

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER HEADLINES ON THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON

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ABSTRACT: *This research explores private and public newspaper headlines on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. The aim is to find out the lexical choice and rhetorical questions used in reporting the crisis, and how they portray the ideologies of the reporters and newspaper ownership, as well as shape readers' thoughts. Data for this study comprises 130 headlines collected from 29 randomly selected newspapers in Cameroon. Results show the use of vocabulary that shows imposition, tension and dialogue. Some rhetorical questions were also discovered. However, there was a lot of incompatibility in the way government and private newspapers reported the Anglophone crisis. Lexical choice in private newspaper headlines paint a negative picture of the Cameroon government, and pushes readers to see the government as deliberately refusing to show great attention to the crisis, and unable to protect its citizens. On the other hand, Cameroon Tribune hedge information on the crisis, swallows tension and advocates national unity. The state owned newspaper presents the Anglophone contestants in the crisis as perpetrators or terrorists who are frustrating children's future. Therefore, the newspaper publishers exercise power through language to influence the thought and opinion of Cameroonians on the Anglophone crisis.*

KEYWORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, Newspaper Headlines, Anglophone Crisis, Ideology

INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies the dynamics of language usage in a given community. This dynamism is read through social forms of society such as: inequality, dominance, social power abuse, marriage, insecurity, marginalization and political related actions. It equally looks at how these forms are enacted, legitimized, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 1993). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997) CDA does ideological work; it constitutes society and culture and is interpretative and explanatory. The authors hold that social language management can be classified under micro and macro level; discourse verbal interaction belongs to micro level of social order while power, dominance and inequality between social groups belong to macro level of analysis. CDA is primarily interested and motivated by pressing issues, which is an attempt to better understand a text through discourse analysis. Therefore CDA is a field of study that has diverse ways of creating or reproducing meaning from language use, that is using language consciously or unconsciously to express the original minds.

Headlines of newspapers, also call caption are attractively designed news summary intended to induce or attract the attention of the readers into must wanting to read the articles in the newspapers. Newspaper headlines are purposely shaped to speak the mind of the presenter or

the publisher. The shape and the structure of the headline reflect the content, which is politically oriented and ideologically driven. The nature of the news headline can tell the whole story, can question issues or be questioned. According to Van Dijk (1998b), the discourse of newspaper headlines can be looked at from the position of the headline, the boldness of the headline, the vocabulary used on the headline, the use of punctuation marks, the syntax of the headline, the number of occurrences on the same event and above all the power of the presenter. Van Dijk states that headlines serve three important functions. First they provide a brief summary of the main news to the reader; hence, readers do not have to read the whole story to capture the point. Second, they attract attention. Headlines distract people's attention by various font sizes and vocabulary used. Third, they often provide an initial indicator of the content and style of the news values of the newspaper. This shows various ways in which newspaper headlines appeal to its audience.

The print media landscape in Cameroon is dominated by privately owned newspapers. As of now, the government possesses only one newspaper, *Cameroon Tribune*. Privately owned newspapers in the country include: *The Guardian Post*, *The post*, *The Chronicle*, *The Voice*, *The Scoope*, *Breaking News*, *The Horizon*, *The Sun*, *The Life Time* and *The Times Journal*. At first, many Cameroonians were not interested in reading newspapers. Nowadays, news-stands are always populated every morning in major cities with either people reading headlines or trying to get the most recent edition(s) of newspaper reports on current happenings. This upsurge in news paper readership could be attributed to what Tabe (2015, p. 385) rightly states that they carry information on significant topics and are inexpensive. Moreover, many television channels in Cameroon like the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), CANAL2, STV, EQUINOX, and VISION4 have daily programmes on newspaper headlines called "what the newspapers say". This is a special educative and informative newspaper headlines programme that discusses the realities of the Cameroonian society and the world at large. Recently, most of the newspaper headlines in Cameroon have been dominated by the current Anglophone crisis.

Piet and Nyamnjoh (1997, p. 8) consider the Anglophone problem as the assimilation process accompanied by processes of marginalization of the Anglophones by the Cameroon government dominated by the Francophone elite in administration. In keeping with Piet and Nyamnjoh (1997, p. 8), Tangie (2011, p. 225) states that, the Anglophone problem is the quest for identity and freedom from the suppression of Francophone Cameroonian dominated regimes that have frustrated the Anglophones' identity.

Linguistically, the language of military order in Cameroon is mostly French, even the military academy in Mutengene in the heart of the Anglophone speaking region; South West Region, is dominated by French. Anglophones complained of government sending francophone teachers who could barely express themselves in English language into Anglophone schools to teach Anglophones; most public notices appear only in French. In reaction to this, Hon. Cyprian pulled down all monolingual notices at the state owned Ayaba Hotel in Bamenda on Friday 29 of May 2015 explaining that Cameroon cannot be a bilingual country yet notices at public places in Anglophone regions are written only in French (*The Post*, No 01792 Fri, Jan 27, 2017, p7). Furthermore, most of the magistrates in courts in Anglophone Regions are Francophones who turn to judge Anglophones in the French language (*The Chronicle*, January 22, 2016, p 10). In an attempt to handle the linguistic aspect of the Anglophone crisis, the president of the Republic, Paul Biya created a commission in charge of bilingualism and multiculturalism on January 24, 2017. This commission was to equate the status of English language and French

language in public spheres and to ensure the effective implementation of the two languages without any bias or marginalization. Therefore, the Anglophone problem is both an ethnic and a linguistic minority problem of the two English-speaking Regions of North West and South West in Cameroon.

The Anglophone crisis or problem is reported by *The Voice* newspaper (No 081 October 09, 2017, p. 8) as the successive failure of the Cameroon government since 1961 to respect and implement the articles of the Constitution that uphold and safeguard what former British Southern Cameroons brought along to the Union with the former French Cameroon in 1961. Furthermore, Ndi (2013) and *Breaking News* (No 044, October 03 2017, p. 6) point out some factors that stand as the root causes of the Anglophone problem which include: the disregard for the Constitution demonstrated by the dissolution of political parties and the formation of one political party in 1966; the sacking of Jua and the appointment of Muna in 1968 as the Prime Minister of West Cameroon and the negligible use of English language in official and public spheres. Such acts are judged by West Cameroonians to be unconstitutional and undemocratic.

In addition, *Breaking News* (No 044, October 03 2017, p.6) and *The Chronicle* (No 475, January 22, 2017, p. 10) mention the cavalier management of the 1972 Referendum which took out the foundational element (Federalism) of the 1961 constitution which completely erased the cultural and linguistic boundaries that separated the two Cameroons. To further affirm this, the 1984 law amending the constitution, which gave the country the original East Cameroon name (The Republic of Cameroon) and thereby wiped away the identity of the West Cameroonians from the original union. West Cameroon which had entered the union as an equal partner, effectively ceased to exist especially in political form. The deliberate and systematic erosion of the West Cameroon cultural identity which the 1961 constitution sought to preserve and protect by providing for a bi-cultural federation was another testimony of the existence of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon.

According to Nkongho (2017, pp. 3- 4), the current escalation of the Anglophone crisis started with all Anglophone lawyers' strike in October 2016, joined by all Anglophone teachers' sit in strike in November 2016 and the Bamenda violent protest in December 2016. Matters got complicated when the government declared a ban on the activities of Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) and the Cameroon Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) on the 17 of January 2017. Things went off hand when the Cameroon government arrested the president of the civil society consortium and his secretary, Barrister Nkongho Felix and Dr. Fontem Nebe. Other subsequent arrests like that of Ayah Paul Abine and Mancho Bibixy, coupled with Internet shot down and the street clash between the Anglophone population and military men on the 1st of October 2017 with dozens of death recorded and hundreds arrested intensified the Anglophone crisis to the contemporary saga today. This Anglophone crisis has been a resource to newspapers in the country as it provides them with a pool of headlines and reports.

Following informal discussions with many Cameroonians, it was realized that the language used to report the Anglophone crisis in newspapers creates panic and misunderstanding among the population, and influence their ideology. The words used on headlines push some Cameroonians to think that Anglophone Cameroonians hate their Francophone counterparts, and the English-speaking regions are now associated with bloodshed. On the other hand, Anglophone Cameroonians assume that they are considered by Francophones and even the governments as underdogs, as many refer to them as "Anglo fools". The aim of this research is to examine the newspaper headlines on the crisis from a CDA perspective. We intend to find

out how the linguistic elements, particularly the words and rhetorical questions used on headlines to talk about the crisis, portray the ideologies of the reporters and newspaper ownership. This study also seeks to compare the ideologies expressed through words in the public and private newspapers, and how the words shape readers' thoughts on the crisis. This investigation is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the lexical elements and rhetorical questions used on newspaper headlines to report the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon?
2. What ideological differences are manifested through language in the headlines of pro-governmental and non-governmental newspapers?

LITERATURE REVIEW

CDA of newspaper discourse has not drawn the attention of many linguists in Cameroon. However, some authors out of the country have examined some societal practices reported in newspapers from a CDA approach. Pornjan (2012) did a critical study of newspaper headlines on youth crime in Thailand. His purpose was to discover the discursive features of the language used in the news headlines; to expose the ideology of news practitioners reflected in the headlines; and to depict the social identities of the teenagers that these headlines construct in society. Pornjan found ten discursive features in total; four (functionalization, classification identity, relational identity, and appraisal) functioned as the representation of the actors of crime events. Four other discursive features (transitivity, transitivity giving vivid images of the violent actions, verbs showing violence, and circumstances) represented the actions of crime events. Two discursive features (metaphor and onomatopoeia) functioned in lexical choices. Pornjan (2012, P. 109) concluded that the language used in the headlines of the newspapers reflects certain negative ideologies of the news practitioners, as well as constructed some negative social identities of the young offenders.

Gopang and Bughio (2014) did an investigation on Sindhi newspaper headlines of Urdu, and English newspapers on Pakistan 2014 budget. The purpose was to explore the presentation of the same news item in local newspapers and how these different presentations shaped the ideologies of readers. The authors discovered that different ways of presenting the same news item in local newspapers make readers have diverse ideologies of incompatible ends. The choice of words used on the newspaper articles made readers to hate the Pakistanian government on its 2014 state budget (Gopang & Bughio 2014:5, 7). Therefore, hidden ideology conception of newspaper readership depends on the power of words used in the articles and the powers of the words depend on the purpose the text is produced to serve by the newspaper editors. Moreover, Oladele's (2013) critical discourse analysis of a corpus-based election news in northern and southern Nigeria newspapers reveal a failure in the stance accordance he set out to verify.

In addition, Alhumaidi (2013) carried out a critical discourse analysis of Al-ahram and Aljazeera's online coverage of Egypt's 2011 revolution, aiming to unveil how discourse was employed by these channels to shape power relations during the Egyptian uprising. It sought to compare and contrast the ideologies of the two media outlets during the uprising and shed light on the future of the media landscape in Egypt in light of the social and political developments that immediately followed the January 25 Revolution. The study concluded that,

Al-Ahram and Aljazeera were on different ends of the media spectrum in Egypt. Aljazeera being one of the main transnational networks in the Arab world, its coverage is considered relatively independent of government influence and, hence, represents free media in the Arab world. Majid (2013: 209) states that Aljazeera presents reliable news on the Egyptian crisis of 2011 and was more preferable than Al-Ahram, because it reported on all the nooks and crannies of the crisis.

Ahmadian (2015) did a critical comparative study of the *Los Angeles Times* and *Tehran Times* in terms of representing negotiations of nuclear programme in Iran newspapers. Hamid settled on the fact that the two headlines, which are from the two opposite newspapers, try to accuse the behaviour of the other side, for example, *Tehran Times* insisted on the fact that Obama was changing his mind each time; whereas the headline of the *Los Angeles Times* stressed on the deceptive characteristic of Iran. Effectively, the two headlines resorted to the macro discursive strategies of positive-self representation and negative-other representation. This goes in line with Fowler and Hodge's (1991) perception of the notion that there is no neutrality in language of newspaper presentation and that language does not only reflect reality, but it also creates reality. Therefore, institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle.

Grue (2006) did a CDA of a newspaper film review. He described and analyzed the discursive structures that shape and are shaped by film reviews, structures that in turn affect perception of the film itself. He settled at the following findings; "a shift has taken place in the field of film reviewing from essayistic to taxonomic discourse" (Grue 2006: 52). He argued that this shift was detrimental to film discourse in a general sense, and that it is usually caused by changes in the fields of film reviewing, journalism and the film industry. He further argued that the shift in discourse cannot be adequately described without expanding the toolkit of CDA to allow for a functional, semantics-based approach. So, the manner in which matters are presented in film review is so peculiar, making it a discourse.

Within Cameroon, few authors have looked into newspapers from a CDA perspective. Fornkwa (2015) did a critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles on the Cameroon state budget. His study was based on five newspaper articles selected from four newspapers in the country: *Cameroon Tribune*, *The Post*, *Cameroon Daily Journal* and *The Median*. His result showed that the pro-government newspaper (*Cameroon Tribune*) and the private ones have two incompatible ideologies. *Cameroon Tribune* used positive words to persuade the readers to view the budget as one that has been conceived to ameliorate their standards of living. Some of these expressions are *Douala-Yaounde motorway*, *Kribi-Edea motorway*, *the ring road* and *the second bridge over the wouri*; *pursuing giant energy projects such as the Lom-Pangar, Mekin and Memvele*. On the other hand, private newspapers had a contradictory view about the increase in the budget of 2015. To them, the increase in the budget signifies increase in embezzlement by top government officials. Therefore, the more the Cameroon state budget increase, the higher the level of misuse of state income. Fornkwa (2015: 16) concludes that journalists who have the power and control over this genre use this to control the minds of their readers, depending on their political orientation.

Similarly, Kougom (2016) did a comparative study of private and government newspaper articles presentation of Boko Haram insurgency in Cameroon. She set out to evaluate the way language was used to talk about the terrorists in the newspapers. Her findings revealed that *Cameroon Tribune* hedge some information by reducing the number of casualties and victims in articles, and focus more on the victory of Cameroon army over Boko Haram in some battles.

These reports were however, aimed at clearing fear in the minds of Cameroonians and give them a better hope for the complete eradication of Boko Haram (p. 57). Private newspapers on the contrary reported the issues with high number of casualties and victims, showing photographs with vivid description and exposing the lapses of the Cameroon army. The intension was to report the news the way it was. Though reading private newspaper articles on Boko Haram at times was very scaring, Cameroonians got in-depth information about it and understood the various means of avoiding contact with Boko Haram.

Other research on newspapers in Cameroon did not take a CDA viewpoint. Tabe (2001) compared the lexical and syntactic usages found in some Cameroonian newspapers vis-à-vis SE. She found inappropriate use of these linguistic items and gave some recommendations on how “correct” English usage in the newspapers could be enhanced. In another study, Tabe (2015) examined print newspapers as a resource in the development of Cameroon English. She found some lexis, idioms, proverbs, metaphors and style that contribute to the linguistic empowerment of Cameroonians. Menang (1990) found non-native usages in the English of *Cameroon Tribune*. Ayanji (1990) discovered lexical errors in *Cameroon Tribune* and relates them to language ineptitude. Investing the English in *The Herald* and *The Post*, Ubanako (2000) found cultural and institutional terms as features peculiar to Cameroon English.

The review shows that studies on CDA of print media in Cameroon are few or insufficient. In addition, language is an insightful issue that has contributed to the amplification of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, but linguistic works relating to the crisis are rare. It is therefore worthwhile to examine the language used on print media headlines to talk about the crisis; to find out how ideologies are portrayed and shaped about the Anglophone crisis which is a current and topical issue in Cameroon.

Theoretical Considerations

This study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Scholars whose works have profoundly contributed to the development of CDA are Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b), Wodak (1995, 1996, 1999), and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1999). According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. Van Dijk’s approach is relevant to this research as he looks at news reports from micro and macro structural levels of analyses.

At the microstructure level, analysis focuses on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text. Other rhetorical elements such as quotations, direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the news report are also considered. Central to Van Dijk's analysis of news reports, however, is the analysis of macrostructure since it pertains to the thematic/topic structure of the news stories and their overall schemata; themes and topics are realized in the headlines and lead paragraphs. According to Van Dijk (1988: 248), the headlines are defined as “the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse, and also the kind of information readers memorize best from a news report”. He points out that the headline and the lead paragraph express the most important information in the cognitive model of journalists, that is, how they see and define the news event. Unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event (Van Dijk, 1988: 248).

In keeping with the above view, Van Dijk (1988: 14-16) holds that the news schemata ("superstructure schema") are structured following a specific narrative pattern that consists of the following: summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episode and backgrounds), and consequences (final comments and conclusions). These sections of a news story are sequenced in terms of "relevance," so it is the general information contained in the summary, the headline and the lead paragraph that matters. For Van Dijk, this is what the readers can best memorize and recall. In several works (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b), the author puts forward principles that will help in the analysis of data such as the one in this research paper. He believes that one who desires to make transparent such an ideological dichotomy in discourse needs to analyze discourse in the following ways:

- a. Examining the context of discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants.
- b. Analyzing groups, power relations and conflict involved
- c. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.
- d. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied
- e. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

(Van Dijk 1998b, pp. 61-63)

The above points will form the basis for our analysis of data in this research.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data for this research is made up of 130 newspaper headlines collected from 22 private newspapers of different publications and one governmental newspaper between 2016 and 2017. The print media used are *The Chronicle*, *The sun*, *Cameroon Herald*, *The post*, *Eden*, *The median*, *Breaking news*, *Life time*, *The independent observer*, *The horizon*, *The times journal*, *The Website*, *The star*, *The scoop*, *The voice*, *The guardian post*, and *Cameroon Tribune*. The table below shows the various newspapers, the number from which data was collected and the number of headlines got from them.

Table 1: corpus composition

Newspaper	Number used	Number of headlines on Anglophone crisis used
<i>The Guardian Post</i>	4	18
<i>The Scoop</i>	1	3
<i>The Star</i>	1	4
<i>The Times Journal</i>	2	10
<i>The Website</i>	1	5
<i>The Post</i>	1	5
<i>The Horizon</i>	2	13
<i>The Independent Observer</i>	1	7
<i>Life Time</i>	1	8
<i>Breaking News</i>	2	4
<i>The Median</i>	1	5
<i>Eden,</i>	1	8
<i>The Sun</i>	1	7
<i>Chronicle</i>	1	11
<i>Cameroon Herald</i>	1	4
<i>The Voice</i>	1	10
<i>Cameroon Tribune</i>	7	8
Total	29	130

Table 1 shows a total of 29 randomly selected newspapers of different publications and from 17 print media in Cameroon that were exploited in this research. 130 headlines were collected from the newspapers. Both private and government newspapers were used so that some comparative critical analysis of expressions used in presenting the Anglophone crisis could be done, and also to examine if the presentation is politically governed. Out of the 29 newspapers, 22 are private, containing 122 headlines on the Anglophone crisis and 7 are different editions of *Cameroon Tribune* (state owned newspaper) with just 8 headlines on the Anglophone crisis. The irrational random sampling technique was used in selecting newspapers; every newspaper had the probability of being selected as long as it had headlines on the Anglophone crisis. This was to ensure some level of objectivity in the research and some reliability in the results of the research. The private and public print media included in this investigation will go a long way to evaluate the level of compatibility and incompatibility in the presentation of issues relating to the Anglophone crisis. The language use and manner in which matters on the crisis have been raised in the newspaper headlines may equally reveal some hidden identities and ideologies of the journalists and newspaper ownership. Data will be analyzed following Van Dijk's (1998b: 61-63) elements of topical newspaper analysis (see section 2 above).

Analysis of data

The analysis will be done in three sub sections. The first will examine the lexical choice and the second the rhetorical questions used on newspaper headlines to report the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. The third sub section will present the ideological differences manifested through words in the headlines of pro-governmental and non-governmental newspapers, and how expressions shape readers' thoughts.

Lexical choice on newspaper headlines used to report the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon

Data show that the following key Lexical elements are employed on Cameroonian newspaper headlines to talk about the Anglophone crisis: the use of vocabulary (nouns, action verbs, auxiliary verbs, and adjectives) that causes panic, expressions showing tension, and words suggestive of dialogue. These lexical features and their occurrences in the various newspapers under study are presented on Table 2.

Table 2: Lexical choice on Cameroonian newspaper headlines used to report the Anglophone crisis and their frequency

Lexical feature Newspaper	Vocabulary that show imposition	Expressions that show tension/ panic	Words suggestive of Dialogue
<i>The Guardian Post</i>	17	04	03
<i>The Scoop</i>	06	02	-
<i>The Star</i>	03	01	01
<i>The Times Journal</i>	14	06	-
<i>The Website</i>	03	01	
<i>The Post</i>	05	01	01
<i>The Horizon</i>	11	03	01
<i>The Independent Observer</i>	05	01	01
<i>Life Time</i>	06	01	-
<i>Breaking News</i>	04	02	01
<i>The Median</i>	07	01	01
<i>Eden</i>	06	03	-
<i>The Sun</i>	07	04	-
<i>Chronicle</i>	08	03	-
<i>Cameroon Herald</i>	06	03	-
<i>The Voice</i>	18	06	01
<i>Cameroon Tribune</i>	14	-	-
Total	140	42	09

Table 2 shows that high sounding vocabulary that shows imposition is the most preferred lexical feature that journalists use to present headlines on the Anglophone crisis. The total number of this item found on the headlines is 140. Out of the 130 headlines (cf. Table 1), 42 carry expressions showing tension, and 9 comprises of words that are suggestive of dialogue. Details on these lexical elements found on Cameroonian newspaper headlines are given below.

Vocabulary indicating imposition

According to Van Dijk (1988), vocabulary is an element of microstructure in discourse analysis whose meaning is got from the semantic relation between preposition, syntax, and other rhetorical elements such as coherence, quotations, direct and indirect speech. Some vocabulary found on the headlines of both private and government newspapers are those that indicate

obligation, and seem to be incompatibly presented. The total number of this item is 140, and *Cameroon Tribune* carries just 14, while the private print media has 126. These lexes include high sounding verbs, nouns, adjectives and the auxiliary verb “must”. The vocabulary of private newspapers is emotionally oriented. Private newspaper headlines use succinct words that produce imagery to address the Anglophone problem. They also use high sounding verbs to demonstrate government imposing attitude to Anglophones. Consider the italicized words in following headlines from the data.

- (1) 11 February *must* hold in the NW, SW regions, govt *insists* (*The sun*, No. 0418 Monday, Jan 23, 2017, P.1)
- (2) Minesec *decrees* school resumption...But teachers say no way (*Eden*, No. 1003 Monday 23 Jan 2017, p. 1)
- (3) Social media *blamed* for misinformation on Anglophone crisis...Gov’t begins crack-down; *blocks* internet (*Chronicle*, No.475 Jan. 22, 2016, p. 1).

The italicized words above from private newspapers seem to portray government’s daunting approach to Anglophones during the crisis. Private newspapers equally use nouns, action verbs, and descriptive adjectives to produce some mental pictures about the Crisis. This can be seen in the example below.

- (4) Spirit of the *struggle lives on*, Buea mayor purchases 20 taxis *to fight ghost town* (*The post*, No. 01792 Friday, Jan 27, 2017, p.1).

This example indicates that resistance from Anglophones pushes the government to take extra measures. Some of the verbs and nouns used on private newspaper headlines are very pragmatic, metaphorical and symbolic in meaning (see the example below).

- (5) When Bamenda *Sneezes*, The Nation *Catches Cold*, The People-The Virus (*Breaking News* No 021, Jan 18, 2017 p. 1).

The headline above is metaphorical; it is used to describe the role play by various actors in the struggle. It presents the government of Cameroon as a weak system or person who can easily contract air born diseases, qualifying Bamenda as a strong disease that needs to be avoided. The two words “sneezes and cold” takes us back to history when the Social Democratic Front (SDF) claiming victory of presidential elections in 1992, thought they were frauded in favour of the CPDM. When SDF and its militants stormed the streets of Bamenda to protest, many people were shot to death by military men, properties were destroyed and many injuries recorded. From then, the people of Bamenda cultivated a revolutionary spirit against any apparent injustice on them by the Cameroon government. They have been series of tensions and strikes in Bamenda, including the Anglophone crisis that has affected the Cameroon economy. Therefore, Bamenda by this newspaper is a canker warm that needs to be handled with care by the Cameroon government. This is why the conclusion of the quotation calls them “the *virus*”. Consider the headline below where a series of nouns have been employed to bring out symbolism.

- (6) The lawyers, the teachers, the consortium, mancho BBC, wirba, SDF, CPDM Slide In The Dry Season Not by accident or design, through God’s divine intervention mandated to reshape and rewrite history (*Breaking News*, No 021, Jan 18 2017, p. 1).

The headline above outlines proper nouns like Mancho, Wirba and some political parties like SDF and CPDM, saying that they slid in the dry season. *Slide* and *dry season* are very paradoxical; they describe the surprising appearance of the Anglophone crisis that is shaking the whole Nation. Actors here are symbolic: *Mancho* represents the voice of the marginalized Anglophones, *Wirba* represents the shepherd of the marginalized Anglophones, *SDF* is the leading opposition party and *CPDM* represents the rest of the government. All these actors represent the pillars of the Cameroonian society. Looking at the headline, the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon could be a glorious revolution to put an end to the seemingly suffering Anglophone Cameroonians since 1961 as it ends thus, "... *through God's divine intervention mandated to reshape and rewrite history*" (*Breaking News*, No 021, Jan 18 2017, p1).

The words used on headlines of private newspapers produce a lot of imagery on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, which help in understanding the depth of the crisis; Koungoum (2016) shares a similar view about the terse words used by Cameroon private newspaper articles to give the citizens in- depth knowledge about Boko Haram insurgency. The fact that the church and God's shepherds appear to be involved in solving the Anglophone crisis adds more divinity to the revolution as seen in this example below.

(7) Resumption of school: S.W. Governor extends *olive branch* to bishop Bushu (*The star*, Vol 2 No. 414 Monday Jan 30, 2017, p.1).

The adjective "olive" qualifying branch that links the Governor and the Bishop entails that the Anglophone crisis had gone beyond the level of the Governor and the Government, and the only person who can control the situation is God, through his servants.

On the other hand, *Cameroon Tribune* employs words that do not show the true picture of the crisis. They use less action words to portray the crisis, for example,

(8) *Violence* in Bamenda and Buea, those *arrested* still considered suspects (*Cameroon Tribune*, No.11287/7486 Feb 16, 2017, p1)

(9) *Violence* in North West & South West' *alleged* perpetrators Notified of crimes (*Cameroon Tribune*, No.11285/7484 Feb 14, 2017, p1).

The verbs *arrested* and *alleged* prove government's efforts of maintaining peace by picking up perpetrators to bear the cross of destruction and disorder. The government newspapers use relaxed words which could express less seriousness in the struggle. *Cameroon Tribune* neither uses adjectives nor metaphors on headlines. According to Van Dijk (1992), this is to protect government's interest by the political elite. The author reiterates that elite control public discourse in terms of topic, style and content.

Expressions showing tension and/or panic

Tension is an irritating mind set due to dissatisfaction, regret, lamentation, pains, agony, cheats and poor treatment that has been inflicted on somebody or a group of people by another person or another group of people. Tension is usually expressed through the mood of speaking. The kind of words used in speech and the manner in which the words are used can clearly spell out tension. The expression of tension on private newspaper headlines communicates destruction, killing, brutality and fear. Forty-three private newspaper headlines are tense. Tension serves as a warning to a social disaster if not controlled in a conducive manner. Consider examples of private newspaper headlines that express tension below.

(14) *Four killed, cars set ablaze, several injured, Atanga Nji Manhandled* (*Cameroon Herald* No. 116 Tues, Dec 13, 2016, p.1)

(15) *After mass arrest, internet blackout* (*The Scoop* No. 0105 Tues, Jan. 24, 2017, p1)

(16) *Two of the arrested children in B'da died on transit to Yaounde* (*Life Time* Vol. 11 No. 00135 Jan 24 2017, p. 1)

(17) *Arrest of suspects Anglophone Cameroonians multiplies* (*The Post* No. 01792 Friday, Jan 27, 2017, p. 1)

(18) *Bloody abuses in west Cameroon... helicopter shoots, hundreds chased into forests* (*The Voice*, No 081 October 09, 2017, p. 1)

(19) *Government dangles death penalty over activists* (*The Sun* No. 0418 Monday, Jan 23, 2017, p. 1)

(20) *CPDM peace mission to Lebialem turns bloody* (*The Guardian Post*, No 1297 Wed, Oct 18, 2017, p. 1).

The above headlines cause tension and terror among the population. These nervous situations have led Anglophone Cameroonians to continue protesting, respecting ghost towns and keeping children away from classes. The unsuccessful attempts to manage the crisis through dialogue, but rather by threats and shutting down of internet, has further intensified tension. Van Dijk (1998) reiterates that in highly democratic countries, the ruling class needs to achieve the public consent through persuasion in order to maintain dominance.

Cameroon Tribune in different publications presents the conflict in the newspapers swallowing tension and presenting the headlines as if the Anglophone problem was just a misunderstanding. Examples include the following:

(21) *The right to education* (*Cameroon Tribune*, February 13, 2017, p. 1)

(22) *Cameroon is one and indivisible (translated from French)*, (*Cameroon Tribune*, January 03, 2017, p. 1).

(23) *...both students and teachers effectively reopened their doors together yesterday... (translated from French)*, (*Cameroon Tribune*, February 13, 2017, p. 1).

Though government newspapers present the situation softly to reduce tension in the minds of the Anglophone Cameroonians, it could still be interpreted as showing lack of concern to the Anglophone crisis and to protect her interest in the face of the international community. Eaman (1987: 51) concludes on this that "... news is consciously created to serve the interest of the ruling class". Expressions suggestive of dialogue are discussed below.

Words suggestive of dialogue

Dialogue is a process whereby the disagreeing parties sit together for objective solution to solve the common differences or misunderstanding that goes on between them. In every successful dialogue, there should be competent representatives from both sides to freely and frankly address the root cause of the problem and difficulties should be solved objectively to avoid future occurrences of the same or a similar issue. Expressions suggesting dialogue on the

Anglophone crisis in Cameroon have been discovered on 9 sample private newspaper headlines.

Private newspaper headlines present the strengths of possible dialogue over the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. Some of these newspaper headlines include:

(24) Musonge commission holds crucial *meeting*! Adoption of proposed roadmap to seek lasting solutions to the Anglophone crisis top on agenda. (*The Guardian Post* No 1192, Wed June, 14 2017, p. 1).

Crucial meeting is suggestive of dialogue. The word “crucial” written in red shows that the Anglophone crisis is supposed to be addressed with a lot of dialogue, care and some fastness. Many wise people foresaw the dangers of the crisis, advised that dialogue should be employed with the Anglophones but this did not go too far.

(25) Garga Haman *opens up* on what he told Biya on Anglophone crisis (*The Guardian post* No 1224, Tues Aug 08 2017, p. 1).

(26) *Frank dialogue* Btw Gov’t & and striking teachers at last (*The independent observer*, No. 100, Jan, 19, 2017, p. 1).

The italicized items above evoke discussion. This means that the dialogue on the Anglophone crisis might not have been well handled to bear good fruits. The fact that private newspaper headlines lay a lot of emphasis on dialogue could mean that the Anglophones are willing and ready to welcome any sincere dialogue especially the one that will re-examine the form of the state, especially that of 1961.

Other private English newspaper headlines describe President Biya’s approach to solving the Anglophone problem as using wrong actors to act a tragic film. This is the case of the then minister in charge of special duties at the presidency (Atanga Nji Paul) who was strongly criticized and revolted by Anglophones for not acknowledging the Anglophone problem on CRTV, though a native of the North west Region of Cameroon. See the headline below.

(27) Biya’s biggest blunder! By including the bellicose Paul Atanga Nji on delegation to *UN GA*...an empty suitcase on his supposed charm offensive abroad (*The Horizon* No 346 Mon Sep 18 2017, p. 1).

UN GA (United Nations General Assembly) is indicative of dialogue on the crisis. The minister, Paul Atanga Nji, was included in the delegation to the UN Ordinary General Assembly to dialogue on the Anglophone crisis. To many Anglophones, it was using the wrong figure to solve a problem. Moreover, some CPDM militants sent to North West and South West Regions to preach dialogue were considered incompetent for it. *The Guardian Post* of Oct 18 2017 described the efforts of the president as “CPDM peace mission to NW&SW; taking the wrong message to wrong audience”. This simply means that the peace mission went out and preached what rather irritated the population of the two regions, thinking that they were preaching dialogue. Some of these headlines question why President Biya chose negative crowd puller actors like Atanga Nji Paul and Hon. Benard Forju who went out for peace missions but rather fuel the Anglophone crisis to go off control.

A sequence of demonstrations in the streets of North West and South West Regions of Cameroon, bear the testimony of the failure in dialogue to prevent such occurrences. *The*

Horizon reports that after unsuccessful attempts by President Paul Biya to have a thriving dialogue with Anglophone Cameroonians, the Anglophones both at home and abroad came out to resist the Cameroon government on the 22nd of September 2017, the same day President Paul Biya was addressing the whole world at the UN Ordinary General Assembly in the United States of America. The protest could have been avoided if dialogue had been well handled. This protest was planned before the 72nd UN Ordinary General Assembly (*The Horizon* No 346 Mon Sep 18 2017, p. 1). In October 2017, *The Guardian Post*, in a headline, accused the Cameroon government of claiming to have begun dialogue with Anglophone Cameroonians (*The Guardian Post* No 1276, Tue Oct 17 2017, p. 1). The same newspaper came back the next day to state that, (28) CDPM -peace mission to Lebialem turns **bloody** (*The Guardian Post* No 1293, Wed Oct 2017, p. 1). *Peace mission* pinpoints fruitful dialogue. However, the word “bloody” on the headline shows that the “dialogue” indeed was questionable. The word (bloody) is boldly in red, producing the imagery of how ungenuine dialogue can be; leading to bloodshed.

None the less, little effort has been made by *Cameroon Tribune* to address dialogue on its newspaper headlines. *Cameroon Tribune* keeps on addressing issues like *national unity*, *Cameroon is one and indivisible* and *how ghost towns affects school resumption* without focusing on any dialogue. This might point to insufficient interest from the government worktable to embark on genuine dialogue with Anglophones over the crisis and this brings in lack of hope for the proper solving of the crisis. Rhetorical questions are discussed in the following section.

Rhetorical questions used on newspaper headlines to report the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon

Some rhetorical questions were identified in the data. Table 3 presents their frequency in the newspaper headlines.

Table 3: Frequency of Rhetorical questions used on Cameroonian newspaper headlines to report the Anglophone crisis

Newspaper	Rhetorical questions
<i>The Guardian Post</i>	01
<i>The Scoop</i>	-
<i>The Star</i>	01
<i>The Times Journal</i>	-
<i>The Website</i>	01
<i>The Post</i>	02
<i>The Horizon</i>	02
<i>The Independent Observer</i>	-
<i>Life Time</i>	01
<i>Breaking News</i>	-
<i>The Median</i>	-
<i>Eden</i>	-
<i>The Sun</i>	01
<i>Chronicle</i>	04
<i>Cameroon Herald</i>	-
<i>The Voice</i>	01
<i>Cameroon Tribune</i>	-
Total	13

Statistics from Table 3 show a total 13 rhetorical questions got from the newspaper headlines under study. Private newspapers carry 13 rhetorical questions in their headlines on the Anglophone crisis as against none for *Cameroon Tribune*. These rhetorical questions seem to expose government's limited interest in solving the Anglophone problem, question the relevance of the commission for bilingualism and multiculturalism in the resolution of the Anglophone crisis and equally question the statement of "one and indivisible Cameroon" from the president and other top government officials. However, these questions seem to be answered with some concrete figures on how Anglophone Cameroonians appear to have been marginalized or refused from occupying influential posts in the government. Examples of these questions are given below.

(10) Are Anglophones truly marginalized? –here are facts and figures that speak (*The Chronicle*, No.475 Jan. 22, 2016, p. 1).

(11) "Cameroon is one and indivisible": which Cameroon? (*Life Time*, Vol. 11 No. 00135 Jan 24 2017, p. 1).

The rhetorical nature of the headlines seems to show government's unawareness of the crisis and unintended or deliberate cheating of Anglophones in the Cameroon administration. Other rhetorical questions ponder on whether they could be a possibility of using the commission for promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism created by President Paul Biya in January 2017 to solve the Anglophone crisis. To many, the commission will create more problems because it first of all violates the bi- cultural agreements of the two Cameroons stated by the federal constitution of 1961. Joshua Osih in the *The Times Journal* (Vol. 03 No 220 Mon. Jan. 30 2017, p. 1) disapproves bilingualism commission and rather advocates for extensive decentralization. These rhetorical questions raised by private newspaper headlines might have been to expose the Anglophone marginalization as a flaw to the Cameroon government in administration. Van Dijk (1998) quoted Chomsky (1989) who pointed out that anti-government newspapers criticize the state aggressively to portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest. The use of rhetorical questions logically turns to satirize the Cameroon government's attitude towards the Anglophones.

Nevertheless, government newspaper headlines carry no rhetorical question. This implies that they might have nothing to ponder about the Anglophone problem and do not wish that it disturbs the government and the nation as a whole. The act of not using rhetorical questions on the headlines of *Cameroon Tribune* could be a thoughtful act to tell the international community that the government is able to manage the crisis. Such a situation can be described as the conscious or unconscious creation of news to serve the interest of the ruling class.

Furthermore, the avoidance of rhetorical questions on *Cameroon Tribune* headlines may be a proof of the government's hardness in the eradication of Anglophone fighters she describes as "terrorists and manipulated people with extreme demands" (*Cameroon Tribune*, Tuesday, January 03, 2017 p. 1).

Cameroon Tribune carry softened language headlines like the following:

(12) Ghost Town Affects Schools Reopening (*Cameroon Tribune*, No.11270/7468 January 24, 2017, p1).

(13) Cameroon is indivisible (translated from French) (*Cameroon Tribune*, January 03, 2017, p. 1).

These declarative statements could mean that Anglophones seem trivial to question the peace and unity of Cameroon. However, the creation of a commission in charge of bilingualism and multiculturalism really spelled out Cameroonians having diversity in common as strength to the nation. *Life Time* (Vol. 11 No 00135, Jan. 24, 2017 p. 1) questioned indivisibility not as an instrument of separation but creating awareness of ethnic, cultural, religious, social and geographical differences that should be respected and considered to be the strength of togetherness. Meanwhile, *Cameroon Tribune* (Tuesday, January 03, 2017 p. 1) regards indivisibility as no attempt to revisit the federal treaty of 1961. Fairclough (1993, p. 135) observes that such a twist by government is an attempt to secure power and hegemony over the marginalized. The following section presents ideologies manifested through the linguistic items analyzed.

Ideological differences manifested through lexical choice in the headlines of pro-governmental and non-governmental newspapers

Ideology is constructed through words; the choice of words used in topicalizing articles could reveal the philosophy of the journalists and the newspaper institution. The words can also shape the kind of ideology readers conceive in their minds after reading the headline or newspaper article. The manner in which words are used determine the kind of mental image constructed. The choice of language used is consciously or unconsciously principled and systematic, and thus, ideologically based (Fowler 1979, p. 188). The image refers to identity and the conception by the readers. When conceived as a notion, it becomes ideology. To achieve the notion of identity, Van Dijk (1998) principled it as “*Us*” versus “*Them*”; these two words are used by opposing actors or parties in media to paint each order’s negative image to the audience (readers or listeners). This image is what the readers consider as the true self of the presented party, since it is convincingly designed.

Facts from data show that private newspaper headlines on the Anglophone crisis carry words that paint an ugly picture of the Cameroon government. They use negative words and phrases to sabotage government actions towards the crisis. Examples of such expressions include: *internet **blackout**, school re-opening **flops**, ghost town join others to welcome the lions, Cameroon is indivisible, which Cameroon? Shameful military, four killed, bloody abuses in west Cameroon, tortured Anglophones, destroy homes, helicopter shoots* (*The voice* No 081, Oct 09 2017, p. 1), *government **dangles death penalties** over activists* (*The Sun* No 0418, Jan 23 2017, p.1). All these words or expressions make individuals to construct a negative image about the government of Cameroon who is out to kill its own citizens by all cost, rather than protecting them.

Similarly, the pro-government newspaper uses words that ridicule the Anglophone activists. *Cameroon Tribune* carries negative words to satirize Anglophone actors in the struggle. The state owned newspaper presents the Anglophone contestants in the crisis as perpetrators who are frustrating children’s future. Anglophone actors are referred to as **perpetrators, terrorists, and criminals**. This connotes the Anglophone actors as people who are only supposed to live behind bars or be eliminated. This idea is held up by Equinox TV in *The Inside* on 1st April, 2018 at 7:08 pm, when it reports that the fear of mass arrest has made many Anglophones in some parts of the North West and South West Regions of Cameroon to escape to Nigeria and become refugees with deplorable and dehumanizing living conditions. These Anglophone actors are considered as people struggling to disturb public peace, national unity and national integration. Negative nouns like *terrorism* and *hostility* are used to describe them in the struggle as people with bad intentions who fight hard for the downfall of the entire nation. Verbs like

feared, accused, wounded, fuelling and arrested describe an atmosphere of insecurity that the Anglophone actors have created in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. The use of adjective like timid, shows the low rate of school attendance in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. Table 4 presents the frequency of words portraying ideologies per newspaper.

Table 4: Frequency of words that portray ideology

Newspaper	Frequency of expressions that portray ideology
<i>The Voice</i>	10
<i>Cameroon Tribune</i>	9
<i>The Guardian Post</i>	6
<i>Cameroon Herald</i>	5
<i>The Scoop</i>	3
<i>The Post</i>	3
<i>Life Time</i>	3
<i>Eden</i>	3
<i>The Sun</i>	3
<i>The Times Journal</i>	2
<i>The Horizon</i>	2
<i>The Star</i>	1
<i>The Website</i>	1
<i>The Independent Observer</i>	1
<i>Breaking News</i>	1
<i>The Median</i>	1
<i>Chronicle</i>	1
Total	50

Table 4 shows the frequency of words that portray ideology. A total of 50 words portraying mostly negative ideology about the opposing parties involved in the Anglophone crisis were found in the corpus. Of these 50, 41 are from the private print media while 9 are from *Cameroon Tribune*. The newspaper with the highest number of negative expressions is *The Voice* with 10 words that smear a dreadful image of the government.

The analysis has shown the use of lexical features that portray obligation, tension and dialogue as well as rhetorical questions to describe the Anglophone crisis. Facts from data (cf. 4.3) portray negative ideologies manifested through the choice of words in non-governmental and pro-governmental newspaper headlines. Other research on CDA (e.g. Ahmadian 2014; Alhumaidi 2013; Gopang & Bughio 2014; Grue 2006) were done out of Cameroon and focus on issues like nuclear programme and Television online coverage of Egypt's 2011 revolution. Within Cameroon, CDA of print media reports have dwelt on topics such as Boko Haram (Kougoum 2016) and state budget (Fornkwa 2015). Some researchers (e.g. Ndi, 2013; Ngoh 2011; Nkongho 2017; Piet & Nyamnjoh 1997; Tagie 2011) have examined the Anglophone crisis from a historical perspective. Linguistic research on the crisis is scarce. This work that dwells on a CDA of newspaper headlines on the crisis will therefore serve as a necessary starting point to other researchers who wish to further linguistic research on the crisis.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to do a critical discourse study of private and *Cameroon Tribune* newspaper headlines on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. A total number of 29 newspapers with 130 headlines on the Anglophone crisis were randomly selected as the data for the study. The findings reveal that private newspapers used 126 high sounding vocabulary (high sounding verbs, adjectives, metaphors, and the auxiliary verb “must”) to condemn government’s radical reactions against its citizens. Furthermore, words that manifest tension were found in 42 headlines. These seem to express the deep agony some Anglophone Cameroonians are undergoing due to the crisis. Thirteen (13) rhetorical questions that appear to criticize government’s approach to solving the problem and to expose government’s limited interest in solving the Anglophone problem were equally identified. Nine (9) headlines with expressions that focus on dialogue were seen on private newspaper headlines. These could expose government’s hypocrisy in solving the Anglophone problem. All these linguistic elements paint a negative image of the government to Anglophones and the Anglophone crisis. Readers are pushed to see the country’s administration as a government that wants to erase the identity of Anglophone Cameroonians in terms of language and culture, and render Anglophones culturally and linguistically rootless.

However, Seven (07) *Cameroon Tribune* newspapers have only 8 articles on the Anglophone crisis. This seems to indicate government’s deliberate manifestation of limited interest to resolving the Anglophone crisis. They use soft language in presenting the crisis, use no rhetorical question, less tense words and say nothing on dialogue. They construct a negative identity of Anglophone actors in the struggle, which is that of criminality, being a threat to national unity and integration.

Both actors in the Anglophone crisis have incompatible ideologies about it. This is reflected in the different manner in which the pro-governmental and non-governmental print media are presenting it. Private newspapers see government as the cause and the amplification of the problem by violating the unitary treaty of 1961, handling the crisis with less seriousness and using the gun as the powerful language of peace. On the other hand, government newspaper headlines present Anglophone actors in the crisis as criminals and people with extreme demands, fighting for the disunity of the state. It is true that both private and government newspapers present the crisis in divergent manner; government newspapers hedge some information to preserve peace in the country as well as their dignity. Private newspapers with freedom of the press and the spirit of fighting to expose the weaknesses of the government examine the multi-facets areas of the crisis; use concise expressions on headlines that push people to read the articles, so as to better understand the crisis.

Summarily, newspapers remain an indispensable source of information on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. However, the language they use in reporting the crisis is powerful as it affects people’s thoughts and results to diverse opinions about the crisis and its actors in the Cameroonian society. These could have implications for pedagogy as students could be taught the power of words in portraying and shaping ideologies. Some of the issues raised in this paper (e.g. dialogue), if considered, could be useful to both the Cameroon government and Anglophone activists in managing the Anglophone crisis and bringing it to a halt. The study is equally a linguistic contribution to research on the crisis. More research could be done on other linguistic elements (e.g. aspects of grammar, pragmatics, sociolinguistics) used to talk about the crisis in newspapers so as to increase the validity of this research.

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