recourse to the socially shared cognitive representations he designates as social cognitions. These encompass ideologies, attitudes, norms, values, and knowledge structures that are collectively held by social groups, and that systematically shape both the production and the reproduction as well as the interpretation of discourse. Furthermore, he propounded the ideological square, which emphasis the polarization of group representations by putting more emphasis on our good actions and their bad actions and less on our good actions and their bad actions. This helped to uncover power asymmetries, and bias in both institutional discourse MMI and user-generated content. The analysis grid also made the 25 ideological strategies of Van Dijk operational. The linguistic and rhetorical devices utilized in the posts and responses were systematically analysed using these strategies, which included lexicalization, actor description, number game, hyperbole, euphemism, presupposition, and disclaimer. This helped reveal the underlying ideological stances, particularly in terms of how MMI Facebook page framed the Anglophone crisis and how the public interpreted or contested it in the comment sections. Each pictures was thus analysed using this instrument to identify discursive patterns, evaluate ideological positioning, and interpret public reactions within the broader socio-political context of the Anglophone crisis as well as Cameroon at large. This multi-dimensional approach ensured a rigorous, transparent, and replicable method of analysis, appropriate for a qualitative critical discourse study situated within a digital media environment.

3.6 Data collection procedures

The data were collected primarily through pictures taken from MMI's Facebook page, often used by Cameroonian citizens to express their views on socio-political events, including the Anglophone crisis. The need to capture the visual and interactive nature of social media content drove the decision to use pictures. This is explained by the fact that Facebook comments, posts, and responses can be edited or erased, pictures provided a fixed, unchanging record of the conversation at the time of capture, ensuring the dataset's authenticity and reliability. Over a predetermined period, 300 (three hundred) pictures were systematically collected. These pictures included original MMI posts related to the Anglophone crisis and the

public comment sections beneath them. Posts that received a lot of engagement including likes, shares, and comments were given special consideration indicating active public participation. The primary research instrument was these pictures, which were analysed using a Qualitative Critical Content Analysis method. This involved identifying ideological strategies as theorized by van Dijk (2006) and analysing how ideological positioning was shaped through textual element within comment interactions.

The ideological square served as a guiding framework for interpreting patterns of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The pictures were collected from the Anglophone crisis. They were coded using the following criteria such as tone supportive, abrasive, or ironic and expository writing technique such as argument and rhetorical questions. Comment framing for example victimhood, resistance, and assigning blame are robust research instrument that enabled a multi-layered analysis of how public discourse on Facebook both reflected and reproduced ideological stances related to the Anglophone crisis formed by the pictures and the CDA tools including ideological strategies and ideological square. Worthy of note, both computer and a smartphone played a key role in this study. The computer was mainly used for organising and printing with Microsoft Word 2019 chosen for its advanced features and Microsoft Publisher used to edit and combined Facebook pictures. These devices facilitated research collaboration and access to information beyond geographical boundaries thanks to impact of globalisation.

3.7 Data analysis procedures

This study used a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a qualitative critical content analysis (QCCA) framework to analyse the data. The data was meticulously organized and subjected to systematic coding and interpretation after collecting 300 (three hundred) pictures from the MMI Facebook page including public reactions. Pictures were manually sorted and categorized based on their thematic connection to the Anglophone Crisis in the first step. The pictures were categorized as political conflict, human rights, efforts to make peace and complaints from citizens. After that, we used open coding to find recurring discourse patterns and important characteristics in user comments and institutional framing. The analysis was guided by Van Dijk's (2006) framework of 25 ideological strategies, including strategies such as actor description, lexicalization, implication, presupposition, and hyperbole to name a few. These strategies were used to uncover how language users framed ideologies and positioned themselves in relation to the crisis.

The analysis method employed was Qualitative Critical Content Analysis (QCCA), which delved deeper than mere identification of surface-level themes to scrutinise how discourse conveyed underlying ideologies and power dynamics. Through this analytical framework, the study scrutinized how users interpreted information, reacted emotionally, and positioned themselves ideologically in reaction to the Facebook portrayal of the conflict. In addition, the data was treated following descriptive, analytical and interpretative research method, which examines events as they are emphasising the content and the meaning embedded in the feedback comments relevant to the current media event. Van Dijk's (1993) discourse-cognitive interface was especially relevant, emphasizing how social cognition, such as beliefs, mental models, and group identities, influenced users' linguistic choices when engaging with politically charged posts. In sum, the Qualitative Critical Content Analysis effectively displayed how ordinary users leveraged English to navigate, contest, or reinforce ideological messages, transforming comment sections into dynamic arenas of discourse confrontation within the context of the Anglophone crisis.

Additionally, the ideological square (Van Dijk, 1998) was employed to analyse the representation of in-groups and out-groups. This framework made it easier to understand how social actors portrayed the opposing group in a negative light while promoting their own group, like the government or Anglophone protesters. The interpretive lens was shaped by three coding criteria including emotional stance sympathetic, accusatory, sarcastic is evaluated by tone. Comment framing comprising identifying ideological patterns like nationalism, resistance, or victimization to name a few. Patterns of ideological polarization and public positioning were identified through iterative readings and triangulation of discursive elements, enabling the study to draw conclusions regarding the role of Facebook discourse in framing the Anglophone crisis. To better understand public reactions to the Anglophone on Facebook, this study focusses on opposing responses, which serve as the main data. Most comments, captured through pictures are in English enabling analysis of linguistics creativity and how online exchanges affect English language structure. As Crystal (2001) noted the internet enriches languages rather than harming it. Similarly, Taglimonte and Denis (2008) see internet language as a hybrid mix of formal and informal forms.

3.8 Ethical consideration

This study adhered to stringent ethical considerations. The data were obtained from MMI's Facebook page. User's identities including their name and profile picture were

anonymised to protect their privacy and ensure confidentiality. In line with qualitative research ethics, the pictures used were solely for academic purposes, avoiding any misrepresentation or manipulation of content. Mindful the principle of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), attention was paid to interpret comments with respect and objectivity without personal bias. However, the main difficulties encountered was collecting data from old publications related to the Anglophone crisis on Memi Mefo Info page, which required a systematic search.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methods that were applied during in the collection of data and its analysis. This study is elementary interpretive and it sought out to obtain qualitative data. However, this chapter explained the steps that we used to gather obtain and make sense of the available raw data. Previously, its main stages like the research design and population, the sample were also explained, as well as the procedures for data collection and analysis. Finally, the chapter outlined the ethics consideration that guide this study. Chapter 4 presents and analyses the data that were collected regarding the linguistics characteristics feature of public response on Facebook events on the Anglophone Crisis.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION

4.0. Introduction

Social media and the English language reshaped how society perceives media events as well as the advocacy. This chapter presents the analysis of public responses to the Anglophone crisis on the Mimi Mefo Info Facebook page. The analysis is done under Qualitative Critical Content Analysis framework (QCCA). It combines insights from Critical Discourse Analysis including ideological square, socio-cognitive approach and Van Dijk (2006) 25 ideological strategies. The analysis hinges on the argument that public responses in English language are ideologically oriented by users to construct, justify, legitimise and sustain dissent. The chapter is divided in two main parts. On one hand, we have public response aligning government view while on the other hand we have separatist advocate's ideology.

4.1 Analysis of the government public responses

The following thirteen features are drawn from Facebook responses that align with the government's position of national unity, stability, and territorial integrity. In Van Dijk's terms, this camp constructs itself through institutional legitimacy, military professionalism, and democratic belonging, while constructing the separatist out-group as criminal, irrational and ontologically illegitimate.

4.1.1 Actor description

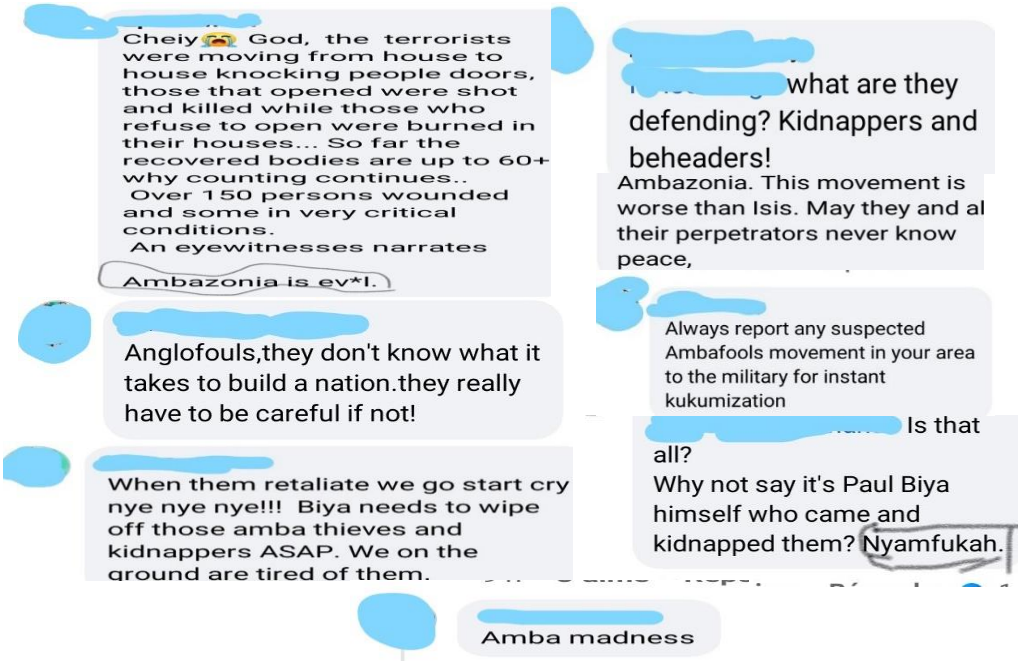


Figure 1: *Pro-government actor description*

The image above depicts the outgroup members namely the separatist movement in a negative way. Actor description in the pro-government corpus functions exclusively as Negative Other-Presentation. The out-group is constructed as morally bankrupt, cognitively defective and criminally dangerous, while the government's own actors are implicitly valorised by contrast a characteristic of NOP as the primary and self-sufficient discursive move under Van Dijk.

Excerpt n°1

"Anglofouls, they don't know what it takes to build a nation"

This functions simultaneously as identity renegation and cognitive disqualification. The neologism ***"Anglofouls"*** (fusing "Anglophone" with "***foul***") performs NOP at the morphological level: the group's own identity label is permanently corrupted, associating their name with moral and intellectual defilement. Under Van Dijk, this morphological contamination means the out-group cannot refer to itself without carrying the in-group's condemnation within their own name. The predicative complement ***"they don't know what it takes to build a nation"*** enacts cognitive disqualification: it strips them of political maturity, constructive vision and rational capacity, disqualifying their cause before it can be examined on its merits. This also de-emphasises the out-group's positive properties: any tradition of governance or institutional capacity they might claim is silenced by this sweeping cognitive indictment.

Excerpt n°2

"What are they defending? Kidnappers and beheaders!"

This loaded interrogative poses the appearance of open reasoning while the exclamative declaration forecloses it. The rhetorical question form creates the impression of impartial enquiry, but the answer is already embedded in the discourse. Linguistically, the entire political project is reduced to criminal acts through NOP via criminal recategorisation: the out-group is classified as common criminals, stripping them of any political legitimacy. The sequential structure question then exclamative answer mimics rational enquiry while delivering a pre-determined verdict, which is ideologically more persuasive than a direct accusation because it appears to invite the listener's own conclusion on the group identification.

Excerpt n°3

"This movement worse than ISIS"

This hyperbolic intertextual escalation imports the globally recognised frame of maximum terrorist threat and surpasses it. The comparative structure ***"worse than"*** does not

merely equate the separatists with ISIS but grammatically places them above it on the scale of evil. Under Van Dijk, this is maximisation of the out-group's negative properties at the absolute extreme of the scale. It also enacts a transfer of stigma: just as there is global consensus that ISIS cannot be negotiated with, the same logic is implicitly extended to the separatists. Any political engagement with their cause is pre-emptively delegitimised. The statement contains no PSR of the in-group: the government's identity is constructed entirely through the condemnation of the other, characteristic of NOP as the sufficient discursive move.

4.1.2 Authority/argumentation

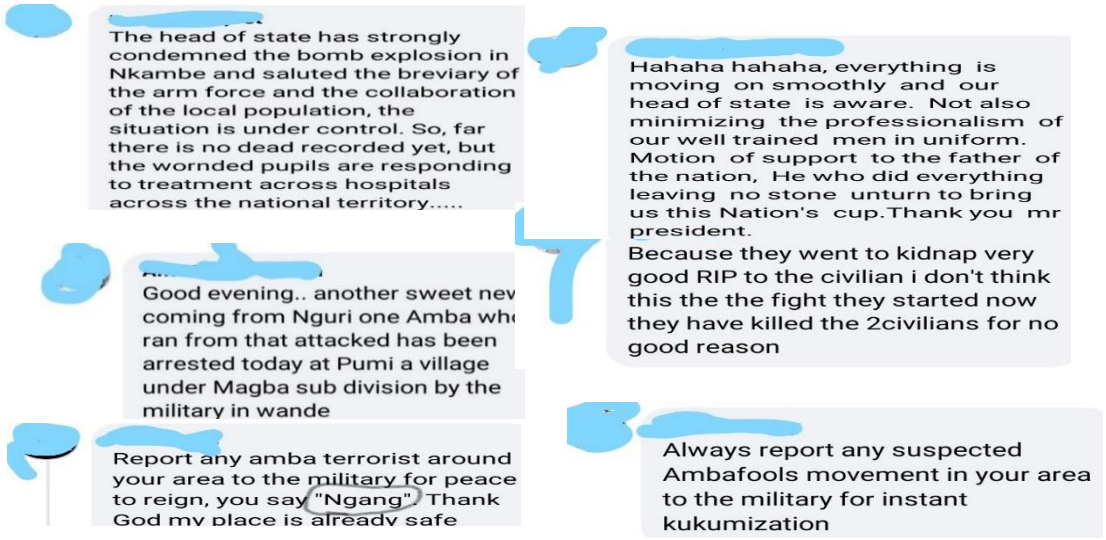


Figure 2: pro-government argumentation

Authority and argumentation ground ideological claims in the speech of recognised superiors, transforming personal opinion into institutional doctrine. In the pro-government corpus, this strategy functions as Positive Self-Representation by aligning the commenter with presidential authority, and simultaneously as NOP by implying that any opposition to this authority is illegitimate.

Excerpt n°4

"The head of state has strongly condemned the bomb explosion in Nkambe and saluted the bravery of the armed forces and the collaboration of the local population, the situation is under control"

This performs multiple ideological functions simultaneously. First of all, **"Strongly condemned"** signals decisive moral engagement; ***"saluted the bravery of the armed forces"*** attributes heroic qualities to the military; ***"collaboration of the local population"*** constructs organic national solidarity. Most powerfully, the present-tense declarative ***"the situation is under control"*** performs

institutional competence as a grammatical fact not a promise but a stated reality. Under Van Dijk, this is PSR through epistemic authority citation: the President is the source, and his words carry the weight of sovereign doctrine. The civilian-military-population triad simultaneously de-emphasises any narrative of coercive governance: all three sectors of society are voluntarily coordinating, presupposing a unified nation behind the government's strategy.

Excerpt n°5

"Everything is moving on smoothly and our head of state is aware. Not also minimising the professionalism of our well-trained men in uniform. Motion of support to the father of the nation, he who did everything leaving no stone unturn to bring up this nation's cup"

Three overlapping PSR frames operate. First, omniscience attribution: the Head of State is personally overseeing ***"aware"*** all operations and missing nothing. Second, professional martial excellence: ***"well-trained"*** and ***"professional"*** constructs soldiers as law-governed, disciplined actors, de-emphasising any narrative of military abuse. Third, the paternal leadership metaphor: ***"father of the nation"*** invokes the family as the model of political authority, making governance feel like nurture rather than power. PSR through multi-domain in-group valorisation constructs the government as simultaneously effective, lawful, militarily excellent and led by a devoted, exhaustive figure. ***"Leaving no stone unturn"*** attributes total dedication, making any failure appear as the result of the out-group's resistance rather than governmental inadequacy.

Excerpt n°6

"Always report any suspected Ambafool movement in your area to the military for instant kumkumisation"; "Report any amba terrorist around your area to the military for peace to reign"

These messages simultaneously enact PSR and NOP. The imperative ***"always report"*** constructs citizens as active, voluntary partners of the state PSR through civilian-military solidarity. The neologism ***"kumkumisation"*** is a euphemistic nominalisation of violence: converting physical elimination into a bureaucratic-sounding process through the suffix ***-isation***. This de-emphasis negative agency through lexical euphemism as the call to violence is softened by the invented term, insulating the speaker from explicit moral responsibility. The NOP dimension labels the out-group as ***"Ambafool"*** and ***"amba terrorist"*** constructing them as so threatening that their elimination is not merely justified but a civic duty.

4.1.3 Categorisation

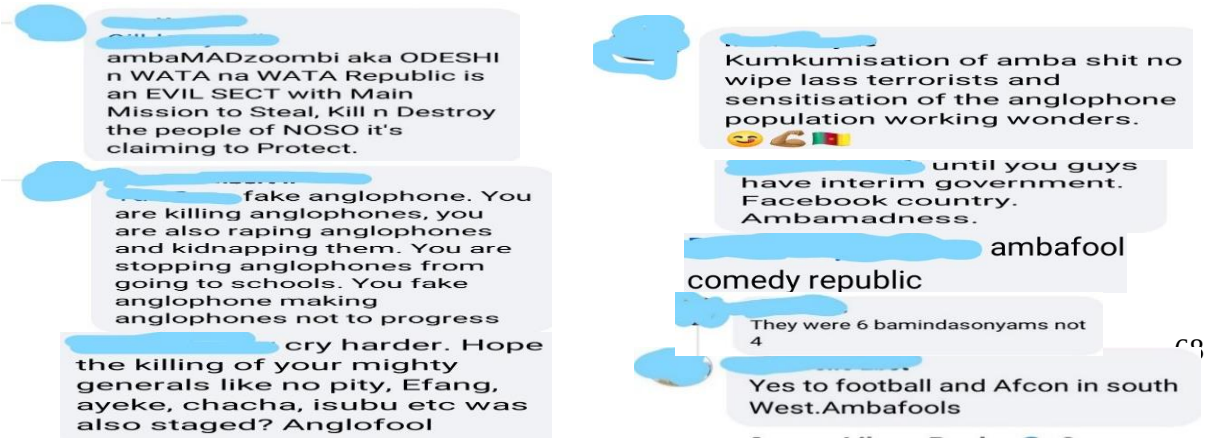


Figure 3: pro-government categorisation

Categorisation in the pro-government corpus performs taxonomic degradation under Van Dijk: assigning the out-group to categories that deny them political, moral and rational standing as illustrated bellow under NOP:

Excerpt n°7

"ambaMadzombie aka ODESHI n wata na WATA is an EVIL SECT with Main Mission to Steal, Kill n Destroy the people of NOSO it's claiming to protect"

The negative labelling ***"EVIL SECT"*** borrows from religious discourse to categorise the movement not as a political actor but as a cult governed by malevolence. The capitalisation graphologically enacts moral outrage. The mission statement ***"to Steal, Kill n Destroy"*** mirrors scriptural language constructing the out-group as diabolically motivated. The negative connotations of religious-criminal evil are transferred onto a political actor. Most decisively, the statement performs purposive reversal: the separatists claim to protect the NOSO people but in reality they destroy them. This rhetorical reversal condemned the out-group by the logic of its own stated purpose among the most effective NOP devices.

Excerpt n°8

"Facebook Country; Ambafool Comedy republic"

This highlight spatial and institutional delegitimisation. By confining the separatist state to Facebook, this categorisation denies it territorial reality: a state existing only on social media without no land, army, governance or sovereignty at large. Under Van Dijk, the out-group's very existence as a political entity is denied, not merely criticised. ***"Comedy republic"*** performs genre demotion: classifying a serious political claim in the lowest register of cultural production. The two labels work together a Facebook comedy republic is not merely illegitimate but non-existent rather reducing the entire separatist project to digital performance for an imaginary audience.

Excerpt n°9

"fake Anglophone. You are killing Anglophones, you are also raping Anglophones and kidnapping them. You are stopping Anglophones from going to schools. You fake Anglophones making Anglophones not to progress"

The second-person direct address ***"you"*** is rhetorically aggressive, eliminating narrative distance. The anaphoric repetition of ***"Anglophones"*** as both the speaker's community and the alleged victim performs an internal identity contradiction: the separatists claim to defend Anglophones while destroying them. Under Van Dijk, this is particularly effective NOP because it uses the out-group's own claimed identity as the instrument of their delegitimisation. The enumeration covers the socio-economic dimension ***"blocking schools, not to progress"*** and the physical and moral dimension ***"killing, raping, kidnapping"*** simultaneously, maximising the perceived scope and comprehensiveness of harm. The

label *"fake Anglophone"* attacks the out-group's sociological belonging, denying them authentic membership in the identity they invoke as their justification.

4.1.4. Evidentiality

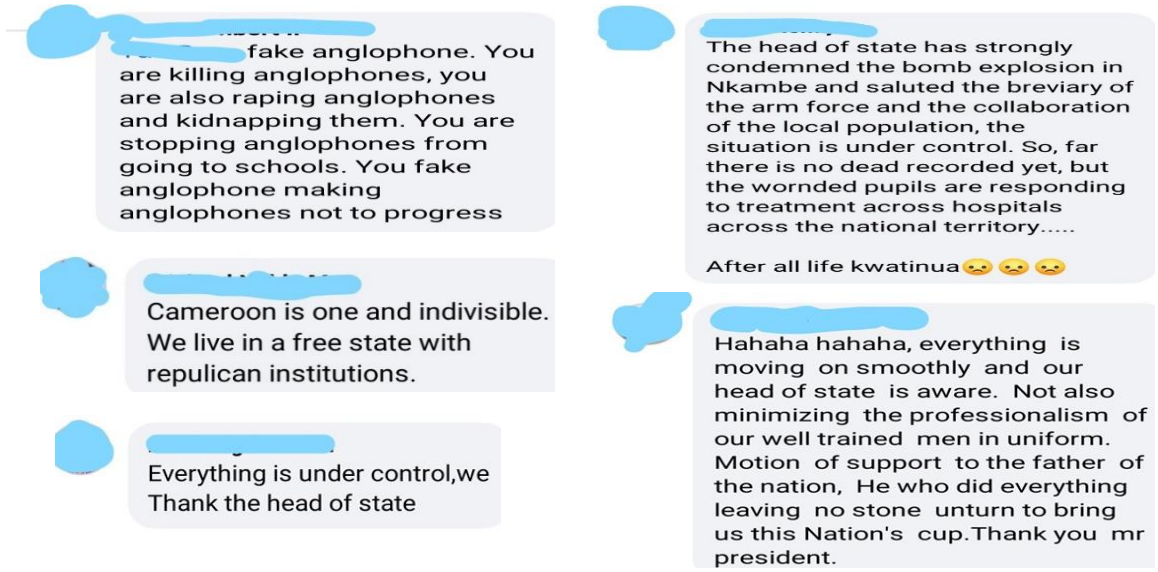


Figure 4: pro-government evidentiality

Evidentiality in the pro-government corpus functions primarily as PSR through credibility construction, anchoring ideological claims in authoritative institutional sources. It also functions as NOP through documented accusation, presenting the out-group's alleged crimes as verified observable realities.

Excerpt n°10

"Cameroon is one and indivisible"

This declarative evidentiality operates at the highest constitutional level. By invoking the Head of State's exact words, the commenter cites state doctrine rather than personal opinion, performing institutional anchoring. PSR through alignment with sovereign authority whose utterances carry the weight of constitutional law. The reiteration across two presidential speeches (2017 and 2024) transforms it from a reactive statement into a standing and durable institutional truth. The NOP dimension is implicit but decisive: if Cameroon is constitutionally indivisible by sovereign declaration, the separatist premise is not merely politically wrong but legally void the government's own founding text serves as the instrument of the out-group's delegitimisation.

Excerpt n°11

"Everything is under control, we Thank the head of state"

The capitalised ***"Thank"*** is a performative speech act of gratitude that presupposes the government's effective management: one does not thank for failure. PSR through presupposition embeds the ideological claim within the grammatical structure of a gratitude expression, presenting effective governance as a shared, pre-established truth that requires no argument. This simultaneously reinforces authority, projects a unified national image under a benevolent ruler and enacts the de-

emphasis of one's own negative properties. Contrastively, any evidence of dysfunction is crowded out by the public expression of gratitude for what is constructed as obviously successful management.

Excerpt n°12

"fake Anglophone. You are killing Anglophones; you are also raping them. You are stopping Anglophones from going to schools. You fake Anglophone making Anglophones not to progress"

The enumeration of acts performs the function of an eyewitness report, lending the accusations the register of documented and observed fact. Each clause adds a new category of harm to an accumulating accusation thus creating the impression of comprehensive and multi-domain evidence. This is negative evidentiality present the outgroup's crimes not as opinion or inference but as verified and observable realities. The socio-economic dimension ***"blocking schools, not to progress"*** combined with the physical and moral dimension ***"killing, raping, kidnapping"*** suggests a comprehensive evidence base. The label "***fake Anglophone"*** further questions the out-group's sociological belonging, turning the evidence of harm into a simultaneous denial of the outgroup's authentic identity.

4.1.5 Generalisation

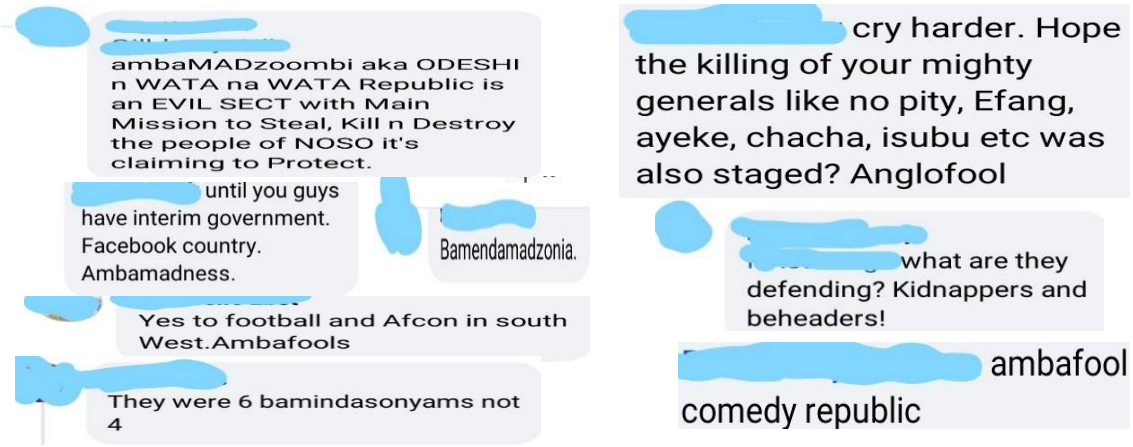


Figure 5: pro-government generalisation

Generalisation in the pro-government corpus functions exclusively as NOP, enacting Van Dijk's strategy of collective guilt attribution. The entire movement is judged by the alleged crimes of some members a deliberate violation of the logical principle of individuation. This single entry constitutes the most concentrated generalisation in the corpus; it is reproduced in full with reinforced analysis.

Excerpt n°13

"ambaMadzombie, Ambamadness, Bamendamadzonia, Bamindasonyams, ambafool, Anglofool, Kidnappers and beheaders"

This lexical catalogue is not merely a list of insults but a systematic ideological discursive operation. Group names ***"Amba-, Anglo-, Bamenda-"*** are fused with negative morphemes ***"-zombie, -madness, -fool"***, transforming identity labels into diagnostic verdicts applicable to every member

without exception. The serial accumulation without conjunctions or qualification performs what Van Dijk calls sedimentation. In other words, the repeated association of the group's name with degrading terms solidifies into an apparently natural truth. The out-group cannot refer to itself without carrying the in-group's condemnation within their own name morphological contamination as a permanent NOP device.

The social consequence is effective as in ***"kidnappers and beheaders"***. These words constitute a new anti-separatist language reflecting clear disapproval and rejection of separatist ideas. The asymmetry is ideologically decisive: no government military action is generalised to condemn all Cameroonians, while every act of separatist violence is attributed to the movement as a whole. This double standard or rigorous individuation for the in-group, collective condemnation for the out-group is the ideological core of generalisation under Van Dijk.

4.1.6 Hyperbole

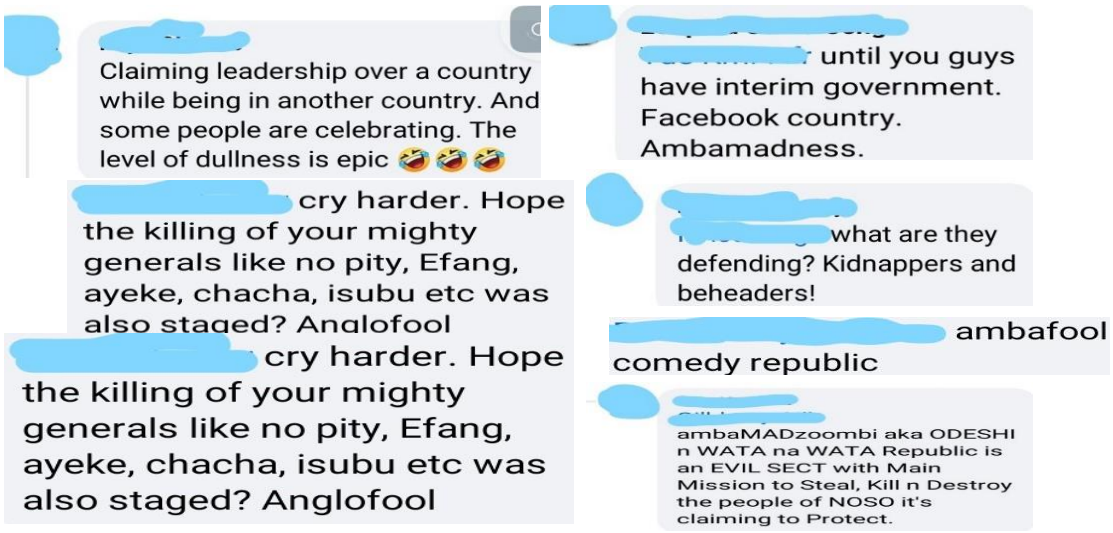


Figure 6: pro-government exaggeration

Hyperbole in the pro-government corpus maximises the out-group's alleged defects through semantic escalation. Under Van Dijk, the in-group's implicit institutional restraint is valorised by contrast a structural PSR through the very absence of hyperbole on the in-group's side.

Excerpt n°14

"Anglophones are really enjoying at the hands of these their liberators"

Hyperbolic irony in reverse: ***"enjoying"*** describes suffering; ***"liberators"*** names oppressors. The phrase ***"their liberators"*** refers to those leading the struggle for independence and autonomy. The exaggeration maximises the negative gap between the out-group's rhetoric (liberation) and its real-world consequences (hardship and suffering). Under Van Dijk, this is NOP through purposive reversal via ironic hyperbole: the out-group's most valued self-description is turned into the strongest evidence against them. It also de-emphasises any genuine

suffering attributable to the government by redirecting the source of Anglophone suffering entirely toward the separatist leadership.

Excerpt n°15

"Just as Generat Ako has been lamenting in agony and regrets for 1 year" and "cry harder"

The hyperbolic description of a separatist leader as ***"lamenting in agony and regrets"*** magnifies suffering to theatrical extremity and then mocks it with the provocation ***"cry harder".*** This is NOP through emotional humiliation: the out-group's pain is not only denied as legitimate but turned into spectacle. The instruction ***"cry harder"*** constructs a clear ***Us*** versus ***Them*** narrative in which the adversary's complaints are treated as self-pity rather than genuine grievance. This fosters and justifies extremist reactions against the out-group by constructing their suffering as self-inflicted and theatrical rather than real and political.

Excerpt n°16

"And big number Effang who is manure in the bushes of Batibo?"

The degradation metaphor ***"manure in the bushes"*** reduces a named separatist leader to decomposing organic matter, hidden in the periphery, worthless and invisible. Three layers of hyperbolic NOP operate simultaneously: ontological reduced to non-human organic waste, spatial "***the bushes of Batibo"*** connote the invisible margin, the wilderness beyond social relevance), and temporal ***"manure"*** decomposes the person is already in irreversible decline. The rhetorical question implies that his irrelevance is so obvious it barely needs stating. This is the ceiling of individual NOP: not merely a political failure but an organic non-entity composting in the margins.

Exaggeration is the use of one or more excessive or derogative terms to describe the opposite camp while milder terms for our side. In other words, it makes it possible to increase the meaning of words as illustrated by the following examples: *"Claiming the leadership over a country while being in another country. And some people are celebrating. The level of dullness is epic"* which shows disappointment and confusion about the Anglophone interim board members who are abroad yet claim to care about their people's issues. This comment clearly criticises the disconnection between the leader and their people and consequently, it challenges their view of the event taking place on daily basis. It further denigrate those involved. Similarly, "*Anglophones are really enjoying at the hands of these their liberators"* implies that their supporters face daily hardships caused by those they trust. The phrase "*their liberators"* to mean those who are leading their struggle to obtain their independence and autonomy from the Republic of Cameroon. However, their power struggle is funniestly

described as in *"Ambafool comedy republic" and "AmbaMADzoombi"* to mean that their struggle can confuse as far as there is the absence of earnestness in their strategy, which can explain the fact that they are termed *"Facebook country"* indicating the minimisation and the disconnect between social media and real-world complexity of the crisis. The mindset of these leaders is questioned with remarks like, *"And big number Effang who is manure in the bushes of Batibo?"* indicating that he is seen as worthless. On the other hand, we have *"cry harder"* which appears as a provocation to depict opponent's reaction.

In addition, their emotional status is being emphasised by the following *"Just as Generat Ako has been lamenting in agony and regrets for 1 year".* In this regard, they use to*" cry harder"* as far as they are known to be *"Kidnappers and beheaders".* This hyperbole demonises Ambazonia movement thus depicting an image of extreme danger they represent to national security and integration. This clearly construct *Us* versus *Them* narrative in which the adversary is depict as a threat to in-group safety and stability. This fosters and justifies extremist reactions or policy against the out-group.

4.1.7 Irony



Figure 7: pro-government irony

Irony in the pro-government corpus discredits the separatist narrative by exposing contradictions between their claims and their lived reality. Under Van Dijk, irony is a sophisticated NOP strategy because it allows the contradiction to speak for itself, inviting the reader to share the speaker's contempt through the pleasurable recognition of absurdity.

Excerpt n°17

"Until you have interim government. Facebook country and Ambamadness"

This suggests their activities only take place on Facebook, where their "interim government" claims to rule and uses the platform for propaganda. The accumulation of labels ***"interim government," "Facebook country," "Ambamadness"*** denies the out-group a coherent political identity through ironic escalation: an interim government that is a Facebook country is actually madness. This response portrays accumulation of trivialising categories, compounding the ridicule until no credible identity remains. The ironic enumeration de-emphasises the out-group's positive organisational properties by reducing their political structure to a social media account.

Excerpt n°18

"Bamenda should eat what they planted"

This proverbial inversion implies the people of North-West Cameroon are experiencing the consequences of their own political choices, recalling how local populations participated in protests that began in Buea in 2016. The proverb form lends the accusation, the respectability and inevitability of folk wisdom proverbs speak the language of timeless natural truth, which makes them rhetorically harder to contest than any direct accusation. In other word, this is victim-blaming irony: the ironic register conceals the harshness of the accusation behind a culturally familiar agricultural metaphor, presenting political suffering as natural, inevitable and self-caused. It simultaneously de-emphasises government responsibility for the consequences of the crisis.

Excerpt n°19

"Ambazonia comedy republic"

The separatist political project is classified as theatrical performance: ***"Republic"*** is retained but immediately neutralised by ***"comedy"*** creating an ironic juxtaposition in which the formal political term is made to look ridiculous by the labelling. Under NOP, it classifies a serious political aspiration in the lowest cultural register, denying it any claim to political seriousness, historical weight or moral legitimacy. The compound itself performs the condemnation without requiring any further argument.

4.7.8 lexicalisation

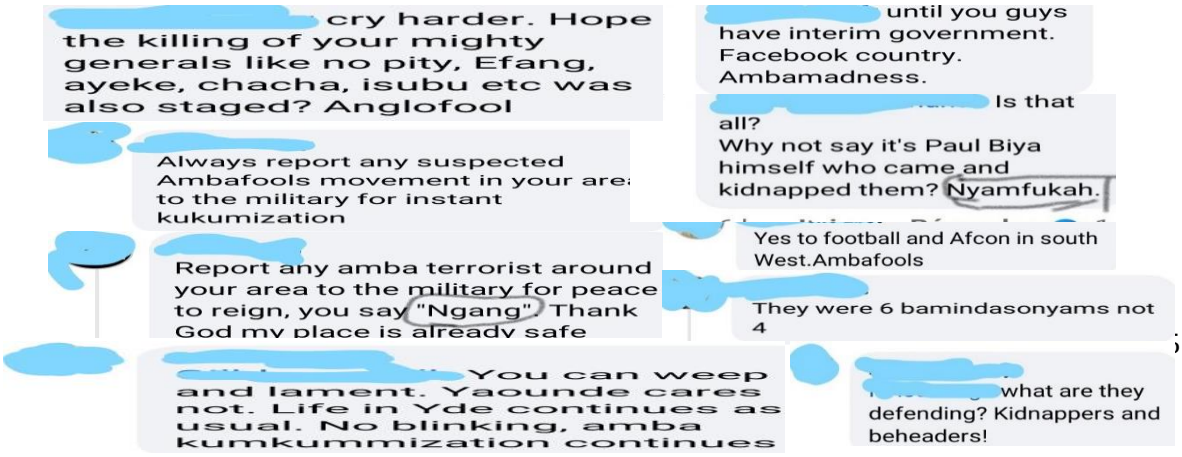


Figure 8: pro-government lexicalisation

Lexicalisation in the pro-government corpus is the most productive site of NOP, deploying an anti-separatist lexicon that combines morphological invention with vernacular derogation. Simultaneously, the government camp's formal self-description performs PSR through register elevation.

Excerpt n°20

"Anglofool, Ambamadness, kumkumisation, Nyamfukah, amba terrorist, ambafool, Bamindasonyams, kidnappers and beheaders"

These derogatory terms depict separatists as irrational and dangerous. Morphologically, native lexemes (fool, madness) are fused with the out-group's identity markers ***"Amba-, Anglo-"*** to create hybrid insults that permanently associate the group's name with its alleged deficiencies. The out-group cannot refer to itself without carrying the in-group's condemnation within their own name territory. ***"Kumkumisation"*** is the most linguistically striking: a nominalised euphemism converting physical elimination into a bureaucratic-sounding process through the suffix ***"-isation",*** inciting violence while insulating the speaker from explicit responsibility acknowledging the de-emphasis of one's own negative agency through lexical euphemism.

Under the PSR pole, the government camp uses formal, institutional language to describe itself: ***"professionalism, state of law, republican institutions"***. This register asymmetry both formal and institutional for the in-group, vernacular and derogatory for the outgroup is itself an ideological enactment of hierarchy under Van Dijk. Language is not merely describing the social order; it is actively constituting and reproducing it. The asymmetry simultaneously de-emphasises the out-group's positive properties: any intellectual credibility or political vision they might claim is pre-empted by the cognitive-failure morpheme attached to their identity. Lexicalisation in this corpus is concentrated in a single excerpt representing the full anti-separatist lexicon under three analytical dimensions of this feature.

4.1.9 Metaphor

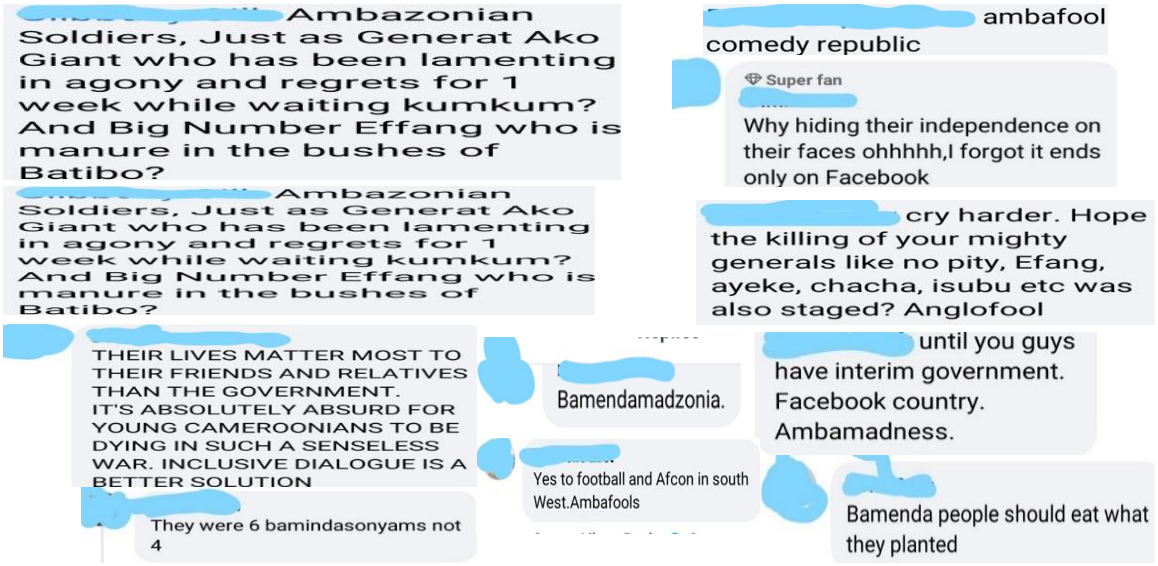


Figure 9: pro-government metaphor

Metaphor in the pro-government corpus functions as NOP through conceptual mapping: properties from degrading semantic domains are transferred onto the out-group to reshape how it is perceived at a deep cognitive level. The metaphors are drawn from the fields of cognitive pathology, organic decay, theatrical absurdity and religious evil.

Excerpt n°21

"Bamenda people should eat what they planted"

The agricultural metaphor naturalises political judgement: what you plant, you must eat. This maps cultivation onto political consequence, implying natural, inevitable causality. Natural causality metaphors normalise what are in fact ideological positions by presenting them as inevitable organic outcomes rather than arguable political judgements. This is metaphorical victim-blaming: the people of North-West Cameroon are not victims of state violence but are reaping the natural consequences of their own political choice. The metaphor simultaneously de-emphasises government responsibility for the ongoing violence by attributing all harm to the out-group's own prior planting.

Excerpt n°21

"Just as Generat Ako has been lamenting in agony and regrets for 1 week while waiting kumkum? And Big Number Effang who is manure in the bushes of Batibo?"

Two metaphors operate simultaneously. ***"Lamenting in agony"*** treats the separatist leader's situation as theatrical suffering: his pain belongs to the register of performance rather than genuine tragedy. ***"Manure in the bushes"*** is organic degradation metaphor: the person is reduced to decomposing matter, concealed and serving no human purpose. Both metaphors enact NOP by placing the separatist actors below the threshold of political agency: one is a theatrical performer while the other is rotting compost. This is dehumanisation through organic metaphor, performing individual character assassination.

Excerpt n°22

"WATA na WATA Republic is an evil SECT with Main Mission to Steal Kill"

The cult/sect metaphor denies the out-group political legitimacy at the most fundamental level. A sect is not a state: it has no territory, no legal standing, no claim to sovereignty. Van Dijk, reclassification renders the question of the out-group's political legitimacy moot before it is even asked a cult cannot have political legitimacy, so the entire separatist enterprise is definitionally outside the domain of legitimate political activity. The capitalised mission

statement assigns the out-group a diabolical rather than a political purpose, making their elimination appear as self-defence rather than repression and oppression.

4.1.10 National self-glorification

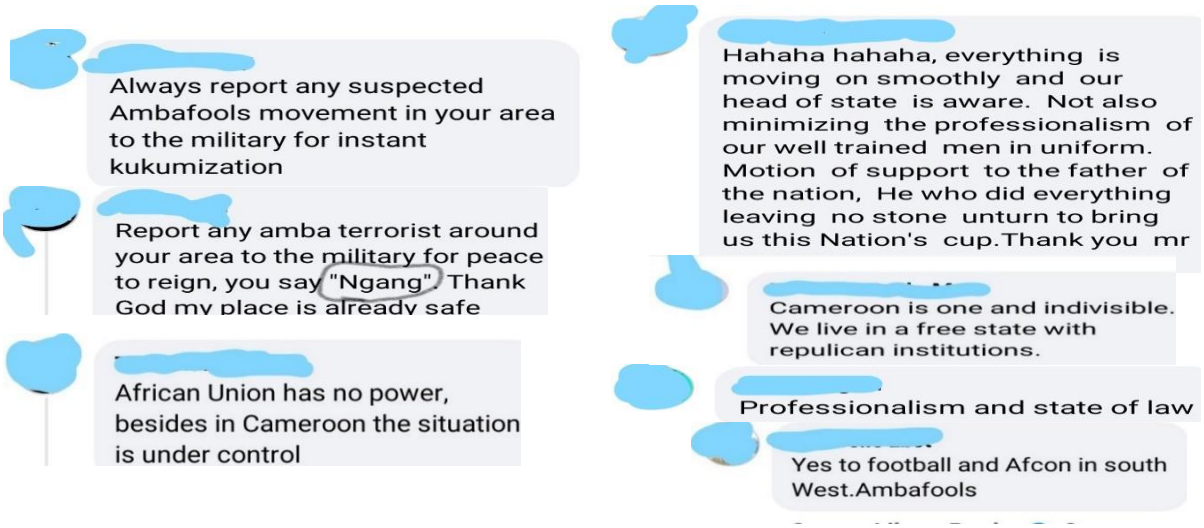


Figure 10: pro-government national self-glorification

National self-glorification is the most explicit site of PSR in the government corpus, corresponding to Van Dijk's in-group glorification strategy. It operates across four dimensions: leader glorification, military valorisation, democratic legitimacy, and sovereign sufficiency. Each dimension of glorification simultaneously defines the out-group's corresponding vice.

Excerpt n°23

"Everything is moving on smoothly and our head of state is aware. Not also minimising the professionalism of our well-trained men in uniform. Motion of support to the father of the nation, he who did everything leaving no stone unturn to bring up this nation's cup. Thanks Mr President; professionalism and state of law"

PSR operates through the triad of presidential commitment ***"leaving no stone unturned",*** military professionalism, and the rule of law. The phrase ***"state of law"*** aligns Cameroonian governance with a universal normative standard, positioning the government within the community of legitimate and law-governed states. Regarding Van Dijk framework, this is PSR through multi-domain in-group valorisation: leader, military and legal system are simultaneously glorified. The paternal metaphor ***"father of the nation"*** makes governance feel like nurture rather than coercion, naturalising political authority.

Excerpt n°24

"Cameroon is one and indivisible. We live in a free state with republican institutions"

This performs three simultaneous ideological operations. Constitutional self-glorification: ***"indivisible"*** borrows from constitutional language, lending the assertion the authority of formal law. Democratic alignment: ***"free state with republican institutions"*** invokes the universal normative framework of liberal democracy. Collective identity consolidation: the first-person plural ***"we live"*** presupposes a unified citizenry foreclosing PSR through alignment with universal values. The implicit NOP is equally powerful: if Cameroon is already free and republican, the separatist project is not merely wrong but superfluous.

Excerpt n°25

"Always report any ambafool movement in your area to the military for an instant kumkumisation"

The call for civilian-military collaboration constructs the relationship between state and population as voluntary and trust-based rather than coercive. This encourages citizens to show unwavering support for the government by fostering loyalty and national pride. PSR through voluntary popular solidarity presents the state as having earned the population's trust. The parallel NOP function enacted through *"ambafool"* demonstrates structurally that national self-glorification under the ideological square is always paired with out-group denigration: the in-group's virtues are defined against the out-group's vices.

4.1.11 Negative other presentation



Figure 11: pro-government negative other presentation

This is the explicit locus of NOP in the government corpus. Pro-government advocates depict pro-separatists through moral condemnation, purposive reversal, ontological denial, and anaphoric accumulation. Each strategy operates on a different register of delegitimisation, from the ontological to the legal to the personal.

Excerpt n°26

"AmbaMADzombi aka ODESHI Wata na Wata is an evil sect with main mission to Steal, Kill and Destroy people of the NOSO it's claiming to protect"

The rhetorical reversal they claim to protect NOSO but actually destroy it invalidates their stated purpose by turning their own moral vocabulary against them. NOP through purposive reversal is among the most powerful forms of delegitimisation because it requires no external accusation: the out-group's own stated commitment becomes the evidence of their failure. The internal contradiction between claimed purpose ***"protect"*** and alleged action ***"destroy"*** makes their entire project appear not merely ineffective but deceptive and their stated values the very proof of their culpability.

Excerpt n°27

"Facebook country"

Their struggle is confined solely to Facebook through their propaganda focus group. This territorial non-existence expresses the most complete form of political delegitimisation. A country that only exists on Facebook has no land, no people, no army and no governance to name but a few. It is not a failed state but a fictional one. This is the ultimate ontological denial not criticising the out-group's competence but denying their existence as a political entity, making their claims appear as pure simulation performed for an online audience.

Excerpt n°28

"fake Anglophone. You are killing Anglophones, you are also raping Anglophones and kidnapping them. You are stopping Anglophones from going to schools. You fake Anglophones making Anglophones not to progress"

The anaphoric repetition of ***"Anglophones"*** in every clause creates a relentless rhythmic accumulation that performs the scale of the alleged crimes through sheer repetition under each clause adding a new category of harm namely physical, social and developmental. The second-person direct address ***"you"*** eliminates narrative distance, turning accusation into confrontation. Regarding this framing, this undermine NOP as identity reversal. Else said, the out-group's own claimed membership in the in-group is turned against them. They are not

merely criminals but ***"fake"*** members of the community they claim to defend, which closes every avenue of self-identification they might use in their own defence.

4.1.12 Positive Self-representation

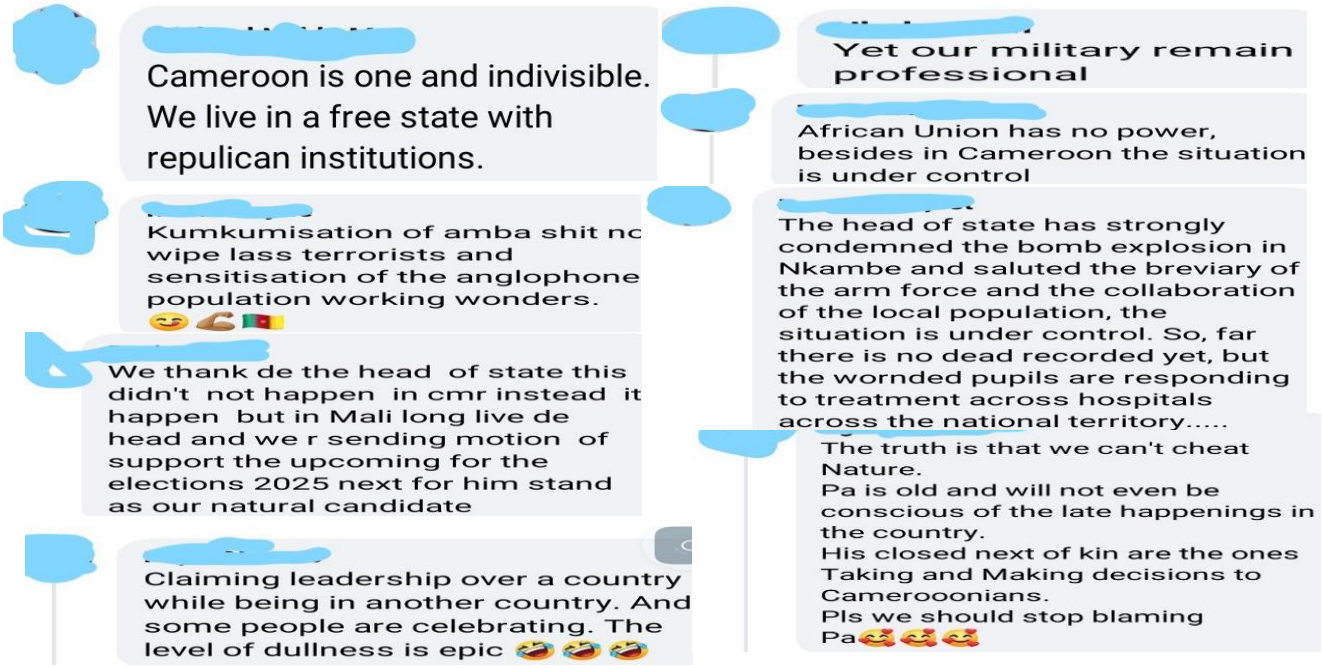


Figure 12: pro-government positive self-presentation

The catching element in this explicit PSR section constructs in-group virtue through multi-dimensional glorification. PSR operates across leader glorification, unity and indivisibility, democratic legitimacy, and military-civilian collaboration, each dimension reinforcing the others.

Excerpt n°29

"The head of state has strongly condemned the bomb explosion in Nkambe and saluted the breviary of the arm forces and the collaboration of the local population, the situation is under control"

The Head of State is depicted as well-informed and actively addressing counter separatist activities. Leader glorification through multi-virtue attribution such as moral engagement ***"strongly condemned"***, military command ***"saluted the breviary of the arm forces***" and operational effectiveness ***"control"*** is the hallmark of positive leadership representation. The three virtues together construct an ideal of complete and competent authority in which the leader is simultaneously the moral, military and operational centre of the nation's response to crisis.

Excerpt n°30

"Cameroon is one and indivisible. We live in a free state with republican institutions"; "yet our military remain professional"; "professionalism and state of law"

The preposition ***"yet"*** in ***"yet our military remain professional"*** is ideologically charged: despite the provocation of separatist violence, the military maintains its discipline virtue under pressure. Framing PSR through collective identity consolidation: the in-group is presented as coherent, law-governed and morally unified even under crisis conditions. ***The phrase "free state with republican institutions"*** pre-empts the separatist accusation of oppression making the separatist project appear not merely wrong but unnecessary.

Excerpt n°31

"We saluted the bravery of the armed forces and the collaboration of the local population"

This acknowledges the importance of military-citizen collaboration, highlighting a belief in coming altogether to overcome national threat. This response de-emphasises any narrative of military coercion through a discourse of consensual and voluntary unity: the population collaborates freely because they trust in their institutions. This is also a de-emphasis of the out-group's positive properties: the separatists claim to speak for the Anglophone population, but this comment constructs that same population as voluntarily allied with the government.

4.1.13 Victimisation

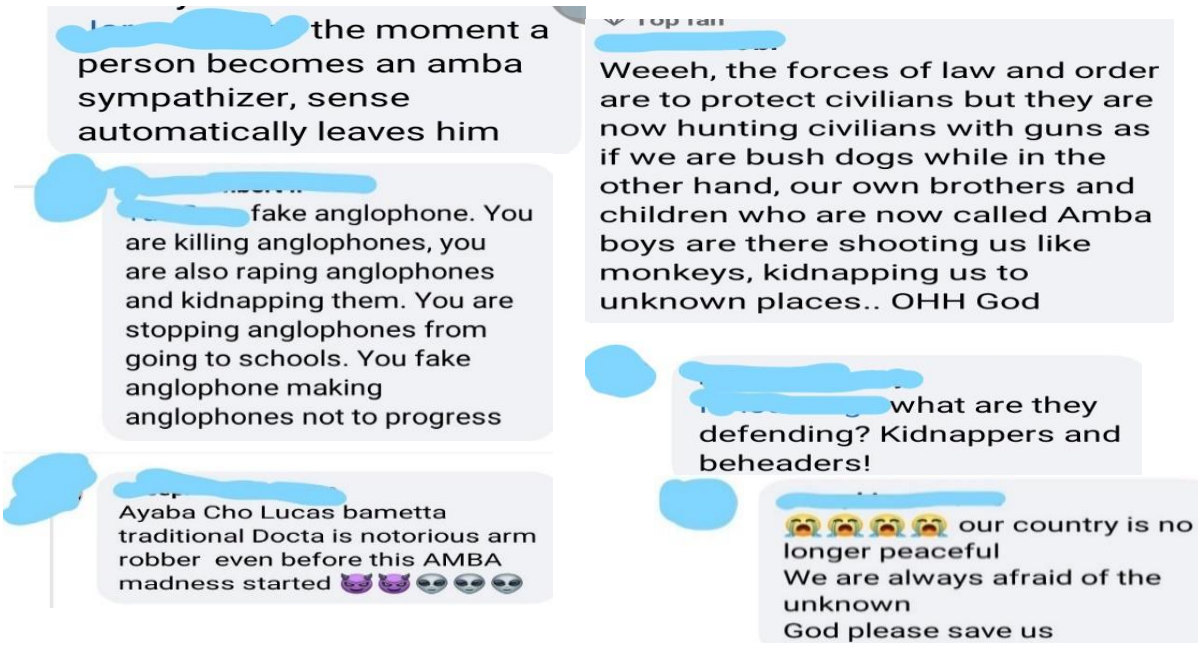


Figure 13: pro-government victimisation

Victimisation in the government corpus performs both NOP the outgroup is the deliberate perpetrator and PSR, the in-group's allies are innocent victims convergently. The victim is always the Anglophone population and the victimiser is always the separatist leadership.

Excerpt n°32

> ***"fake Anglophone. You are killing Anglophones, you are also raping Anglophones and kidnapping them. You are stopping Anglophones from going to schools. You fake Anglophones making Anglophones not to progress"***

Double victimisation: real Anglophones are victimised by the very people claiming to represent them. At a critical moment in the crisis, fighters who had received community support began murdering civilians labelled *"blacklegs"* (traitors). Social media distributed videos and images of these abuses, giving the victimisation claim evidential grounding. This appear as ideological reversal: those who claim victimhood are recast as victimisers, making the in-group's genuine victims the Anglophones harmed by their supposed champions.

Excerpt n°33

"Ayaba Cho Lucas Bametta (…) notorious arm robber even before this AMBA madness started"

The historical extension of the out-group's criminality (pre-dating the current crisis) performs victimisation as a longitudinal narrative: the community has been victimised for longer than the crisis itself, suggesting it is merely the latest phase of pre-existing criminal behaviour. Temporal extension deepens NOP by suggesting the harm is not situational but constitutive of the out-group's character, making their current violence predictable rather than aberrant.

Excerpt n°34

"It appears the amba fighters are becoming stronger by the days. Who could even imagine they'll be using IEDs today"

The rhetorical question performs collective shock and disbelief, enlisting the reader in the community of the threatened. Since 2017, fighters moved from protest to arms, carrying out assaults against the regular army and against the population who refuse to comply with their directives. This threat maximisation serves as justification: the greater the threat posed by the out-group, the more justified the government's forceful response. The paradox of a ***"Facebook country"*** that uses IEDs is itself an implicit argument for treating the threat with maximum seriousness while denying it any political legitimacy.

4.2 Description of pro-separatist public responses

The following fourteen features are drawn from Facebook responses advocating Ambazonian independence. In Van Dijk's terms, this camp constructs itself through liberation heroism, historical and legal legitimacy, and cultural self-sufficiency, while constructing the out-group as colonial, genocidal, and supernaturally evil. The separatist discourse constitutes a structural mirror image of the government's strategies: identical discursive categories are deployed with inverted targets.

4.2.1 Separatist actor description



Figure 14: pro-separatist actor description

Actor description in the separatist corpus functions simultaneously as NOP of Cameroonian forces and PSR of the separatist community. Unlike the government corpus where PSR is presupposed, here both poles are explicitly stated, producing the full symmetry of Van Dijk's ideological square.

Excerpt n°35

"Colonial authorities…they always massacre and lie that it was exchanged of gunfire";

"LRC French Cameroon men and women in uniform are the state-sponsored terrorist";

"La République génocidal militias and some miscreants of the failed DDR orchestrated and executed the carnage in Mamfe"

The compound noun ***"Colonial authorities"*** performs historical reclassification: the Cameroonian state is not a contemporary legitimate government but a colonial power belonging to a morally condemned historical category. This historical recategorisation automatically

activates a moral framework in which resistance is legitimate, since opposition to colonialism is universally valorised. The verb ***"massacre"*** is maximally negative while ***"lie"*** attacks epistemic credibility simultaneously underpinning double delegitimisation both moral (massacrers) and epistemic (liars). The phrase ***"génocidal militias"*** imports the gravest category of international criminal law, elevating the accusation from ordinary military abuse to the most extreme legal condemnation available.

Excerpt n°36

"In plastic bags. Cameroon Terrorist soldiers are sent back in Bulu land in plastic bags by Ambazonia Restoration Forces"

This achieves NOP and PSR simultaneously in fewer than twenty words. ***"Plastic bags"*** is a graphic image of military defeat: bodies returned anonymously without dignity. The labelling ***"Cameroon Terrorist soldiers"*** enacts NOP through criminal recategorisation of the national army. Meanwhile, ***"Ambazonia Restoration Forces"*** performs PSR: a formal military-register designation legitimising the separatist fighters as a professional armed force. The verb ***"sent back"*** implies sovereign territorial authority. This is the ideological square in its most compressed form: a single sentence that simultaneously maximises in-group military power and maximises out-group military defeat.

Excerpt n°37

"They have slaughtered more than 10,000 Southern Cameroon Ambazonians, burn more than 400 villages, stealing motorcycles, raping women and children"

PSR through ethnic and territorial identification establishes a clear binary. The documentation of military consequences "***They have slaughtered more than 10,000 Southern Cameroon Ambazonians, burn more than 400 villages, stealing motorcycles, raping women and children"*** justifies the quest for self-determination, justice, survival, and resistance. Under Van Dijk, PSR through documented victimhood constructs the moral legitimacy of the separatist cause: they are not aggressors but a people defending themselves against quantified destruction. The identity assertion also performs lexical sovereignty "***Southern Cameroon Ambazonians"*** the community names itself by its own chosen identity rather than accepting the state's classification.

4.2.2 Disclaimers

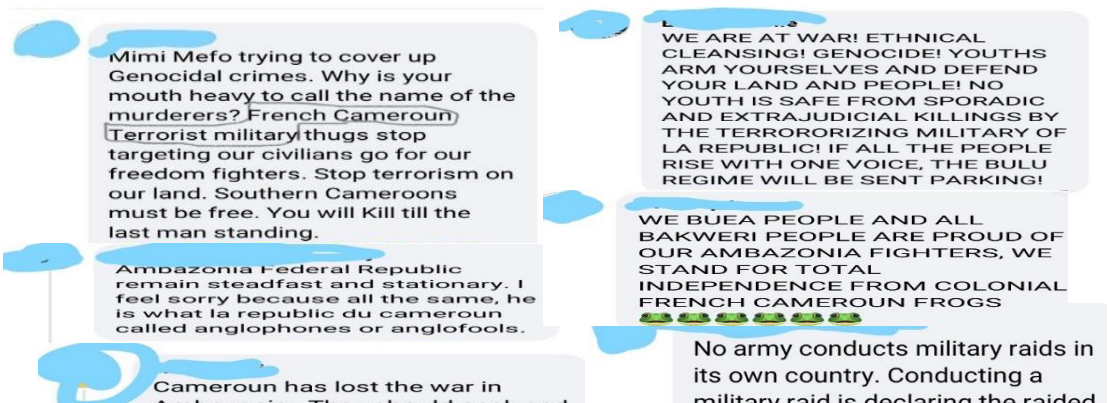


Figure 15: pro-separatist disclaimer

Disclaimers function as PSR through apparent concession before assertion: the speaker appears to acknowledge a limitation while reinforcing their ideological position. They position the separatist community as rational, peace-loving actors responding to aggression rather than initiating it.

Excerpt n°38

"No military conducts military raid in its own people. Conducting a military raid is declaring the raided, foreigners, or the raided territory of a foreign country"

This positions the separatist claim not as political opinion but as logical necessity: a universal premise ***"no military raids its own people"*** followed by a specific application ***"Conducting a military raid is declaring the raided, foreigners, or the raided territory of a foreign country"*** therefore confirming Anglophone separateness. As a rational authority claim, it presents the separatist position as the only logically consistent conclusion, making political disagreement appear as intellectual inconsistency. The NOP dimension is that the Cameroonian military's own conduct becomes the legal evidence against the government's claim to sovereign authority.

Excerpt n°39

"Cameroon has lost the war in Ambazonia. They should pack and leave. They cannot organise any events in Ambazonia again. Let us live in peace as neighbours"

A territorial sovereignty declaration disguised as a call for peace. ***"Let us live in peace as neighbours"*** performs the register of reasonableness PSR as a peaceful actor while the imperatives ***"pack and leave,"*** and ***"cannot organise any events"*** are anything but conciliatory.in Van Dijk perspective, this is the classic disclaimer structure: apparent moderation masking a radical demand. The peace-language makes the expulsion demand appear reasonable: separation is the only path to peace, because coexistence under occupation is structurally impossible as stated above.

Excerpt n°40

"Normalise which daily life? Has LRC withdrew their army and administration of occupation in Ambazonia?"

Rhetorical questioning as disclaimer, rejecting the premise of normalcy by pointing to ongoing military occupation. Victimhood disclaimer as PSR positions the separatist community as rational actors responding to ongoing oppression rather than initiators of conflict. The word ***"occupation"*** is legally

loaded: under international law, occupation refers to control of territory by a power lacking sovereignty over it precisely the separatist legal claim.

4.2.3 Separatist evidentiality

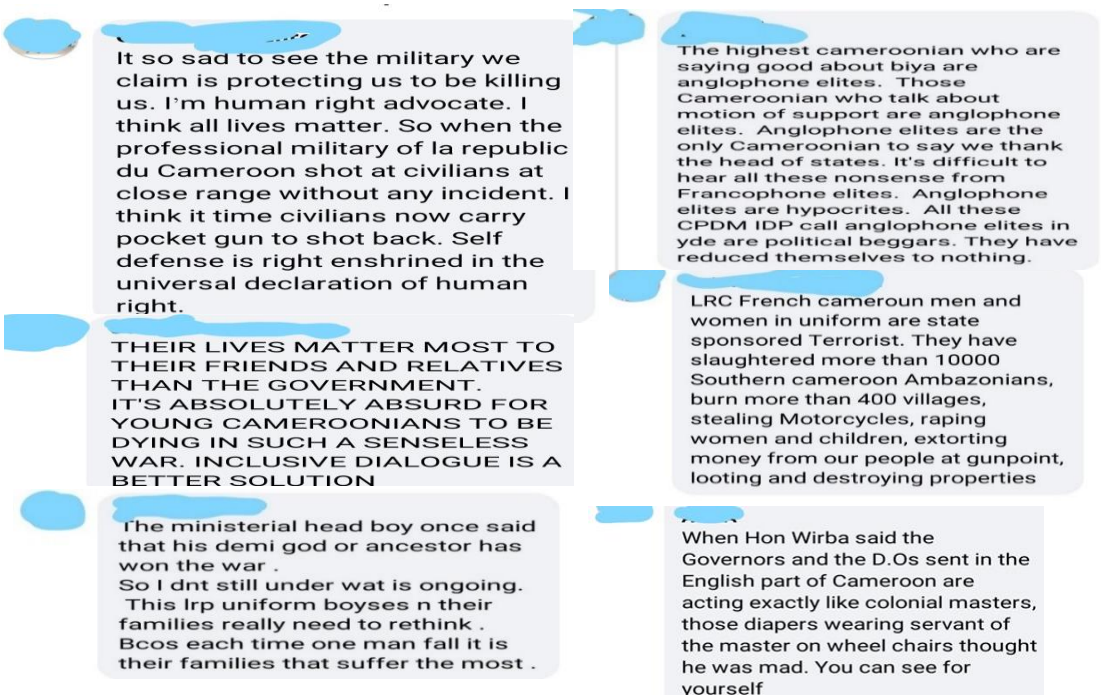


Figure 16: pro-separatist evidentiality

Separatist evidentiality draws credibility from parliamentary testimony, international legal frameworks, social observation, and ironically cited official statements. Rather than citing the sovereign, the separatists cite his critics, his victims, and international legal standards that his government allegedly violates.

Excerpt n°41

"When Hon Wirba said the Governors and the D.Os sent in the English part of Cameroon are acting exactly like colonial masters"

This PSR highlights the hostile atmosphere in parliament, as this subject was very taboo in the chamber. The MP had the courage to raise grievances about French-speaking nationals behaving like settlers. Social Democratic Front parliamentarians rescued him, and he is currently in exile after being persecuted. Citing an insider source with institutional access (an elected MP, not a separatist activist) is powerful PSR: the claim is validated by someone who cannot be dismissed as partisan. The government's subsequent persecution of this MP is itself cited as further evidence of its repressive nature, transforming his exile into second-order evidence that corroborates the original claim.

Excerpt n°42

"Self-defence is a right enshrined in the universal declaration of human rights; I think all lives matter"

The UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) citation grounds separatist armed resistance in a universally ratified legal framework. PSR under universal authority citation validate the separatist cause not by partisan argument but by the highest available international normative standard. Contrastively, this is NOP as far as the separatists' self-defence is a human right under the UDHR, the Cameroonian military's action against them is a human rights violation. The phrase ***"all lives matter"*** universalises the claim, aligning the Ambazonian cause with global human rights discourse.

Excerpt n°43

"The ministerial head has once said that his demi god or ancestor has won the war"

Reported evidence while distancing from the statement. A government official's grandiose claim that supernatural powers have secured military victory is cited as evidence of the government's detachment from reality and resort to superstition. NOP through citation condemns the out-group itself through its own recorded statements. The official's own words provide the evidence of institutional incompetence and magical thinking, requiring no outside accusation.

4.2.4 Separatist generalisation

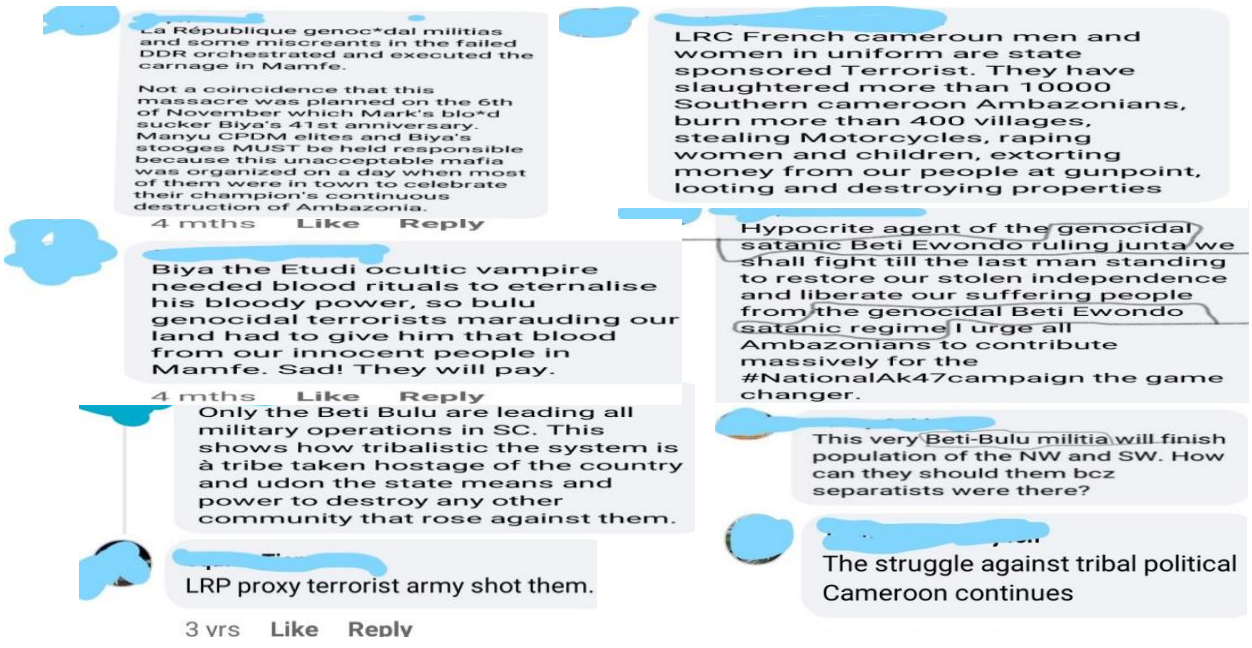


Figure 17: pro-separatist generalisation

Separatist generalisation mirrors the government's strategy but applies collective guilt to the Cameroonian military and specific ethnic groups. It attributes collective responsibility without distinguishing between individual actors.

Excerpt n°44

"LRC French Cameroon men and women in uniform are state-sponsored terrorist";

"La République génocidal militias and some miscreants in the failed DDR orchestrated and executed the carnage in Mamfe";

"LRP proxy terrorist shot them"

The phrase ***"men and women in uniform"*** is deliberately inclusive, leaving no member of the military outside the condemnation. This appears as a collective stigmatisation without individuation: the entire institution is collapsed into a single negative category. ***"State-sponsored"*** is particularly significant: it implicates not merely individual soldiers but the state itself as the institutional author of terrorism in Anglophone regions. The phrase "***failed DDR"*** on the other hand additionally generalises institutional failure to the government's own disarmament programme, suggesting systemic rather than incidental dysfunction.

Excerpt n°45

"Manyu CPDM elites and Biya's stooges MUST be held responsible"

This casts aspersions on an entire community without distinguishing between individualistic endeavours in the ***"Mamfe"*** carnage of November 2023. By generalising guilt to an entire local political community, it deepens the crisis by making collective ethnic and political identity the basis of moral culpability. The modal ***"MUST"*** performs a demand for accountability not a suggestion but a moral imperative constructing the speaker as a defender of justice rather than an advocate for violence.

Excerpt n°46

"Only the Beti Bulu are leading all military operations in SC";

"Genocidal satanic Beti Ewondo ruling junta"

The public response expresses the tribalisation of the crisis. the governing system of Cameroon is perceived as based on the authority of certain ethnic groups rather than the whole nation. The adjectival phrase ***"genocidal satanic"*** before the ethnic label creates an adjectival pile-up that collapses moral, legal and religious condemnations into a single attribution applied to an entire ethnic community. In other words, ethnic generalisation transforms the political conflict into a persecution narrative, making every member of the named groups collectively responsible for state violence.

4.2.5 Separatist hyperbole



Figure 18: pro-separatist hyperbole

Separatist hyperbole functions as NOP through maximisation of the government's evil and as PSR through heroic framing of the separatist fighters. The two functions are structurally linked: the more monstrous the enemy, the more heroic the resistance.

Excerpt n°47

"This LRC government demonic; Biya the occultic vampire needed blood rituals to eternalise his bloody power"

The vocabulary of the occult removes the Head of State from the political domain entirely, placing him in the mythological register of absolute malevolence. A ***"vampire"*** is an immortal predator sustaining itself through blood, suggesting political longevity (Biya's 42 years in power) is not the product of governance but of dark supernatural forces. Highlighting the out-group's negative properties at the extreme mythological scale constructs a black-and-white perspective given that separatists are freedom fighters while the military are genocidal monsters. The phrase ***"blood rituals to eternalise his bloody power"*** links political longevity to supernatural violence, removing the Head of State from any possibility of ordinary political accountability.

Excerpt n°48

"If the demon that shot a child in Buea was not lynched they would have promoted him"

The word **"demon"** extends the supernatural metaphor from political leadership to individual soldiers, distributing evil throughout the entire military apparatus. This is generalised supernatural NOP: not only is the Head of State a vampire but individual soldiers are demons, maximising the moral bankruptcy of the entire state apparatus. The conditional construction ***"would have promoted"*** adds an additional NOP claim: the government rewards rather than punishes atrocities against children, making institutional depravity systemic rather than individual.

Excerpt n°49

"NO PEOPLE IS SAFE FROM SPORADIC AND EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS BY THE TERRORISING MILITARY OF LA REPUBLIC!" and ***"YOUTH ARM YOURSELVES AND DEFEND YOUR LAND AND PEOPLE!"***

The full capitalisation graphologically enacts maximum urgency. The universal quantifier ***"no people"*** constructs a condition of total, generalised threat in which every person in the Anglophone territory is at risk. The hyperbolic universalisation of threat constructs the in-group as a people under existential assault, making armed resistance appear as survival rather than aggression in PSR through

documented emergency. The call to arms ***"YOUTH ARM YOURSELVES"*** is thereby framed as the only rational response to total threat, transforming NOP documentation into PSR mobilisation.

Exaggeration or hyperbole is used to add more meaning in a speech act. It is used to criticise the opponent while the in-group is softening. In other words, the out-group and in-group character is polish often dramatized but the first is unfavourably while the second is alleviate. In the following lines are explained the exaggeration used by pro-separatists to depict the pro-government as in: *"This LRC government demonic; Biya the occultic vampire needed blood rituals to eternalise his bloody power, so bulu genocidal terrorists marauding our land".* In this example, more emphasis is laid on both government and military as sign of disapprobation and deligitimisation of the government strategy to overcome the crisis. Furthermore, we have the phrase *"demi god or ancestor"* to report the statement of the Prime Minister to highlight the contention. Overall, this suggests black and white perspective depicting separatist as freedom fighters while the military are perceived as hardship and *"genocidal".* The soldiers are not left out as this example illustrates *"if the demon that shot a child in Buea was not lynched they would have promoted him".*

In addition, we have the amplification of fact as in ***"NO PEOPLE IS SAFE FROM SPORADIC AND EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS BY THE TERRORISING MILITARY OF LA REPUBLIC!"***. This emphasises a situation of insecurity, which puts the military at the forefront as committing abuses in the region. This strengthen their ideals regarding the nature and the quality of the actions committed by the separatist movements as oppression and aggression. This motivates their call to violence as response: ***"YOUTH ARM YOURSELVES AND DEFEND YOUR LAND AND PEOPLE!".*** This implies a call for insurrection though resistance against the Cameroon's army. This contentious climate reinforces the peace deterioration and considerably hinders peaceful resolution of the crisis through negative portrayal of out-group and positive presentation of in-group features.

4.2.6 Separatist irony

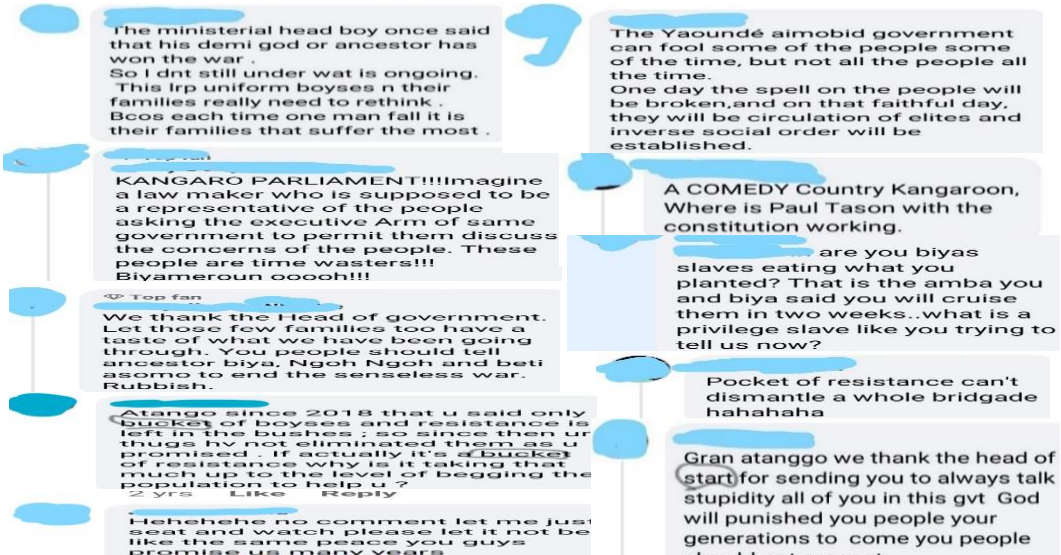


Figure 19: pro-separatist irony

Separatist irony exposes the gap between official discourse and lived reality. It functions as NOP of the government through exposure of contradiction and as PSR of the separatist community by positioning its members as clear-sighted critics who see through official deception.

Excerpt n°50

"We thank the head of government. Let those few families too have a taste of what we have been going through"

"We thank the head of state" is a formula ritually associated with the former Minister of Communication Issa Tchiroma Bakary, routinely used to glorify presidential instructions. By redeploying this formula as a dark wish that those responsible for the crisis experience what they have imposed on the Anglophone population, the commenter performs intertextual irony. The government's own ceremonial language becomes the most damning testimony against it regarding Van Dijk approach. The PSR function is enacted in two perspectives: the speaker's suffering is real and documented, while the official rhetoric of gratitude is exposed as hollow performance.

Excerpt n°51

"KANGAROO PARLIAMENT!!! Imagine a lawmaker who is supposed to be responsible to the people asking the executive arm of same government to permit them discuss the concerns of the people"

The separation of powers is exposed as fictive through institutional irony. The capitalisation and triple exclamation mark perform maximum graphological outrage ***"KANGAROO PARLIAMENT!!!"***. This institutional irony is PSR because it positions the speaker as a defender of democratic principles against a government that subverts them. The irony is more damaging because it uses the government's own institutional framework (parliamentary democracy) as the standard by which it is found wanting.

Excerpt n°52

"Bucket of Boyses and resistance is left in the bushes" vs. ***"pocket of resistance"***

"Pocket of resistance" is the property of Minister Atanga Nji, used during a press conference to indicate the situation is under control except for some separatist areas. The separatist commentator reuses it as ***"bucket of Boyses and resistance is left in the bushes"***,

transforming the minister's dismissive phrase into an acknowledgement of separatist resilience and territorial presence. Ironic lexical appropriation reclaims the language of the out-group for PSR of the in-group: the government's attempt to minimise separatist presence is turned into evidence of that presence, and the fighters' continued existence in the bush becomes a source of pride rather than shame.

4.2.7 Separatist lexicalisation



Figure 20: pro-separatist lexicalisation

Separatist lexicalisation constructs a complete counter-vocabulary that performs sovereignty claims on one side and strips government legitimacy on the other. The lexical contest between these two vocabularies is the discursive enactment of the sovereignty dispute itself.

<u>Excerpt n°53</u>

"Southern Cameroon Ambazonia"; "Ambazonia Sovereign Citizens"; "Ambazonia Federal State"; "Ambaland"; "motherland"

The act of consistently naming the territory ***"Ambazonia"*** is constitutive: it creates the political entity through language itself. The adjective ***"Sovereign"*** asserts the right to self-governance under international law. The term ***"Federal State"*** claims a specific constitutional form. These lexes undermine nation building. On one hand, the separatist state is constructed

word by word, with each use of ***"Ambazonia"*** strengthening its ontological reality against the government's counter-discourse on *"North-West and South-West regions"*.

Excerpt n°54

"La République"; "Francophone Cameroon Frog"; "Colonial authorities"; "Occupied towns, offices, roads, buildings and land from the defeated French Cameroon Administrators"

"Occupied" is legally significant implying a power exercising control over territory to which it has no sovereign right. ***"Francophone Cameroon Frog"*** adds xenophobic mockery. ***"Defeated French Cameroon Administrators"*** performs a temporal NOP not merely colonial but already defeated, constructing the government's presence in Ambaland as both illegitimate and historically terminal. This counter-labels strip the government of legitimacy by reassigning it to the category of foreign occupier.

Excerpt n°56

"WE ARE AT WAR! ETHNICAL CLEANSING! GENOCIDE! Extrajudicial killing; massacre; terrorising military"

Using the most internationally charged legal vocabulary: ***ETHNICAL CLEANSING! GENOCIDE*** **extrajudicial killing;** ***massacre*** activates the responsibility to protect and preserve framework, positioning the separatist cause as a matter of global human rights concern. PSR as legitimate resistance under international law: the separatist struggle is not a domestic insurgency but a documented humanitarian emergency. The full capitalisation performs maximum urgency, commanding international attention and legitimising the armed response as legally grounded self-defence.

4.2.8 Separatist metaphor

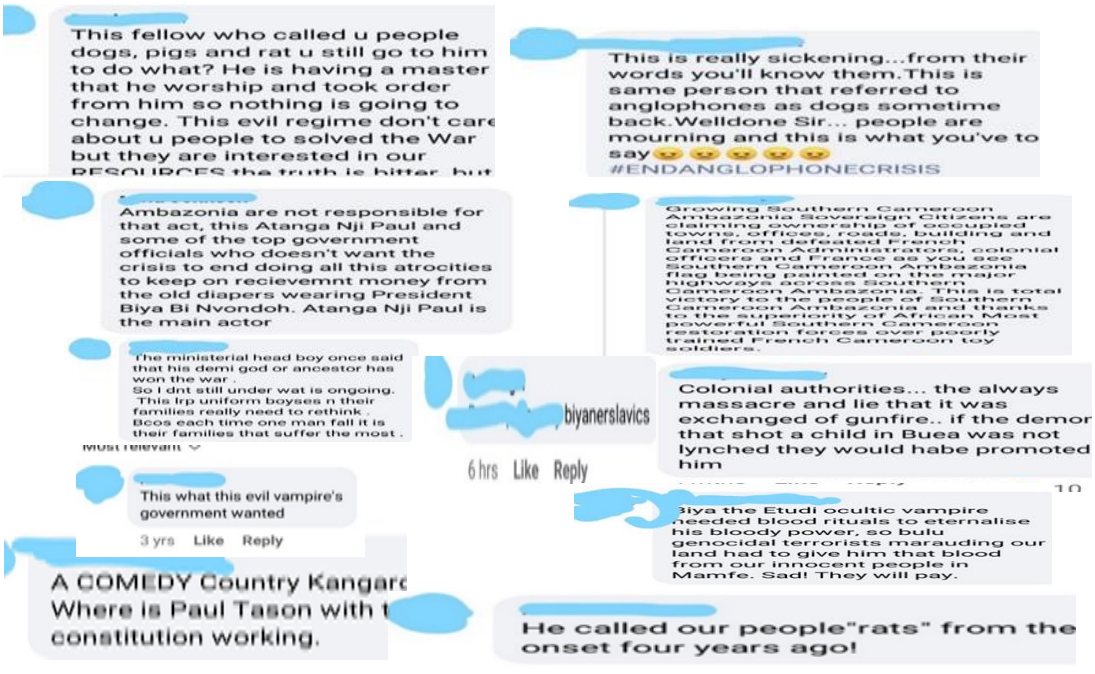


Figure 21: pro-separatist metaphor

Separatist metaphor characterises government figures through supernatural, bodily, and theatrical degradation. The metaphors are drawn from the fields of animality, supernatural evil, bodily degradation, and historical authorship.

Excerpt n°57

"This fellow who called u people dogs, pigs and rat"; "He called our people 'rats' from the onset four years ago!"

These dehumanising remarks from the Governor of the South-West region referred to English-speaking nationals as animals after the general manifestation of September 22nd, 2017. As evidential NOP, expressing dehumanisation is particularly powerful because the outgroup's own language provides the evidence of its contempt: the government's official representative has already dehumanised the Anglophone population through bestial metaphor, validating the separatist claim of oppression without requiring any additional argument. The PSR dimension is enacted by citing these words: the community is documented as victims of official dehumanisation, legitimising their grievance and their resistance.

Excerpt n°58

"A COMEDY Country Kangaroon"

The theatrical metaphor combined with the kangaroo-court metaphor creates a compound delegitimisation: Cameroon is simultaneously a farce and a legal fraud. The portmanteau "Kangaroon" permanently fuses the nation's name with the concept of fraudulent justice, so that every future use of ***"Cameroon"*** carries this ironic connotation within the separatist discourse community. The portmanteau is an ideological lexical NOP at its most inventive. It is a neologism that permanently corrupts the out-group's identity through morphological contamination, mirroring the government camp's own strategy of morphological derogation against the separatists.

Excerpt n°59

"Demons, ancestors, demi-gods" portraying government officials as symbolic beings; "evil vampire, blood, massacre and genocidal"

The crisis is portrayed as mythical through supernatural metaphors expressing oppression, control, foreign interference and injustice. The terms ***"evil vampire, blood, massacre and genocidal"*** portray power as a predatory force that thrives on the pain and loss of the people sustaining itself through ongoing violence. NOP through mythological recasting resonates with classical anti-colonial discourse in which empire is figured as extractive, parasitic and immortal. The supernatural frame also performs PSR: those who fight supernatural evil are necessarily heroic, transforming the separatist fighters into the protagonists of a sacred liberation narrative.

4.2.9 Separatist national self-glorification

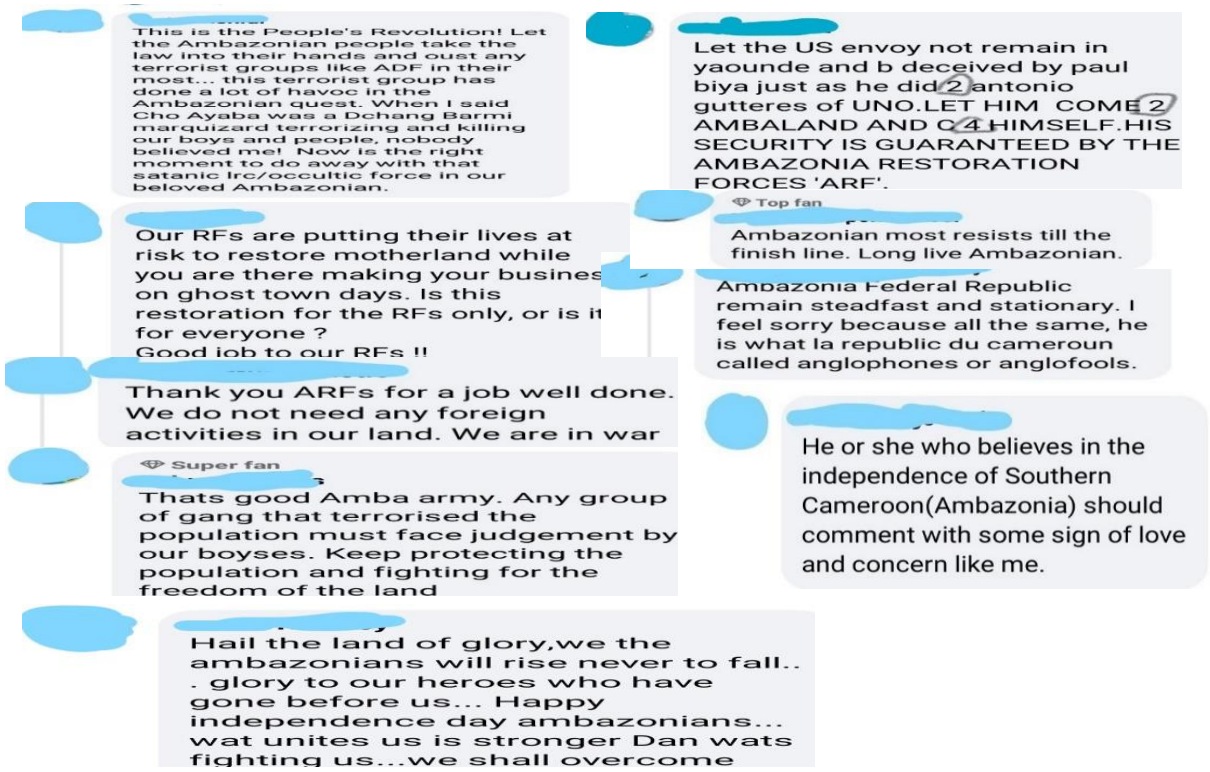


Figure 22: pro-separatist national self-glorification

Separatist national self-glorification constructs the in-group as culturally self-sufficient, militarily capable, and historically entitled. Under Van Dijk, in-group glorification constructs the community as worthy of the freedom they seek.

<u>Excerpt n°60</u>

"Our RFs are putting their lives at risk to restore the motherland; Good job to our RFs!!; Ambazonian most resists till the finish line. Long live Ambazonian; Hail the land of glory"

These comments acknowledge the role of separatists and express pride in their achievements, legitimising separatist deeds. The word ***"motherland"*** invokes the most intimate affective bond, making

sacrifice feel like love rather than violence. ***"Long live Ambazonian"*** is a performative speech act borrowed from national celebration vocabulary, enacting statehood through ritual patriotic language. Emotional solidarity is PSR through shared affective community: the in-group is united not only by ideology but by shared love for those who sacrifice their lives.

Excerpt n°61

"I like the appellation 'Ambazonian fighters' but can you make it perfect by calling them 'Ambazonian military or Ambazonia soldiers'"

This reveals that separatist forces and sympathisers want a review of their status: from informal ***"Ambazonian fighters"*** to formal "***Ambazonian military or Ambazonia soldiers".*** This is metalinguistic PSR zeroing a conscious intervention in the discourse about one's own group to upgrade its institutional status through vocabulary itself. The move from ***"fighters"*** (informal, insurgent connotations) to ***"military/soldiers"*** (formal, state-legitimised connotations) claims state-like authority through lexical choice, performing the institutional elevation of the separatist force from armed group to national army.

Excerpt n°62

"EVERY FREEDOM FRANCOPHONE ENJOY TODAY IS THANKS TO ANGLOPHONE…MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY, DECENTRALIZED, FEDERATION, ALL ANGLOPFUFU PAVED THE WAY ITS TIME TO FORM OUR STATE"

Historical credit claiming as PSR emphasising the Anglophone community's role in achieving multiparty democracy, decentralisation and federation for all of Cameroon is cited as historical evidence of their capacity and right to statehood. PSR through historical contribution narrative meaning those who built the democratic institutions of the shared state have the highest claim to exercise sovereign self-determination. This is especially powerful because it uses the government's own valued institutions as the basis for the separatist claim.

4.2.10 Separatist Negative other presentation

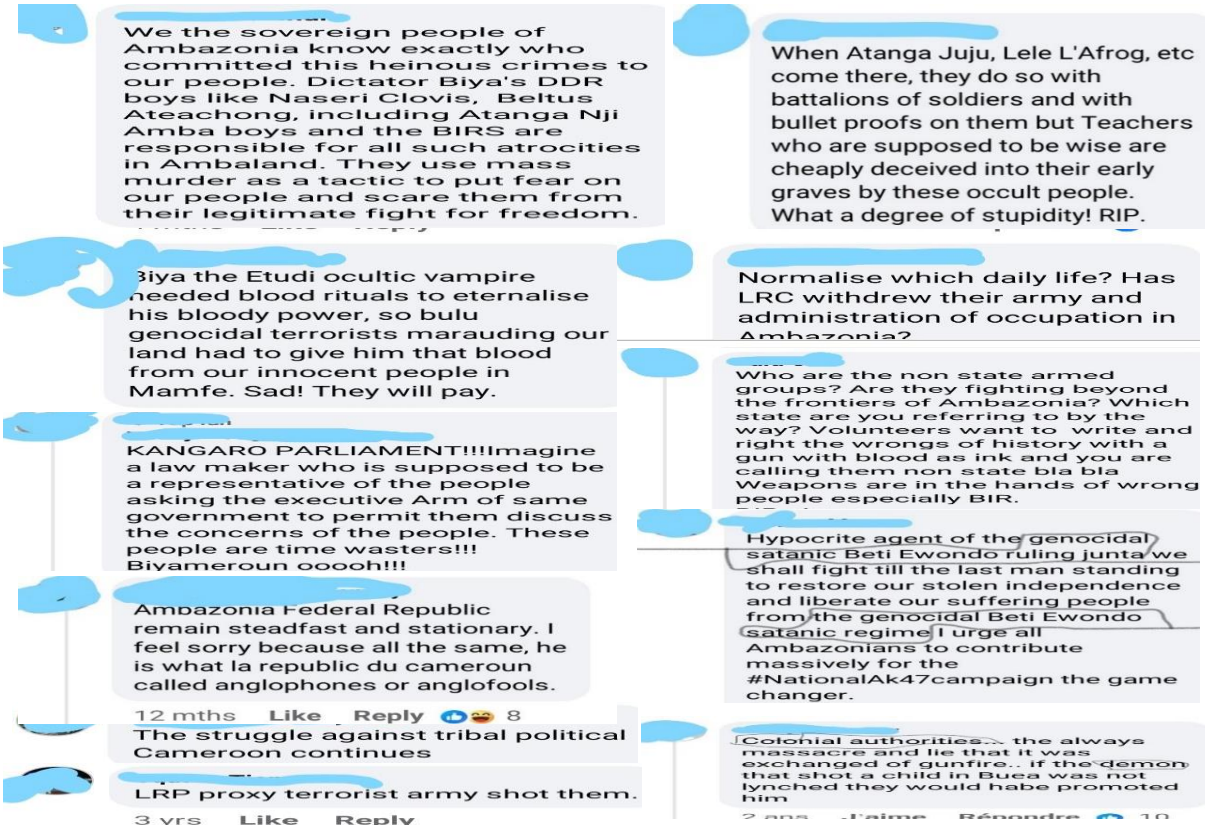


Figure 23: pro-separatist Negative other presentation

The explicit NOP section deploys the ideological square across moral, legal, institutional, ethnic, and individual dimensions simultaneously, creating a comprehensive delegitimisation of the Cameroonian state and its officials.

Excerpt n°63

"Dictator Biya's, Biya the Etudi occultic vampire needed blood rituals to eternalise his bloody power"

Triply maximised NOP: political categorisation ***"dictator"***, supernatural attribution ***"occultic vampire, blood rituals"***, and temporal condemnation ***"eternalise"***. Van Dijk ideological square is operating at full force: the out-group is condemned at moral, supernatural and temporal levels simultaneously. The word ***"Etudi"*** (the presidential palace) grounds the supernatural description in a specific, real geographical location, making the mythological condemnation concrete and inescapable.

Excerpt n°64

"Hypocrite agent of the genocidal satanic Beti Ewondo ruling junta";

"The genocidal Beti Ewondo satanic regime"

NOP at the ethnic-group level. The adjectival stack ***"genocidal satanic"*** before the ethnic label creates an adjectival pile-up that collapses moral, legal and religious condemnations into a single attribution applied to an entire ethnic community. Ethnic NOP is particularly damaging because it

extends the condemnation from individuals to a collective, activating historical memories of ethnic conflict and making collective retribution appear justified.

Excerpt n°65

"Dictator Biya's DDR boys like Naseri Clovis, Beltus Ateachong, including Atanga Nji Amba boys and the BIRs are responsible for all such atrocities in Ambaland"

Detailed accountability attribution to specific individuals ***"Naseri Clovis, Beltus Ateachong, Atanga Nji"*** and specific institutional units ***"the DDR; the BIRs"*** are named as responsible for atrocities. The precision of accusation performs the register of documented testimony, transforming NOP into a prosecutorial narrative that demands legal accountability. Named attribution makes the condemnation concrete and specific, which is more damaging than vague collective accusations because it is harder to dismiss as generalised grievance.

4.2.11 Separatist number game

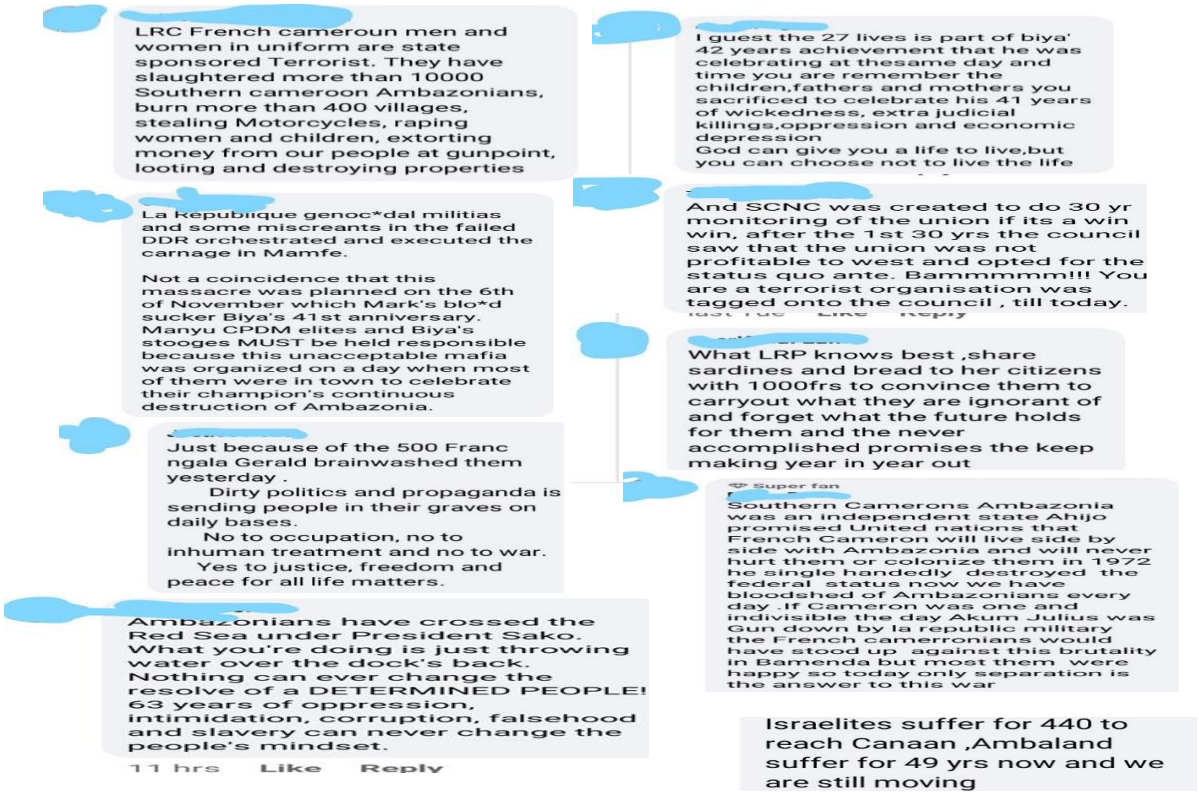


Figure 24: pro-separatist number game

The number game adds credibility and emotional weight to both victimhood claims (PSR) and accusations of destruction (NOP). The numbers deployed range from atrocity statistics to biblical timelines to institutional histories, giving the victimhood claim both immediate and transcendent dimensions.

Excerpt n°66

"They have slaughtered more than 10000 Southern Cameroon Ambazonians, burn more than 400 villages, stealing motorcycles, raping women and children…"

This highlights PSR through victimhood documentation and NOP through statistical accusation. Numbers lay emphasis on fatalities representing a humanitarian challenge: ***"10,000 dead, 400 villages burned"***. These figures are specific enough to suggest documentation while large enough to convey catastrophe. They cover multiple categories of harm (lives, property, dignity, security). The number game as rhetorical evidence performs objectivity and authority and statistics lend claims the register of verified fact. All in all, they constitute the most damaging form of NOP documented, measurable, incontrovertible evidence of the outgroup's destruction.

Excerpt n°67

"Israelites suffer for 440 to reach Canaan, Ambaland suffer for 49 yrs now and we are still moving"

This biblical numerical comparison inserts the separatist struggle into a sacred, divinely ordained narrative. PSR through typological narrative: the sacred biblical precedent guarantees eventual arrival, making the separatist struggle's success not merely probable but divinely ordained. The number ***"440"*** serves as a sacred benchmark against which ***"49 yrs"*** appears not as failure but as early-stage progress within a providential timeline. The NOP dimension is implicit: a government opposing a divinely ordained liberation is, by the logic of the metaphor, in the position of Pharaoh doomed, regardless of its military power.

Excerpt n°68

"63 years of oppression, intimidation, corruption, falsehood and slavery" and ***"Nothing can ever change the resolve of a DETERMINED PEOPLE"***

A specific historical duration (63 years) paired with a pentad of nouns across distinct categories of harm political ***"oppression"***, psychological ***"intimidation"***, institutional ***"corruption",*** epistemic ***"falsehood"***, historical ***"slavery"*** maximises the breadth of complaint. PSR through historical victimhood documentation: the community's suffering constitutes a 63-year pattern of systematic oppression. The assertion of unbroken resolve ***"Nothing can ever change"*** is PSR through resilience narrative: the community's capacity to endure without surrendering is itself evidence of their worthiness for statehood.

4.2.12 Separatist polarisation



Figure 25: pro-separatist polarisation

Polarisation is the most structurally explicit activation of Van Dijk's ideological square in the corpus. It operates through territorial sovereignty claims, ethnic attribution, banishment statements and appeals to solidarity.

Excerpt n°69

"Growing Southern Cameroon Ambazonia Sovereign Citizens are claiming ownership of occupied town, offices, roads, building and land from defeated French Cameroon administrators, colonial officers and France…thanks to the superiority of African most powerful Southern Cameroon restoration forces over poorly trained French Cameroon toy soldiers"

Every lexical choice is ideologically positioned: "Sovereign Citizens" vs. "defeated administrators" (political status opposition); "claiming ownership" vs. "occupied" (legitimacy opposition); "African most powerful" vs. "poorly trained toy soldiers" (military capability opposition); "restoration forces" vs. "proxy fighters" (moral purpose opposition). Under Van Dijk, this is the ideological square operating at its absolute full extension: every dimension of the conflict is simultaneously polarised in favour of the in-group and against the outgroup.

Excerpt n°70

"The Beti Bulu ekang satanic regime is the worst thing that have ever happened to Anglophones"

The historical superlative ***"the worst thing that have ever happened"*** places the current regime beyond all previous sources of Anglophone suffering. Using Van Dijk framework, temporal maximisation of the out-group's negative impact forecloses any comparative defence: there is nothing worse the government could be compared to. This makes the polarisation total and absolute, establishing that no negotiated solution within Cameroon could address suffering of this historical magnitude.

Excerpt n°71

"Our RFs are putting their lives at risk to restore motherland while you are there making your business on ghost town days. Is this the restoration for the RFs only, or is it for everyone? Good job to our RFs!!"

The rhetorical question ***"Is this the restoration for the RFs only, or is it for everyone?"*** is a question of moral rearmament, calling on supporters to work together to overcome their common enemy. In-group solidarity appeals tighten the ideological square: it sharpers the divide from the out-group, the more total the in-group cohesion required. The shame directed at those observing ghost town days while the RFs die reinforces group discipline through moral pressure and mobilisation.

4.2.13 Separatist positive self-presentation



Figure 26: pro-separatist positive self-presentation

The explicit PSR section constructs Ambazonian fighters as brave, legitimate, purposive and diplomatically capable. PSR is organised around heroism, sacrifice, teleological mission, and institutional equivalence.

Excerpt n°72

"My boyses am proud of you"; "That's good Amba army"; "Great hero rest in peace we continue the war until LRC leave Ambazonia"; "Ambazonia Restoration forces are dangerous"; "Ambazonia most resist till the finish line. Long live Ambazonian"

These responses build a strong narrative in which Ambazonia forces are mirrored as protectors of the people, freedom fighters, brave heroes and defenders of their land. The affective vocabulary ***"proud of you, great hero, long live"*** constructs the in-group as a community of feeling: united not only by ideology but also by shared admiration and love for those who sacrifice their lives. Emotional solidarity is PSR through the deepest register devotion rather than argument making the struggle the most cohesive form of in-group glorification.

Excerpt n°73

"Let the US envoy not remain in Yaoundé and be deceived by Paul Biya…LET HIM COME 2 AMBALAND AND C 4 HIMSEL. HIS SECURITY IS GUARANTEED BY THE AMBAZONIA RESTORATION FORCES 'ARF'"

This questions the legitimacy of the central power to effectively manage the crisis on the ground while emphasising the strength and quality of the ***"ARF"*** in ensuring the security of an American diplomatic representative. PSR through institutional equivalence with a state actor namely the ***"ARF"*** can perform state-level functions (diplomatic security), implicitly claiming state legitimacy. The capitals perform the solemnity of a formal diplomatic guarantee, constructing the ***"ARF"*** as capable of the responsibilities of a recognised state.

Excerpt n°74

"Ambazonia fighters have a goal: protect people, against colonialism, prevent exploitation resources, secure independence for Ambazonia and fight the military"

This narrative creates a noble and selfless image of separatist fighters, standing in stark contrast to how the state is depicted as exploitative, colonial, and militaristic. This teleological PSR defining the in-group by what it works toward is among the most powerful forms of self-glorification because it aligns the in-group with universally valued ends: protection, anti-colonialism, sovereignty and independence. None of these goals is selfish; all are recognisable

as legitimate aspirations under international law. The contrast makes the separatist cause appear as the morally necessary alternative to institutional predation.

4.2.14 Separatist victimisation

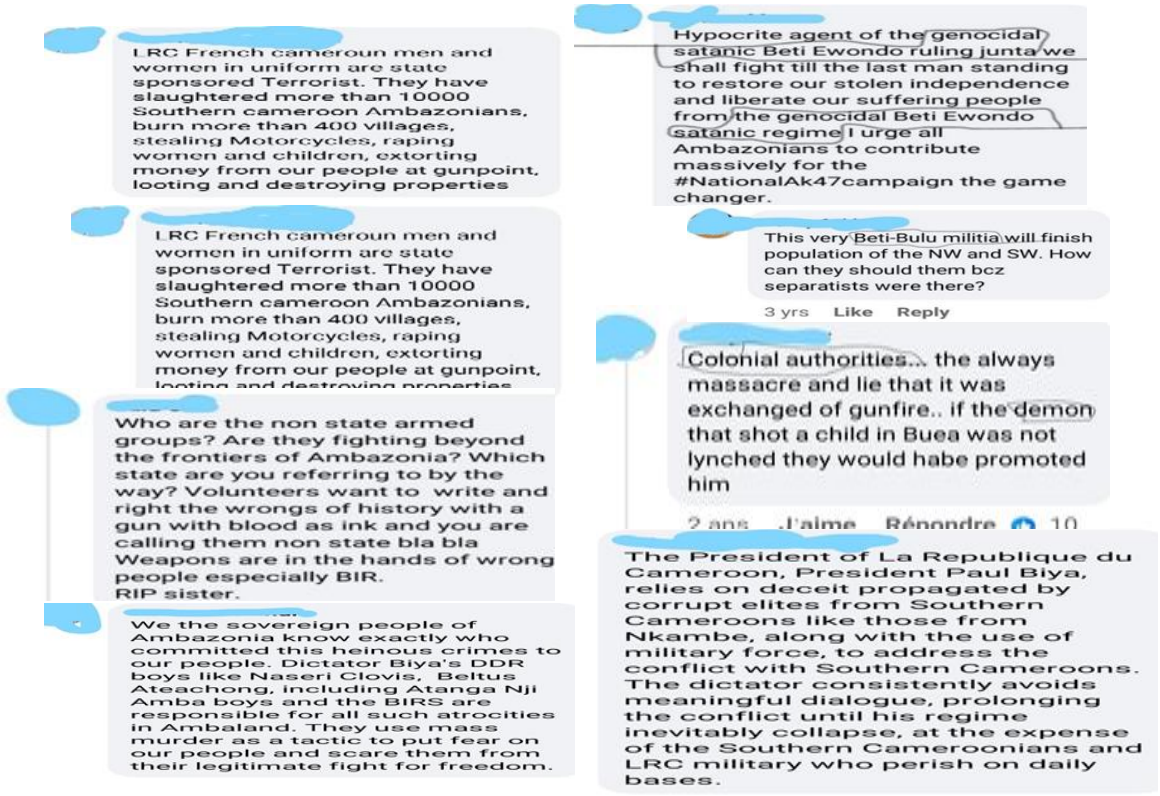


Figure 27: pro-separatist victimisation

Victimisation is simultaneously PSR (the in-group is innocent and suffering) and NOP (the outgroup is the deliberate cause of that suffering). Under Van Dijk, this combination is the most emotionally potent in the ideological square: it generates sympathy for the in-group and moral condemnation of the out-group in a single discursive act.

<u>Excerpt n°75</u>

"Only the Beti Bulu are leading all military operations in SC. This shows how tribalistic the system is a tribe taken hostage"

The metaphor ***"a tribe taken hostage"*** implies forcible capture: the Anglophone community cannot leave, cannot act freely and is entirely subject to the captor's power. This captivity metaphor generates maximum sympathy by constructing the in-group as entirely innocent and entirely powerless hostages, by definition, bear no responsibility for their situation and deserve unconditional rescue. The portrayal of an ethnic-driven agenda strengthens feelings of shared hardship, unfairness, and marginalisation, reinforcing the separatist community's collective identity and mobilisation as a persecuted people.

Excerpt n°76

"They have slaughtered more than 10000 Southern Cameroon Ambazonians, burn more than 400 villages, stealing motorcycles, raping women and children, extorting money from our people at gunpoint, looting and destroying properties"

This statement presents the crisis as a matter of survival and fundamental rights rather than political disagreement. The list form creates cumulative moral weight meaning the longer the list, the more comprehensive the suffering and the more total the oppressor's guilt. Victimisation through archival accumulation: each item is a separate record of injustice, and the list as a whole is documented. The range of harm life, home, body, dignity, financial security, property ensures that no dimension of community life is left unclaimed as a site of victimisation.

Excerpt n°77

"Hypocrite agent of the genocidal satanic Beti Ewondo ruling junta we shall fight till the last man standing to restore our independence…The genocidal Beti Ewondo satanic regime"

This is the victimisation-to-mobilisation arc: the community is victimised ***"genocidal satanic junta"*** therefore resistance is not only legitimate but morally obligatory ***"fight till the last man standing"***. PSR through victimhood constructs the moral case for armed resistance, which is itself presented as heroic and necessary. Victimisation is the ideological fuel of armed action and the moral permission that transforms violence from crime to duty. The phrase ***"fight till the last man standing"*** performs total commitment, constructing the in-group as willing to accept the ultimate sacrifice in pursuit of a just cause notably self-autonomy.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter, dedicated to data presentation enable to understand the ideological stance of the Anglophone crisis stakeholders. Hinged on the analysis of online feedback from MMI's Facebook page, the analysis unveiled a firm ideological polarisation between pro-government and pro-separatist advocate. On one hand, pro-government frame a positive self-presentation emphasising peace, unity and state legitimacy in defending national integration and its stability trough military intervention. Meantime, they depict their opponent as terrorist, demon and murderer. Alternatively, separatist advocates positively portray themselves as freedom fighters defending historical grievances, while disparaging the opponent responses as oppressive and illegitimate. This stratification on online discourse is central to this study framework that undermine the duality of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, ideological square and ideological strategies propelled by (Van Dijk, 1998b; 2005; 2006; 2013).

Furthermore, the analysis zeroes on how in-group and out-group identities is constructed in online discourse by cleverly using the language to support their views and demonise the opposing side. This contrast turns social media into discursive battlefield where people argue about power, identity and belonging through their narratives.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the study's key findings focussing on two main areas. It interprets public response to the Anglophone crisis on MMI's Facebook page. This chapter also compare the findings with existing research while following ethical guidelines. Finally, the chapter provides recommendations for future research and a comprehensive conclusion.

5.1 Summary of findings

This study aims to examine how Facebook users construct, express, and negotiate ideological positions regarding the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. This study sheds light on pro-government and pro-separatist advocates use English language to strengthen self-presentation, negative-other presentation and competing political identities within the digital public sphere. In this vein, the analysis of ideological strategies reveal linguistic ideology, decentralisation versus federalism, national integrity versus territorial autonomy, decolonisation, digital resistance, peacebuilding, linguistic creativity and innovation, linguistic stratification, verbal abuse, asymmetric power, identity construction and emotional response.

5.2 Discussion of findings

This interdisciplinary study explores the dynamics of online discourse on Facebook about the current socio-political crisis in the Anglophone region of Cameroon. Through a detailed analysis of online public response, the research identifies key themes and trends in online feedback to the crisis. The findings unveil two dominant perspectives reflecting the complex and multifaceted nature of the issue. The study sheds light on how social media platforms particularly Facebook, is used by stakeholders to shape and disseminate their ideologies, influencing public opinion and discourse around the crisis. By examining the language use and rhetoric used online, the research provides valuable insights into the role of social media in contemporary socio-political crisis.

5.2.1 Linguistic ideology

The government public response focuses on the government strategy and policy of the defence of national integrity, defending its legitimacy, delegitimising separatist claims, peacebuilding, often-using language of cohesion and patriotism. This underscores the language that promotes peacebuilding and the construction of a unified identity (Nganji, 2019; Ngange

and Makondo, 2019; Soh, 2020; Edimo, 2021; Nouhou, 2022). This further butresses unity and indivisibility of Cameroon and shape any contestation as a threat to the nation's integrity. Separatist public response on the other hand challenge the legitimacy of the Cameroonian state, calling for independence and framing themselves as victims of cultural and political oppression. They further appeal Anglophone for the rejection of the Cameroonian identity, the defence of their territory and express the resistance against Cameroon arm forces and authority (Sombaye, 2018; Nganji, 2019; Ngange and Makondo, 2019; Nounkeu, 2020; Ngange & al., 2020 Musah, 2020 & 2022). In this regard, they opined belonging to another independent state called the Ambazonia as highlighted earlier. This corroborates the polarisation, *Us* vs *Them* categorisation. According to Van Dijk (2006, p. 738), polarisation is the categorisation of people into in-group *(Us)* and out-group *(Them) or* positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In the current crisis the first (*Us*) refers to English-speaking nationals while *(Them)* alludes to Francophone rendering the event ethno-national (Njie, 2019) and ethnocentric (Talla, 2024).

5.2.2 Decentralisation versus Federalism

Decentralisation represents the government response to the crisis rooted in the 1996 Constitution and reinforced during the 2019 Major National Dialogue (MND). It aims to grant greater autonomy to local government especially in the tensed regions as a means to address longstanding grievance. Since 2019, special status was granted to North West and South West to enable local administrators to manage certain activities formerly under the orders of the central power in Yaounde and faithfully respond to the specificities of the two regions regarding language, culture and their past history (Ngongo, 2024, p.35-36). Decentralisation aim to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Cameroon as opposed to secession or federalism (Dzelamonyuy, 2024). In contrast, Southern Cameroon became independent in 1961 while French Cameroon was independent since 1960. They constituted the federation until 1972 when it was abolished. Anglophone perceived this as an act distancing them from the presidency as well as the change of state name in 1984 from the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972 to the Republic of Cameroon under the presidency of Paul Biya. This strengthen the Anglophone view of attainment of the federalism as envisaged at independence (Anyangwe, 2014; Fanso, 2017) which faces the government's deaf ear. Akih (2021, pp. 105-106) quoted in Talla (2024, p. 90) believe that federalism is the justice's centrepiece and the right solution to the current crisis. The separatist discourses invoke a history of marginalization to justify the push for federalism or outright secession.

5.2.3 National integrity versus territorial autonomy

The national integrity is defended by the pro-government public response which emphasises the defence of national integrity, indicating a commitment to maintaining Cameroon's territorial unity and its sovereignty as far as they are engage in what is nowadays called "Paul Biya dirty war" declared in November 2017 (Tembon, 2018). Again, this previous concept is too broad to national unity, which entails the cohesion and solidarity of all citizens within a country regardless of regional, tribe and ethnic and cultural differences. According to the pro-government public response, this encompasses the unified and cohesive national identity. In addition, it focuses on the importance of all citizens working together for the common good and progress of the entire country. In short, according to Dayton (2015), there are actually very few states that are made up of only one nation and Cameroon is not spared given the number of its ethnic components whose number seems undetermined but varies between 250 and 300. This certainly explains the creation of national commission for the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism which works for the promotion of official bilingualism, the promotion of multicultural diversity through the access to public space by all and mutual aid, solidarity, and respect of moral and physical integrity as a guarantee of an egalitarian, harmonious and prosperous society. In other word, pro-government comments highlight the diversity and multi-ethnic nature of states implying the recognition of divers' national identities in order to promote inclusive living together and the peaceful coexistence. The pro-Ambazonian shed lights on defending their regions and seeking independence by rejecting Cameroon's national identity and symbol. Consequently, they express a strong desire for self-governance and liberation from what they perceive as colonial domination by Cameroon. Through their propaganda, they opined being able to grant security and basic needs for whom they refer as "Southern Cameroonians" or "Ambazonian". This idea is corroborated by Ngouo (2020, p.68) view that the separatists began considering the NW and SW regions an independent territory from the Republic of Cameroon. All in all, secessionists aspiration implies the regional autonomy and self-governance forcing an indefinite closure of schools in their regions and the introduction of armed forces like *Ambaland Forces, the Vipers, the Tigers, Ambazonia Defence Forces, Souther Cameroonians Defence* Forces have emerged to counter government military forces Angwanda (2020) thus calling into question the resolution of the Great National Dialogue (GND) and a number of peremptory executive orders particularly the special status granted to in crisis regions signed by Paul Biya late 2019 have failed to douse Anglophone separatist call for greater autonomy (Orock, 2021, p.9). Hence the national self-

glorification of Van Dijk, (ibid.) which refers to positive references to or praise for one's own country. Furthermore, this also underline Wodak and Reisigl's (2009) view on the nation identity through the exclusion, discrimination, and the marginalisation which strengthen what they refer to coloniality of their union with French Cameroon (Orock, 2021, p.8) through limited political representation, economic discrimination, discrimination in recruitment, training and education purport (Nkumbe, 2016).

5.2.4 Decolonisation

The 1961 federalism strengthen the colonisation feelings of Southern Cameroon. The reorganisation of the political agenda enhances the marginalisation feeling of English-speaking populations. The linguistic policy namely the official bilingualism was relegated in the second plan in the profit monolingualism and the centralisation of power. However, the latter claim the clauses that lead of the referendum as in the aftermath they noted the grievances in particular the centralisation of power but especially monolingualism of public services and linguistic and administrative colonisation (Nkumbe, 2016; Abouèm à Tchoyi, 2017; Kamé, 2018; Awasom, 2020). These were perceived as attempt to assimilate and marginalise Anglophone identity which gradually established a strong sense of Anglophone consciousness of being economically, culturally and politically marginalised by the predominated francophone (Koning and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Lyombe, 2003; Menge, 2005; Echitchi, 2018: Nna-Emeka, 2018; Angwanda, 2020; Dzelamoniyuy, 2024). This buttress the fact that today, they campaign for a total rejection of all that is Cameroonian in their territory because they claim an autonomy or a return to their situation before their independence which, has become for them a date of festivities since the 2016 uprising. This justifies the fact that they refer Cameroon as ***"colonial, colonial master, oppressive, genocidal, occupier, corrupt government, thieves, Devils, LRC terrorist soldiers, colonial governor, colonial master, CONFUSED COLONIZERS, COLONIAL FRENCH CAMEROON FROGS".*** Paradoxically, these days, they mute their peaceful request struggle to an armed conflict from 2017 until today. This highlights their normalised violent resistance and allegiance to their authorities mostly found abroad who are multiplying armed factions in said regions against the central power in order to obtain their autonomy and identity. However, the view is divided: some advocate for a return to federalism, while others support or seek a mutually agreed resolution.

5.2.5 Digital resistance

The data presented above uncover differentiating ways to deal with compromise. The public authority method lined up with the protection measures against Ambazonian quest. It

aims to defend the national integrity and the national unity with more insights on the control over the entire territory of Cameroon comprising the separatist regions. The government strategy is based on military operations and political measures aimed at countering the activities of separatist groups hence maintaining the dominion of the centralised authority (Nganji, 2019; Nouhou, 2022) who presented some expressions daily used online to call for peace and harmonious coexistence between citizens and netizens. This effectively enables to keep security and stability within Cameroon's established borders with more focus on upholding national sovereignty and the incapacitation of the separatist movement. Separatist advocates on the other hand express their opposition through powerful complaints and outrages. They perceive the government policy as persecution and denial of basic freedom while they are striving for basic freedom. While the resistance strategy of the Ambazonian on the other hand tries to subvert these actions and oppose the power of the Cameroon armed forces by separatist fighters. Moreover, their strategy asserts territorial autonomy and promote self-governance challenging Cameroon's sovereignty. This relies on various form of impediment comprising the disobedience days associated to the boycott of some public celebrations, protest, and armed resistance through the presence of various separatist fighter groups. We also have social media which aim to be a transmission belt for information that suits their ideology which threatened national identity (Wodak, 2009; Chiluwa, 2012; Salome, 2018; Sombaye, 2018; Musah, 2020; Ngange and Makondo, 2019; Sawalda, 2020; Ambe, 2021; Orock, 2021).

5.2.6 Peacebuilding

Public response suggests the resolution of the conflict peaceful return to stability and unity. This underlined that online, there is not just the use of ideological speech but also the language that undertake solution for a peaceful coexistance between Anglophone and Francophone in Cameroon. So, for these advocates, English language is not only about polarising discourse among stakeholders but the mean that enable to negotiate social cohesion, social coesistence and harmony on Facebook blog. Others clearly emphasise on the dialogue which is seen as a favoured answer for the contention even though the Major National Dialogue failed in addressing the quest. In this vein, some public responses clearly calls for inclusive dialogue and also the use of language that call for unity among the Cameroonians as indicated by (Ngouo, 2020; Agwanda, 2021; Nouhou, 2022). The government implemented it's resolutions setting up the Presidential Plan for the Reconstruction and the Development (PPRD) of Anglophone regions, the implementation of the decentralisation, the creation of Common Law at ENAM (National School of Administration and Magistracy) as well as the recruitment

of English-speaking teachers among others. However, a lasting solution remains pending despite mutiple proposals by both national and international partners.

5.2.7 Linguistic creativity and innovation

The findings mirror the dynamism and the complexity of the language in use on Facebook landscape. In this regard, Johnstone (2002, p. 180) argued that no matter the medium of communication, its affects discourse. In other word, the medium through which communication takes place has a significant impact on the nature, dynamics, and outcomes of discourse. Accordingly, online communication is shaped by the complex ecology of linguistics situation of Cameroon. The public response here is constituted of the sociolinguistic features like the code mixing/switching and Pidgin English, which are mostly spread in the Cameroonian digital environment (Ezemba, 2022; Tabe, 2023). This further corroborates the linguistics ideology dichotomy of colonial Cameroon namely assimilationist versus inclusive on the other hand. They provide the expression of cultural diversity, intercultural communication and the diffusion of public response in different languages by the interactants and above all promote the linguistic creation and innovation. Hereafter are presented some implication from this study. This study involved netizens regardless sociolinguistic variable. Cameroonian from both linguistics background that is Anglophone and francophone. Third, the complex linguistic ecology of Cameroon is portrayed online through the system of language contact. However, this is combined with features of online communication to describe the current crisis (Tabe, 2013b; Tabe, 2018; Kweitsu, 2019; Besong, 2020; Afuhtendem, 2021; Willie, 2022). The language in used here is quite complex and reveal the dynamism of multilingualism on Cameroon social media platforms (Tabe, 2013b, 2017b, 2018, 2021, 2023) confirmed the linguistics innovation and creativity enhances the rise of new varieties of language. In other word, language therefore become a vehicle of language ideology where ideals intertwine. This implies the complex linguistic ecology of Cameroon that tends to be more informal and emotive regarding the Anglophone crisis such as loaning, neologism, eponym, usage of Cameroonism or Cameroonianism as well as the usage of self-explaining compound which contribute to enhance CamE (Willie, 2020; Afuhtendem, 2021; Nkwain, 2022; Willie, 2022).

5.2.8 Linguistic stratification

Cameroon boasts a rich linguistic ecology within Africa characterised by the coexistence of numerous indigenous languages alongside an official foreign linguistic policy. The current linguistic discrepancies in the country have evolved into political sphere as evident in online platforms among subscribers reflecting the differing ideologies of stakeholders.

Despite the prevalence of CamE in Cameroon and especially within the Anglophone regions (Simo-Bobda, 1992; Ngefac, 2008b & 2010), recent socio-political upheavals have led to the emergence of Ambazonia English (henceforth AmbE) as a distinct linguistic expression associated with separatist movements (Nkwain, 2022, p.258). This linguistic split underscores the divergent allegiances within the population, with CamE aligning with government supporters while AmbE serving as the language of choice for separatist and their sympathisers, thereby reinforcing the distinct linguistic identities of stakeholders. The study unveils that while English remains one of the Cameroon's official language, it has also become a tool for both ideological expression and propaganda among secessionist groups thus impedes intercultural communication.

5.2.9 Verbal abuse

The linguistic violence impedes interaction amidst protagonists. This is about the verbal abuse, insult and derogative language. Social media discourse emphasises on interaction, it therefore becomes obvious that controlling one's mood would be detrimental and lead us to use offensive language, which hinders communicative harmony irrespective of netizen's ideology. Most often, netizens made use of verbal abuse ethnically oriented such as "***Anglofools, LRP proxy, bamendamadzonia, Amba evil, COLONIAL FRENCH CAMEROON FROGS, bulu genocidal terrorist".*** Others are oriented toward individuals. Most often they emphasised on personality as in "***Biyamerouun,*** LRC ***terrorist soldiers, colonial governor, Biya the Etudi occultic vampire".*** Social media is bound of verbal abuse and hate speech, lynching and ethnic cleansing, inflammatory rhetoric, defaming acts and underestimating acts (Anyefru, 2008; Barach-Youseifi, 2018; Salome, 2018; Sombaye, 2018; Kweitsu and Besong, 2019; Nganji and Cockburn, 2019; Ngange and Makondo, 2019; Soh, 2019; Ngange et al. (2020); Nounkeu, 2020: Willie, 2020a & 2020b; Afuhtendem, 2021; Edimo, 2021; Orock, 2021; Tasah, 2021; Zane, 2021; Ntaima, 2022;). This language undermines social cohesion, harmonious living together and the multiculturalism. Its usage online strengthen tensions between stakeholders frightening the AC. Therefore, from the study data analysis, we have the dehumanisation as it reduces individual or community to stereotype and derogatory label. It also led to division by deepening divisions between different national communities because it fosters ideologies to gang up on each other, which hinders the outcome. These linguistic drifts constitute a barrier into the reconciliation and the peacebuilding efforts by perpetuating harmful discourse while distrusting the relationship between the protagonists leading to trauma, anxiety and stress within

the targeted communities. This suggest that online, people tend to use the language to construct and negotiate their identity and community building (Anchimbe, 2010 & 2016).

5.2.10 Asymmetric power

Another essential theme in the context of our finding is the expression of language of resistance and the power dynamics. On both sides, the two different ideologies advocate are defending the authority of their leader. Thus, social media are arena of propaganda and falsehood transmission with irritating feelings, ideas, and emotions, which reinforce the victimisation. In this regard, language is perceived as a tool for resistance against perceived power imbalance in the sense that most narratives analysed above influence the identity of individuals. The pro-government acts for territorial preservation, which is why it remains on the unitary form of the State while the separatist, are favourable to revenge, repudiation and resistance through secession. In other words, the pro-government focusses on peace and unity while pro-separatist advocate prefers repudiation (Ngouo, 2020). In addition, these remarks highlight the "dominated-subordinate" propelled by (Miller, 2007, p. 112). On one hand, it emphasises that the dominant ideology namely the government highlights the mechanism, which allow it to establish its hegemony through ignorance, arrogance, deafness and self-sufficiency that are indeed the dominant postures and traits of those who have been in charge of the management of the crisis since its inception (Kame, 2018 p.12). On the other hand, the subordinates (the separatists) through their narrative against low representation, annexation and marginalisation, which led to their protests in the major English-speaking cities on October 2016 (Koning, 1997; Abouem à Tchoyi, 2017; Nna-Emeka, 2018; Awasom, 2020).

5.2.11 Identity construction

Public response identity construction is highlight in the analysis. This is emphasised through the in-group and out-group labelling. In-group are positively depicted while the out-group is negatively framed often downplaying their own faults and emphasising those of others. As presented in previous chapter, the in-group deeds are emphasised using advantageous terms while out-group are negatively labelled (Dassé, 2014; Anchimbe, 2016). For instance, the pro-governments good deeds are depicted as lawful, authoritative, protector, defender and voucher of territorial integrity while pro-separatists frame themselves as freedom fighters. In contrast, out-group is unfavourably portrayed. Van Dijk (2013) opined that in-group tend to reproduce their identity, activity, goal, norm and value, reference and resource. Out-groups are rather unfavourably depicted and this is generally perceived through harsh lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, categorisation and generalisation, which are more related to stereotypes online. This is

consistent with (Barach-Youseifi, 2018; Kweitsu, 2019; Besong, 2020; Afuhtendem, 2021; Willie, 2022) have proved in their studies. For instance, pro-government depict pro-separatist as irrational namely ***terrorists, criminals, beheaders…*** while pro-separatists present the pro-government as their ***oppressor*** **or** ***coloniser***. Accordingly, this goes in accordance with the crucial thoughts of CDA such as the ideological square and *"US"* versus *"THEM"* dichotomy as propounded by Van Dijk (1998b) which uncovers that individuals generally use the language to preserve group ideology and reinforce their authority, strength and power in more extensive social and political setting. This strengthen the perception of "othering" establishing their grievances as a core of their quest highlighting the imbalance between denigration and superiority between stakeholders leading to the linguistic segregation of Anglophone by endangering their cultural heritage and identity (Lyombe, 2003; Awasom, 2020; Musah, 2020, p. 35). Overall, pro-government public responses highlight unity and national sovereignty through positive self-presentation of their deeds and the denial of atrocities and cooperation under government conditions. Pro-separatist on the other hand rely on past grievances and their right to secede under their revolution underpinning self-determination.

5.2.12 Emotional response

The online framing of the Anglophone crisis on Facebook is emotionally charged. Public response reflects a wide range of grievances including anger, frustration, and empathy among stakeholders. Supporters of the Ambazonian movement communicate firmly establish complaints and outrage toward what they see as persecution, denials of basic liberties, and underestimation by the Cameroonian government. Their posts and online feedbacks highlight genuinely charged language, claims of monstrosities, and calls for worldwide consideration (Chiluwa, 2016; Yonta, 2025). The Anglophone non-conformist feelings, including disappointment, and a solid feeling of foul play. This is better explained by their complaints and shock at what they see as mistreatment, denial of basic freedom, and their minimisation by the Cameroon government. Their emotional attitude on Facebook is portrayed by a powerful urge for acknowledgment, equity, and mainly independence of the Anglophone regions, mirroring the profoundly held feeling and complaints of the people who support the dissent movement. Furthermore, the disposition of favourable to government advocates in light of the Anglophone emergency in Cameroon is portrayed by a blend of retentiveness, suspicion, and a craving to introduce an elective point of view on the crisis. They hold an opinion that emphasise the feeling like disappointment, doubt, and a feeling of being unjustifiably depicted. In addition, they counter the stories introduced by the separatist advocates for an alternate way to deal with

tending to the difficulties in the Anglophone regions. In this regard, their reactions enhance a confidence in the public authority's endeavours on the address of the emergency, distrust about the depiction of occasions, and a longing to introduce a more adjusted perspective on the circumstance. Most often, their reactions are closely aligned with the movement of public strategy as well as their own viewpoint on the intricacies of the conflict. Conclusively, the above responses are characterised by an intricate cluster of feelings including: Love, outrage and anger, empathy and compassion, sadness and grief, frustration and helplessness, and hope and resilience (Afuhtendem, 2021; Agwetang, 2021; Eberechi and Chioma, 2022; Willie, 2022; Oluwayemisi, 2024).

The public response provides the basis to investigate English language use on Facebook regarding the Anglophone crisis. Hinging on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Van Dijk's (2006) 25 ideological strategies and the Ideological Square, the study unveiled three main trends. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emphasise on how typical social problems and political issues namely power, dominance, interest, hegemony, class, gender, race, reproduction, institution, discrimination, social structure, ideology and social order are enacted through discourse (Van Dijk, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Through the 25 ideological strategies, the stakeholders namely the pro-government and pro-separatist on the other hand frame different ideologies aimed at legitimate in-group philosophy while negatively labelling the out-group. In other words, this highlights *"US"* versus *"THEM"* or positive self-presentation highlighting unity and indivisibility of the State versus separate sovereign state while negative other presentation emphasises on dehumanisation versus generalisation. As stated above, public response on Facebook unveils ideological alignment, socio-political context entrenched in historical grievances and linguistic identity that strengthen in-group and out-group gathering and mobilisation. In addition, the discursive devices of public reactions encompass derogatory vocabulary such as *massacre, injustice, genocide,* and inclusive pronouns such as *WE* and *THEY* used to portray different stakeholders either positively or negatively. On the other hand, we have ideological strategies such as hyperbole, lexicalisation, victimization, number game, positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. This is rooted in Van Dijk's Ideological Square (Van Dijk, 1998, 2000) which offers a cognitive-ideological framework that shapes these representation patterns such as group's positive qualities (*unitary state versus freedom fighters*) while pointing out the negative behaviours or characteristics of the rival group (*AmbaMadness versus colonial master*). Finally, public response undermines emotional polarisation. The word choices express the state of the mind as

well as ideological affinity. It further influences the cognitive process that, decide the quality of the message to the out-group members. Critical Discourse Analysis illustrates how these strategies represent power dynamics and opposition in Facebook discourse. Van Dijk (2001, p.262) asserts that the negative depiction of others is maintained through means of derogation, demonization and exclusion from the community through discourse as highlighted in the ideological strategies provided by (Van Dijk, 2005). These devices highlights in-group and out-group action negatively and delves into *US* versus *THEM* dichotomy reinforcing ideological construction as well as its resistance in such context. This strengthen the contention between the linguistic communities Francophone and Anglophone (Ngouo, 2020; Dassé, 2014).

5.3 Conclusion

In sum, the analysis reveals that Facebook responses to the Anglophone crisis are influenced by strong ideological stances. Pro-government advocates and pro-separatist advocates strategically employ language to shape conflicting social narratives. Drawing from Van Dijk's ideological and *US* versus *THEM*, each faction emphasises its intrinsic values such as unity, peace and legitimacy for government backers, and justice, freedom, and historical rectification for separatists. They further highlight the alleged violence, illegitimacy, or deceit of the opposing side. Ultimately, this emphasises that online crisis discourse not only mirrors conflict but also actively perpetuates and deepens ideological divides, complicating peacebuilding efforts and underscoring the influential role of language in moulding public perception as well as public allegiance.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This section provides a synthesis of the key findings, outlines their implications, presents relevant recommendations, and suggests directions for further research. This study sets out to address a central problem in the research area of language and conflict: the ideological issues that arise in online public discourse surrounding the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and the role of English language in shaping social identities. In response to this problem, the study aimed to explore the key features typical of public responses to Facebook-mediated discourse events, to describe the linguistic characteristics of these responses in relation to the Anglophone crisis and to identify the key factors that shape audience reactions to English language discourse on Facebook. More specifically, the study sought to uncover how language is used to construct ideological positions and reinforce group identities.

To achieve these objectives, the study adopted a qualitative case study approach, drawing data from comments posted on MMI's Facebook page between October 2023 and November 2024. The research employed a triangulated methodological framework combining Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) notably his ideological strategies (2006) and ideological square (1998) with Short's (2017) Qualitative Critical Content Analysis (QCCA). This approach enabled a systematic examination of linguistic choices, ideological patterns and ideological strategies embedded in online public responses, while situating these within broader socio-political and historical contexts. The study was built around the articulation of viewpoints, divergent perspectives and socio-political narratives on social media particularly on MMI's Facebook page.

While previous studies have examined the Anglophone crisis from political, historical or media perspectives, limited attention has been paid to how public responses on social media are linguistically constructed and ideologically framed and how English functions as a discursive tool in these interactions. This gap constituted the main issue that motivated the present research. It was observed that both pro-government and pro-separatist users engage in strong positive self-presentation and negative other presentation to legitimise their actions. The discourse therefore creates a moral split by presenting the opposing group *(THEM)* by framing them as inherently evil, while simultaneously enhancing the in-group *(US)* as morally right. This contrast serves to justify the actions of one side while discrediting the other, which strengthen the current power gaps and beliefs. This reinforces in-group cohesion, attracts sympathy and justifies political positions within the polarised ideological spaces in the digital

environment. With this understanding, the methodology for collecting data from online discussions inspired by ideological constructions was done in the hope of linking the context of the study, with theoretical discussions and current discourses around language, ideas and online debates. Based on this orientation, data collected and discussed were presented to establish arguments on the public's ideological constructions on the Anglophone crisis on social media.

The results of the analysis reveal that Facebook public responses to the Anglophone crisis are deeply ideologically polarised, with both pro-government and pro-separatist users engaging in strategic positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Pro-government discourse consistently constructs the state as a protector of civilians, guarantor of peace, and defender of national unity, often praising the military and the Head of State for ensuring stability and safeguarding lives and property. This framing portrays the government as lawful, responsible and morally legitimate. Conversely, pro-separatist discourse frames its actors as freedom fighters, defenders of an oppressed Anglophone population and bearers of historical justice, emphasising resilience, sacrifice and moral righteousness while depicting the state as oppressive, violent and colonial.

The major findings of the study demonstrate that English is not a neutral medium of communication in crisis situations but rather a powerful ideological resource used to legitimise in-group and out-group actions and delegitimise opposing groups. Both camps deploy emotionally charged language, negative labelling, victimisation narratives, actor description and polarising binaries to reinforce the *"US"* versus "*THEM"* dichotomy as described in Van Dijk's ideological square. As a result, Facebook becomes a discursive battlefield where competing narratives of national unity, identity, linguistic stratification, self-determination, victimhood, resistance and authority are constantly negotiated and contested. While peace-related discourse exists, it is largely subordinated to ideological goals of national integrity on the government side and self-determination on the separatist side thereby limiting the potential for inclusive dialogue and peacebuilding.

The analysis was limited to a single Facebook page and a specific timeframe, which means the findings do not represent the full spectrum of public discourse on the Anglophone crisis across other social media platforms or earlier phases of the conflict, particularly its escalation between 2016 and 2017. Additionally, the study focused on textual data and did not incorporate multimodal elements such as images, videos or emojis, which may also contribute significantly to ideological meaning-making online.

Despite these limitations, the study makes important theoretical and practical contributions. It reinforces the relevance of Critical Discourse Analysis in understanding crisis communication and confirms that language plays an active role in shaping social reality rather than merely reflecting it. Practically, the findings highlight the urgent need for responsible language use on social media, especially during conflicts and crises, as online narratives have the power to either escalate tensions or foster dialogue. The study therefore recommends that future research extend the analysis to multiple platforms, incorporate multimodal discourse and further explore peace-oriented linguistic practices in digital spaces.

In a nutshell, this study demonstrates that English language, as used in Facebook public responses to the Anglophone crisis, functions as a double-edged sword simultaneously enabling resistance, identity construction, ideological mobilisation and emotional expression, while also reinforcing division, polarisation and mutual delegitimisation of stakeholders. English emerges not merely as a communicative tool, but as a symbolic and ideological battlefield where national unity, separatist identity, power and legitimacy are enacted and contested. Ultimately, the study underscores that in crises, language is never neutral, it is an ideological apparatus, the use of which can either perpetuate conflict/crisis or contribute to pathways toward dialogue and peace.

Recommendations

Based on this study result, it is not quite easy to articulate all the threat on the Anglophone crisis, some recommendations are made hopefully to foster peacebuilding and national integration among stakeholders.

General recommendations

1) Social media practitioners and users should use more inclusive and non-inflammatory language in their publications and comments regarding the Anglophone crisis by preserving freedom of speech. This can lessen polarisation and enhance peacebuilding through inclusive discourse.

2) Government ought to create digital literacy programs that shed lights on responsible use of language and digital tools. On the other hand, language department should enhance the critical study of e-discourse on ideology and polarising discourse undermining emotionally charged narratives.

3) Linguists and researchers should emphasise on linguistics innovation and creativity of social media to decipher New Englishes variant especially the dynamism of English in digital platform and crisis communication through sociolinguistic awareness.

Recommendation for stakeholders

These recommendations are addressed to the pro-governments on the one hand and to pro-separatists on the other hand.

1) Recommendation for pro-government advocates

The findings as highlighted above rely on strong positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by pro-government advocates on MMI Facebook page, this section delves into proposing recommendations aimed at lessening ideological polarisation and enhancing peacebuilding.

a) Promote inclusive communication strategies

This recommendation directly addresses Van Dijk's notion of overemphasizing negative other-presentation, as pro-government discourse often demonizes separatists. Promoting inclusive language helps reduce polarization by softening rigid in-group versus out-group representations. The government should deliberately adopt inclusive and empathetic language that recognizes the grievances and lived experiences of Anglophone communities. Avoiding stigmatizing labels and overly militarized rhetoric in official communication can help reduce ideological distance and prevent further alienation of affected populations.

b) Strengthen transparent information channels

Transparency counters ideological manipulation and selective disclosure, where positive self-presentation is foregrounded while state shortcomings are backgrounded. Open information flow weakens one-sided narratives that reinforce ideological dominance and discursive control. Establishing reliable, timely, and multilingual official communication platforms can help counter misinformation and rumors circulating on social media. Transparency in crisis reporting reduces speculation, emotional escalation, and distrust that often fuel polarised online discourse.

c) Enhance peace-oriented discourse

Peace-oriented messaging challenges the ideological square's tendency to magnify state legitimacy while minimizing internal failures. Balanced communication reduces exaggerated positive self-presentation and encourages discourse that prioritizes reconciliation over ideological superiority. Government discourse should consistently foreground peace, reconciliation, and coexistence rather than solely emphasizing security and authority. Messaging that highlights shared national values, diversity, and unity can contribute to de-escalation and encourage constructive public engagement.

d) Engage local influencers and civil society

This recommendation confronts elite discourse monopolization, where dominant institutions control meaning production. Involving civil society redistributes discursive power and aligns with Van Dijk's critique of ideological reproduction through institutional dominance. Community leaders, religious authorities, local journalists, and civil society organizations possess cultural legitimacy and trust among local populations. Involving them as mediators can help translate official messages into culturally sensitive narratives that resonate with grassroots communities.

e) Invest in digital literacy campaigns

Digital literacy empowers audiences to critically identify positive self-bias and negative other-bias, weakening ideological manipulation and reducing uncritical acceptance of polarized narratives embedded in online political discourse. Improving citizens' digital literacy would enable them to critically assess online content, identify misinformation, and resist emotionally manipulative narratives. This can significantly reduce the circulation of extremist, sensational, and polarizing discourse on social media platforms.

2. For Separatist-affiliated advocates

The finding also unveiled the prevalence of victimhood rhetoric, positive self-presentation and negative other representation of out-group in pro-separatist discourse, this section provides some recommendation on responsible English language use.

a) Encourage non-violent and responsible online communication

This recommendation responds to separatist discourse that maximizes negative other-presentation of the state, often through violent rhetoric. Responsible language reduces ideological extremism and limits discursive escalation. Separatist-affiliated users should refrain from incitement, hate speech, and dehumanizing expressions that normalize violence and exacerbate civilian suffering. Responsible discourse can reduce ideological extremism and create space for non-violent political expression.

b) Prioritise dialogue and peace-rhetoric in messaging

Peace-oriented rhetoric counters the ideological square by limiting self-glorification and moral absolutism, replacing militant identity construction with dialogic, negotiation-oriented positioning. Political claims should be articulated through reasoned arguments, historical analysis, and dialogue-oriented rhetoric rather than violent or absolutist narratives. Peace-oriented language can enhance the legitimacy of political demands and attract broader local and international support.

c) Reduce narratives of victimhood and militancy

Victimhood and militancy narratives exemplify positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Reducing such narratives helps dismantle rigid ideological binaries and opens space for alternative interpretations. While acknowledging historical marginalisation, over-reliance on victimhood and militant resistance narratives reinforces antagonism and hardens ideological positions. Balanced narratives that incorporate possibilities for dialogue and reconciliation can open alternative political pathways

d) Promote accurate information

Verification reduces ideological distortion by preventing exaggeration of out-group crimes and suppression of in-group violence, a central operation within Van Dijk's ideological square. Separatist networks should prioritise verification of information before dissemination. Countering misinformation and exaggerated claims can reduce fear, panic, and retaliatory discourse, especially during sensitive crisis moments.

e) Encourage community-based mediation

Community mediation humanizes both in-groups and out-groups, countering ideological abstraction and de-emphasizing rigid identity boundaries that sustain *"US"* versus *"THEM"* discourse. Supporting mediation initiatives involving traditional authorities, community elders, and diaspora mediators can help bridge divides between conflicting narratives. Such localised approaches promote trust and culturally grounded conflict resolution mechanisms.

Recommendations for both Actors

Since both stakeholders are contributing in ideological polarisation through "*US* versus *THEM*", the following recommendation emphasise peace linguistics as pathways toward discursive de-escalation on Facebook public response.

a) Adopt peace linguistics principles

Both actors should acknowledge that language could escalate or de-escalate conflict. Using respectful terminology, reducing demonization, and recognizing shared humanity are essential steps toward discursive de-escalation and social cohesion. Peace linguistics directly confronts the ideological square by encouraging balanced self- and other-representation, ethical language use, reduced demonisation, and discourse practices oriented toward coexistence rather than domination and peace-oriented discourse on Facebook using English language not as a bridge for intercultural understanding rather than a weapon of ideological expression (Friedrich, 2007).

b. Promote neutral peace platforms

Neutral platforms disrupt ideological echo chambers that reinforce in-group superiority and out-group demonization, allowing alternative, less polarized discourses to circulate. Creating neutral digital spaces moderated by independent peace organizations would enable constructive dialogue rather than polarized confrontation. Such platforms can encourage reasoned debate and mutual listening and understanding.

c) Protect civilians and properties

Centering civilians weakens ideological justifications for violence and challenges moral self-presentation narratives that legitimise harm against perceived out-groups. All discourse should explicitly affirm the dignity, safety, and rights of civilians. Both sides should actively discourage language that glorifies violence or normalises civilian and goods harm.

d) Support independent dialogue bodies

Independent bodies limit ideological reproduction by powerful actors and align with Van Dijk's emphasis on resisting dominant discourse control through plural, decentralised communication structures. Collaboration with NGOs, academic institutions, and international mediators can facilitate conflict-sensitive communication training and structured dialogue initiatives that transcend ideological boundaries.

e) Encourage cross-community digital engagement

Cross-community engagement directly undermines the "*US* versus *THEM*" dichotomy, jeopardising the ideological foundation upon which polarised discourse and identity construction are built. Moderated exchanges between Anglophone and Francophone users can reduce stereotypes, humanise opposing perspectives, and weaken the entrenched *"US* versus *THEM"* dichotomy that dominates online discourse.

Consideration for additional works

Like any scientific endeavour, this study did not exhaust all research possibilities related to the Anglophone crisis as it aimed to analyse Facebook public response on the Anglophone crisis specifically from MMI's Facebook page using Critical Discourse Analysis. Future research could apply different linguistic theories, mixed method and even investigate other social network sites. In short, further studies could be carried on:

- The social semiotics analysis of insurgency on social media: CDA perspectives.
- Beyond Facebook: cross-platform ideological framing of the Anglophone crisis.
- Diachronic critical discourse analysis of online crisis discourse: the evolution of Facebook public response on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

- Cross regional analysis of English language use in crisis situation in some selected crises in Africa.
- The English language in constructing identity and resistance on the Anglophone crisis digital discourse.
- Cyber nationalism on social media: a socio-pragmatic analysis of content.

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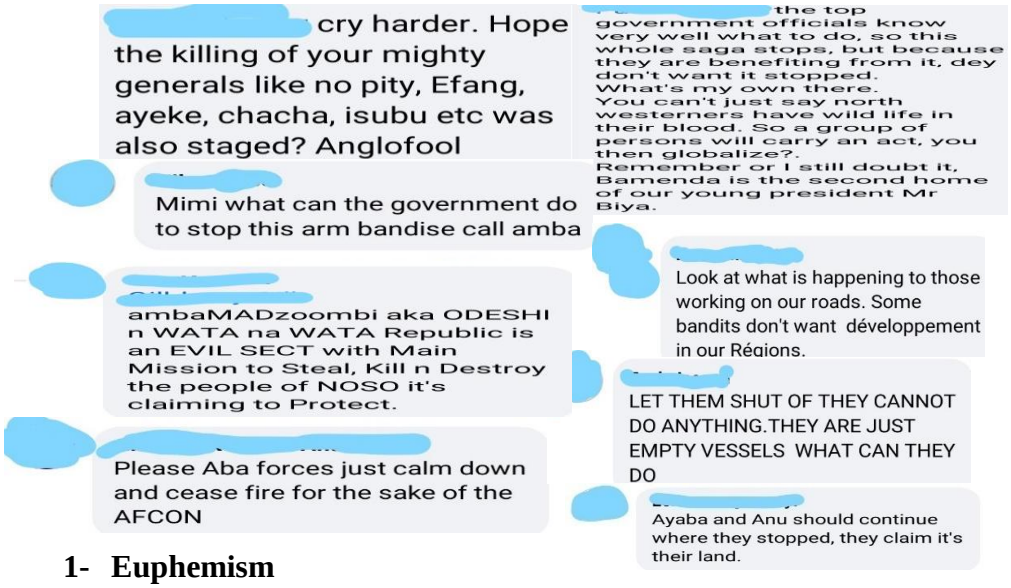
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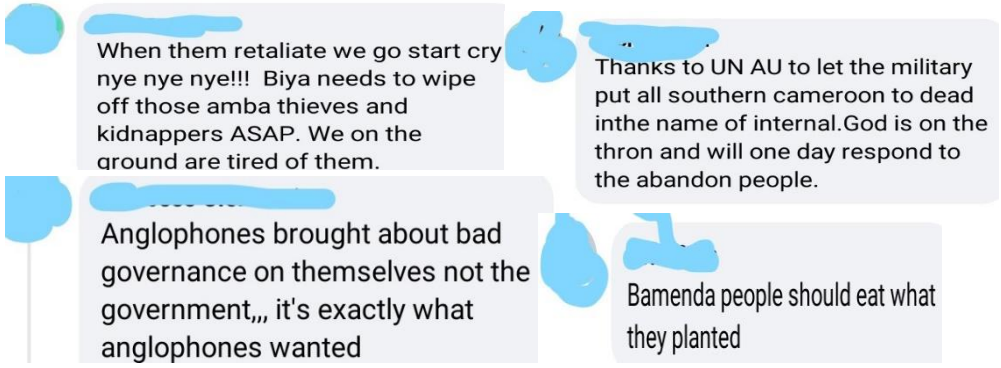
APPENDICES

A-Pro-government

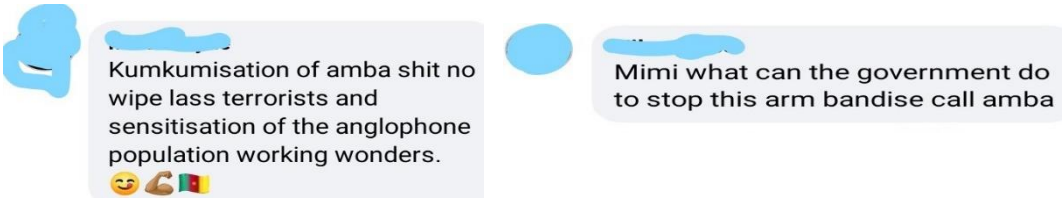
0- Actor description



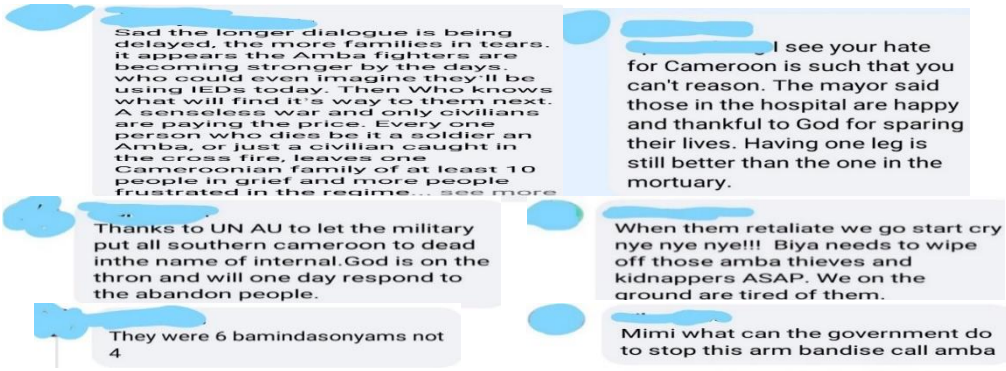
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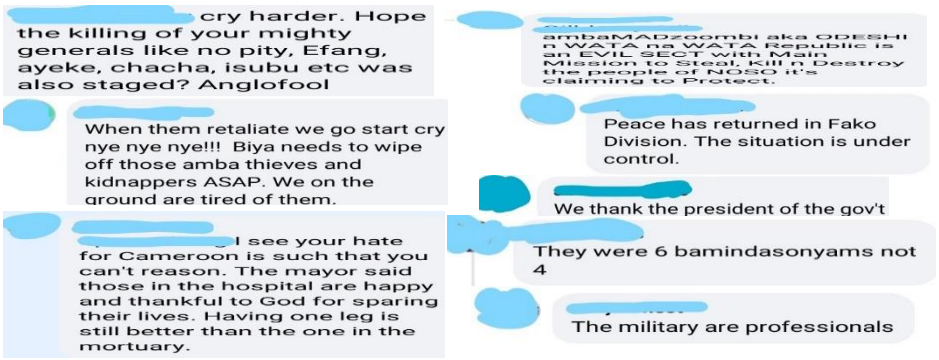
2- Generalisation



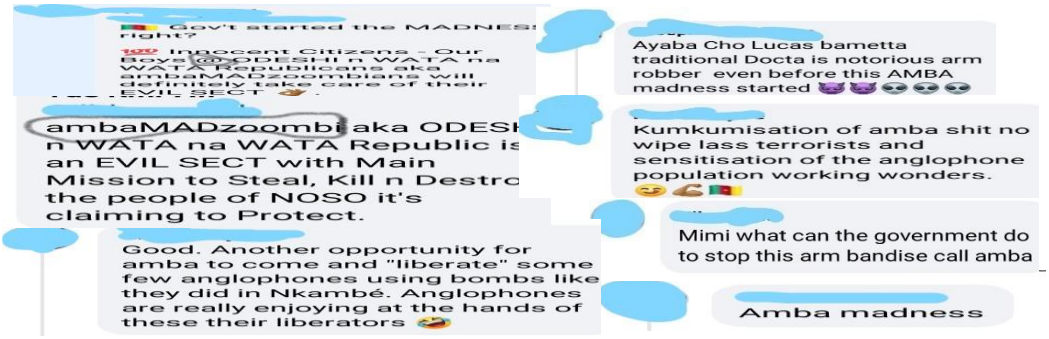
3- Hyperbole



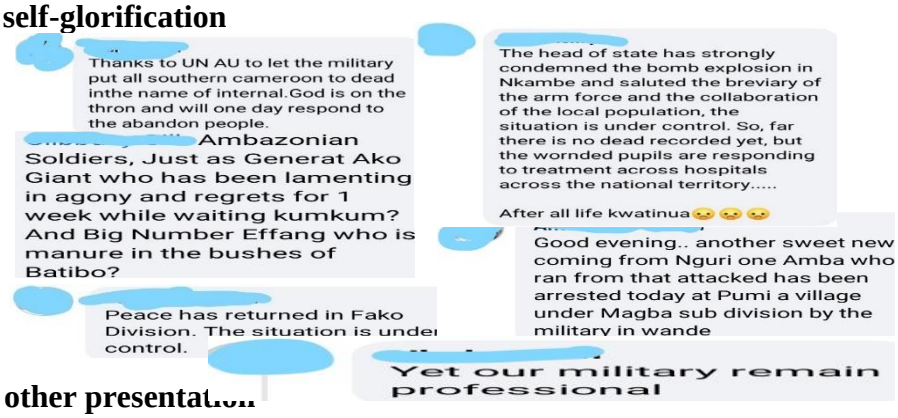
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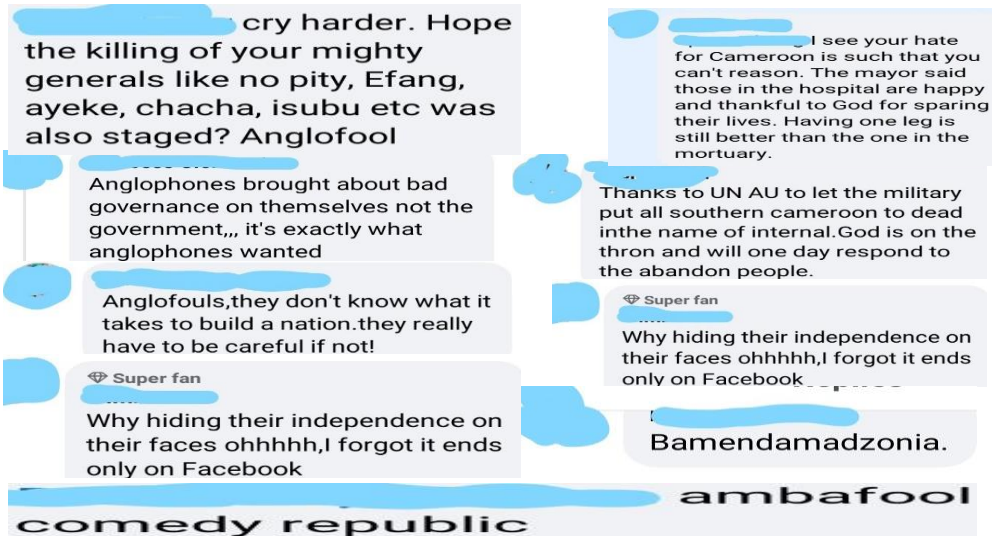
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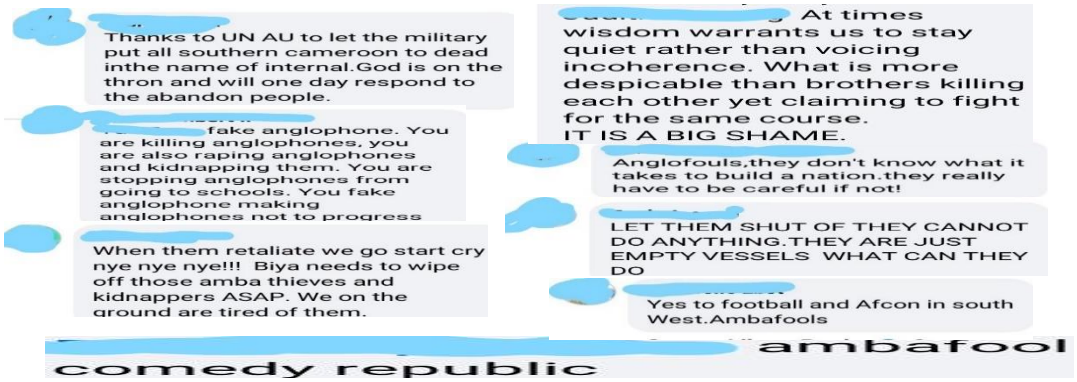


6- National self-glorification

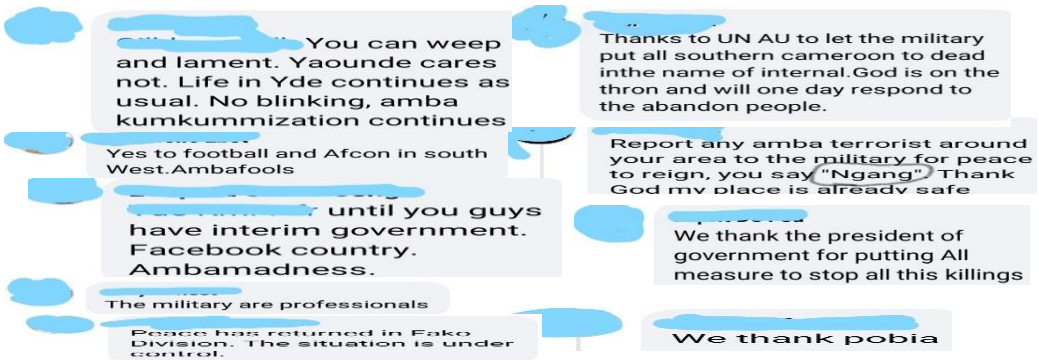


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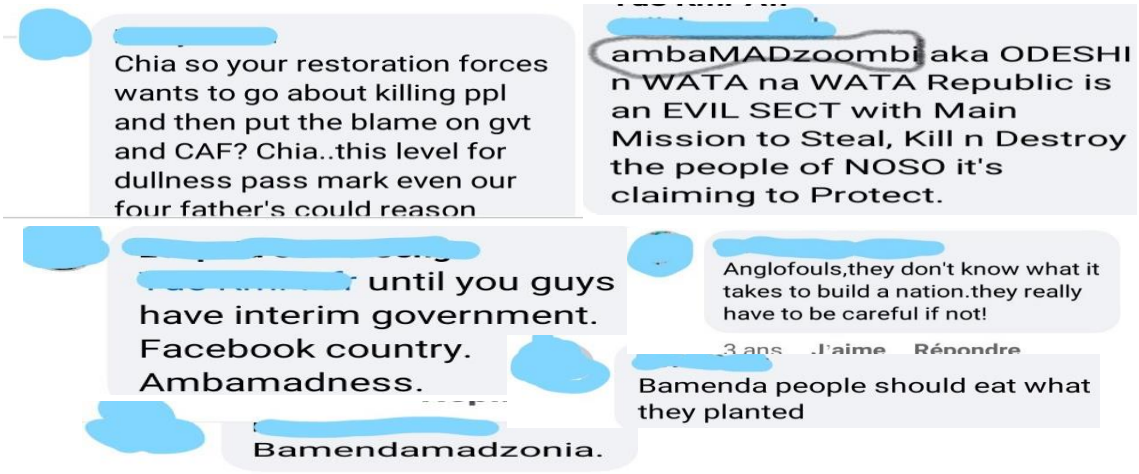




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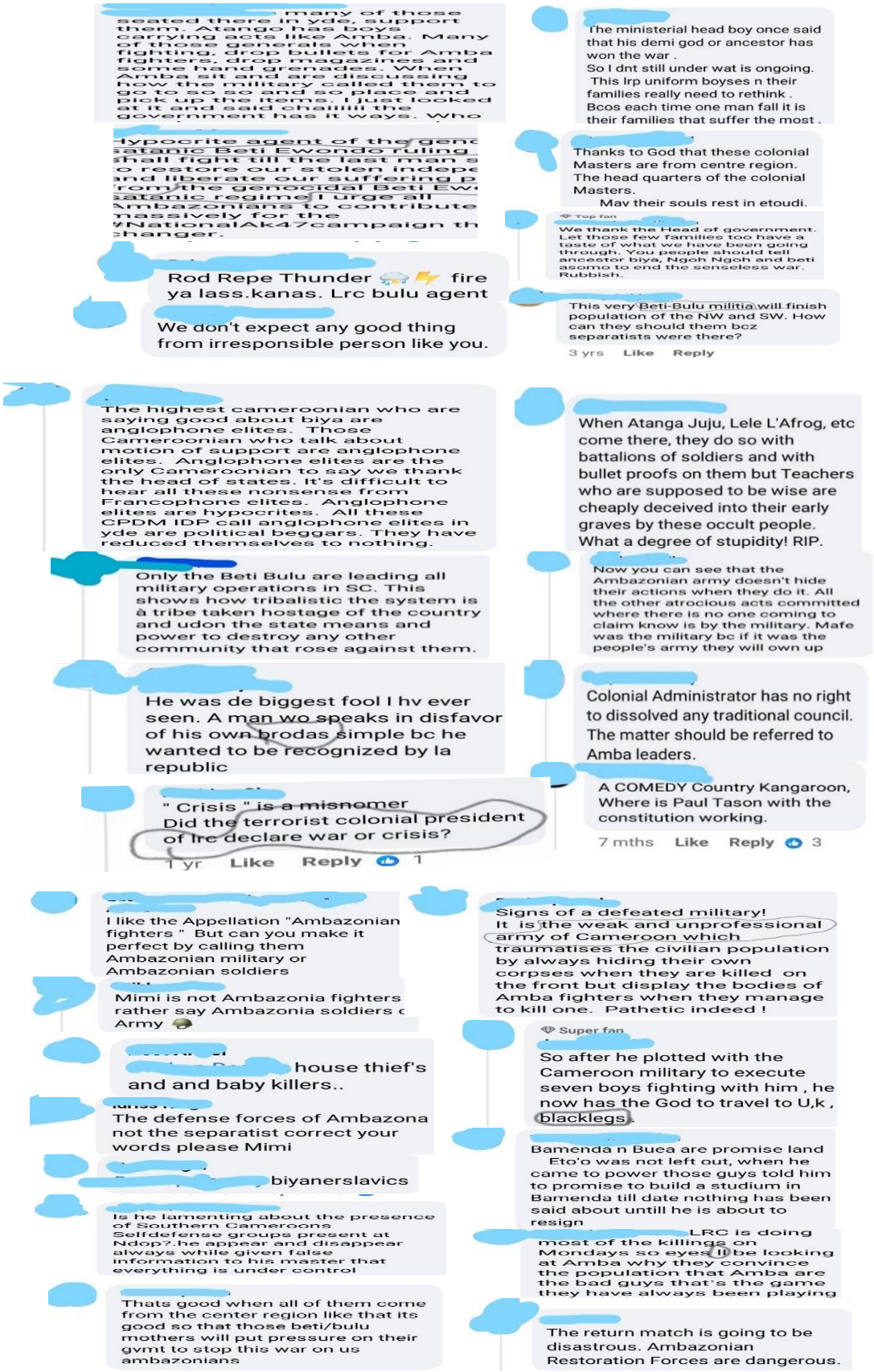


11-Victimisation

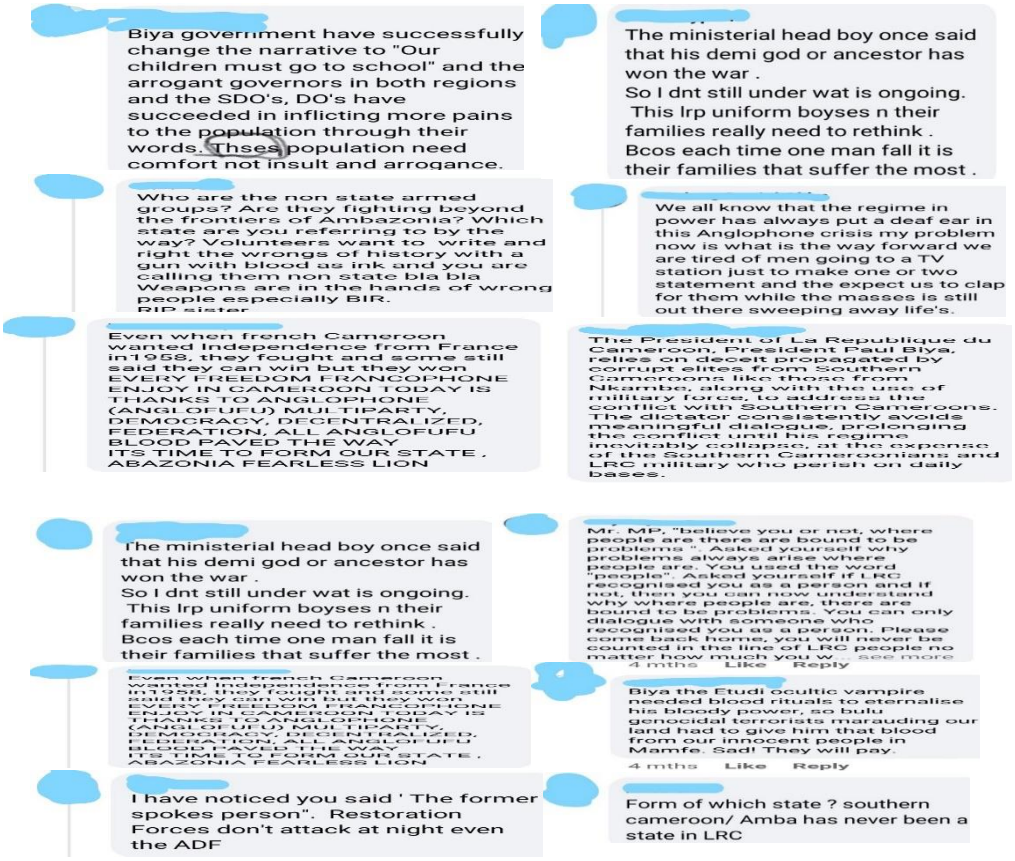


B-Separatist

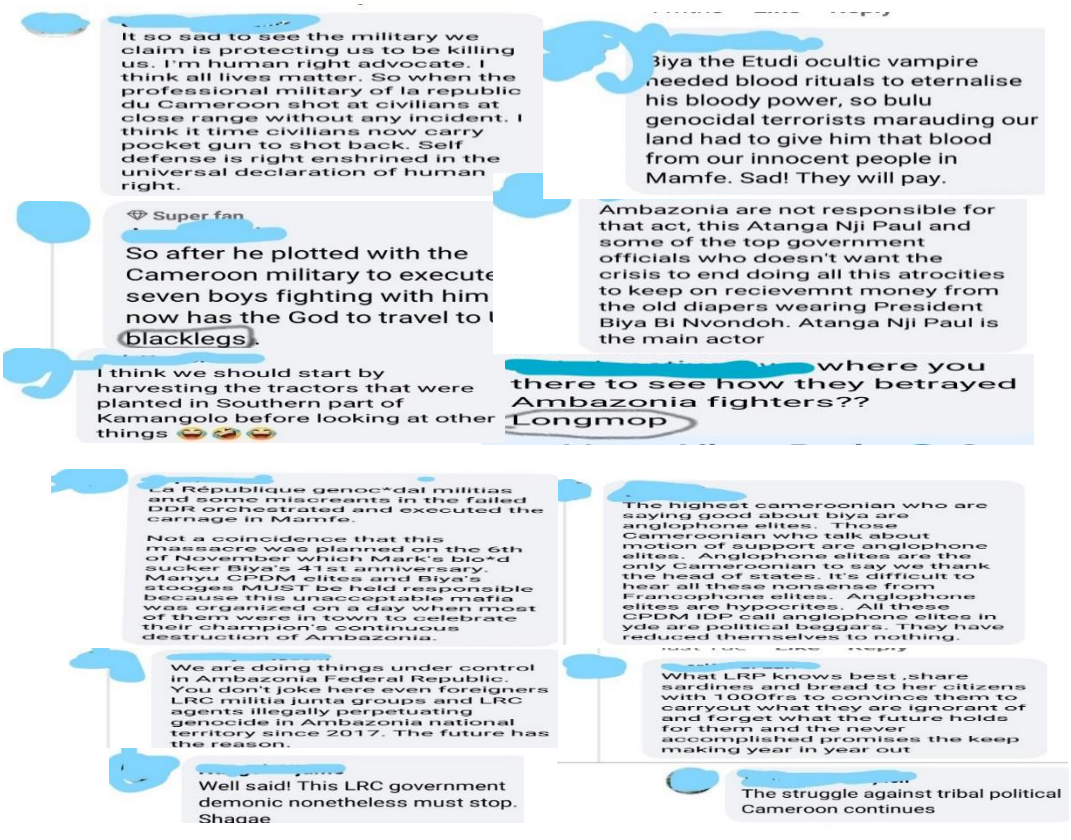
1- Separatist actor description

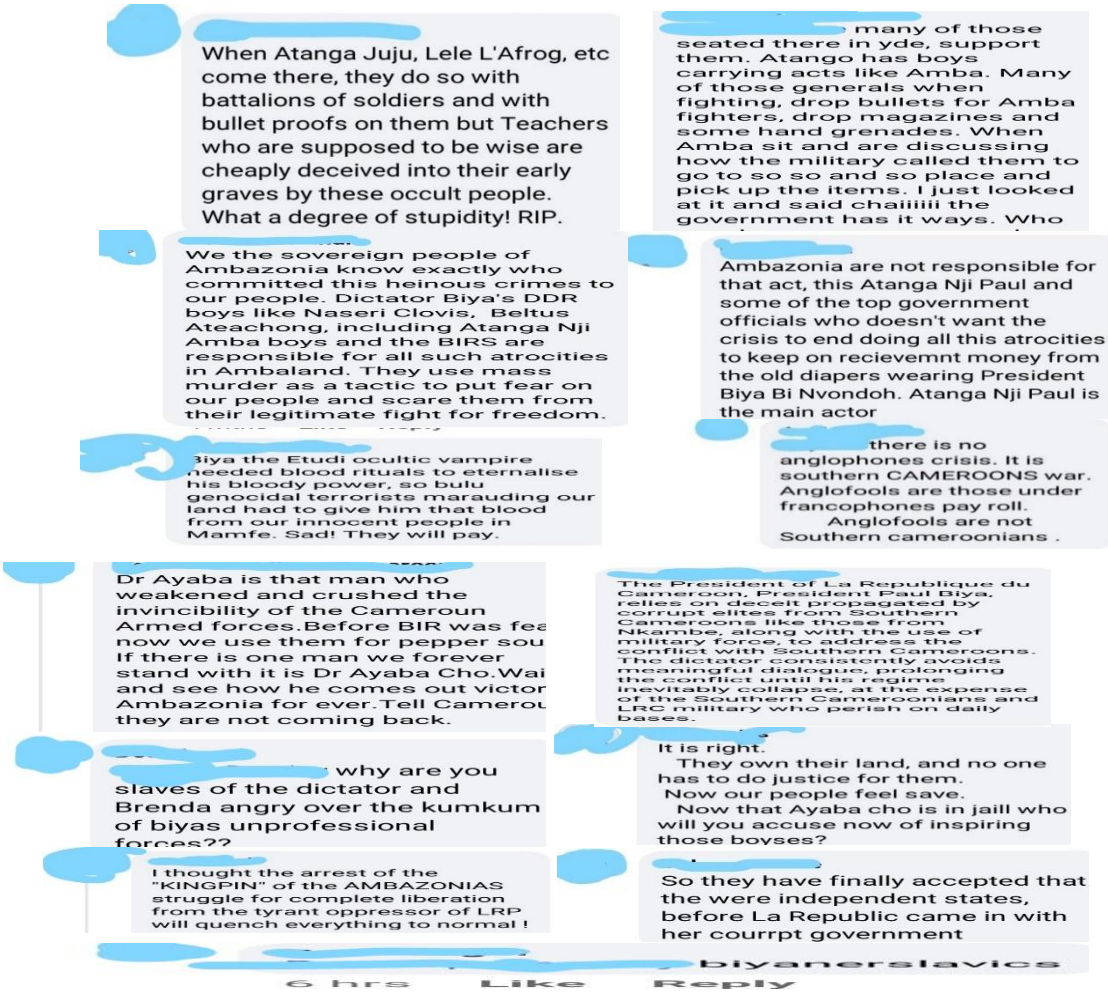


2-Separatist authority

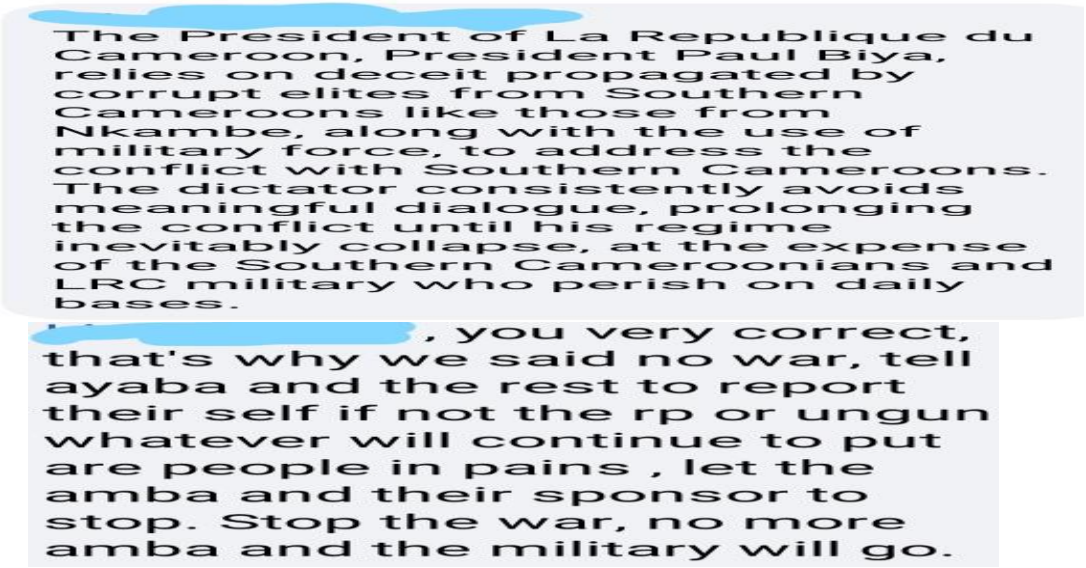


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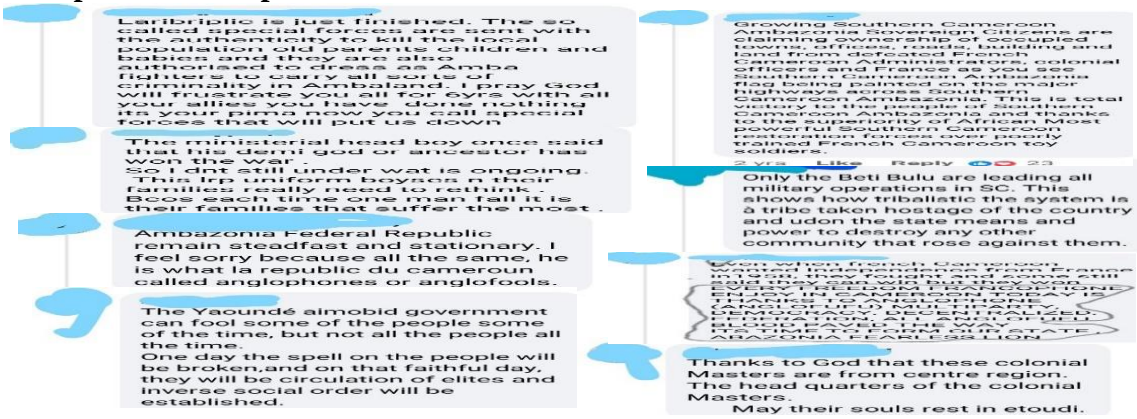


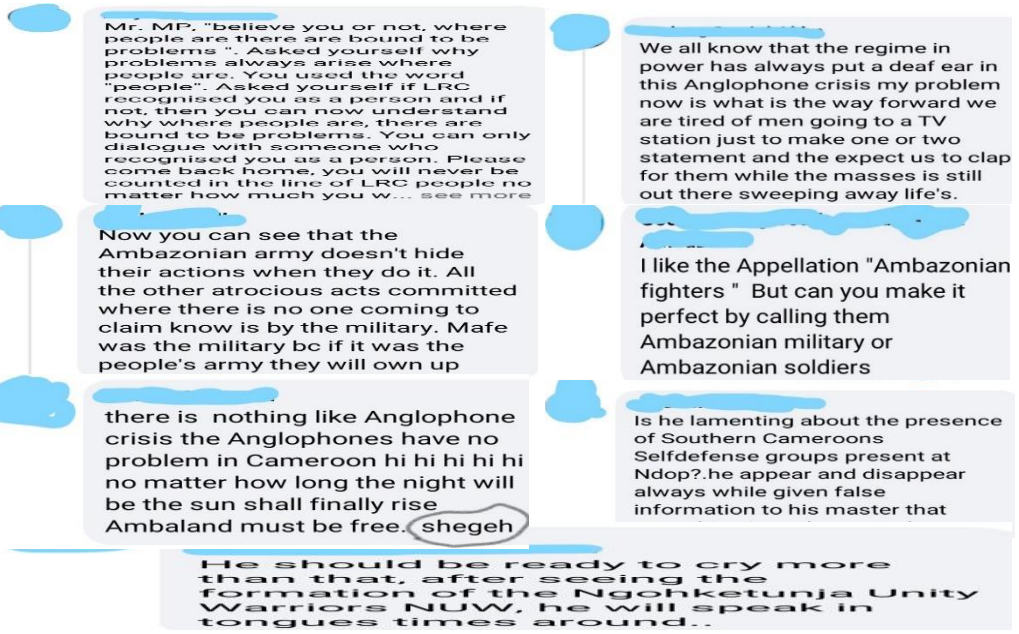


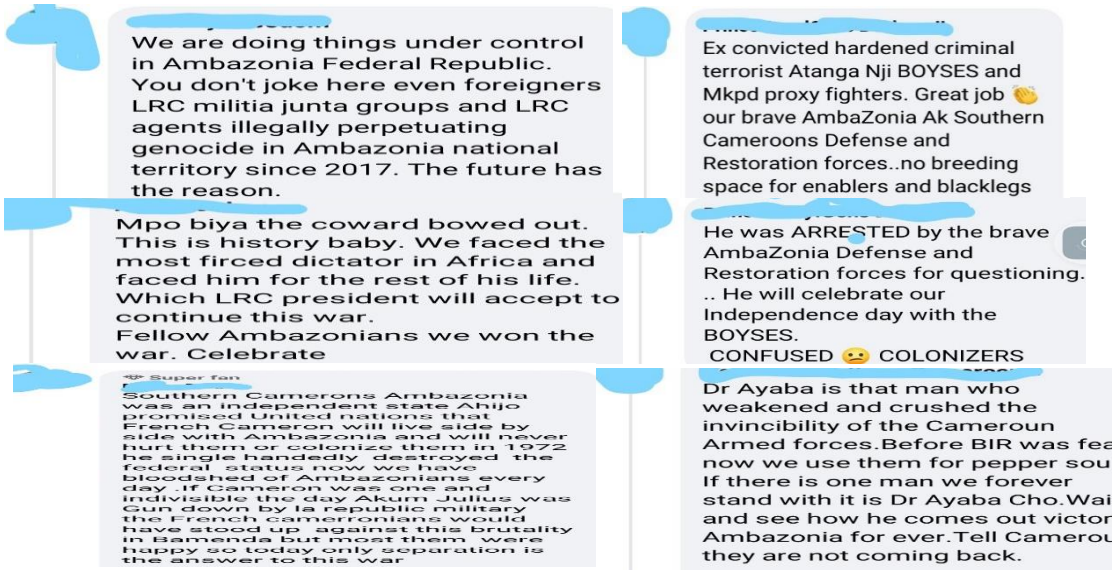
Separatist consensus

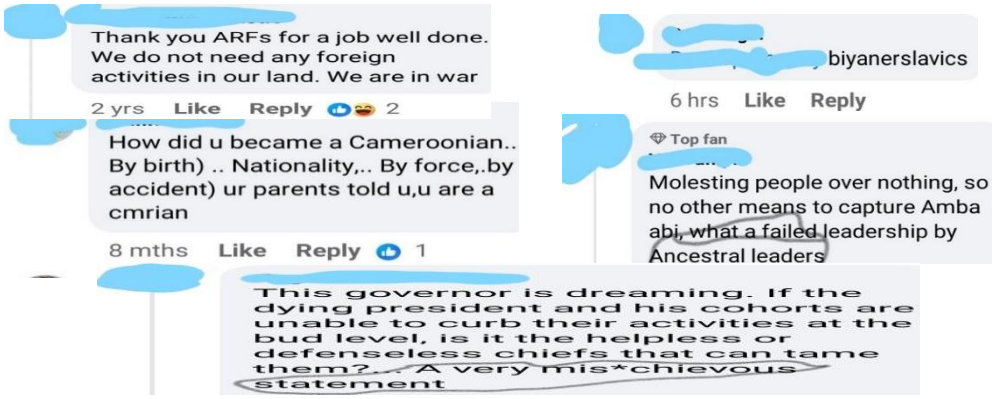


3-**Separatist example**

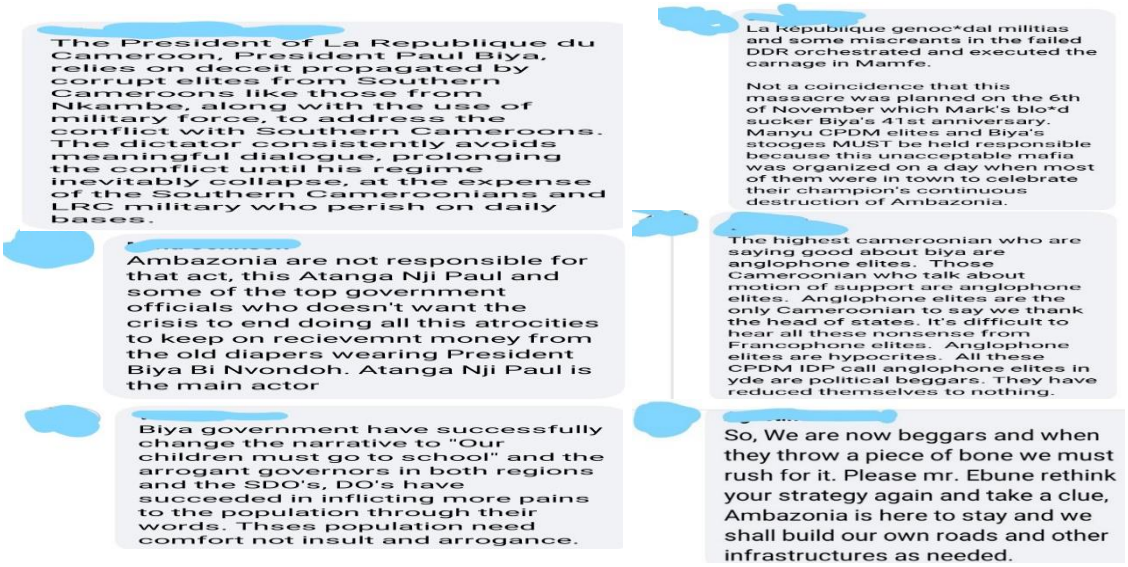




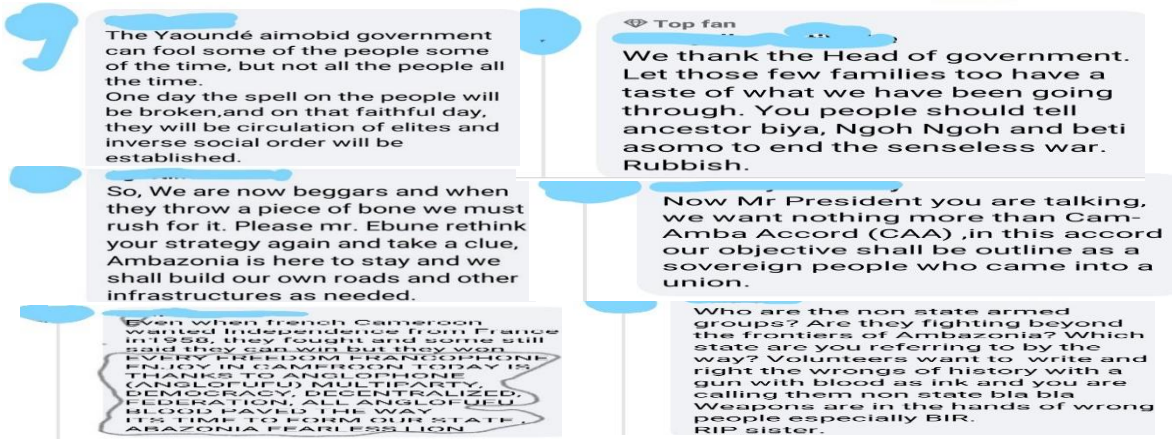


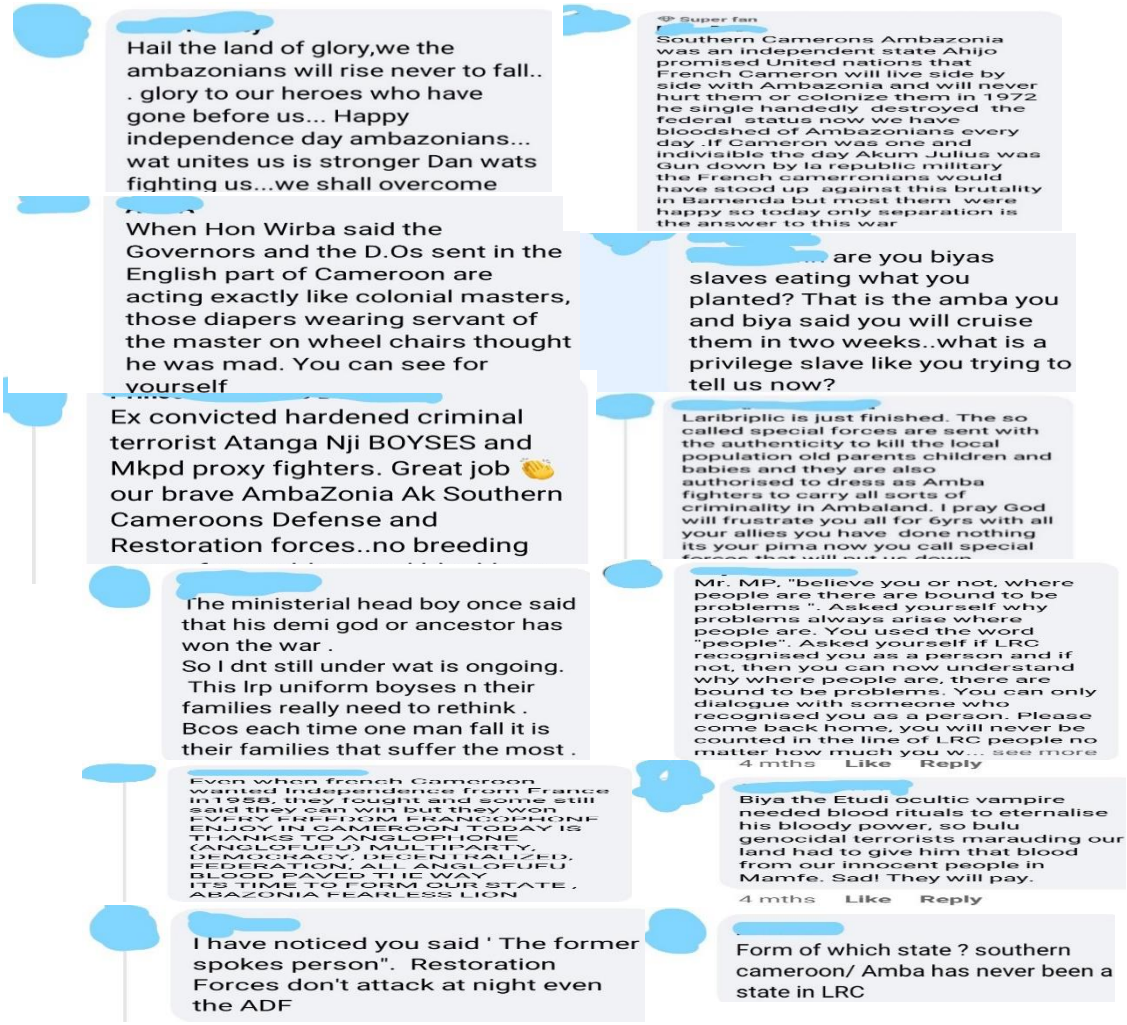


Separatist Euphemism

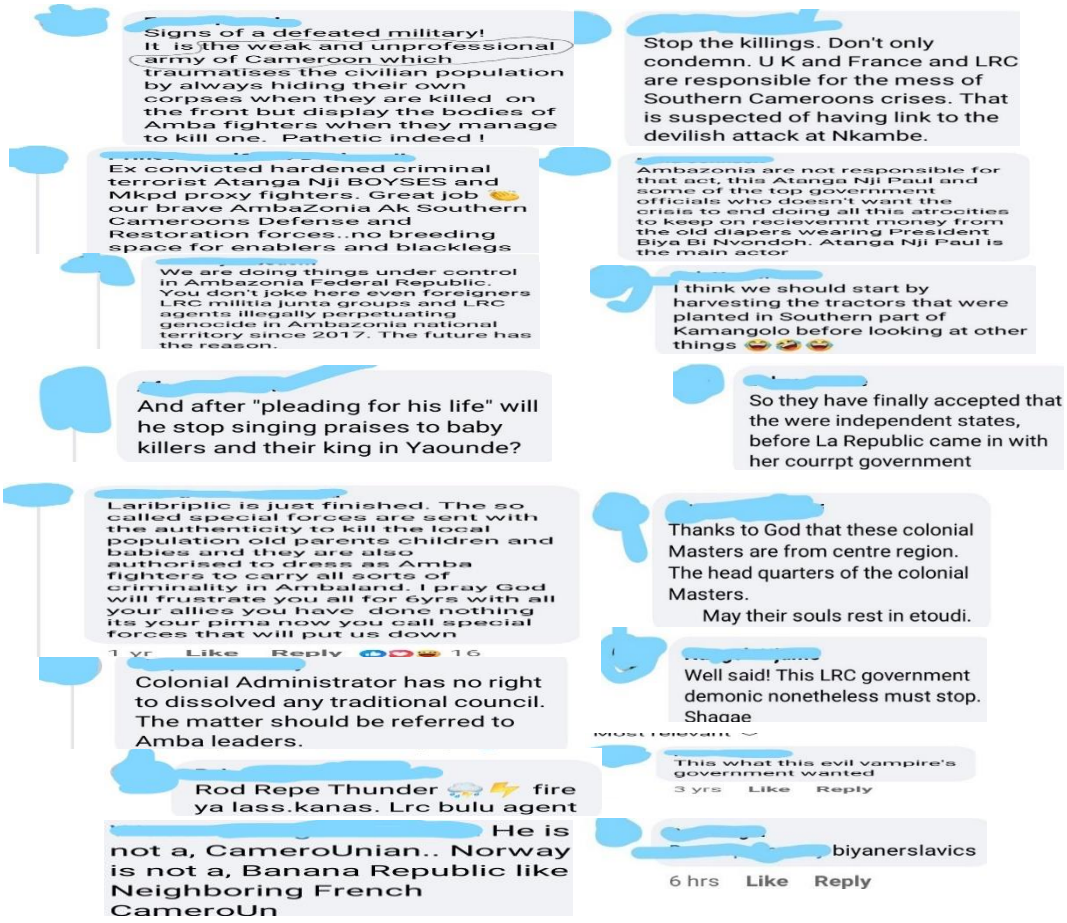


Separatist evidentiality

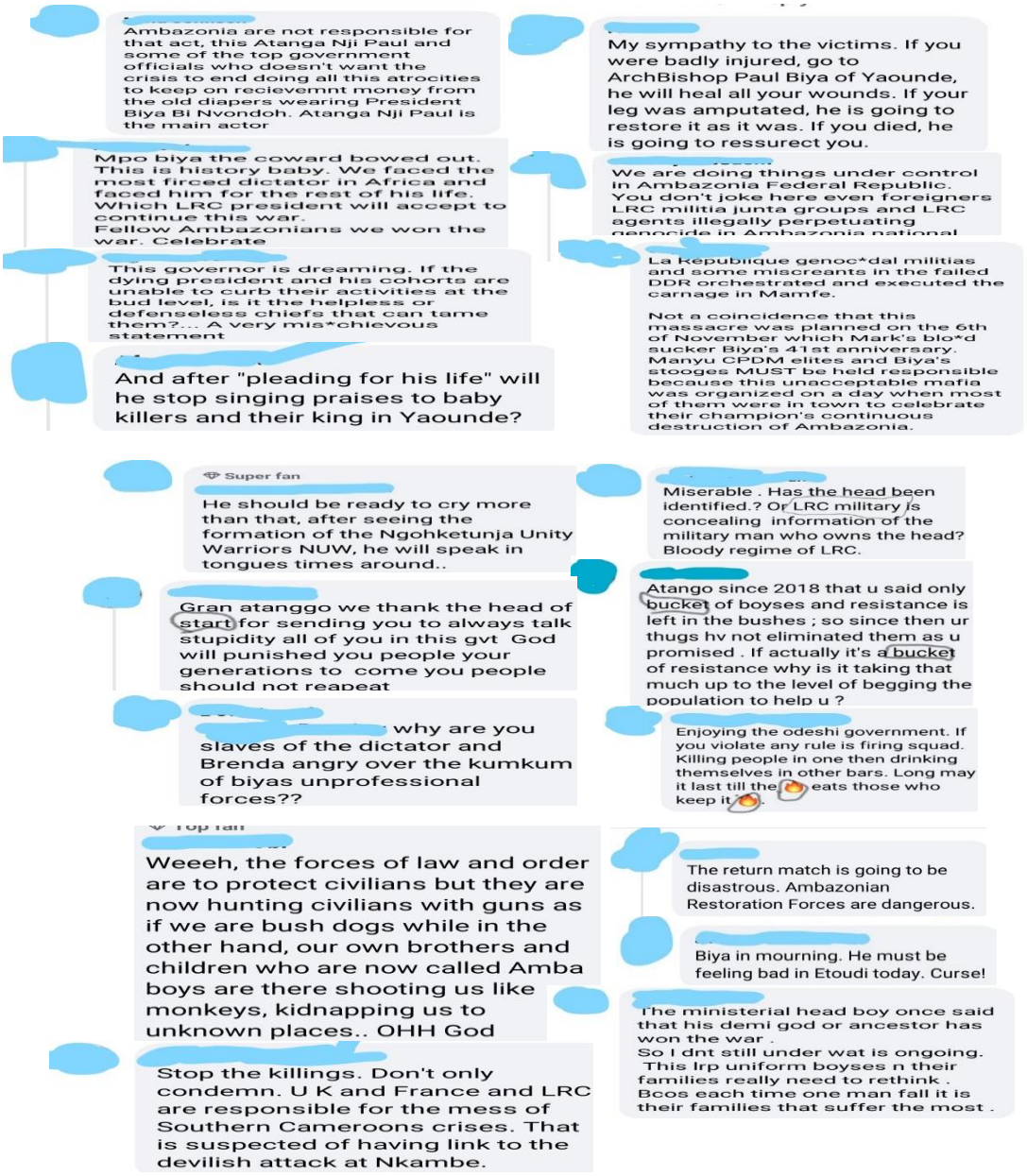




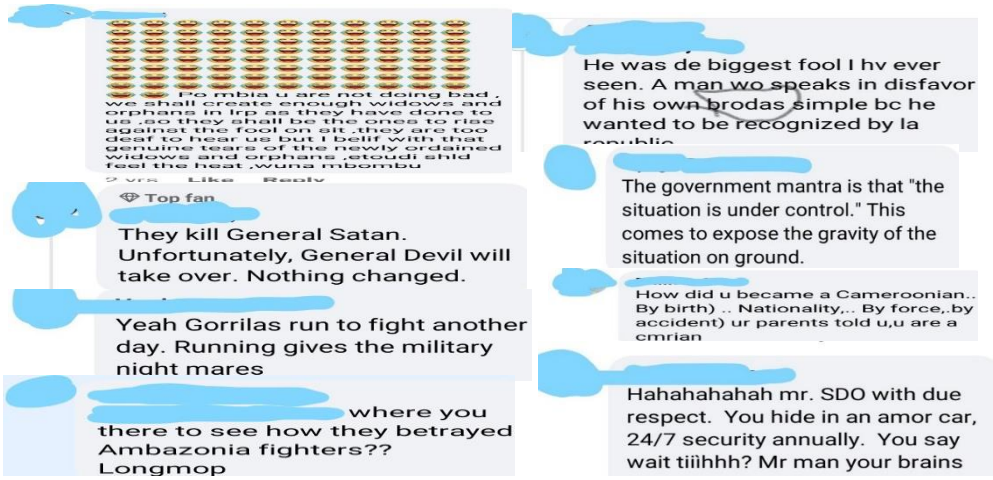
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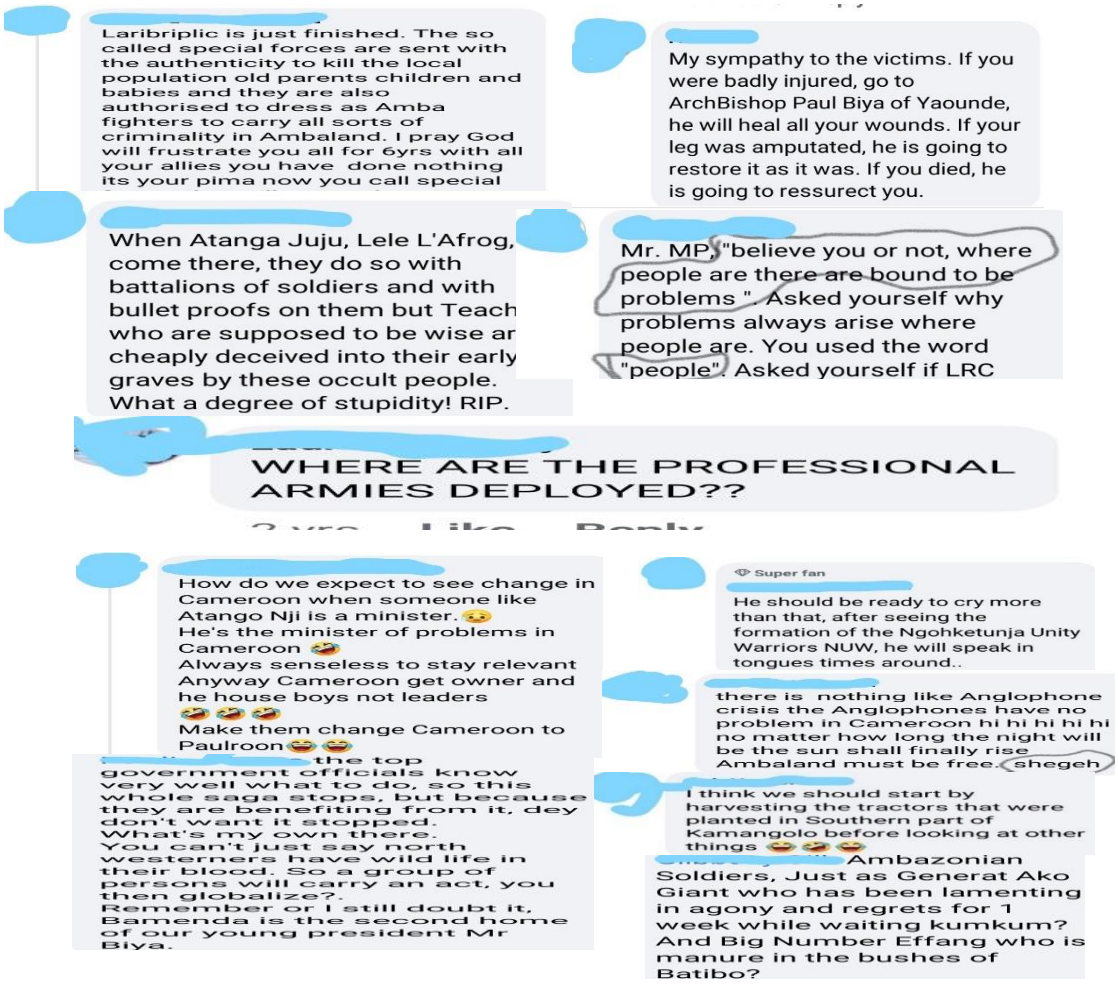


4- Separatist Hyperbole

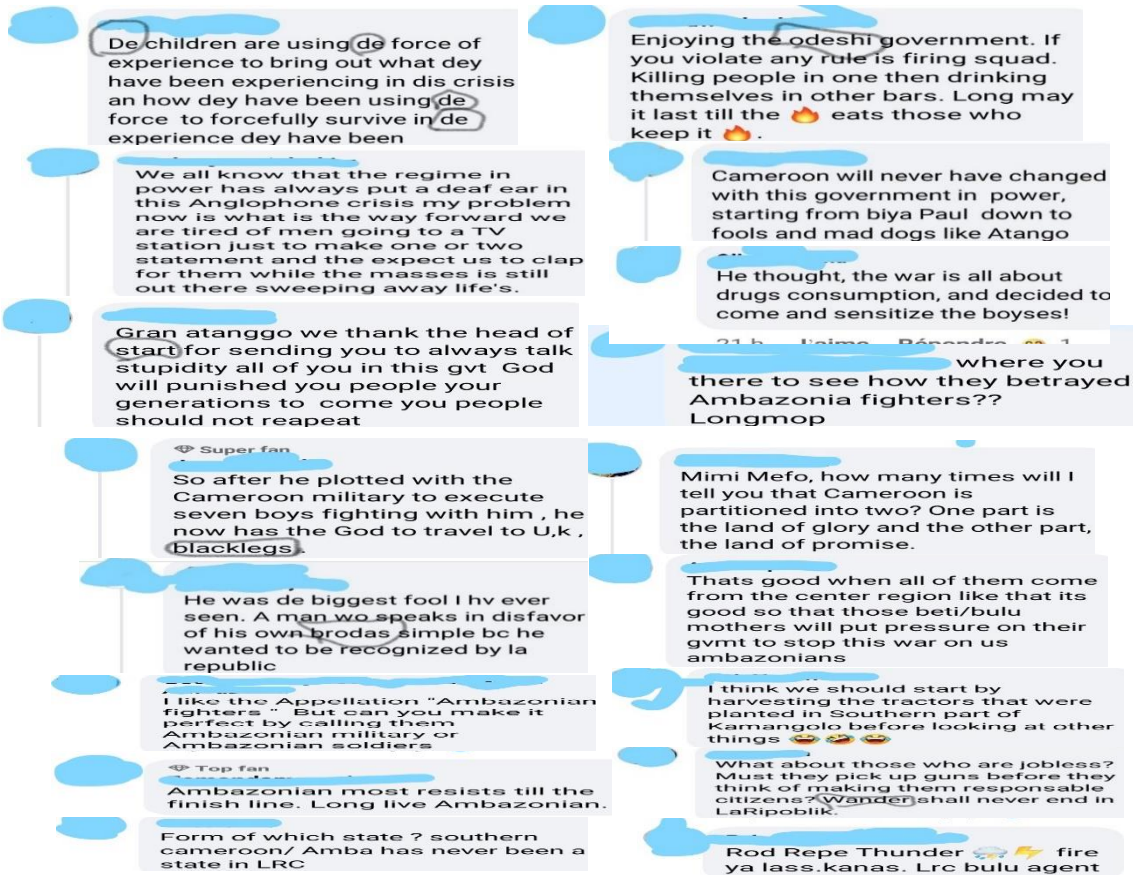


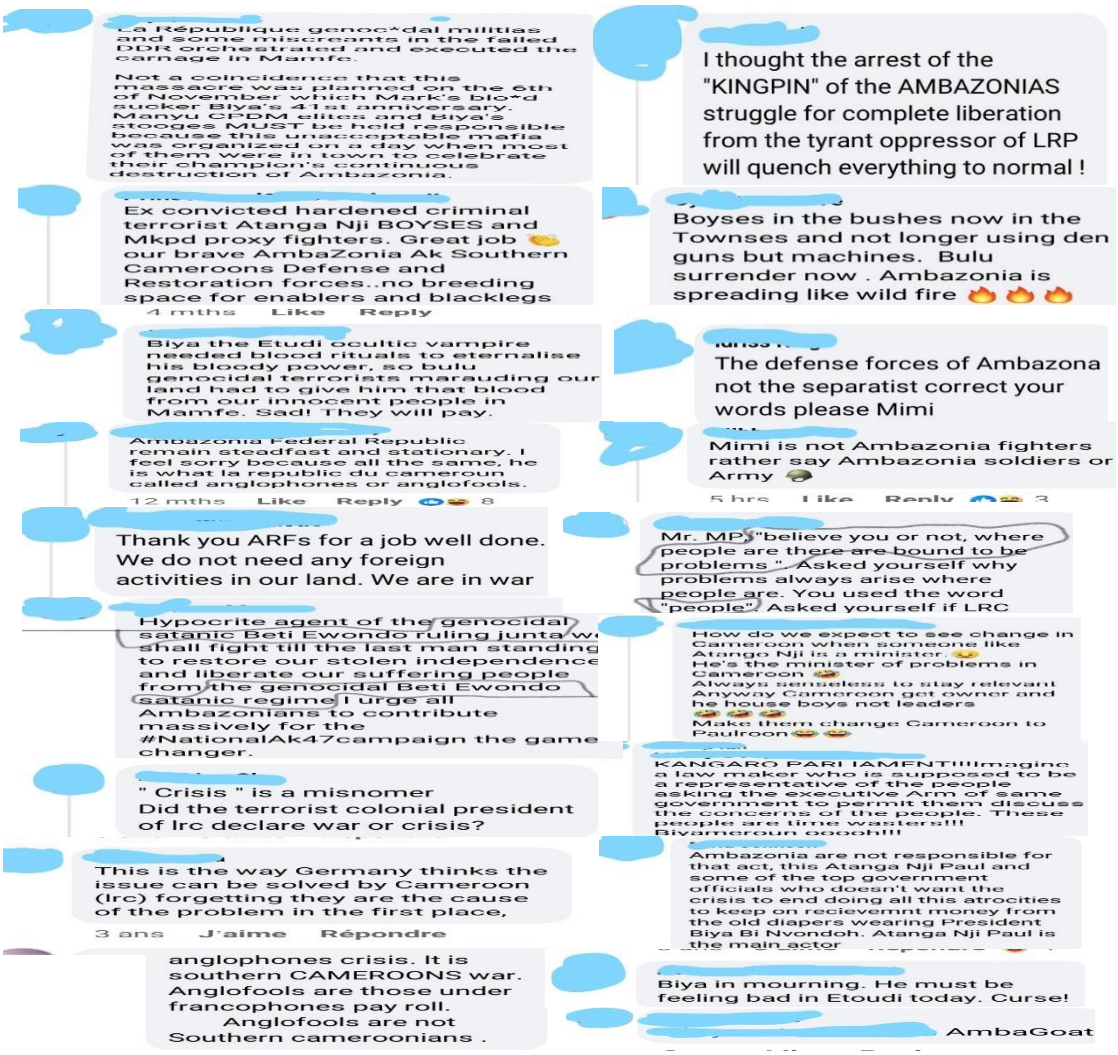
Separatist irony



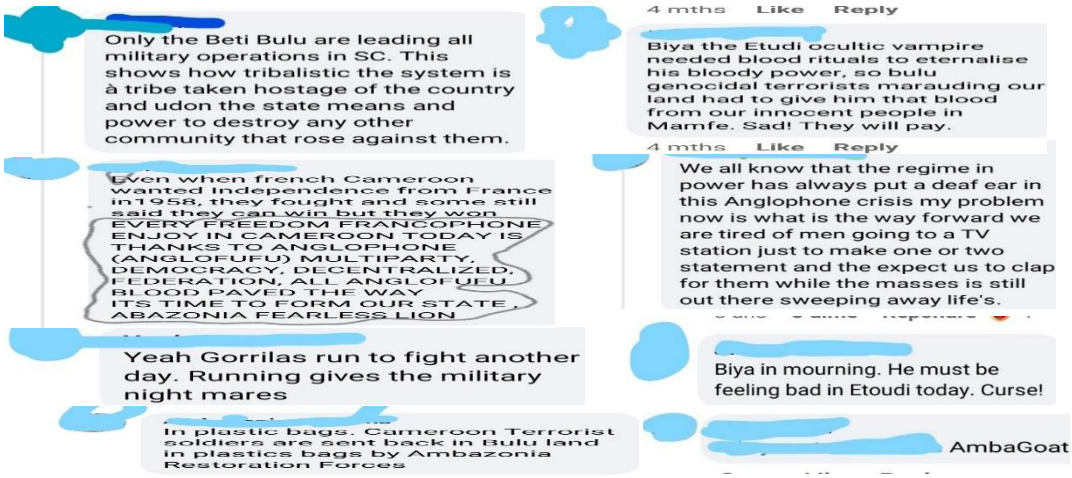


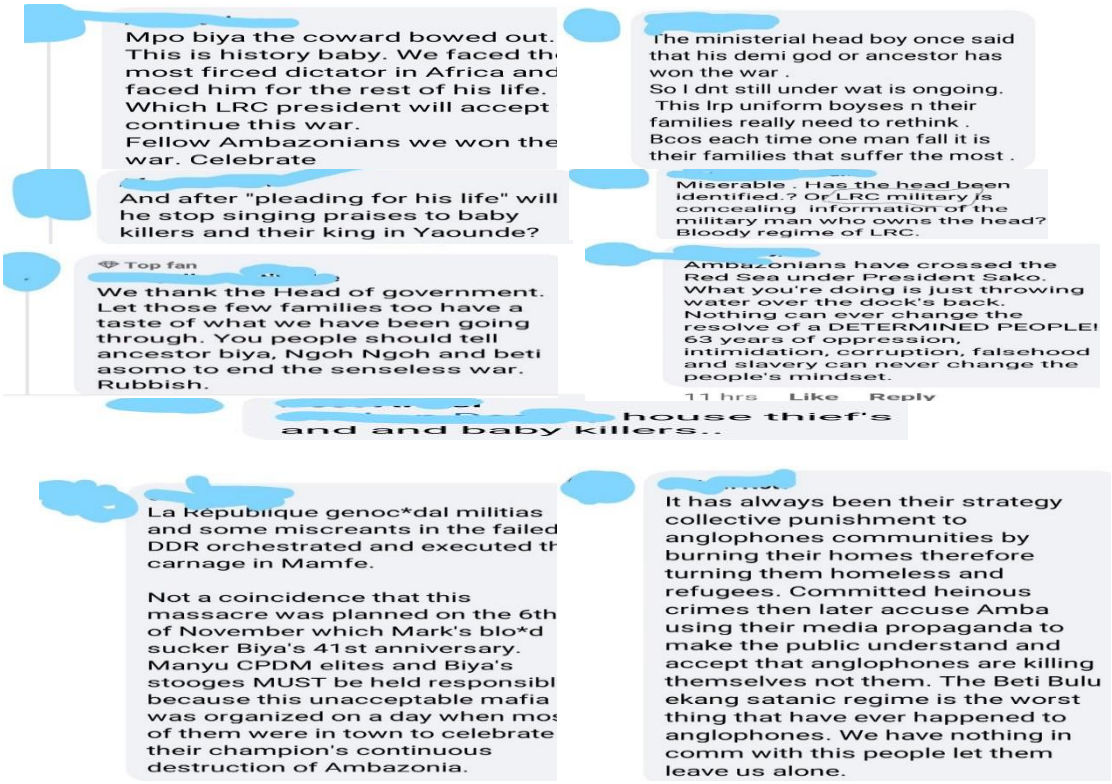
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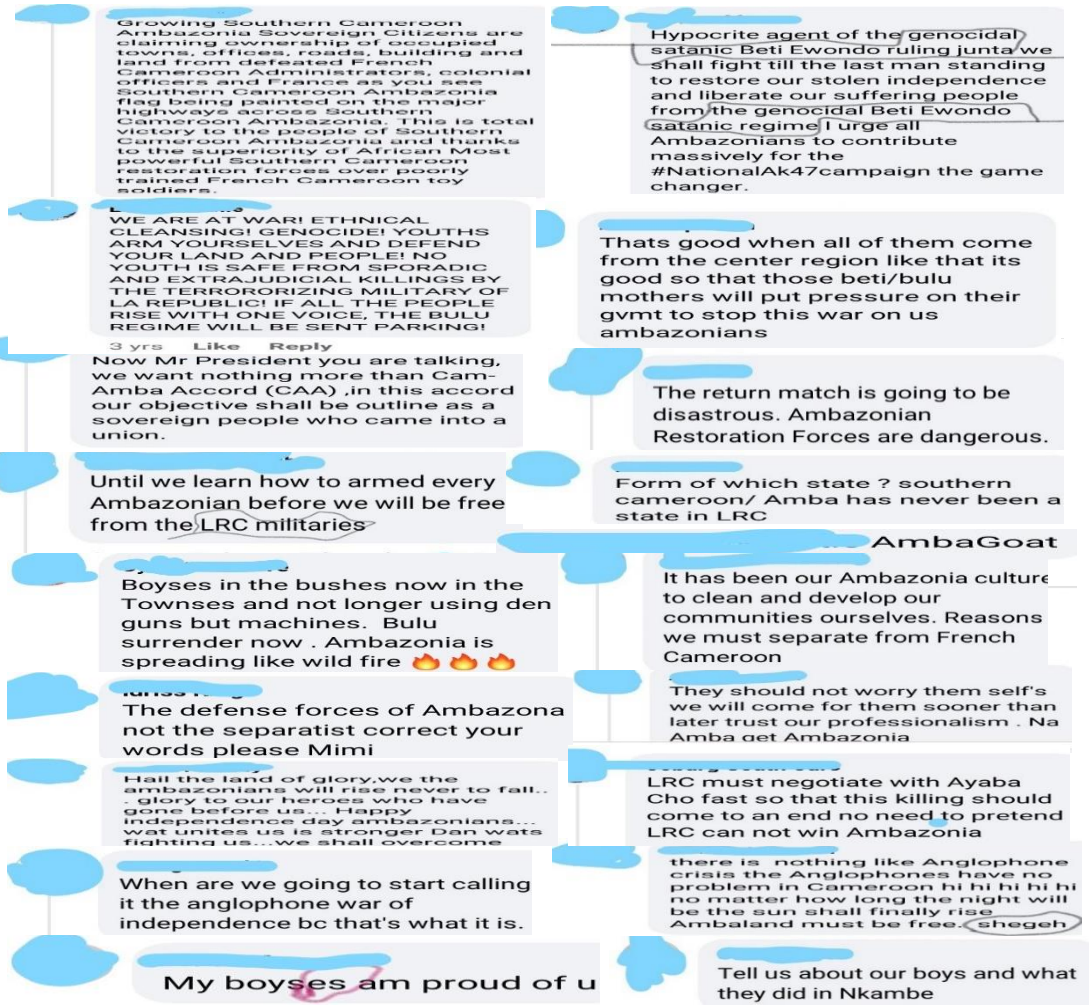


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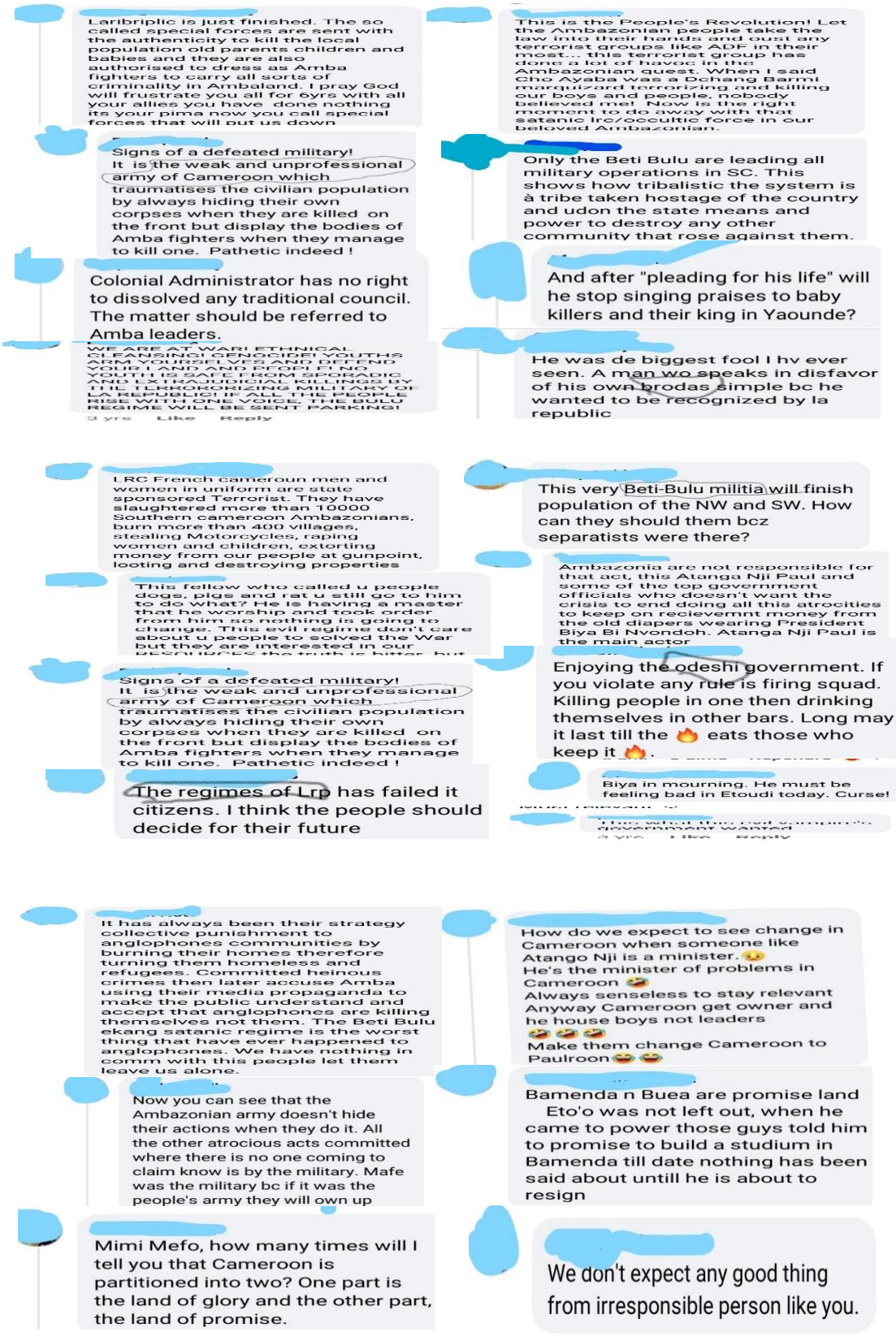


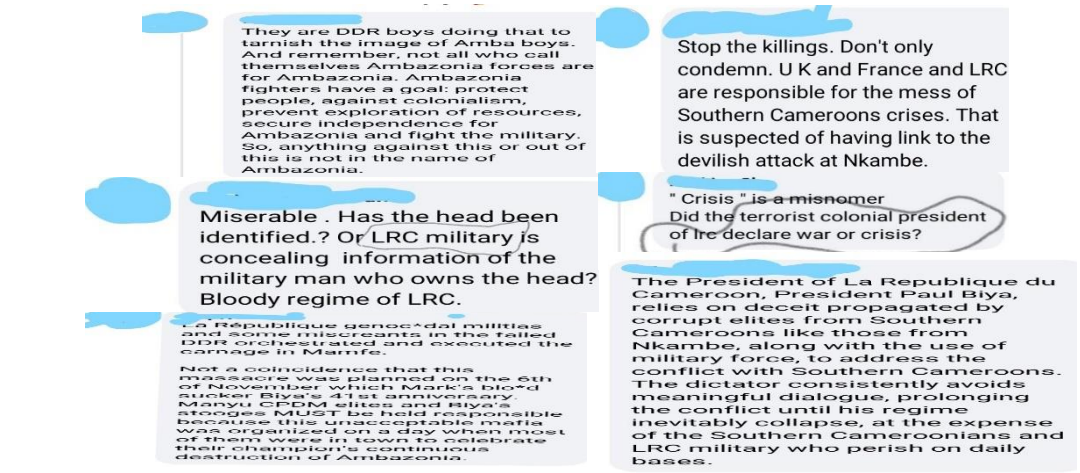


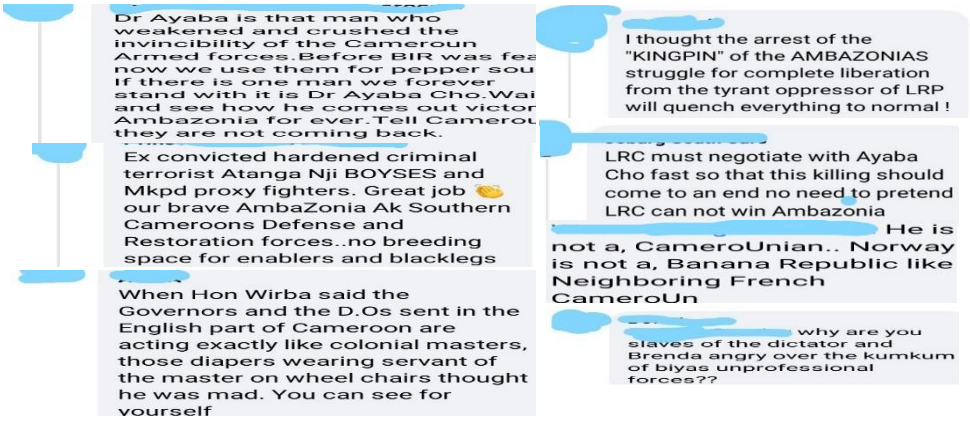
13-Separatist national self-glorification

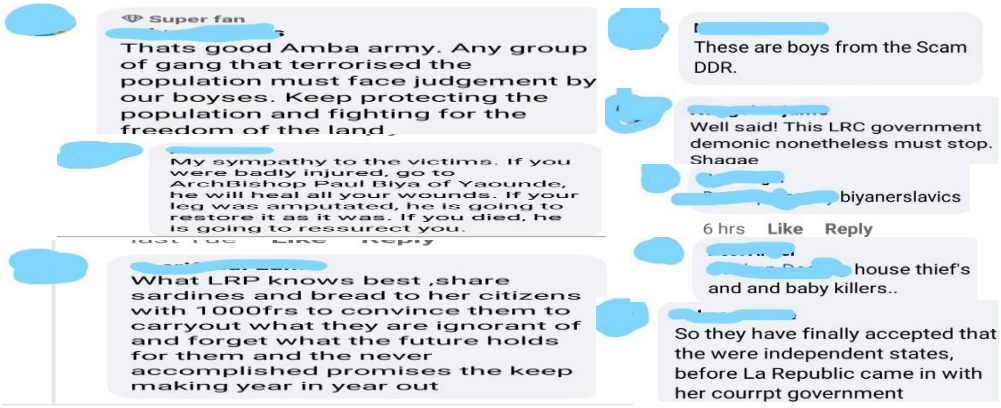


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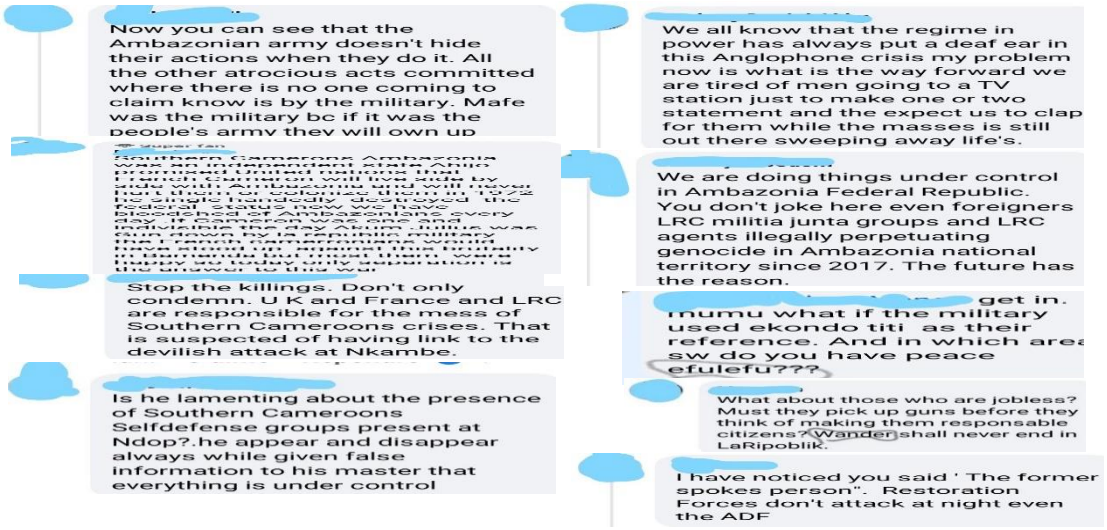


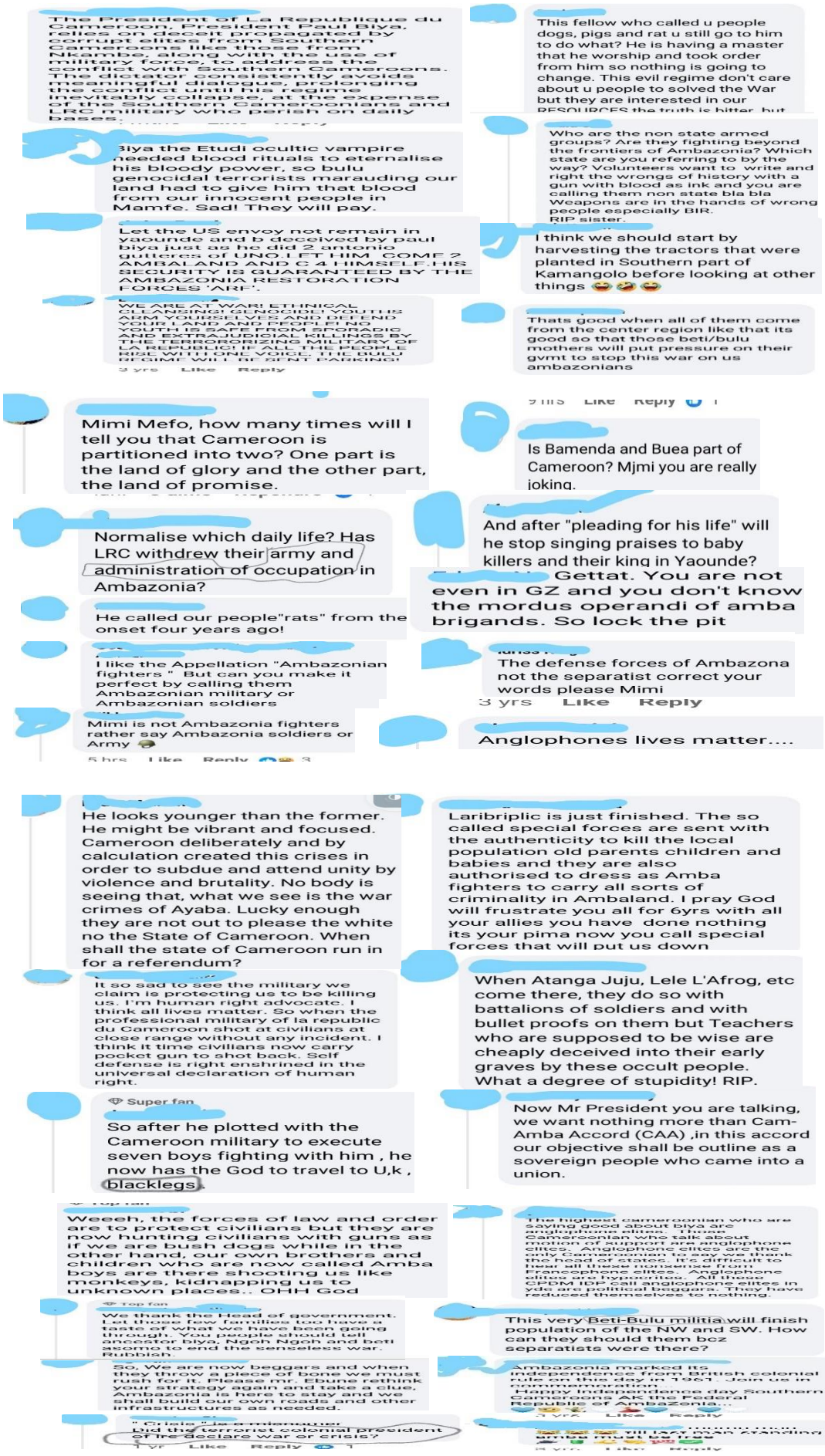


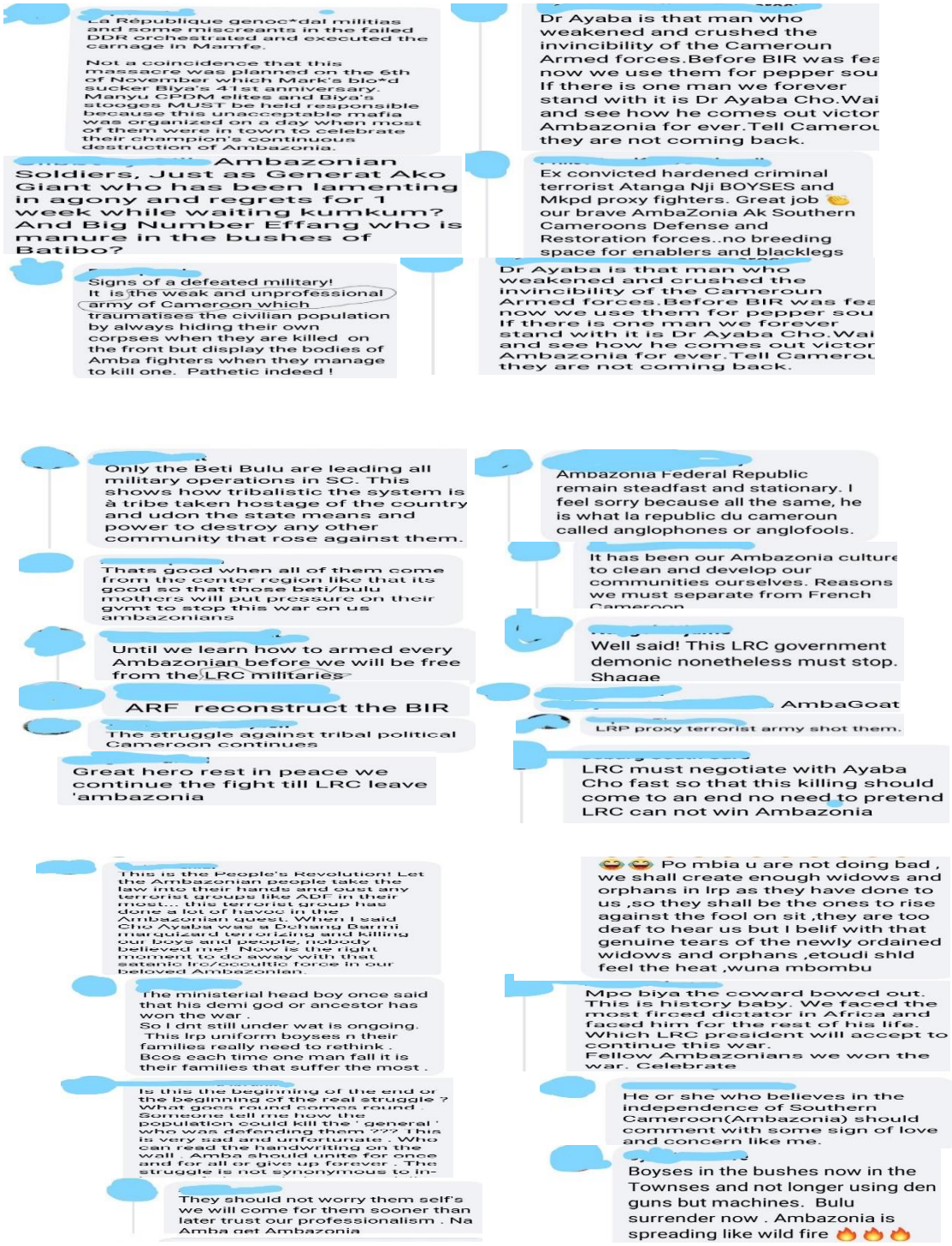




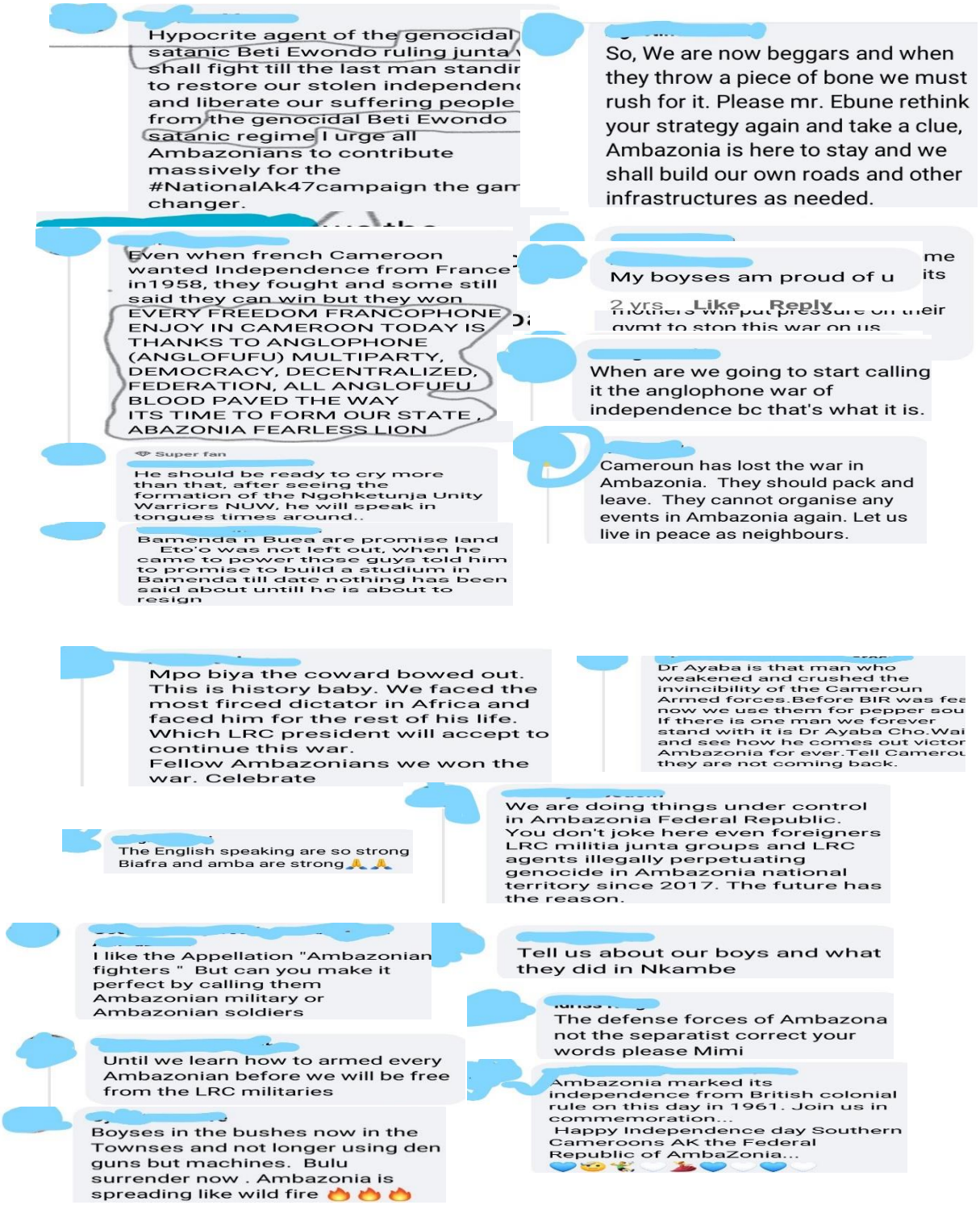
15-Separatist polarisation




The President of La Republique du Cameroon, President Paul Biya, relies completely by corrupt elites from Southern Cameroons like those from Nkambe, along with the use of military force, to address the conflict with Southern Cameroons. The dictator consistently avoids meaningful dialogue, prolonging the conflict until his regime inevitably collapses, at the expense of the Southern Cameroonians and LRC military who perish on daily bases.
This fellow who called u people dogs, pigs and rat u still go to him to do what? He is having a master that he worship and took order from him so nothing is going to change. This evil regime don't care about u people to solved the War but they are interested in our
Who are the non state armed groups? Are they fighting beyond the frontiers of Ambazonia? Which state are you referring to by the way? Volunteers want to write and right the wrongs of history with a gun with blood as ink and you are calling them non state bla bla Weapons are in the hands of wrong people especially BIR. RIP sister.
Biya the Etudi ocultic vampire needed blood rituals to eternalise his bloody power, so bulu genocidal terrorists marauding our land had to give him that blood from our innocent people in Mamfe. Sad! They will pay.
Let the US envoy not remain in yaounde and b deceived by paul biya just as he did 2 antonio guiteres of UNO. I ET HIM COMF 2 AMBAL AND AND C 4 HIMSELF. HIS SECURITY IS GUARANTEED BY THE AMBAZONIA RESTORATION FORCES 'ARF'.
I think we should start by harvesting the tractors that were planted in Southern part of Kamangolo before looking at other things
WE ARE AT WAR! ETHNICAL CLEANSING! GENOCIDE! YOUTHS ARM YOURSELVES AND DEFEND YOUR LAND AND PEOPLE! NO YOUTH IS SAFE FROM SPORADIC AND EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS BY THE TERRORORIZING MILITARY OF LA REPUBLIC! IF ANGLOPHONE PEOPLE RISE WITH ONE VOICE, THE BULU REGIME WILL FRONT FARCING!
3 yrs Like Reply
Thats good when all of them come from the center region like that its good so that those beti/bulu mothers will put pressure on their gvmt to stop this war on us ambazonians
Mimi Mefo, how many times will I tell you that Cameroon is partitioned into two? One part is the land of glory and the other part, the land of promise.
Is Bamenda and Buea part of Cameroon? Mjmi you are really joking.
Normalise which daily life? Has LRC withdrew their army and administration of occupation in Ambazonia?
And after "pleading for his life" will he stop singing praises to baby killers and their king in Yaounde?
Gettat. You are not even in GZ and you don't know the mordus operandi of amba brigands. So lock the pit
He called our people"rats" from the onset four years ago!
I like the Appellation "Ambazonian fighters " But can you make it perfect by calling them Ambazonian military or Ambazonian soldiers
The defense forces of Ambazona not the separatist correct your words please Mimi
3 yrs Like Reply
Mimi is not Ambazonia fighters rather say Ambazonia soldiers or Army
5 hrs Like Reply
Anglophones lives matter....
He looks younger than the former. He might be vibrant and focused. Cameroon deliberately and by calculation created this crises in order to subdue and attend unity by violence and brutality. No body is seeing that, what we see is the war crimes of Ayaba. Lucky enough they are not out to please the white no the State of Cameroon. When shall the state of Cameroon run in for a referendum?
Laribriplic is just finished. The so called special forces are sent with the authenticity to kill the local population old parents children and babies and they are also authorised to dress as Amba fighters to carry all sorts of criminality in Ambaland. I pray God will frustrate you all for 6yrs with all your allies you have done nothing its your pima now you call special forces that will put us down
It so sad to see the military we claim is protecting us to be killing us. I'm human right advocate. I think all lives matter. So when the professional military of la republic du Cameroon shoot at civilians at close range without any incident. I think it time civilians now carry pocket gun to shot back. Self defense is right enshrined in the universal declaration of human right.
When Atanga Juju, Lele L'Afrog, etc come there, they do so with battalions of soldiers and with bullet proofs on them but Teachers who are supposed to be wise are cheaply deceived into their early graves by these occult people. What a degree of stupidity! RIP.
Super fan
So after he plotted with the Cameroon military to execute seven boys fighting with him , he now has the God to travel to U,k , blacklegs.
Now Mr President you are talking, we want nothing more than Cam-Amba Accord (CAA) ,in this accord our objective shall be outline as a sovereign people who came into a union.
Weeeh, the forces of law and order are to protect civilians but they are now hunting civilians with guns as if we are bush dogs while in the other hand, our own brothers and children who are now called Amba boys are there shooting us like monkeys, kidnapping us to unknown places.. OHH God
The highest cameroonian who are saying good about biya are anglophone elites. Those Cameroonian who talk about rejection of support are anglophone elites. Anglophone elites are the only Cameroonian to say we thank the head of states. It's difficult to hear these from Francophone elites. Anglophone elites are hypocrites. These CPDM IDP call anglophone elites in yde are political beggars. They have reduced themselves to nothing.
Top fan
We thank the Head of government. Let those few families that have a taste of what we have been going through. You people should tell ancestor biya, Nech Nech and bet! asomo to end the senseless war. Rubbish.
This very Beti-Bulu militia will finish population of the NW and SW. How can they should them bcz separatists were there?
So, We are now beggars and when they throw a piece of bone we must rush for it. Please mr. Ebune rethink your strategy again and take a clue, Ambazonia is here to stay and we shall build our own roads and other infrastructures as needed.
Ambazonia marked its independence from British colonial rule on this day in 1961. Join us in commemoration. Happy Independance day Southern Cameroons And the Federal Republic of Ambazonia...
3 yrs Like Reply
"Crisis" like mimimimi... did the terrorist colonial president of the declare war or crisis?
1 yr Like Reply


La République genoc*dal militias and some miscreants in the failed DDR orchestrated and executed the carnage in Mamfe.
Not a coincidence that this massacre was planned on the 6th of November which Mark's blo*d sucker Biya's 41st anniversary. Manyu CPDM elites and Biya's stooges MUST be held responsible because this unacceptable mafia was organized on a day when most of them were in town to celebrate their champion's continuous destruction of Ambazonia.
Dr Ayaba is that man who weakened and crushed the invincibility of the Cameroun Armed forces.Before BIR was fea now we use them for pepper sou If there is one man we forever stand with it is Dr Ayaba Cho.Wai and see how he comes out victor Ambazonia for ever.Tell Camerou they are not coming back.
Ambazonian Soldiers, Just as Generat Ako Giant who has been lamenting in agony and regrets for 1 week while waiting kumkum? And Big Number Effang who is manure in the bushes of Batibo?
Ex convicted hardened criminal terrorist Atanga Nji BOYSES and Mkpd proxy fighters. Great job 👏 our brave AmbaZonia Ak Southern Cameroons Defense and Restoration forces..no breeding space for enablers and blacklegs
Signs of a defeated military! It Is the weak and unprofessional army of Cameroon which traumatises the civilian population by always hiding their own corpses when they are killed on the front but display the bodies of Amba fighters when they manage to kill one. Pathetic indeed !
Dr Ayaba is that man who weakened and crushed the invincibility of the Cameroun Armed forces.Before BIR was fea now we use them for pepper sou If there is one man we forever stand with it is Dr Ayaba Cho.Wai and see how he comes out victor Ambazonia for ever.Tell Camerou they are not coming back.
Only the Beti Bulu are leading all military operations in SC. This shows how tribalistic the system is à tribe taken hostage of the country and udon the state means and power to destroy any other community that rose against them.
Ambazonia Federal Republic remain steadfast and stationary. I feel sorry because all the same, he is what la republic du cameroun called anglophones or anglofools.
Thats good when all of them come from the center region like that its good so that those beti/bulu mothers will put pressure on their gvmt to stop this war on us ambazonians
It has been our Ambazonia culture to clean and develop our communities ourselves. Reasons we must separate from French Cameroon
Until we learn how to armed every Ambazonian before we will be free from the LRC militaries
Well said! This LRC government demonic nonetheless must stop. Shaqae
ARF reconstruct the BIR
AmbaGoat
LRP proxy terrorist army shot them.
The struggle against tribal political Cameroon continues
Great hero rest in peace we continue the fight till LRC leave 'ambazonia
LRC must negotiate with Ayaba Cho fast so that this killing should come to an end no need to pretend LRC can not win Ambazonia
This is the People's Revolution! Let the Ambazonian people take the law into their hands and oust any terrorist groups like ADF in their midst... this terrorist group has done a lot of havoc in the Ambazonian quest. When I said Cho Ayaba was a Duhamg Barmi marquizard terrorizing and killing our boys and people, nobody believed me! Now is the right moment to do away with that satanic lrc/occultic force in our beloved Ambazonian.
😂😂 Po mbia u are not doing bad , we shall create enough widows and orphans in lrp as they have done to us ,so they shall be the ones to rise against the fool on sit ,they are too deaf to hear us but I belif with that genuine tears of the newly ordained widows and orphans ,etoudi shld feel the heat ,wuna mbombu
The ministerial head boy once said that his demi god or ancestor has won the war . So I dnt still under wat is ongoing. This lrp uniform boyses n their families really need to rethink . Bcos each time one man fall it is their families that suffer the most .
Mpo biya the coward bowed out. This is history baby. We faced the most fircsed dictator in Africa and faced him for the rest of his life. Which LRC president will accept to continue this war. Fellow Ambazonians we won the war. Celebrate
Is this the beginning of the end or the beginning of the real struggle ? What goes round comes round Someone tell me how the population could kill the '' general '' who was defending them ??? This is very sad and unfortunate . Who can read the handwriting on the wall . Amba should unite for once and for all or give up forever . The struggle is not synonymous to in-
He or she who believes in the independence of Southern Cameroon(Ambazonia) should comment with some sign of love and concern like me.
They should not worry them self's we will come for them sooner than later trust our professionalism . Na Amba get Ambazonia
Boyses in the bushes now in the Townses and not longer using den guns but machines. Bulu surrender now . Ambazonia is spreading like wild fire 🔥🔥🔥

16-Separatist positive self-presentation



17- Separatist victimisation

