

**A PRAGMATIC APPRAISAL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON THE
CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE CRISIS (2016-2020)**

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Abstract

This paper investigates the use of pragmatic features in speeches delivered by the former Prime Minister of Cameroon (Philemon Yang) on the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. With the help of Searle (1969) Speech Act theory, we found out that, the speeches comply with illocutionary acts. Data was collected from the Prime Ministry, Cameroon Tribune and Google and consist of one hundred and fourteen (114) utterances. Using a checklist, we identified the utterances and classified them into different types of illocutionary acts and bringing out their functions. The utterances performed illocutionary acts of directives (requesting, ordering, advising, inviting, warning, questioning, forbidding), assertives (asserting, reporting, clarifying, stating, informing, boasting, claiming, describing), expressives (deploring, congratulating, thanking), commissives (promising) and declaratives (declaring). Of these illocutionary acts, assertives were sixty (60) in number and covered the highest percentage of 52.63% and the acts represent the ideologies of the speaker which are the call for peace, the dropping of guns by the boys, the resumption of schools, the call to vote for the ruling party the CPDM (Cameroon people's Democratic Movement), and the stop of violence. It was recommended that, in order to completely put an end to the current Anglophone crisis that erupted since 2016, the representatives of the government like Philemon Yang and others should try in their subsequent visits to the North West and South West Regions to make speeches that will contain more illocutionary act of expressives with functions of *forgiving, apologising, deploring, regretting*, directives with functions like *appealing, begging* and commissives with function of *offering*. Through these illocutionary acts and their functions, the populace will get their ideologies, and gradually calm may return and a platform for a genuine and inclusive dialogue will be established so that the problem can be completely resolved.

Keywords: *Pragmatics, Anglophone crisis, political discourse, illocutionary act.*

1. INTRODUCTION

When crises plaque a nation, solutions are bound to reach. These solutions cannot be reached without the belligerents in questions. Thus, communication is one of the available means through which warring factors can getsolution to crisis. This is the case with the prevailing Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon.

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Communication is an act that help express what is in one's mind or it is a way of sharing ideas or information by speaking, writing or using some other medium. It also includes the paradigm of Pragmatics, which encompasses methods and principles of studying a communicative event rather than its separate components. Communication is the process of exchanging information and ideas. It involves encoding, transmitting, and decoding an intended message (Owens, 1998). Everybody communicates with people surrounding them by using language. Communication therefore is a two-way process that involves seven elements: a speaker, a message, a channel, a listener, a feedback, interference and situation (Stephen, 2009). Having these elements is not sufficient; however, there should be cooperation and understanding between the two parties involved. It is important to have a common frame of reference or context for successful and meaningful communication. In the process of communication, everything a speaker says is filtered through a listener's frame of reference which is the total of his or her knowledge, experience, goals, values and attitudes.

Thus, communication is a complex Phenomenon. From these definitions, it is clearly seen that communication is a collection of components within the scientific paradigms such as Linguistics, Psychology, Speech Pathology among others. Communication also includes the paradigm of Pragmatics, which encompasses methods and principles of studying a communicative event rather than its separate components. One tool of communication is language that relies on verbal and non-verbal codes to transfer information.

Language is an instrument of communication that does not occur in isolation. It is used in a context and social situation. This brings about the study of pragmatics which looks at language in context. Pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics which studies the way in which context contributes to meaning. It is an additional linguistic level to phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. It addresses expressions at the level of utterances, which can range from one word to a lengthy discourse. It looks at meaning and how other people comprehend those meanings. "*Pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by listener or reader*" (Yule, 1985, p.3). Pragmatics also focuses more on language used in

context. The present study analyses the language used by the Former Prime Minister of Cameroon Philemon Yang in some of his speeches delivered within the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis from (2016-2020) with focus on the pragmatic features he employs to convey information.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Following the constitution of Cameroon of 1972 with amendments in 2008, the Prime Minister of Cameroon is the Head of government and is appointed by the President of the Republic. He determines the general direction of government activities and ensures that the work of the cabinet of ministers is well coordinated. He is the one who led one of the inter-ministerial AD Hoc committee to look into the Anglophone lawyers and teachers' grievances in 2016.

The political agenda in Cameroon has become increasingly dominated since 2016 by what is known today as the "Anglophone Crisis" which creates a major challenge to national unity and integration and has led to the reintroduction of forceful arguments and actions in favour of "federalism" or even "secession". The Anglophone problem as it is commonly referred to in Cameroon, is a socio-political issue rooted in Cameroon's colonial legacies from the Germans, British and the French. It is an issue concerned by many Cameroonians from the North West and South West Regions who are considered Anglophones to the Cameroonian government. The root of this problem may be traced back to the Fouban conference in 1961 when the political elites of two territories with different colonial legacies one French and the other British agreed on the formation of a federal state (Koinings and Nyamnjuh, 1997). Contrary to expectations, this did not provide for equal partnership to both parties, let alone for the preservation of the cultural heritage and identity of each, but turned out to be merely a transitory phase to the total integration of the Anglophone region into a strongly centralised, unitary state. Gradually, this created an Anglophone consciousness: the feeling of being "marginalised", "exploited" and "assimilated" by the francophone-dominated state, and even by francophone population as a whole (Koinings and Nyamnjuh, 1997).

The crisis that started in 2016 has led to arguments, protests, strike actions and argue for federalism or separation from the union by some Anglophones. The protests of Anglophone lawyers and teachers in 2016 came up as a

consequence of grievances nursed by lawyers from the Anglophone Cameroon common law culture who said they have repeatedly sent appeal letters to the government for dialogue on the marginalisation and interference with the Anglo-Saxon system of common law amongst other things, but which fell on deaf ears leading to the present crisis. Later, Anglophone teachers raised many issues among others, the respect of the Anglo-Saxon system of education. Because the government did not listen to them, they decided to join the strike action in November 2016. Since the crisis started, the government opened up to dialogue, through Philemon Yang who was Prime Minister at that time to look into the problems posed by teachers and lawyers.

A lot of speeches have been delivered by the political figure Philemon Yang since 2016 on several occasions in an attempt to put an end to the crisis. The present study therefore, analyses the types and functions of the speech acts in the selected Political speeches within the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and demonstrates how the speech acts relate to the speaker's ideologies.

3. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In his PhD Thesis, Mforteh (2005) analyses leadership (political and religious) discourse in Cameroon from 1990 to 2000 with the aim of showing how the will of leaders to persuade their listeners and followers of their ability to salvage Cameroon from its perilous socioeconomic and political situation, was reflected in their text. The 1990s in Cameroon was marked by severe tensions and the ruling and the opposition parties were "at each other's neck". His theoretical foundation is drawn from register and genre theory, content analysis and also touches on aspects of classical rhetoric (arrangement, tropes). The findings reveal that, leadership discourse in Cameroon from 1990 to 2000 exhibited a marked use of certain lexis for positive self-representation motives. The politicians largely use hedging and some of their sentences were ambiguous. The work and the present study relate in that they all look at political discourse with focus on ideologies. What make them different is the theories they employed for analysis and also the data.

Dasse (2008) carries out a pragmatic analysis of persuasion in Cameroon political discourse. He uses Grice's Maxims of communication coupled with Sperber and Wilson's Relevance theory as measuring rods and data to look at

persuasion in discourse through the study of rhetorical patterns and identification and labelling of lexical items. His work was carried on selected opposition and ruling party text from 2000 to 2008. The findings thus reveal that the leaders systematically violate the maxim of manner through unclear referencing. Dasse's work and the present study all focus on political discourse but the theories he employs are different from those of the present study.

Wandji and Ngu (2016) look at socio-pragmatic analysis of some Cameroon-Anglophone newspaper headlines: the case of *Eden, Chronicle* and the *post* where they used Speech Act to analyze the captions. From the analysis, they observed that, most of the headlines employed the illocutionary act specification of accusing and denouncing and the headlines are among those associated with national crises and general tension in Cameroon. This study is similar to the present study in that it uses speech act as proposed by Searle to analyse the data which is associated to national crisis and general tension in Cameroon and bringing out the locutionary and illocutionary acts contained in newspaper headlines. It is dissimilar to the present study in that it focuses on newspaper headlines and not on political discourse.

It is within the same context of The Cameroon Anglophone Crisis that Fomukong (2017) analyses stylistic processes of meaning-making: an analysis of selected newspaper headlines of 20 May 2017 celebration in Cameroon. In the study, she examined the power headlines wield in the discourse of the 20 May 2017 representation in three newspapers in Cameroon. The study presented a coherent system of meanings, historically located, supporting institutions, reproducing power relations and having ideological effect, portraying the relationship between the context and interpretation to make meaning. Using Fairclough's analytical elements in the process of making meaning as conceptual framework which are production of text, the text itself and the reception of the text, she brought out the ideologies of contrast, negativity and positivity. This work is related to the present study in that it looks at the language used in selected newspaper headlines in Cameroon within the context of the Anglophone crisis but the theory and the data used is what makes it different from the present study.

Kohole (2018) studies the pragmatic and the grammatical features contained in captions on taxis and motorbikes in Bamenda. Using Speech Act theory, she identifies locutionary and illocutionary acts contained in the captions such as advising, blessing, asking, wishing and using Error Analysis, she found that some captions on taxis and motorbikes do contain errors. The work is related to the present one in that it lays emphasis on the locutionary and illocutionary acts contained in the speeches and it is different from the present study in that it does the pragmatic and the grammatical analysis of captions on taxis and motorbikes in Bamenda whereas the present study analyses the pragmatic and critical stylistic elements contained in seven speeches of Philemon Yang delivered within the Anglophone Crisis and how the features contribute in representing the ideologies of the speaker.

In their article, Lyonga et al. (2020) examine the attitude of Buea inhabitants after consuming violent reports on the Anglophone crisis. They adopted a cross sectional survey design and made use of purposive sampling in collecting the data from 100 Molyko dwellers. The findings show that the dwellers have different interpretations of reality after consuming violent contents through multimedia. While 66.8% respondents think Cameroon in particular and the world in general are full of violence, 28.19% of respondents do not think same. Also, 39.6% of respondents were of the opinion that violent contents cause them to be reserved and cautious. Others become scared, develop hatred for separatists and government as well as the feeling to join the armed struggle. They further concluded that, the power of the media should not be neglected especially during crisis periods and government as well as media practitioners and other conflict stakeholders should be cautious of the effects of media messages on their audiences in creating, escalating and promoting crisis situation. The study is similar to the present research in that, it focuses on discourse related to the Anglophone crisis used in the Media. It is dissimilar in that it analyses the ways journalists report news on the Anglophone crisis meanwhile the present study studies the speeches delivered by Yang within the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon from 2016-2020.

Also, in an article by Atoh & Musih (2022), they look at Pidgin English as a communication tool in managing the Anglophone Cameroon armed conflict.

They focus on the Pidgin English used by Prime Minister Dion Ngute and Mancho Bibixy to communicate or pass out their messages to the people of the North West and South West Regions who since 2016 have been going through what is known today as the Anglophone crisis, in the study, they focus on investigating the importance of Pidgin English as a communicative tool. Their data was collected both quantitatively and qualitatively from the population of 125 respondents and 35 informants and Pidgin Program in Ndefcam and Afrique Nouvelle Radio stations respectively and using excerpts of Pidgin English from the speeches of Prime Minister Dr Dion Ngute and that of Mancho Bibixy. The work uses the theory of Aristotle (1991) on rhetoric a theory of civic discourse. The findings reveal that Cameroon Pidgin English is more natural and a unifying language, which grows in the eyes of all Cameroonians. Pidgin English is a language of wider communication tool in a way in resolving the conflict in Southern Cameroons. The work is similar to the present study in that, it looks at the speeches as regards the Anglophone crisis though in Pidgin. It is different in that, it uses Aristotle theory and not speech act nor textual conceptual functions in the analysis.

Atemba & Nkwentisama (2022) focus the way political actors of the SDF Party in Cameroon justify their actions or proposals for action. Using critical discourse analysis as proposed by Van Dijk (2005), Van Leeuwen (1996, 2007), Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and Beethan (2013), they analyse excerpts of discourses by four frontline politicians of the Social Democratic Front Party. The analysis reveals that, the legitimisation structures and strategies are carried out within the context of a homogenous ideology and mission. The ideology has as primary goal to assign credibility to the SDF Party and then go on to amplify and justify moves that have to do with deligitimising the actions and deconstructing the achievements of the CPDM Party. The work is related to the present study in that, it looks at political discourse. What makes the difference is that, the discourse is that of frontline politicians of two political parties while the present study focuses on the discourse of the former Prime Minister within the Cameroon Anglophone crisis.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study employs Speech act theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) as the theory used in analysing the data.

4.1 SPEECH ACT THEORY

As introduced by the Oxford philosopher Austin in (1962) and further developed by the American philosopher Searle (1969), speech act theory deals essentially with the linguistic functions performed by human utterances (Adeyanju 2002). According to Yule (1996:47), Speech Act refers to “*actions performed via utterances containing grammatical structures, and words but also perform actions via those utterances*”. As mentioned above, there are three levels of Speech Act; the locutionary act, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act which the researchers adopt only the locutionary and the illocutionary act but it will be necessary to define all the acts. The locutionary act refers to the performance of an utterance: the actual utterance and its ostensible meaning, comprising phonetic, phatic and rhetic acts corresponding to the verbal, syntactic and semantic aspects of meaningful utterance. Thus, the literary meaning of an utterance whether written or spoken is a locutionary act. The illocutionary act on its part is the pragmatic “illocutionary force” of the utterance socially, thus its intended significance as a socially valid verbal action. In other words, it is the function which is performed through an utterance. The perlocutionary act refers to the effect of an utterance on the listener or hearer. The illocutionary act was adopted for the purpose of this paper because it is very important for the classification of utterances contained in the speeches. Nevertheless, Austin and Searle classify illocutionary acts into five types which are defined and classified in the table below.

TABLE 1: CLASSIFICATION OF ILLOCUTIONARY ACTS

Illocutionary function	Definition	Examples
Assertives or representatives	Act that state what the speaker believes to be the case or not	Stating, describing, clarifying, explaining, reporting, suggesting, boasting, and claiming.
Directives	Speech acts used by the speaker to get someone else do something.	Ordering, commanding, requesting, advising, recommending.
Commissives	Acts used by the speaker to commit themselves to some future actions.	Promising, vowing, pledging, contrasting, offering, threading and guaranteeing
Expressives	Acts that state what the speaker feels.	Apologizing, thanking, congratulating, welcoming, pardoning, blaming, praising and condoling.
Declaratives	Speech acts that change the world.	Pronouncing, declaring, firing, and resigning.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The corpus selected for this study is the speeches of Philemon Yang (2016-2020) former Prime Minister who was one of the main spoke persons of the government when the crisis just started and was the Head of the Inter-ministerial AD HOC committee formed by the government to look into the teachers and lawyers' grievances. Altogether, eight speeches of Philemon Yang were collected but for the purpose of the present study, seven speeches are analysed. The speech that was kept aside was the guideline for a preparatory and evaluation meeting in 2017 to the North West and South West Regions; the speech was kept aside because it was just an agenda that has not been developed. The speeches for the study are classified in the table below.

Table 2: Speeches collected for the study

speech	Date and source	place	Occasion
Speech 1	December, 9, 2016 https://m.facebook.com	Buea	Calling on parents to send back their children to school
Speech 2	November, 2016 (Prime Ministry)	Yaoundé	Preparatory meeting for a peace caravan meeting to the North West Region
Speech 3	November, 22, 2020 (Prime Ministry)	North West Region	launching ceremony of the campaigns for the regional elections of 6 th December 2020
Speech 4	February, 9, 2020 (Prime Ministry)	North West Region	CPDM campaign for the parliamentary and municipal elections of February 2020
Speech 5	March 8, 2017 (Cameroon Tribune)	Boyo and Menchum	During a meeting to call on parents to send children back to school
Speech 6	September 21, 2020 (Prime Ministry)	Yaoundé	Call for peace and stability in Cameroon by North West CPDM elite
Speech 7	November, 2018 (Prime Ministry)	Yaoundé	Preparation for 2019 financial year

All the utterances in six out of seven speeches were analysed because the utterances were related to the current Anglophone crisis and just excerpts in relation to the current Anglophone crisis were taken from speech 7 that has to do with the planning of the 2019 financial year. The utterances in the present study were seen as sentences in that, they were sentences used in a particular context for a particular purpose. The speeches of the political figure were chosen because ever since the crisis started, he was one of the first person chosen by the Head of State to lead commissions to the two English speaking regions in trying to solve the problem. From the corpus, the researchers take excerpts and analyses using speech act theory as proposed by Searle (1969). In the analysis, the utterances were classified and analysed according to their types and functions. The present study employed a descriptive qualitative research. In

making the interpretation, the data of the research were analysed by using descriptive approach which involved a technique used to describe natural phenomena without making experimental manipulation. However, in presenting the occurrences of the data, the research used quantitative data to perform the number or the percentage of occurrences of illocutionary acts contained in the excerpts. Also, interviews were presented to some people to get their opinion on the crisis.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Excerpts of speeches and a checklist were used as instruments in data collection. The analysis of the data is done in tables showing the types and functions of illocutionary acts performed by the utterances. The utterances are classified into assertives, directives, expressives, commissives and declaratives. The results obtained are classified, discussed and analysed into the illocutionary acts and their functions.

6.1 CLASSIFICATION OF ILLOCUTIONARY ACTS

The illocutionary acts identified are classified according to their types and functions.

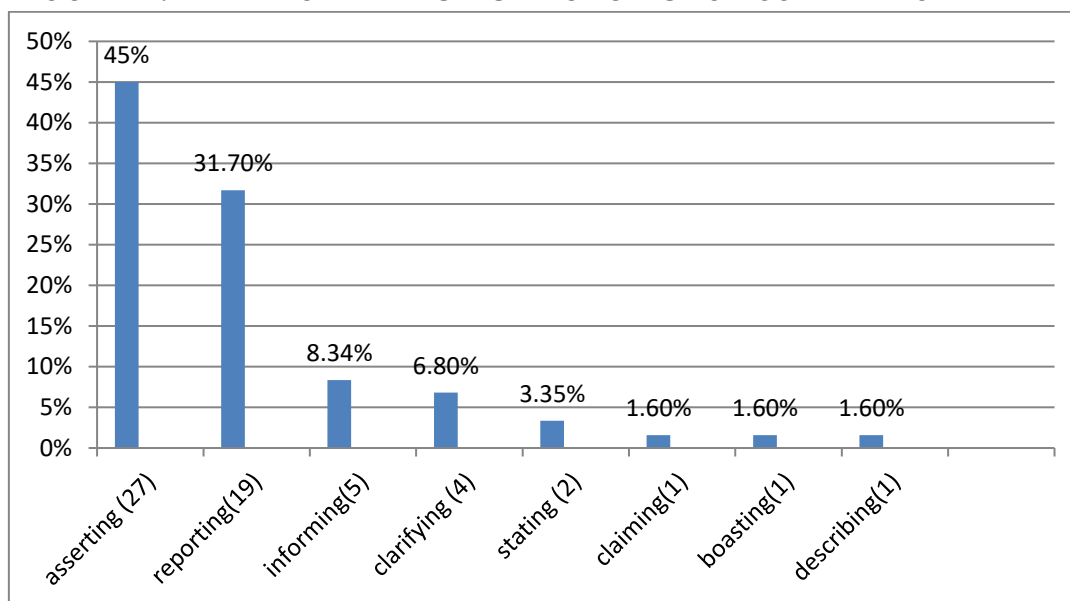
TABLE 3: ASSERTIVES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Functions	asserting	reporting	clarifying	stating	informing	boasting	claiming	describing	total
Number of occurrences	27	19	4	2	5	1	1	1	60
Percentage	45%	31.7%	6.8%	3.35%	8.34%	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	100%

The table above shows that, assertives in the speeches are sixty (60) in numbers and perform the functions of asserting, clarifying, reporting, stating, claiming, describing, informing and boasting. The speaker asserts when he says or makes utterances that to him are actually what is happening or what he believes to be the case like asserting that keeping children out of school is bad, he reports on issues or measures taken by the government to put an end to the crisis, he uses *stating* when mentioning the government efforts in solving the crisis, he uses *informing* to inform the audience about the death of some municipal councillors of the CPDM due to the crisis, to inform his audience of an increment observe in the financial budget of the year 2019 and also to inform the audience about measures taken by the government to stop the crisis like the translation of the OHADA Uniform Act from French to English. Using *reporting*, he mentioned some actions carry out by the government to support the displaced students and pupils from the North West and South West Regions, the creation of certain ministries like the Ministry of Decentralisation among others. He uses *boasting*

when mentioning that constructive dialogue has been organised between the government, the teachers and the lawyers. *Clarifying* was used to clarify the people on government actions envisaged in 2019 and clarifying the audience on an increment on the financial budget in the year 2019 due to the crisis and the actions to be carried out by the government that year as far as the crisis is concerned and he uses *claiming* when he tells the militants of the CPDM that the time has come for them to represent the party in the North West Region. This is further clarified in figure 1 below.

FIGURE 1: REPRESENTATION OF FUNCTIONS ASSERTIVES



The graph presented above gives a representation of functions of illocutionary acts performed by assertives in the speeches. From the graph, it is clear that asserting functions are more than all the other functions in assertives. Thus, we can conclude that the speaker asserts, reports, informs, clarifies, states, claims, boasts and describes some actions in his speeches.

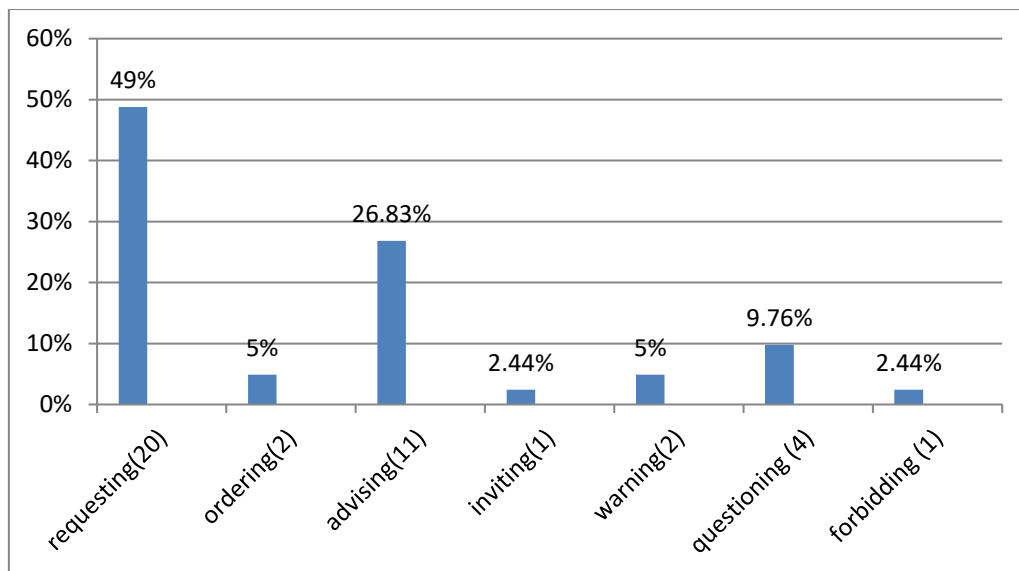
TABLE 4: CLASSIFICATION OF DIRECTIVES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Functions	requesting	ordering	advising	inviting	warning	questioning	forbidding	total
Number of occurrences	20	2	11	1	2	4	1	41
Percentage %	48.780 %	4.878 %	26.829 %	2.439 %	4.878 %	9.756 %	2.439 %	100 %

Thus, from the above classification, it is seen that the speeches of Philemon Yang contain illocutionary act types of directives which perform the functions of *requesting*, *advising*, *inviting*, *questioning*, *warning* and *ordering*. The speaker uses *requesting* to ask for peace, to call on the boys in the bushes to quit the

bushes and join the President of the Republic for a united Cameroon, to ask parents to send their children to school, to ask Cameroonians and municipal councillors to vote for the CPDM among others; he uses *advising* to caution the people on the importance of participating on the ongoing dialogue prescribed by the Head of State, to caution the people on the disadvantages of violence, ghost town operations and school boycott, to caution the municipal councillors of the CPDM to vote despite the difficult situation and the difficult conditions they are facing in the North West Regions; using *inviting*, he call on the people to rise in honour of the municipal councillors who lost their life in the crisis; as regards questioning, he uses rhetorical questions to ask the audience why they were gathered there on that day (see speech 1), *Why are we here today? What has happened in the recent past? What do we do next?* In order to see that parents send their children to school. The speaker uses *warning* when telling the people and the parents to be careful not to be misled by those he refers to as detractors. Finally, he uses *ordering* when giving orders to the boys to leave the bushes and when telling the parents to stop refusing to send their children to school. Thus, the analysis of directives is seen further in figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2: REPRESENTATION OF FUNCTIONS OF DIRECTIVES



From the above graph, the various functions of the directives are represented. So, the conclusion here is that, the speaker in the person of Yang in using illocutionary acts of directives makes requests in his speeches, advises, questions, warns, orders, forbids and invites the people. *Requesting* has the highest percentage (49%) while *forbidding* has the lowest percentage. It is important to note that, the speaker requests a lot from the people, which to

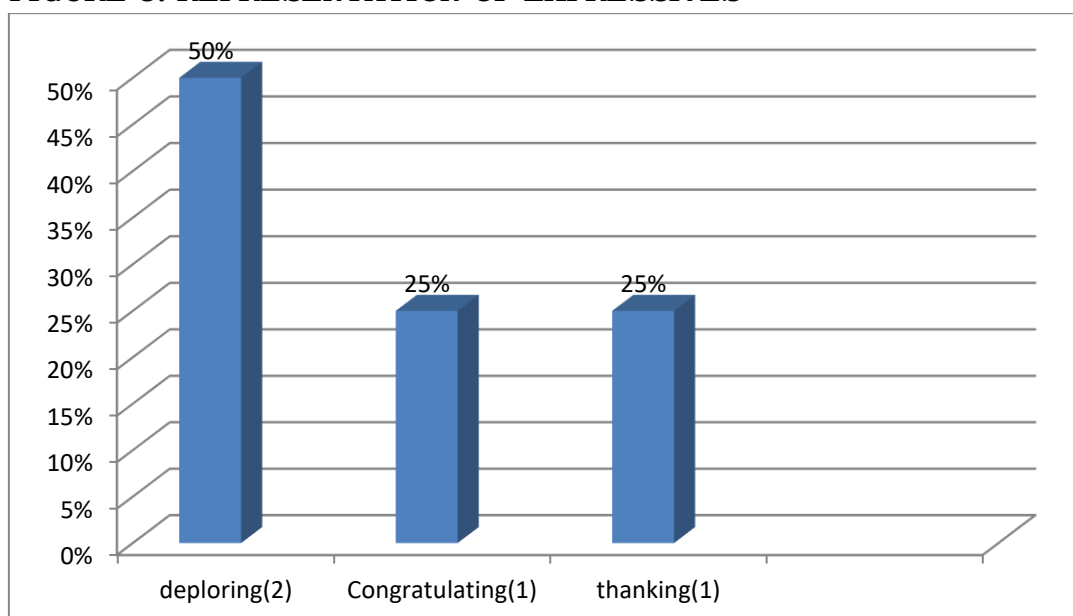
some extent make the people angry because some advance that what they are asking from the government has not been given to them and the same government is requesting so many things from them which to them is not logical and they considered it as a way of imposing on them. Hence, the directives perform seven functions as presented in the graph above.

TABLE 5: CLASSIFICATION OF EXPRESSIVES

Functions	Deploring	congratulating	thanking	Total
Number of occurrences	2	1	1	4
Percentages	50%	25%	25%	100%

From the above table, it is seen that, expressives are four (4) in number and perform the functions of *congratulating*, *deploring* and *thanking*. The speaker uses illocutionary act of *thanking* when he thanks the audience for taking part in the rally despite all the threats and difficult conditions they faced; he uses *deploring* when decrying the fact that the teacher’s strike is jeopardising the future of our children and the fact that children have been out of schools for sometimes; he uses *congratulating* when congratulating the audience for demonstrating a sense of maturity and Republican spirit of the citizens who somehow did not listen to the call made by the fighters to join the fight. Expressives are represented as follows:

FIGURE 3: REPRESENTATION OF EXPRESSIVES



The graph above gives us a representation of expressives. It is observed that *deploring* occupies the highest number of illocutionary act. So, in using expressives, the speaker deploras, congratulates, thanks in his speeches.

TABLE 6: CLASSIFICATION OF COMMISSIVES

Functions	Promising	total
Number of occurrences	7	7
percentages	100%	100%

The table above presents all the commissives and from observation, the commissives are seven (7) in number and all perform the function of promising. *Promising* here is used by the speaker to promise the audience that a vote for the CPDM will be a vote against violence, disorder, disunity, to receive the special status granted to the North West and South West regions and a vote that will ease the return to normalcy among others. The vote which was made but the return to normalcy in these regions is still farfetched. Commissives performed just one function here which is that of *promising* that covers 100%. It is of great importance to note here that, the commissives were mostly found in political campaign speeches and in the financial budget speech of the year 2019. So, we can deduce that the speaker uses the commissives mostly as a political campaign strategy to call on the audience to vote for the CPDM thereby making certain promises as conditions.

TABLE 7: CLASSIFICATION OF DECLARATIVES

Functions	Declaring	total
Number of occurrences	2	2
percentage	100%	100%

The above table classifying the declaratives, show that just two (2) declaratives were found in the selected speeches. The declaratives were used by the speaker to declare a peaceful rest on the departed souls and to declare the commitment of the CPDM elite to the values of peace among other things. The declaratives just like the commissives perform just one function which is *declaring*. The table above gives a vivid representation of declaratives in the speeches. It indicates that, declaratives perform the function of declaring (2) two occurrences.

In total, the above tables show that, 114 utterances were analysed from the speeches and of the 114 utterances, we found sixty (60) assertives, forty one (41) directives, five (5) expressives, seven (7) commissives and two (2) declaratives. So, the speeches perform 5 illocutionary act types and 20 illocutionary act functions.

Philemon Yang in his speeches uses more assertives performing the functions of asserting because he is talking from the part of the government and as such he ought to defend and protect the interest of the government and by extension his own interest. Though he is an Anglophone, it is difficult for him to take side with the people. The function of *asserting* is followed by *requesting*. The speaker employs *requesting* to call on the boys who carried guns and entered the bushes to quit the bushes and to join the President in building the nation; to request Cameroonians to vote for the ruling party during his campaign, to ask parents to send back their children to school and also to ask them to be promoters and ambassadors of peace. But one thing is sure that people cannot be ambassadors of peace in a context where guns, gunshots and bullets are circulating in an uncontrolled manner; there is a need for the government to declare ceasefire so that talks of peace can gain ground.

However, it is true that children in the two English Speaking regions have gone back to school but not all and also not all the schools have reopened their doors since 2016, it is also true that some of the boys in the bushes have dropped their arms and have joined the centre for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) but the crisis still continues. This may be link to the fact that, the government did not react promptly to the demands of the teachers and the lawyers and due to that other groups of persons unidentified came in with their own demands which were different from those of the teachers and the lawyers and their coming in brought about different ideologies like “secession”, “the restoration of the Ambazonia State” among others. And also, the government through it representatives like Yang, Ngute, Mafani among others should really give more listening ears to the populace and the fighters in questions rather than requesting, maybe for what the people cannot do because all they are demanding have not been granted to them. Even though all their demands cannot be met like that of “secession” which the government keeps on reminding them all the time that Cameroon is one and indivisible. The speeches of the government representatives on the crisis should perform more illocutionary acts of expressives (forgiving, pardoning, apologising, deploring, regretting), directives (appealing, begging), commissives (offering) and consider the demands of the people and by so doing the people or fighters may calm down and give a listening ear to the government.

7. CONCLUSION

The Anglophone crisis that emanated since 2016 has caused many people to produce speeches at many occasions with the aim of calming down the people and solving the problem. The present study focussed on the pragmatic of seven speeches delivered by Philemon Yang from 2016-2020 and found that the speeches portray ideologies related most especially to the current socio-political unrest in the North West and South West regions. Using Speech Act theory by Searle (1969), we realised that the speeches contain illocutionary acts types like directives, assertives, expressives and declaratives of which the assertives types which perform the functions of asserting, reporting among others occupy the highest number of acts followed by directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. The illocutionary acts were pragmatically constructed to represent the ideologies of the speaker as far as the current Anglophone crisis is concerned, which were the call for peace, school resumption in the North West and South West Regions, suffering of the people, the dropping of the weapons by the boys, the call to vote for the ruling party, the advice to stop violence among others. Thus, the speeches are pragmatically constructed and represent mostly ideologies developed within the Anglophone crisis which are peace, national unity, suffering, school resumption. Though some of the requests of Yang have been met, it is worth suggesting that if the speeches of the government representatives like Yang, Ngute perform more illocutionary act types like commissives (offering, guaranteeing), expressives (appealing, pardoning, congratulating, apologising), assertives (acknowledging) and directives (advising), it might help to calm down tension among the population who might not have been responding positively to some of the requests of the government because the government has not granted all their demands though all their demands cannot be granted to them as he reminds them in his speech that *Cameroon is one and indivisible* see last utterance in Speech 1.

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APPENDICES

Speech 1

Speech by Philemon Yang (December 9, 2016) delivered in The South West Region

- Mr. Secretary General of the Central committee of the CPDM
- Members of the Political bureau
- Members of the Central Committee
- Members of Government
- Excellency the Governor of the South West Region
- Traditional and Religious Authorities
- Dear Militants of the CPDM
- Dear sisters and brothers of the South West Region
- Ladies and gentlemen,

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We thank all of you for attending this rally. It is a great rally. We have graciously moved all regions around to be at this meeting presided over by the Secretary General of the Central Committee. Why are we here today?

We bring you a message of hope for all school children and all parents. Dear mothers and fathers, it is important that all of our children go back to school. It is important that they go back to school to continue to study and prepare themselves for the future of Cameroon. Our children, I mean all our children have been out of schools for more than two weeks; That is not a good thing. We must stop that.

The ongoing teacher's strike is jeopardizing the future of our children. What has happened in the recent past? Recently some lawyers and teachers made complaints and expressed grievances.

President Paul Biya has listened carefully to the complaints and grievances expressed by some lawyers and teachers. The president of the Republic has adequately addressed some of the complaints made by lawyers and teachers. The other complaints made by lawyers are complex and need careful analysis. The Head of State has directed that all those teachers should send their address properly at the forum for stake holders at the justice sector. Also, ^ of the OHADA Uniform Act is now available.

We are very proud to say that constructive dialogue has been established between the government, the teachers and the lawyers. The complaints and grievances of the teachers will be addressed properly by the Ministerial AD HOC committee which is already created. President Paul Biya also allocated the special Somme of 2 Billion Francs for lay private and denominational schools. President Paul Biya has also ordered the Special Recruitment of 1000 Bilingual technical school teachers to address the shortage of teachers in Anglophone technical schools and colleges. And what do we do next?

We are all determine to have our children back in school, educating themselves and preparing themselves to become competent and educated Cameroonians in a Cameroon that is constitutionally one and indivisible.

Speech 2: Speech by Yang delivered during a preparatory meeting for a peace caravan meeting to the North West

Take home message for peace –loving Cameroonians

1. In the face of terrorist activities, Cameroonians living in the affected areas are advised to be extremely vigilant and cautions.
2. .All peace-loving Cameroonians are advised to freely take part in the ongoing dialogue prescribed by the Head of State. However, we must be careful not to propose solutions that may be more damaging to our country than the crisis!
3. It is unwise for anyone to destroy his/her Fatherland on grounds that it has some imperfections. Cameroon surely has less imperfection than many great nations of the world.
4. The story of secession in the world has often been a story of bloodshed and regrets. No true leader (even you) would allow a country entrusted into his/her hand to be torn apart by terrorists.
5. Terrorist acts are signs of irresponsibility. They point to the fact that those who promote them cannot rule a country.
6. Violence, destruction and witchcraft cannot build a country. Such acts are primitive and outdated. They do not fall within the standards of nation building in the 21st century.
7. Let us avoid disorder and support the Head of State in his stable leadership to a more peaceful and prosperous future.
8. Ghost towns and school boycott are wicked practices that lead to hunger and poverty. They are destructive to our own children and their future. God forbid!
9. We have learnt from the crisis that Violence does not pay. It is not rewarding to destroy our country. Rather. It is the dialogue prescribed by the Head of State that can lead us to a more peaceful Cameroon and greater achievements.
10. Violence has no future! A peaceful dialogue is a sign of responsibility.

Speech 3:A KEYNOTE SPEECH DELIVERED TODAY, 22 NOVEMBER 2020 AT THE LAUNCHING CEREMONY OF THE CAMPAIGNS FOR THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS OF 6TH DECEMBER 2020 IN THE NORTH WEST REGION

Members of the Political Bureau of the CPDM, Members of the Central Committee of the CPDM, Members of Government,

Senators, Members of the National Assembly, Members of the Permanent Regional Delegation, Members of the Permanent Divisional Delegations, Members of the communal teams, Mayors, Municipal Councillors, Candidates for the Regional elections of 6th December 2020, Elite, Fellow comrades, Ladies and gentlemen,

It would appear that in genuine political practice, it is not only the length of time that matters, but also the quality of the activities that have been performed within that time. In our political context in Cameroon, It is possible to describe as long, the period between now and 1996 when our National Constitution envisaged regional governments in a decentralized unitary system. Any astute political observer would also agree that this period has hardly been wasted but that it has been a period of intense material, intellectual, political and psychological preparations to prudently set the stage for action. It is the right time!

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Much has been said and done about decentralization. For quite some time, decentralization has constituted an interesting topic for debate. Cameroonians have been involved in an endless chain of arguments and counter arguments on decentralization. Whatever be the case, the time has come. On 6th December 2020, Cameroonians will go out to the polls and elect, through an indirect suffrage, the first ever representatives of Regional Government in Cameroon. This means that the time for action has come. It is time for real business. It is the time that needs less talking and more action. Our responsibility at this point as militants and sympathizers of the CPDM is to ensure that our team of carefully chosen trustworthy and dependable personalities in the Party is voted into that prestigious office.

Fellow comrades, before I continue with my speech, I know that we have been saddened by the fact that some of our beloved comrades could not live to be part of this great moment in our democratic evolution. We learnt with deep regret the passing on of His Royal Highness, Fon Francis Aneng, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPDM. We are also aware that fourteen municipal councillors of the CPDM are no more. Some were called home by nature and some were targets of the deadly violence in the North West and South west Regions and could not survive the inhumanity. In the face of these sad occurrences, I invite you all to rise for a minute of silence in remembrance of those departed souls. May their souls rest in peace!

I mentioned it in passing and I should come back to it. The Regional election of 6th December, 2020 is to be conducted through an indirect suffrage. It means that we have invested our confidence in a special group of people who will perform an important civic duty on our behalf those special people are our municipal councillors. Normally, in life/ we give confidence to those who are trustworthy so that we have no reason to fear betrayal. In the upcoming Regional elections of 6th December 2020, all the militants and sympathizers of the CPDM will be counting on one thousand and forty three municipal councillors given that fourteen are no more. These special people will have the responsibility to elect the first ever representatives in the Regional House of Assembly in the North West Region.

Our dear municipal councillors we know that you are responsible people. We trust your honesty and that is why we elected you our torchbearers. We have absolutely no reason to doubt that you will, in all honesty, represent us at this critical point in the history of our democracy.

Dear Councillors, permit me to draw this allusion from masonry. All physical structures stand on rods, no matter how gigantic they are. The rods that hold the structures are often invisible and may not even be considered in the physical appraisal of the structures. Yet, the structures stand and withstand storms because of the rods. You might not have been a hero. You might not even have been famous in anything. The truth is that the time has come when you and only you have the responsibility to represent the CPDM in the North West Region. You are placed in the prestigious position where you have to decide the political destiny of a people at a crucial stage in their democratic evolution. You are to the CPDM like iron rods within a physical structure. The CPDM in the North West and in Cameroon count on your absolute honesty because it is the only storehouse of our confidence. To say the least, the Head of State counts on your honesty. We have vouched for you and we believe that there will be no quisling amongst you to remind us of the ugly experience of the 2018 Senatorial elections. God forbid!

Dear Councillors, besides honesty, we count on your courage. Unlike other Regions of the country, our context of the Regional elections is peculiar to us. We are operating in a context where some of our people have been intoxicated and manipulated out of normalcy. Kidnapping, killings and other forms of brutality in our Region are commonplace. However, the democratic evolution in Cameroon is irreversible. Elections will come and go and our victory will depend on your courage. The same courage that you exhibited when you voted for the municipal councils is required. While we call on you to be cautious, prudent and vigilant in the context where detractors are resisting democratic strides, we expect you to demonstrate courage in the circumstances. In tough moments, only the tough like you keep going. Courage!

On 6th December 2020, you will vote in all our seven Divisional Headquarters for the victory of the CPDM. Remember that your vote will go beyond victory for the Party. It will be a vote against violence and disorder in the North West Region and Cameroon. It will be a vote for unity and respect to our territorial integrity. It will be a vote for stability and prosperity. It will be a vote to facilitate the return to normalcy in our Region. It will be a vote to welcome the special status in the North West and South West Regions granted by the Head of State. Your vote will give you the opportunity to indelibly engrave your names on the bedrock of democratic practice in Cameroon. Your names will enter the white pages of our history.

Yes, the stage is set for action. You will vote for the CPDM because any other choice is a choice for political uncertainty. It is tantamount to taking a leap in the dark. The mother knows the value of a child because she knows what it takes to carry the child in the womb and what it takes to be delivered of the child. It is only the CPDM that knows the roughness of our democratic path and it is therefore the CPDM that is best placed to set an exemplary pace for Regional governance.

Let me end this speech with another call for peace in our Region. I said it yesterday and I will say it today and tomorrow that violence cannot be a solution to our problems and difficulties. In all humility, I am, once more, calling on our people who are being manipulated into violence to desist from such deadly but futile acts of brutality. Those acts blight our identity and impede our prosperity. Come out of the bushes and let us continue to build Cameroon. Violence has no Place in the 21st century political practice. Do not be deceived

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by what you see in democracies that are more than two hundred years older than ours. It is high time we buried the hatchet and board the democratic train because it is surely and steadily climbing to higher heights. I call on you to cultivate genuine love for your country because love conquers all.

My dear councillors, candidates and elite, I wish you joyful campaigns and victorious elections come 5th December 2020.