



Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS) Vol. 5 No. 1, June, 2017



An Open Access Journal available online

Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS)

Vol. 5, No. 1, June. 2017

**A bi-annual Publication of the Department of Languages,
Covenant University.**

Editor-in-Chief: Prof. Innocent Chiluwa
innocent.chiluwa@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

Managing Editor: Edwin O. Agbaike
me@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

Website: <http://Journal.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/cjls/>

© 2017, Covenant University Journals

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

It is a condition of publication in this journal that manuscripts have not been published or submitted for publication and will not be submitted or published elsewhere.

Upon the acceptance of articles to be published in this journal, the author(s) are required to transfer copyright of the article to the publisher.

ISSN : Print 2354-3582
 Electronics 2354-3523

Published by Covenant University Journals,
Covenant University, Canaanland, Km 10, Idiroko Road,
P.M.B. 1023, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria

Printed by Covenant University Press

Contents

The “Ancestor” Figure in Langston Hughes’ <i>Not Without Laughter</i> : Anticipation of Feminist Theoretical Accounts in Male Representations Babacar Dieng	1
Stance and Positioning in Email Scams Isioma M. Chiluwa	18
Pragmatic Analysis of Conceptual Mappings in Inaugural Speeches of Nigerian Presidents Moses Aremu	32
Analyse stylistique des éléments déictiques dans le discours inaugural du président français, Emmanuel Macron David N. Utah	48
Multilingualism and the New Language Policy in South Africa: Innovation and Challenges Amaka E. Ideh & John O. Onu	63



An Open Access Journal available online

The “Ancestor” Figure in Langston Hughes’ Not Without Laughter: Anticipation of Feminist Theoretical Accounts in Male Representations

Babacar Dieng

Department of English
Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis
Route de Ngalléle. Saint-Louis, Senegal.

Abstract : Shifting the focus from black women to black men novelists, this work inspired by Barbara Christian’s seminal work, *Black Women Novelists: The Development of a Tradition, 1892-1976* (1980), studies the characterization of Aunt Hager in *Not Without Laughter*, Hughes’ Harlem Renaissance novel, against the backdrop of the struggle over the image of the black woman in literary representations. It compares and contrasts Hughes’ character with the stereotypical depictions of the mammy in Antebellum and southern representations and the emancipatory portraits of the black woman in counter-narratives from the abolitionist to the New Renaissance periods. It argues that Hughes constructs a complex character combining features of the mammy but sufficiently revising it to give birth to a new archetype that anticipates the emergence of the Morrisonian “ancestor.”

Keywords: black woman; image; mammy; African-American literature; ancestor; Langston Hughes; Not Without Laughter.

Introduction

Even a cursory glance at African-American and Southern literatures will tempt us to conjecture that one of the most recurrent and striking black stock characters from the antebellum period to more or less contemporary times is the elderly black woman. Barbara Christian, in *Black Women Novelists*, shows that this character type bears different names and occupies varying positions in mainstream and African-American narratives. Indeed, she is the stereotypical mammy, the Black matriarch, the sapphire, and the ancestor. The peripheral mammy in antebellum representations of Southern life in general and southern literature in particular, she is stereotypically painted as an overweight, complacent, extremely God-fearing, unrefined, and superstitious black woman with a kerchief speaking pidgin who often takes care of the master's children and seems to love them more than her own. In abolitionist and post-abolitionist creative works that counter the previous dominant culture's representations, she is endowed with more positive attributes. In early black women's novels of the nineteenth century such as *Clotel* and *Iola Leroy*, the black woman is painted as a sophisticated, fragile, well-mannered and educated mulatta who contributes to the advancement of the race. In twentieth-century black women writings, she is depicted as a matriarch, the very pillar of the black family, when she is not a sapphire, the strong, domineering, and practical woman. At times, she is even endowed

with supernatural powers in some unconventional counter-narratives in which she is a seer or a healer. Often, the black woman is the head of an extended family composed of divorced or single-mother daughters and grandchildren. In black women writers' works, she is a true matriarch, an extremely devout Christian and a maternal figure ruling her household with an ironclad hand and ensuring the economic and social stability of the family. She also paves the main protagonists' path to development and a viable future. Contemporary cultural analysts such as Toni Morrison – we shall elaborate on this later – have called this powerful and inspirational presence the ancestor.

This stock character can be found in numerous works by male and female African-American writers. The sympathetic and maternal Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes' first novel *Not Without Laughter* (1930) represents a great illustration. Another version of this character type is Momma, the strong and inspirational matriarch in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969). Hazel, the rebellious and resistant "uptown mama" in Toni Cade Bambara's collection of short stories, *Gorilla, My Love* (1972) constitutes another urban version. The unconventional Pilate Dead in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* (1977) also constitutes a southern version. Velma Henry, the healer in Toni Cade Bambara's *The Salt Eaters* (1980) is close to this character type which can

also be found in the works of Caribbean-American writers such as Paul Marshall: she is Aunt Cuney in *Praisesong for a Widow* (1983) and Leesy in *The Chosen Place* (1969).

Countless studies have been devoted to the study of the black woman in African-American-women writers' productions, especially those published between the abolition period and the 1970s for many reasons. Barbara Christian's *Black Women Writers* paved the way, followed by many studies borrowing a feminist perspective. For instance, the character of Annie Henderson in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* has been the subject of many scholarly works. For example, there is Yolanda M. Manora's article "What You Looking at me for? I didn't Come to Stay' Displacement, Disruption and Black Female Subjectivity in Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*." Other characters such as Pilate Dead's *Song of Solomon* and Shirley Ann Williams' *Dessa Rose* have also inspired many thoughts about how black American women writers challenge the sexist and stereotypical representations of the mammy and the jezebel.

However, the representation of the black woman in past works written by male writers remains less studied. For this reason, we deemed it worthwhile devoting time to her representation in an antecedent fiction by a male writer, more specifically the characterization of Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes' *Not Without Laughter* (1930). Several factors justify the choice of Hughes' novel. First, Langston Hughes defines himself as a realistic writer not entangled in the ideological shackles of

race and politics. Indeed, in his landmark essay, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," he speaks of both the need for race pride and artistic independence of the African-American artist. This desire to achieve realism and the artist's declaration of freedom of creation is voiced in the extract below when he proclaims:

We young Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful and ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves (Cantor 29).

Another rationale behind the choice is that the poet, novelist and essayist is a leading and representative figure of African-American letters. As a matter of fact, Langston Hughes, as Glenn Jordan notes in "Re-Membering the African-American Past," forms part of the African-American intellectuals and writers of the Harlem Renaissance era who, along with W. E. B. Du Bois, Jesse Fauset, Alain Locke, and Van Der Zee, promoted the racial ideals of their community (850). Besides, his novel was published before a pivotal moment in black women writings: the years coming just before the black women writers' reclamation of their true image. Hughes produced this fiction work in an era of progressive "fall of the proper

mulatta” and before the emergence of “ordinary women” in the black women’s tradition. As a matter of fact, the shift in the re-representation of the black woman begins in the 1930s, but is more visible in the 1940s and 1950s.

This work demonstrates that Aunt Hager in *Not Without Laughter* not only self-consciously revises the stereotype of the mammy disseminated in mainstream literature and discourses of the time, but she anticipates the emergence of the ordinary black woman as a heroine in the black feminist tradition. Using the explicit and implicit characterization of the figure, it argues that Hughes even goes a step higher than the filial black women writers: he creates a new type of female character that Morrison will call the “ancestor.” To have a better angle from which to compare the true-to-life depiction of Aunt Hager to the stereotypical picture of the mammy disseminated in antebellum and southern representations, especially those written by white authors, and the counter-portrait found in African-American women writers’ representations, we’ll first make an overview of the black woman’s stereotypical features in the dominant culture’s fictional representations before presenting the countertypes found in African-American literature in general and black women’s novels from the abolition to the seventies in particular. This retrospective account of the representation of the black woman in the black women’s writings will enable us to situate Hughes’s characterization in the tradition and illustrate how the male author anticipates practices and

developments in black feminist fiction, theory and criticism.

Literary Review

Postcolonial and feminist critical studies have denounced how black people, particularly black women, have been misrepresented and caricatured in literary works to support the racist and sexist theories legitimizing and perpetuating the exploitation of the sable race. For instance, Barbara Christian, in her landmark *Black Women Novelist*, discusses at length the stereotypes loaded upon black women in American literature and representations of southern life. In her view, these stereotypes have been constructed as a result of the need to disseminate ideological discourses reinforcing the supremacy of the dominant race. Taking antebellum representations of Southern life and Southern literature as illustrations, she lists the three dominant images of the black woman: the mammy, the conjure woman and the tragic mulatta. The image of the jezebel is also another recurrent image. Although we will touch upon the other images, we will focus more on the image of the mammy because it corresponds more with the character of our focus in *Not Without Laughter* in terms of age and features. A peripheral character always painted in the background of mainstream literary works, the mammy is the black woman valued for her role as a mother and a worker. Christian describes her as a superstitious, religious, overweight, and unattractive mature woman with a kerchief on her head who disregards her own offspring and devotes more time to tending the white mistress’ babies (5-

19). Robinson, in "Mammy Ain't Nobody Name": The Subject of Mammy Revisited in Shirley Anne Williams's "Dessa Rose," corroborates Christian's delineation of the mammy's features when she notes the mammy and the jezebel can be considered as the dominant types of black women in mainstream American literature. Contrasting the mammy to the Jezebel, she states that contrary to the Jezebel who was "licentious" and legitimized the sexual abuse of the slave woman, the mammy was "maternal, virtuous, devoted. She enabled to legitimize slavery as it permitted African-American women to "come as close as they possibly could to the pristine standards of white womanhood." (51).

As scholars such as Barbara Christian have already demonstrated, in early African-American literature such as enslaved people's narratives and abolitionist works autobiographical and fictional, a massive overhaul of the stereotypical representation of the black woman can be noticed. First, "orators like Frederick Douglass, William Brown, and Frances Harper were concerned with countering Southern images not only of black men but of black women as well" (19), Christian explains. Indeed, these authors refuted the images of the lewd and lascivious black woman and portrayed her under more positive shades enhancing her challenges, drudgery, courage, etc. This self-conscious or unconscious deconstruction of the negative images of black women writings is also particularly striking in abolitionist works such as Iola Leroy countering stereotypes through the depiction of the

"proper," and most of the time tragic mulattas torn between the two races. The mulatta has constituted a countertype in many black women writers' from the period of abolition to the Harlem Renaissance. Cases in point, Nella Larsen's two novels, *Quicksand* and *Passing*, respectively published in 1928 and 1929, continue to perpetuate the middle-class mulatta heroine tradition.

It is only from the early twentieth century onward, with the publication of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), of *The Street* (1946), and later of *Maud Martha* (1953), that we witness the emergence of ordinary black women as heroines in African-American women's novels. The trend continued in subsequent works of black women writers in which we notice a break away from the image of the proper mulatta and the representation of ordinary black women. Although these fiction writers may use many features of the stereotypical mammy, they revise them sufficiently to correct the false myths attached to it. Barbara Christian considers that two dominant variations of the mammy image are worth mentioning as a backdrop to the emergence of black women novelists in the sixties and seventies: the sapphire and the matriarch (77). The sapphire is the domineering, loudmouth, strong-willed, practical, independent black women, partly because she is by nature devoid of emotion and emasculating. She is not so maternal toward white folks and she is cold, hard, and evil to black men. As for the matriarch, she is strong, independent and out of necessity born of circumstance, serves as the head

and the heart of her family” (Manora 367). Thus, one can note a strong and growing tendency to deconstruct stereotypes attached to their sisters in black women writings with a rising need to move away from the master’s tools.

But where do early black male writers stand in this struggle to define the features of the black woman and reclaim her true image? How do they represent the black woman in works published before or during that period? These are some issues we will discuss in the study of the portrait of Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes’ Harlem Renaissance novel, *Not Without Laughter* (1930). The choice of this novel is not fortuitous because it came out before the publication of such novels as *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and *Maud Martha* that bring to the forefront ordinary black female protagonist rooted in African-American culture and countering previous stereotypes.

Not Without Laughter as an anticipation of the black feminist discourses and practices

Langston Hughes’ *Not Without Laughter* initiates the representational and discursive practices found in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and *Maud Martha*; the author constructs a new type of character coalescing the features of the matriarch and the ancestor, and anticipates contemporary theoretical developments in the black women’s literary tradition. A literary ancestor of Zora Neale Hurston and a key figure of the Harlem Renaissance who promoted the racial ideals of the era, Langston Hughes proclaimed the artistic freedom of the writer and refused to be constrained by ideological or political

shackles. As he explains in his essay, “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain” (1926), which had become the manifesto for many African-American writers of the Harlem Renaissance period, his concern was not to satisfy the black or white community’s tastes but rather to paint the black experience in a realistic way. Hughes’ bravado and audacity reverberate in the honest treatment of black life in his novel set in the Depression years and the characterization of Aunt Hager. The mature black woman is cut out of the author’s experience: some believe the model of Hughes fictional character was his own grandmother, Mary Leary Langston. A former slave from Montgomery, Alabama, Aunt Hager is an ordinary urban black woman in her seventies living in the segregated town of Stanton, Kansas, in the period of the Great Depression with her two daughters—Annjee and Harriet—and her grandson, Sandy. Hager lives in a mixed working class community where whites peacefully cohabit with black people even though the novel is set against a backdrop of racism, a situation recurrently satirized through the narrative voice and the comments of Harriett, Jimboy, Mrs Johnson, etc.

Aunt Hager’s name bears a sweet tone and resonates echoes of the biblical figure of Hagar, the Egyptian handmaid of Sarah who was given to Abraham to bear a child: Ishmael. Like her namesake, she works hard with her hands to earn a living and provide for her family. After the death of Pa Williams, not only did she have to educate her daughters by herself and

care for her grandson, Sandy, but also, despite her old age, she remained economic pillar of the household. Jimboy, Annjee's husband is a blues man who spends his time travelling with is guitar; Aunt Hager takes in laundry to feed her family. This passage in which she brags about her work ethic reads:

Fo' nigh on forty years, ever sence Cudge an' me come here from Omtgomery. An' I bee washin' fo' white folks ever' week de Lawd sent sence I been here, too. Bought this house washin'; and made as many payments myself as Cudge come near; an' raised ma chillens washin'; and Cudge taken sick an' laid on his back for mo'n a year, I taken care o' him washin', cause' he ain't belonged to no lodge. Sent Tempy through the high school and edicated Annjee till she marry that onery pup of a Jimboy, an' Harriett till she left home. Yes sir. Washin', an' here I is with me arms still in the tub! (142).

Hager is a complex and multidimensional character who bears some of the physical and psychological features of the mammy. As Kim Grewe notes in a two-page paper posted in academia.edu, "despite fulfilling the unflattering stereotype of mammy in several ways, Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes' *Not Without Laughter* is a complex character whose dignity and compassion elevate her to a status which transcends the pejorative stereotype" (1). A washerwoman in her late sixties, Hager is an overweight black woman with a kerchief on the head; she always wears a clean apron and loves

watermelon. Like the stereotypical mammy as well, this head of family is an extremely devout and pious woman. From the incipit of the novel, the narrative draws through direct and indirect characterization attention on Hager's love of the Christ and Christian behavior. Hager is Love and refuses to let hatred enter her heart. Despite enslavement and racial segregation, she admonished her family to love white people because not all white people are bad.

Hager can be said to be complacent and submissive towards to the racist system. As a slave working in the master's house, she was so close and affectionate towards her mistress/friend that she stayed with her through the Civil War, assisting her when her husband died in the war and only left when she died. She is not a heroic woman who battles against the prevailing racist order. On the contrary, she is rather complacent as a result of religion, as John P Shields notes so well in 'Never cross the divide:' *Reconstructing Langston Hughes Not Without Laughter;*" Aunt Hager's acceptance and submission to the racist and capitalistic system shows through her tolerance but is more clearly voiced through Jimboy's criticisms during a conversation in which they denounce the racist order which has been prevailing in America from the Reconstruction to the 1930s. Responding to Aunt Hager's warning that the Lord hears him, he says with exasperation: "I don't care if He does hear me, mama! You and Anjee are too easy. You just take whatever white folks give you coon to your face, and nigger behind your backs—and don't say

nothing. You run to some white person's back door for every job you get, and then they pay you one dollar for five dollars' worth of work, and whenever they get ready" (86).

Unlike Maya Angelou's *momma*, an almost larger-than-life figure, Hager is not a matriarch who runs her household with ironclad authority. At times, the brave woman has problems enforcing rules in her household. Despite her efforts, she is unable to keep her daughters in school: Annjee left high school to get married with Jimboy and Harriet quits school to work in a minstrel show. Her lack of authority is, however, more illustrated through her relationship with Harriet, her younger daughter. Harriet hangs out with the sporting girls of the Bottoms, a disreputable district in Stanton. She breaks all the rules established by her mother and spends her time partying with a group of friends. Hager even resorts to physical punishment to discipline Harriet. She beats her up when the adolescent goes out without her permission to a party. To top it all, Harriet runs away and joins a minstrel show. Hager's constant pleas and efforts to sensitize her younger one about the importance of education are to no avail because she drops out of school to seek part-time jobs in hotels and bars and finally joins a minstrel show performing in carnivals. Her dream is to become a blues singer. On the spiritual side, she stands as a binary opposite of her mother: whereas Aunt Hager goes to the revival and finds catharsis in religion, Harriet goes to the carnival where she dances for white people. She finds cathexis and escape in the blues (Shields

601). Harriett even becomes a renowned blues singer at the end of the novel.

Thus, unlike the matriarchs in mid-twentieth century narratives by African-American women writers, Hughes' matriarch is an ordinary Aunt Hager remains feminine despite her masculine roles. As Yolanda Manora points out, in her analysis of the character of *Momma* in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* "Black women relinquish their feminine identities and become lesser women. Rendered some- how androgynous and certainly asexual, the Black Matriarch becomes the embodiment of spiritual will, consigned to one- dimensional, thus limiting, narrative, communal, and experiential spaces" (...). Unlike *Momma* who is larger than life, Aunt Hager is a true- to- life matriarch with her strengths and weaknesses. She is not the strong, asexual and androgynous Pilate in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* who asserts power over men; neither is she the strong *Momma* in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*.

Nevertheless, even if Hughes realistically represents Hager with her limits and shortcomings, he completely revises through direct and indirect characterization the stereotype of the mammy and assigns the elderly lady the features of "ancestor." Langston Hughes was certainly conscious of the stereotypes attached to southern black woman, the issue of the stereotypes attached to people of color raged in the context of the Harlem Renaissance when artists in minstrel shows and writers such as Claude McKay were criticized for perpetuating negative images of their race. Hughes confers Aunt Hager vocal power to revise the

negative perception of the black woman in the chapter eloquently entitled “Nothing but Love.” On a summer night when she told stories to her young grandson, Hager tells her grandson:

The young ones what’s coming up now, they calls us ole fogies and handkerchief heads, and white folks’ niggers ‘cause we don’t get mad an’ rar’ up in arms like they does cause things is kinder hard, but honey, when you gets old you now they ain’t no sense in gettin’ an’ souring yo’ soul with hatin’ peoples. White folks is white folks, an’ coloured is colored, an’ neither one of t’em is bad as t’other make out. For mighty nigh seventy years I been knowin’ both of ‘em, an’ I ain’t never had no room in ma heart to have neither white nor colored. When you starts hatin’ people, you gets uglier than they is – an’ I ain’t never had no time for ugliness, ‘cause that’s where de devil comes in—in ugliness! (179).

Clearly, Aunt Hager deconstructs the myth of the contented mammy built around the black woman criticized for loving the white race more than her own and being complacent. Hager corrects misinterpretation of black women as mammies or “fogies, an’ handkerchief heads, an’ white folks’ niggers.” Grounding her position on religious teachings, she explains that hatred is evil and destructive and it makes the hater worst than the oppressor. For Hager, there is a great misunderstanding between members of the white and black race and neither one is as bad as the other one thinks. She also

deconstructs the myth of enslavement as a totally malevolent system. Through the story of her friendship with the mistress’ daughter, Miss Jeanne, she illustrates that black and white people loved each other. Through Hager’s voice, the narrative shows that the mammy was not a contented and passive creature, but rather a wise and noble person who refuses to be trapped in the destructive compartments of a system that breeds hatred (179-80). Hughes thus uses a woman’s own voice to deconstruct the myth of the mammy echoing at the same time the novel’s overall discourse of peace and tolerance between races voiced against a background of protest and softened propaganda.

In addition, Langston Hughes confers the mature lady great values that elevate her status. Through her exemplary behavior, industriousness, fear of the Lord, high morals and vision, Hager stands as a role model for the young Sandy. Since she came to Stanton with her husband Cudge forty years ago, she has worked hard to provide for the financial needs of her family and she transmits this industriousness to her grandson. Besides, true love of the Christ and practice of the lessons of the Holy Scriptures shape Hager’s daily behavior and life. Indeed, she is love and her Christian heart makes her transcend hatred and racism. Contrary to the other characters—Harriett, Jimboy, etc. - Hager maintains a loving and tolerant attitude towards all people despite all she has undergone. She advises: “White people maybe mistreats you an’ hates you, but when you hates ‘em back, you’s de one what’s

hurted, 'cause hate makes yo' heart ugly-that's all it does [...] There ain't no room in de world fo' hate, white folks hatin' niggers an' niggers hatin' white folks..." (Hughes 126). John P. Shields shares the same view when he states that "religion, especially as experienced by Aunt Hager, provides a source of catharsis, a release for pent up anger. Its hope comes in the form of a promised afterlife where skin color will not be held against anyone and all will be equal before God" (601).

Aunt Hager is also a generous and caring woman serving the whole Stanton community. As a white lady testifies, calming down Sandy who was looking for her grandma, she is "good to have around when folks are sick and grieving" (Hughes 24). The omniscient narrator reinforces the lady's depiction of Aunt Hager as a generous and available woman who helps the distressed neighbors and tends to the sick: "All the neighborhood, white and colored, called his grandmother when something happened. She was a good nurse, they said, and sick folks liked her around. Aunt Hager always came when they called, too, bringing maybe a little soup that she had made or a jelly. Sometimes they paid her and sometimes they didn't" (25). Because she helps people in a disinterested way and expects no retribution, when they heard that she died, people, regardless of race, flooded the house with gifts and contributions to manifest their appreciation of her loving and generous actions towards the community of Stanton.

However, her vision and role in the main protagonist's development are

what makes Aunt Hager sumptuous and elevate her to the status of "ancestor." Her characterization anticipates the birth of a new type that Toni Morrison will name the ancestor in her landmark essay entitled "Rootedness: The Ancestor as Foundation" (1984). Morrison explains that in assessing novelistic creations, she is very much interested in what writers do with the "ancestor," a crucial elderly figure not affected by the passage of time who often affects the other characters' lives in a positive manner and ensures the main protagonist's success. "These ancestors", she explains, "are not just parents, they are sort of timeless people whose relationships to the characters are benevolent, instructive, and protective, and they provide a certain kind of wisdom" (Evans 343). Morrison explains that she noticed in contemporary fictional works set in cities or rural areas, the success or happiness of the main protagonist depended on the presence or absence of the ancestor. Novels characterized by the absence of this figure are characterized by enormous destruction (Evans 343).

Aunt Hager is a true ancestor who plays a crucial role in the coming of age of the main protagonist, Sandy Williams. She is the one who brings up Sandy, and she guides her grandson throughout his turbulent years of adolescence, teaches him important values such as industry, fear of God, honesty, cleanliness, work ethics, and love and she paves the way to a brighter future. Using rhetorical tools similar to the ones of Booker Taliefero Washington and through transmission of memory, Aunt Hager

nurtures her grandson's development. In a period of intense racism, depression and disillusionment of the African Americans, Hager is aware that the only way out is to get a decent education that would enable them to get out of the whirlwinds of minor and poorly paid jobs. Hager believed that training and education would play an important role in the future of the black race. For this reason, she tries all she could to keep Annjee and Harriet in school in vain. She therefore placed high hopes in Sandy, his little grandson he wanted to get through school and become a race hero such as Frederick Douglass, Dubois and Washington.

But they's one mo' got through school yet, an' that's ma little Sandy. If the Lawd lets me live, I's gwine make a edicated man out o' him. He's gwine be another Booker T. Washington." () "I ain't never raised no boy o' ma own yet, so I wants this one o' Annjee's to mount to something. I wants him to know all they is to know, so' he can help this black race o' our'n to come up and see de light and take they places in de world. I wants him to be a Fred Douglass leadin' de people, that's what, an' not following in de tracks of his good-for-nothing pappy, worthless an' wanderin' like Jimboy is (142).

The narrative abounds with references and allusions to key African-American figures and has a strong intertextual relationship with *Souls of the Black Folks* and *Up From Slavery*. It is a site where the discourses of W. E. B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington circulate in the form of pastiche and refiguration.

Their discourses are constantly alluded to and parodied by Aunt Hager and Tempy as an act of homage through what Gates terms "unmotivated signifying." Signifying, as scholar Henry Louis Gates defines it, describes the enterprise of reversing, revising, or parodying speech or discourse through rhetorical self-definition (Figures in Black 242). Whereas unmotivated signifying utilizes pastiche and refigures "as an act of homage," motivated signifying employs parody proper and seeks to erase previous texts through revision (Signifying Monkey xxvi). Aunt Hager's words in the narrative resonate echoes of Booker Taliaferro Washington. Washington "argued that thrift, industry and Christian morality would eventually earn blacks their Constitutional rights. The first essential step toward equality would be for blacks to learn trades so they might compete effectively with whites in the economic arena. Therefore, blacks must make, as their educational objectives, the acquisition of these practical skills that would promote their economic development" (Wintz 36-37). Similarly, Tempy's belief that blacks should get higher education but not just learn trades as Booker T. Washington's accommodationist theory preconized is closer to the nationalist philosophy of W.E. B. Dubois.

Perpetuating the African oral tradition, a tradition that was transplanted by the slaves to the New World, Aunt Hager transmits memory and perfects Sandy's education through stories. On summer nights "while the lightning bugs glowed and glimmered," she would tell Sandy stories of slavery-time, myths, folk-tales

like the ones of Rabbit and the Tar baby, stories about great historical events such as the civil war, Abe Lincoln's freedom or visions of the Lord. These stories conveyed lessons of life and constituted pretexts for the old woman to discuss issues with Sandy. Like Aunt Sue in Hughes' eponymous poem titled "Aunt Sue's Stories," sitting in the front porch, she used didactic stories engaging the past, but also addressing the present situation and a possible future to inculcate her grandson values such as love, pride, etc. Despite the destructive and hate breeding atmosphere of racism that prevails in Stanton school and in the society at large, she teaches him to judge people not by the colour of their skins but rather by the content of their characters because there are good and bad people in all races. Critic Andy Oler emphasizes the importance of stories in Sandy's development when he says "throughout the novel, Sandy's coming of age has been nurtured through the front-porch storytelling of his family and the rest of Stanton's African-American community" (94).

Sandy, as the various internal monologues demonstrate it, has memorized most of Hager's teachings and acquired many of the values her grandmother struggled to him, including perseverance, cleanliness, and hard work. Sandy's awareness of the importance of education is illustrated through a juxtaposition of dialogue and insight into his thoughts. The narrative first presents Hager's reminders he wanted him to stay nice and make something out of himself and promises that she would make a fine man out of Sandy for the glory of God and the

black race. Then, it illustrates the impact of Hager's words through Sandy's impression. In response to Hager's question if he heard what he kept saying, the narrator reveals the young man's thoughts through the comments below: "Sandy did hear her, and eh knew what she meant. She meant a Booker T. Washington, or Frederick Douglass, or like Paul Lawrence Dunbar, who did poetry-writing" (Hughes 195). Some pages further, the narrator further exhibits the great influence of the grandmother's teachings on Sandy's character in this passage describing the young boy's thoughts cleaning the spittoons in the hotel's lobby:

He liked to clean things, to make them beautiful, to make them shine. Aunt Hager too. When she wasn't washing clothes, she was always cleaning something about the house, dusting, polishing the range, or scrubbing the kitchen-floor until it was white enough to eat from. To Hager, a clean thing was beautiful—also to Sandy, proud every evening of his six unblemished brass spittoons (209).

Still through the use of the internal monologue, the narrative exhibits again the tremendous impact of Hager's constant lessons of ambition on Sandy. Hager gave Sandy's life direction, drive and motivation. As a matter of fact, Sandy had so much heard her grandma tell him that he must become a fine ambitious man, someone who would uplift his race that working as a bellboy in Drummer's Hotel he would wonder what "he would do when he was a man" and how he can succeed in life.

Compassionately thinking about her old, overworked and affectionate grandmother who prayed he would be a great man, he “wondered how people got to be great...He wondered how people made themselves great” (212). Sandy’s intimate thoughts at Tempy’s house also reveal that Hager has shaped the adolescent’s attitude towards race and helped him build a sense of tolerance and understanding over hate. “I don’t blame him,” thought Sandy. “Sometimes I hate white people too, like Aunt Harrie [...] Still, some of them are pretty decent” (Check 188). The effect of Hager’s teachings over that of his Aunt Harriet can be seen in how he tries to be understanding of both his friend’s view as well as his own view.

Aunt Hager continues to shape the courses of events and determine the trajectory of Sandy’s life even after her death. Aunt Hager had dreams of success for her dear grandson, and she had succeeded in instilling ambition in Sandy’s mind. These lessons were like engravings deeply marked on marble: even years after her death, her grandmothers’ words kept on resonating in the young adolescent’s psyche and served as a spur in moments of loss and despair. She told him so often that she wanted him to be a great man sitting on the porch in the darkness that dreaming in the little room that her mother had rented in Chicago, Sandy still hears her and promises that he won’t disappoint her. As the narrator comments, “an’ I won’t disappoint you!” Sandy said that hot Chicago summer, just as though Hager were still there planning for him” (290).

Hager did plan for Sandy, for even she did not live long enough to see him turn into somebody, members of her family do their best to perpetuate her will, including Tempy and the rebellious Harriett. When Hager dies, Tempy takes Sandy in to allow him to pursue his studies because like W.E.B. Dubois she felt colored people should get high education. She allows the young boy to continue studying until the age of fifteen in decent conditions. Even if she is negatively portrayed as an uppity lady who suffers from a complex of inferiority in relation to white people and criticized for distancing herself from her community that she looks down upon, she does however take care of Sandy, protect him from the negative social influences in Stanton and teaches him good manners. Tempy perpetuates Aunt Hager’s will and helps achieve her dream of success for her grandson. Under her care, Sandy becomes an honor student praised for his excellent results. Before that, he had even won the second prize in the freshmen essay contest to her aunt’s great pride: “it was the first time in the history of the school that a colored people had anything of the sort, and Tempy was greatly elated” recounts the narrator.

Had it not been for Harriett, Aunt Hager’s would have died when Annjee forces Sandy to move to Chicago when Jimboy joined the US forces to combat in France. Annjee had convinced the protagonist to take a fourteen- dollars-a week job as an elevator boy to help with the rent and the house expenses. Sandy unwillingly accepted to drop out of school because his dream was to keep studying. Fortunately, who had by then

become a renowned blues singer touring the states, miraculously came to perform on State Street. Conscious of Aunt Hager's dream to turn his grandson in someone educated who could contribute to the advancement of his race; she is outraged by Anjee's decision to take Sandy out of school. Harriett glared excited at her sister: "Aunt Hager'd turn over in her grave if she heard you talking so calmly about Sandy leaving school- the way she wanted to make something out of this kid" (297). Harriett did not want her mother's dream to die out, and as she explains, she did not want her nephew to be stuck in an elevator job; consequently, she promised Anjee to send him money and gives Sandy right away a 10-dollar bill to buy his books.

Thus, the opening parallel between Aunt Hager and her biblical namesake can be stretched further if we compare Ishmael to Sandy: whereas by giving birth to Ishmael, Hagar makes it possible for the great nation of the Ishmaelites to come to life, Aunt Hager also symbolically "gives birth" to a new generation of African-American by mentoring Sandy. As a matter of fact, Aunt Hager lights the flame of ambition in her grandson and creates a dream, a dream that her family endeavors to make true. Though the narrative ends with Harriett's promise to send Annjee money on a regular basis to keep Sandy in school, all the premises making the dream come true are gathered: Sandy has grown into a bright young man with tremendous cultural knowledge and great critical consciousness of his environment and the issues at stake. He is ambitious and aware of the dangers of growing up in a

poor and racist environment. Thanks to the ancestor, a future is possible for Sandy. Langston Hughes closes his novel with a note of hope and laughter: like in a blues melody, the narrative is plaintive but it ends with a note of transcendence of the limits of the environment and the possibility of a future.

Conclusion

Critics and scholars have often focused on the fictional works of black women novelists to study the representation and image of black women and the evolution of female character types to the detriment of male writers who have greatly contributed to the revision and reclamation of the true image of the black woman. Langston Hughes forms part of these male writers. Indeed, his characterization of Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes' *Not Without Laughter* (1930) not only revises the stereotype of the mammy, but it also anticipates development in black feminist theoretical accounts and the rise of a new type of woman that Toni Morrison will call the ancestor. As stated earlier, Hughes writes in a period preceding a great revision of the image of black women, a period when black women start depicting less tragic mulatta as in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and ordinary black urban woman as in *Mauda Martha*. Langston Hughes initiated such practice in his 1930 novel and even went a step higher than Hurston and Walker: he creates a true-to-life multidimensional black urban woman who bears some characteristics of the mammy but gains the contours of the ancestor.

Hager does not have any of the blown up traits or powers of the emasculating matriarchs that will develop in black women fictions of the mid-century. A former slave, who moved to Stanton, Arkansas, after the death of her mistress, the almost seventy-year-old widow bears the physical traits of the mammy: she is overweight, wears a kerchief on the head, and an apron tied around her waist. She is an extremely devout Christian who loves white people as much as black people. She is the head and heart of her family. She lives with two daughters and a grandson, Sandy.

In the narrative, she actively deconstructs the myth of the mammy. Hughes gives her a voice to describe her true traits and destroy the reductionist prism through which the others perceive the mammy. Hager shows that the so-called mammy is a not simple-minded and submissive slave woman who accepts the system without complaint; she is rather a pious woman who refuses to cast all white people in the compartment and fall victim to blind hatred. Hager is love: she assists all the needy in her community regardless of race and walks in the lighted paths of religion. Thus, Hughes' implicit and explicit characterization of Hager elevates her to the rank of an archetype, an ideal model and a true reference who possesses an ethic of hard work, Christian values of forgiveness, of love, of compassion.

Indeed, Aunt Hager is a Morrisonian "ancestor" or a female Jungian sage distinguished for wisdom and sound

judgment, a mentor who ensures the development of her grandson and paves his way to a viable and glorious future. Walking on the steps of Dubois and Washington, Aunt Hager places a great importance on education and struggles to keep Sandy in school because she wants him to become a race hero who would uplift black people. A role model herself, Hager turns Sandy into a bright, hardworking, ethical and critically conscious young man with much potential to succeed. Sandy can thus be considered as a promising young man with a possible future. Sandy is not only an honor student, but the teachings of her grandmother and Tempy guide him through the social hurdles of the inner city. Sandy is also heavily rooted in the folk culture and black history thanks to the stories, myths, tales of Brer rabbit and Tar Baby that her dear Hager used to tell her on summer evenings. He also appropriates most of the black folk cultural capital while he works in the barbershop, an important site in African-American culture. The novel ends when Sandy is still an adolescent, but he is growing into a fine man; it closes with a strong note of hope and possibilities because Sandy will have the opportunity to pursue his studies thanks to Harriett who promises Annjee to send her money regularly. There is a chance that her nephew and prize-winning honor student will move up in life, as is the fervent wish of his grandmother. The dream is not fulfilled but its flame keeps ardently burning.

References

- Cantor, Milton (1966). "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature," in *Images of the Negro in American Literature*, ed. Seymour Gross and John E. Hardy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p.29.
- Christian, Barbara (1980). *Black Women Novelist. The Development of a Tradition, 1892-1976*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Hughes, Langston (1969). *Not Without Laughter*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Hughes, Langston. *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes* (1995), ed A. Rampersad. New York: Random House.
- Hughes, Langston. "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain." *The Nation* 122 (1926); Rpt Within *The Circle: An Anthology of African-American Literary Crit from the Harlem Renaissance to the Present* (1994). Ed. Angellyn Mitchell. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr (1987). *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self*. New York: Oxford U P.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*. New York: Oxford U P, 1988.
- Grewe, Kim. *More than a Mammy: Aunt Hager in Langston Hughes' Not Without Laughter*. https://www.academia.edu/7423121/Aunt_Hagar_in_Hughes_Not_Without_Laughter_More_Than_Mammy
- Jordan, Glenn (November 2011). "Re-Membering the African-American Past. Langston Hughes, Aaron Douglass and Black art of the Harlem Renaissance." *Cultural Studies* 25. 6, 849-91.
- Lionnet, Françoise. (1989) "Con Artists and Storytellers: Maya Angelou's Problematic Sense of Audience." In Ed. Françoise Lionnet, *Ithaca, Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, and Self Portraiture*. NY: Cornell UP.
- Manora, Yolanda M. (2005). "'What You Looking at me for? I didn't Come to Stay' Displacement, Disruption and Black Female Subjectivity in Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings." *Women's Studies* 34, 359-375.
- McPherson, Dolly (1990). *Order Out of Chaos: The Autobiographical Works of Maya Angelou*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Mc Laren, Joseph (1997). *Langston Hughes: Folk Dramatist in the Protest Tradition, 1921-1943*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Morrison, Toni. From "Rootedness: The Ancestor as Foundation." *African American Literary Criticism, 1773 to 2000* (1999). Ed. Hazel Arnett Erin. New York: Twayne Publishers. pp.198-202.
- Oler, Andy (Fall 2014). "Their Song Filled the Whole Night:" *Not Without Laughter, Hinterlands, Jazz and Rural Modernity*. *College Literature: A Journal of Critical Literary Studies* 41.4, 94-110.

Robinson, Angelo Rich (Fall 2011).
"Mammy Ain't Nobody Name": The
Subject of
Mammy Revisited in Shirley Anne
Williams's "Dessa Rose." *Southern
Quarterly* 49.1, 50-68.

Shields, John P (Winter 1994). "Never
cross the divide': Reconstructing
Langston

Hughes's Not Without Laughter. ”
African American Review 28. 4,
601-13.

Wintz, C.D. (1996). *The Politics and
Aesthetics of 'New Negro
Literature.'* New York: Publishing.

About the Author

Babacar Dieng is an Associate Professor at Université Gaston Berger of Saint-Louis, Senegal. He earned a B.A and an M.A from UCAD and taught English for ten years in the Senegalese high school system. He earned a Ph.D. in English (Comparative literature) from Howard University, Washington DC. Pr Dieng has also participated in a number of exchange programs organized by the Department of State. His research interests include postcolonial studies, cultural studies, interartiality, orality, and diasporic studies. He is also much interested in higher education pedagogy. He has published in a wide range of journals in Africa and abroad.

Email : Bdieng2008@gmail.com



Stance and Positioning in Email Scams

Isioma M. Chiluwa

Department of English Studies
University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Abstract :The study of internet scams has received attention from different scholars. Particularly within the field of linguistics, studies have examined the classifications, linguistic and discourse pragmatic features of email scams; however, very little attention has been paid to discursive strategies that scammers employ to position themselves and influence readers in scam emails. Using Hyland's model of stance studies, this article analyses stance-taking in fraudulent emails with particular focus on the Nigerian situation. Scammers position themselves as victims of circumstances with deceptive narratives that invoke pity on their readers. Identification of stance markers such as self-mention, boosters and attitude markers in fraud mails would assist net users to stay abreast of deceptive skills of scammers.

Keywords: discourse, stance, online, scams, email, positioning.

Introduction

Stance involves a speaker or writer's proposition about an event expressed in a text, and the position he or she adopts in relation to other members of the

society. Stance-taking therefore involves methods either linguistic or non-linguistic, by which individuals create relationships with people they interact with (Johnson, 2009). When

individuals are involved in interlocution, they try to influence their interactants to accept their views, take responsibility for their positions, and sometimes recommend positions for their listeners. In other instances, speakers or writers disguise their positions or outrightly refuse to take responsibility for some forms of knowledge they share (Hyland 2005). In describing stance as positioning, Hyland (2005) described stance as adopting a point of view in relation to issues discussed in a text. According to Hyland, writers employ rhetorical choices in order to create a social world that enable them establish social relationships, as well as produce evidence and credibility for their work. Hyland further described stance as a collection of features through which writers make proposition, create an authorial identity or hide from such identity. This process takes place whether a writer is communicating online or offline.

Online presence and digital innovations have contributed to the success of non-face to face interaction. The ability to reach people across borders has also broken the barriers of international communication and thus promotes the global economy. One of the early forms of digital communication is the email. This is a mail composed and transmitted on the computer (Santy and Smith, 2011). The communicative roles of email include; communication between friends, business clients, and education among others. As individuals communicate using mails, they tend to disseminate information that may be persuasive for instance in advertisements.

Bloomaerts and Omoniyi (2006) observed that computer mediated communication have enabled globalized communication within the contexts of emails such that people are able to transmit messages across continents. Prerequisite for global communication is first of all a technological competence and the ability to control and explore communicative devices afforded by the email system.

Sincerity and credibility are major issues in online communication. With the invention of computer-mediated communication, individuals have the liberty to disseminate information with unverifiable sources. This is as a result of the dispersed audiences that are present online. Within the different forms of CMC available, deceptive contents are disseminated in the forms of jokes (memes and photoshops), fake blogs, and spams (Heyd, 2008). Spams particularly email hoaxes are messages communicated from a single source to a number of receivers and usually contain false information. An important feature of scams is the identity of speakers or writers. Just like every other communication channel, scams usually present the identity of the sender through the header information in the opening or closing of the message. The header can be an individual's name or company's name. This makes the message seem genuine. In certain cases, corporate names are used to signal credibility of the message being conveyed.

Spam or junk emails are unsolicited, unwanted, and inappropriate emails disseminated in mass quantity commonly known as advertising ploy

(Santy & Smith, 2011). They are often used for promoting spurious contents such as visa lotteries, gambling, phishing, porn and health articles. It can also refer to any form of deceptive email, particularly those motivated by the intention to defraud the addressee (Chiluwa, 2015). Studies of digital deception and particularly email fraud have examined how swindlers use language to persuade their victims despite the increased awareness of cyber-crime (Chiluwa, 2009; 2015). This study focuses on patterns of stance-taking and positioning found in discursive practices of online scammers. Stance-taking within this context involves how language is used to create an authorial self, and an identity, which Johnstone (2009) describes as the ethos of the self.

Research Objectives

Online deception and particularly fraudulent emails have received scholarly attention in linguistics and discourse analysis (Chiluwa, 2009, 2010). Psychological consequences of email fraud have also been studied (see Ofulue, 2010). The current study focuses on how swindlers position themselves in an attempt to deceive their victims. Research in this area is quite scanty. This study is therefore set to contribute to this research literature by investigating the significance of authorial stance in the context of digital communication such as email. In brief, the objectives are to examine the discursive strategies used in email scams; analyse how stance-taking influences individuals in scam emails; and show how affect and personal identity are used to create persuasion.

Theoretical framework

The study of stance or ‘evaluation’ or ‘appraisal’ stems from the systemic functional linguistic theory (Halliday, 2014). SFL views language in terms of its social functions. These functions are the ideational (represents the world of experience), interpersonal (constructs social roles, relationships and identities) and textual functions (constructs language as coherent texts in relation to their social contexts) (Halliday, 2014). In the interpersonal function, speakers and writers take stance and positions in relation to other members of a group or society. The appraisal framework shows how writers construct for themselves particular identities in relation to others (Chiluwa & Ifukor, 2015). Appraisal is defined as ‘...the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgement and evaluations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations (Martin, 2000, p.145). The appraisal framework proposes three systems – attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude refers to feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour and evaluation of things (Martin & White, 2005) and is divided into three categories namely: affect judgement and appreciation. Affect is the ‘resources for expressing feelings,’ while judgement is the ‘resources for judging character.’ Appreciation refers to ‘resources for valuing the worth of things’ (Martin & Rose, 2003, p.24).

Hunston and Thompson (2000) described stance-taking in terms of evaluation. Evaluation involves speakers’ attitude to propositions. This can be used to express opinion, maintain

relationship and organize discourse. Similarly, Conrad and Biber (2000) carried out a study on the adverbial expression of stance in news reportage conversations and academic writing. The study identified evidentiality and affect as stance markers that can signal speaker's source of knowledge, level of certainty and attitude to propositions. A comparison of the three contexts showed that adverbial stance feature more in conversations than in academic writing.

In order to position themselves, authors adopt three components which include evidentiality, affect and presence (Hyland, 2005). Evidentiality concerns how a writer portrays his/her credibility. Affect involves an individual's personal attitude; and presence concerns how the author chooses to present himself. Hyland summarized stance to include hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention. In examining stance in media discourse, Martin (2004) examined how writers influenced readers to take certain positions in a Hong Kong magazine after a terrorist attack. The editorial positioned readers to take a sympathetic stance in the study. The study further demonstrated the role of evaluation in signaling individual as well as collective ideology. The current study takes on Hyland's (2005) model of stance to evaluate how the authorial self and attitude markers are used to persuade victims of email scams.

Literature Review

Email scams, an aspect of online fraud have received attention from different scholars. Bloomearts (2005) attempted a classification of email hoaxes to include

lottery rewards, dormant account, charity and rescue operations. The study revealed that the English varieties of scam mails are usually an attempt to imitate actual writing but are often characterized by wrong spellings and poor grammar which usually differ from the addresses they carry. Ofulue (2010) investigated the linguistic markers of advanced fee fraud mails, as a particular type of scam. Three types of advanced free fraud mails were identified (i) reply and request correspondence (ii) persuasion correspondence and (iii) confirmation correspondence. Advanced fee fraud mails utilize incorrect lines, sentence fragmentations and incorrect spelling.

On the authentication of the Nigerian letters, Gill (2013) showed that the Nigerian mails project a similar pattern of identities. While the issue of self-mention point out strong identities, the context of these letters betray such identities. The structure of these mails usually contains stories of unclaimed financial deposits in some banks in West Africa, where the reader is asked to provide his account details for such money to be paid in; some even promise some money-spinning "businesses", announce lottery winnings or monetary donations from International agencies like the United nations (Chiluwa, 2009, 2010) as well as use alternative address systems. These emails are overtly fraudulent and lack authentication. Generally, they are spontaneous, contain a recurring pattern and are usually inconsistent in their content (Gills, 2013).

Methodology

The data consists of twenty emails collected from personal mails between September, 2016 and February, 2017. The mails are divided according to their similarities and differences. The analysis of data is basically qualitative discourse analysis, based on Hyland's model of the analysis of stance in discourse. Hence, the analysis will identify and systematically analyse the various features of stance in the email discourses of deception under study and analyse their grammatical and discourse structures.

Analysis and Findings

Hyland defined stance as 'positioning' or 'adopting a point of view in relation to both the issues discussed in the text and to others who hold points of view on those issues'. The speaker or writer generally expresses 'a textual voice' or a 'community recognized personality' (2005, p.175). Hyland further argued that stance consists of evidentially, affect and presence, which are expressed in a text as hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention. The emails in the data for the current study are classified into business proposals, charity, transfer of funds, phishing and lottery. A few of the samples are reproduced in the analysis. "SM" stands for "sample."

1. Self-mention

The use of name is to create an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and his audience. Self-mention is a strong strategy for the construction of authorial identity, promote a cause or persuade readers (Ivanic, 1998). Three types of self are identified, namely the detached self, individual self and

collective self (Wu & Zu, 2014). The individual self is used to present the individual as the discourse constructor. Through individual self-mention, the scammer positions himself as an authority and coordinates the discourse. Self-mention is represented either as individual, collective or detached as found in the instances below:

SM. 1: My name is barrister Kenneth Brown, I practice law and by the virtual of my position with Old Mutual Bank Plc I have the opportunity to introduce a lucrative business to you that will be for our mutual benefits and the transaction is 100% risk free.

SM. 2: hello!!!, I would like to have a discussion with you on areas of good investments in your country. I will give you further details when i read from you. I wait your reply and Happy New Year 2017.

Thank you.

Alan Adelman.

SM. 3: Attention: President/ Director Compliment to you and your family, my name is Amos Majola the elder son of Mr. David Majola, from the Republic of Zimbabwe. It might be a surprise to you where I got your contact address. I got your contact from the South African Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg.

SM. 4: Official Letter From The FBI New York

Your fund was received at JFK airport and necessary fees/charges has been paid by sender except \$150 for CCC, but a lady Janet came forward claimed you sent her to claim your fund, is it true,...

SM. 5: Good Day. I am Miss Mirabel from United Nations Social Welfare Organization (U.N.S.W.O), I thought this opportunity may be of interest to you, If not I apologize for the intrusion.

SM. 6: Greetings from Syria, Good day to you and your family, I hope my email will arrive to you at good time. My name is Engr. Awad Mabrouk Gulistan from Syria. I am an oil and gas entrepreneur in association with state owned companies here in Syria.

SM. 7: Dear Partner,
May the peace and mercy of Allah be with you as you receive this message; I am Aisha Muammar Gaddafi, the only daughter of the embattled President of Libya, Hon. Muammar Gaddafi who was murdered by the rebels. I am currently residing in Burkina Faso unfortunately as a refugee and a widow with two kids.

SM. 8: Dear Beneficiary,
We are pleased to notify you that your email won the sum of GBP £850,000000 (eight hundred and fifty million Great British Pounds) from our sweepstake promotion...

Self-mention is used in the extracts above as a self-identifying strategy as well as to create solidarity. In SM.1, the author specifically creates stance by presenting him/herself as a reputable person. Generally, it is expected that a lawyer would be conversant with the law that govern the society and would not intend to defraud his interlocutor. The speaker fraudulently pretends and lies about his/her understanding of the legal implications of fraud and reiterates

a pretended credibility with the statements such as:

“...I practice law and by the virtual [sic] of my position with old Mutual bank I have the opportunity to introduce a lucrative business to you’.

The use of a professional experience in legal processes and in the banking sector would certainly boost the confidence of any investor. Interestingly, there was no “Mutual Bank” in Nigeria. So, the writer actually lies about his/her own identity as well as his/her circumstance. It is obvious that all the claims in the email is false and deceptive. The use of a credible presence sets a foot for the next line of conversation.

In **SM.4**, the speaker is detached from the mail and rather presents the message. The message is directed to a stolen fund without making initial reference to the sender. The intent is therefore to depersonalize the discourse participants. Depersonalization in this context is used to express objectivity of the discourse and hides face (Sampson, 2004). By this, the speaker assumes a hidden stance by invoking a sense of urgency to the message and urges the reader to focus on the message rather than the speaker.

In other instances, self-mention is represented through referential pronouns. The persona ‘I’ creates an interpersonal relationship between the writer and the reader. Another instance of self-mention is represented through a collective pronoun ‘we.’ In SM. 8, the inclusive pronoun ‘you’ invites the reader to make evaluations and alerts them on stance to take. An illustration of collective self is found in the text, where

there is a switch from a personal pronoun 'I' to 'we' to illustrate a collective identity and promote group solidarity. The subtle stance 'we', which includes the reader, is used to position the reader in a cordial atmosphere; and the writer here positions himself as a credible member of the normal society. The reader is perceived as an already accepted member of the team. The adoption of individual, collective or detached self-mention strategies reveal that scammers use rhetoric to negotiate stance, present asymmetric power relations during discourse as well as position themselves as genuine.

2. Affect

Certain lexical items appeal to the readers' feeling. Affect or attitude markers are words that express the writer's emotions or cognitive frame of mind. Such items of vocabulary include 'fool,' 'scammer,' (noun), 'good,' 'happy,' (adjectives), 'love,' 'hate' (verb or noun) or 'absolutely,' 'unfortunately' (adverb), etc. (Chiluwa, 2015). Just like other discursive messages, scam mails contain items capable of appealing to an individual's emotion. They can invoke pity, surprise, or trust. They are also used to organize and express a general sense of urgency, anxiety and desperation (Chiluwa & Ifukor, 2015).

The use of the 'necessary' in **SM.1** explains a strong need for the speaker's action. First, the speaker is conceived as one who is in proper control of the action; the use of affect here is also a rhetoric discourse that attempts to position the reader to share the same attitude as the speaker.

To be 'pleased' is an affective marker that is common in the scam mails. It portrays a positive attitude of the writer towards first, their interaction and then the discourse participants. So, the word 'pleased,' which expresses delight is highly emotional and capable of eliciting a positive response. The expression of pleasure as found in **SM.8**, is necessary in performing a business transaction, therefore the writer applies 'pleasure words' and expressions as a persuasive strategy applied in the mails to attract quick positive responses. Negative affective words such as invade, disaster, or death are words that denote unhappiness and are capable of inducing emotion between the interlocutors, so the writers of scam oriented emails are very sensitive when using them. These words are used to manipulate the victims and as they invoke pity on the in the minds of readers and persuade them to respond the messages received.

3. Hedges

Hedges are discourse strategies used by speakers and writers to express uncertainty towards a particular stance. Words such as 'probably,' 'perhaps,' 'possibly,' are hedges that show that the writer does not claim absolute authority in terms of the possession of knowledge or truth (Hyland, 2013). Hedges are also used in scam mails in an attempt to influence readers' responses and actions. Examples of hedges are illustrated in the examples below:

SM. 9: I would like to have a discussion with you on areas of good investments in your country. I will give you further details when i read from you.

SM. 10: Please if you would be able to use the funds for the Charity works kindly let me know immediately. .. Please kindly respond quickly for further details

Warmest Regards,

SM. 11: ...Why I'm contacting you is to know if we can have a personal conversation.

SM. 12: if you are trusted and know you can handle this project with the fear of GOD get back to me with full details.

In the samples illustrated above, the speaker uses 'would' to show uncertainty in the addressee's ability to carry out the required task. The if-conditional in samples 10, 11 and 12 show vagueness in the action to be executed on the one hand, and presents the speaker as one in dire need of help on the other hand. In SM. 11 and 12, the message is introduced with the hedge 'can'. The speaker expresses doubt on the success of the supposed business he is about to introduce. He therefore strengthens the weakness of the reader before introducing his business proposal. The speaker assumes a previous knowledge of the addressee and subtly creates a new frame in the subsequent clause. After using hedge to express doubt about the speaker's ability, he/she relies on the addressee's information to draw conclusion. These kinds of scams are usually introduced to elicit genuine information from readers. Through the use of hedge, the writer positions the speaker to share the same stance.

Most scam mails are intrusive, in order to curb the unwillingness to explore their contents, their authors use hedges

to implore readers to listen to them. This is depicted in and SM. 5 and 7 where the role of the hedges 'may' and 'hope' are used to create a friendly rather than hostile context for effective communication.

4. Boosters

Boosters unlike hedges, are linguistic items that are used to express certainty towards a stance. Words such as surely, certainly or obviously are examples of boosters that express the speaker's or writer's certainty and assurance of his position (Hyland, 2013). They form a major part of the scam mail discourse when compared to hedges. As rhetoric strategies, boosters are part of interpersonal negotiation that indicates objectivity and impartiality emphasized by writers (Kong, 2014). They are also used to create persuasion. Boosters are identified in the examples below:

SM. 13: I decided to contact with overseas person/firm who will assist me to move the money out of South Africa. This becomes necessary because as political asylum seekers, we are not allowed to own or operate a Bank account. If you accept this proposal, you shall receive 25% of the entire amount for your assisting us to move this money out. 70% of this amount shall be for us, and the remaining 5% shall be mapped out for expenses incurred in the course of the transaction.

SM. 14: Dear Good Friend,
This message might come to you as a surprise. However, it all just my urgent needs for a foreign partner that made me to contact you for this transaction. I got your contact from yahoo tourist

search while I was searching for a foreign partner. I assured of your capability and reliability to champion this business opportunity when I was praying to God about you....

Yours lovely

SM. 15: I was specifically requested to contact you in account of your striking professional record. Having gone through the lines and now convinced of your credibility, I am writing under the instruction of my superiors, who are members of the economic planning commission of Bahrain.

The use of the modal 'will' and 'shall' are other forms of boosters that show certainty. The fraudster presents his readiness and expresses his commitment to a cordial relationship using these discourse markers. Other boosters such as 'decided' and 'specifically' are strong means to express authorial identity in the discourse. Beyond this, the boosters express the writer's effort to navigate further discussions.

5. Discourse Structures

(Discourse Opening and Sign off)

The opening and closing remarks are either formal or informal depending on the nature of the message. Most of the samples in the data (e.g. SM. 2, 5, 6, 7) begin with some forms of openings and greetings such as 'hello', 'good day' 'greetings from Syria,' 'dear beneficiary' etc. In SM. 9, the writer uses 'dear beneficiary' to assume an informal relationship with the reader. As a supposed winner of a promotion, the use of 'beneficiary' tends to portray the letter as a credible one from a reputable organization. Similarly, while some of

the mails close with sign offs such as 'best regards' as in samples 7, 8 10, 13, 17, others are signed offs with the name of the addresser (SM 19, 20,). Since scam mails use sign-offs typical of regular mails, it becomes difficult to distinguish them from authentic mails (Bloomaerts, 2005). In SM. 14, the writer signs off with 'yours lovely' based on the assumption that the writer has an emotional relationship with the addressee. Such sign offs are intended to elicit a mutual feeling between the addressee and writer.

(ii) Narrativity

Humans express their daily experiences through story telling (Heyd, 2008). In the same manner, scammers employ narratives in a bid to control their victims. In scam mails, the narrative processes usually consist of an introduction, contents and persuasive arguments (Chiluwa, 2010). Elements of narration are used to create stance in scam mails as identified in the excerpts below:

SM. 15: ... My name is Amos Majola the elder son of Mr. David Majola, from the Republic of Zimbabwe. During the current war against the farmers in Zimbabwe, from the supporters of our president, Robert Mugabe, in his effort to chase all the white farmers out of the country, he ordered all the white farmers to surrender their farms and properties to his party members and his followers. .. In the course of the attack, my father was killed and the invaders made away with a lot of items form my father's farm. And our family house was utterly destroyed. My

mother died too out of heart attack...

SM. 16: I am Mr. Robert Karofsky from Harlesden...In my department, ...I discovered an abandoned sum of 22.3 Million Great British Pounds Sterling... in an account that belongs to one of our foreign deceased customers, a billionaire Business Mogul Late Mr. Moses Saba Masri, a Jew from Mexico who was a victim of a helicopter crash 10th January, 2010 resulting to his death and his family members ..., I seek your consent to present you as the next of kin/Will Beneficiary to the deceased so that the proceeds of this account valued at 22.3 Million Pounds can be paid to you. This will be disbursed or shared in these perc...

SM. 17: Attn: Beneficiary, This is to let you know that your case has repeatedly coming to my Office every day and all the complain that I have been getting all in regards to your payment with the Federal Government which the CBN has been involved to pay to you

SM. 18: My name is Hope Fidelix, I am 25 years old from Ivory Coast and presently i am residing in the refugee camp here in Dakar Senegal under the UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR REFUGEES ...The brutal killing of my father, mother, and kid sister took place one early morning by the rebels as a result of the civil war that was going on in Ivory Coast. I was in my second year in nursing department of University of Abidjan Ivory Coast before the

death of my loved Parents. I contacted you for a possible help...

The narrative process in some text usually presents the topic of the mail before narrating its details as found in **SM. 17** where ‘attention beneficiary’ is used as the topic of the mail. This is intended to show the urgency of the so-called message being conveyed. In **SM. 15**, the scammer draws a narrative process and in particular, uses a narrative setting supposedly known to the speaker to express genuineness of his actions. Zimbabwe is an African country with known cases of hostility towards white farmers. In 2000, the veterans were involved in the killing of white farmers in an attempt to reclaim their land; a move supported by the president Robert Mugabe (Copson, 2006). In a bid to lure the foreigner, the scammer employs an adversarial stance (Huddington, 2007) and frames his conversation in the discourse of hatred and violence. Through this, he is able to exempt himself from the barbaric act of killing whites in Zimbabwe and creates solidarity with the foreign nationals. This narrative technique is expected to create a mutual relationship and position the receiver towards accepting to assist the writer.

In **SM. 16**, the narrative process is a sad one capable of invoking pity. The discourse is first framed in the line of a formal business proposal which might appeal to the reader, before it gradually moves to discourse of death. By presenting a formal business setting first of all, the writer eludes every act of frivolity and prepares the reader to take a stance. **SM 19** is supposedly written

by a woman. The text is subtly created to invoke pity. The letter is written to someone the writer had no previous knowledge of; despite this, the narration is written in such a way that one would assume there was a pre-existing relationship.

The use of such lexical items as 'dearest', 'I think about you', 'I have a lot to tell you' creates a friendly atmosphere for interaction. The pronominal reference 'you' is also a discursive strategy that is used to integrate the reader into the conversation. At the end of the interaction, a phishing attempt which involves getting personal information from the addressee is initiated as found in **SM. 7**. The detailed narrative in the scam mails appeal to the emotion. Although credibility of the incidents is not verified, they are reported in such a way that the reader feels the supposed plight of the writer.

Generally, the narrative patterns of scam mails involve a self-revelatory plight narrative (Gills, 2013) intended to invoke pity on the scammer. They include accounts of war and disaster as found in **SM. 15** and **SM. 18**; accounts of carelessness and failed attempts to transfer cash as found in **SM. 4** and **SM. 17**. The narrative patterns of scam mails as Gills (2013) notes prey on the emotions of their readers.

(iii) Appeal to Shared Knowledge

As part of the persuasive strategy, scam mails contain information that is supposedly known to the addressers and their addressees. The mails are replete with information that is often well known. In **SM. 7** for instance, the scammer is presented as the daughter of

the late President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. The use of the name "Gaddafi" is to build a name and create authenticity. The mail employs this stance to establish trust between the narrator and the addressee. Muammar Gaddafi, the former president of Libya was overthrown during the NATO bombardment of Libya in 2011 after several pleas to step down. His death sparked several debates as some saw him as a Messiah to the Libyans while others perceived him as a tyrant. Despite any view taken, it is expected that the children of such a person would be left in a negative situation. It is against this backdrop that the scam mail writer portrays him/herself as a victim.

(iv) Appeal to Religious Identity

Religious identity and sentiment is another persuasive strategy used by scammers to influence their readers' point of view. By presenting religious discourse, scammers portray themselves as individuals with credibility as found in the extract below:

SM. 19: Dear friend, Calvary Greetings in the name of the LORD Almighty and Our LORD JESUS CHRIST the giver of every good thing ... I am Mrs. Nadesh aging widow of 64 years old suffering from long time illness. I have some funds I inherited from my late husband, the sum of (\$15,500,000.00 Million Dollars) and I needed a very honest and God fearing who can withdraw this money then use the funds for Charity works. I WISH TO GIVE THIS FUNDS TO YOU FOR CHARITY WORKS. I found your email address from the internet after honest prayers to the LORD to

bring me a helper and i decided to contact you if you may be willing and interested to handle these trust funds in good faith before anything happens to me.

In **SM. 19**, the speaker draws from the discourse of religion to persuade the victim. The belief in God is a position held by a lot of individuals globally and Nigeria is said to be the most religious country in the world (Chiluwa, 2009). Hence, the writer makes a subtle appeal to religious sentiments, which is likely to attract sympathy from an average religious individual. To this effect, the writer reiterates the fact that Christians are people with integrity. The narrator strongly appeals to the religious teachings on charity and deploys this tactics to foster solidarity and mutual understanding. Ironically, the notion of integrity is used here as a means of swindling an individual. While the speaker teaches integrity, the actions displayed are contrary to what is being professed.

(v) Directives

As part of discursive practices, scammers employ directives to express authority. In the examples below, stance is used to express asymmetric power relations between the writer and reader.

SM. 20...you must follow in order to complete your claims...You will send the fee latest tomorrow.

‘Must’ is a coercive modal that the scammers use to express authority. Within the instruction passed, ‘must’ help to indicate necessity and urgency in

the action. Similarly, ‘will’ in the next clause illustrated above, is used as a phishing attempt. Although the use of face threatening act is limited in email hoaxes, it is used in this context where organizational persona rather than individual serves to index compulsion, urgency in other to phish victims within the shortest possible time.

Conclusion

The current study explores stance-taking and positioning in scam emails. Scammers derive their discourses from different genres that appeal to Hyland’s three levels of stance-taking. Credibility markers are found in scam mails and serve as rhetorical strategies for swindling victims. Particularly, the narrative structures use implicit reference to happenings in the society to draw a sense of credibility. Positive presentations through self-mention serve as discursive strategies that scam mails employ to persuade their victims. While hedges are used to maintain an interpersonal relationship between the writers and their readers in scam mails, boosters are employed to maintain an authorial stance in order to manipulate victims. These strategies help to reduce fear especially in cases where phishing is attempted. It is quite clear that stance-taking and the careful use of strong discourse and persuasive strategies must have engendered the continual success by scammers in defrauding their victims in spite of repeated warnings against email scams.

References

Bloomaert, J. (2005). Making million: English, indexicality and fraud.

Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies, 29, 1-24.

- Bloomaerts, J. & Omoniyi, I. (2006). Email fraud: language, technology and the indexicals of globalization. *Social Semiotics*, 16(4), 573-605.
- Chiluwa, I. (2009). Discourse of digital deceptions and the 419 emails. *Discourse Studies*, 11 (6), 635-660.
- Chiluwa, I. (2010). The pragmatics of hoax email business proposals. *Linguistik Online*, 43,3
- Chiluwa, I. (2015). Email fraud. In K. Tracy, C. Ilie & T. Sandell (Eds). *International encyclopedia of language and social interaction*. Malden: Masachussetts: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chiluwa, I. & Ifukor, P. (2015). War against our children stance and evaluation in #bringbackourgirls campaign discourse on Twitter and Facebook. *Discourse and Society*, 26(3), 267-296.
- Conrad, S. & Biber, D. (2000). Adverbial marking of stance in speech and writing. In S. Huntson & G. Thompson. (Eds). *Evaluation in texts: Authorial stance and the construction of discourse*. pp. 57-73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coper, R. (2006). *Zimbabwe: Background and issues*. New York: Nova Science Publishers
- Dubois, J. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebreston. (Ed). *Stance taking in discourses*. pp. 139-182. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gills, M. (2013). Authentication and Nigerian letters. In S. Herring, D. Stein & T. Virtanen. (Eds). *Handbook of discourse analysis*. Malden. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Halliday M. & Mathiessen, C. (2014). *An introduction to functional grammar*. (3rd. Ed). New York: Routledge
- Huddington, P. (2007). Positioning and alignment as activities of stance taking in news reports. In R. Englebreston. (Ed). *Stance taking in discourses*. pp. 139-182. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Heyd, T. (2008). *Email hoaxes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hyland, K. (2005). Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic writing. *Discourse Studies*, 7(2), 173-192.
- Hunston, S. & Thompson, G. (2000). *Evaluation in text: authorial stance and the construction of discourse* (Eds). Pp. 176-206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hyland, K. (2013). *Discourse studies readers' essential excerpts*. (Ed). London: Bloomsbeury.
- Ivanic, R. (1998). *Writing and identity: The discorsal construction of identity in academic writing*. Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Johnston, B. (2009). Stance, style and the linguistic individual. In A. Jaffe. (Ed). *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. pp. 29-52. New York: oxford university Press.
- Kiesling, S. (2015). *Style and stance taking: theory and practice in sociolinguistics*. Retrieved 25-01-17 from www.researchgate.net/publication/27835171

- Kong, K. (2014). *Professional discourse*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, J. (2000). *Beyond exchange: Appraisal systems in English* in Hunston & G.
- Thompson. (Eds). *Evaluation in text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J. & Rose, D. (2003). *Working with discourse: Meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. & White, R. (2005). *Appraisal: The language of attitude and intersubjective stance*. New York: Palgrave.
- Samson, C. (2004). *Interaction in written economics lectures: The metadiscursive role of person marker*. In K. Aijmer & A. stenson. (Eds). *Discourse patterns in spoken and written corpus*. pp. 199-218. Amsterdam: John Benjamin
- Santy, J. & Smith, L. (2011). *Being an e-learner in health and social care: A student's guide*. New York: Routledge.
- Wu, G. & Zhu, Y. (2014). *Self-mention and authorial identity construction in English and Chinese research articles: A contrastive study*. *Journal of linguistics and the human sciences*, 10(2), 133-158.

About the Author

Isioma Maureen Chiluwa is a doctoral student in the Department of English Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Her research interests are Computer-mediated Communication, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Semiotics and Deception Studies. Email: isiomamaurren71@gmail.com



Pragmatic Analysis of Conceptual Mappings in Inaugural Speeches of Nigerian Presidents

Moses Aremu

Department of English
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Abstract: This work examines the pragmatics of conceptual mappings in the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive presidents between 1979 and 2015. The study adopts the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Chartens-Black's (2004) critical metaphor theory and modified model of Mey's (2001) pragmeme. The findings reveal that Nigerian Presidents' inaugural speeches are characterised by several metaphorical mappings such as characterizing an election as a battle, or a sport or a journey. Mappings in the text are used as pragmatic strategies for appealing, remembering, thanking, warning and promising. The paper concludes that understanding cognitive metaphors in the text requires the knowledge of the participants' shared cultural knowledge and world view.

Keywords: pragmatics, inaugural speech, cognitive metaphor, context, meaning

Introduction

A presidential inaugural speech is a type of political discourse in which a newly elected political leader explains his or

her plans on how he or she intends to rule a nation and ultimately improve the living standards of the electorate. This political discourse is generally designed

to shape people's opinions and beliefs in favour of the new government (Odebunmi and Oni, 2012). According to Cheng (2016) a presidential inaugural speech seeks to unify the audience by reconstituting its members... rehearsing communal values drawn from the past, and setting forth political principles that will govern the new administration (p.585). In Nigeria, presidents also deliver public speeches to mark specific occasions such as workers' day, New Year, or Independence Day. A presidential inaugural address is often characterised by rhetoric and tropes such as indirectness, circumlocution, symbolism and metaphor among others (Bosman, 1987; Taiwo, 2010; Yusuf, 2003).

In Nigeria, scholars have applied stylistic and discourse methods to study the speeches of Nigerian military and civilian leaders. For instance, Aremu (2000) carried out a speech act analysis of the maiden addresses of Gen. Sanni Abacha and Gen. Abdusalami Abubakar, while Ayeomoni (2005) examined the stylistic features of the Nigerian military heads of state. Yusuf (2003) studied dysphemism in the speeches of Nigeria President Olusegun Obasanjo, and Adetunji (2009) analysed the rhetoric in the second inaugural speeches of Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush. Odebunmi and Oni (2012) investigated the lexical choices and cognition in Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo's inaugural speeches, while Taiwo (2010) explored metaphors in Nigerian political discourse. Taiwo's work examined different types of speeches such as

president's inaugural addresses, Independence Day speeches and May Day addresses of notable Nigerians like Presidents, Vice Presidents, President's spokespersons, and journalists.

The present study examines the conceptual mappings in the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive presidents. This study differs from the existing works on metaphor in Nigerian political discourse because it attempts an in-depth analysis of cognitive metaphors, by analyzing the pragmatics of conceptual mappings in Nigerian presidential speeches between 1979 and 2015. The study adopts a combination of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), Charteris-Black's (2004) critical metaphor theory and Mey's (2001) pragmeme as theoretical framework.

Political Discourse

According to Chilton (2004), politics is a struggle between individuals who want to assert and maintain power and individuals who want to resist it. It is also a struggle for power among people in government, parliament and parties. Politics is conducted in and through talk and texts and such talk and texts enact political actions (Bayley, 2010). Political actions are limited to the activities of institutions such as political parties, government and parliament in the fulfillment of political obligations (Taiwo 2010). Politics is also conceived of as a struggle to gain and retain power among members of these institutions (Beard, 2000:35).

Bayley (2010) points out that political discourse is a wide and diverse set of discourses, genres or registers such as policy papers, ministerial speeches,

government press releases, party manifestos, or electoral speeches. It also includes campaign speeches, political cartoons, campaign posters and political interviews, and is often spoken or written by political actors or the opposition, leaders of political parties and candidates for political offices.

Chilton and Schaffner (1997) explain that political discourse is often characterised by coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, legitimisation and delegitimisation as well as dissimulation. These features have been narrowed down by Chilton (2004) to coercion, legitimisation and delegitimisation and misrepresentation. According to Demjankov (2002:33), “political discourse differs from other discourse because of its polemics, which permits military actions to be transferred from the battle-field to the ‘theatre’ stage.” Thus, the main function of political language is the fight for power (Sheigal, 2000).

The goal of political discourse analysis is to examine the ways in which discourse or language use is manipulated to achieve political effects (Wilson 2001). Schaffner (1996:201) posits that political discourse analysts often study the linguistic structures used to get politically important messages across to the addressees so as to fulfill a specific political function. In doing this, the political discourse analysts must understand the broader social and political framework which serves as the background to the discourses or texts being examined. According to Van Dijk (2002:203), “a study of political discourse is theoretically and empirically relevant only when

discourse structures can be related to properties of political structures and processes.” Hence, the critical linguists analyse social meanings in language and how language or discourse has been used to reinforce ideologies.

Political Discourse in the Nigerian Context

The Nigerian political discourse has been shaped by different social, political and economic events and situations that characterise the nation. Issues such as election rigging, resource control, religious and ethnic crisis, security problems among others have shaped political discourse in Nigeria. In recent times, discourses around corrupt public office holders, President Muhammadu Buhari’s ill health, and the threat of Igbo secession have characterised the political discourse in the nation, and these are expressed through the traditional and social media.

Different linguistic studies have been carried out on different genres of Nigerian Political discourse such as cartoons, campaign speeches, presidential speeches, political debates, parliamentary discourse, and editorial comments. For instance, Awonuga (2006) studied the linguistic features of the broadcast to the nation by Olusegun Obasanjo on August 25, 2002. His analyses revealed that the text was characterised by the use of personal pronouns, coupling, strings of words, analogy, repetition and eight types of metaphor. Opeibi (2006) studied negative campaigning in Nigerian political discourse. The study described the emerging trends in negative advertising during political campaigning in Nigeria. According to the study,

Nigerian political aspirants often apply different rhetorical strategies of launching direct vituperative attacks on their opponents. Furthermore, Taiwo (2007) identified political lampooning of the opposition through newspaper advertisements as one of the major campaign strategies of Nigerian politicians. Opeibi (2007) studied how Nigerian politicians often demonstrate their multilingual creativity in the use of English and indigenous languages alongside pidgin to drive home their messages. While Odeunmi (2009) examined politeness and relational work in print media political interviews in Nigeria, Adetunji (2009) studied speech acts in the second inaugural addresses of Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo and America's George Bush. Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) examined the pragma-rhetorical strategies in selected speeches of President Obasanjo, and Alo and Ebuka (2009) studied style in Major Nzeogwu's coup speech of 1966. Aremu (2014) carried out a critical discourse analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's national broadcast of April 21, 2011, and revealed that the broadcast was characterised by dysphemism, expletive, commissives, and the use of the inclusive 'we'. Ademilokun (2015) studied discursive strategies in selected political rally campaigns of 2011 elections in Southwestern Nigeria.

Metaphors in Political Discourse

Right from the publication of *Metaphor We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), cognitive linguistic approach has become common in the analysis of political texts and talk. Lakoff (1996) studied the world-views underlying

political thinking in the United States of America. According to the study, the conceptual metaphor of the family stands at the centre of a system of conceptualisation of society in the US politics. He posited that in the US politics, "the nation is mapped as a family, the government as a parent and citizens as children" (p.154-155). The study revealed that there are two competing versions or models of fathers in the United States: "a Strict Father and a Nurturant Parent." Similarly, Mazrui (1998) explored the metaphors of blackness and whiteness as used in the English language to map or depict evil or goodness. The study condemned the act of depicting the devil as black and angels as white.

Musolff (2004) examined the conceptual metaphors in political debates about Europe. According to him, "if our social experiences and conceptualisations are organised in terms of metaphors, then politics as part of the social domain must also be constructed metaphorically," (p.2). Musolff (2006) then investigated the metaphor scenarios in public discourse by utilising materials that comprise examples from a bilingual corpus of British and German public debates about European Union. His findings revealed the scenarios of EU as a family while France and Germany were mapped as a couple and parents in the marriage scenarios of the EU. His findings also showed the love and marriage separation scenarios. Furthermore, Musolff (2007) examined the impact of the metaphorical in the word 'body' to map or conceptualise a state or society in the political discourse of texts in the first and second world

wars. This was observable in the expressions such as “body politic,” “three arms of government,” “the government mouthpiece,” and so forth.

Wei (2001) studied metaphorical expressions in Taiwanese political discourse and concluded politics is mapped as war and love, and election as a journey. Vestermark (2007) studied the metaphorical personification of America in political discourse. She utilised Lakoff and Johnson’s approach to examine the first inaugural addresses of American Presidents Ronald Regan (1981), George H.W. Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1993) and George W. Bush (2001). The study showed that that in America’s political discourse, there were mappings of the world as a community, nation as a person and nation as a human. Similarly, Steen (2008) compared the inaugural speeches of Martin Luther King and Barak Obama to distinguish between the deliberate and conscious metaphor and the conventional, unconscious and non-deliberate metaphor. The study argued that it was a default assumption to state that metaphor was non-deliberate. Deliberate metaphor, according to the study, implied “to consciously set up a cross-domain mapping in our speeches.” Perspective changing is the main communicative motive for deliberate metaphor, which in turn may have different rhetorical goals like persuasion, instruction and so on.

Silaski and Durovic (2010) studied the animal metaphoric imagery in the conceptualisation of inflation in English through the framework of CMT. According to Kovecses (2002:124), “much of human behaviour seems to be

metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour.” For instance, inflation is mapped as a horse and described with animal attributes as “trotting” or “run-away” inflation (Silaski and Durovic, 2010:8).

Taiwo’s (2010) study of metaphors of Nigerian political discourse revealed that Nigerian political texts and talk are characterised by the mappings of a political leader as a builder and a savior; politics as a journey and nation as a family and person.

Theoretical Perspectives

Our analysis of the mappings in Nigerian Presidential inaugural address is hinged on the theoretical framework of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Charteris – Black’s (2004) CMT and modified model of Mey’s (2001) pragmeme. The conceptual metaphor theory began with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) *Metaphor We Live By* in which they posit that “metaphors are linguistic tools used in everyday communication and are not figures of speech” as opined by literary scholars. In cognitive linguistics (CL), which is Lakoff and Johnson’s background, metaphors are viewed as mappings or projections between conceptual domains that are used to shape our views of life in the present and set up the expectation of life for the future (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphors are also perceived as unconscious, non-deliberate and conventional expressions that are used in daily communication in all genres of discourse – religion, politics, commerce, etc. However, the notion that “metaphors are unconsciously and non-deliberately used” has been negated by

Steen (2008) who argued that “not all metaphors are unconsciously and non-deliberately used.” He cited the deliberate use of metaphor in the inaugural speeches of Obama and Martin Luther Kings in the USA as examples of occasions when metaphors are consciously and deliberately employed.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors are not mere decorations or stylistic devices used in communication but they are the reflections of our encyclopedic and socially-shared world knowledge. (Lakoff, 1992) argued that metaphors are not ordinary emblems in our discourse but they often reflect our thought processes. In CL linguistic knowledge is viewed as part of general cognitive ability that allows mental processes of reasoning, memory and attention. Metaphor in CL implies the conceptual mappings of the source domain with the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Besides, Charteris-Black (2004) developed on the Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) cognitive metaphor theory. Charteris – Black’s critical metaphor theory is a corpus-based approach to the analysis of metaphor, linked with CL, CDA and corpus linguistics. This approach also incorporates “the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic,” dimensions of metaphor analysis and its definition of metaphor is guided by these criteria (Charteris-Black 2004:21). The linguistic criteria will enable the identification of metaphor by establishing the existence of semantic tension in a word or expression and

reification. This semantic tension reflects on the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic levels, resulting in a shift in domain use. The major distinguishing feature of critical metaphor analysis and conceptual metaphor is that the former’s emphasis is on corpus-based approach. The method to be used in selecting a corpus of a text must be both qualitative and quantitative. The approach in this study is qualitative since the study is only concerned with the cognitive meanings in the selected data.

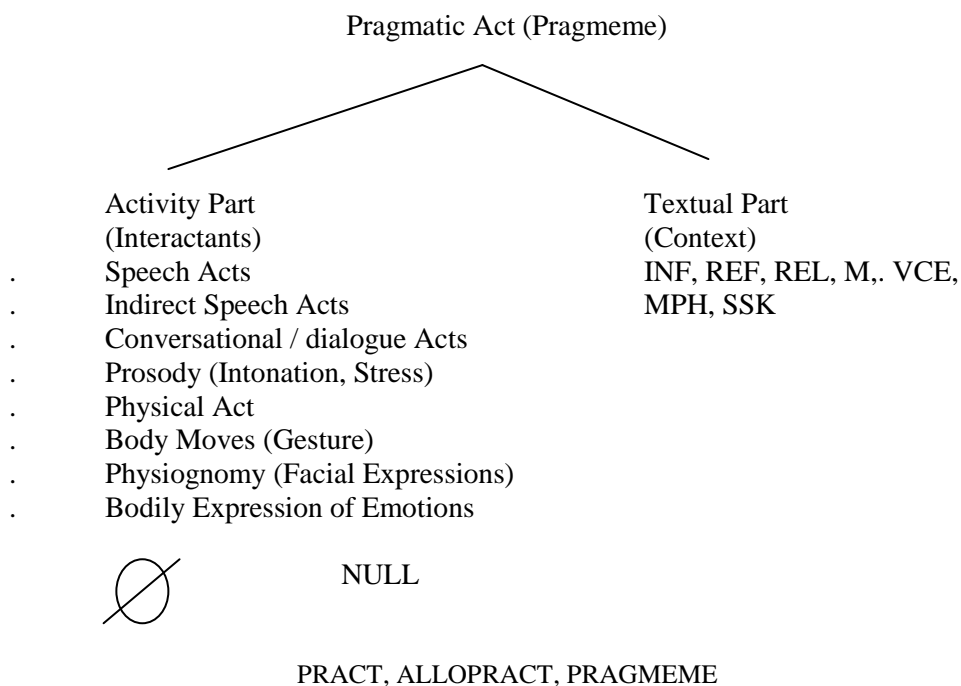
Mey’s (2001) theory of pragmeme serves as a substitute to Austin’s (1962) speech act, which Mey condemns to be non-situated and lacks the theory of action. Mey (2001) argues that “if speech act has the theory of action, it emanates from individuals,” and asserts that “pragmatic acting implies adapting oneself linguistically to one’s world” (p.215). He further argues that, in pragmatic act, an individual is not to “set goals” or chart the course of action but the individual is situated in a context, and a pragmatic act, often has an agent and an act. According to Mey pragmatic acts deal with situating our discourse in a context, since no discourse can be understood unless it is being situated within a context in which it could be understood. Pragmatic act is performed when participants communicate implicitly and involves “adapting oneself to context,” as well as “adapting context” to oneself (p.220). Thus, the meaning of a text must be inferred from “the environment in which participants find their affordances” (Ibid).

Pragmatic act explains language from “outside in” and not from “inside out”

as done by the Austin’s (1962) speech act. Kecskes (2010) in his situation bound utterance explained that Mey was right in emphasizing the importance of situation, environment and extra linguistic factors in meaning construction and comprehension. He further stressed that the working of linguistic expressions is as important in

shaping meaning as the situation in which they are used; hence, the interpretation of any discourse should be done from both the “outside in” and from the “inside out.” Mey (2001) gives a framework of pragmeme which is in two parts: activity (or interactants) and the textual (or context).

Fig 1: Mey’s (2001) Model of Pragmeme



Explanation:

Pragmeme is the generalised pragmatic acts. Allopract is the different realisations of pragmatic act. Activity part shows what participants use in communications, while textual part contains the contextual features that

influence communication. These are inference (INF), reference (REF) voice (VCE) situational shared knowledge (SSK), and relevance (REL). Both the textual and activity parts of pragmeme are used in decoding the contextual meaning of any communication.

Methodology

The data for this study comprise six inaugural addresses of five Nigerian executive presidents from 1979 and 2015. This period marked the era stable democracy in Nigeria. The Nigerian presidents being studied are Shehu Shagari, Olusegun Obasanjo, Umaru Yar'Adua, Goodluck Jonathan and Mohammadu Buhari. A simple percentage statistical tool was used in analyzing the frequency of mappings in the data. To understand metaphors used in the inaugural speeches the modified model of Mey's (2001) pragmeme was used in analysing practs in the data. Inaugural speeches are semi-dialogic, and the electorate often responds to it through the electronic and print media. Hence, Mey's (2001) pragmeme and Kecskes' (2010) situation bound utterance (SBU) are relevant in examining contextual usage of conceptual mappings in Nigerian presidents' inaugural addresses, as they examine contextual use of metaphors in semi-dialogic presidents' speeches from "inside out" and "outside in."

Going by Mey's pragmeme model, a political leader (PL) often has the socio-political encounter with political actors (PA) and the masses (M) in the country. This enables the participants to have similar world knowledge. The encoder (E) often rides on his mental model (MM) and socially-shared knowledge to air his party manifestoes (PMs) and personal political ideology (PPI) through the text of his inaugural address

to the decoders. The encoder also rides on the shared situational knowledge (SSK), shared linguistic knowledge (SLK) and shared socio-cultural knowledge (SSCK) to engage in an ontological correspondence or mapping of the source domains with the target domains through the text of the political discourse of his inaugural address. Besides, the modified Mey's (2001) model used in the analysis reflects that reification (Reif), personification (pers) and depersonification (dep) are the linguistic tools often used by Nigerian presidents in their use of conceptual metaphors. The interpretation of contextual meanings and practs in metaphors in Nigerian presidents' inaugural addresses must be done from both the "outside in" and "inside out," which means that both the "wordings" used in the text as well as the extra-linguistic factors like environment and situations in which the text is used must be considered in interpreting metaphors in Nigerian president's inaugural addresses. The encoder hinges on the cognitive mappings in the text to instantiate practs.

Findings and Discussion

The findings reveal that the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive Presidents between 1979 and 2015 mapped a political leader (president) as a father, manager, builder, servant, etc. The various mappings and their frequencies in the data are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of Mappings in Nigerian Executive Presidents' Inaugural Addresses

S/N	MAPPINGS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	Political leaders is a father	03	4.62
	Political leader is a manage	03	4.62
	Political leader is a builder	05	7.69
	Political leader is a servant	01	1.54
	Political leader is a sailor	01	1.54
	Political leader is a driver	03	4.62
	Political leader is a puritan		
2	Ethnic Politics is a beast	01	1.54
	Ethnic Politics is a disease	01	1.54
3	Democracy is a journey	04	6.5
	Democracy is a war	02	3.08
	Democracy is a power	01	1.54
	Democracy is a child	01	1.54
	Democracy is a machine	01	1.54
4	A nation is a human	01	1.54
	A nation is a family	02	3.08
	A nation is a building	04	6.15
	A nation is a vehicle	01	1.54
	A nation is a ship	01	1.54
	A nation is an aircraft	01	1.54
	A nation is a tree	01	1.54
5	Governance is a journey	02	3.08
	Governance is a war	07	10.77
	Governance is a building	01	1.54
	Governance is a business	02	3.08
6	Election is a war	05	7.69
	Election is a sport	02	3.08
	Election is a journey	01	1.54
7	A Political Party is a family	01	1.54
8	Corruption is a cancer	01	1.54
9	Eradicating corruption is a war	01	1.54
10	Economy is a plant	01	1.54
11	Poverty is a disease	01	1.54
12	Maintenance of security is a war	01	1.54
	Total	65	100%

Table 1 shows that the mapping of governance as a war takes the highest frequency (i.e. 07/10.77%). This implies that Nigerian executive presidents used their inaugural speeches to state their readiness to face the challenges of political governance. This is followed by the mappings of the leader as a builder which takes the second highest frequency (i.e. 7.69%) in the data. The samples of these mappings are discussed below.

There are thirty-four (34) mappings in the sampled texts that are regrouped into six broad categories.

(i) Mapping of a Nation as a House and Political Leader as a Head

In the inaugural speeches, a political leader is mapped as a head and a nation as a family. The political leader is also mapped as a builder, manager, and father. Citizens of the nation are mapped as the children. These mappings as shown in Texts 1 to 3 derive from the shared African cultural belief that a father is the head of a family.

Text 1: I ask you, fellow citizens, to join hands with me in building our Nigerian family (Ex- president Yar'Adua's Inaugural Speech)

Text 2: We will create greater access to quality education and improve health care delivery (Ex-President Jonathan's Inaugural speech of May 29, 2011)

Text 3: I offer myself as a servant-leader. I will be a listener and doer and serve with humility (Yar'Adua's inaugural speech).

As the head of a house or family (nation), he is also mapped as a puritan who sanitizes the family through his

patriotism, virtues and role model. Governance is mapped as a part of the house controlled by the head (the political leader). And the Nigerian economy is constructed as a growing child or a tender plant being nurtured to maturity by the political leader.

The speaker (ex-President Jonathan) in text 1 rode on the shared linguistic and socio-cultural common ground between him and the audience (Nigerian public) to pract promising, commanding and appealing. 'Pract' is the use of the linguistic and extra-linguistic features of a text to send a message. It is also a pragmatic resource for constructing, negotiating and understanding meaning in a text from both the inside-out and outside-in (Mey 2001: Kecskes 2010). Texts 2 and 3 also pract promising. The speakers make an attempt to assure and convince Nigerians of the responsibility of the incoming leadership.

(ii) Mappings of a Nation as Motion Engines and a Political Leaders as a Controller

A nation is also mapped as motion engines (e.g. an aircraft, a ship and a vehicle), while a political leader is mapped as the pilot, the sailor, or the driver. Examples are shown in Texts 4 and 5 below.

Text 4: All Nigerians deserve commendation for their patience with a learning curve began with the transition from the darkest episode of our history to the dawn of hope...There have been numerous bumbs in the process but we have taken them by our strides (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

Text 5: Let us acknowledge with deepest appreciation the National Assembly who have put their best to legislatively steer the ship of nation over uncharted waters (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

In Text 4, the former Nigerian President Obasanjo was recounting his achievements as the pilot of the nation and sailor of the ship (Nigeria). He made reference to series of 'bumps' (socio-economic and political problems) his government encountered during the four years of his first term (1999-2003). This text was utilized by the speaker to practice thanking and congratulating. He also used the text to praise himself. The 'uncharted waters' in Text 5 represents political turbulence that had characterized his leadership. The speaker used the text to practice thanking. The use of deliberate metaphor (Steen 2008) in Texts 5 and 6 is common in the other samples and was used here by Obasanjo to map a political leader as a sailor, pilot, and driver.

(iii) Mapping of Election, Governance and Democracy as Journeys

Inaugural speeches of the Nigerian presidents also map election, governance and democracy as different kinds of journeys. The speakers also relied on the shared socio-cultural belief that the human life is a journey. The speakers in texts 6 and 7 used this metaphorical mapping to practice appealing.

Text 6: Fellow Compatriots...Join me as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria (ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 29, 2011).

Text 7: Let us praise Almighty as we continue on our political journey towards sustainable democracy (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

The deliberate metaphor in the use of the word 'journey' instead of 'way' or 'movement' in these texts illustrates Steen's (2008) reification. Reification, personification and de-personification are discursive resources used to deliberately map the source domain with the target domain in the political discourse. By inviting the citizens to join in the journey to sustainable democracy, the speaker implies that democracy takes time to achieve; hence, the citizens should not expect quick results. Unfortunately, political leaders have often utilized this type of political rhetoric to hide from their responsibility as the supposed 'fathers' and leaders of the nation, and have systematically schooled the citizens to believe that they have to wait endlessly for sustainable economic growth, while politicians themselves live above their legitimate means.

(iv) Mappings of Election, Governance and Democracy as Sports

In Text 8, the speaker used simile in his deliberate mapping of governance and democracy as sports.

Text 8: The first thing is for all those who participated in the recent elections to work together, whether they won or lost (Ex-President Shagari's inaugural speech of October 1, 1979)

Text 9: Now that elections are over, we must act as good sportsmen in nation building (Ex-

President Shagari's inaugural speech of October 1, 1979)

The speaker deliberately used the expression 'act as good sportsmen' to map elections as sport. According to Steen (2008), metaphor can be used consciously, intentionally and deliberately, although some are used unconsciously (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). By asking politicians to demonstrate good sportsmanship, the speaker refers to the fact that athletes or sportsmen take defeat in good faith. In text 8, the ex-president Shagari specifically called for the acceptance of a loss in the elections as sportsmen do, unlike the usual conflict and fight that characterize political electioneering. He expected that sportsmanship disposition would support government efforts to building cohesion and sustainable growth.

(v) Mappings of Election and Governance as War

In the inaugural speeches of Nigerian presidents, there is also the mapping of elections and governance as war. Governance, in this context includes democratization process, poverty eradication and security. The fight against corruption is also mapped as war. This is shown in texts 10 - 11.

Text 10: I assure the wider international community of our readiness to combat threat to cross-border terrorism, sea piracy... (Inaugural speech of President Buhari of May 29, 2015).

Text 11: The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist (Ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 30, 2011).

Interestingly, the speaker in text 11 suggests that there was already a fight against corruption, probably begun by previous presidents. And the fight against corruption is comparable to the fight against terrorism and piracy. Significantly, the speakers imply that the fight against corruption, which had characterized previous governments, is as serious as the war on terror. Unfortunately the Nigerian government have often been associated with serious political fraud and high-profile corruption that had crippled the nation's economy and promoted poverty. Ironically, the Jonathan's government has also been accused of serious corruption cases, which exceeded the ones before it. This implies that the speech that pledged corruption fight was a mere political propaganda to attract political supports for the People's Democratic Party (PDP) led government.

(vi) Mapping of Corruption, Poverty and Ethnic Politics as Beast and Cancer

The texts of the inaugural speeches also mapped corruption, ethnic politics, and poverty as cancer and beast. These are shown in texts 12 to 14 below.

Texts 12: No society can achieve anything if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. (Ex-President Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 29, 1999).

Text 13: By fighting poverty, we fight disease... (Ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 30, 2011).

Text 14: These last general elections have finally laid to rest the beasts of ethnic politics (Ex-

President Shagari's inaugural
Speech of October 1, 1979).

Former President Obasanjo admitted in texts 12 that corruption actually developed to 'full blown cancer,' in Nigeria. Mapping of corruption as a 'disease' or cancer constructs its endemic and destructive nature and the fact that it has been in the Nigeria for so long. Both cancer and beast are dangerous and destructive. The Obasanjo government is credited for creating two agencies for combating corruption – the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). However, these commissions have been accused of being used to fight Obasanjo's political opponents rather than the purpose for which they were established (Chiluwa, 2015). The speaker in Text 14, erroneously believed that the 'beasts of ethnic politics' had been defeated. Unfortunately, about 38 years after that claim was made, ethnic politics had grown worse in Nigeria, especially with the emergence and growth of ethnic militias, separatist/secessionist and terrorist groups in Nigeria, all seeking separate political governments.

References

Adetunji, A (2009). Acts in the second Inaugural Addresses of Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush. In Odebunmi, A. Arua. E. A. & Arimi. S (eds) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Yisa Kehinde Yusuf*, pp. 266-275, Lagos: CBBAC.

However, the speakers succeeded in their political rhetoric in the use of reification as tools in their deliberate ontological mappings of the source domains (corruption, poverty and ethnic politics) with the target domains (beasts and cancers) in their inaugural speeches.

Conclusion

The findings show that the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian presidents are characterized by the mappings of a nation as family and motion engine and the political leader as the head of a family and driver among others. The mappings generally derived from the shared socio-cultural linguistic beliefs or common grounds that were used to construct, negotiate, and interpret meanings in the mappings. The metaphorical mappings were used to pract promising, appealing, thanking, commanding and condemning. This study expands research in pragmatics, cognitive semantics, and political discourse analysis as it explains the role of language in the construction of peaceful co-existence and social cohesion.

Ayeomoni, M.O. (2005). A Linguistic-Stylistic Investigation of the Language of Nigerian Political Elite. *Nebula* 2, 2:153-168.

Aremu, M. A. (2000). A Speech Act Analysis of the Maiden-speeches of late/Gen. Sanni abacha and Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar. M. A. Theses submitted to Department of Modern European Languages,

- University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
- Aremu, M. A. (2014). A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's National Broadcast of April 21, 2011. *Papers in English Linguistics* 15:71-84.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How To Do things With Words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Awonuga, C. (2005). 'A Stylistic Study of Sustenance of Democracy by Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo. *Journal of Social Science*, 11(2): 111-119.
- Babatunde, S. T. and Odepidan, O. (2009). Pragma-rhetorical Strategies in Selected Speeches of Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo., In Odebunmi, A. Arua, E.A. & Arimi, S. (eds) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Yisa Kehinde Yusuf*. Lagos: CBACC.
- Bayley, P. (2010). *Analysing Language and Politics*. Retrieved Online through <http://www.mediaciononline/ti/articoli/bayleyprint.htm>.
- Beard, A. (2000). *The Language of Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Bosman, J. (1987). 'Persuasive Effects of Political Metaphor'. *Metaphor and Symbol*. 2(2):97-111.
- Charteris – Black, J. (2004). *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. New York: Palmgrove, Macmillan.
- Cheng, Maria (2006). *Constructing a New Political Spectacle: Tactics of Chen Shui Bian's 2000 and 2004 Inaugural Speeches*. *Discourse and Society* 17(5):583-608.
- Chiluwa, I. (2015) 'Occupy Nigeria 2012': A Critical Analysis of Facebook Posts in the Fuel Subsidy Removal Protests. *CLINA: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Translation, Interpreting and Intercultural Communication*, 1(1), 47-69
- Chilton, P. and Schaffner, C. (1997). 'Discourse and Politics'. In Teun Van Dijk (ed) *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage.
- Chilton, P. (2004) *Analysing Political Discourse Theory: and Practice*: London: Routledge.
- Cienki, Allan (2005). *Researching Conceptual Metaphors That May Underlie Political Discourse*, ECRR Workshop on Metaphor in Political Science Grenada, Spain.
- Demjankov, V. (2002). Cited from Vilma Linkerviciute (2013). *Conceptual Metaphors in Gordon Brown's Political Discourse*. *Studies about Discourse* 23:2.
- Durovic, T. (2007). *Metaphors in Economic Discourse* in I. Lakic & N. Kostic (eds) *Proceedings of the International Conference of Language for Specific Purposes* 43 – 55. Podgorica: Lider.
- Fowler, Roger; Bob Hodge; Gunter Kress and Tony Trew (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M (1980). *Metaphor We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1996). *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know about*

- Liberal's Don't. Chicago. Chicago University Press.
- Kamalu, I. and Iniwokabo, P. A. (2016). Metaphors in Selected Political Speeches of Nigerian Democratic Presidents. *California Linguistic Notes* 40(2):71-84
- Kecskes, Istvan (2010). 'Situational Bound Utterance as Pragmatic Acts'. *Journal of Pragmatics*
- Mey, J. L (2001). *Pragmatics: An Introduction*. USA: Blackwell.
- Mensah, E. O. (2012). The Yutung Bus: Representation of a New Ghanaian Political Metaphor. *Theory and Practice of Language Studies* 2 (1): 118-125.
- Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe*. England: Palgrave-Macmillan..
- Odebunmi, A and Oni, F (2012). Wording the Gloom of an African Democracy: Lexical Choices and Cognition in Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo's Inaugural Speeches. *Ibadan: Journal of English Studies* 8(31-48).
- Opeibi, T. (2007). "One Message Many Tongues: An Exploration of Media Multilingualism in Nigerian Political Discourse. *Journal of language and Politics* 6(2):223-248.
- Opeibi, T (2006). 'Political Marketing or 'Political Marcheting' A Study of Negative Campaigning in Nigerian Political Discourse: Reproduktionen und Innovationen in Sprache and Kommunikation
- Verschiedener Sprachkulturen Nr. 16. Online at: <http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/01/4/oepibi16.htm>.
- Steen, G. (2008). The Paradox of Metaphor: Why We need a three dimensional model of Metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbol* 23 (4), 213-241.
- Taiwo, R. (2010). Metaphor in Nigerian Political Discourse. In Nils-Lennart Johannesson and David C. Minugh (eds) *Selected Papers from 2008 Stockholm Metaphor Festival*, pp. 193-206, *Stockholm Studies in English*, University of Stockholm, U.S.A.
- Taiwo, R. (2007), Satirising Politicians and Public Officers in Nigerian Newspapers. *The International Journal of Language, Society and Culture*, Issue 22:19-27.
- Teun VanDijk (2002). *Political Discourse and Political Cognition*. In Chilton, P. and Schaffner, C. (eds) *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytical Approach to Political Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vestermarck, Ida (2007). *Metaphors in Politics: A Study of Metaphorical Personification of American Political Discourse: an Extended Essay*. Lulea University of Technology and Culture.
- Wei, J. M. (2001). *The Pragmatics of Metaphor in Taiwanese Politics. Virtual Missiles Metaphors and Allusions in Taiwanese Political Campaigns*. United States: Lexington Books.
- Wilson, J. (2001). 'Political Discourse', in Shiffrin, D. Tannen, D and

Hamilton H.E. (eds). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA. Blackwell Publishers Inc. 398-416.

Olusegun Obasanjo. In Makon, S. and Meinkof, V. H. (eds). *African and Applied Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Yusuf, Y. K. (2003). *Dysphemism in the Language of Nigeria's President*

About the Author

Moses Adebayo AREMU is a PhD candidate in Department of English, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He also lectures in Department of English, Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo, Lanlate Campus, Lanlate, Oyo State, Nigeria. He has published articles in *Journal of Nigeria English Scholars Association (JESAN)*, *Papers in English and Linguistics (PEL)*, *Journal of Pan-African Studies (JPAS)*, *Ife Studies in English Language (ISEL)*, *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language (IJSCL)*, *Ife Journal of Humanities and Social Studies (IJOHUSS)*, etc. His research interests are in pragmatics, discourse analysis, stylistics and applied linguistics.



Analyse stylistique des éléments déictiques dans le discours inaugural du président français, Emmanuel Macron

David N. Utah

Department of French
Imo State University, Owerri, Nigeria

Résumé : Cette étude propose d'analyser les éléments déictiques dans le discours inaugural du président français, Emmanuel Macron. Ayant remporté le suffrage après une campagne rigoureuse et scandaleuse, tout en gardant à l'esprit des nombreux attentats terroristes en France et l'affaiblissement de l'Union Européenne par la sécession de la Grande Bretagne (Brexit), le discours de victoire présidentielle aurait été bien structuré pour séduire, assurer et maintenir la confiance des citoyens français en lui que les moments difficiles sont passés, d'où prévient son emploi de la deixis. Nous avons adopté la théorie de grammaire fonctionnelle systémique de Michael A.K Halliday. Les résultats révèlent que 'je' son variant 'mon/ma', 'nous' et son variant 'notre' sont les éléments déictiques les plus utilisés dans ce discours pour créer un rapprochement avec les français. et à solliciter leur soutien actif à la gouvernance.

Mots clés : deixis, éléments déictiques, stylistique, discours

Abstract : This study proposes to analyze the deictic elements in the inaugural speech of the French President, Emmanuel Macron. Having won the election after a rigorous and scandalous campaign, while keeping in mind the many terrorist attacks in France and the weakening of the European Union by the secession of Britain (Brexit), the presidential victory speech of Macron is expected to be well structured in other to seduce, secure and maintain the confidence of French citizens in him that difficult times have passed. In this

study, we adopted Michael A.K Halliday's systemic functional grammar as our theoretical framework. The results reveals that the deictic elements used revolve around the singular 'Je', its variants "mon/ma", and the plural 'we' its variants, 'us' and 'our'. Moreover, all the deictic elements used in this discourse are aimed at creating closeness with the French citizens and to solicit their active support in governance. Key words: deixis, deictic elements, stylistics, discourse

Introduction

L'analyse de discours politique devient de plus en plus populaire dans le domaine de l'analyse de discours. Charaudeau et Maingueneau (2002) opinent que l'analyse de discours est une approche méthodologique des sciences humaines et sociales, impliquant les méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives qui permettent d'étudier le contexte et le contenu du discours oral ou écrit. Le Bart (2003) explique qu'un discours politique est un discours émanant des seuls acteurs investis dans le champ politique, apparaît tout particulièrement marqué par cette singularité. Du point de vue des citoyens, le discours politique est perçu comme prévisible, codé, voire mensonger plus intéressé qu'intéressant. Il suscite la méfiance. Il présente les caractéristiques d'un genre avec ses contraintes et ses obligatoires. Le discours politique ne tire pas sa légitimité ni d'une quelconque prétention esthétique ni de sa prétention de/à décrire le monde tel qu'il est. Le discours politique ne reflète que superficiellement le vouloir-dire ponctuel d'un locuteur politique, encore moins reflète-t-il la vérité du monde social, mais il reflète plutôt l'état du champ politique au moment où il est produit ainsi que la position occupée, dans ce champ politique, par celui qui parle. Beaucoup sont les travaux

accomplis sur l'analyse de discours politique. Jingu (2008) a fait une analyse pragmatique du discours politique de Nicolas Sarkozy. Kjølvik (2013) a réalisé une analyse du discours politique des chefs d'États français et norvégien à la suite d'un attentat dans leurs pays respectifs. Cette recherche de Kjølvik révèle parmi les autres choses que Nicolas Sarkozy, le président de la France à cette époque revendiquait une liberté de ton qui peut être poignant et cru tandis que le discours de son homologue Jean Stoltenberg de Norvège risquait d'être caractérisé de fade et ennuyeux par son auditoire au égard à son langage modéré et politiquement correct avec des mots convenus. Dans le même ordre d'idée, Aiyemoni et Akinkuolere (2012) ont également effectué une étude pragmatique du discours de victoire et d'inauguration de président nigérian, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua.

Néanmoins, dans cette étude, on vise à analyser stylistiquement les éléments déictiques dans le discours de victoire présidentielle d'Emmanuel Macron comme le président élu de la République Française. Le but primordial de cette recherche est d'étudier stylistiquement les deixis impliquées dans le discours de victoire d'Emmanuel Macron. C'est aussi envisagé qu'en analysant les différents types des deixis employées

dans ce discours, nous en trouverons les raisons sous-tendre.

Méthodologie

Cette recherche était ancrée sur juste un discours du président actuel de la France, Emmanuel Macron. Les données analysées ont été récoltées de son discours de victoire prononcé dimanche, le 7 mai 2017, suite à la déclaration des résultats. Tous les éléments déictiques dans le discours ont été relevés, catégorisés selon les types et le taux d'utilisation. Un assortiment de techniques qualitatives et quantitatives a été utilisé dans cette étude.

Cadre théorique

Cette étude est basée sur la théorie de grammaire fonctionnelle systémique appelé aussi la grammaire systémique-fonctionnelle conçue principalement par Michael A.K Halliday. Cette théorie a été annoncée d'abord dans son article en 1961 sur la catégorisation dans la grammaire. C'est une grammaire descriptive, textuelle et fermement basée sur le contexte. Il explicite mieux cette théorie dans l'introduction de son œuvre majeure « An introduction to Functional Grammar » 1994 tout en référant à son livre de 1985. La théorie s'est mise à expliquer comment les mots font des significations dans un énoncé.

Le modèle systémique considère le langage comme une activité dans laquelle l'interlocuteur choisit consciemment un élément parmi plusieurs éléments constituant le texte, et entre le texte et son environnement. Ce modèle fournit également les catégories théoriques d'unité, de structure, de classe et de système comme moyen d'illustrer les formules de grammaire communs aux diverses

langues humaines. Selon Halliday (1985), la catégorie de l'unité est divisée en morphème, mot, groupe, proposition et phrase. Dans la structure d'une phrase, nous avons le sujet, le prédicateur, le complément et l'adjonction.

Les concepts de sujet, de complément et d'adjonction sont, en particulier, essentiels à l'explication de la deixis, qui est l'objet principal de cette recherche. En outre, la catégorie de classe nous permet d'examiner des parties identifiables comme le (pro) nominal, adjectival et adverbial. La grammaire fonctionnelle systémique est une théorie du langage qui étudie le langage en termes de forme et de fonction; c'est ce que les gens peuvent faire ou ont fait avec le langage. Cela signifie que la théorie tend à prêter l'attention à la façon dont la langue est réellement employée dans un contexte de communication, et non pas simplement aux relatives formelles existantes entre les différents éléments linguistiques.

La Stylistique

L'approche la plus importante adoptée dans cette recherche est celle de la stylistique. Antohi (2010) voit la stylistique comme une discipline issue de la rhétorique et de la linguistique. Elle vise à étudier le caractère de littérarité d'un texte. L'étude stylistique d'un texte ou d'un discours oral permet de mettre en évidence les moyens mis en œuvre par un auteur ou par un locuteur, dans un cadre générique déterminé, pour faire partager une vision spécifique du monde. Bally dans son livre *Traité de stylistique française* (2011) dit que la stylistique étudie la valeur affective des faits du langage

organisé, et l'action réciproque des faits expressifs qui concourent à former le système des moyens d'expression d'une langue. Cette définition montre que le but principal de la stylistique est l'analyse du langage, l'étude des effets de style sur le fond de la langue. Pour éclaircir cette notion, Antohi (2010) dit que la stylistique est la science du style. Elle s'est spécialisée à établir les caractéristiques des styles individuels et fonctionnels (collectifs) et à mettre en évidence les valeurs expressives-esthétiques des faits langagiers. La stylistique étudie donc la manière dont la forme se trouve en adéquation avec le contenu dans un discours.

La deixis

La deixis, de variante orthographique 'déixis, réfère aux conditions particulières de l'énonciation, comme l'identité du locuteur, le temps et l'endroit de l'énonciation. Dubois, Giacomo, Guespin, Marcellesi, Marcellesi et Mevel dans Le dictionnaire de linguistique et des sciences du langage (2012) expliquent que :

Tout énoncé se réalise dans une situation que définissent des cordonnées spatio-temporelles : le sujet réfère son énoncé au moment de l'énonciation, aux participants à la communication et au lieu où est produit l'énoncé. Les références à cette situation forment la deixis, et les éléments linguistiques qui concourent/concourent à situer l'énoncé (à l'embrancher sur la situation) sont des déictiques. (132-133).

Le terme 'deixis' provient d'un mot grec « deikitos » qui signifie la référence ou

« deiknuai », verbe qui veut dire l'action de montrer. Donc, la deixis représente la connexion entre le discours et le contexte à travers l'emploi des pronoms, les démonstratifs et les adverbes divers de temps et de lieu. Levinson (1983) opine qu'on y compte les nombreuses façons qu'a la langue pour encoder ou grammaticaliser les caractéristiques du contexte d'une expression ou de la parole.

Pour comprendre ces caractéristiques du contexte d'une expression ou de la parole, il faut passer par une étude des éléments déictiques. On appelle 'déictique' tout élément linguistique qui, dans un énoncé fait référence à la situation dans laquelle cet énoncé est produit, au moment de l'énoncé (temps et aspect du verbe) ; au sujet parlant (modalisation) et aux participants à la communication. Ainsi, les démonstratifs, les adverbes de lieu et de temps, les pronoms personnels, les articles « ce qui est proche » opposé à « ce qui est lointain » sont des déictiques. Ils constituent les aspects indiciels du langage (Dubois étal, 2012). Donc les éléments et expressions déictiques sont les éléments langagiers au moyen desquels le discours s'ancre dans la réalité où les participants de l'événement énonciatifs vivent.

La déclaration ci-dessus de Dubois et al nous montre qu'on peut diviser la deixis en plusieurs sous-catégories. Allott (2010) avoue que les différentes catégories de la deixis peuvent être distinguées selon la base dont les aspects du contexte sont encodés. Fillmore (1997) divise la deixis en trois catégories, à savoir la catégorie de personne, de lieu et de temps. Levinson

(1983) est d'accord avec l'assertion de Fillmore que la deixis est divisée en trois groupes. La première catégorie, celle de la personne, inclut les façons de faire référence aux participants de la situation de l'énonciation (je, moi). Ainsi, les catégories de la première et de la deuxième personne grammaticalisent la référence du locuteur à lui-même ou au(x) destinataire(s) (tu ou vous au pluriel). La grammaticalisation de la troisième personne par contre, ne fait référence ni au locuteur ni au destinataire de l'énonciation, mais à une (ou a plusieurs) personne(s) qui n'occupe(ent) pas le rôle de participant dans l'énonciation (il, elle, ils, elles). Exemples:

- (a) Je vais à l'école.
- (b) Aimerez-Vous manger ?
- (c) Ils ont voulu me tuer, mais il m'a sauvé.

La catégorie du lieu, c'est-à-dire la deixis spatiale se concerne de la grammaticalisation des espaces spatiaux, à l'espace où se trouvent les participants de la situation de l'énonciation (Mustonen 2014 : 7). Les déictiques spatiaux s'interprètent grâce à une prise en compte de la position du corps de l'énonciateur et de ses gestes. Du point de vue morphosyntaxique, les éléments déictiques spatiaux sont assez hétérogènes et ils se distribuent essentiellement en deux groupes : les démonstratifs et les adverbes. Maillard (2014) dit que :

Si certains démonstratifs sont de « purs » déictiques qui accompagnent un geste de l'énonciateur (lui, ça, ceci, cela), d'autres combinent sens lexical et valeur déictique, soit directement (ex. cette table) soit par pronominalisation (celui-ci,

celui-là). Les déictiques adverbiaux, à statut de compléments circonstanciels se distribuent en divers micro-systèmes d'opposition : ici/là/là-bas ; il en est de même pour les non-déictiques : près/loin, devant/derrière etc. qui, tous, prennent leur valeur en fonction du geste, de la position ou de l'orientation du corps de l'énonciateur (23-24).

A part des déictiques démonstratifs et adverbiaux, on ajoute à la liste les présentatifs qui servent à signaler à l'attention de l'allocutaire l'apparition de référents nouveaux. Il s'agit en français de 'voici' et de 'voilà'. Dans les exemples a, b et c ci-dessous, il s'agit bien évidemment des informations déictiques spatiaux (Celui-ci, celui-là, là et ici) :

- (a) Celui-ci est plus beau que celui-là.
- (b) La poste est là.
- (c) L'église se situe à trois cents mètres d'ici.

D'après Levinson (1983), la deixis du temps, autrement appelée le déictique du temps réfère à la grammaticalisation de points ou espaces temporels de l'énonciation. La deixis du temps inclut les adverbes déictiques de temps et les déictiques temporels verbaux. Huang (2007) divise les adverbes déictiques du temps en temps proximal (maintenant) et distal (puis). Il souligne également qu'il est important de faire la distinction entre « coding time » le moment de l'énonciation et « receiving time » le moment de la réception. Généralement, ces moments sont simultanés mais il se peut que le message ne soit pas envoyé et reçu en même temps comme c'est le

cas lorsque l'on écrit une lettre qui va être lue plus tard par exemple (Mustonen 2014).

Maillard (1992) explique que les déictiques temporels n'ont pas justement à faire avec les temps de la conjugaison (présent, passé, futur) comme c'était présenté par la grammaire traditionnelle. Certes, une phrase telle que « je l'ai vu hier » ne comporte pas un mais deux déictiques temporels : hier et le passé associé au paradigme du passé composé. Mais, il n'est pas admissible de dire, que comme le font souvent les grammairiens classiques, que les marques inscrites dans la morphologie verbale indiquent un temps. Contrairement à tous les tiroirs du système verbal français qui peuvent prendre ou perdre leur valeur déictique selon les contextes, le passé simple ainsi que le passé antérieur ont la propriété d'échapper à tout repérage temporel, d'impliquer une dissociation entre l'énoncé et son moment d'énonciation. En outre, seuls les paradigmes de l'indicatif peuvent avoir une valeur déictique. Les subjonctifs dits « présent » ou « passé » ne constituent pas de véritables présents ni de véritables passés, c'est-à-dire des éléments indiquant que le procès est contemporain ou antérieur au moment de l'énonciation.

La deixis sociale démontre le point de vue social du locuteur et de l'interlocuteur et elle s'inscrit aux formes d'adresse. Fillmore (1997) voit la deixis sociale comme:

‘That aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs’ (62) ‘L’aspect

des énoncés qui reflètent, établissent ou qui sont déterminés par certaines réalités de la situation sociale dans laquelle l’acte de discours se manifeste’’ (Notre traduction)

La deixis sociale est étroitement liée à la deixis de la personne, ce qui indique l'identité sociale des participants ou leur relation sociale, ou bien la relation entre un participant et les personnes ou les entités auxquelles on fait référence. Donc, la deixis sociale et la deixis de la personne ne peuvent guère être étudiées séparément. La deixis sociale peut impliquer l'information par exemple sur la classe, le lien de parenté, l'âge, le sexe, le métier ou le groupe ethnique (Mustonen, 2014). La deixis sociale a affaire avec le remplacement de pronom d'adresse (exemple tu et vous) par les formes nominales de l'adresse. Par exemple, les titres (monsieur), les termes de professions (médecine), ou les termes affectueux (chéri).

Exemple:

- a. Son excellence, Muhammdu Buhari s'adressera aux citoyens ce matin.
- b. Pourriez-vous parler franchement Monsieur le directeur, S'il vous plait ?
- c. Le médecin Obi est en route.

A part de la deixis sociale, il y a également la deixis du discours (ou du texte). Levinson (1983) dit que la deixis du discours est l'usage des expressions dans une énonciation pour faire référence à la séquence qui contient cet énoncé. Pour bien éclaircir, cette définition difficile à saisir, il propose cet exemple :

- a. Je suis sûr que tu n'as pas entendu cette histoire

b. C'était une histoire amusante.

Dans l'exemple a, Cette fait référence à une séquence qui va avoir lieu, alors que dans l'exemple b, C(e) fait référence à une séquence qui précède.

Analyse du Discours Inaugural du Président Français, Emmanuel Macron

Le discours inaugural d'Emmanuel Macron en tant que le nouveau Président de la République Française contient

beaucoup d'éléments déictiques. Ceci est à cause des situations difficiles vécues par la France avant son élection au pouvoir pour un mandat de 5ans. Alors, le Président élu doit incorporer les éléments déictiques dans son discours pour pacifier et rassurer les citoyens. Dans cette partie, nous avons d'abord présenté les statistiques des éléments déictiques dans le discours avant de les analyser.

Tableau 1 : Classification des éléments déictiques dans le corpus

No	Phrase	Personne	Lieu	Temps	Sociale	Discours
1	<i>Je</i> veux <i>vous</i> dire merci, merci du <i>fond du cœur</i> .	Je, vous				
2	<i>Ma</i> gratitude va à tous ceux d'entre <i>vous</i> qui m'ont apporté leur suffrage et leur soutien.	Ma, vous, m'(e)				
3	<i>Je</i> ne vous oublierai pas.	Je, vous				
4.	<i>Je</i> mettrai tout <i>mon</i> soin et toute <i>mon</i> énergie à être digne de <i>votre</i> confiance.	Je, mon, mon, votre				
5	Mais <i>en cet instant</i> c'est à <i>vous</i> tous, <i>citoyens</i> de <i>notre</i> pays, que <i>je</i> veux m'adresser.	Je, vous, notre, m'(e)		<i>cet instant</i>	citoyens	
6	Bien des difficultés <i>nous</i> ont affaiblis depuis trop longtemps.	Nous				
7	<i>Je</i> n'en méconnais aucune, ni les difficultés économiques, ni les fractures sociales, ni les impasses diplomatiques, ni l'affaiblissement moral du pays.	Je				
8	<i>Je</i> veux <i>ce soir</i> adresser un salut républicain à <i>mon adversaire, madame Le Pen</i> .	Je, mon		Ce soir	Mon adversaire, Madame Le Pen	
9	<i>Je</i> sais les divisions de <i>notre</i> nation qui ont	Je, notre				

	conduit certains à des votes extrêmes.					
10	<i>Je</i> les respecte.	Je				
11	Je sais la colère, l'anxiété, les doutes qu'une grande partie d'entre <i>vous</i> ont aussi exprimés.	Je, vous				
12	Il est de <i>ma</i> responsabilité de les entendre, en protégeant les plus fragiles, en organisant mieux les solidarités, en luttant contre toutes les formes d'inégalité ou de discrimination, en assurant de manière implacable et continue votre sécurité.	Ma				
13	En garantissant l'unité de <i>la nation</i> .					
14	Car derrière chacun des mots que <i>je</i> viens de prononcer, <i>je</i> sais qu'il y a des visages, des femmes et des hommes, des enfants et des familles, des vies entières, il y a <i>vous</i> et les <i>vôtre</i> .	Je, je, vous, votre				
15	<i>Ce soir</i> c'est à vous tous que <i>jem'</i> adresse. <i>Vous</i> tous ensemble, <i>le peuple de France</i> .	Je, vous m'(e)		Ce soir	le peuple de France.	
16	<i>Nous</i> avons des devoirs envers <i>notre</i> pays.	Nous. Notre				
17	<i>Nous</i> sommes les héritiers d'une grande histoire et du grand message humaniste adressé au monde.	Nous				
18	<i>Nous</i> devons les transmettre d'abord à nos enfants, mais plus important encore, il faut les porter vers l'avenir et leur donner une sève nouvelle.	Nous, <i>nos</i>				
19	<i>Je</i> défendrai la France, ses intérêts vitaux, son image, son message, <i>j'en</i> prends	Je, j'(e), notre, vous				

	l'engagement devant vous, je défendrai l'Europe, la communauté de destins que se sont donnée les peuples de <i>notre</i> continent.					
20	C'est <i>notre</i> civilisation qui est en jeu, <i>notre</i> manière de vivre, d'être libre, de porter <i>nos</i> valeurs, <i>nos</i> entreprises communes et <i>nos</i> espoirs.	Notre, notre, nos, nos. Nos				
21	J'œuvrerai à retisser le lien entre l'Europe et <i>les peuples</i> qui la forment, entre l'Europe et <i>les citoyens</i> .	J'(e)			les peuples, les citoyens	
22	J'adresse en <i>votre</i> nom aux Nations du monde le salut de la France fraternelle.	J'(e), votre				
23	<i>Je</i> dis à leurs dirigeants que la France sera présente et attentive à la paix, à l'équilibre des puissances, à la coopération internationale, aux respects des engagements pris en matière de développement et de lutte contre le réchauffement climatique.	Je				
24	<i>Je</i> dis à tous que la France sera au premier rang de la lutte contre le terrorisme sur son sol ; aussi bien que dans l'action internationale.	Je				
25	Aussi longtemps que ce combat devra être mené, <i>nous</i> le mènerons sans faiblir.	Nous				
26	<i>Mes chers concitoyens</i> , une nouvelle page de <i>notre</i> histoire s'ouvre <i>ce soir</i> .	Notre		ce soir	Mes chers concitoyens	
27	<i>Je</i> veux que ce soit celle de l'espoir et de la confiance retrouvée.	Je				Celle
28	Le renouvellement de <i>notre</i> vie publique s'imposera à	Notre		Demain		

	tous dès <i>demain</i> .					
29	La moralisation de notre vie publique, la reconnaissance du pluralisme, la vitalité démocratique seront dès le premier jour le socle de <i>notre</i> action.	Notre, notre		Le premier jour		
30	<i>Je</i> ne <i>me</i> laisserai arrêter par aucun obstacle.	Je, me				
31	J'agirai avec détermination et dans le respect de chacun.	J'(e)				
32	Car par le travail, l'école, la culture, <i>nous</i> construirons un avenir meilleur.	Nous				
33	<i>Françaises, français, mes chers concitoyens, je</i> veux ce soir saluer <i>le président Hollande</i> .	Je		Ce soir,	Françaises, français, mes chers concitoyens, <i>le président Hollande</i>	
34	<i>Il</i> a pendant <i>cinq ans</i> œuvré pour <i>notre</i> pays.	Notre		cinq ans		
35	Durant les <i>cinq années</i> qui s'ouvrent, <i>ma</i> responsabilité sera d'apaiser les peurs, de nous faire renouer avec l'optimisme, de retrouver l'esprit de conquête qui dit mieux que tout le génie français.	Nous, ma		<i>cinq années</i>		
36	<i>Ma</i> responsabilité sera de rassembler toutes les femmes et tous les hommes prêts à affronter les défis gigantesques qui <i>nous</i> attendent et à agir.	Ma, Nous				
37	<i>Certains</i> de ces défis sont des chances, comme la révolution numérique, la					Certains

	transition énergétique, le redémarrage de l'Europe d'autres des menaces comme le terrorisme.					
38	<i>Je</i> me battrai de toutes les forces contre la division qui <i>nous</i> mine et <i>nous</i> abat.	Je, me, nous, nous				
39	C'est ainsi que <i>nous</i> pourrons rendre au peuple français à chacune et chacun d'entre <i>vous</i> , dans sa vie professionnelle, personnelle et familiale, les chances que la France lui doit.	Nous, vous			peuple français	
40	Aimons la France.					
41	A compter de <i>ce soir</i> et pour les <i>cinq années</i> qui viennent, <i>je</i> vais avec humilité, avec dévouement, avec détermination, la servir en <i>votre nom</i> .	Je, votre		Ce soir, les cinq années,		
42	Vive la République, vive la France.				La république, la France	
	Total	75	0	11	13	2
	Pourcentage	74,3%	0%	10,9%	12,9%	1,9%

Tableau 2 : Résumé quantitative des éléments déictiques dans le discours de victoire d'Emmanuel Macron

La deixis	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Personne	75	74,3%
Lieu	0	0%
Temps	11	10,9%
Sociale	13	12,9%
Discours	2	1,9%
Total	100	100%

Discussion

Le tableau ci-dessus montre la distribution de fréquence des différents types des éléments déictiques employés par Macron Emmanuel dans son

discours de victoire présidentiel. Selon les résultats obtenus, on peut voir que ce discours n'est pas tout-à-fait long, mais il contient beaucoup d'éléments déictiques sauf la phrase 41. Toutes les

autres phrases ont au moins, un élément déictique. En total, il y a cent-un éléments déictiques, les déictiques de personne ont apparus soixante-quinze fois, représentant 74,3%, les déictiques de lieu n'ont pas figurés, les déictiques spatiales sont 11, représentant 10,9%, les déictiques sociales sont 13, représentant 12,9% et les déictiques discursives sont 2, représentant 1,9%.

Il ressort des résultats que les deixis de personne sont les plus utilisées dans le discours de victoire présidentielle d'Emmanuel Macron. On dirait qu'il les a choisies consciemment dans la mesure de créer une relation personnelle avec les français. Ceci est évident dans le niveau de rapport et d'interaction maintenu par l'emploi de ces éléments déictiques de personne. Voyant ces exemples :

- a. Je sais les divisions de notre nation
- b. Je veux vous dire merci, merci du fond de cœur.

Comme dans presque toutes les phrases, le pronom 'je' occupe la place du sujet et il est suivi par les autres éléments déictiques. 'Notre' et 'vous', dans les deux exemples ci-dessus, sont liés au sujet 'je' pour établir un rapprochement et une relation cordiale entre le locuteur 'Emmanuel Macron' et son audience immédiate 'les français'.

Une autre implication pour laquelle le nouveau chef d'État français se sert des éléments déictiques de personne est pour créer un sens d'appartenance, d'unité et l'impression qu'il ressent les douleurs de français et qu'ils sont ensemble dans la lutte contre le terrorisme, le chômage, le réchauffement climatique et toutes

autres difficultés auxquelles le pays est confrontées « je n'en méconnaiss aucune, ni les difficultés économiques, ni les fractures sociales, phrase 7 ». Ces exemples ci-dessus expliquent mieux cet appel à l'unité de Macron :

- a. Bien des difficultés nous ont affaiblis depuis trop longtemps
- b. Nous avons des devoirs envers notre pays.
- c. Nous sommes les héritiers d'une grande histoire et du grand message humaniste adressé au monde.

Le pronom personnel 'Nous' et son variant le pronom possessif 'notre' utilisés dans ces phrases réfèrent au président élu et tous les citoyens français. Ces éléments sont employés pour solliciter la coopération de tous. Le président, Macron les invite donc à préserver et à transmettre la paix, l'unité et le développement du pays à leurs enfants « phrase 18 ». Ces deux pronoms ont été également utilisés par Macron pour sensibiliser les français de leur rôle dans cette lutte immanente :

- a. C'est notre civilisation qui est en jeu, notre manière de vivre, d'être libre, de porter nos valeurs, nos entreprises communes et nos espoirs.

Le résultat de l'analyse démontre que le pronom personnel de la première personne « je » et les pronoms possessifs 'mon/ma' sont très visible dans ce discours. Cette technique était adoptée pour remercier et faire des promesses aux français. Elle dénote aussi l'enthousiasme de Macron à travailler pour le pays. Voyant ces/les exemples suivants :

- a. Je vous dis merci, merci au fond de cœur. « phrase 1, remerciement ».
- b. Ma gratitude va à tous ceux d'entre vous qui m'ont apporté leur suffrage et leur soutien. « phrase 2, remerciement ».
- c. Je ne vous oublierai pas « phrase 3, reconnaissance ».
- d. Je mettrai tout mon soin et toute mon énergie à être digne de votre confiance « phrase 3, promesse ».
- e. Je veux ce soir adresser un salut républicain à mon adversaire, madame le Pen « phrase 8, reconnaissance ».
- f. Je défendrai la France, ses intérêts vitaux, son image... j'en prends l'engagement devant vous, Je défendrai l'Europe « phrase 18, promesse »
- g. Je dis à tous que la France sera au premier rang de la lutte contre le terrorisme « phrase 24, promesse ».
- h. Je ne me laisserai arrêter par aucun obstacle « phrase 30, détermination »
- i. J'agirai avec détermination et dans le respect de chacun « phrase 31, vaillance et détermination ».
- j. Ma responsabilité sera de rassembler toutes les femmes et tous les hommes prêts à affronter les défis gigantesques qui nous attendent et à agir « phrase 36, responsabilité ».
- k. Je vais avec humilité, avec détermination, la servir en votre nom (phrase 41, promesse/humilité)

- l. Je me battrai de toutes les forces contre la division qui nous mine et nous abat « phrase 42, détermination ».

Dans ce discours de victoire présidentielle de Macron que nous avons analysé, il n'y a pas des déictiques spatiaux. Pour les déictiques temporels, il y'en a 11, représentant 10,9% de résultat. D'abord, Monsieur le Président Emmanuel Macron emploie les déictiques temporels pour remercier les citoyens français pour leur suffrage et puis pour les inviter à participer activement tout au long de son mandat. Analysons ces exemples:

- a. Mais, en cet instant, c'est à vous tous, citoyens de notre pays que je veux m'adresser « phrase 5 ».
- b. Je veux ce soir adresser un salut républicain à mon adversaire, Madame le Pen « phrase 8 ».
- c. Mes chers concitoyens, une nouvelle page de notre histoire s'ouvre ce soir « phrase 26 ».
- d. Le renouvellement de notre vie politique s'imposera à tous dès demain « phrase 28 ».

« En cet instant » et « ce soir » dans les exemples a et b réfèrent au présent, la situation actuelle de la France tandis que « ce soir » et « demain » dans les exemples c et d parlaient du futur, et étaient à la fois un appel à l'aide envers les français, pour élucider leur support de la même manière qu'ils l'ont donné à son prédécesseur, François Hollande. Il n'a pas oublié à leur promettre son engagement total pour le bien de la République :

- a. Françaises, français, mes chers concitoyens, je veux ce soir

saluer le Président Hollande « phrase 33 ».

- b. Il a pendant cinq ans œuvré pour notre pays « phrase 34 »
- c. Durant les cinq années qui s'ouvrent, ma responsabilité sera d'apaiser les peurs, de nous faire renouer avec l'optimisme de retrouver l'esprit de conquête « phrase 35 »
- d. A compter de ce soir et pour les cinq années qui viennent, je vais avec humilité, avec dévouement, avec détermination, la servir en votre nom « phrase 41 ».

Dans les exemples ci-dessus, « ce soir » parle du présent et « les cinq années » réfère à la période de son mandat. Donc, Emmanuel Macron a utilisé les déictiques temporels pour lier le présent et le futur.

L'analyse montre aussi qu'Emmanuel Macron a employé les déictiques sociaux pour démontrer le respect, l'honneur et le rapprochement. Ceci est évident dans ses expressions et choix de mots comme citoyens de notre pays « phrase 5 », le peuple de France « phrase 15 » mes chers concitoyens « phrase 26 », françaises et français, mes chers concitoyens « phrase 33 ». Emmanuel Macron a donc réussi à séduire le cœur des dépités de sa nouvelle position.

Enfin, les déictiques de discours sont aussi présents malgré qu'ils soient

minimaux. Les déictiques de discours « celle » a été utilisé quand Macron parle de son mandat « phrase 26 ». On note aussi l'emploi de « certains » quand le Président énumérait les défis qui affrontent la France. Ces éléments déictiques ont été employés pour synchroniser son discours, tout en affirmant, s'identifiant et cherchant la coopération des français.

Conclusion

Cette étude a analysé l'emploi des éléments déictiques dans le discours de victoire présidentielle de Macron Emmanuel, le Président actuel de la France. Les résultats montrent que la déixis de personne est la plus utilisée dans ce discours parce que Macron veut créer une relation personnelle avec les français. Aussi, c'est vu que ces déictiques personnels ont été utilisés pour faire des promesses aux français en particulier et à l'Europe en général, pour remercier les citoyens et pour démontrer sa détermination à combattre face à tous les défis et challenges qui minent le pays. Nonobstant, voyant que cette recherche s'est ancrée sur l'analyse des éléments déictiques, et qu'on a adopté l'approche stylistique, nous suggérons qu'une autre recherche soit entamée sur le même discours en adoptant l'approche pragmatique.

Œuvres citées

Antohti, L. (2010). Stylistique française. Paris : Cahul Press. -(2010).Les buts et les moyens pour une analyse stylistique. Analele științifice a le universitatii de stat vu.vi. 46-56.

Allott, N. (2010). Key terms in Pragmatics. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Ayeomoni, M. O. et Akinkuolere S. A. (2012). A pragmatic analysis of victory and inaugural speeches of

- president Umaru Musa Yar'rauda. Theory and practice in language studies. 2 (3), 461-468. Finland: Finland Academy Publishers.
- Bally, C. (2011). *Traité de stylistique française*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press.
- Charaudeau, P. et Maingueneau, D. (2002). *Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours politiques*. Paris : Edition de Seuil.
- Dubois, J. Giacomo M., Guespin, L., Marcellesi C., Marcellesi J.(2012) *Le dictionnaire de linguistique et des sciences du langage*. Paris : Larousse Edition.
- Benveniste, E. (1971). *Problems in general linguistics*. Florida: University of Miami Press.
- Eromosele, J. A. (2012). A pragma-stylistic analysis of President Goodluck Ebere Jonathan's inaugural speech » in *English language teaching*. 5 (11). Canada: Canadian center of science and technology.
- Fillmore, C. (1997). *Lectures on Deixis*. Stanford: CLSI Publications.
- Halliday, M. A. (1961). Categories of the theory of grammar. *Word* (17) 3, 241-292.
- (1985) *An introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Huang, Y. (2007). *Context, deixis, pragmatics*. Oxford, New York : Oxford University Press.
- Jinyu G. (2008). *Analyse pragmatique du discours politique de Sarkozy*. Mémoire de maîtrise présenté au département de français. Université des études internationale de Shanghia.
- Kjølvik A. K. (2013). Une analyse du discours des chefs d'état français et norvégien a la suite d'un attentat dans leur pays. Mémoire de maîtrise présenté à l'Institut des langues étrangères. Universitas Bergenis.
- Kragh, K. et Kindschouw, W. (2013), *Déixis and Pronouns in romance languages*. Amsterdam Philadelphia : John Benjamin's publishing company.
- Le Bart, C. (2003). L'analyse du discours politique : de la théorie des champs à la sociologie de la grandeur » dans *Mots, les langages au politique*. ENS Edition. Version électronique. 97-109.
- Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Lefigaore/fr/elections/presidentielles2017/05/07
- Le journal le monde. Edition du 07.05.2017. Mobile.le.monde.fr/election-presidentielle
- Le magazine le nouvel observateur. 7 scandales qui accablent François Fillon décryptés. www.m.nouvellobs.com/presidentielles.2017/7scandales-qui
- Maillard, M. (1992). *Deixis et système verbal : comparaison entre le français et le turc*. T.E.R de Maîtrise. Université Stendhal Grenoble III.
- Mustonen, J. (2014). Une étude contrastive de la deixis sociale dans 'ensemble, c'est tout' d'Anna Gavalda. Mémoire de maîtrise. Université de Tampere.

About the Author

Utah Nduka David holds a PhD in French Language and Linguistics from the Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria. He is a lecturer in the Department of French, Imo State University, Owerri. His research interests are Discourse Analysis, Second Language Acquisition and Morpho-Syntax.

Email: Utah2011@gmail.com.

Annexe

Le discours d'inaugural du président français, d'Emmanuel Macron.

«Je veux vous dire merci, merci du fond du cœur. Ma gratitude va à tous ceux d'entre vous qui m'ont apporté leur suffrage et leur soutien. Je ne vous oublierai pas. Je mettrai tout mon soin et toute mon énergie à être digne de votre confiance. Mais en cet instant c'est à vous tous, citoyens de notre pays, que je veux m'adresser.

Bien des difficultés nous ont affaiblis depuis trop longtemps. Je n'en méconnais aucune, ni les difficultés économiques, ni les fractures sociales, ni les impasses diplomatiques, ni l'affaiblissement moral du pays. Je veux ce soir adresser un salut républicain à mon adversaire, madame Le Pen. Je sais les divisions de notre nation qui ont conduit certains à des votes extrêmes. Je les respecte.

Je sais la colère, l'anxiété, les doutes qu'une grande partie d'entre vous ont aussi exprimés. Il est de ma responsabilité de les entendre, en protégeant les plus fragiles, en organisant mieux les solidarités, en luttant contre toutes les formes d'inégalité ou de discrimination, en assurant de manière implacable et continue votre sécurité.

En garantissant l'unité de la nation. Car derrière chacun des mots que je viens de prononcer, je sais qu'il y a des visages, des femmes et des hommes, des enfants et des familles, des vies entières, il y a vous et les vôtres. Ce soir c'est à vous

tous que je m'adresse. Vous tous ensemble, le peuple de France.

Nous avons des devoirs envers notre pays. Nous sommes les héritiers d'une grande histoire et du grand message humaniste adressé au monde. Nous devons les transmettre d'abord à nos enfants, mais plus important encore, il faut les porter vers l'avenir et leur donner une sève nouvelle.

Je défendrai la France, ses intérêts vitaux, son image, son message, j'en prends l'engagement devant vous, je défendrai l'Europe, la communauté de destins que se sont donnée les peuples de notre continent. C'est notre civilisation qui est en jeu, notre manière de vivre, d'être libre, de porter nos valeurs, nos entreprises communes et nos espoirs.

Aimons la France

J'œuvrerai à retisser le lien entre l'Europe et les peuples qui la forment, entre l'Europe et les citoyens. J'adresse en votre nom aux Nations du monde le salut de la France fraternelle. Je dis à leurs dirigeants que la France sera présente et attentive à la paix, à l'équilibre des puissances, à la coopération internationale, aux respects des engagements pris en matière de développement et de lutte contre le réchauffement climatique.

Je dis à tous que la France sera au premier rang de la lutte contre le terrorisme sur son sol ; aussi bien que dans l'action internationale. Aussi

longtemps que ce combat devra être mené, nous le mènerons sans faiblir. Mes chers concitoyens, une nouvelle page de notre histoire s'ouvre ce soir. Je veux que ce soit celle de l'espoir et de la confiance retrouvée. Le renouvellement de notre vie publique s'imposera à tous dès demain. La moralisation de notre vie publique, la reconnaissance du pluralisme, la vitalité démocratique seront dès le premier jour le socle de notre action. Je ne me laisserai arrêter par aucun obstacle. J'agirai avec détermination et dans le respect de chacun. Car par le travail, l'école, la culture, nous construirons un avenir meilleur.

Françaises, français, mes chers concitoyens, je veux ce soir saluer le président Hollande. Il a pendant cinq ans œuvré pour notre pays. Durant les cinq années qui s'ouvrent, ma responsabilité sera d'apaiser les peurs, de nous faire renouer avec l'optimisme,

de retrouver l'esprit de conquête qui dit mieux que tout le génie français.

Ma responsabilité sera de rassembler toutes les femmes et tous les hommes prêts à affronter les défis gigantesques qui nous attendent et à agir. Certains de ces défis sont des chances, comme la révolution numérique, la transition énergétique, le redémarrage de l'Europe d'autres des menaces comme le terrorisme.

Je me battrais de toutes les forces contre la division qui nous mine et nous abat. C'est ainsi que nous pourrions rendre au peuple français à chacune et chacun d'entre vous, dans sa vie professionnelle, personnelle et familiale, les chances que la France lui doit. Aimons la France. A compter de ce soir et pour les cinq années qui viennent, je vais avec humilité, avec dévouement, avec détermination, la servir en votre nom. Vivre la République, vivre la France.»

David N. Utah

Department of French

Imo State University, Owerri, Nigeria

E-mail : utah2011@gmail.com



Multilingualism and the New Language Policy in South Africa: Innovation and Challenges

Amaka E. Ideh & John O. Onu

Department of Linguistics Studies,
University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria

Abstract South Africa moved from two official languages - English and Afrikaans during apartheid to eleven official languages in the new democratic government. The new language policy also recognises South African Sign Language and encourages its development. This paper examines the apartheid and democratic language policies, their practicality and challenges with particular focus on political administration, education and the media, as they are important institutions in language policy implementation. The paper argues that there is still marginalisation of indigenous black South African languages even with new language policy.

Keywords: Language policy; apartheid; language attitude; bilingualism; language use.

Introduction

South Africa is a multilingual country like most countries of the world with four major groups (black Africans, Whites, Coloured and Indian/Asians), each struggling for their culture and

language to be recognised. The population of South Africa according to the mid-year population estimates is 54.9 million (Statistics South Africa, 2015), with approximately 24 different home languages which belong to four

different language groups: the Khoe and San languages, the African/Bantu languages, the Germanic languages and the Indic languages (Du Plessis, 2000:97). Nine of the South African indigenous languages were raised to the status of official languages including English and Afrikaans (the only two languages which have been enjoying official recognition) in 1994, “on the ground that their usage includes about 98% of the total population” (Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 2003:6). According to Kloss (1978:9), the relationship between English and Afrikaans is very delicate and is based on balance of powers. However, while English is more powerful as a second language than Afrikaans, the latter is more deeply rooted as a first language in South Africa.

The issue of language policies in South Africa, that is, the character of the official language and the place of language in education policies, have been politically motivated, which has been a common trend in most other African countries. For example, countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya use the language of their colonisers (English) as official language as well as the medium of instruction (MoI). The same applies to countries like Cameroon, Congo Democratic Republic and Benin using French. Although, each of these countries has recognition of one or more indigenous languages, the status given to the said indigenous languages and the practicality of their usage are not to be compared with that of their foreign counterpart.

During apartheid in South Africa, English and Afrikaans were accorded official status. However, the official recognition of Afrikaans was not in any way attributed to its position in the international market like English, neither was it based on the number of its speakers (about 3.5%) in South Africa. The recognition of Afrikaans also has never been based on its acceptability by the majority of South Africans; rather, the officialisation occurred only after Afrikaans-dominant parties managed to obtain prominence in the Parliament. The Afrikaners, although minority (in terms of number of the speakers) dominated the political and economic landscape of the country from 1960s and their language was later imposed on other constituent groups who were considered and treated as inferiors, together with their cultures and languages. Undoubtedly, the previous status given to South African indigenous languages shows the superior versus the inferior during colonial and apartheid administrations. The inequality shown in the languages is demonstrated by the fact that Black people are usually expected to communicate with White, Indian/Asian or Coloured people in English or Afrikaans (Mda, 2004:183-4).

Previous Studies

Many studies have been conducted on different aspects of South African languages. Some of these studies have concentrated on the mother tongue and second language policies (Kloss, 1978); language of instruction in Black South African schools (Hartshorne, 1986); the position of English in South African schools (Meerkotter, 1986); bilingual

and trilingual language policies (Schuring, 1993); comparison of new language policy with old language practices (Kamwangamalu, 2000); language rights (Perry, 2004) and indigenous languages and the media in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2006) among others. Other researchers (such as Du Plessis, 2000) have examined the multilingual profile as well as the issue of language in different constitutions of South Africa, while Phaswana (2003) has assessed the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government. A critique of language planning during South Africa's first decade of democracy has been done by Kamwendo (2006). However, this study tends to explore language policy and its practice in South Africa, before and during apartheid, as well as after apartheid. The study examines the innovation and restructuring in administration, education and media. Under education, the paper focuses on language as MoI and as a "subject". Under the language of media, the paper examines restructuring in language of television, radio and newspapers. The study also highlights the challenges facing the implementation of the new language policy as stipulated in the South African's constitution and suggests the way forward.

Language Policy before Apartheid

Language policy in South Africa has been characterised by portraying and protecting the interests of the people in power; this power has been shifting from the Dutch to the British. The issue of dominance of one language over the other in South Africa started with the

coming of the Dutch who were not interested in learning the indigenous languages. Rather, they wanted the indigenes to learn their language, while they used interpreters for any inter-communication. Gradually, the indigenes started learning Dutch or what Phaswana (2003:117) calls "Cape Patois" or "kitchen Dutch" as they started working for them (the Dutch). However, when the British came, they overpowered and took over from the Dutch and had interest in direct communication with the indigenous population contrary to the Dutch practice. The interest of the British in learning the African languages led to the production of books in the African languages such as Sesotho and Setswana, and the teaching of Blacks through their languages, though mainly for evangelical purposes.

The first official language in South Africa was introduced in 1822 when English was proclaimed the only official language of the Cape Colony, with the introduction and implementation of the British Policy of Anglicisation, which was directed at White Afrikaans-speaking community throughout the territory that became the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Alexander, 2003:8). English was used to maintain political and economic domination over Dutch and the indigenous population of South Africa, which evoked the negative attitude of Afrikaners (who were British rivals), to English (Phaswana, 2003:118). According to Jones (1966:13), "Boers disapproved when the British declared that English should be used as the only official language - a decision which continues to affect the

thinking of many Dutch-descents (Afrikaners) of South Africa to date”. The negative attitude of Afrikaners towards English also reflects in their more continuous attachment to their language and their preference to use Afrikaans in all areas of their lives. This can be seen in the preference of most Afrikaners in sending their children to Afrikaans medium schools, often from pre-primary school to university. The attitude of Afrikaners towards English has led Afrikaners to struggle in guarding and retaining Afrikaans as an official language and developing it to be used in all contexts.

As early as 1882, English and Dutch were recognised as official languages of the Cape Parliament. Conversely, after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, which was won by the British, the status of Dutch changed to non-official language (KhaJawan, 2002; Blajberg, 1993). But in 1910, the Act of Union of South Africa was signed by the Dutch and British, and this led to a change in the constitution. The new constitution once again accorded Dutch and English the same status of official languages (Brown, 1992:74). Fifteen years later, there was an amendment of Article 137 of the constitution, which made Dutch, including Afrikaans, an official language of the Republic of South Africa. This constitutional amendment indirectly replaced Dutch with Afrikaans. The reason for replacing Dutch with Afrikaans according to Brown (1992:74) was because Dutch was no longer the language of the majority as it used to be; instead, the Boers used the creolised form (i.e. Afrikaans). The official recognition of

Afrikaans in 1925 led to the gradual disappearance of Dutch as an official language of South Africa. However, Dutch remained on paper till 1983, when it was finally deleted (Van Rensburg & Jordan, 1995:119). During this period, indigenous languages were accorded an official status only at the regional level, or in the so-called “Bantustans” (Du Plessis, 2000:109). One of the policies of missionary education during the 19th century was that English was the language of teaching and learning as well as a school subject, which continued by government-aided African education following the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Setati, 2002:6).

Apartheid Language Policy

The year 1948 was a turning point for Afrikaans; it was the year when the Afrikaner’s National Party came into power. The year marked the birth of the superior versus the inferior, the recognised versus the marginalised and division/separation in all areas of the South Africa society, which lasted for 45 years (1948-1993). During this apartheid period, only two languages (Afrikaans and English) were recognised as the official languages of the central, provincial and local governments of South Africa, as well as the languages of administration. These two languages were also used for teaching and learning in schools and were the dominant languages of the media. Because the Afrikaners controlled political and economic power of the South African state, Afrikaans was developed in all forms in this era with the full support of the government to compete with English and possibly

dominate it and all indigenous South African languages.

The decisions on language policies for education in South Africa had to do with issues of political dominance, the protection of power structure, the preservation of privileges and the distribution of economic resources (Hartshorne, 1986:83). The change from Union of South Africa to apartheid led to separate education facilities and also the introduction of separate language policies for Whites, Black Africans, Coloured people and Indians from primary school up to the university. Here, the Provinces controlled education of the Whites, which was provided in Afrikaans and English. The education of Black Africans was administered by the Department of Bantu Education, which served as an agency of the central government. This Department insured the provision of three languages, namely Afrikaans, English and an African language of the area in Black schools. However, the education of Indians and Coloured was administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Coloured Person's Representative Council, respectively; but the language used in the educational system of Coloured and Indians differed. While Afrikaans was used in the education of the Coloured, English was used in Indian schools (Kloss, 1978:14-15). The separate education facilities helped the government to enforce the apartheid laws and language policies.

In 1949, the apartheid government appointed a commission: "The Native Education Commission" headed by Dr. Eiselen to look into the organisation and administration of various branches of

the Native Education Department. The Commission visited about 150 Bantu educational institutions and came up with recommendations on language in education in Black schools. The recommendations were:

- i. All education except in the case of foreign language should be through the medium of the mother tongue for the first four school years, and be progressively extended year by year to all eight years of primary school.
- ii. The first official language which is most generally used in the neighbourhood of the school should be introduced in the second year of schooling as a subject, and the second official language by the fourth year.
- iii. Mother tongue medium should be used in teacher training colleges for the teaching of child psychology and the general principle of school organisation. However, the teaching of the two official languages should be compulsory for the teacher trainees and the ability of teachers in teaching them should be indicated in their certificates.
- iv. One of the official languages should be a compulsory subject in the secondary school, which should have the same requirement for the second language for White learners. But if the second official language is taken as an optional subject, it should have the same status as the third language in European schools (Hartshorne, 1953:46).

However, these recommendations made by the Eiselen commission were not followed largely because of the apartheid government's concern to protect and expand the influence of Afrikaans in the educational system. If these recommendations were adopted, Afrikaans would be regarded as the second official language by teachers and communities and would therefore only be introduced in the fourth year of schooling since Black learners preferred English to Afrikaans. Also, if the report was followed, English would be the subject taken by learners while Afrikaans would be taken as third language. Following these fears, English and Afrikaans were made compulsory subjects in secondary schools which were used as MoI when the transfer from mother-tongue instruction took place in the first year of the secondary school (Hartshorne, 1986:91). But ignoring the recommendations led to poor teaching and learning because of the lack of mastery of the languages of instruction and also the resentment the Black learners have towards Afrikaans. The negative attitude of Black learners towards Afrikaans resulted in the resistance to the imposition of Afrikaans on Black learners, their teachers and parents; which led to the Soweto uprising and massacre of 1976.

The enforcement of equal use of Afrikaans and English during apartheid was based on Section 108 of South Africa constitution of 1961, which guaranteed equal status of English and Afrikaans as official languages. Besides, the Constitution Amendment Act of 1963 also gave the State President the power to institute one or more Bantu

languages as additional official languages in Black homelands (Kloss, 1978:15). The use of English and Afrikaans at all levels of education relegated indigenous languages to the periphery. Although the strategy of mother-tongue education was applied vigorously during apartheid era, it was never meant to favour or uplift Black learners; instead, it was geared towards fostering division among the people. It sought to under-develop the Africans and limit their upward mobility, particularly Black African communities by facilitating more effective control through promoting an ethnic consciousness in place of African nationalism as well as limiting their social mobility and access to higher education (Hartshorne, 1992:188; Education Report, 1994:5). Although English and Afrikaans were compulsory for Black learners from their first year of school till they completed, African languages were not seen as being worth studying at the same level by the White learners. White learners took the African languages as optional subjects from standard 5, in 1978. However, it became compulsory subjects in standard 6 and 7 in 1985.

It is important to mention at this juncture that before apartheid, many schools were owned by the English-speaking missionaries who were engaged in the education of the natives. These missionaries had a strong British policy of language imperialism which involved teaching learners through the medium of English. But after the Union of South Africa, the Black learners' mother tongue was their language of instruction in grades 1 to grade 4, while

English was used as MoI in upper primary. From grades 9 to 12, English and Afrikaans were used equally as MoI in schools. Large sections of the White population were made bilingual by creating dual-medium schools (henceforth, DMS) with the use of Afrikaans and English as MoI. During the era of apartheid, mother tongue instruction was extended to grade 8, while English and Afrikaans were taught in grades 1 to 8 as subjects. Conversely, DMS were gradually replaced by monolingual schools, where the second official language was being taught only as a subject. For example, in Afrikaans-medium schools, English was taught as a subject from Grade 1 in English-medium schools, while Afrikaans was taught as a subject. But in German-medium schools, English and Afrikaans were introduced in Grade 2 and 5, respectively, and there was no mention of African languages. In Black schools, Afrikaans and English were used equally in addition to an African language spoken in that area. This was in accordance with Section 89(3) of the Republic of South Africa's constitution, which stipulated that in the homelands, one or more African languages may have official status in addition to Afrikaans and English. African languages were seriously marginalised during colonisation and apartheid; language and the policies were instruments of imperial domination. Nevertheless, there was a clear increase in the number of publications in African languages during apartheid, as the mother tongue policy was enforced. This was probably one of the best things

that happened to African languages during apartheid.

Nonetheless, the right of learners to choose the language of instruction was not free as it was incorporated in "The Education and Training Act" (1991), which decreed that parents had a joint say in the choice of the MoI for their children. The choice is between English and Afrikaans, and in the case of Black learners, the choice included an African language. This medium was from the first grade in school and it was contrary to the former decree which stipulated that the language a child knows best be used as the MoI till the fourth year when the parents could then choose the language of instruction for their child. What this meant is that, the parents could choose Afrikaans, English or an African language as the MoI. Despite this decree, the general choice of Black learner's parents was an African language from the first grade of school to the fourth grade and then English. In cases where a language was used as a subject, an African language, English and Afrikaans was a compulsory school subjects for Black learners until the ninth year of school and then two of these languages were compulsory. In practice, most of the pupils chose all the three languages until the last year of their school. In the schools for the Whites, they were also taught three languages as subjects, but unlike in Black schools, African languages were non-examinable subjects for them. According to Schuring (1993:240-241), the compulsory use and study of African languages was limited to the homelands, the Black schools and to one hour a week in non-black primary schools.

Indian language was an optional non-examinable subject in the schools for the Indians, while in German schools, German was a MoI, and a compulsory subject in addition to Afrikaans and English (Schuring, 1993:240).

The preference of English among the Black learners was high compared to that of Afrikaans because of its association with apartheid and because English was viewed as a language of wider communication. The change from Union of South Africa to apartheid era led to changes in language policy. The policy which stipulated that secondary schools were not only to use English as a MoI but also Afrikaans for some subjects which resulted in its resentment by Black learners and Soweto uprising of 1976. After the Soweto protest, there were many appeals from different government bodies to set up a commission to investigate the state of education in South Africa (Hartshorne, 1992:149) including language in education. The review brought an end to the imposition of Afrikaans as MoI in Black schools (Perry, 2004:114). This preference of English to Afrikaans by non-Afrikaners was viewed as a threat to the position and status of Afrikaans. This is still a subsisting perception in today's South Africa. The Afrikaners see the preference of English not only as a threat to Afrikaans but also as a conscious effort to murder their language which is part of their identity; a language which they had developed to serve in all contexts. Most Black South Africans certainly would hold different views; some would be glad to see Afrikaans' decline or at worst, disappear because of its association with atrocities

of the apartheid era. According to Louw (2004: 47), the identity created with Afrikaans during apartheid is now under pressure as it has to come to terms with a loss of state patronage, and also face a degree of state hostility.

Although many people especially Blacks were completely opposed to apartheid, it was the period when mother tongue education was proposed for the first time for the Black learners and was used religiously. For example, The Bantu Education Act (1953) stipulated that Black learners were to receive their education in mother tongue in lower and higher primary grades with transition to English and Afrikaans thereafter. But the Act was meant to prevent Black learners from being functionally competent in English and Afrikaans (the languages of power and social class), and by so doing, they might as well restrict them from better job opportunities (Perry, 2004:110). With the coming of democracy in 1994, South Africa faced the responsibility of innovating, restructuring and putting into practice a multilingual policy which is enshrined in the nation's new constitution.

South African's New Language Policy

The end of apartheid marked the beginning of freedom and recognition of human rights in South Africa, including cultural, religious and linguistic freedom. The emergence of democratic government brought an end to the official imposition of Afrikaans on Black Africans and the end to marginalisation of African languages in all sectors. With the new policy, nine indigenous languages: isiNdebele, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Northern Sesotho,

Southern Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga were raised to the status of official languages, along with English and Afrikaans (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996; Section 6, chapter 1). The constitution further states that government must take practical measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the previously marginalised languages and that the national and provincial governments must use at least two official languages for the purposes of government taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned. Furthermore, the municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents in dealing with official matters. In addition, the constitution requires the national and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures to regulate and monitor the use of the official languages ensuring that they all enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

For the realisation of the objectives of language policies, the constitution provides the establishment of Pan South African Language Board (henceforth, PANSALB) by national legislation, which must promote and create conditions for the development and use of all the official languages, including the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and South African Sign Language. With regard to language policy, the constitution shows the mission and vision of South Africa's democratic government which is based on freedom

and equality for all. PANSALB was established as an independent statutory body to promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by different communities in South Africa, including all South African heritage languages and all other languages used for religious purposes. PANSALB was also to monitor the observance of the constitutional provisions and principles relating to the use of languages as well as the content and observance of any existing legislation, practice and policy dealing with language matters

With this innovation in the Constitution and particularly in the language policy, and the anticipated challenges in its practicality, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology established a Language Plan Task Group (hereafter, LANGTAG) in 1995, whose responsibility is to advise the ministry on language issues.

The aim of LANGTAG was to make sure that all South Africans have access to all the sphere of the South African society. This can be achieved by:

1. developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice;
2. giving access to learning of language(s) other than one's mother tongue;
3. elaborating and maintaining the African languages which have been marginalised by the linguistic policies of the past; and
4. establishing equitable language facilitation services, and its widespread.

In order for LANGTAG to fulfil these mandates, it set up different language interest committees, such as language equity, language development in South Africa, language as an economic resource, literacy, language in the public service, heritage language, Sign Language, language and augmentative and alternative communication, equitable and widespread language services, and language in education (Mda, 2004:180). These different language committees were to ensure freedom of language right of individual and groups/communities. Through the process of consultation, the department provides a framework for language policy (Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 2003).

The National Language Policy Framework stipulates that every effort must be made to utilise language facilitation facilities such as translation and interpreting where it is possible for the purposes of conducting meetings or performing any specific government tasks. But on the matter relating to official correspondence, the language of the citizen's choice must be used. In addition, all oral communications must take place in the preferred official language of the target audience. Government publications, however, must be in all the eleven official languages, but in the case where documents will not be made available in the eleven official languages, the departments must publish documents simultaneously in at least six languages. Among all the eleven official languages, only English is selected for international communication or the language of the country concerned (Department of Art

and Culture, Science and Technology, 1998:19). The importance of English in South Africa is affected by a wider set of circumstances such as modern day science and information technology, tourism, sports and the need to be an open society, which local politicians or language planners do not have control over. The privileging of English in international communication led Afrikaners to raise the status of Afrikaans during the apartheid era.

New Language in Education Policy (LiEP)

In the recognition of the culturally diverse character of South Africa, the Language in Education Policy (henceforth, LiEP) was established by the Department of Education (DoE) to promote multilingualism, develop official languages and to respect all languages spoken in South Africa, including South African Sign Language (SASL) and individual's language right and means of communication in the education sector. The inherited LiEP in South Africa has been characterised by tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. A number of these discriminatory policies have affected either the learners' access to education or their success within it (Department of Education, 1997). The objective of the new LiEP is to retain the learner's home language for teaching and learning and at the same time encourage them to acquire additional language(s) which is seen as the nation's resources that need to be harnessed. The new LiEP seeks to facilitate communication across different races, languages and regions,

while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own be encouraged by eradicating the racially and linguistically discriminatory LiEP of the past.

The new constitution gives everyone the right to receive education in the official language of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access and implementation of this language rights, the constitution commands the state to consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account equity, practicability and the need to redress the imbalance of past racially discriminatory laws and practices. However, the presence of escape clause in the constitution gives government and other bodies the excuse to avoid adopting and implementing the language policy or for not adhering to the constitutional provisions with regards to language in full (Kamwendo, 2006; Webb, n.d.).

In schools, the importance is attached to language in two aspects; language as MoI and language as a subject. For language(s) of learning and teaching in a public school, it must be official language(s) (Department of Education, 1997). What this means is that any of the eleven official languages can be chosen, as opposed to the apartheid language policy that made English and Afrikaans compulsory. On language as a subject, the policy states that all learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in grades 1 and 2. However, from grade 3 onwards,

learners are required to offer the language which is the MoI in their school and at least another official language as subjects, which is against the past policy where English and Afrikaans were compulsory subjects. In non-White schools, all language subjects receive equitable time and allocation in accordance with the new LiEP; this is a practice that is against the apartheid policy where African languages were dropped after Grade 4 except as an extra subject (Kloss, 1978:61). In addition, the following promotion requirements apply to language subjects:

- i. In Grade 1 to Grade 4, promotion is based on pass in one language and Mathematics.
- ii. From Grade 5 onwards, one language must be passed.
- iii. From Grade 10 to Grade 12, two languages must be passed (Department of Education, 1997).

The new LiEP also has a clause for the protection of individual's language right in education. The learner must choose the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school. But the parent exercises the minor learner's language right by choosing the MoI for the child till such a child comes of age. The school must admit the learner where the school uses the MoI chosen by the learner, and where there is a place available in the relevant grade. However, where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a MoI, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language.

The achievement of the new LiEP and the implementation of Section 6 of the constitution are entrusted to the PANSALB. The question remains whether indigenous African languages which have been raised to the status of official languages are (in practice) treated equally with Afrikaans and English in education sector according to the constitution. The response will emerge if one assesses the number of high schools and tertiary institutions where indigenous languages are used as MoI, or twenty years is not enough for restructuring and putting facilities in place for these languages to be used at the same level as their counterparts. The answer to this question will obviously be that the equality of the languages is far from being a reality. The dominance of English as MoI in secondary schools and universities is growing and expanding, followed by Afrikaans. At present in some South Africa universities, language continues to be the sole factor for discrimination and separation. For example, The Universities of Stellenbosch and The Free State are formerly Afrikaans universities. But with the dawn of democracy, the two institutions became more inclusive with the introduction of dual MoI. However, it is not clear that these institutions of higher learning are free from discrimination. The concern here is that discrimination and racism can be hidden under the umbrella of “dual medium of instruction”, where divisions, separation and marginalisation can still continue based on proficiency and choice of language. For instance, at the University of the Free State, there are separate classes for

Afrikaans and English. Also, one of the requirements for advertised jobs at The University of the Free State is being proficient in both English and Afrikaans.

In this regard, this study assessed the job vacancies advertised on the school website on 18th January, and on 20th June, 2011. Out of ten jobs advertised on 18th January, eight of them have language proficiency in Afrikaans and English as inherent requirements for the jobs, while two jobs advertised have proficiency in English. On 20th June 2011, seven jobs were advertised, five of which required being proficient in English and Afrikaans, and one job required proficiency in English; no language is specified in one job advert. All these advertised jobs were “support services” not “academic”. According to Bamgbose (2000), language requirement is an effective means of exclusion and unjustifiable, especially when language requirement is unrelated to job.

If all the official languages of South Africa are equal in the real sense of it, proficiency in any two official languages would be sufficient for job recruitment. As it functions, language is manipulated to separate and exclude people in the classroom, as well as for applying for some jobs. That lectures are not given in any indigenous language is a clear indication that all official languages recognised by the South African constitution are not equal in practice. These issues highlight the larger problem of implementation of language policies from paper to the social contexts. Much still needs to be done to achieve equality of all languages in the education sector, which seems

unrealistic for now. Although Afrikaans and English are still at the top, the official status of Afrikaans is changing and will obviously be reversed in the nearest future as many Black South Africans, particularly the young ones, have resistance to learning or speaking the language (Afrikaans) because of its role in the entrenchment of apartheid practice.

Language and Media in South Africa

The Media sphere is another area in South Africa that has tremendously gone through innovation and restructuring in recent years, especially in the area of language. The TV1 was directed at the minority, but economically-advanced White population (Nixon, Online). The Whites then was the power holders. The then South African government feared that the enormous potential of English language programmes at their disposal would overshadow and eventually crowd out their Afrikaans competitors if adequate care was not taken (Kloss, 1978:19). This led to all programmes being broadcast evenly between English and Afrikaans. However, in 1981, another channel (TV2) was introduced to broadcast in African languages. This second channel was known as TV2 or TV3 depending on the time of the day and the language coverage. The TV2 broadcast in Zulu and Xhosa, while TV3 broadcast in Sotho language group.

In 1996, the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (henceforth, SABC) restructured its two TV channels, so as to be more representative of the eleven official languages and to allocate more time to marginalised African languages. The new channels are SABC1, SABC2

and SABC3. The restructuring of the television channels resulted in Afrikaans having its airtime drastically reduced for other indigenous African official languages (Du Plessis, 2006:60). While none of these channels broadcast in all the eleven official languages, the majority of the programmes aired, especially in SABC1 and SABC2 are in indigenous languages and often subtitled in English. The target audience of SABC1 is Nguni language group which comprises of isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati, and isiNdebele, while the SABC2 targets Sotho language group; Setswana, Northern Sotho, Southern-Sotho, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. SABC2 also broadcast in Afrikaans and English. Nevertheless, SABC3 runs most of its programmes in English, with minimal airtime allocated to indigenous languages, which is often subtitled, and weekly Indian movies subtitled in English. The three local channels were restructured in such a way that they cover all the eleven official languages. For example, the same news content read in SABC2 and SABC3 in Afrikaans and English at 19h00 respectively is repeated on SABC1 in Nguni languages at 19h30 and then on SABC2 in Sotho languages at 20h30. Also, there is a 30 minutes programme (DTV) for the deaf community which is aired on SABC3 every Sunday by 11h30 to accommodate the deaf and their language (i.e. SASL). Although there is no time allocation to Khoisan, !Xu, Nama and Khwe in SABC, the only language in South African coats of arm is written in the Khoisa language “!ke e: /xarra //ke” (meaning diverse people unite).

The language of the radio is similar to that of the television in South Africa; English dominates. Radio stations in South Africa were also established by SABC in the only two former official languages, but also broadcast in African languages during apartheid; the time allocated to these African languages were very minimal. During the apartheid era, broadcasting in South Africa was totally in the hand of SABC which was controlled firmly by the state government. However, with the advent of democracy, 18 radio stations were established with quite a number of stations operating outside of the government authority. These 18 radio stations cover all the South African official languages. Six of the radio stations broadcast in English (i.e. 5FM Music, Good Hope FM, Metro FM, Radio 2000, SA FM and Lotus FM). One station broadcasts in Afrikaans (RSG), while the other nine stations broadcast in other nine indigenous South African official languages (i.e. isiZulu (Ukhozi FM), isiXhosa (Umhlobo Wenene FM), Tshivenda (Phalaphala FM), Setswana (Motswedding FM), isiNdebele (Ikwekwezi FM), Sesotho (Lesedi FM), Sepedi (Thobela FM), Xitsonga (Munghana Lonene FM) and siSwati (Ligwalagwala FM). One station broadcasts in English and isiXhosa (Tru fm), and the last one is in !Xu and Khwe (X-K FM).

There are many daily and weekly newspapers printed in South Africa in English, Afrikaans and African languages. This study assessed 65 print newspapers on their websites, 56 out of these are written in English, while nine

are in Afrikaans . The same also applies to 53 online newspapers assessed, two of these newspapers are in Zulu, one is in Chinese, six are in Afrikaans and the remaining 44 are in English. The study shows that English is the dominant language of the newspaper in South Africa. In addition, looking at the average daily/weekly readership, English seems to be the preferred and favoured language by the majority of South Africa populace. The same preference of English also holds for community newspapers where the average daily readership of English newspapers is greater than those of indigenous African languages. The study therefore concludes that the language of mass media (television, radio and print media) in South Africa is dominated by English followed by Afrikaans. This shows that although, nine indigenous African languages have been raised to the status of official languages constitutionally and to be used equally with English and Afrikaans, this equality is yet to reflect in South African media.

Challenges and the Way Forward

The first challenge facing innovation and restructuring of language and LiEP in South Africa is proper monitoring and the observance of constitutional provisions. Although the actions of the South African government and language planners in particular are commendable, the development, acceptance, and the equal use of official indigenous languages are yet to be implemented. This should be addressed as a matter of urgency, especially in schools where the country is training the future leaders.

The gap between the constitutional and legislative positions and the actual practices in schools in the country remains very wide and often appears to be widening. There is need for the committees in charge of LiEP to have a routine check on all the schools' language policy, both as MoI and as subjects as well as the time allocated to each language. The assessment needs to extend to equal allocation of time and resources to each of the official languages as stipulated in 1997 LiEP. For example, one of the ways to make this happen is for PANSALB to commend schools that adhere to the policies, and take action against those that violate the language policy stipulations and provisions.

Lack of available teaching materials in nine previously marginalised indigenous official languages is another area of concern to the development and use of these languages especially in education. African languages were marginalised and accorded a very low status during the apartheid era when they were used only in primary schools, irrespective of the number that speak each of the languages. The situation led to scarcity of written materials especially for institution of higher learning, while there were enough materials in English and Afrikaans for learners in all levels of education. Currently, despite the effort of government in establishing PANSALB, LANGTAG and LiEP to redress the imbalance of the past government especially in the area of developing and promoting African languages, the status of African languages has not satisfactorily improved, especially in post-primary

schools. For example, some universities (such as the University of the Free State and Stellenbosch) which previously have Afrikaans as their MoI have not created an avenue for incorporating the Provinces' dominant languages into the institutions as MoI. It is important for the SA government to address this and all similar issues of institutional resistance to comply with constitutional provisions and policies on the advancement of African languages.

Evidently, attention, preference and funding are often more readily available for English and Afrikaans as languages which are prestigious and highly valued in all sectors than for indigenous languages. This is a critical issue that requires redressing by the relevant government agencies. Equal attention and funding of all the official languages need to be addressed by different bodies and sub-committees in charge of these languages in national, provincial, and local government levels.

Equally, there is a necessity for the section in Department of Education in charge of language to make enough funds available to train and organise workshops and in-service-training for language teachers, especially teachers of native languages.

Another challenge facing innovation and restructuring of languages and LiEP in South Africa is employment futures of those who study indigenous languages. When it comes to requirements for most jobs, proficiency in English and Afrikaans are often considered; African languages are seen as having little or no role to play in recruitment or employment. Government and all language stakeholders can address this

issue by motivating the use of all the indigenous languages in a wider range of official domains; for example, make “a pass” in an African language a requirement for certain jobs and positions. Also, make an African language a compulsory requirement for admission into institution of higher learning; motivate the use of indigenous languages for transaction of certain types of official business, and a higher profile in political discourse (Bamgbose, 2000:40).

Finally, the negative attitude towards the indigenous languages, especially by their speakers is another challenge facing language stakeholders. The causes of this negative attitude are summarised by the Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology (1998:5), that observed that the value of the indigenous languages were ignored to an extent that the languages are mostly regarded as subordinate instrument restricted to the domestic and religious domains and which is irrelevant in higher education. The status of English and Afrikaans puts all the indigenous languages at a disadvantage, thereby eliciting the negative attitude towards the native languages. Mda (2004:184) points out that many Black parents have often discouraged their children from using their mother tongue because they believe that their languages are “crippled” and have little or nothing to contribute to the economy and are associated with low class. In addition, these parents fear that their children could lack socio-economic access and mobility if they are taught in their home languages. Besides, there are few (if

any) incentives offered to encourage either the study of African languages as subjects or their use as MoI in all levels of education, as well as for non-first language speakers to learn other African languages, other than theirs. This negative attitude was ingrained by the apartheid system through Bantu education. PANSALB, school authorities and teachers need to organise language awareness programmes, to enlighten, decolonise, encourage and motivate students as well as their parents on the value of their languages, and equality of all languages.

Conclusion

The language policy of South Africa has been characterised by competition and domination of one language over the others from colonisation, Union of South Africa, and apartheid eras. The status of the languages has been unequal – the superior versus the inferior. The dawn of democracy brought new language policy with mission to restructure the existing language policy and to elevate the status of previously marginalised languages. However, the constitution provides escape clauses . Escape clauses in the constitution and all the Acts and Bills concerning language give government and other institutions the excuse to avoid adopting and implementing language policy in full.

Language practices in political administration, education, and media explored in this paper show that the use of English and Afrikaans in South Africa is more prevalent in comparison to other official languages as it was in the apartheid era. What this means is that the language practices in these

domains continue to defy the constitutional principle of language equity, namely, that all the eleven

official languages need to be used equitably (Kamwangamalu, 2000) after 20 years of this declaration.

References

- Alexander, M. (n.d). Community Radio in South Africa. Available at: <http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/community-radio.htm#.WAWxERJIDDc>(Accessed 22nd October 2016).
- Alexander, N. (2003). Language Education Policy, National and Sub-National Identities in South Africa. Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe: From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Available at: <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/alexanderen.pdf>(Accessed 20th October 2016)
- Bangbose, A. (2000). Language and Exclusion: The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa. Germany: Lit Verlag.
- Brown, D. 1992. Language and Social History in South Africa: A Task Still to be taken. In: R.K Herbert (Ed.), *Language and Society in Africa: The Theory and Practice of Sociolinguistics* (Pp. 71- 92). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996): Government Printer. Cape Town: Juta Law.
- Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 2003. National Language Policy Framework. Pretoria: National Language Service.
- Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 1998. A Language Plan for South Africa: Preparing for a Multilingual Future.
- Department of Education (1997). Language in Education Policy. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=XpJ7gz4rPT0%3D&tabid=390&mid=1125> (Accessed 19th September 2016).
- Du Plessis, L. T. (2006). The Development of a Multilingual Language Policy at the SABC since 1994. *Acta Academica Supplementum*, 2, 45-75.
- Du Plessis, L. T. (2000). South Africa: From Two to Eleven Official Languages. In K. Deprez & L. T. Du Plessis (Eds.), *Multilingualism and Government: Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, former Yugoslavia, South Africa* (pp.95-110). Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Dunjwa Blajberg, J. 1993. Research notes on language struggles, language rights and political transformation in South Africa. In K. Prinsloo, Y. Peeters, J. Turi, and C. Van Rensburg (Eds.), *Language, Law and Equality. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the International Academy of Language Law (IALL) Held in South Africa* (pp.141-150). Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Hartshorne, K. B. (1992). *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education: 1910-*

1990. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Hartshorne, K. B. (1986). Language Policy in African Education in South Africa 1910-1985 with Particular Reference to the Issue of Medium of Instruction. In D. Young (Ed.), *Language Planning and Medium in Education* (pp. 82-106). Rondebosch: University of Cape Town.
- Hartshorne, K. B. (1953). *Native Education in the Union of South Africa. A Summary of the Report of the Commission on native Education in South Africa.* Johannesburg: South Africa Institute of Race Relations.
- Jones, R. C. (1966). *The Development of Attitudes Leading to the Nationalist Apartheid Philosophy of Bantu Education in the Republic of South Africa.* Norman: University of Oklahoma
- Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2000). *A New Language Policy, Old Language Practices: Status Planning for African Languages in a Multilingual South Africa.* *South African Journal of African Languages*, 20(1), 50-60.
- Kamwendo G. H (2006). *No Easy Walk to Linguistic Freedom: A Critique of Language Planning during South Africa's First Decade of Democracy.* *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15(1), 53-70.
- khajawan P. (2002). *Afrikaans in Democratic South Africa A Survey of Scholarly Contributions and Tendentious Reporting Regarding the Status of Afrikaans and the Other Official Languages of South Africa.* A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of D. Litt in Communication Science University of Zululand Durban Campus. Available at: <http://uzspace.uzulu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10530/32/Afrikaans%20in%20Democractic%20SA%20-%20Pramesh%20Khalav%27an.pdf?sequence=1> (Accessed on 23rd October, 2016)
- Kloss, H. (1978). *Problems of Language Policy in South Africa.* Wien: Braumuller.
- Louw P.E (2004). *Political power, national identity, and language: the case of Afrikaans.* *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 170, 43-58.
- Mda, T. (2004) *Multilingualism and Education*, in Chisholm, L. (Ed.), *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (pp. 177-194). London: Zed Books.
- Meerkotter, D. A. 1986. *The struggle for liberation and the position of English in South Africa.* In D. Young (ed.) *Language Planning and Medium in Education* (pp. 136-145). Rondebosch: University of Cape Town.
- Nixon, K.K. (Online) *South Africa.* Available at: <http://www.museum.tv/eotv/southafrica.htm> (Accessed 18th October, 2016)
- Perry, T. (2004). *Language Rights, Ethnic Politics: A Critique of the Pan South African Language Board.* Published by Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South

- Africa. (PRAESA), University of Cape Town: South Africa.
- Phaswana, N. (2003). Contradiction or affirmation? The South Africa Language Policy and the South Africa national Government. In S. Makoni (Ed.), *Black Linguistics: Language, Society and Politics in Africa and the Americas* (pp. 117-131). London: Routledge.
- Setati, M. (2002). Researching Mathematics Education and Language in Multilingual South Africa. *The Mathematics Educator*, 12(2), 7-20.
- Schuring, G. K. (1993). Bilingual and Trilingual Language Policies for South Africa. In K. Prinsloo, Y. Peeters, J. Turi, and C. Van Rensburg (Eds.), *Language, Law and Equality* (pp. 239-246). Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- South Africa. Available at: <http://www.museum.tv/eotv/southafrica.htm> (Accessed on 15th October 2016).
- SouthAfrica.info (Online) Languages of South Africa. Available at: <http://www.southafrica.info/about/p>
- people/language.htm#.WApMc36zDc (Accessed 15th October, 2016).
- Statistics South Africa. (2015). Mid-Year Population Estimate. Available at: <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022015.pdf> (Accessed 22nd October 2016).
- The Bantu Education Act (1953) South Africa History Online. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/bantu-education-act%2C-act-no-47-of-1953> (Accessed 19th October, 2016)
- Van Rensburg, M. C. J. & Jordan, A. (1995) *The Growth of Afrikaans in South Africa*. In V. N. Webb (Ed.), *Language in South Africa: An Input into Language Planning for a Post-Apartheid South Africa* (pp. 107-132). The 'LiCCA (S.A) Pretoria: LiCCA Research and Development Programme.
- Webb (n.d.). *Language Policy Development in South Africa*. Available at: <http://www.up.ac.za/academic/libarts/crpl/language-dev-in-SA.pdf> (accessed 13th July 2011).

About the Authors

Dr. Amaka Edith IDEH is a lecturer in the Department of Linguistics Studies at University of Benin, Nigeria. She obtained her undergraduate and Master's degrees in Linguistics from the University of Ibadan, and PhD from the University of the Free State, South Africa. Her areas of research include Discourse Analysis, Sociolinguistics, and Applied Linguistics.

Email: amakaide4j@yahoo.com

Dr. John Odo ONU is a lecturer in the Department of Linguistics Studies at University of Benin. He obtained his first degree, Master's and PhD at the University of Nigeria Nsukka, and is currently teaching in the Department of Linguistics Studies, University of Benin. His areas of research are oral Literature and Stylistics.

Email: dronujohn@yahoo.com