Common Destiny?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Independence Debate between France and New Caledonia

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Author's Declaration

This work has been produced for the degree of Master of Research, at Macquarie University. It has not been submitted to any other university or institution for a higher degree. The content of this thesis is wholly my own contribution, unless indicated otherwise, in which case references and explicit acknowledgements are provided.

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Margo Van Poucke

Soli Deo Gloria

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Abstract

Mainly drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Pragma-Dialectics, this critical discourse analysis explains why the consensus obtained through the independence debate between France and New Caledonia does not constitute the result of a cooperative dialogue between the two discourse communities, but rather a French strategy to maintain a status quo.

The study explores how a newly emerging identity for the nation of New Caledonia is collectively constructed through various discursive acts of negotiation while simultaneously being affected by external power relations. These acts of meaning are firmly placed within the context of the ongoing dialogue between France and New Caledonia concerning the latter's bid for full independence, a critical issue that formed the impetus for the research project.

The study aims to elucidate how three politicians, as representatives of the main stakeholders in the debate, construe their own perceived reality of a "common destiny" and how they depict themselves in terms of power and influence. It looks at their underlying attitudes and concerns and how they express these discursively. It further investigates how they attempt to influence the outcome of the debate and how their social representations translate into reasons for selecting a particular course of action. Finally, it critically investigates what kind of consensus is reached as a result of the negotiation process and questions the reasonableness of the overall debate.

Three French discourse samples, two speeches and one interview, are selected for this purpose. Any relevant linguistic features in the excerpts are described using a Hallidayan functional approach in order to explicate various significant lexicogrammatical choices made by the three protagonists: Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Lionel Jospin and Jacques Lafleur. These linguistic findings are then integrated as evidence in a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which follows the logic from Pragma-Dialectics to reconstruct and evaluate the argumentative structure of the political discourse. It is shown how the social representations of each of the communities, together with their imagined realities, motivate and manipulate the consensus and eventually cause a cross-cultural clash.

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Every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions is imaginary, that is to say, it is based on the projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative, on the recognition of a common name and on traditions lived as the trace of an immemorial past[....]under certain conditions, only imaginary communities are real (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991).

Chapter One: Background to the research

1.1 Introduction

The field of politics constitutes a plane of social practice in which actors, as representatives of various social groups, verbally interact with each other in the public sphere in order to achieve a particular goal, which usually coincides with a desired course of action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This study provides a critical evaluation of the ongoing independence debate between France and New Caledonia, in particular the negotiation process, as enacted by three protagonists: pro-independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou, former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, and right-wing Caldoche[1] politician, Jacques Lafleur. It aims to explore how these French and New Caledonian politicians deploy the discursive strategies and rhetorical resources at their disposal in an attempt to influence the outcome of this process of deliberation, clarifying any underlying motives for the course of action chosen by each individual. It will further show how a clash of concerns and imaginary constructs between the French and Kanak discourse communities seems to prevent a unanimous consensus from being established.

Each sample of political discourse in this study is seen as a complex speech act (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992), more particularly, as a perlocutionary speech act with great illocutionary force. The speaker's main objective in performing the act is to bring the audience to some form of desired "action". Its effects may also impact on the surrounding reality in the form of social change. Ultimately, a speech constitutes a form of argumentation in defence of a particular desired outcome that informs the decision-making process and motivates action. In the case of a debate between nations, significant cultural and other values

[1] Person belonging to the European settler population of New Caledonia.

are being enacted by the agents, propelling a desired course of action, since power may be a motivator in choosing how to act (Sawyer, 1982). Arguments made by politicians usually flow from their own perspective, as well as from the viewpoints of the larger community to which they belong. Consensual values are embedded in the argumentative structure, forming the concerns leading to the crucial and highly practical question of what needs to be done about the disagreement (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). At first sight, the Kanak protagonists from the opposing side seem to be equal interactants in the debate. However, asymmetrical power relationships may prevent them from making their own concerns heard and acted upon by the dominant French group. A fair and undivided solution to the issue essentially requires an exchange of ideas between interactants who are equal in status as members of the same imagined community.

This study develops a critical analysis of three samples of the discourse produced during the open-ended debate on the highly contested independence of New Caledonia as a discursive process of negotiation that occurs in the public sphere. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) generally investigates the link between discourse and social practice (Wodak, 2001). Consequently, the aim of this project is to explore the dialectical relation between various selected samples of the discourse uttered by one French and two New Caledonian politicians and the effects this discourse may have on both the audience and societal reality. In particular, it will look at the following questions:

- How does Tjibaou create his own particular view of "Kanaky" (New Caledonia)?
- How do Jospin and Lafleur construe their reality of a "common destiny" for France and New Caledonia?
- How do the three politicians portray themselves in terms of power and manipulation of the audience?

- What is Tjibaou's attitude towards the former colonisers and how does he express it discursively?
- Do Jospin and Lafleur display a neo-colonialist attitude in their discourse?
- How do the latent values of the political argumentation occurring on both sides translate into reasons for selecting a particular course of action?
- What kind of consensus is reached through the argumentation? Is it a unanimous consensus or rather a justified consensus and why?
- Is this a reasonable debate? Why (not)?

The impetus for the research undertaken came from the social issue of the Kanak struggle for independence and from the author's experience as a language development worker with SIL International (formerly Summer Institute of Linguistics) in New Caledonia from 2004 until 2008.

1.2 Overview

In order to answer the aforementioned questions, this thesis is structured as follows: chapter 2 will build a rationale for the study and offer a review of the relevant literature. It will also provide a more detailed description of the methodology that was chosen to conduct the research. Chapter 3 will describe the wider historical context in which the debate may be situated, providing a chronological timeline of significant events going back as far as the 1980s. It will further situate the three excerpts within their particular context of situation. This will form the macro-analysis of the study. The remainder of chapter 3 contains a systemic functional analysis of salient discursive features in the three excerpts that appear to be relevant to the research questions. This micro-analysis will be integrated as linguistic evidence in a critical discourse analysis that ultimately reconstructs the arguments of the

agents involved, following the logic of argumentation theory. Chapter 4 constitutes the analytical overview of argumentation. It aims to reconstruct the three arguments, to question the reasonableness of the debate and to evaluate the premise of the arguments. Finally, chapter 5 will include a cross-cultural comparison. It will also summarise the study's overall findings and conclusions. A complete transitivity analysis, as well as a detailed grammatical analysis of the French discourse samples are included in the Appendices.

Chapter Two: Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This study constitutes a critical evaluation of the ongoing independence debate between France and New Caledonia, as specifically enacted by three of the protagonists involved. The analysis focuses on the discursive construction of a new national identity for the emerging nation of New Caledonia by looking at various samples of political discourse: a speech made by the Kanak pro-independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1996), a speech given by former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin (1998) and an interview given by nickel magnate and Caldoche right-wing politician, Jacques Lafleur ("Interview de Jacques Lafleur," 2009). As representatives of a particular social group, all three politicians tend to defend a goal that is both rhetorical and dialectical. Each of their arguments has various ideological effects on the audience and societal reality while, at the same time, constituting a dialogue between the stakeholders implicated in the debate. The resulting process of negotiation is deemed to facilitate the exchange of ideas on what the new nation should look like, aiming at a solution that – ideally but not necessarily – suits all parties. A systemic functional analysis of various samples of French oral discourse, more specifically of the genres of political speeches and interviews, will be performed to provide empirical evidence for a critical analysis of the political argument for or against independence.

Discourse, as opposed to language, needs to be understood in this framework as follows:

> a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral and written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, that is, genres (Wodak, 2001, p. 66).

Wodak's understanding of discourse presupposes that it is ideologically motivated. It also asserts that discursive events are linked and that underlying thoughts or beliefs are being reproduced over time, as embodied in human communication and action. The subsequent analysis aims to shed light on these opaque ideologies by combining Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and a pragma-dialectic view of argumentation. Within a model of critical discussion, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2001) interpret argumentation to be a communicative process of negotiation, in which arguments, seen as speech acts, are exchanged between various social actors in order to resolve a particular conflict. The investigation further draws upon insights deriving from social theory, in particular from Foucault, as well as post-colonial theory and speech act theory.

2.2 Imagined realities, social representations and power

Three crucial notions dynamically influence the outcome of the debate: the imagined realities of the protagonists, their social representations, and the notion of power. These all form important reasons for action and therefore have a considerable impact on the political practice of the social actors. It will be argued that the imagined New Caledonian national identity is discursively construed by means of dialogical discourse. The main ideological effect produced by the French discourse samples appears to be the creation of a status quo, thus maintaining an unequal power relationship between France and New Caledonia. This effect may be found in the premises of both Jospin's and Lafleur's argumentative goals.

Both speakers are using a particular metaphorical conceptualisation to represent this desired course of action. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) reasoned in their seminal work, appropriately titled, *Metaphors we Live by*, ideas may be linked through the use of conceptual metaphors. Both Jospin and Lafleur employ the metaphor of "common destiny" to paint a reality that presents the abstract notion of a peaceful co-existence between the two groups as the concrete

reality of a shared future. It will also be argued that the French and Caldoche speakers cleverly shift this desired outcome from the goal premise to the circumstantial premise in their argument in order to present it as "common sense" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4), which is, of course, a strongly Foucauldian statement. As a consequence of this particular strategy, the collocation of the noun "destin" (destiny)[2] and the adjective "commun" (common) has gradually become naturalised through its frequent repetition in these, and in subsequent political speeches, thus making it more difficult to recognise and more acceptable to the general audience. The idea of a "common destiny" has become "common sense" due to the impact of existing power relations. After all, seen from a "French" perspective, the purpose of the whole negotiation process is not to arrive at a unanimous consensus on the course of action that needs to be taken, rather, it is a self-seeking solution of compromise that is deemed necessary to assure a harmonious future for two highly dissimilar cultural groups.

Political discourse therefore needs to be seen as a complex speech act (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992) of considerable illocutionary force since Jospin's and Lafleur's main objective in performing the act is to bring the hearers to an acceptance of the fact that New Caledonia needs to remain with France. The discourse that surrounds the independence issue aims to naturalise this "common destiny" argument. Following social constructionist thought (Berger & Luckmann, 2011), the nation of New Caledonia is currently being collaboratively constructed through dialogical interaction. Anderson (1991) asserts that a nation is "imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 8). By defining the nation as such, Anderson depicts it along the same lines as Said (1978), who conceptualised nations as "imagined geographies", thereby implying that these communities have clear boundaries and are more or less homogeneous. The reality, however, is that this

[2] This and all subsequent translations are my own.

social construct of the new nation of New Caledonia is highly affected by external power factors.

The way in which the French and Caldoche politicians relate to their audience further reveals their attitude towards this imaginary and highly ambiguous construct of a "common destiny". Their actions appear to be fuelled by a set of nationalistic values held in high esteem by the social group to which they belong. With respect to the French collectivity, the republican values of liberty, egality and fraternity find their origin in the French Revolution, dating back to Enlightenment ideas that prevailed in the 18th century (Vergès, 2013). As such, any social representations of national identity should be understood in the far less Durkheimian sense of "ways of world making" (Goodman, 1978) as motivating people for making meanings. Van Dijk (2001), who applies a socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, especially emphasises the role of context in analysing any type of discourse and interprets this context as consisting of various mental models of beliefs, attitudes or norms. The proposed models designate highly subjective representations of reality that are dynamic in nature, as they further construe themselves by constantly adding further contextual information. Chilton (2004) agrees with Van Dijk that context plays a significant role in the interpretation of public discourse by the audience. He refers to this context as "backstage knowledge", which appears to be less subjective than Van Dijk's mental models (p. 154). Chilton estimates that a whole blend of propositions constituting this type of knowledge needs to be taken into account when analysing speeches or other samples of political discourse.

A speech or an interview needs to be considered as a prepared form of discourse that occurs in a particular setting. In apparent agreement with Wodak, Van Dijk (2001) points out that a common discursive strategy used by politicians is positive self-representation and negative presentation of the other(s). For example, elite groups within a particular society may use strategies such as these to manipulatively influence people's minds. In being instantiations of

the values, attitudes and beliefs of a group of individuals, context models appear to form an important motivator for people's actions (Van Dijk, 1995). Underlying shared ideologies such as ethnic prejudice or a xenophobic attitude may thus translate into racist discourse, which is probably why various forms of injustice and other inequalities form an important topic in Van Dijk's research (Van Dijk, 1993). Racism, as it is conceptualised in the French mind, may be enacted by Jospin or Lafleur through the discursive act of giving a speech or an interview, often without any of the participants in the event being aware of the continuous process of underlying prejudices being reproduced and, consequently, reinforced.

The speech made by Tjibaou, in its turn, attempts to alter societal reality by proposing full independence as a desired outcome of the debate. Similar to the French and Caldoche politicians, the Kanak speaker moves this goal to the circumstantial premise of his argument, representing reality as he sees it: firmly connected to the land and its first inhabitants. This imagined reality could be referred to as adhering to Kanak nationalism, as opposed to "the French solution" of free association (i.e. for New Caledonia to remain within France) and harmonious homogeneity. Tjibaou's goal of full independence seems to be strongly motivated by various general Kanak values and concerns, such as indigenous legitimacy or ownership of the land, making his speech into a compelling argument of resistance.

Since the French and Caldoche goals and values appear to clash with those included in the Kanak argument, a third notion needs to be considered as well: power. As asserted by Foucault (1970), discourse is "not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle. Discourse is the power which is to be seized." (pp. 52-53). The meanings emanating from this discourse are by no means fixed entities. The actors actively construct meanings and, as such, new realities through the social practice of verbal interaction. They interpret each other's discourses, not as exact reflections of a particular reality, but as one of many possible interpretations of this

reality (Foucault, 1980). Consequently, carefully selected denotations may be used in a struggle for power, which, as Foucault rightly observed, coincide with the ways in which the discourse is used.

2.3 Neo-colonialism

Within post-colonial theory, neo-colonialism is seen as an underlying ideology that divides the world into a familiar Western and an alienated non-Western part, inhabited by exotically fascinating "others" (Said, 1978). The distinction between "us" and "them" needs to be perceived as a social construct, since it is expressed through language in the speeches made by Jospin and Lafleur. As such, this exclusiveness creates a highly preferred homogeneous space. Originally, Orientalism referred to cultures in the "Orient" as being incongruent with Western thought. According to Said, though, all Western colonial discourse appeared to be ideologically motivated, creating a prejudicial divide between Western and non-Western cultures (Embrick, 2008). However, a new form of Orientalism or neo-racism seems to have emerged that reiterates the same old dichotomous rift, to an extent that it has become ingrained in French collective memory as common sense (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991).

2.4 Chain of discourses

The independence debate between France and New Caledonia is also a discursive event that occurs between various discourse communities over a prolonged period of time. Foucault (1972) explains how discourse contains an enunciative field, situating it in the past and the future, thus creating a chain of discourses that all interrelate, while at the same time, producing new discourses or reiterating old ones. Out of this amalgam of "statements", a speaker selects various discursive features for the practical purpose of communicating with the audience. Subsequently, any changes that occur in discourse formations are not based

upon individual ideas, but rather on change in the social practice of the group to which the speaker belongs. Activities that are characteristic of such a group are discursively enacted by individuals. As a result, a speech, made by a politician, appears to be constrained by the collectively determined rules for this semiotic act, as well as inspired by individual thoughts of the politician as a person. Inevitably, clashes are bound to occur between groups that hold overall diverging perspectives or that adhere to incongruent values and norms. One of this study's aims is to show that the relationship between France and New Caledonia remains an unequal association as a result of the power struggle that has been ongoing between the two nations since France took possession of the island agglomeration in 1853 (Leblic, 2003). This unequal power relationship is also discussed in the New Caledonian context by various other French authors.[3]

The diachronic chain of mutually exchanged discourses included in the debate has created a form of interdependence that appears to be maintained by a dominant French Discourse, mainly inspired by the collective ideologies of French nationalism and neo-colonialism. Van Dijk (2006a) explains how individual ideologies form part of a larger heterogeneous amalgam of what may be designated as "culture". A group of people usually acquires a particular ideology "through complex and usually long-term processes of socialization and other forms of social information processing" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 18). Whatever one may call these underlying ideas and thoughts, be they, ideologies, belief systems or cultural values, they do form an important motivation for people's actions, regardless of whether they are individual or collective, and need to be considered as such. Discursive acts are never acts of sheer randomness. People tend to employ discourse in a purposeful manner, based directly or indirectly on numerous convictions, irrespective of these being overtly present in the discourse that results from this process. Following Van Dijk's reasoning, recipients of political discourse will habitually construe a new context model by integrating both their

[3] For example: Soussol, 1987.

shared knowledge of the world and all sorts of ad hoc conjectures and other assumptions into their interpretation of a speech. This unquestionably turns politicians into powerful people who can challenge, influence or mould any social representations they share with the audience as members of the same social group.

2.5 Institutionalised power

Generally speaking, people deliberately cooperate with each other while debating. As a result, their discourse often contains various rational presuppositions. Chilton approaches the analysis of political discourse from a cognitive linguistics viewpoint, thereby primarily focusing on the issue of conflict and cooperation. He disentangles the notion of politics as consisting of a struggle for power on the one hand and as a collaborative effort to avoid potential disagreement on the other (Chilton, 2004). Both Searle's principles of cooperation (1969) and Habermas' reasons for action (1972) seem to resonate with this idea.

Searle (2010) explains how, within a given social reality, human beings are found to accord various functions to other individuals and to objects. Status functions, as described by this pragmatist, are a type of function that carries power. Institutions "create and regulate power relationships between people" by means of these status functions (Searle, 2010, p. 106). For example, politicians have a specific status, assigned to them by the whole community; giving public speeches is a means by which politicians confirm their apparent status. Speech act theory succinctly describes how institutional reality is produced and reproduced by means of discourse in order to establish and maintain power relationships, giving people reasons to act. Politicians, as representatives of these institutions, may implement power "to give people reasons for actions that they would not otherwise have" (Searle, 2010, pp. 146-147).

Furthermore, Searle (2003) asserts that "all political power is a matter of status functions, and for that reason all political power is deontic power" (p.14). Subsequently, deontic power

appears to be the sort of power that provides people with reasons for actions that are not related to their own individual attitudes or aspirations. This also appears to be the case for Jospin, for whom the deontic power of the nation to which he belongs seems to override his own individual aspirations in his desire for New Caledonia to remain within France. Even though his personal attitude may be one of indifference or sympathy, his status function obliges him to convey a message that carries the deontic power of the institution of which he is a member: the French government.

In his popular book, *Language and Power* (1989), Fairclough opened up new areas for investigation, especially with regard to the ways in which power is wielded through the use of discourse. In contrast with Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, Fairclough's latest developed approach seems to focus more on how the discourse under investigation is structured, with its main purpose to describe the course of action that forms the outcome of the argument contained in the uttered discourse (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). However, even though an emphasis on the speaker's intended goals seems highly commendable, the premise of values as an expression of social representations held by both individuals and groups still deserves consideration, in accordance with earlier theories proposed by Toulmin (1996).[4] A critical analysis of any argument should therefore not neglect these social representations, as they may form important reasons for a recommended course of action, being interwoven throughout the discursive event. Consequently, this study will not only focus on imaginary constructs, contained in the goal premise of the arguments, but also on social representations found in the values premise in order to show how a clash of these components between members of highly divergent discourse communities may impede the course of action from being fully implemented. Deep and pervasive misunderstandings of the others' imaginary construct of what a "common destiny" effectively means, and of the corresponding value systems, are what makes this clash seem inevitable.

[4] The New Rhetoric is another form of argumentation theory, in which discursive strategies are studied that aim to persuade a universal audience to adhere to a particular thesis (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1976).

2.6 Importance of context

The whole debate for or against independence does not occur in a void, as both parties verbally negotiate with each other in a particular setting against the historical backdrop of the Kanak struggle for independence and the continuous integration processes in which the French nation has been participating since colonial times (Geisser, 2014). Even though this study is not so much about "what was" as it is about "what is at a given moment in time", it seems clear that any present-day materialisations of the past also need to be taken into account. Therefore, a mere synchronic textual analysis of the topic would be insufficient. In the Discourse-Historical approach (DHA), developed by Ruth Wodak, the context of discourse, in particular its historical background and the social or political settings in which it takes place, form an important part of the investigation. Grounded in the Frankfurt school and drawing inspiration from Habermas' linguistic philosophy, this approach therefore lends itself well to the study of social practices such as discrimination against vulnerable groups of people in society, which may be revealed by an exploration of discursive strategies such as positive self-presentation and negative presentation of the group that is shown prejudice. For this purpose, Wodak sums up various means to influence discourse, including argumentation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

However, it needs to be pointed out that argumentation appears to be more of a social practice than a conscious strategy. Strategies are not necessarily discursive either, as they may have an impact beyond the textual boundaries of discourse (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). DHA offers a substantial overview of various political fields, seemingly without considering what all these sub-categories have in common (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). Interestingly, though, Wodak (2001) mentions that political discourse may be linked to various underlying ideologies by referring to Bourdieu's notions of "violence symbolique" (symbolic violence)

or "méconnaissance" (misrecognition),[5] rightly suggesting that elucidating ideologies should be one of CDA's main objectives.

2.7 Reasonableness of the debate

The debate may also be evaluated in terms of its reasonableness, focusing on the type of consensus that is reached through argumentation. Habermas (1985) conceptualises various reasons for action. Following his view, the deliberative process of decision-making may be measured against certain rules of ethical perfection with which an argumentation is supposed to comply. Hence, when it comes to a process of deliberation, in which highly diverging arguments are exchanged, providing reasons for a particular course of action, the validity claims or common presuppositions that are contained in the speakers' utterances are worth considering as well. Habermas' theory raises crucial questions such as: Is what the speaker says true? Is it sincere or, on the contrary, deliberately deceitful?

Seen from an Aristotelian perspective, all three politicians employ various strategic devices in their argumentative discourse to make it more reasonable and acceptable to their audience. While, at first sight, an apparent emphasis on "logos" (reasoning) as opposed to "ethos" (the moral right of speech) or "pathos" (the impact of speech on the audience) would seem to neglect the reality of human individuals as being emotionally and ethically involved in their arguments, it might be useful to focus on logical reasoning and to see a debate first and foremost as a form of practical reasoning. Therefore, the notion of "logos" definitely needs to be taken into account by inquiring into the argumentative structure of the discourse samples and by "tracking" it through a systemic analysis of the data. Interestingly though, for Aristotle, rhetoric also appears to be a heuristic tool that serves to discern the framework of

[5] Bourdieu's notions follow from the assertion that the power of language does not reside in language itself. It emanates from the status that has been attributed to the speaker by society and from the circumstances in which the discursive act takes place (Bourdieu, 1991).

beliefs held by the audience (Consigny, 1989). As will be shown, the French and Caldoche protagonists are not always familiar with the ideological dimensions of their opponents' – let alone their own – discourse. Of course, the same goes for the Kanak protagonist. A logical argument is certainly more effective in convincing the audience to accept one's view on a problem situation. Van Eemeren (2010) claims that this dimension of impact needs to be integrated into a linguistic description of how language is used by a speaker to achieve a particular goal of persuasion. Discourse analysis within the New Rhetoric framework focuses on patterns in what Saussure designated "la parole", in its use by individuals, as opposed to "la langue", the system of language (Saussure de, 1979), an emphasis which coincides closely with this study's objective.

2.8 Methodology

As explained earlier, the proposed project has taken as its departure point the issue of the struggle for independence by the Kanak population of New Caledonia, resulting in an ongoing dispute between the island's indigenous inhabitants and "la Métropole", France. This form of dialogic exchange presents itself as a huge discrepancy between two main standpoints that emerge from highly diverging perspectives: either for or against full independence. In fact, the reality is far more complex than this simple binary opposition suggests. First of all, there are three main stakeholder groups[6] in the independence debate: the French government, the Kanak people, and the significant New Caledonian settler population, whose viewpoint generally seems closely aligned with the French perspective, exceptions notwithstanding. All three are represented by politicians who speak on their behalf.[7] Needless to say, these

[6] The New Caledonian population is more diverse than suggested here, since it also includes a significant number of migrants from other, non-European countries, such as Vietnam, the Antilles, French Polynesia, etc. (Royer, février 2011). These other groups have not been included due to the limited temporal and spatial dimensions of the pilot study.

[7] Ideally, various other interviews with significant political figures, such as Gabriel Païta, Maurice Lenormand or Jean Lèques, for example, should also be taken into account.

representatives also have their own individual political and cultural agendas. The whole argumentation process investigated in this study therefore needs to be situated within its wider "context of culture", describing the ways in which the history of Kanak independence has been materialised.[8] The focus will then turn to what Malinowski referred to as the "context of situation" , a notion which, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), consists of the components of field, tenor and mode. It will look more closely at how the three social actors are shaping their discourse in a strategic manner at a given moment, frozen in time.

Three excerpts have been selected for the purpose of this project, based on the clarity with which each of these discourse samples reflects the arguments as conducted by one representative of each social group: Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Lionel Jospin, and Jacques Lafleur. A systemic functional analysis, aiming at the exploration of salient grammatical patterns in the text, specific to the French language (Caffarel, 2006), will be performed on these excerpts. As a result, more information will be revealed about the probable objectives of and reasons for the semiotic choices that were made by these politicians. The textual analysis will especially focus on the ways in which social representations and power have been construed by linguistic means and the goals that appear to propel the discursive strategies used by the social actors. Any lexical or grammatical choices made by the three participants in the discursive event are by no means free. They appear to be constrained by cultural conventions and shaped by the belief systems to which each one of the speakers belongs. Even though these choices are being made by them as individuals, reflecting their own individual ideologies, they are simultaneously influenced by collective social representations, such as neo-colonialism or nationalism.

To this purpose, a quantitative analysis will be combined with a qualitative interpretation of the linguistic evidence. The politicians' choices, made within the micro-context of each single

[8] A more detailed look into New Caledonia's history therefore seems highly recommended, by investigating biographies (Cazaumayou & De Deckker, 1999); (Chatenay, 1995), more general works (Kurtovitch, 1993) or other academic studies (Soriano, 2000); (Caussin-Plenus, 1998); (Apikaoua, 1991).

argument, will be described. Halliday (2004) argues that individuals construe meanings by deploying various semantic resources. These resources may be ideational, related to the type of action (e.g. mental, material), the agency of the subjects and circumstances (e.g. place, manner). They may be interpersonal, defining the type of speech act that occurs (e.g. claims, promises), as well as indicating the mood of the speaker towards the interlocutor (e.g. engaging, distant) and the experience in itself (e.g. certain, uncertain). Or they may be textual, presenting discourse as a coherent structure, referring to what is said previously and making information more or less prominent. These ideational, interpersonal and textual functions are realised centrally in a clause by the systems of transitivity, mood and theme respectively. Speakers constantly assess various context-related variables while simultaneously drawing from the register which is available to them in a particular language. Within Systemic Functional Linguistics, the variation in register may be linked to how various types of texts are structured. Any divergences in these genres (e.g. a speech) seem to be aligned with the differing types of social practice in which people engage, rather than with the social group or culture to which they belong (Lukin, Moore, Herke, Wegener, & Wu, 2008).

This view of language as a social semiotic may explain how social actors, such as politicians, may dexterously employ linguistic resources as a means to achieve a purpose that lies outside discourse. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) maps language as a system based on choices made by human agents. These selections are integrated by individuals into the context in which the verbal interaction is happening by making use of the notions of "context of situation" and "context of culture", terms coined by Malinowski (1935). Butt, Lukin and Matthiessen (2004) assert that a systemic functional analysis may serve as a tool to elucidate covert grammatical patterns in a text. In combination with social theory, and by adopting a pragmatic perspective, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) indeed appears to be a useful instrument for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The discourse uttered by Jospin and Lafleur depicts a particular Francocentric reality that is construed by various lexicogrammatical choices made by the two politicians, a process that may occur on a subconscious level, unbeknown to whoever participates in the event. Similarly, Tjibaou's discourse portrays an opposing Kanak-imagined reality. In order to reveal these latent values and imaginary constructs, the argumentative structure of the texts will be outlined, showing how social representations are being translated into terms referring to nationalistic values and how the goals sustained by the agents have been inspired by corresponding imagined realities. As Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) argue, political discourse affects the external reality under the form of social change. One possible theme of the debate, in the form of a consensus on the necessary course of action, which is crystallised in the metaphorical concept of "common destiny", will become clear through this investigation.

2.9 Conclusion

Ideally, the analysis should comprise a closer investigation of a more extensive corpus of discourse samples across various genres, produced by diverse social actors over a prolonged period of time, as opinions and agreements tend to be dynamic in nature and therefore subject to change. Due to time and word constraints, the present study needs to limit itself to only three samples of the multiple discourses on the same topic that have been, and are still being, produced. The debate under investigation appears to set the tone for the 2014 New Caledonian elections and planned referendum on self-determination. Therefore, it could have significant implications for the future of the newly emerging nation. However, this project should primarily be seen as an attempt to provide a glimpse into various possible underlying motives and goals of some of the agents involved in the debate. As an investigation of social representations and imaginary constructs, thoroughly embedded in political discourse, it

explores new ways of critically analysing discourse from a cross-cultural perspective, aiming to critically evaluate the discursive events, as well as their possible effects. As such, the discourse that results from this analysis will, in its turn, constitute a new form of political discourse, itself worthy of critical scrutiny and evaluation.

Chapter Three: Systemic Functional Analysis

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the wider historical context in which the debate may be situated, providing a chronological timeline of significant events going back as far as the 1980s (Fig. 3.1). It will also situate the three excerpts as discourse samples of a social practice that occurs within a particular context of situation. This will constitute the first part of the **macro-analysis**. The remainder of the chapter contains a systemic functional analysis of various discursive features relevant to the research questions. This **micro-analysis** will then be integrated as linguistic evidence into a critical analysis that aims to reconstruct the arguments of the agents involved and evaluate the premises contained in each argument, following the logic of argumentation theory.

The **macro-level analysis** consists of the following:

- Historical context
- Type of social practice
- Contexts of situation

The **micro-level analysis** comprises a detailed linguistic analysis. First, the three excerpts will be introduced by providing a French transcript and corresponding English translation for each text[9]. The following French discourse samples will be analysed:

- Excerpt one: parts of a speech made by independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou
- Excerpt two: parts of a speech made by former Prime Minister Lionel Jospin

[9] Since the MRes is interdisciplinary, a translation needed to be provided in order to make the thesis accessible to non French-speaking readers.

- Excerpt three: extracts from an interview given by nickel magnate Jacques Lafleur

The linguistic analysis will focus on the ideational and interpersonal levels, based on the Hallidayan functions of language, as described in Chapter 2.

It has therefore been divided into the following sections:

- Transitivity system
- Mood system
- Other lexical choices

Complete grammatical analyses of the three excerpts can be found in the appendices.

3.2 Macro-analysis: Context

3.2.1 Historical context

The independence debate in New Caledonia has currently reached a concluding stage that is aimed at closely following the Nouméa Agreement. The next four years are seen as a time of transition towards "self-determination". During this period, New Caledonia will need to vote for or against a referendum that is deemed to be decisive for the island's future. The 1998 agreement between the French Republic and New Caledonia, signed by former French Prime Minister Jospin, stipulates that a referendum will be held somewhere between 2014 and 2018, after which the island's inhabitants will need to decide whether they wish to become independent or, instead, prefer to stay with France (Chappell, 1999). If, for any reason, this does not happen, the French State will take hold of the situation and organise pivotal elections on New Caledonia's behalf.

According to Van Eemeren, Grootendorst and Snoeck Henkemans (1996), the process of resolving a particular conflict includes four subsequent stages. Both the overall argumentation and each specific argument on both sides need to pass through these stages. Consequently, the

whole debate between France and New Caledonia may be brought back to a specific moment in time when a confrontation took place between the representatives of both discourse communities. It seems that everything started with Kanak politician Jean-Marie Tjibaou audaciously suggesting a particular solution for New Caledonia's future under the form of full independence. This led to the French government vehemently opposing it. The disagreement that arose from this opposition in views then led to a continuous string of discourses arguing for or against the proposed course of action. This may be referred to as the opening stage, which coincided with the moment when the two opposing parties were clearly identified. Both sides further evaluated whether there was sufficient common ground for a satisfying dialogue that could lead to a solution for the problem situation (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004).

The confrontation stage, then, included numerous samples of political discourse, all defending a particular standpoint. By arguing for their own desired course of action, each party aimed to reduce any existing doubts about their viewpoint while at the same time reacting to the opponent's previously conducted argument. Jospin's argument may therefore be seen as an attempt to ease any ill feelings about the French solution that were lurking among French and New Caledonian audiences, whereas Tjibaou's argument seems to be more of a boisterous plea for independence, as well as an argument of resistance to the reality of French occupation and previous colonialism. It seems evident that Lafleur masterfully plays the "pathos" card in his own, more recent, argument that appears to align with the French solution.

The current concluding stage involves an evaluation, by all parties involved, of the collectivity of previous discourses. They need to determine whether the conflict has been resolved or not. Consequently, if the Kanak discourse community withdraws its claim for full independence and accepts the French solution of partial independence, this would mean that the whole issue is over. Of course, both sides can always decide to restart the dialogue, perhaps by proposing another solution. This new debate will then go through each of the same

stages as described above. These stages may also be found in each individual text containing an argument.

4 September 1774	Discovery of the islands by Captain James Cook
24 September 1853	France takes possession of New Caledonia
25 June 1854	Foundation of Port-de-France (Nouméa)
2 September 1863	France declares New Caledonia a penal colony
1876	Start of nickel mining
1878	Kanak protest, led by Ataï, Chief of Komalé Louise Michel lends support to Kanak cause
1887	Internment of indigenous Kanak inhabitants under the "indigénat"
1895	Abolition of penal system
1917	Second Kanak protest, led by Chief Noël
1938	Geneva Agreements, end of Kanak corvée (forced labour)
1946	Kanak people receive French citizenship
19 November 1949	Universal declaration of human rights
1953	Birth of Union calédonienne (Caledonian Union) party, led by Maurice Lenormand, using slogans such as « deux couleurs, un seul peuple » (two colours, one single nation)
1958	Foundation of Rassemblement Calédonien, led by Henri Lafleur
1962	Start of nuclear experiments at Moruroa
1963	Kanak inhabitants are no longer a majority in New Caledonia
1968-1969	Creation of the « Foulards Rouges » (Red Scarfs), a Kanak resistance movement
1970	The mayor of Nouméa, Roger Laroque, famously declares : « Il faut faire du Blanc » (One has to act White)
1975	Organisation of Melanesia 2000 festival by Jean-Marie Tjibaou and others
27 May 1975	Creation of the PALIKA (Parti de libération kanak)
April 1977	Creation of the RPC (Rassemblement pour la Calédonie) by Jacques Lafleur
30 July 1980	Independence of Vanuatu
19 September 1981	Assassination of Pierre Declerq, general secretary of the UC

22-24 September 1984	Foundation of the FLNKS (Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front) by Jean-Marie Tjibaou
18 November 1984	Boycot of elections by Éloi Machoro, general secretary of the UC
20 November 1984	Period of upheaval known as les « événements » (the events)
5 December 1984	Hienghène massacre, in which ten Kanak men are killed by loyalists (two of them are brothers of Jean-Marie Tjibaou)
January 1985	François Mitterrand visits New Caledonia
7 January 1985	Pisani plan: partial independence in association with France
12 January 1985	Assassination of Éloi Machoro and Marcel Nonnaro
2 December 1986	Adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of a resolution that asserts the Kanak right to independence and self-government
15 March 1988	Bernard Pons, Secretary of State for the Overseas Departments, visits New Caledonia
22 April 1988	FLNKS commando attacks French police post in Ouvéa (four police officers are killed and twenty seven are taken hostage)
5 May 1988	Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and Bernard Pons launch a counter-attack by the French army, with the approval of President François Mitterand (19 independence fighters are killed)
24 April 1988	Jacques Lafleur is elected as President of the Council for the Southern Region of New Caledonia
11 June 1988	**Start of negotiations** between the independence leaders (FLNKS with Jean-Marie Tjibaou and LKS), the RPCR[10] (Jacques Lafleur) and the French government
26 June 1988	Matignon Agreements
4 May 1989	Assassination of Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Yeiwéné Yeiwéné by Djubelly Wéa
20 September 1995	Dialogue on New Caledonia's future continues between FLNKS and RPCR
18 October 1995	Prime Minister Alain Juppé officially re-opens the debate on New Caledonia's future in France
9 December 1995	Roch Wamytan becomes President of the FLNKS

[10] RPCR: Rassemblement pour une Calédonie dans la République (Rally for Caledonia in the Republic).

13 February 1997	Jean-Jacques de Peretti, Minister for Overseas Territories visits New Caledonia
December 1997	Establishment of a committee to coordinate independence (CCI)
4 May 1998	Opening of the Centre Culturel Tjibaou (Tjibaou Cultural Centre) at Nouméa
5 May 1998	Nouméa Agreement signed by the FLNKS, the RPCR and the French Prime Minister
28 May 1999	First government of New Caledonia (Jean Lèques, president, Léopold Jorédié, vice-president)
11 November 1999	Roch Wamytan becomes the political leader of the UC
23 May 2001	The FLNKS attends a decolonisation seminar in Cuba
1 June 2001	Agreement with Wallis and Futuna
December 2001	Conflict at Saint-Louis between Kanak and Wallisian inhabitants
25 June 2003	Tensions at Saint-Louis (6 people wounded)
23 July 2003	Jacques Chirac visits New Caledonia
24 September 2003	Celebration of 150th anniversary of possession by France
March 2014[11]	A delegation of the UN decolonisation committee visits NC
April 2014	FLNKS lodges more than 7000 court cases with regard to the upcoming elections
11 May 2014	Provincial elections: the Calédonie Ensemble (Caledonia Together) party, led by Philippe Gomes wins the elections
28 May 2014	Clashes with Kanak youth near Nouméa, protest against the Vale nickel plant (two police officers wounded)

Figure 3.1: Chronological timeline of events in New Caledonia, adapted from Leblic (2003)

[11] Source for the 2014 information: http://www.la-nouvelle-caledonie.com/actualit%C3%A9s-du-caillou/

3.2.2 Social practice of argumentation

The social practice, of which the analysed discourse forms a part, may be referred to as argumentation or deliberation. Within a pragma-dialectical view, argumentation is seen as a social activity in which interactants actively participate by reacting to the opposing discourse (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). A possible outcome of the debate between France and New Caledonia is a solution to the independence issue to which all parties can agree. Argumentation constitutes a discursive practice that is essentially dialogical in nature (Bakhtin, 1981) and that requires a high amount of shared knowledge among the social actors in order to be able to construct such a consensualised reality.

The excerpts in this study are all genres that belong to a type of discourse that is primarily oral. However, a speech can also be seen as a hybrid genre, since it is a planned form of discourse that often has both an oral and written form. The speech given by Tjibaou, for example, is part of an edited book that contains transcripts of various speeches made by the independence leader, as well as letters, diary entries and the like. Former French Prime Minister Jospin's speech has been taken from a government website that contains official transcripts of public speeches, declarations and the like. The interview with Jacques Lafleur occurred on 16 December 2009 during a radio programme on the popular New Caledonian radio frequency *Océane FM*. At the time, Jacques Lafleur was the leader of the highly conservative RPCR, an anti-independence party in New Caledonia. The journalist taking the interview remarks that Lafleur has been absent from politics for a while, however, he adds, the nickel magnate is now ready to provide some infamous and trenchant critique on the unfolding events and the future of New Caledonia. He then proceeds to ask Lafleur about the referendum that is planned following the objectives of the Nouméa Agreement.

3.2.3 Contexts of situation

Each excerpt may be further situated, since the whole debate has its own particular context of situation for the social practice of argumentation, as it is enacted by the social actors involved in the event (Halliday & Hasan, 1985/1989). The features found as a result of the linguistic analysis below are part of an overarching narrative, characterised by a particular "semantic drift" (Butt, 1983). By investigating these consistencies in meaning - as woven into the fabric of the three texts - the Malinowskian notion of "context of situation" comes into focus, since each excerpt contains an argument that occurs against the setting of the overall debate (Malinowski, 1923). According to Halliday (1977 [2002]), the contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode form the semiotic structure of this specific setting. What follows after these brief descriptions constitutes the micro-analysis.

The first excerpt is part of a speech made by independence leader and martyr for the independence movement Jean-Marie Tjibaou at the Place des Cocotiers in Nouméa on 18 May 1983 (Tjibaou, 1996). On that day, protest marches had been organised by both the pro-independence movement and a group of individuals rallying against Kanak independence. By giving a speech in public, Tjibaou was attempting to comfort his fellow protesters after the death on 11 May of Louis Poitchily, who gave his life for the cause. The occasion was also marked by a visit from Georges Lemoine, Secretary of State for Overseas Territories, to whom Tjibaou refers in his speech (see excerpt 1). Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who was later murdered by Djubelly Wéa, represents an ominous indigenous viewpoint by arguing for full independence from France.

The second excerpt is part of a speech made by former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin at Nouméa on 5 May 1998 (Jospin, 1998). In this speech, the politician discusses the future of New Caledonia and, in particular, the success of the Matignon Agreements and the application of both these and the Nouméa Agreement, which had only been signed one month before, on 21 April 1998. This last agreement was concluded between France and the two

main political parties on the Overseas Territory: the FLNKS and the RPCR. The Matignon Agreements were signed on 6 June 1988 by Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Jacques Lafleur and Michel Rocard (Chappell, 1993). For a period of ten years, the agreements assured a peaceful ongoing negotiation between France and New Caledonia. Jospin's speech constitutes an evaluation of the progress made in this process of deliberation. As a representative of the French government, he concisely verbalises the goals and concerns of the institution to which he belongs, which allows us to see his speech as a sample of the overarching French argument pleading for free association.

The third excerpt is an extract from an interview given by New Caledonian self-made man and nickel magnate Jacques Lafleur on 16 December 2009 ("Interview de Jacques Lafleur," 2009). When asked by the journalist about the future of New Caledonia, Lafleur gives his own rather peculiar view on the contentious matter of independence. He represents the right wing of the powerful elite on the island, which consists of hardworking second-generation migrants and of large landowners who have always sworn loyalty to the mother country, France.

3.3 Micro-analysis: Systemic Functional Analysis

The micro-analysis constitutes a linguistic description of various lexicogrammatical choices made by the three politicians introduced earlier, aiming to desambiguate these seemingly logical selections. As Simon-Vandenbergen (2008) points out, "especially in media discourse, which is volatile, quickly processed, and forgotten, readers' and viewers' impressions may be distorted by rhetorical ploys and forceful rebuttals may be confused with logic" (p. 356).

First, transcripts of the texts under investigation are provided. These are followed by a systemic functional analysis of the excerpts, as explained earlier.

Excerpt One: parts of a speech[12] made by Jean-Marie Tjibaou (Nouméa, Place des Cocotiers, 18 May 1983)

1. Vous êtes peut-être seulement deux mille, mais vous êtes le peuple!

   There may only be two thousand of you, but you are the people!

2. Nos généalogies chantent des pierres, chantent des arbres, des sapins, des cocotiers qui sont enracinés dans ce pays.

   Our geneaologies sing of rocks, sing of trees, of fir trees, of coconut palms that are deeply rooted in this land.

3. Des défilés comme celui d'en face, il y en a eu d'autres.

   Parades, such as that one over there, have been organised before.

4. En Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, avant 1975, avant l'indépendance, on disait :

   In Papua-New-Guinea, before 1975, before independence, it was said:

5. "Vous n'aurez plus de sucre, vous n'aurez plus de riz",

   "You will no longer have any sugar, you will no longer have any rice",

6. et ce genre de connerie s'est répété aux Salomons, puis au Vanuatu.

   and this sort of crap was repeated in the Solomons and then in Vanuatu.

7. On les a aussi fait valoir avec des défilés de ce genre au Vietnam.

   This was also asserted during parades such as these in Vietnam.

8. Et également en Algérie.

   And also in Algeria.

9. Aujourd'hui, ces pays sont indépendants, parce que ceux qui défilaient en disant que l'indépendance n'est pas possible, face aux peuples indigènes, sont partis ailleurs.

[12] Only the most relevant parts of the speech have been analysed, based on the argument structure in the text data.

Today, these countries are independent, because those who were marching, saying independence is not possible, when confronted by indigenous peoples, have gone elsewhere.

10. Parce qu'ils se battent pour une légitimité nouvellement installée.

    Because they are fighting for a newly established legitimacy.

11. Il y a une légitimité qui est défendue par tous ces drapeaux qui défilent;

    There exists a legitimacy that is being defended by all these flags that are coming past;

12. cette légitimité a été installée par Febvrier-Despointes;

    this legitimacy was put in place by Febvrier-Despointes;

13. ce sont ces gens qui défilent qui pérennisent cette légitimité, qui écrase et qui aliène la légitimité indigène.

    it is these people who march who perpetuate this legitimacy that crushes and denies indigenous legitimacy.

14. Mais la légitimité indigène, elle est en nous, elle est en vous.

    But indigenous legitimacy is in us, it is in you.

15. Elle n'a été installée par personne !

    It has never been put in place by anyone!

16. Elle est dans le ventre de la terre kanak !

    It is in the womb of the Kanak land!

17. Elle ne partira pas de la terre kanak !

    It will not leave the Kanak land!

18. Elle s'exprimera, elle sortira dans l'indépendance.

    It will express itself, it will manifest itself in independence.

19. Et l'indépendance, c'est le peuple, c'est vous qui l'affirmez aujourd'hui.

    And independence, that's the people, that's you who are calling for it today.

20. Ils auront beau être des millions en face, ils auront beau envoyer tous les gardes mobiles qu'ils voudront, avoir la bombe atomique, les hélicoptères et autres…

    There could well be millions of them here, they could well send all of the riot police they want, and they could well have the atomic bomb, helicopters and other things…

21. tout cela n'enrayera pas la revendication d'indépendance kanak.

    all of that will not stop the demand for Kanak independence.

22. Beaucoup disent que l'indépendance kanak est raciste.

    Many say that Kanak independence is racist.

23. Nous revendiquons l'indépendance kanak parce que nous revendiquons d'être ce que nous sommes !

    We claim Kanak independence because we claim to be who we are!

24. Nous revendiquons notre droit à une part de soleil, comme n'importe quel peuple indépendant du monde.

    We claim our right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world.

25. On a dit qu'il fallait "faire du Blanc" pour éliminer la revendication kanak.

    It was said it was necessary to "act white" to silence Kanak demands.

26. Les Australiens ont réussi en Tasmanie : il n'y a plus de revendication, parce que le peuple tasmanien a été détruit définitivement !

    The Australians were successful in Tasmania: the claim no longer exists, because the Tasmanian people have been eradicated forever!

27. Ici, tant qu'il y aura un Kanak, la revendication restera.

    Here, as long as a single Kanak remains, the claim will remain.

28. Et la revendication n'est pas la propriété de Mitterand, de Lemoine ou de quelque autre président, elle appartient au peuple kanak.

And the claim is not owned by Mitterand, by Lemoine or by any other president, it belongs to the Kanak people.

29. Nous ne sommes pas responsables de l'indépendance de la France.

    We are not responsible for the independence of France.

30. Les Français sont indépendants, à ce que je sache ?

    The French are independent, as far as I know?

31. Nous ne sommes pas responsables de l'indépendance ou du destin des Antilles, du destin de Wallis et de Futuna, du destin de Tahiti !

    We are not responsible for the independence or the fate of the West Indies, of the fate of Wallis and Futuna, of the fate of Tahiti!

32. Le destin de ces peuples-là leur appartient.

    The fate of these people belongs to them.

33. Il appartient à leur pays.

    It belongs to their country.

Excerpt two: parts of a speech made by Lionel Jospin (Nouméa, 5 May 1998)

1. Chacun admet que pour continuer à construire ensemble la Nouvelle-Calédonie de demain, mieux vaut une consultation qui rassemble qu'une consultation qui divise.

   Everyone agrees that, in order to continue building the New Caledonia of tomorrow, it is better to have a consultation that brings people together than a consultation that divides.

2. Il reste à trouver cette solution consensuelle, à partir de positions qui sont au départ sensiblement éloignées.

   This consensual solution still needs to be found, based on positions that are noticeably far apart from the outset.

3. Le FLNKS reste porteur d'une revendication d'indépendance, fondée sur la légitimité particulière du peuple autochtone, pour laquelle beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes ont mené un combat difficile.

   The FLNKS[13] *is still the bearer of a demand for independence, based upon the special legitimacy of the indigenous people, for which many men and women have conducted a difficult battle.*

4. Le RPCR voit dans le maintien de liens suffisamment forts avec la France une garantie de paix et de prospérité.

   The RPCR sees the maintenance of sufficiently strong ties with France as a guarantee of peace and prosperity.

5. La volonté de trouver par la négociation une solution de compromis, dans laquelle personne ne renierait ses idéaux, restait forte chez ceux qui demeuraient les partenaires des accords de Matignon.

[13] FLNKS: Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front).

The desire to find a solution of compromise through negotiation, in which nobody would renounce their ideals, has stayed strong for those who remained partners in the Matignon agreements.

6. La confiance dans l'avenir suppose un regard lucide sur le passé.

   Trust in the future calls for a clear view of the past.

7. D'autres pays, notamment dans le Pacifique, l'ont porté sur leur propre histoire.

   Other countries, in particular in the Pacific, had such a view of their own history.

8. Le moment était venu, pour reprendre les expressions du préambule, de "reconnaître les ombres de la période coloniale", afin de permettre au peuple d'origine de constituer avec les hommes et les femmes qui y vivent une communauté humaine affirmant son destin commun.

   The time had come, to use the expressions of the preamble, to "recognise the shadows cast by the colonial period", to allow the indigenous people to establish a human community with the men and women who live there, affirming their common destiny.

9. Une nouvelle organisation institutionnelle est ensuite définie.

   Next, a new institutional organisation was set up.

10. La Nouvelle-Calédonie ne sera plus un territoire d'outre-mer, elle exercera une souveraineté partagée avec la République.

    New Caledonia will no longer be an overseas territory, it will exercise shared sovereignty with the French Republic.

11. Elle recevra progressivement toutes les compétences qu'exerce actuellement l'Etat, à l'exception des pouvoirs régaliens, comme la justice, la défense et l'ordre public et d'autres pouvoirs qui seront partagées avec l'Etat.

    It will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State, except for sovereign powers, such as courts, defence and public order and other powers which will be shared with the State.

12. En matière internationale, la Nouvelle-Calédonie pourra nouer des relations avec des Gouvernements de la région et des organisations internationales, dans les domaines de ses compétences.

    As far as international matters are concerned, New Caledonia will be able to develop relationships with the governments of the region and with international organisations, within the fields of its expertise.

13. En 1999 devront être organisées les élections aux nouvelles institutions, pour que celles-ci puissent se mettre en place le plus tôt possible.

    In 1999, elections will need to be organised for the new institutions, so these may be set up as soon as possible.

14. Ensuite beaucoup nous restera à faire.

    After that, a lot will remain for us to do.

15. Personne ne doit imaginer ces vingt années comme une période d'attente passive.

    Nobody should think of these twenty years as a time of passive waiting.

16. L'accord de Nouméa ne portera des fruits pendant vingt ans que si le Gouvernement, les partis politiques, les institutions de Nouvelle-Calédonie et aussi tous ceux qui sont concernés ici par le destin de ce pays, s'impliquent personnellement dans sa mise en oeuvre.

    The Nouméa Agreement will only bear any fruit over twenty years if the government, the political parties, the institutions of New Caledonia and also everyone who cares about the future of this country get personally involved in its implementation.

17. Les hommes politiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie qui l'ont signé peuvent en être légitimement fiers.

    The New Caledonian politicians who signed it should be rightfully proud of it.

18. Ils ont pris leurs responsabilités.

    They have taken up their responsibilities.

19. Je salue leur engagement.

    I salute their commitment.

20. L'accord de Nouméa doit permettre de répondre aux aspirations de la population.

    The Nouméa Agreement should allow a response to the hopes and dreams of the population.

21. Au-delà de l'attente identitaire et des aspirations politiques, il y a ici de nombreux besoins insatisfaits.

    Above and beyond issues of identity and political aspirations, there are numerous unfulfilled needs here.

22. Un trop grand nombre d'habitants ne disposent pas encore de conditions de vie décentes, beaucoup n'ont pas de travail.

    A large number of inhabitants are not yet living in decent conditions, many do not have a job.

23. Les jeunes sont ici nombreux.

    There are many young people here.

24. Ils s'interrogent, ils nous interrogeront avec une insistance croissante, ce que l'accord changera à leur vie quotidienne, quel avenir nous leur préparons.

    They ask themselves, they will ask us with increasing insistence, how the agreement will change their daily lives, what kind of future we are preparing for them.

25. La réussite de l'accord Nouméa sera aussi jugée à la qualité et à la force des réponses qui seront apportées à ces questions.

    The success of the Nouméa Agreement will also be measured by the quality and the strength of the answers that will be given to these questions.

26. Aujourd'hui, j'exprime ma joie d'apposer ma signature sur un accord qui constitue de nouveaux fondements pour votre maison commune.

Today, I express my delight in putting my signature to an agreement that forms a new base for your "common house".

27. Il vous faut la rendre plus belle pour tous ceux qui y vivent.

    You need to make it more beautiful for all of those who live in it.

Excerpt three: extracts from a radio interview with Jacques Lafleur (OceaneFM 16 December 2009)

1. La Nouvelle-Calédonie, je le répète depuis 30 ans, c'est une multitude d'hommes et de femmes qui vivent sous des règles bien claires.

   New Caledonia, I have been repeating this for 30 years, is a vast number of men and women who live by quite clear rules.

2. Et ces règles ne seront claires que tant qu'elles seront définies et soutenues par une grande puissance.

   And those rules will be clear only as long as they are defined and supported by a large power.

3. Et la France est le pays idéal, c'est la vraie démocratie, c'est son histoire et c'est des démonstrations, les unes après les autres.

   And France is the ideal country, it is the one true democracy, it is its history and its demonstrations, one after the other.

4. On connaît l'histoire de la France et on connaît son comportement à l'égard des hommes.

   We know the history of France and we know its behaviour towards people.

5. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de nations qui sont capables de faire ça.

   There aren't many nations that are capable of doing such a thing.

6. La France et la Nouvelle-Calédonie s'entendent bien.

   France and New Caledonia get along well.

7. La France laisse dans son histoire tous les pays qui ont été colonisés par elle, et j'emploie le mot, je sais, volontairement, parce qu'il choque.

   France leaves in its history all the countries that have been colonised by it, and I use the word, I know, deliberately, because it shocks.

8. Mais, quand vous regardez l'Algérie aujourd'hui, c'est un exemple extraordinaire.

   But if you look at Algeria today, it's an extraordinary example.

9. Quand vous regardez les pays d'Afrique : pour eux, De Gaulle, c'était quelque chose d'important et ils l'ont combattu, et aujourd'hui, leurs progrès, ils les font parce que leur raisonnement est un raisonnement logique, démocratique, humaniste.

   If you look at the African nations: for them, de Gaulle was something important and they fought him, and today, their progress, they are making progress because their reasoning is a logical reasoning, democratic, humanistic.

10. Ça, c'est la France.

    That's France.

11. Donc, qu'est-ce que vous voulez que la petite Nouvelle-Calédonie fasse dans un monde comme on vit, dans un monde anglo-saxon, avec qui on a de bonnes relations maintenant.

    So, what do you want a small nation like New Caledonia to do in the world we live in, in an Anglo-Saxon world, with which we now have good relations.

12. Mais, on est avec la Polynésie, on est 600 milles âmes françaises, dans un océan anglo-saxon de 25 millions, avec des règles qui sont pas les nôtres.

    But, together with [French] Polynesia, we number 600 thousand French souls, in an Anglo-Saxon ocean of 25 million, with rules that are not ours.

13. Et ils nous respectent, et ils nous respecteront tant qu'on aura cette originalité, et il faut pas avoir peur de dire qu'on l'a, parce qu'on est Français.

    And they respect us, and they will continue to respect us as long as we keep this originality, and we shouldn't be afraid of saying that we have it, because we are French.

14. Il faut pas avoir honte d'être Français.

    We shouldn't be ashamed of being French.

15. On peut être Kanak et Français.

    One can be Kanak and French.

16. On peut être Calédonien et Français, la preuve, et je reviens à ce que disait Kotra Urégei: l'essentiel, ce sont les Accords de Nouméa.

    One can be Caledonian and French, the proof, and I go back to what Kotra Urégei said: the main thing is the Nouméa Agreement.

17. Ça a été inventé par qui les Accords de Nouméa?

    Who invented the Nouméa Agreement?

18. Et comment on peut s'en sortir mieux que dans le dialogue, l'amitié et la confiance, la générosité.

    And how better to manage than through dialogue, friendship and trust, and generosity.

19. Vous savez, moi, j'ai un discours que j'ai tout le temps tenu, depuis l'origine, qu'il faut que ceux qui ont quelque chose aillent vers ceux qui n'ont pas.

    You know, I have been saying this all along, since the start, that the ones who have something should go towards those who don't.

20. Que, c'est comme ça qu'on démontre sa bonne volonté de vivre ensemble.

    That, it's like that we can show our willingness to live together.

3.3.1 Transitivity system

Both French and Kanak nationalism depend on a particular imagined conception of "independence", of how people see the new nation: as "three provinces in the French Republic" (Palmieri, 2014) or as "Kanaky", Tjibaou, Jospin and Lafleur make various lexicogrammatical choices, drawing from the language-specific semiotic resources at their disposal, in order to make meanings (see Appendix Two). As Halliday (2004) explains, some of these resources may be ideational, related to the type of action, the agency of the subjects and circumstances. Within this ideational metafunction of language, Halliday further distinguishes between the experiential and logic functions. In order to clarify the experiential meanings and underlying social representations, which are expressed through the transitivity system, a closer look at the transitivity structures and various processes, participants and circumstances in the excerpts is thus required (see Appendix One).

Six different process types may be distinguished in the French transitivity system: material, mental, verbal, behavioural, existential and relational (Fig. 3.2). The main questions that need to be addressed here are the following:

1. How does Tjibaou create his view of "Kanaky" (New Caledonia)?
2. How do Jospin and Lafleur construct their reality of a "common destiny" for France and New Caledonia?
3. How do the three politicians portray themselves in terms of power and manipulation of the audience?

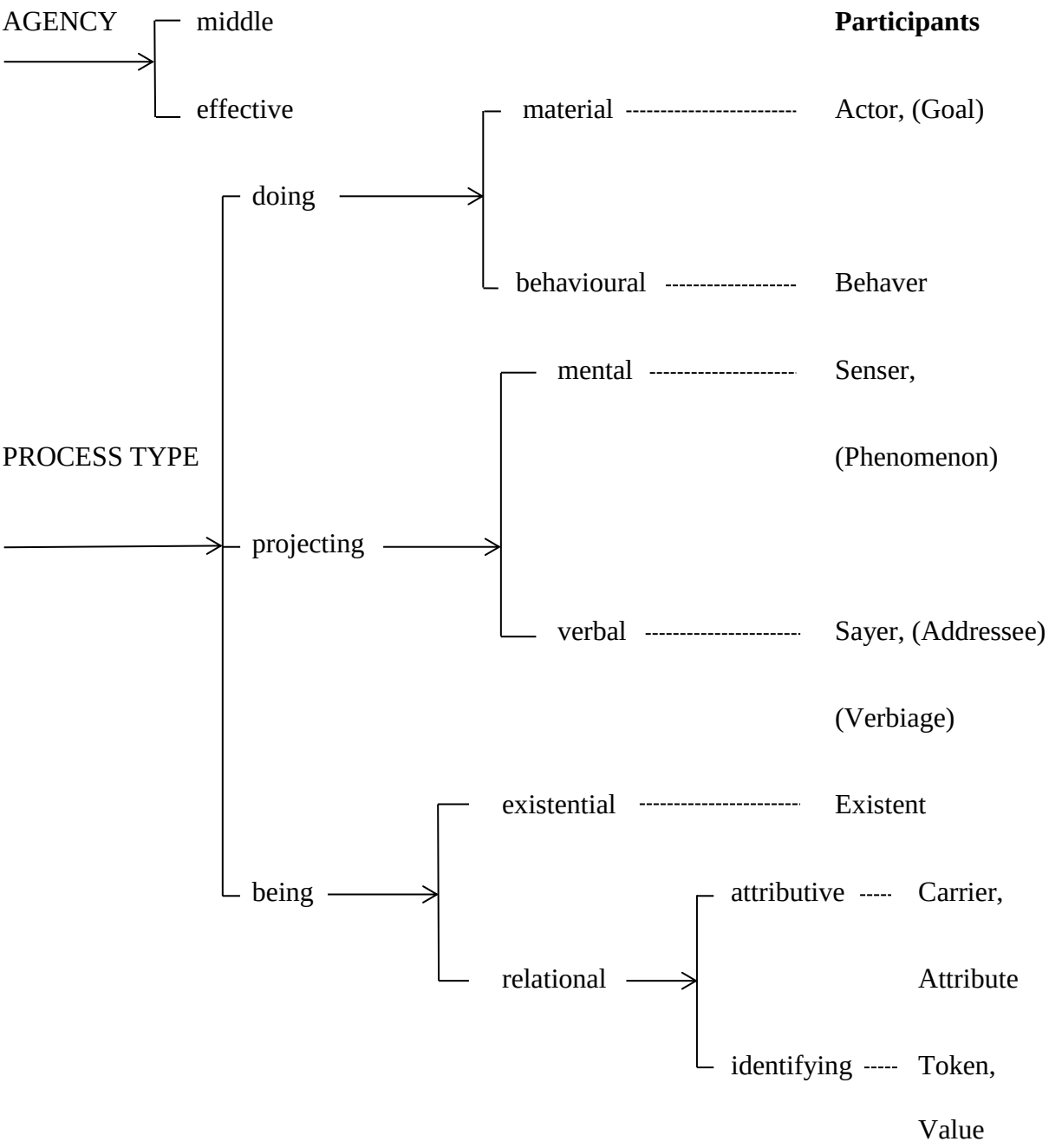


Figure 3.2: The French Transitivity System (Caffarel, 2006**)**

The agents have a choice between doing, projecting or being processes. As Caffarel (2006) explains, "the 'doing' process type covers processes of doing and happening" (p. 70), which can be further divided into material, behavioural or meteorological processes. The participants in material processes are referred to as Actor, Goal, Range, Client or Recipient (Caffarel, 2006).

Process type	**Frequency of use**		
	Tjibaou	**Jospin**	**Lafleur**
Material	14	**16**	12
Mental	1	6	8
Verbal	11	3	0
Behavioural	0	1	2
Existential	3	1	1
Relational	**20**	9	**18**
Total	49	36	41

Table 3.1: Frequency of process types used by Tjibaou, Jospin, and Lafleur

The following process types are used in Tjibaou's speech: material, mental, verbal, behavioural, existential and relational. However, he mostly uses relational processes, which may reflect his passivity and a feeling of disempowerment towards the reality proposed by French politicians such as Jospin. However, it could also be seen as an attempt to influence the audience in favour of full independence. Tjibaou's text is mainly characterised by relational processes of the attributive type, since he seems to aim to describe the state of things and, most importantly, how these things ought to be.

Jospin appears to use more material processes, showing a much anticipated higher degree of active agency by New Caledonia and its inhabitants. This seems to be mainly a desired form of agency, projected onto the future, as nearly all of the processes are in the future tense.

Jospin's discursive strategy evokes a reality, in which New Caledonia is only partially independent and in which France still holds the most important powers.

Focusing on how power relations impact on the protagonists' perceptions of reality; it is found that Jospin's only involvement in what is happening lies in formally greeting the politicians who signed the Nouméa Agreement. He seems to be distancing himself from what is going on, primarily by putting the responsibility for the issue on others (see Table 3.2).

Material processes	**Actor**
(2) "à trouver" (to be found)	no Actor, but existential particle "il" (it)
(7) "l'ont porté" (had)	"D'autres pays" (Other countries)
(8) "était venu" (had come)	"Le moment" (The time)
(8) "de constituer" (to establish)	"peuple d'origine" (indigenous people)
(10) "exercera" (will exercise)	"elle" (it, New Caledonia)
(11) "recevra" (will receive)	"elle" (it, New Caledonia)
(12) "pourra nouer" (will be able to develop)	"la Nouvelle-Calédonie" (New Caledonia)
(13) "mettre en place" (set up)	"celles-ci" (these, the elections)
(14) "à faire" (to be done)	"beaucoup" (a lot)
(16) "portera" (will bear)	"L'accord de Nouméa" (The Nouméa agreement)
(16) "s'impliquent" (get involved)	"le Gouvernement, les partis politiques, les institutions de Nouvelle-Calédonie et aussi tous ceux qui sont concernés ici par le destin de ce pays" (the government, the political parties, the institutions of New Caledonia,

	and also everyone who cares about the future of this country)
(18) “ont pris” (have taken up)	“ils” (they, the New Caledonian politicians)
(19) “salue” (salute)	“je” (I, Jospin)
(22) “disposent” (have)	“un trop grand nombre d’habitants” (too many inhabitants)
(22) “n’ont pas de travail” (do not have a job)	“beaucoup” (many)
(27) “rendre” (make)	“vous” (you)

Table 3.2: Material processes found in Jospin’s speech and corresponding actors

Similar to Tjibaou, Lafleur also appears to have a preference for relational processes, both from the attributive and the identifying type, which indicates he mainly describes how things are and how they ideally should be, seen from his perspective. It seems clear, from simply reading through his argument, that he makes a strong appeal to pathos and to the audience to show more willingness to live together as French citizens. Overall, his answers form an enthusiastic plea for New Caledonia to remain French.

3.3.2 Circumstances

Circumstances sketch the background to the discursive event and are found in adverbial groups and prepositional phrases (Halliday, 2004), forming an answer to questions such as “where”, “when”, “why” or “how”. Table 3.3 below summarises the findings for each of the circumstantial elements found in the two speeches and the interview and how they are used by each speaker.

Circumstance types	**Frequency of use**		
	Tjibaou	**Jospin**	**Lafleur**
Spatial: time	3	5	3
Spatial: place	12	6	5
Cause: purpose	2	1	-
Condition	-	1	-
Matter	1	4	-
Manner: means	2	-	-
Manner: quality	1	2	1
Manner: comparison	1	-	-
Total	**22**	**19**	**9**

Table 3.3: Circumstance types found in the discourse samples

The most frequently used type of circumstances in all three discourse samples are spatial circumstances or locations. This seems rather significant, since geographically determined places do appear to play an important role in the debate. The spaces mentioned in the texts, albeit real or imaginary, may ultimately be affected by the discursive events and vice versa.

In his speech, Tjibaou uses 22 examples of 8 different circumstance types, with a strong preference for the spatial type. He mentions various other places in terms of countries that have already acquired a status of independence: "en **Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée**" (in Papua New Guinea), "aux **Salomons**" (on the Solomon Islands), "au **Vanuatu**" (in Vanuatu), "au **Vietnam**" (in Vietnam), "en **Algérie**" (in Algeria), as well as one country where the indigenous inhabitants have been eliminated by the colonising forces: "en **Tasmanie**" (in Tasmania). He then turns the focus to "ici" (here), which, of course, deictically indicates New Caledonia. He also uses the pronoun "y" to refer to the external reality (in the form of previous parades), thereby relying on knowledge shared with the audience, as a member of the same ideological group:

(3) Des défilés comme celui d'en face, il **y** en a eu d'autres.

Parades, such as this one here, have been organised before.

By doing so, he focuses the attention of the audience on other places that have known the same struggle for independence and encourages people to think of examples for themselves.

3.3.3 System of mood

Other questions that deserve our attention are the following:

- How do Tjibaou, Jospin and Lafleur negotiate meaning with their audience?
- What is Tjibaou's attitude towards the former colonisers?
- Do Jospin and Lafleur display a neocolonialist or even racist attitude in their speeches?

The interpersonal language function indicates social distance and may also be related to power relations. Caffarel (2006) explains how, in French, the functions of Subject, Finite and Predicator "are, as a general rule, crucial, both to the negotiation process in French and to the realization of Mood options" (p. 123). These three elements form the Negotiator. Crucial mood options in French include indicative, imperative, informative and interrogative mood (see Fig. 3.3). Within the informative option, one may also choose between declarative or exclamative mood.

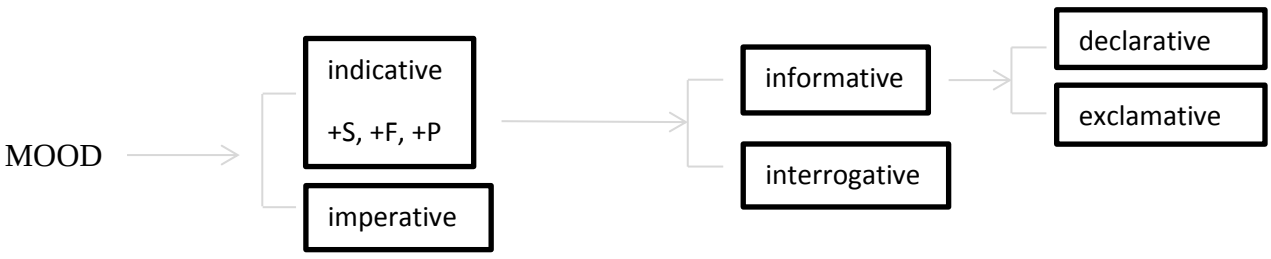


Figure 3.3: Primary mood options in French (Caffarel, 2006)

Mood types used in Tjibaou's speech are declarative (25 times), exclamative (7 times) and interrogative (1 time). The speaker mostly selects declarative mood, with the purpose of conveying information to the audience. Exclamative mood is chosen to express the politician's attitude toward the content of the clause, as in:

(1) Vous êtes peut-être seulement deux mille, mais vous êtes le peuple !
There may only be two thousand of you, but you are the people!

By selecting exclamative mood in this instance, Tjibaou emphasises the point that the audience may be small in number, but nonetheless important. Interrogative mood, then, is chosen to formulate a rhetorical question:

(30) Les Français sont indépendants, à ce que je sache?
The French are independent, as far as I know?

This question is meant to encourage people to consider Tjibaou's opinion [14] on the independence issue. It implies that the French are independent and that, therefore, the audience should not be preoccupied with France, since the problem lies elsewhere.

In his speech, Jospin consistently selects declarative mood 27 times, thereby focusing on simply providing information on the matter. In contrast with Tjibaou, he does not wish to show any emotional involvement in the conflict situation.

Finally, Lafleur opts for declarative mood 19 times in the interview and only once for interrogative mood, also in order to ask a rhetorical question, as shown in the example below:

(17) Ça a été inventé par qui les Accords de Nouméa?
Who invented the Nouméa Agreement?

[14] Tjibaou may further have employed this rhetorical question to obtain an ironic effect, as its meaning does not correspond with the external reality.

Lafleur's question aims to draw the attention of the audience to an argument from authority, as expressed by the speaker, since the implied answer is "the French government".

3.3.4 Epistemic modality

According to Halliday (2004), modality constitutes "the speaker's judgement, or request of the judgement of the listener, on the status of what is being said" (p. 143). This may be understood as epistemic modality, as opposed to deontic modality, which focuses more on the speaker's feelings or attitude. He further distinguishes between various degrees of modality that lie on a continuum between "yes" and "no", construing uncertainty (Halliday, 2004). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) describe modality as a system containing various values: high, which means "certain", median, which means "probable" and low, which means "possible". Halliday (2004) also distinguishes between modalisation, to express various degrees of probability and usuality, and modulation, which he describes as "the scales of obligation and inclination" (p. 147), thus referring to a particular semantic category.

In French, as in English, modality can be realised congruently by modal adjuncts or verbs or non-congruently through metaphorical expressions. The latter include personal or impersonal mental and relational processes (Caffarel, 2006). French modality is expressed in the Negotiator, more specifically in the Finite and Predicator. A further distinction can be made between implicit or explicit and between subjective or objective. As Caffarel points out, the systems of modality and mood are linked, since "modality choices serve to expand the realizational potential of speech functional semantics by means of interpersonal metaphor" (p. 147).

Tjibaou uses various congruent expressions of epistemic modality to express his judgement on the situation. As table 3.4 below shows, he only selects one modal adjunct: "peut-être"

(maybe) and does not use any modal verbs. However, as will be shown later, he does employ various non-congruent modal expressions instead.

	Low	**Median**	**High**
Adjuncts	-	peut-être (maybe)	-
Modal verbs	-	-	-

Table 3.4: Modalisation used by Tjibaou

Jospin does not employ any adjuncts (see Table 3.5). However, he does use various modal verbs with high value to express determination to carry out the promises he is making, which is probably meant to reassure the audience that something will be done about the issue. He also uses various low value modal verbs whenever he discusses possibilities, such as the prospect of New Caledonia developing relations with other countries in the Pacific.

It is evident that modality and mood are linked, as shown in Jospin's use of the modal verb "puissent" (may be), which is expressed in the subjunctive mood, expressing the lower probability of new elections in New Caledonia (see also Table 3.5):

(13) En 1999 devront être organisées les élections aux nouvelles institutions, pour que celles-ci **puissent** se mettre en place le plus tôt possible.

*In 1999, elections will need to be organised for the new institutions, so these **may** be set up as soon as possible.*

	Low	**Median**	**High**
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	pourra (will be able)	-	devront (will need)
	puissent (may be)	-	doit (must)
	peuvent (may)	-	doit (must)

Table 3.5: Modalisation used by Jospin

Lafleur does not employ any adjuncts either (see Table 3.6). He does use the verb "peut" (can) three times, which has low value, when he refers to the choices that the audience can

make, such as being both Kanak and French, being both Caledonian and French or opting for a cooperative dialogue with France.

	Low	**Median**	**High**
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	peut (can)	voulez (want)	-
	peut (can)	-	-
	peut (can)	-	-

Table 3.6: Modalisation used by Lafleur

3.3.5 Metaphorical realisations of modality

In French, as in English, various probability expressions may be used. In this case, the speaker chooses to express modal meanings through metaphors of modality, rather than opting for modal verbs. Mental clauses, for example, starting with "Je crois" (I believe) or "Je pense" (I think) may function as mood adjuncts. In French, these expressions require the indicative mood, whereas clauses introduced with "Je ne crois pas que x" (I don't believe that x) or "Je ne pense pas que x" (I don't think that x) usually require subjunctive mood. As Halliday (2004) explicates, in expressions of modality "the speaker's opinion regarding the probability that his observation is valid is coded not as a modal element within the clause, which would be its congruent realization, but as a separate, projecting clause in a hypotactic clause nexus" (p. 614). The encodings may be either subjective, as in "Je crois" (I believe), or objective, as in "Il est possible" (It is possible). Quite surprisingly, neither of the protagonists opts for the subjective way of expressing probability in combination with mental verbs. However, all three of the speakers use various explicit, objective expressions of probability, instead of more implicit modal verbs.

For example, Tjibaou uses the following representation to express a particular opinion in a more indirect and objective manner:

(22) **Beaucoup disent que** l'indépendance kanak est raciste.

Many say that Kanak independence is racist.

Jospin also expresses his opinion in a more oblique fashion, thereby leaving less space for negotiation, by using the following probability expressions:

(1) **Chacun admet que** pour continuer à construire ensemble la Nouvelle-Calédonie de demain, mieux vaut une consultation qui rassemble qu'une consultation qui divise.

Everyone agrees that, in order to continue building the New Caledonia of tomorrow, it is better to have a consultation that brings people together than a consultation that divides.

(4) Le RPCR **voit** dans le maintien de liens suffisamment forts avec la France une garantie de paix et de prospérité.

The RPCR sees the maintenance of sufficiently strong ties with France as a guarantee of peace and prosperity.

(6) La confiance dans l'avenir **suppose** un regard lucide sur le passé.

Trust in the future calls for a clear view of the past.

(15) **Personne ne doit** imaginer ces vingt années comme une période d'attente passive.

Nobody should think of these twenty years as a time of passive waiting.

Finally, some examples of metaphorical expressions used by Lafleur:

(4) **On connaît** l'histoire de la France et **on connaît** son comportement à l'égard des hommes.
We know the history of France and we know its behaviour towards people.

(8) Mais, **quand vous regardez** l'Algérie aujourd'hui, c'est un exemple extraordinaire.
But if you look at Algeria today, it's an extraordinary example.

(9) **Quand vous regardez** les pays d'Afrique : pour eux, De Gaulle, c'était quelque chose d'important…
If you look at the African nations: for them, De Gaulle was something important…

(18) Et **comment on peut s'en sortir mieux** que dans le dialogue, l'amitié et la confiance, la générosité.
And how better to manage than through dialogue, friendship and trust, and generosity.

Lafleur seems to eagerly opt for these explicit objective metaphorical expressions in order to express his opinion on the matter in a more indirect fashion, thus making it more digestible for the audience.

3.3.6 Deontic modality

Halliday (2004) refers to deontic modals as mood metaphors or incongruent realisations of modality. The meaning of deontic modals strongly depends on the context in which they are used, as well as on the person using them. When employed in the third person, these forms ensure a higher degree of authoritative force (Hodge & Kress, 1993). As the protagonists in the debate display their attitudes through the interpersonal function of language, modality may shed further light on the underlying social representations expressed in the discourse, as shown earlier, but also how the social actors position themselves in light of these ideologies in terms of a desired outcome of their discursive acts.

Deontic modalities, under the form of perlocutionary speech acts, such as "directives" and "commissives" are especially important, as these may be linked to the notion of deontic or institutionalised power. Searle (2008) further exemplifies directives as "orders and commands" and commissives as "promises and vows" (p. 451). In French, deontic modals may be expressed using the imperative mood, modal verbs or desiderative verbal processes, but also through impersonal constructions or tense (Caffarel, 2006).

For example, Jospin consistently uses a particular form of future tense in French, the "futur simple" (simple future tense), to express his uncertainty about the future by making a mere prediction about the nation's future, without knowing whether the conditions of that prediction will be fulfilled (Peeters, 2014). Consequently, this tense is typically used in promises, as opposed to the "futur proche" (near future), which expresses a far higher degree

of certainty and confidence and is therefore used to refer to facts.[15] Jospin's promises might be the expression of a neo-colonialist attitude of dominance or overprotection. However, his tense selection is more likely to be based on contextual factors rather than pure intention[16].

Tjbaou uses only one deontic modal or metaphorical expression of modality in his speech:

- [explicit, objective, high]

(25) On a dit qu'**il fallait** "faire du Blanc" pour éliminer la revendication kanak.

It was said it was necessary to "act white" to silence Kanak demands.

Jospin, however, does use numerous directives and commands, thereby expressing a more dominant attitude:

- [explicit, objective, median]

(1) Chacun admet que pour continuer à construire ensemble la Nouvelle-Calédonie de demain, **mieux vaut** une consultation qui rassemble qu'une consultation qui divise.

Everyone agrees that, in order to continue building the New Caledonia of tomorrow, it is better to have a consultation that brings people together than a consultation that divides.

- [explicit, objective, median]

(2) **Il reste à trouver** cette solution consensuelle, à partir de positions qui sont au départ sensiblement éloignées.

This consensual solution still needs to be found, based on positions that are noticeably far apart from the outset.

[15] See also, for example, (Schrott, 2001) or (Barbazan, 2010) for a more detailed comparison between the "futur proche" and the "futur simple".

[16] The context requires the speaker to create distance between himself and what he says, which is obtained by using the "futur simple".

- [explicit, objective, median]

(14) Ensuite **beaucoup nous restera à faire**.

After that, a lot will remain to be done.

- [implicit, subjective, median]

(20) L'accord de Nouméa **doit** permettre de répondre aux aspirations de la population.

The Nouméa Agreement must allow a response to the hopes and dreams of the population.

- [explicit, objective, high]

(27) **Il vous faut** la rendre plus belle pour tous ceux qui y vivent.

You need to make it more beautiful for all of those who live in it.

In a similar fashion, the strong, explicit and objective deontic modals used by Lafleur also indicate a feeling of superiority that shows itself in an authoritative attitude:

- [explicit, objective, high]

(13) Et ils nous respectent, et ils nous respecteront tant qu'on aura cette originalité, et **il faut** pas avoir peur de dire qu'on l'a, parce qu'on est Français.

And they respect us, and they will continue to respect us as long as we keep this originality, and we shouldn't be afraid of saying that we have it, because we are French.

- [explicit, objective, high]

(14) **Il faut** pas avoir honte d'être Français.

We shouldn't be ashamed of being French.

- [explicit, objective, high]

(19) Vous savez, moi, j'ai un discours que j'ai tout le temps tenu, depuis l'origine, qu'**il faut** que ceux qui ont quelque chose aillent vers ceux qui n'ont pas.

You know, I have been saying this all along, since the start, that the ones who have something must go towards those who don't.

3.3.7 Pronominal choices

Pronominal choices made by the speakers also relate to the interpersonal function of language. Billig (1995) explains how politicians make specific pronominal choices to emphasise their nationalistic viewpoints. He refers to this strategy as "flagging" and points out that a "banal nationalism", which is only implicitly present and thus largely unnoticed, may be deduced from the language used in political speeches. As mentioned earlier, both speeches and interviews are seen in this study as complex speech acts. Searle (1969) succinctly describes the apparent dichotomy between "what is said" and "what is meant" in his speech act theory. In analysing the political discourse contained in this study, the focus thus needs to be on the effects the discourse has on societal reality, leading to change, since it would be largely impossible to know how it was conceived in the speakers' minds.

Any pronominal choices made by Tjibaou, Jospin and Lafleur are highly dependent on contextual factors and may disclose part of the politicians' ideological views and the categories with which they wish to align themselves. Van Dijk (2006b) points out that ideologies "organize and ground the social representations shared by the members of (ideological) groups" (p. 117). The personal pronoun "nous" (we) appears to deictically refer to the specific group with which each speaker most strongly identifies, as opposed to "ils" (they).

This polarisation is by no means limited to political discourse. It may also be found in other types of discourse, both oral and written. For example, in her study of Georges Baudoux's

Légendes canaques (Kanak legends), Speedy (2013) mentions that the same dichotomous representations are used by the New Caledonian author to depict the more primitive "them" as less evolved than the more civilised "us", thus reinforcing the same stereotypical image found in most French post-colonial literature. According to Said (1978), "such divisions are generalities whose use historically and actually has been to press the importance of the distinction between some men and some other men, usually towards not especially admirable ends" (p. 45). By making specific pronominal choices, the protagonists appear to amplify the existing division between France and New Caledonia.

A focus on the social actors' use of the first person plural pronoun "nous" (we), the possessive pronouns "notre/nos" and the demonstrative pronouns "celui(-ci)/celle(-ci)/ceux(-ci)/celles(-ci)" (this/these) or "ceux/celles" (those) indeed appears to be especially revealing. Tjibaou appears to make frequent use of the first person plural pronoun "nous" (we). He uses it 7 times in the speech (see Table 3.7).

Consider the following examples:

(14) "Mais la légitimité indigène, elle est en **nous**, elle est en vous."

*But indigenous legitimacy is in **us**, it is in you.*

(23) "**Nous** revendiquons l'indépendance kanak parce que **nous** revendiquons d'être ce que **nous** sommes !"

***We** claim Kanak independence because **we** claim to be who we are!*

(24) "**Nous** revendiquons notre droit à une part de soleil, comme n'importe quel peuple indépendant du monde."

***We** claim our right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world.*

(29) "**Nous** ne sommes pas responsables de l'indépendance de la France."

***We** are not responsible for the independence of France.*

(31) "**Nous** ne sommes pas responsables de l'indépendance ou du destin des Antilles, du destin de Wallis et de Futuna, du destin de Tahiti!"

***We** are not responsible for the independence or the fate of the West Indies, of the fate of Wallis and Futuna, of the fate of Tahiti!*

As these examples show, Tjibaou clearly self-identifies with the group to which he belongs: the Kanak people, in the sense of pro-independence Melanesians who, according to him, have an unalienable right to the land on which they live and who are not responsible for any other independence but their own. He strongly disassociates himself from France by emphasising this Kanak identity. The "nous" he selects excludes any people who would in the first place refer to themselves as French, since it is only reserved to those people who consider themselves to be quintessentially Kanak.

Furthermore, Tjibaou's choices of the possessive pronouns "notre" and "nos" show that he associates himself with the categories "droit" (right) and "généalogies" (genealogies), elucidating his focus on the rights of the Kanak people:

(24) Nous revendiquons **notre** droit à une part de soleil, comme n'importe quel peuple indépendant du monde.

*We claim **our** right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world.*

(2) **Nos** généalogies chantent des pierres, chantent des arbres, des sapins, des cocotiers qui sont enracinés dans ce pays.

***Our** genealogies sing of rocks, sing of trees, of fir trees, of coconut palms that are deeply rooted in this land.*

In comparison, Jospin does not associate himself with these categories. Neither does Lafleur. The collocation of "notre droit" (our right) illustrates that the link between the Kanak community and their rights remains the main issue in Tjibaou's view.

The speaker further uses the demonstrative pronoun "celui" (this) to refer to the parade that is taking place in front of the audience and the speaker. With the pronoun "ceux" (those), though, he refers to people in other countries, which have become independent, who protested against this independence, but who have left, thanks to the action undertaken by the indigenous population:

(9) Aujourd'hui, ces pays sont indépendants, parce que **ceux** qui défilaient en disant que l'indépendance n'est pas possible, face aux peuples indigènes, sont partis ailleurs.

*Today, these countries are independent, because **those** who were marching, saying independence is not possible, when confronted by indigenous peoples, have gone elsewhere.*

By doing so, Tjibaou draws a comparison between countries who have succeeded in becoming independent and New Caledonia, where loyalists still protest against independence, thus identifying himself with formerly colonised people and appealing to the audience to follow his example.

Pronoun type	**Quantitative use**
Personal pronouns	
first person singular	1
first person plural	7
second person singular	0
second person plural	6
third person singular	14
third person plural	15
Demonstrative pronouns	
celui	1
ceux	1
Possessive pronouns	
notre/nos	2
leur(s)	2

Table 3.7: Pronominal use by Tjibaou

Jospin uses the first person plural pronoun "nous" (we) three times (see Table 3.8), as shown in the following examples:

(14) "Ensuite beaucoup **nous** restera à faire."

After that, a lot will remain to be done.

(24) “Ils s'interrogent, ils **nous** interrogeront avec une insistance croissante, ce que l'accord changera à leur vie quotidienne, quel avenir **nous** leur préparons.”

*They wonder, they ask **us** with increasing insistence, how the agreement will change their daily lives, which future **we** are preparing for them.*

It appears that Jospin strongly identifies with France and, more specifically, with the authoritative institution that carries high responsibility in the conflict situation: the French government. However, he never selects the possessive pronoun “notre” (our) in his speech.

Jospin further uses the demonstrative pronoun “ceux” to refer to people who “remained partners in the Matignon agreements”, who “care about the future of the country”, and who “live in it (the country)”, thus creating an idealised ideological group that shares the concerns of the French government and that is willing to cooperate, which does not necessarily coincide with reality.

Pronoun type	**Quantitative use**
Personal pronouns	
first person singular	1
first person plural	3
second person singular	0
second person plural	1
third person singular	5
third person plural	3
Demonstrative pronouns	
celles-ci	1
ceux	3
Possessive pronouns	
notre	0
leur(s)	6

Table 3.8: Pronominal use by Jospin

Lafleur uses the first person plural pronoun “nous” twice (see Table 3.9), as shown in the example below:

(13) "Et ils **nous** respectent, et ils **nous** respecteront tant qu'on aura cette originalité, et il faut pas avoir peur de dire qu'on l'a, parce qu'**on** est Français."

And they respect us, and they will continue to respect us as long as we keep this originality, and we shouldn't be afraid of saying that we have it, because we are French.

He appears to self-identify with a powerful France that demands respect from other nations. It may be argued that the context of the difference in opinion between France and New Caledonia has largely influenced Lafleur's pronominal choices, as these clearly show a pertinent desire to continue to identify with the French discourse community. He further identifies with the category "Français" (French), using the indefinite pronoun "on", which may be translated into English by the first person plural pronoun "we", and which is a highly inclusive form of "nous". Lafleur aims to persuade the New Caledonian audience to agree with his views, based on the fact that they are equally in favour of the solution of a French New Caledonia, as "Caldoches" (French New Caledonians).

In fact, Lafleur uses the more neutral indefinite pronoun "on" (one/we) quite profusely, with a total count of 13 times, as a more informal way of expressing this inclusiveness, as shown in the examples below:

(15) **On** peut être Kanak et Français.

One/we *can be Kanak and French.*

(16) **On** peut être Calédonien et Français, la preuve, et je reviens à ce que disait Kotra Urégei: l'essentiel, ce sont les Accords de Nouméa.

One/we *can be Caledonian and French, the proof, and I go back to what Kotra Urégei said: the main thing is the Nouméa Agreement.*

(20) Que, c'est comme ça qu'**on** démontre sa bonne volonté de vivre ensemble.

That, it's like that ***we*** *can show our willingness to live together.*

Lafleur's manifold selections of "on" (one/we) seems to contribute to the overall vagueness of his discourse. Finally, he does not make any use of the possessive pronoun "notre" (our).

It has become clear that the meanings of these pronouns are based on previously established shared knowledge within the two discourse communities.

Pronoun type	**Quantitative use**
Personal pronouns	
first person singular	3
first person plural	2
second person singular	0
second person plural	4
third person singular	7
third person plural	6
Demonstrative pronouns	
ça	4
ceux	2
Possessive pronouns	
notre	0
leur(s)	2

Table 3.9: Pronominal use by Lafleur

3.3.8 Other lexical choices

According to cognitive linguists, such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors determine how people perceive reality and, consequently, how they express their ideological stances and objectives, which all influence their actions. Some metaphors, such as "argument is war" have become ingrained in the thinking of individuals to such an extent that they do not realise their presence anymore, not even when used in their own discourse (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Apart from the grammatical metaphors discussed above, the excerpts also contain at least one lexical metaphor that appears to be ideologically significant and that is expressed using the collocation of the noun "destin" (destiny) and the adjective "commun" (common). Seretan (2011) aptly defines the term collocation as "a relation of affinity which holds between words

in a language, and which is revealed by the typical co-occurrence of words" (p. 10). Context plays a crucial role in determining its meaning. As Firth (1957) aptly pointed out: "You shall know a word by the company it keeps!" (p. 157). Or, as Lukin (2013) describes it: "Texts bring together things that come to be seen as naturally going together, with respect to a context of situation and a cultural context" (p. 438).

The meaning of a collocation is conveyed by the two lexemes linked together in discourse. The noun "destin" (destiny) and the adjective "commun" (common) each have a particular meaning. However, by merging the two, a new and highly context-dependent meaning is created. The two entities of the French discourse community and the Kanak social group may have certain aspects in common. However, they may also have their own particular idea of a possible destiny for their community. When these two concepts are brought together in one discursive act, they convey a novel sense of a destiny that is shared between the two opponents. This presupposes that the audience will accept this new meaning as linked to the social reality of a peaceful, multicultural form of co-existence. As a matter of fact, the collocation of "common destiny" has been reiterated so many times that it has come to be recognised by all parties involved as an element of "common sense", as Fairclough (1989) puts it.

The common destiny collocation is not used in the speech made by Tjibaou that is included here, even though he does use it in other discourse samples. Lafleur does not use it either, but expresses the same idea in the interview in the following appeal to probability:

(15) On peut être Kanak et Français.

One can be Kanak and French.

Jospin does use the metaphor explicitly in his speech:

(8) Le moment était venu, pour reprendre les expressions du préambule, de "reconnaître les ombres de la période coloniale", afin de permettre au peuple d'origine de constituer

> avec les hommes et les femmes qui y vivent une communauté humaine affirmant son **destin commun.**
>
> *The time had come, to use the expressions of the preamble, to "recognise the shadows cast by the colonial period", to allow the indigenous people to establish a human community with the men and women who live there, affirming their **common destiny**.*

The collocation seems to have been created by the French side at the time of the Nouméa Agreement in 1998,[17] based on a famous pro-independence slogan from the "Union calédonienne" (Caledonian Union): "deux couleurs, un seul peuple" (two colours, one single people),[18] and, subsequently, forever symbolised by the handshake between Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Jacques Lafleur in June 1988 that led to the Matignon Agreements (see timeline in Fig. 3.1). After its entry in the political realm, the collocation has been repeated numerous times throughout the chain of discourses that surround the debate, within the broader cultural and social context, by both French and Kanak social actors, all lending a specific meaning to the term. To the French, the metaphor means "peaceful co-existence on French terms", whereas the Kanak side seems to decode it as "living together on Kanak terms". This is also how the collocation appears to be interpreted in the "Charte du peuple Kanak" (Charter of the Kanak people), compiled by the Kanak customary Senate:

> "Considérant que la conciliation et la symbiose de ces deux visions dans le cadre d'un **destin commun** appelle une compréhension mutuelle, une intelligence de soi-même et de l'autre qui seuls peuvent conduire à des relations reposant sur le respect et la bonne foi et ainsi concourir au plein épanouissement de chacun et à une paix sociale durable. Relevant à cet égard que l'objectif d'une identité commune dans un **destin commun** commence par la caractérisation de l'Identité Kanak, des principes et valeurs qui la fondent ainsi que par leur intelligibilité tant par les Kanak eux-mêmes que par les autres citoyens non autochtones." (Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2014, pp. 6-7)

English translation[19]:

[17] See http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000555817&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id
[18] Trépied, 2010; Lenormand, 1954.
[19] Adapted from: http://www.senat-coutumier.nc/phocadownload/useruploads/charte%20anglais.pdf

> "Considering that the conciliation and symbiosis of these two visions, as part of a **common destiny**, requires a mutual understanding, a form of intelligence of oneself and others that alone can lead to relations based on respect and good faith and, in this way, contribute to the fulfilment of all and to lasting social peace. Taking note that the objective of a common identity in a **common destiny** begins with the definition of Kanak Identity, of its founder principles and values, and with their intelligibility as much by the Kanak themselves as by the non-indigenous citizens."

As a result of its frequent use in political discourse, both the audience and the social actors have assimilated the arbitrarily formed collocation through highly culture-specific experiences. Its semantic properties have also become more and more fixed through its use by politicians in an institutionalised context. The metaphorical concept of "common destiny" may be linked to the imaginary nation that each of the parties has constructed, a conceptualisation that is subsequently expressed as an important objective of both opponents, possibly leading to social change in New Caledonian society. When the interactants start to think of "destiny" as being "common", this will affect both their thoughts and actions, as well as those of the audience that repeatedly comes across the same collocation. Eventually, the concept will become naturalised. It will be commonly accepted as factual and shared knowledge.

Chapter Four: Analytical Overview of Argumentation

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to reconstruct each argument, following principles as set out by pragma-dialectic theory (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). In the **argument reconstruction** each of the premises within the argument under investigation will be identified. These generally include the following:

- the claim for action
- the circumstances
- the goals
- (the means-goal)
- the values

The arguments will be critically evaluated and any implicit premises, underlying social representations or imaginary constructs will be elucidated.

Three arguments will be critically analysed: Tjibaou's argument for full independence, Jospin's argument for free association and Lafleur's argument for peaceful coexistence. It is important to note that power constitutes a strong motivator for a particular course of action. According to Searle (2003), "all political power is a matter of status functions, and for that reason all political power is deontic power" (p.11). Deontic power consists of various reasons for action that are independent of individual desires. In this study, social representations or ideologies are seen as integrated in the values premise of the argumentative structure, under the form of concerns with regards to the proposed solution.

Imagined realities also form an important impetus for action. In political discourse, these fictitious constructs are often shifted from the goal premise to the circumstantial premise in

order to present them as facts and thus increase the credibility of the proposed plan for action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). In each of the three excerpts, a particular plea for action is being made. As such, the speakers each have both dialectical and rhetorical objectives in formulating their argument, which needs to be both rational and convincing (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003). Following Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1989), each sample of discourse in this study is considered as a complex speech act of argumentation "aimed at convincing another person of the acceptability of a standpoint" (pp. 368-369). The desired effect of this speech act is to persuade the other party to accept a viewpoint that does not necessarily coincide with their own opinion on the matter. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) see this perlocutionary effect of a particular critical discussion as an "externalization", since "being persuaded by" the other party's opinion on what type of action needs to be taken is "externalized as the expression of acceptance of a positive commitment to a speech act by a person who was initially opposed to that speech act" (p. 55). A speech act such as a promise, in the case of Jospin's speech, strongly emphasises "our good deeds", which may be considered a sign of hegemonic intentions.

After having described the various premises, each argument will be reconstructed in English. The context of action will be described, as well as the desired course of action and the means to achieve this goal, based on the speaker's values. Any possible positive or negative consequences will be considered. It is also important to focus on action as motivated by moral values such as justice or fairness or by political values such as egality. In the light of these premises, each argument needs to be evaluated as either reasonable or unreasonable by looking closely at any fallacies or hidden premises in the argumentative structure.

In order to obtain a solution to the independence issue, the interactants need to follow a set of general rules of communication. Based on the Gricean maxims of communication, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) have developed a set of rules for critical discussions.

Whenever interactants do not comply with these rules, fallacies occur in the structure of their argument, which may be analysed within a pragma-dialectical perspective by focusing on individual violations, since, depending on various contextual factors and based on inferential knowledge, the intended meaning, contained in the discourse, may differ from the uttered meaning. Jospin and Lafleur's argumentation appears to be aimed at justifying their opinion, whereas Tjibaou's argumentation more generally aspires to refute the French viewpoint. As Said (1993) pointed out, a contrapuntal perspective is recommended in this light, as it allows for investigation into both imperialist remnants of French power, as well as any forms of resistance to it.

The argumentative reconstruction first involves the deletion of any parts that are not relevant in the negotiation process, as explained by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004). Then, various implicit parts need to be made explicit through addition. After that, any vaguely phrased elements need to be clarified through substitution. Finally, permutation allows for a rearrangement of the parts in order to make the argument clearer and easier to follow. This reconstruction process results in an analytical overview of the premises that are included in the argumentative structure. Each of the excerpts will be analysed in this manner.

4.2 Argumentative Reconstructions

Subsequently, the argumentative reconstruction of Tjibaou's speech is as follows:

Claim for action: [The French government needs to give the Kanak people] 'independence because we claim to be who we are' [or the] 'right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world'.

Circumstances: [There are only] 'two thousand' [Kanak people]. [It happens that] 'Parades, such as this one here, have been organised before'. [Things like] 'You will no longer have any sugar, you will no longer have any rice' [have been said before] 'in the Solomons and then in Vanuatu', 'in Vietnam' 'and also in Algeria'. 'Today, these countries are independent,

because those who were marching, saying independence is not possible, when confronted by indigenous peoples, have gone elsewhere'. 'There exists a legitimacy that is being defended by all these flags that are coming past' [and] 'this legitimacy was put in place by Febvrier-Despointes'; 'There could well be millions of them here, they could well send all of the riot police they want, and they could well have the atomic bomb, helicopters and other things'.

Goals: [The Kanak people want indigenous legitimacy to] 'express itself' [and they want it to] 'manifest itself in independence'. [They want the Kanak people] 'calling for it today' [because] 'the claim is not owned by Mitterand, by Lemoine or by any other president, it belongs to the Kanak people'.

Means-goal: [The goal may be achieved by claiming or asking for] 'Kanak independence'.

Values: [Values and concerns expressed are ownership of the land, rightfulness, indigenous legitimacy] 'Our geneaologies sing of rocks, sing of trees, of fir trees, of coconut palms that are deeply rooted in this land'; 'But indigenous legitimacy is in us, it is in you'; 'It is in the womb of the Kanak land'; 'We claim our right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world'; 'we claim to be who we are'.

The argument developed by Tjibaou is shown in Figure 4.1 below.

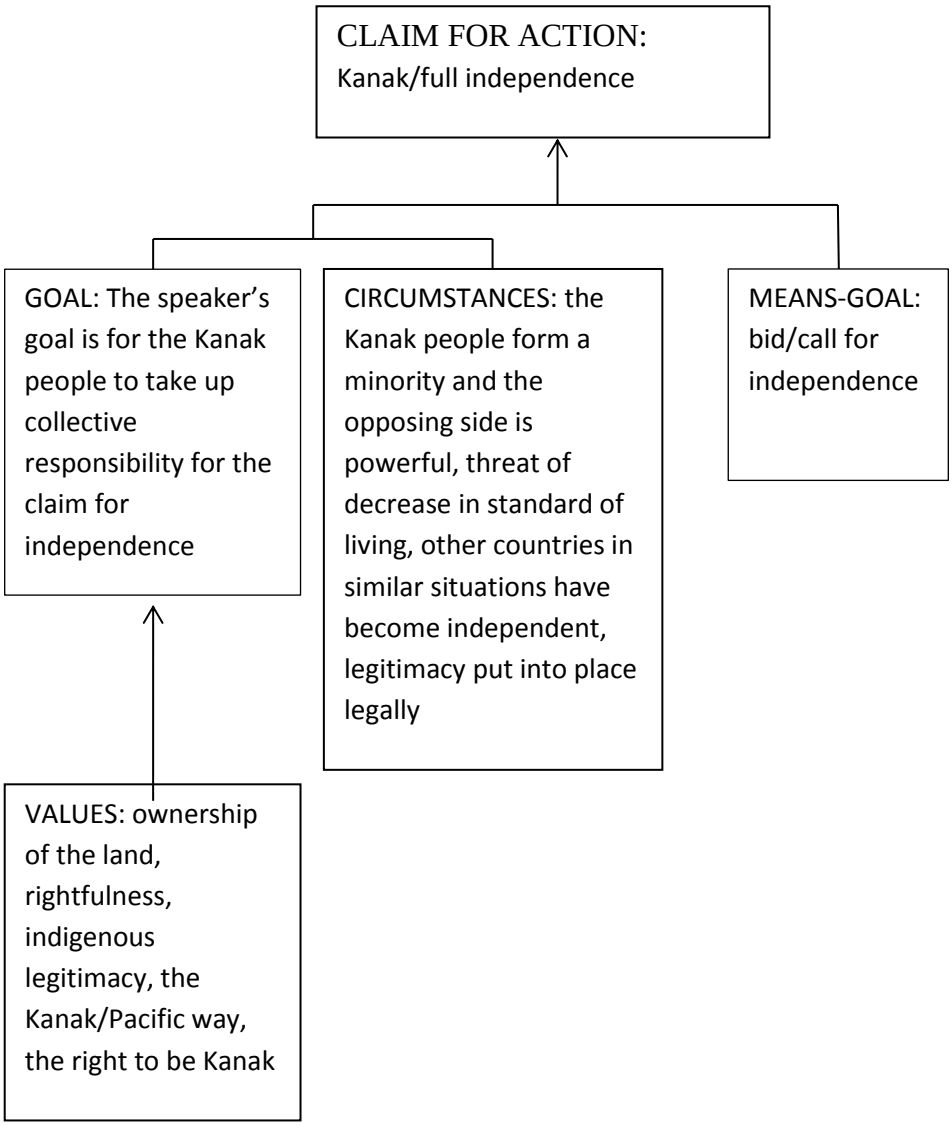


Figure 4.1: Tjibaou's argument for full/Kanak independence

Now consider Jospin's argument for free association (see also Figure 4.2):

Claim for action: Everyone [involved in the negotiation process, especially those on the French side] 'agrees that, in order to continue building the New Caledonia of tomorrow, it is better to have a consultation that brings people together than a consultation that divides'. [However,] 'this consensual solution still needs to be found'.

Circumstances: [The consensual solution is] 'based on positions that are noticeably far apart from the outset'. [On the one hand, the FLNKS demands full independence, based on the]

‘special legitimacy of the indigenous people’. [On the other hand, the RPCR prefers New Caledonia to remain within France, as a] ‘guarantee of peace and prosperity’.

Goals: [The French solution constitutes] ‘a compromise through negotiation’. [For the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants this solution entails a peaceful co-existence and, as such, a] ‘common destiny’.

Means-goal: [In view of the goal, everyone involved needs to have] ‘a clear view of the past’ [and they also need to] ‘recognise the shadows cast by the colonial past’. [The goal of the French government is a] ‘new institutional organisation’ and ‘shared sovereignty with the French Republic’. [In order to achieve this goal New Caledonia] ‘will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State, except for sovereign powers, such as courts, defence and public order and other powers which will be shared with the State’, ‘elections will need to be organised for the new institutions, so these may be set up as soon as possible’ [and the] ‘Nouméa Agreement’ [will need to be applied over the coming] ‘twenty years’.

Values: [Important underlying values expressed here are pride, responsibility, commitment, joy, beauty, peace and unity] ‘The New Caledonian politicians who signed it should be rightfully proud of it’; ‘They have taken up their responsibility’; ‘I salute their commitment’; ‘Today, I express my joy to put my signature to an agreement that forms a new base for your “common house”’; ‘You need to make it more beautiful for all of those who live in it’. [The French government’s main concerns are] ‘peace and prosperity’.

Negative consequences: [Negative consequences if the proposed course of action is not followed are] ‘numerous unfulfilled needs’, [seen the fact that a] ‘large number of inhabitants are not yet living in decent conditions’ [and] ‘many do not have a job’ [as well as the fact that] ‘there are many young people’ [living in New Caledonia].

Positive consequences: [Positive consequences if the proposed course of action is followed are that New Caledonia] 'will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State' [and that] 'as far as international matters are concerned, New Caledonia will be able to develop relationships with the governments of the region and with international organisations, within the fields of its expertise'.

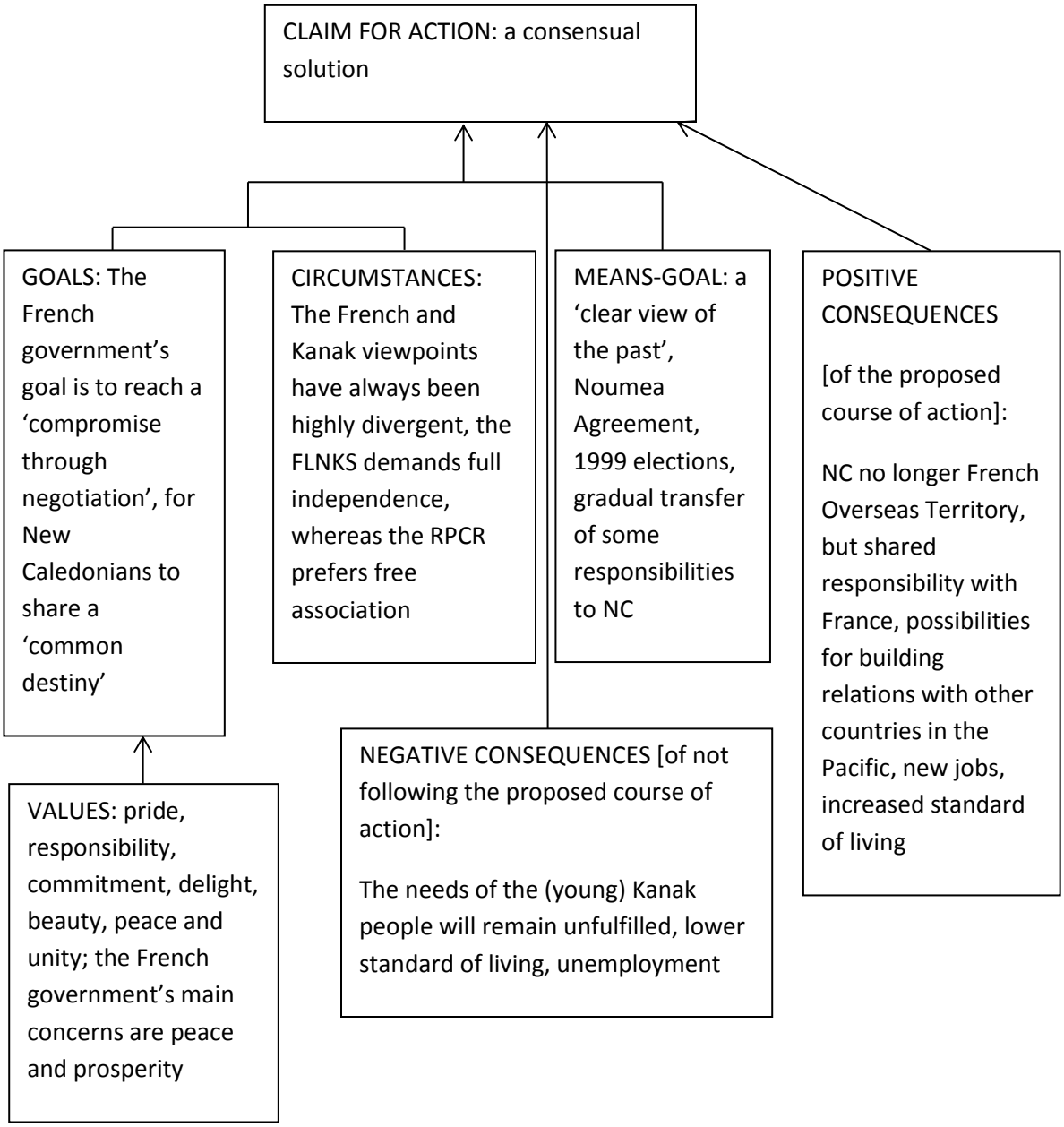


Figure 4.2: Former French Prime Minister Jospin's argument for free association

Finally, consider the reconstructed argument conducted by Lafleur (see also Figure 4.3):

Claim for action: [New Caledonia is and ought to be] 'a vast number of men and women who live by quite clear rules'. [These clear rules need to be] 'defined and supported by a large power' [such as France].

Circumstances: [France is] 'the ideal country, it is the one true democracy' [and] 'France and New Caledonia get along well'. [However,] 'together with Polynesia, we number 600 thousand French souls, in an Anglo-Saxon ocean of 25 million, with rules that are not ours'. [Despite this fact,] 'they respect us'.

Goals: [The goal of the Caldoche population assumes that] 'one can be Kanak and French' [and that] 'one can be Caledonian and French'.

Means-goal: [This goal can be achieved through] 'the Nouméa Agreement' [and] 'through dialogue, friendship and trust, and generosity'.

Values: [Important values and concerns expressed are respect, originality, pride, friendship, trust, generosity and willingness to cooperate]; 'they will continue to respect us as long as we keep this originality'; 'We shouldn't be ashamed of being French'; 'And how better to manage than through dialogue, friendship and trust, and generosity'; 'the ones who have something should go towards those who don't'; 'it's like that we can show our willingness to live together'.

Argument from authority: 'Who invented the Nouméa Agreement?'

Negative consequences: [Negative consequences in case the proposed course of action is not followed are that not following it would not be] 'logical, democratic or humanistic'.

Positive consequences: [Positive consequences in case the proposed course of action is followed are] 'making progress'; 'they respect us, and they will continue to respect us'.

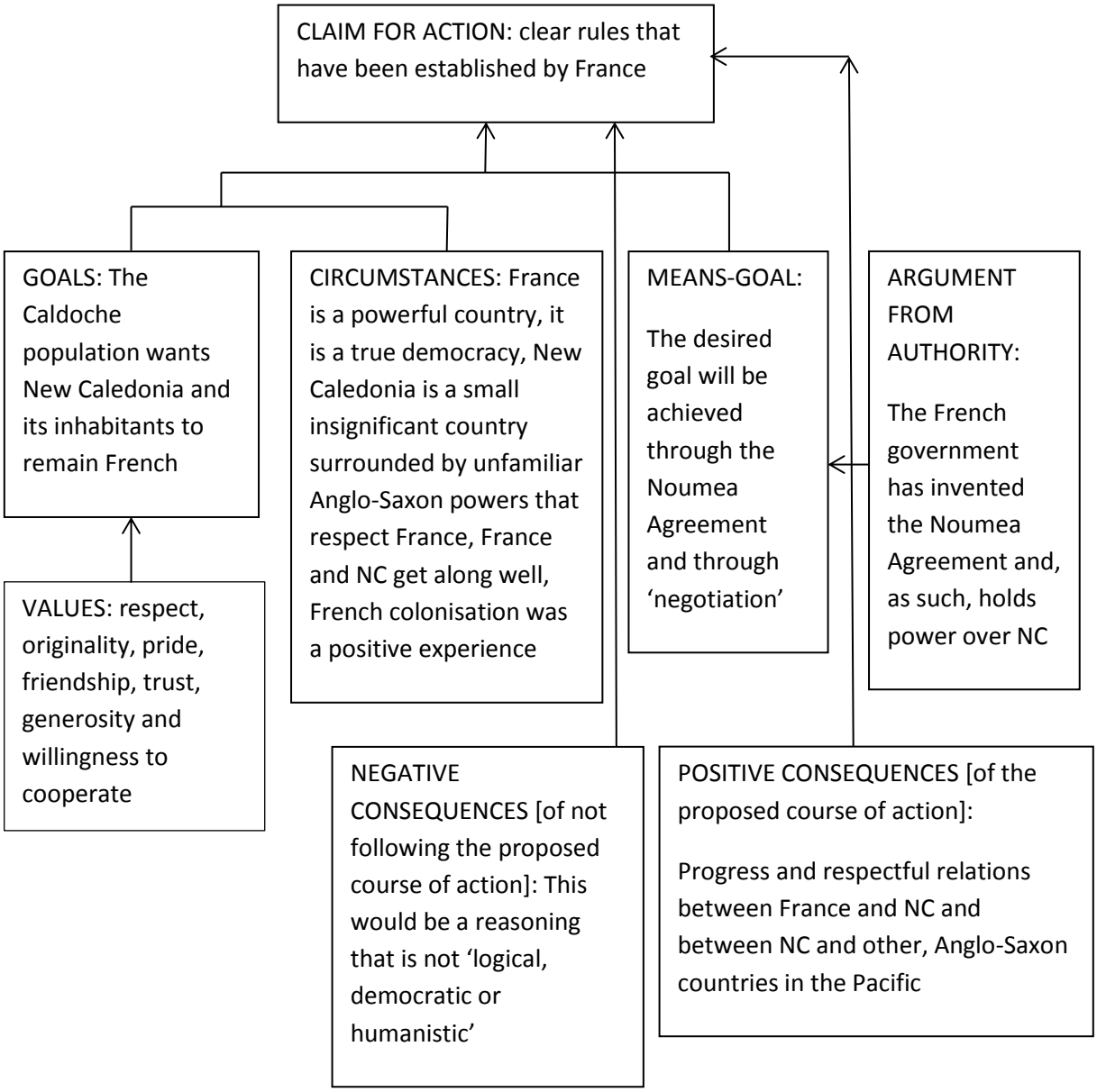


Figure 4.3: Lafleur's argument

4.3 Reasonableness of the Debate

An important question that now needs to be addressed is the following: Is this debate reasonable? Why? Or why not? First, the three arguments will be evaluated by looking at each of the premises contained in its structure. The reconstruction mentioned earlier aimed to "produce an analytic overview of all components of a discourse or text that are pertinent to

the resolution of a difference of opinion" (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p. 96). These components need to be further evaluated.

It has become evident that a critical analysis of the political discourse samples in this study needs to focus on salient patterns of "logos", not only as instantiations of "language" (cf. systemic functional analysis in part 1), but also as material reflections of "reason". This naturally implies that the reasonableness of the discourse is the result of a collaborative effort between social groups who construct it in a dialogical cycle of subsequent discursive events. According to Amossy (2009), argumentation cannot be referred to as "the art of putting forward formally valid arguments leading to absolute Truth, but as the use of verbal means to ensure a partial, and by definition fragile, consensus on what can be considered reasonable by a group of people" (p. 317).

The included discourse draws its power, not from the speaker or the text in itself, but mostly from the link between the discourse and the social practice of argumentation or negotiation in which the speakers are involved as politicians. In Aristotelian terms, ethos may be constructed through a verbal exchange, through discourse. However, it also seems to be imbued symbolically as a dialogue occurring externally, in the public arena, between speakers who have been endowed with the power to engage in critical discussion. The Foucauldian subject is by no means homogeneous, as the speaker is endowed with discursive power by institutions such as the government. Thus, discourse, within an integrative approach, becomes a "network of distinct places" (p. 74) (Foucault, 1972). The argumentation that occurs between the two divergent discourse communities, French and Kanak, largely depends on what the audience considers to be reasonable, valid or acceptable, based on their common values and beliefs. Maingueneau (2011) refers to this phenomenon as a form of prediscursive ethos, as it precedes the actual discursive event.

This type of ethos is shaped by various stereotypical images held by the audience. Gill and Whedbee (1997) point out that "in creating and responding to enthymemes, speaker and audience reveal their un-stated beliefs and values; they reveal their ideology or 'implicit philosophy' about the nature of reality, the nature of their community, and their conception of appropriate social relations" (pp. 171-172). Since the debate is considered to constitute a dialogical exchange over a prolonged period of time, an agreement would require a large amount of intersubjectively shared knowledge, as well as trust in the validity and truth of the other party's claims (Habermas, 1985). The three arguments compete with each other in their common search for the truth and in their attempts to reach a consensus, which will be based on their ability for rational reasoning. However, interactants such as Jospin or Lafleur only seem to focus on an outcome that is more advantageous for France, which is why they may be expected to attempt to coax the Kanak side into accepting the French solution.

If the two parties fail to come to an agreement, this would probably be because the antagonists deem the French argument to be invalid, based on how they interpret the argument, the independence issue and the resulting conflict situation. As Habermas (1991) describes in his seminal paper on the French bourgeoisie system, the public sphere in 17th century France consisted of a group of highly privileged people and all activities related to any form of reasoning occurred in an opaque fashion by the seemingly more cultivated individuals. This type of reasoning was essential in order to maintain a form of dominance over the less-cultured part of the population. Drawing the analogy with New Caledonia, France seems to continue to imagine the north of its Overseas Territory as a rural area, referred to as "la brousse" (the outback). The locals are seen as "peasants", as opposed to the more affluent inhabitants of the capital in the south, which is quintessentially French and carries the epithet of "ville blanche" (white city), because of its majority of white, French inhabitants.

The reasonableness of the debate may be determined by looking at possible fallacies in the arguments or by reconstructing any implicit premises, referred to as enthymemes. These are abbreviated syllogisms that contain a missing premise, which is subsequently supplied by the audience, based on common sense. As Gill and Whedbee (1997) explain: "In creating and responding to enthymemes, speaker and audience reveal their unstated beliefs and values; they reveal their ideology or 'implicit philosophy' about the nature of reality, the nature of their community, and their conception of appropriate social relations" (pp. 171-172).

As mentioned earlier, Pragma-Dialectics proposes a set of rules for effective argumentation that are based on Searle's speech act rules and the Gricean maxims of communicative cooperation (1987). Any violations of these rules are seen as fallacious. Both enthymemes and fallacies need to be considered within the context of the argumentation that is taking place.

4.4 Evaluation of Premises

As a representative of the Kanak people, Tjibaou candidly puts forward a demand for full independence in the claim premise based on "being Kanak". He asks for a "share of the sun" for his people, because, in his eyes, they have as much a right to self-determination as "any other independent people in the world". This is clearly an argument of resistance to the French argument for free association.

Within the circumstantial premise, Tjibaou admits that there are "only two thousand" Kanak people. However, he emphasises the fact that, despite their minority, they "are the people". He further mentions the anti-independence parade that is taking place at the same time, which is based on a form of legitimacy put into place by Febvrier-Despointes, as well as previous threats of a halt to imported products. He also makes a comparison of the conflict situation in

New Caledonia with similar events that occurred in other countries such as the Solomons, Vanuatu, Papua-New-Guinea, Vietnam and Algeria.

The goal premise expresses a form of indigenous legitimacy, which resides in the Kanak people themselves, as opposed to the more forceful French type of legitimacy. Tjibaou wants the indigenous inhabitants to take up collective responsibility for the claim made earlier, not by "acting white", since this has been proven to be a highly unsuccessful strategy in places such as Tasmania (Australia), but by simply asserting the fact that they are "Kanak". The claim for independence is thus equated with a pressing demand for recognition.

Furthermore, the proposed course of action is motivated by the assertion, "we claim to be who we are". Being Kanak, as opposed to being French, or the "Kanak/Pacific way", as opposed to the "French way of living", is advanced by Tjibaou as the most important reason for full independence.

No real positive or negative consequences of the claim for action are mentioned by the speaker. Evidently, Tjibaou cannot predict what will happen when the Kanak people become independent or what would occur if they do not gain independence, which is probably why he decides not to address these matters in his speech. Instead, he mainly seems to focus on the action itself and on the reasons behind the bid for independence.

According to Jospin, the context of action has remained unchanged. Since France took possession of the island in 1853, the French and Kanak viewpoints have greatly differed. The New Caledonian political arena consists of two main opposing parties. On the one hand, the FLNKS demands full independence from France. On the other, the RPCR still sees free association with France as the best solution. The Matignon Agreements were a step in the right direction. However, a consensual compromise is yet to be found. Jospin's description of the circumstances persuasively directs the argument towards the inevitable conclusion that New Caledonia needs to maintain its ties with France while, at the same time, it needs to take

up its responsibility to actively pursue a more independent course. This conclusion seems to preclude any other course of action.

The goal premise expresses Jospin's desire to reach a consensual solution, symbolised by the metaphor of "common destiny". This "French solution" constitutes a strategy that seems to aspire the maintenance of a hegemonic form of control over New Caledonia. The French word "destin" (destiny) has a ring of fatalistic inevitability to it, making this solution appear to be irrevocable and, as such, inescapable.

Political ideologies, expressed in the values premise, may be designated as French nationalism, based on republican values linked to the government's role of former coloniser, or a form of neo-colonialism. Diplomacy, which constitutes the "French solution", and the political discourse propagating this solution actively create a political space consisting of a homogeneous group of people who designate themselves as "French citizens", actively making all other ethnicities, including the Kanak, invisible for the sake of a much coveted "égalité" (egality). The future is figuratively presented as a building in which all of these citizens will happily live together.

Lafleur claims that New Caledonia ought to follow a set of clear rules, established by France, since the former colonising force is still considered to be more powerful. This particular course of action is presented as a solution allowing control of the "vast number of men and women" who live in New Caledonia.

Within the circumstantial premise, Lafleur describes France as a powerful country, but also as a true democracy. In contrast to the apparent French "grandeur", New Caledonia is represented as an insignificant nation in a much larger and highly unfamiliar Anglo-Saxon world, which holds a set of entirely different rules. French colonisation is described by Lafleur as a mainly positive experience, also for other countries, such as Algeria. This

assertion could be considered one of the underlying presuppositions in Lafleur's argument, as will be shown further on.

For Lafleur, being French is a source of pride, as opposed to being Kanak. The "French solution" to the independence issue, as it is described by the speaker, appears to aim at mixing both races in order to create a homogeneous population. This goal may be obtained by making the Kanak people disappear from public view, which seems based on strongly racist values. Seen from Lafleur's perspective, the French have more power and goods. Therefore, they are supposed to share with the poor New Caledonians. Also, since France is a far more significant nation, New Caledonia should know its place. French New Caledonians such as Lafleur do seem to desire a peaceful co-existence with the Kanak population, but according to French-inspired rules.

Not remaining within France would be an action deemed by Lafleur as not "logical, democratic or humanistic". Progress seems only possible when the ties with the mother country remain strong. Consequently, as implied by Lafleur, becoming fully independent would have disastrous consequences, such as losing the respect of neighbouring countries, for example.

It was France which invented the Nouméa Agreement. Therefore, France still holds power over New Caledonia as the one who decides upon the right course of action, which is to follow the agreement, as stipulated by France.

Both Jospin and Lafleur dexterously move their preferred outcome of the debate, for New Caledonia to remain within France, from the goal premise to the circumstantial premise, thus presenting peaceful co-existence between the two ethnicities as common sense. Jospin starts his speech with a so-called "argumentum ad populum", "Everyone agrees that…", which is a type of fallacious argument or non-argumentation (Van Eemeren, 1987). It constitutes a rhetorical strategy aimed at manipulating the audience by evoking the stereotypical image

they already have of New Caledonia. This flagrant use of pathos is a clear violation of the rules of a reasonable debate.

Similarly, Lafleur argues that New Caledonia "is a vast number of men and women who live by quite clear rules", which is a "petitio prinicipii" (begging the question), another fallacious move, for this form of circular reasoning assumes that this is a true depiction of the external reality. By making this assertion, the status of the proposition is deceptively raised to that of a common viewpoint, thereby preventing the other party from defending an opposing depiction of reality, namely that of a disadvantaged minority of people living in a subservient manner according to the rules of a dominating social group.

After having considered some of the fallacies, any hidden premises in the arguments now need to be addressed. As Lauerbach (2007) explains, implicit premises are often expressed by employing conjunctions that indicate a certain degree of contrast, conditionality, causality, comparison, etc. Following Toulmin's method of argument reconstruction, the general premise that is missing may be supplied in order to clarify the abbreviated syllogism (Toulmin, 2003).

Some examples, taken from the excerpts, may shed further light on the use of these devices by the three speakers. A hidden premise is expressed in Lafleur's argument, using the contrastive conjunction "mais" (but):

(7) La France laisse dans son histoire tous les pays qui ont été colonisés par elle, et j'emploie le mot, je sais, volontairement, parce qu'il choque.
France leaves in its history all the countries that have been colonised by it, and I use the word, I know, deliberately, because it shocks.

(8) **Mais**, quand vous regardez l'Algérie aujourd'hui, c'est un exemple extraordinaire.
***But** if you look at Algeria today, it's an extraordinary example.*

The abbreviated syllogism mentioned above is part of a truncated argument, based on the following underlying presupposition: "Colonising other countries is good", which constitutes a form of knowledge that is not shared by all participants in the debate. Not everyone would agree with such a proposition. By employing this enthymeme, Lafleur attempts to change the mindset of the audience by giving the example of Algeria, a country that, in his view, thrived thanks to French colonisation. The hidden premise, as contained in Lafleur's argument, illuminates a particular ideological view on the French colonisation process and reveals what seems a racist attitude.

Another example is found in Tjibaou's argument:

(1) Vous êtes peut-être seulement deux mille, **mais** vous êtes le peuple!

*There may only be two thousand of you, **but** you are the people!*

This implicit premise is expressed by a concession. It constitutes a syllogism that is based on the following presupposition: "Kanak people are a minority", which is a form of common knowledge. In sharing it with his audience, Tjibaou reveals his belief that even a minority group can become a powerful force, so it could be considered an expression of a rather positive attitude.

Finally, consider an example from Jospin's speech:

(11) Elle recevra progressivement toutes les compétences qu'exerce actuellement l'Etat, **à l'exception des** pouvoirs régaliens, comme la justice, la défense et l'ordre public et d'autres pouvoirs qui seront partagées avec l'Etat.

*It will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State, **except for** sovereign powers, such as courts, defence and public order and other powers which will be shared with the State.*

This enthymeme contains an implicit premise expressed by an exception or restriction: "It will not receive all of the power now held by the French State". The force of the claim that "it

will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State" is purposefully limited by pointing to the excepted powers, which will remain unchanged. This hidden premise reveals strongly hegemonic intentions and even an underlying neo-colonialist attitude of nationalist selfishness and patriotism.

This chapter has reconstructed the arguments conducted by the three protagonists. It has further focused on the reasonableness of the debate based on what is deemed acceptable or valid within the cultural context. Finally, it has evaluated the premises in terms of their validity and implicitness.

Chapter Five: Cross-cultural Comparison and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

As a result of the asymmetrical power relation between France and New Caledonia and of how this relationship is played out in the public sphere, the political discourse investigated in this context appears to be highly heterogeneous and antagonistic. This chapter concludes that the lexicogrammatical selections made by the three politicians, as spokespeople for the main stakeholders in the debate, appear to construe a justified and rather fragile consensus on how a "common destiny" for France and New Caledonia ought to be realised. It compares the arguments, conducted by the three protagonists, in a cross-cultural fashion, thereby revealing a clash between the social representations and imaginary constructs of each group, as well as an "intrinsic opposition" between what the Kanak community deems to be true or reasonable and what the French side believes to be valid and important (Foucault, 1972, p. 154).

5.2 Cross-cultural Comparison

A closer look at the consistencies in meaning that may be discerned within the discourse uttered in the negotiation process shows how each of the speakers makes various "motivated selections" that reflect how they perceive the conflict situation, what they believe about how it can or should be solved, and their ideological stance and attitude towards the antagonistic side of the discursive battle (Fontaine, Bartlett, & O'Grady, 2013, p. 51). As Butt (2005) points out, "linguistic description is a kind of cartography, a mapping of the 'meaning potential' in the dynamic, open-ended spiral of community and personal experience" (p. 15). In the case of the independence debate, this mapping process has disclosed that both Tjibaou and Lafleur employ mainly relational processes in an attempt to manipulate the audience and to describe an idealised reality, whereas Jospin tends to opt for material processes as an

expression of a hypothetically anticipated form of agency on the part of New Caledonian society.

Furthermore, the circumstance types used by Tjibaou appear to focus on the highly contested notion of space as it is being affected and construed by the interactants' discursive acts. Both Tjibaou and Lafleur use rhetorical questions to draw the attention of the audience to their claims and to make them consider their opinion on the matter. Jospin and Lafleur further employ various explicit objective expressions of probability to express their viewpoint in a more indirect manner. Apart from this evidence with regard to epistemic modality, the protagonists' use of deontic modals has proven to be especially revealing. In a truly neo-colonial fashion, Jospin expresses his perceived dominance through numerous commands and directives. The same feeling of superiority is found in Lafleur's use of deontic modals.

The pronominal choices made by the three politicians can be said to be indicative of their social representations and the categories they associate themselves with. Consequently, the inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun by Tjibaou seems to reinforce the gap between Kanak and non-Kanak participants in the debate through associating himself with the inalienable right to indigeneity. Jospin and Lafleur, on the other hand, seem to strongly identify with France as a powerful nation holding rigid republican values. Lafleur's manipulative use of the highly inclusive "on" (we) especially attests to an underlying patriotic attitude while at the same time adding to the overall vagueness of his propositions.

The linguistic analysis has further demonstrated how the members of each discourse community collaboratively construe a new collective identity for New Caledonia by negotiating metaphorical meanings, such as "common destiny". In sum, the discourse included in this study has revealed quite a few semantic oppositions. Seen from a Kanak perspective, the relational processes employed by Tjibaou appear to be based on categories such as identification and community membership, as opposed to Jospin's use of material

processes, which reflect the French concern with responsibility, power and agency in the conflict situation.

Based on the argumentative reconstruction, the goal premises, expressing specific imaginary constructs, as contained in the arguments of the three interactants, appear to be incongruent. Each of the representatives has formulated a particular desired course of action in the light of the independence issue. Tjibaou's aim is to encourage the Kanak people in the audience to take up collective responsibility for the claim for full independence, thereby asserting that "l'indépendance, c'est le peuple, c'est vous qui l'affirmez aujourd'hui" (independence, that's the people, that's you who are calling for it today). Jospin, however, aspires to reach a consensus through negotiation. This French solution identifies as its desired course of action the imaginary construct of a peaceful co-existence of all ethnicities that are present in the islands, a "communauté humaine affirmant son destin commun" (a human community affirming their common destiny), on French terms.

Lafleur seems to largely agree with the French proposal, even though he explicitly states his goal for New Caledonia to remain within France and, as such, for the island agglomeration and all of its inhabitants to maintain or adopt a French-inspired identity. Both Jospin and Lafleur insidiously shift their desiderata from the goal premise to the circumstantial premise in order to present this imagined reality as a *fait accompli*. Consequently, the solution of free association, favoured by the French side, inevitably jars with the Kanak solution, proposed by the opposing party, as it sharpens the already existing dichotomy between a Western way of living and a - perhaps largely utopian - Pacific way.

Similarly, the values premises testify to highly divergent social representations, held by each of the two social groups, which, at first glance, appear to be irreconcilable. Tjibaou's highly revered Kanak values of rightfulness, indigenous legitimacy, ownership of the land and the right to be Kanak are in apparent discordance with the French values commonly shared by

Jospin and Lafleur. Jospin's specific concerns are responsibility, commitment, peace and prosperity, whereas Lafleur emphasises respect, pride, trust, generosity and a general "bonne volonté" (willingness) to realise the French common destiny ideal. These libertarian principles, loosely based on the republican values of "liberté, égalité et fraternité" (liberty, egality and fraternity), seem to inspire the French construal of a homogeneous space, in which Kanak identity increasingly merges with French citizenship.

Jospin may be categorised as a mainstream politician for whom it seems perfectly logical to speak of France in terms of a coherent nation that is both powerful and independent, whereas both Lafleur and Tjibaou appear to be only marginal New Caledonian politicians who are defending a newly emerging nation in the Pacific. Seen from this particular angle, Lafleur's apparent loyalty to the French republican values could be considered a mere shadow act. The difference between French civic nationalism and Kanak ethnic nationalism, then, may be seen as actively sustaining the unequal power relation between the two nations. Also, using this power to dominate does not necessarily seem to flow from a French nationalistic belief system, but rather from a neo-colonial attitude.

Ideally, in imagining a new nation, any social representations linked to French imperialism ought to be deconstructed and the indigenous inhabitants should emphasise the importance of their own culture as independent from any French imaginary constructs, following the reasoning of Anderson (1991). However, the desire for recognition by a minority group as a collective identity, which often overrides any individual aspirations in terms of moving up the economic ladder, is often interpreted purely symbolically. Breuilly (1993) notes that nationalism involves "political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist argument" (p. 2). Through an empirical consideration of the notions of power and control, it is shown in this study that the French collective construct of common destiny informs or even supersedes Jospin and Lafleur's individual goals, as this

construed reality proves to be an overall discursive strategy of the French side to maintain a status quo and a relation of dominance with New Caledonia.

As a reaction to Anderson's notion of imagined communities, Chatterjee (1993) asks the following pertinent question: "if nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?" (p. 5). By applying ostensibly rational and logical reasoning to their argument for free association, the French party attempts to influence the outcome of the independence debate in its own favour. This type of logic, which is forced upon its Kanak antagonists, effectively impedes a consensual solution, as it simply turns out to be a more powerful discursive strategy.

The solution to the conflict, then, so it seems, would not be to compel both parties to adhere to the same values, social representations or ideologies, but rather to envisage a form of peaceful co-existence, obtained through ongoing dialogical exchange and based on a foundation of trust. By following mutually agreed upon rules for "good" argumentation, as summarised in the model for critical discussion proposed by pragma-dialectics (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004), a consensus may be reached on which both parties do not necessarily fully agree but which may be deemed acceptable and realistic. Considering the political discourse that surrounds the independence debate, ending the debate could theoretically amount to the French discourse community being persuaded by the Kanak argument for the "Pacific way", or, more likely, to the Kanak audience accepting the French "common destiny" argument, thus admitting that the opponents' argument is stronger and withdrawing their own claim for full independence.

Habermas (1990) argues that, when interactants are only focused on a particular outcome that is advantageous for themselves, they will tend to reach their goal by trying to influence how the other side sees the situation, impacting upon the other's motives. Said (1993) asserts that

the whole decolonisation process often constitutes “a very complex battle over the course of different political destinies, different histories and geographies” and that it is “replete with works of the imagination, scholarship and counter-scholarship” (p. 219). It has become clear that the French common destiny argument has been repeated ad nauseam and that its ideological effects may already have convinced the Kanak community to accept this French-imagined reality as a fact.

As explained earlier, the reasonableness of the debate has been established by evaluating the totality of the interactants’ discursive acts, based on shared knowledge about what is deemed to be valid reasoning. Within the scope of this project, the discourse uttered by Tjibaou, Jospin and Lafleur has been reconstructed and evaluated against a set of rules for sound deliberation, as proposed by pragma-dialectic theory. Through this process, it has become evident that both Jospin and Lafleur use various fallacious moves in their argumentation in an attempt to manipulate the audience and the final outcome of the debate. The discourse of the three speakers also comprises quite a few enthymemes that contain implicit premises, revealing significant underlying attitudes and ideologies, which appear to be highly contentious in the wider context, such as Tjibaou’s belief in a powerful Kanak minority, Lafleur’s presupposition that colonisation is an inherently positive process, or Jospin’s assumption that France will only grant limited powers to New Caledonia, which exposes a strong neo-colonial attitude.

5.3 Conclusion

This study has shown that any lexicogrammatical choices made by Tjibaou, Jospin, and Lafleur are by no means random. Instead, they appear to be largely unconscious motivated selections, which do not appear to be based on the speakers’ individual intentions, but on contextual factors such as situation or culture while at the same time being subjected to the

dynamics of power. It has been shown how two of the protagonists in the independence debate insentiently deploy the discursive resources at their disposal to persuade the other side of their preferred course of action, symbolised by the common destiny metaphor and how the third protagonist's discourse forms a counter-argument to this ideal. The selections made by these three interactants have been taken as linguistic evidence for a critical analysis of the negotiation process between France and New Caledonia. This argumentative analysis has described some of the fallacies and enthymemes hidden within the political discourse. Most importantly though, it has revealed a dramatic discord between the goals and values of each of the two discourse communities, impeding a unanimous consensus, due to the hegemonic power of the more dominant French discourse.

This thesis constitutes a critical analysis of an ongoing conflict situation in the Pacific. It is intended as a clarification of the negotiation process that arose from the independence issue between France and New Caledonia in the 1980s. This type of study is essential to gain a clearer understanding of significant underlying social representations or ideologies behind the propositions uttered by some of the proponents involved in the process. However, any interdisciplinary study has its limitations. The conclusions drawn from the analysis are based on a small corpus of data. Consequently, it is not possible to generalise the findings by applying them to the whole of French or Kanak society, based on extracts from three texts, since the cultural boundaries of these two apparent social groups are inevitably permeable. Also, the main focus of this study on grammatical patterns and argumentative structure may seem limited. Nevertheless, it proves to be a useful research strategy, for politicians use language to negotiate meanings and logically employ rhetoric strategies to obtain a preferred course of action.

The study investigates how language is used by individuals to negotiate and re-negotiate existing power relations, thus perpetuating a structure that favours a French-inspired identity

by purposefully excluding any Kanak associations. It especially concentrates on the societal and dialectic effects of the political discourse, employed by the main stakeholders in the debate, on French and New Caledonian society, which may lead to change in the form of a newly emerging national identity for New Caledonia. This discourse analysis is not void of any emotion either, as politicians do express covert feelings and attitudes through their use of various modal devices. Most importantly, this type of critical discourse analysis may help to positively influence any stereotypical or fixed opinions on the current independence issue, as it clarifies mutual misunderstandings based on hidden values or concerns.

A more detailed analysis of a larger corpus of texts across a variety of genres can contribute to further illuminate the issue. The methodology, a combination of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Pragma-dialectics proves to be an innovative, adaptable tool that can be used to explore other situations of conflict in various historical contexts. It can thus contribute to aid cross-cultural problem solving across highly divergent discourse communities. Further study can paint an even clearer picture of French and New Caledonian society through the analysis of political and other discourse samples. It may reveal how collectively shared knowledge, imagined realities and social practices that are common in these societies prove to be constitutive of the discourse employed by individuals who are active members of these communities.

Appendices

Appendix One: Transitivity Analysis

Transitivity patterns excerpt one (Tjibaou)

Clause	Process	Transitivity functions	Ergative functions
1	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
2	Proc: ident and intensive	Value, Token	
3	Proc: beh (verb)		Medium, Range
4	Proc: beh (verb)		Medium, Range
5	Proc: beh (verb)		Medium, Range
6	Proc: beh (verb)		Medium, Range
7	Proc: exist	Existent	
8	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Verbiage	
9	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
10	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
11	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
12	-	-	
13	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
14	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
15	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
16	Proc: exist	Existent	
17	Proc: mat (passive)		Medium, Agent
18	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
19	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
20	Proc: rel att	Ca, Range	
21	Proc: rel att	Ca, Range	
22	Proc: mat (passive)		Medium, Agent
23	Proc: rel att	Ca, Range	
24	Proc: mat (middle)	Ac, Range	
25	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Range	
26	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Range	
27	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
28	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
29	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
30	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
31	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
32	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	

	(effective)		
33	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer	
34	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
35	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Verbiage/Range	
36	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Verbiage/Range	
37	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Verbiage/Range	
38	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer	
39	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal	
40	Proc: ment (cognitive)	Se	
41	Proc: exist	Existent	
42	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
43	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor	
44	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
45	Proc: att poss	Ca, Att	
46	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
47	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
48	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
49	Proc: att poss	Ca, Att	
50	Proc: att poss	Ca, Att	

Material: 14

Mental: 1

Verbal: 11

Existential: 3

Relational (attributive): 13

Relational (ident and intens): 4

Attributive possessive: 3

Transitivity patterns excerpt two (Jospin)

Clause	**Process**	**Transitivity functions**	**Ergative functions**
1	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer	
2	Proc: rel att	Ca, Range	
3	Proc: mat		Medium
4	Proc: rel att	Ca, Attr	
5	Proc: ment: perception	Se, Phen	
6	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
7	Proc: ment: des	Se, Phen	

8	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
9	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
10	Proc: ment: des	Se	
11	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal	
12	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage/Range	
13	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
14	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
15	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
16	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
17	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
18	Proc: rel att	Att	Medium
19	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
20	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
21	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
22	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
23	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
24	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
25	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
26	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
27	Proc: ment (des)	Se, Phen	
28	Proc: exist	Existent	
29	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
30	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
31	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
32	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
33	Proc: beh (verb)	Se, verbiage	
34	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
35	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer, Verbiage	
36	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	

Material: 16

Mental: 6

Verbal: 4

Existential: 1

Relational (attributive): 9

Relational (ident and intens): 0

Transitivity patterns excerpt three (Lafleur)

Clause	Process	Transitivity functions	Ergative functions
1	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
2	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
3	Proc: rel att		Medium, Agent
4	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
5	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
6	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
7	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
8	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
9	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
10	Proc: exist	Existent	
11	Proc: beh (des)	Se, Range	
12	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
13	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
14	Proc: beh (emotive)	Phen	
15	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
16	Proc: ident and intensive	Token, Value	
17	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
18	Proc: mat (effective)	Actor, Goal	
19	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
20	Proc: ident and intens	Token, Value	
21	Proc: ment (desid)	Phen, Se	
22	Proc: mat	Actor	
23	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
24	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
25	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
26	Proc: ment (cogn)	Se, Phen	
27	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
28	Proc: ment (emotive)	Phen	
29	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
30	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
31	Proc: ment (emotive)	Phen	
32	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
33	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
34	Proc: ident and	Token, Value	

	intens		
35	Proc: mat (passive)		Medium, Agent
36	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
37	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	
38	Proc: ment (des)		
39	Proc: mat (middle)	Actor, Goal	
40	Proc: rel att	Ca, Att	
41	Proc: mat	Actor, Goal	

Material: 12

Mental: 8

Verbal: 0

Behavioural (desiderative/emotive): 2

Existential: 1

Relational (attributive): 9

Relational (ident and intens): 9

Appendix Two: Grammatical analysis

Excerpt 1: Speech made by Jean-Marie Tjibaou (Nouméa, Place des Cocotiers, 18 May 1983)

1. Vous êtes peut-être seulement deux mille,

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Circ: manner	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Adj-mod	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

There may only be two thousand of you,

2. mais vous êtes le peuple!

Exp	-	Value	Proc: ident and intensive	Token
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

but you are the people!

3. Nos généalogies chantent des pierres,

Exp	Med	Proc: beh (verb)	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

Our geneaologies sing of rocks,

4. ^ILS chantent des arbres,

Exp	Med	Proc: beh (verb)	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

sing of trees,

5. ^ILS CHANTENT des sapins,

Exp	Med	Proc: beh (verb)	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

of fir trees,

6. ^ILS CHANTENT des cocotiers [[6.1]]

Exp	Med	Proc: beh (verb)	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

6.1 [[qui sont enracinés dans ce pays.]]

of coconut palms that are deeply rooted in this land.

7. Des défilés [[7.1]] il y en a eu d'autres.

Exp	Existent	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	Circ: matter	Proc: -	-exist	Ex
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Adj.-Clit.	C-Clitic	Finite	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator						Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme					

7.1 [[comme celui d'en face,]]

Parades, such as this one here, have been organised before.

8. En Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, avant 1975, avant l'indépendance,

Exp	Circ: spatial: place	Circ: spatial: time	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Adj: place	Adj: time	Adj: time
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top		

on disait : [[8.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Proc: behav (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	Subject	Finite: past	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

8.1 [["Vous n'aurez plus de sucre, vous n'aurez plus de riz",]]

In Papua-New-Guinea, before 1975, before independence, it was said: "You will no longer have any sugar, you will no longer have any rice",

9. et ce genre de connerie s’ est répété aux Salomons,

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	-	Subject	C-clitic	Fin^Pred	Adj: place
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

and this sort of crap was repeated in the Solomons

10. puis IL ^S’ EST RÉPÉTÉ au Vanuatu.

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	-	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin^Pred	Adj: place
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

and then in Vanuatu.

11. On les a aussi fait valoir

Exp	Actor	Goal	Proc:-	Circ: manner	-mat (effective)
Int	Subject	C-clitic	Finite	Adj	Pred
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

avec des défilés de ce genre au Vietnam

Exp	Circ: manner: means	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Adj	Adj: place
	Remainder	
Text	Rheme	

This was also asserted during parades such as these in Vietnam.

12. Et également en Algérie.

Exp	-	Circ: manner: quality	Circ: spatial: place
Int	-	Adj	Adj: place
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	

And also in Algeria.

13. Aujourd'hui, ces pays sont indépendants,

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Adj: time	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

Today, these countries are independent,

14. parce que ceux [[14.1]], face aux peuples indigènes, sont partis ailleurs.

Exp	-	Ca	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: rel att	Att	Circ: spatial: place
Int	-	Subject	Adj	Fin: pres	Pred	Adj: place
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Absolute Theme		Rheme		

14.1 [[qui défilaient en disant que l'indépendance n'est pas possible]]

because those who were marching, saying independence is not possible, when confronted by indigenous peoples, have gone elsewhere.

15. Parce qu’ ils se battent pour une légitimité nouvellement installée.

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: cause: purpose
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

Because they are fighting for a newly established legitimacy.

16. Il y a une légitimité [[16.1]] par tous ces drapeaux [[16.2]];

Exp	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent	Circ: manner: means
Int	S-clit	Adj	Finite: pres	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

16.1 [[qui est défendue]]

16.2 [[qui défilent]]

There exists a legitimacy that is being defended by all these flags that are coming past;

17. cette légitimité a été installée par Febvrier-Despointes;

Exp	Med	Proc-	- mat (passive)	Ag
Int	Subject	Finite	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Abs Theme	Rheme		

this legitimacy was put in place by Febvrier-Despointes;

18. ce sont ces gens [[18.1]],

Exp	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Subject
	Negotiator		
Text	Abs Theme	Rheme	

18.1 [[qui défilent]]

It is these people who march

19. qui pérennisent cette légitimité [[19.1]].

Exp	Ac/Med	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top		

19.1 [[qui écrase et qui aliène la légitimité indigène]]

who perpetuate this legitimacy that crushes and denies indigenous legitimacy.

20. Mais la légitimité indigène, elle est en nous,

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel. att.	Range
Int	-	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

But indigenous legitimacy is in us,

21. elle est en vous.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel. att.	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

it is in you.

22. Elle n' a été installée par personne !

Exp	Med	-	Proc-	-mat (passive)	Ag
Int	Subject	A-neg-clitic	Finite	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

It has never been put in place by anyone!

23. Elle est dans le ventre de la terre kanak !

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

It is in the womb of the Kanak land!

24. Elle ne partira pas de la terre kanak !

Exp	Ac	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-	Range
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: fut	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

It will not leave the Kanak land!

25. Elle s’ exprimera,

Exp	Sayer	Range	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	Subject	C-clitic	Finite: fut
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

It will express itself,

26. elle sortira dans l'indépendance.

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

it will manifest itself in independence.

27. Et l'indépendance, c' est le peuple,

Exp	-	Token	-	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	-	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

And independence, that's the people,

28. c' est vous [[28.1]].

Exp	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

28.1 [[qui l'affirmez aujourd'hui]]

that's you who are calling for it today.

29. Ils auront beau être des millions en face,

Exp	Ca	Proc-	Circ: manner (quality)	-rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Adj	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

There could well be millions of them here,

30. ils auront beau envoyer tous les gardes mobiles [[30.1]],

Exp	Actor	Proc-	Circ: manner	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Adj	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

30.1 [[qu'ils voudront]]

they could well send all of the riot police they want,

31. ^ILS AURONT BEAU avoir la bombe atomique, les hélicoptères et autres…

Exp	Actor	Proc-	Circ: manner	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Adj	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

and they could well have the atomic bomb, helicopters and other things…

32. tout cela n’ enrayera pas la revendication d’indépendance kanak.

Exp	Actor	-	Proc: mat (effective)	-	Goal
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: fut	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Abs Theme	Rheme			

all of that will not stop the demand for Kanak independence.

33. Beaucoup disent

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)
Int	Subject	Finite: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	

Many say

34. que l’indépendance kanak est raciste.

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

that Kanak independence is racist.

35. Nous revendiquons l'indépendance kanak

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage/Range
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

We claim Kanak independence

36. parce que nous revendiquons d'être [[36.1]] !

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage/Range
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

36.1 [[ce que nous sommes]]

because we claim to be who we are!

37. Nous revendiquons notre droit à une part de soleil, comme n'importe quel peuple indépendant du monde.

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage/Range	Circ: manner: comparison
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp	Adj
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

We claim our right to a share of the sun, just like any other independent people in the world.

38. On a dit

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	Subject	Fin^Pred
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

It was said

39. qu' il fallait "faire du Blanc" pour éliminer la revendication kanak.

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal	Circ: cause: purpose
Int	-	Subject	Finite: mod	Comp	Adj
	Remainder				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

it was necessary to "act white" to silence Kanak demands.

40. Les Australiens ont réussi en Tasmanie :

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cognitive)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Subject	Fin^Pred	Adj: place
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

The Australians were successful in Tasmania:

41. il n’ y a plus de revendication,

Exp	Exist part	-	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	-	Existent
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Adj-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

the claim no longer exists,

42. parce que le peuple tasmanien a été détruit définitivement !

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att	Circ: manner
Int	-	Subject	Fin^Pred	Comp	Adj
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

because the Tasmanian people have been eradicated forever!

43. Ici, [[43.1]], la revendication restera.

Exp	Circ: spatial: place	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	Adj: place	Subject	Finite: fut
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

43.1 [[tant qu’il y aura un Kanak]]

Here, as long as a Kanak remains, the claim will remain.

44. Et la revendication n’ est pas la propriété de Mitterand, de Lemoine ou de quelque autre président,

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	-	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

And the claim is not owned by Mitterand, by Lemoine or by any other president,

45. elle appartient au peuple kanak.

Exp	Ca: possessed	Proc: poss	Att: possessor
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

it belongs to the Kanak people.

46. Nous ne sommes pas responsables de l’indépendance de la France.

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

We are not responsible for the independence of France.

47. Les Français sont indépendants, [[47.1]] ?

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

47.1 [[à ce que je sache]]

The French are independent, as far as I know?

48. Nous ne sommes pas responsables de l'indépendance ou du destin des Antilles, du destin de Wallis et de Futuna, du destin de Tahiti !

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

We are not responsible for the independence or the fate of the West Indies, of the fate of Wallis and Futuna, of the fate of Tahiti!

49. Le destin de ces peuples-là leur appartient.

Exp	Ca: possessed	Att: possessor	Proc: att poss
Int	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres
	Negotiator	Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

The fate of these people belongs to them.

50. Il appartient à leur pays.

Exp	Ca: possessed	Proc: att poss	Att: possessor
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

It belongs to their country.

Excerpt 2: Speech made by Lionel Jospin (Nouméa, 5 May 1998)

1. Chacun admet

Exp	Sayer	Proc: behav (verb)
Int	Subject	Finite: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

Everyone agrees that,

2. que [[2.1]] mieux vaut une consultation [[2.1.1]] qu'une consultation [[2.1.2]].

Exp	-	Circ: cause: purpose	Circ: manner: quality	Proc: rel att	Ca	Range
Int	-	Adj	Adj	Finite: mod	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

2.1 [[pour continuer à construire ensemble la Nouvelle-Calédonie de demain,]]

2.1.1 [[qui rassemble]]

2.1.2 [[qui divise]]

in order to continue building the New Caledonia of tomorrow, it is better to have a consultation that brings people together than a consultation that divides.

3. Il reste à trouver cette solution consensuelle,

Exp	Exist part	Proc-	-mat	Med
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

à partir de positions [[3.1]]

Exp	Circ: manner
Int	Adj
	Remainder
Text	Rheme

3.1 [[qui sont au départ sensiblement éloignées.]]

This consensual solution still needs to be found, based on positions that are noticeably far apart from the outset.

4. Le FLNKS reste porteur d'une revendication d'indépendance, [[4.1 [[4.1.1]]]].

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

4.1 [[fondée sur la légitimité particulière du peuple autochtone,]]

4.1.1 [[pour laquelle beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes ont mené un combat difficile]]

The FLNKS[20] is still the bearer of a demand for independence, based upon the special legitimacy of the indigenous people, for which many men and women have conducted a difficult battle.

5.	Le RPCR	voit	dans le maintien de liens suffisamment forts avec la France	une garantie de paix et de prospérité.

Exp	Se	Proc: ment: perception	Circ: matter	Phen
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

The RPCR sees the maintenance of sufficiently strong ties with France as a guarantee of peace and prosperity.

[20] FLNKS: Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (Eng.: Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front)

6. La volonté de restait forte chez ceux [[6.2]].

trouver par la

négociation une

solution de compromis, [[6.1]],

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att	Range
Int	Subject	Finite: past	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

6.1 [[dans laquelle personne ne renierait ses idéaux]]

6.2 [[qui demeuraient les partenaires des accords de Matignon]]

The desire to find a solution of compromise through negotiation, in which nobody denies their ideals, has stayed strong for those who remained partners in the Matignon agreements.

7. La confiance suppose un regard lucide sur le passé.

dans l'avenir

Exp	Se	Proc: ment: des	Phen
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

Trust in the future calls for a clear view of the past.

8. D'autres pays, [[8.1]], l' ont porté sur leur propre histoire.

Exp	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Subject	C-clit	Fin^Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

8.1 [[notamment dans le Pacifique]]

Other countries, in particular in the Pacific, had such a view of their own history.

9. Le moment était venu, [[9.1]], de "reconnaître les ombres,

de la période coloniale"

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	Subject	Fin^Pred	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

9.1 [[pour reprendre les expressions du préambule]]

The time had come, to use the expressions of the preamble, to "recognise the shadows cast by the colonial period",

10. afin de permettre au peuple d'origine

Exp	-	Proc: ment: des	Se
Int	-	Pred	Comp
	Remainder		
Text	Rheme		

11. de constituer avec les une communauté humaine

hommes et les femmes [[11.1]]

Exp	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Pred	Comp
	Remainder	
Text	Rheme	

11.1 [[qui y vivent]]

to allow the indigenous people to establish a human community with the men and women who live there,

12. affirmant son destin commun

Exp	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage/Range
Int	Pred	Comp
	Remainder	
Text	Rheme	

affirming their common destiny.

13. Une nouvelle organisation institutionnelle est ensuite définie.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Circ: spatial: time	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Adj: time	Pred
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

Next, a new institutional organisation was set up.

14. La Nouvelle-Calédonie ne sera plus un territoire d'outre-mer,

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: fut	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

New Caledonia will no longer be an overseas territory,

15. elle exercera une souveraineté [[15.1]]

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

15.1 [[partagée avec la République]]

it will exercise shared sovereignty with the French Republic.

16. Elle recevra progressivement toutes les compétences [[16.1]]

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat	Circ: spatial: manner	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Adj: manner	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

16.1 [[qu'exerce actuellement l'Etat]]

à l'exception des pouvoirs régaliens, [[16.2 [[16.2.1]]]].

Exp	Circ: condition
Int	Comp
	Remainder
Text	Rheme

16.2 [[comme la justice, la défense et l'ordre public et d'autres pouvoirs [[16.2.1]]]]

16.2.1 [[qui seront partagées avec l'Etat]]

It will gradually receive all of the competencies currently exercised by the State, except for sovereign powers, such as courts, defence and public order and other powers which will be shared with the State.

17. En matière internationale, la Nouvelle-Calédonie pourra

Exp	Circ: matter	Actor	Proc-
Int	Adj	Subject	Finite: fut
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

As far as international matters are concerned, New Caledonia will be able

nouer des relations avec des Gouvernements dans les domaines de ses

de la région et des organisations compétences.

internationales,

Exp	-mat	Goal	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Pred	Comp	Adj
	Negotiator	Remainder	
Text	Rheme		

to develop relationships with the governments of the region and with international organisations, within the fields of its expertise.

18. En 1999 devront être organisées les élections aux nouvelles institutions,

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Proc: rel att	Att	Med
Int	Adj: time	Finite: fut	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

In 1999, elections will need to be organised for the new institutions,

19. pour que celles-ci puissent se mettre en place le plus tôt possible.

Exp	-	Actor	Proc-	Goal	mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: time
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	C-clit	Pred	Adj: time
	Negotiator				Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

so these may be set up as soon as possible.

20. Ensuite beaucoup nous restera à faire.

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc-	mat
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Finite: fut	Pred
	Negotiator		Remainder		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

After that, a lot will remain to be done.

21. Personne ne doit imaginer ces vingt années [[21.1]].

Exp	Se	-	Proc-	ment (cogn)	Phen	Circ: comparison
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: mod	Pred	Comp	Adj
	Negotiator				Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

21.1 [[comme une période d'attente passive]]

Nobody should think of these twenty years as a time of passive waiting.

22. L'accord de Nouméa ne portera des fruits pendant vingt ans

Exp	Actor	-	Proc: mat	Goal	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: fut	Comp	Adj: time
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

The Noumea Agreement will only bear fruit over twenty years

23. que si le Gouvernement, les s' impliquent personnellement dans sa mise

partis politiques, les institutions en oeuvre

de Nouvelle-Calédonie et

aussi tous ceux [[23.1]],

Exp	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: manner	Circ: matter
Int	Subject	C-clit	Finite: pres	Adj	Comp
	Remainder				
Text	Rheme				

23.1 [[qui sont concernés ici par le destin de ce pays]]

if the government, the political parties, the institutions of New Caledonia and also everyone who cares about the future of this country get personally involved in its implementation.

24. Les hommes politiques peuvent en être légitimement fiers.

de Nouvelle-Calédonie [[24.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc-	Circ: matter	rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: mod	Comp	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

24.1 [[qui l'ont signé]]

The New Caledonian politicians who signed it should be rightfully proud of it.

25. Ils ont pris leurs responsabilités.

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	Subject	Fin^Pred	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

They have taken up their responsibility.

26. Je salue leur engagement.

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

I salute their commitment.

27. L'accord de Nouméa doit permettre de répondre aux aspirations de la population.

Exp	Se	Proc-	ment: des	Phen
Int	Subject	Finite: mod	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

The Noumea Agreement should allow a response to the hopes and dreams of the population.

28. Au-delà de l'attente il y a ici de nombreux besoins identitaire et des aspirations insatisfaits. politiques,

Exp	Circ: spatial: place	Exist part	Circ: spatial : place	Proc: exist	Circ: spatial: place	Existent
Int	Adj: place	Subj	Adj	Fin: pres	Adj: place	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme			

Above and beyond issues of identity and political aspirations, there are numerous unfulfilled needs here.

29. Un trop grand ne disposent pas encore de conditions nombre d'habitants de vie décentes,

Exp	Actor	-	Proc: mat	-	Goal
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

A large number of inhabitants are not yet living in decent conditions,

30. beaucoup n' ont pas de travail.

Exp	Actor	-	Proc: mat	-	Goal
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

many do not have a job.

31. Les jeunes sont ici nombreux.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Circ: spatial: place	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Adj: place	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

There are many young people here.

32. Ils s' interrogent,

Exp	Se	Phen	Proc: ment (cogn)
Int	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

They wonder,

33. ils nous interrogeront avec une insistance [[33.1 || 33.2]].
croissante,

Exp	Se	Ben	Proc: beh (verbal)	Circ: manner	Verbiage
Int	Subject	Comp	Finite: fut	Adj: manner	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

33.1 [[ce que l'accord changera à leur vie quotidienne,]]

33.2 [[quel avenir nous leur préparons]]

they ask us with increasing insistence, how the agreement will change their daily lives, which future we are preparing for them.

34. La réussite de sera aussi jugée à la qualité et à la force
l'accord Nouméa des réponses [[34.1]].

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Circ: manner	Att	Circ: manner
Int	Subject	Finite: fut	Adj	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

34.1 [[qui seront apportées à ces questions]]

The success of the Noumea Agreement will also be measured by the quality and the strength of the answers that will be given to these questions.

35. Aujourd'hui, j' exprime ma joie d'apposer ma signature sur un accord [[35.1]].

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	Adj: time	S-clit	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

35.1 [[qui constitue de nouveaux fondements pour votre maison commune]]

Today, I express my joy to put my signature to an agreement that forms a new base for your "common house".

36. Il vous faut la rendre plus belle pour tous ceux [[36.1]].

Exp	Exist part	Actor	Proc-	Goal	mat (effective)	Circ: manner: quality	Beneficiary
Int	Subject	Comp	Finite: mod	Comp	Pred	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme					

36.1 [[qui y vivent]]

You need to make it more beautiful for all those who live in it.

Excerpt 3: Radio interview with Jacques Lafleur (OFM 16 December 2009)

1. La Nouvelle-Calédonie, [[1.1]], c' est une multitude d'hommes et de femmes [[1.2]].

Exp	Token	-	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	Subject	S-clit	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

1.1 [[je le répète depuis 30 ans]]

1.2 [[qui vivent sous des règles bien claires]]

New Caledonia, I have been repeating this for 30 years, is a vast number of men and women who live by quite clear rules.

2. Et ces règles ne seront claires

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subject	S-clit	Finite: fut	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

And those rules will not be clear

3. que tant qu' elles seront définies par une grande et soutenues puissance.

Exp	-	Med	Proc: rel att	Att	Ag
Int	-	Subject	Fin: fut	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

as long as they are not defined and supported by a large power.

4. Et la France est le pays idéal,

Exp	-	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

And France is the ideal country,

5. c' est la vraie démocratie,

Exp	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

It is the one true democracy,

6. c' est son histoire

Exp	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

It is its history

7. et c' est des démonstrations, [[7.1]].

Exp	-	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	-	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

7.1 [[les unes après les autres]]

and its demonstrations, one after the other.

8. On connaît l'histoire de la France

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cogn)	Phen
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Comp
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

We know the history of France

9. et on connait son comportement à l'égard des hommes.

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cogn)	Phen
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

and we know its behaviour towards people.

10. Il n' y a pas beaucoup de nations [[10.1]].

Exp	Exist part	-	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	-	Existent
Int	Subject	S-clit	Adj	Finite: pres	A-neg	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

10.1 [[qui sont capables de faire ça]]

There aren't many nations that are capable of doing such a thing.

11. La France et la Nouvelle-Calédonie s' entendent bien.

Exp	Se	Range	Proc: beh (des)	Circ: manner
Int	Subject	C-clit	Finite: pres	Adj: manner
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

France and New Caledonia get along well.

12. La France laisse dans son histoire tous les pays [[12.1]],

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: place	Goal
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Adj: place	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

12.1 [[qui ont été colonisés par elle]]

France leaves in its history all the countries that have been colonised by it,

13. et j' emploie le mot, [[13.1]], volontairement,

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal	Circ: manner
Int	-	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp	Adj: manner
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

13.1 [[je sais]]

and I use the word, I know, deliberately,

14. parce qu' il choque.

Exp	-	Se	Proc: beh (emotive)
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

because it shocks.

15. Mais, [[15.1]], c' est un exemple extraordinaire.

Exp	-	Circ: spatial: time	Token	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	-	Adj: time	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

15.1 [[quand vous regardez l'Algérie aujourd'hui]]

But if you look at Algeria today, it's an extraordinary example.

16. [[16.1]]: pour eux, De Gaulle, c' était quelque chose d'important

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Circ: cause	Token	Token	Proc: ident and intensive	Value
Int	Adj: time	Comp	Subject	S-clit	Finite: past	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

16.1 [[Quand vous regardez les pays d'Afrique]]

If you look at the African nations: for them, De Gaulle was something important

17. et ils l' ont combattu,

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Fin^Pred
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

and they fought him,

18. et aujourd'hui, leurs progrès, ils les font

Exp	-	Circ: spatial: time	Goal	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	-	Adj: time	Comp	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres
	Negotiator					
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

and today, their progress, they are making progress

19. parce que leur raisonnement est un raisonnement logique, démocratique, humaniste.

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

because their reasoning is a logical reasoning, democratic, humanistic.

20. Ça, c' est la France.

Exp	Token	-	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Abs Theme	Theme: top	Rheme	

That's France.

21. Donc, qu' est-ce que vous voulez

Exp	-	Phen	-	Se	Proc: ment (desid)
Int	-	Qu-Comp	M-marker	Subject	Finite: mod?
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top		Theme: top	Rheme

So, what do you want

22. que la petite Nouvelle-Calédonie fasse dans un monde [[22.1]],

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat	Circ: spatial: place
Int	-	Subject	Finite: mod	Adj: place
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

22.1 [[comme on vit]]

dans un monde anglo-saxon, [[22.2]].

Exp	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Adj: place
	Remainder
Text	Rheme

22.2 [[avec qui on a de bonnes relations maintenant]]

a small nation like New Caledonia to do in the world we live in, in an Anglo-Saxon world, with whom we now have good relations.

23. Mais, on est avec la Polynésie,

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

But, together with French Polynesia,

24. on est 600 milles âmes françaises, dans un océan anglo-saxon de 25 millions, avec des règles [[24.1]].

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att	Circ: spatial: place	Circ: manner
Int	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp	Adj: place	Adj: manner
	Negotiator		Remainder		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

24.1 [[qui sont pas les nôtres]]

we number 600 thousand French souls, in an Anglo-Saxon ocean of 25 million, with rules that are not ours.

25. Et ils nous respectent,

Exp	-	Se	Phen	Proc: ment (cogn)
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

And they respect us,

26. et ils nous respecteront

Exp	-	Se	Phen	Proc: ment (cogn)
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Finite: fut
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

and they will continue to respect us

27. tant qu' on aura cette originalité,

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	-	Subject	Finite: fut	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

as long as we keep this originality,

28. et il faut pas avoir peur de dire

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc-	-	-ment (emotive)	Phen
Int	-	Subject	Finite: mod	A-neg	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

and we shouldn't be afraid of saying

29. qu' on l' a,

Exp	-	Actor	Goal	Proc: mat
Int	-	Subject	Comp	Finite: pres
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

that we have it,

30. parce qu' on est Français.

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

because we are French.

31. Il faut pas avoir honte d'être Français.

Exp	Exist part	Proc-	-	-ment (emotive)	Phen
Int	Subject	Finite: mod	A-neg	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

We shouldn't be ashamed of being French.

32. On peut être Kanak et Français.

Exp	Ca	Proc-	-rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: mod	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

One can be Kanak and French.

33. On peut être Calédonien et Français,

Exp	Ca	Proc-	-rel att	Att
Int	Subject	Finite: mod	Pred	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

One can be Caledonian and French,

34. la preuve, [[34.1]]: l'essentiel, ce sont les Accords de Nouméa.

Exp	Token	-	Proc: ident and intens	Value
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

34.1 [[et je reviens à ce que disait Kotra Urégei]]

the proof, and I go back to what Kotra Urégei said: the main thing is the Noumea Agreement.

35. Ça a été inventé par qui les Accords de Nouméa ?

Exp	Med	Proc-	-mat (passive)	Ag	Range
Int	Subject	Finite	Pred	Comp	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Abs Theme	Rheme			

Who invented the Noumea Agreement?

36. Et comment on peut s' en sortir mieux [[36.1]].

Exp	-	-	Act	Proc-	Goal	Circ: manner	-mat (middle)	Circ: manner: quality
Int	-	Qu-Adj	Subject	Finite: mod	Comp	C-clit	Pred	Adj: manner
	Negotiator							Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme	Theme: top	Rheme				

36.1 [[que dans le dialogue, l'amitié et la confiance, la générosité]]

And how better to manage than through dialogue, friendship and trust, and generosity.

37. [[37.1]] moi, j' ai un discours, [[37.2]] [[37.3]],

Exp	-	Actor	-	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	Adj	Subject	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Absolute Theme	Theme: top	Rheme	

37.1 [[Vous savez]]

37.2 [[que j'ai tout le temps tenu]]

37.3 [[depuis l'origine]]

You know, I have been saying this all along, since the start,

38. qu' il faut

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc: ment (des)
Int	-	Subject	Finite: mod
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

39. que ceux [[39.1]] aillent vers ceux [[39.2]].

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	-	Subject	Finite: mod	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

39.1 [[qui ont quelque chose]]

39.2 [[qui n'ont pas]]

that the ones who have something should go towards those who don't.

40. Que, c' est comme ça

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	S-clitic	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

That, it's like that

41. qu' on démontre sa bonne volonté de vivre ensemble.

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat	Goal
Int	-	Subject	Finite: pres	Comp
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

we can show our willingness to live together.

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