

**Power and Ideology in the New Caledonian Independence Debate:
A Pragma-functional Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis**

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Author's Declaration

This work has been produced for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 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.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Lecompte-V.P.', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Margo Lecompte-Van Poucke

Soli Deo Gloria

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Abstract

This thesis critically analyses the discourse employed by eight representatives of the main stakeholder groups in the debate on New Caledonian independence to reveal the impact of historically formed power relations and the continuing ideological incongruence of perspectives on the participants' lexicogrammatical selections and argumentative moves.

By performing a contextual systemic functional and pragma-dialectical analysis of a set of French discourse samples, represented as an intercollective plurilogue between various protagonists and their heterogeneous audience and encompassing a variety of genres and registers, I clarify the interlocutors' imagined realities and the negotiation process that could determine the Pacific nation's future forever, and this stands as my original contribution to knowledge.

A contrastive mixed-methods pragma-functional approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was undertaken, combining Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Pragma-Dialectics (PD) and informed by postcolonialism and poststructuralism.

The study showed that the French and Caldoche or European-originated interactants constructed New Caledonia's future and identity as closely intertwined with France and its Republican values, as opposed to the Kanak interlocutors, who perceived the nation as self-governing according to the Melanesian Way. The former also represented themselves as more powerful Agents in the decolonisation process.

It was revealed that the dominant French and Caldoche powers employed a fallacious rhetoric of multiethnicity and postcolonial pluralism to convince the other groups of the superiority of a co-existence solution through opting for a continued association with France, whereas the Kanak indigenous interactants asserted in vain that their preferred political pathway was to obtain full independence. An investigation of some of the recent social and ideological practices of the French and Caldoche participants provided evidence of covert postcolonial racism in the form of significant discrepancies in social and economic development between the two extremes of New Caledonia's population.

French neo-colonialism and the conjunction of Caldoche and Kanak nationalisms were found to infuse the representatives' conflictual discourse, leading to an inevitable discord in viewpoints on the independence issue, which could materialise in a form of independence that is forced into existence by the most powerful French collective argument. Without doubt, however, the local indigenous counter-discourse will persist in defending the Kanak's inalienable rights to self-determination and cultural recognition, since the indigenous voice has not been properly heard.

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Chapter One: Background to the Research

1.1 Introduction

A critical linguistic analysis,¹ of some of the French and Caldoche majority discourse, as well as Kanak and Wallisian/Futunian minority discourse, which surround the highly contentious issue of New Caledonia's independence from France, is the core subject of the thesis. The study investigates how the dominant interactants in the debate endeavour to present their interpretation of a *destin commun* (common destiny) as a rational solution to the independence issue at hand, as such, oppressing the views of the minority population. It further aims to explore how the interlocutors negotiate power and interpersonal meanings, in an attempt to persuade the 'Others' to accept their perspective on New Caledonia's future and identity, thereby making various salient lexicogrammatical selections. The main stakeholders in the negotiation process are France, as a Western colonising nation, the *Caldoche*² population of New Caledonia, and its original Kanak inhabitants who constitute nearly half of the total population. However, the interlocutors' identities are to a large extent determined individually and are often difficult to categorise. All of the participants in the debate adhere to a particular group and are involved as protagonists in a plurilogue or polylogue³ with the Others, who alternately constitute the audience. A reconstruction and evaluation of the interactants' arguments, following a description based on linguistic indicators of argumentative moves within a collective critical discussion, is also included in the study to shed light on any unexpressed premises or fallacies

1 The term 'critical' in the study needs to be interpreted in its sense of being evaluative, descriptive and elucidative. It does not refer to the author's use of critical theory (Habermas, 1984; 1987b).

2 *Caldoches* is a local term that designates the descendants of French settlers in New Caledonia.

3 The notion of a dialogue has been heavily criticised by conversation analysts (Goffman, 2008; Hymes, 2013; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2004; Levinson, 1988), in favour of communicative interaction as part of a polylogue. The term is also employed by Wimmer (n.d.) to indicate polylogical interaction within the field of intercultural philosophy. Rawls (1999) characterises discursive exchanges in society as 'omnilogues', which is a term that resembles the notion of a 'plurilogue', as it designates divergent conceptualisations of justice deliberated by various interlocutors.

in the example of the argumentative discourse that is conducted in the social practice of conflict resolution. The analytical framework employed in the research project seeks to provide linguistic evidence for its general argument that power and ideology can have a negative impact on language use and intercultural relationships, to elucidate any devious discursive strategies and to clarify the argument structure of various text samples that have been taken from across a large variety of genres and registers, thereby combining Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1975; 1977; 2002; 2004) and Pragma-Dialectics (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984; 1992; 2004), as well as postcolonial perspectives (Fanon, 1952; 1961; Saïd, 1978) and those from poststructuralism (Foucault, 1970; 1972; 1982), in an interdisciplinary, mixed-methods approach.

It is important to note that postcolonialism does not simply cover the period that comes after colonialism. It starts “from the very first moment of colonial contact. It is the discourse of oppositionality which colonialism brings into being” (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995, p. 117). The main objective of postcolonialism is to undo “the Centre/Margin binarism of imperial discourse” (Ashcroft et al., 1995). As such, the study forms a critique of the French imperial process, which has been unfolding in New Caledonia since 1853, by means of its emphasis on epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988), and by its aim to defend the minority voice.

1.2 The New Caledonian Independence Debate

The project focuses on how the public relations between French or French loyalist dominant groups and various minority groups in New Caledonian society are enmeshed in power asymmetries, in the sense that the French and Caldoche groups attempt to naturalise a discourse of multiculturalism by privileging what they perceive as acceptable and democratic ideals, whereas the Kanak group aims to challenge neo-colonialist practice by claiming self-determination and demanding recognition of their culture, as a specific and highly valued social

construct, and their language(s). It further constitutes an exploration into the assumptions that underlie the inferential moves made by the interactants in the independence debate. Some of the negotiation discourse that is being exchanged between the discourse communities is imbued with beliefs and values, which may be associated with dominant ideologies that perpetuate the existing asymmetrical power relations between the groups by promoting a common sense solution, based on self-interest, without fully connecting with the minority voices in the debate. Or, as Verschueren (2012) describes it:

the common-sense (basic/normative) nature of ideological meaning is manifested in the fact that it is rarely questioned, in a given society or community, in discourse related to the ‘reality’ in question, possibly across various discourse genres” (p. 12).

Political negotiations usually focus on mobilising the other side to commit to a preferred course of action that is indeed presented as a *fait accompli* (accomplished fact), thereby, not only ignoring an apparent opposition in ideological viewpoints, but also ignoring the fact that sharing a common official language and common institutions does not necessarily entail a consensus on the issue at hand.

As a *sui generis* collectivity in the Pacific, New Caledonia is currently involved in a decisive debate on self-determination with one of the most powerful former colonising nations in Europe. The negotiation process between New Caledonia and France, pertaining to the full or partial independence of the island agglomeration, is ongoing. A referendum will be organised to decide upon a final outcome in the second half of 2018 and, if the vote is negative, two further referenda will be attempted by 2022 (Levine, 2016). The main stakeholders in the debate are the French government, the Caldoche population of New Caledonia, and its first Kanak inhabitants.

The argumentative discourse that constitutes the debate on the issue of New Caledonian independence primarily aims to resolve a difference of opinion by challenging and responding to various viewpoints. The debate has transversed five different chronological phases so far: the first phase, from the first European contact in 1774 to the official demand for full independence⁴ put forward by the PALIKA (Parti de Libération Kanake), which was founded in 1976; the period announcing the issues of Kanak independence and Melanesian unity, from the late 1960s onwards; the time after the Lemoine statute⁵ in 1983; the 1980s, as a period of counter-action by the Kanak minority, and the final phase, which started with the Matignon Agreements⁶ and the Noumea Accords⁷. This phase is incomplete and is supposed to eventually fulfil the New Caledonian decolonisation agreement.

1.3 Previous Analytical Studies

Most analytical studies of political discourse investigate discourse produced by politicians or other members of political institutions as monologues (Harris, 1991; Holly, 1990; Maynard, 1994; Wodak, 1991), probably because the above-mentioned discourse is more readily available in the form of easily downloadable texts. As Bird (2011) points out, within political theory, everyday language is rarely given “the sort of patient attention that Austin

4 The very first demand for Kanak independence was made by Yann Celene Uregei, head of the FULK (Front Uni de Libération Kanake) in 1975 (Aldrich & Connell, 1998).

5 The Lemoine statute, 6 September 1984, named after Geroges Lemoine, the then DOM-TOM Secretary of State, calling for new elections in 1984, as well as greater internal autonomy and a five-year transition period before an independence referendum in 1989 (Thompson, 2014). The Nainville-les-Roches agreement of 1983 that preceded the Lemoine law recognised the Kanak right to self-determination. However, the colonial settlers refused to sign it.

6 The Matignon Agreements, forever engraved in New Caledonian collective memory by the iconic handshake between Tjibaou and Lafleur and signed on 26 June 1988, further postponed a confrontation on the independence issue for another 10 years, stipulating that a vote would be organised for New Caledonian residents in 1988. The Agreements ensured the creation of three provinces, all with their own specific powers, and the formation of a congress that vowed to attempt a *rééquilibrage* (economic rebalancing) throughout the entire territory (Faberon, 2003; Leblic, 1993).

7 The Noumea Accord was signed on the 5 May 1998 by representatives of the French government, the French loyalists and the Kanak independentists. It further deferred the independence referendum by another 20 years, resulting in a consecutive series of votes between 2018 and 2022. The agreement acknowledged the trauma caused to the Kanak by colonisation, aimed to gather the entire New Caledonian population under the metaphorical umbrella of a common destiny and ensured further commitment to the *rééquilibrage* principle.

recommended, and the continuing relevance of his ideas for the practice of political theory remains widely unappreciated and misunderstood” (p. 106). The present study aims to redress this imbalance. Instead of privileging literary texts or explicitly political discourse, uttered at the higher echelons of society, ‘grassroots level discourse’⁸ will be given all the attention it deserves as the result of political interaction and the emphasis will be on language as it is used by all of the interactants in the context of the debate, across various French registers.

The project aims to explore the relations between discourse, power, and social interaction within the specific context of situation that is evoked in the present study. Consequently, the audience of the political speeches, radio interviews or public letters, namely, the recipients, equally deserve consideration, especially as a group that, not only reacts to the discourse, but, at the same time, critically evaluates the argumentation and then responds to it. All of the groups involved make attempts at convincing the other groups of the validity of their propositions. Other analytical approaches to discourse that focus on the social aspects of dialoguing equally understand discourse to be a form of social interaction (Boden & Zimmennan, 1991; van Dijk, 1985) that is constitutive of reality (Foucault, 1972). Since it is mainly through the exchange of discursive acts that a final consensus is reached, the focus of the study is on the social practice of persuasive argumentation, rather than the social actors themselves. Evidently, any background and contextual information that is required to understand the independence debate is also provided in chapter four.

The negotiation process in which the social actors actively participate through their dialogical moves forms the main point of interest. Written text may also be part of the negotiation process, however. Various oral and written discourse samples that were selected based on their

⁸ Since the label ‘grassroots level’ has particular negative connotations for the people who are located at the so-called ‘lower’ echelons of society, this type of discourse will henceforth be referred to as ‘minority discourse’.

production by some of the main interacting majority and minority discourse communities in the debate and from across different genres and registers are therefore analysed.

It is important to realise that not all discourse is political. Nevertheless, the discourse samples that have been included in the study do all revolve around the same political issue: full or partial independence from France. The interaction between the main stakeholders in the independence debate is discursive, since it involves the use of discourse, which is employed by the interactants to persuade, convince, argue, or explain. Yet, the discourse is not political in itself. It is merely concerned with political social actors, a political issue, and political contextual factors. Some of it is media or interview discourse, related to a political topic. Racism, within this framework, is seen as a social construct and as inherent to the neo-colonial attitude displayed by the dominant interactants within the sociohistorical context of the New Caledonian independence debate, as well as the discourse that is employed by these interactants throughout the negotiation process.⁹ Since the project may be situated within the field of classical CDA, it aims to reveal social practices of covert racism, of which postcolonial racism constitutes a salient example.

The emphasis on the persuasive character of political discourse has led to a great number of rhetorical investigations, such as Billig's (1995) work on banal nationalism, Bitzer's (1981) constitutive interpretation of communication that gives emphasis to rational justification, Campbell & Jamieson's (1990) focus on epideictic, nation-building political rhetoric, Clinton's (1988) study of presidential rhetoric, or Wodak's (2011) use of argumentation theory to analyse political-rhetorical discourse.¹⁰ The present study differs from the aforementioned investigations, in that it takes an explicit pragmatic stance towards discourse analysis. It follows the claim made by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) that argumentation, as found in

⁹ Examples of scholars who focus on social phenomena such as racism, new racism or neo-colonialism in their research are Knowles (1992); Silverman (1991); van Dijk (1991; 1993); Blommaert & Verschueren (1991; 1992); Windisch (1990) or Wodak (1991).

¹⁰ Other examples of rhetorical studies include Hirschman (2003); McGee (1985) and Richardson & Wodak (2009).

political speeches, for example, involves the use of complex speech acts (p. 18). Other studies adopting a pragmatic viewpoint for the analysis of political texts aim to focus on the specific nature of speech acts (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1991; Eelen, 1993; Trognon & Larrue, 1994; Verschueren, 1994; Wilson, 1991).

While the large majority of critical discourse analysts such as, for example, Fairclough (2016), van Dijk (2006) or Wodak (2004) tend to analyse political texts as expressions of power entrenched in monologues, as mentioned earlier, the theoretical framework adopted in the present study constitutes an interactional model that interprets conflictual discourse in the public realm as a plurilogue or polylogue between individuals, as representatives of larger political entities, and their heterogeneous audience, thus proposing an innovative approach to both the critical and pragma-dialectical analysis of argumentative, and other, discourse. It needs to be added that the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis started adding public discourse samples from focus groups and interviews to their data sets over the past few years, which is more considerate of the interactional character of discursive practice (Hirsch & Wodak, 2010; Wodak, Krzyżanowski & Forchtner, 2012). A more socio-cognitive approach to CDA (van Dijk, 2008) is often adopted, referring to interview samples and the like as ethnographic data, without taking into account any significant cultural, linguistic, and other latent divergences between discourse communities.¹¹ The latest methods are also incorporating social media or digital discourse data in an attempt to update the discipline.¹²

The conflict that forms the focus of the present investigation comes closest to what van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Snoeck Henkemans (2007) refer to as a qualitatively multiple dispute,

¹¹ Participatory observation, a tool that is often used in ethnology, is another example of the apparent Eurocentrism of some CDA methods in the investigation of notions such as racism or nation-building. A postcolonial approach to CDA implies that researchers are never impartial to the cultural group whose discourse they are analysing. While critically evaluating the discursive acts of 'Others', we are inevitably confronted with the discrepancy of our own discursive presence in the world.

¹² See, for example: Carpentier (2014), Macgilchrist & Böhmig (2012) or Wodak & Meyer (2016).

which, in the present study, means that the participants involved advance various standpoints, with the others opposing at least one of the standpoints that were expressed earlier. Within the context of the overarching independence debate, several groups that participate in the debate advance various incongruent standpoints on the independence issue, with the other groups opposing at least one of the claims put forward.

Power forms an inherent part of all types of human social interaction (Foucault & Hurley, 1998). When people communicate, they unconsciously affirm and sustain existing power relationships. Due to the post-colonial situation in which France and New Caledonia find themselves, covert power asymmetries have been established since the island agglomeration was first colonised in 1853 (Leblic, 2003). These have created inequalities on all levels of New Caledonian society. The power constellations that have been constructed in the South Pacific nation are what propel local social action in the form of decision-making, debating, or political discourse, in its turn motivated by various underlying assumptions and beliefs about what exactly constitutes a shared destiny for France and New Caledonia. Postcolonial discourse analysis constitutes another different, yet extremely fruitful, area of research, especially in South Africa, that is based on Marxist insights.¹³ The present research project is mainly informed by Foucauldian understandings of discourse, knowledge and power, as well as the Saïdian conceptualisation of the process of ‘Othering’ and the insights of Fanon, as explained in more detail further on, in chapter two.

1.4 A Pragma-functional Approach to CDA

In the thesis, an innovative interactional model for the critical analysis of conflictual discourse, involving multiple interlocutors, and primarily focusing on the influence of power and ideology

¹³ See, for example: Spivak (1999; 2013).

on language use, is established in the following chapters. It employs poststructuralist and postcolonial perspectives, instead of drawing from Habermasian social theory, to refute the often-heard reproach that CDA would be ethnocentric.¹⁴ Therefore, this type of research may be more appropriately redefined as a form of contrastive CDA that is interdisciplinary, further integrating important insights from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Pragma-Dialectics (PD). Hence, the resulting approach to critical discourse studies may be referred to as pragma-functional.

Conflict is ubiquitous and forms an inevitable part of the decolonisation process. It takes place on both a macro- and micro-level. At the basis of every conflict, lies an opposition between individual or collective ideological viewpoints. Staerklé, Sidanius, Green & Molina (2010) raise an important point on this social phenomenon: conflict is not necessarily negative, as it may lead to social change. It is conflict that propels communities towards constructing group identities through discursive interaction, which is exactly what the participants in the New Caledonian independence debate are collectively engaged in.¹⁵ All groups involved make continuous attempts at manipulating the others into a preferred course of action: partial independence from France, full Kanak socialist independence, full secession motivated by Caldoche nationalism, or no independence. The way in which the interactants covertly use the French language to obtain a perlocutionary effect on their audience therefore deserves attention.

The Kanak struggle for full independence constitutes a clash between world views and a continuous contestation for power, turning the whole debate into a discursive back and forth, which makes SFL one of the tools par excellence for the present project. Following SFL, ideational meanings are linked to the representations of social actors, albeit positive or negative, as well as their beliefs, imaginary constructs and social practices (Halliday, 2002). In the light

¹⁴ See Pennycook (2001).

¹⁵ Both Foucault and Bourdieu have written extensively about conflict and discourse. See, for example: Foucault & Sheridan (2012) or Bourdieu (2013).

of the New Caledonian independence debate, the exchange of both ideational and interpersonal meanings is seen as being of particular importance, as a means of constructing realities and maintaining or challenging power and control.

Several functional linguists have investigated the notion of ideology (Fowler, 2015; Halliday, 2007a; Hasan, 1986; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Kress, 1983). Within SFL, language is seen as a semiotic system and so is ideology: individuals exchange both linguistic expressions and expressions of ideas, which are woven throughout the discourse they employ and which may clash with the ideas expressed by other individuals within various specific contexts. This is why ideology can lead to communication failure.¹⁶ It is important to note, however, that any misunderstandings caused by incongruent ideological viewpoints should not necessarily be interpreted as deliberate racist attempts by the dominant French or Caldoche groups to humiliate, belittle, or discriminate against the minorities in the debate. The misinterpretations occur on a deeper, ideologically motivated level, producing discursive practices of covert postcolonial racism. Within SFL, the study of racism has received little attention.¹⁷ In my view, a critical analytical framework for the investigation of controversial topics such as race and racism requires an interdisciplinary combination of linguistic analysis and cultural studies, acknowledging the necessity to explore how racisms have been formed historically and to describe how racist discourse is being contextualised.

The primary objective of critical discourse analysis is to explain a certain social issue or phenomenon and to elucidate any underlying ideologies that emerge from the discourse surrounding the issue or phenomenon under investigation. However, as Ruth Wodak (2007)

¹⁶ Ideological incongruencies do not lead to pragmatic failure or misunderstandings all the time, only within specific circumstances, such as a debate, which constitutes a conflict situation, or within the context of nation-building. Individuals from different cultures are able to live together peacefully.

¹⁷ Graham, Keenan & Dowd (2004) adopt a discourse-historical approach, based on the research framework for Positive Discourse Analysis proposed by Martin & Rose (2003). Also, Muñoz (2011) combines Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and van Dijk's approach (2004) to explore the topic of racism in a study of textbooks in Venezuela.

emphasises “all the different schools in CDA tend to embrace very precise linguistic analysis” (p. 207). The present study draws from postcolonial theory in order to investigate the New Caledonian independence issue by lending a voice to representatives of minority groups such as the Kanak, by analysing both majority and minority discourse and, as such, moving away from a sole focus on elite and non-elite discourse, by designating the audience as the ‘Others’ in the debate, engaged in counter-discursive acts, and by discussing the experiences of colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as nationality, identity, representation and resistance (Fanon, 1952; 1961; Saïd, 1978). The project’s poststructuralist theoretical insights include, a Foucauldian perspective on the nature of, in this case, French discourse as being constitutive of asymmetrical power relations, and structures that underlines the fact that discursive formations are part of a system of knowledge that has created racial superiority within the context of the independence debate (Foucault, 1972). It further highlights that these epistemes have been produced and reproduced, justified and contested throughout New Caledonia’s history, determining the speech of the interactants in the negotiation process and shaping the social practice of deliberation in which they engage. It further aims to provide a detailed linguistic analysis of various salient grammatical patterns contained in the French discourse samples, as well as a reconstruction and evaluation - in terms of reasonableness - of the arguments of the representatives of several groups in New Caledonian society: the French, Kanak, Caldoche and Wallisian/Futunian discourse communities.

Halliday & Hasan (1998) see discourse or text as a form of exchange. They view the essential form of a text as a dialogue, an interaction between speakers. The concepts of field, tenor, and mode, comprised in the context of situation are proposed by Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan as a conceptual framework to interpret the meanings that are exchanged within a text. Halliday’s concepts of instantiation and realisation allow for mediation between the overarching cultural context and the lexicogrammatical selections made by the participants in

the debate. Instantiation is “the move between the system and the instance” and realisation “is prototypically an interstratal relationship; [where] meanings are realized as wordings, wordings realized as sound (or soundings)” (Halliday, 1992, p. 352). Instead of differentiating between a cognitive and a social component, Halliday views the social mode as the conscious mode of experience. Consequently, the present study focuses on field and the social actors’ ideational constructs of New Caledonia as what they refer to as a nation-in-transition, as well as tenor and the interpersonal meanings that are being exchanged by some of the representatives in the independence debate.

Pragma-Dialectics, a form of Argumentation theory, developed in the Netherlands by Frans van Eemeren and the late Rob Grootendorst (2004), was chosen as a complementary tool for the study, in order to further clarify the arguments of the participants and reveal any significant implicit assumptions. As Wodak (2007) asserts:

much research in CDA has often neglected the subtle and intricate analysis of latent meanings and has left the interpretation of implicit, presupposed and inferred meanings to the intuition of the researcher and/or the readership (p. 206).

The investigation of inferential meanings or implicit, shared knowledge should form an integral part of any type of interactional or conflictual communication, especially when the interaction occurs between social actors who are members of highly incongruous discourse communities, as will become clear from the analysis included in the study.

The New Caledonian debate on the topic of independence may be seen as what is referred to in PD as a critical discussion, with each discourse sample being a complex speech act that aims to convince the others of the truth of a particular standpoint. According to Burke (1969), “rhetoric is properly said to be grounded in opinion” (p. 54). Following Burke’s notion of identification, it is important, both for the other participant(s) and for the audience, to be able to identify with

the opinions expressed by the interlocutors in the speeches, the interviews - or whatever the genre chosen - to convey a particular perspective on the topic at hand. Also, as Amossy asserts (2006; 2009): “argumentativity pervades and partly regulates all verbal exchanges” (p. 313). Even discourse that has not purposefully been conceived to be persuasive will have an impact on the audience and is argumentative, since it conveys and reinforces common knowledge and values.

1.5 The Discursive Construction of New Caledonian Identity

The overarching question that motivated the present study was: how do power and ideology impact language use? Subsequently, chapter two will provide a literature review on relevant concepts such as ideology, discourse, or power. Not only is it crucial to define ideology, it is also important to be aware of how exactly it is that power and ideology influence language use and to describe processes such as manipulation or deception as they occur in the texts at hand. Finally, the impact of power and ideology on the linguistic choices made by the interactants in the debate need to be assessed, enquiring why they made the selections. Before delving into the investigation though, it is necessary to briefly sketch the context in which the whole negotiation process occurs.

Nations are by no means homogeneous entities that share only one distinctive language or religion, even though the - highly complex - process of nation-building does involve shared beliefs. In the case of New Caledonia, the term nation has a highly ambiguous meaning, not only because the people living in New Caledonia have different ways of imagining the reality of what it encapsulates (Anderson, 1991), but also because, at first sight, it does not seem to constitute a concrete entity. The nation of New Caledonia can be seen as currently still under construction, primarily from the viewpoint of its Caldoche inhabitants, which means that it is a collective project that has not yet been attained and that, perhaps, will never be completely

achieved. As such, it would have to be carefully reflected upon by all involved in the formation process before it can effectively be put into practice.

However, it all depends on the view one takes. The dominant stakeholders in the debate assert that, in order to create a New Caledonian identity, a nation-state needs to be put into place first. Or is the reverse true and do its people need to unite as a nation first? In this case, unification could be seen as an addition to a previously existing amalgam of identities. As Billig (2014) points out:

Seldom has the creation of nation-states been a harmonious process, in which a traditional 'ethnie' grows from a small shoot into the full flower of nationality, as if following a process of 'natural' maturation (p. 27).

In fact, the process is not as smooth as portrayed by the Western theory behind it and often involves violent clashes, as emphasised by Fanon (2004), since most indigenous people do not agree with or engage in practices of nation construction. As seen from their perspective, the whole process is completely superfluous, for the nation has always existed in the minds of the Kanak. Subsequently, the process of French pacification in New Caledonia, following *la prise de possession* (taking possession) in 1853 (Aldrich, 1996), appears to be the concrete result of a colonial euphemism, since it mostly included violent acts such as bombardments, corporal punishment, an increased military presence, and the repression of local uprisings. Guiart (1992) describes the situation as follows:

At every step, Melanesians in New Caledonia proper have encountered violent provocative action by Europeans, meant to push them into armed rebellion in order to justify military repression, and confiscation of their land (p. 21).

The Kanak may perceive themselves as a people (Tjibaou, Bensa & Wittersheim, 1996), but that does not mean Kanaky, as they refer to it, is seen as a nation by others, even though the Kanak have always aspired to become a legitimate country. Evidently, more is required than mere sentiment to make Kanaky a concrete reality or, as Billig (2014) puts it: "Nationalism is

more than a feeling of identity; it is more than an interpretation, or theory, of the world; it is also a way of being within the world of nations” (p. 65). Tajfel (2010) stresses that a social category indicating who we are also entails who we are not. Consequently, the ‘we’ requires a ‘they’ and the ‘us’ requires a ‘them’. Balibar & Wallerstein (1999) add to this that:

there is always a ‘good’ and a ‘bad’ nationalism. There is the one which ends to construct a state or a community and the one which tends to subjugate, to destroy; the one which refers to right and the one which refers to might (p. 47).

Two nationalist ideologies do appear to exist in New Caledonia: Kanak socialism and Caldoche nationalism, which are currently competing for influence within the postcolonial space. Both ideologies aim to define New Caledonian identity and reverberate in local politics.

1.6 Conflictual Discourse as a Hybrid Notion

The study aims to explore the discourse of various members of highly divergent discourse communities, as it occurs within a specific situational context and positioned against the historical, geographical, and cultural background of the discursive activities, without making any generalisations or resorting to stereotypes. Van Dijk (1997) emphasises that political discourse often involves “a typical positive evaluation of US and OUR actions in positive terms and of THEM and THEIR actions in negative terms” (p. 28). It is true that Western dichotomous discourse creates all sorts of binary oppositions, which are merely abstract in nature, as described at length in the works of Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and many other critical discourse analysts. However, the present study wishes to adopt a more comprehensive and nuanced approach to the representation of interactants and mainly focuses on conflict, more specifically, a specific discursive conflict situation between multiple discourse communities, as a broader topic, and argumentation put forward by several protagonists as an example of the social practices of deliberation and rhetoric, which, as Hauser (2010) asserts, is “more than an

expression of knowledge and power” since it “constitutes them” (p. 117). The hybrid discourse that results from ongoing clashes between various groups in society often tends to be rather murky in nature, as the reality from which it flows is not clearly delineated either.

1.7 Research Objectives

Overall, the thesis recommends a contrastive pragma-functional approach to CDA as a useful tool in the critical analysis of the discursive interaction that occurs between the various representatives of the groups that are involved in the New Caledonian conflict situation and their audience or the Others. It argues that the representatives of the dominant groups endeavour to promote their view of New Caledonia’s future as remaining closely linked with France, motivated by the common destiny ideal, their personal agendas, and an attitude of racial and cultural superiority, whereas several representatives of the minority groups construe a highly different reality of New Caledonia, which is mostly ignored by the more powerful interactants in the debate. It is further argued that the French dominant powers aim to maintain the asymmetrical power relations that were put in place historically, whereas these relations are being contested and negotiated by the minority population. Finally, it is argued that the more powerful French and Caldoche groups employ various - potentially fallacious - argumentative strategies to convince the Others of the truth of their standpoint within the overarching independence debate, whereas the oppressed minority groups attempt to convince the Others that New Caledonia should become fully independent, which creates various communicative misunderstandings, based on divergent knowledge.

To provide linguistic evidence for the aforementioned argument, I collected data from a large variety of sources: an excerpt from an interview with a Kanak individual and responses to an online questionnaire from some of New Caledonia’s Caldoche and Wallisian/Futunian inhabitants, various downloaded texts, such as a published letter written by former French

President François Mitterrand, a published letter written by Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a poem written by Kanak author and politician Déwé Gorodé, the transcript of a speech made by former French President François Hollande, and a transcript of a radio interview with Pierre Frogier (see chapter four and appendices). All of the data share the same themes of the independence issue and New Caledonia's future.

1.8 Conclusion and Thesis Overview

In this first chapter, the topic was introduced and the study was differentiated from earlier or similar analytical studies. The first chapter also offered a brief insight into the New Caledonian independence issue as it presents itself. Chapter two argues for a pragma-functional approach to the critical analysis of discourse and provides an epistemological justification of the mixed-methods approach adopted in the study. Chapter three describes the methodological praxis of performing the hermeneutic analysis of the independence issue, in terms of the participants' construction of reality, the exchange of interpersonal meanings and the plurilogical interaction across cultural boundaries between various representatives and their audience. Chapter four constitutes a systemic functional analysis of the construction of New Caledonian identity and the negotiation of power and ideology through the systems of transitivity and modality. Chapter five presents a reconstruction and evaluation of the interlocutors' arguments based on a description of salient linguistic indicators in the French discourse samples, following the principles laid out by the pragma-dialectical approach. Chapter six gives an insight into some of the ideological adherences and practices of the interacting groups that are involved in the negotiation process. In Chapter seven, the main findings of the study are summarised, the answers to the research questions are provided, the theoretical and practical implications of the research project are identified, as well as any possible limitations of the model employed. Finally, some areas and direction for future research are presented.

Chapter Two: Critical Discourse Analysis and its Epistemological Underpinnings

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a review of some of the literature pertaining to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It further establishes the epistemological underpinnings of the theoretical paradigms that are used in the study and explicate its most relevant conceptualisations. First, a historical overview of the field of Critical Discourse Studies identifies a few of its most prominent scholars and outlines the diverse approaches they have adopted. Then, CDA is defined by clarifying key terms such as ‘critical’, ‘discourse’, or ‘argumentation’. Complex abstract notions such as power, ideology, and context, which are of equally great significance within the framework of CDA, are investigated. Furthermore, I explain why I have decided not to adopt an explicitly Habermasian perspective in analysing the discourse surrounding the New Caledonian independence issue, in contrast with the framework proposed by practicants of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), for example. Instead, I wish to argue for an innovative pragma-functional approach to CDA, combining Systemic Functional Linguistics and Pragma-Dialectics, enriched by understandings from postcolonialism and poststructuralism.

2.2 Historical Overview of the Field of Critical Discourse Studies

CDA arose in the 1970s as an innovative form of text and discourse analysis. The approach was novel in the sense that it moved beyond the sentence or parts of a sentence as the traditional units of analysis and by considering text as a whole. At around the same time, the linguistic focus shifted from studying textual entities in isolation to investigating the relations between text and context, especially in terms of society and its specific power structures. Scholars

engaging in this type of ideological analysis, in particular a group of researchers at the University of East Anglia, henceforth referred to themselves as critical linguists (Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew, 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993).¹⁸ Systemic Functional Grammar appeared to be a common tool employed by the aforementioned scholars and the influence of Michael Halliday on Critical Linguistics (CL) should not be underestimated (Halliday, 1977; 1985/1989).¹⁹

French discourse analysis, on the other hand, has its roots in European philology. Similar to CL, it predominantly consists of grammatical analysis (Maingueneau, 2011) but it is nonetheless heavily influenced by thinkers such as Althusser and Foucault. This does not mean it is a heterogeneous field of research. Pêcheux (1969, 1990)²⁰, for example, follows a more analytical methodology, whereas the Foucauldian approach usually tends to be rather integrative. Maingueneau (2015), in his turn, further distinguishes between topical categories in the case of an integrative method and non-topical categories for an analytical approach. It needs to be noted that French discourse analysis, just like other existing approaches, has been gradually subjected to the process of globalisation. Some of the most common tendencies within the French paradigm are:

- a non-empiricist style
- a preference for non-conversational data and larger corpora
- the frequent use of computer programs
- an interest in linguistic materiality and the question of subjectivity in discourse

18 For a more detailed historical overview, see: Wodak (1996a), Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000) or Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak (2011).

19 Other scholars employing SFG include Kress (1981), Iedema (1997), Iedema & Wodak (1999) and Martin (1992).

20 See also: Pêcheux & Balibar (1969); Pêcheux & Fuchs (1975); Pêcheux, Léon, Bonnafoos & Marandin (1982).

- the principle of interdiscourse

Critical Discourse Analysis, as it is known today, originated in the 1990s, following Lancaster University scholar Norman Fairclough's seminal publication *Language and Power* (Fairclough, 1989), which included an insightful analysis of British discourse, nevertheless turning it into a rather Eurocentric account. Fairclough combines a Bakhtinian emphasis on intertextuality²¹, a Marxist orientation and a Foucauldian view of discourse, with a conceptualisation of power as predominantly Gramscian or hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971). Following Foucault's concept of discourse formations, he interprets dominant discourses as having naturalised historically and, subsequently, as having become widely accepted as common sense.

Fairclough appears to employ an adapted version of SFL in his earlier work, except for some of his later analyses, especially those in collaboration with Isabela Fairclough, which are based on insights from Argumentation theory (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). His method includes various stages that are involved in the popular step-by-step analytical process he has developed: description, interpretation, and explanation.²² Fairclough (2009) sees CDA as

a form of critical social science, which is envisaged as social science geared to illuminating the problems which people are confronted with by particular forms of social life, and to contributing resources which people may be able to draw upon in tackling and overcoming these problems (p. 125).

Another central theorist of CDA is Teun van Dijk.²³ His socio-cognitive approach aims to integrate discourse analysis, social cognition, and social representations, and is centred around the conceptualisation of mental models.²⁴ These contextual interpretations are not merely individual but are instead based on shared understandings of time and place, as well as roles

²¹ See Bakhtin & Holquist (1981).

²² Fairclough (1992; 1995; 2002a; 2003).

²³ See van Dijk (1993a; 1997a; 2001a; 2003; 2009).

²⁴ Mental models: Johnson-Laird (1995); labelled 'situation model' by van Dijk & Kintsch (1983).

and identities of participants, power configurations, and the like, or mental representations (van Dijk, 1995).

The work of van Dijk endeavours to explain the power held by elite groups to influence human cognitive dimensions and it analyses the abuse of this power – as it occurs in discourse - provoking injustice or inequality issues. Racism features as van Dijk’s most prominent research topic,²⁵ which does not restrict itself to white supremacist ideologies or blatant prejudice but as involving “the everyday, mundane, negative opinions, attitudes and ideologies and the seemingly subtle acts and conditions of discrimination against minorities” (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 5). Important to note here are van Dijk’s view of political discourse as being closely linked with the actions of individuals, his focus on power and his emphasis on context as a prerequisite for analysing discourse.

Chilton’s research focuses predominantly on political discourse, describing speeches in terms of their emotive effects.²⁶ He advances three categories for a descriptive analysis of distorted communication: coercion, legitimisation and delegitimation, representation and misrepresentation. The latter especially provides a strategic means of control that is often unconsciously employed in discourse, aimed at depicting oneself in a more positive way than others. Chilton also underlines the significance of context in understanding discursive utterances, referring to these background understandings as socially constructed “backstage knowledge” (Chilton, 2004, p. 154). As far as political conflict is concerned, the scholar assumes there are two elements at work in politics: an inherent struggle for power and cooperation to resolve conflict, indicating that argumentation is involved in this type of resolution.

25 See van Dijk’s work on racism: (1987; 1991; 1993a) or van Dijk, Barquin & Hibbett (2009).

26 See, for example: Chilton (2004; 2010) or Chilton & Schäffner (2002).

The Vienna School, with Ruth Wodak as its leading scholar, mainly focuses on the investigation of language use in an institutional context.²⁷ Racism forms a main topic of interest for this group of scholars,²⁸ as well as national and European identity issues.²⁹ They realised early on that context is of crucial importance in analysing discourse, which led to the development of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). The resulting method successfully integrates historical background knowledge and the immediate political setting. Interestingly, Wodak identifies argumentation as a discursive strategy,³⁰ whereas, in the current study, it is seen as a social practice. Overall, however, the project still shows great affinity for the theoretical and practical underpinnings of DHA. For example, Wodak's consideration of macro-context and argumentation have been incorporated into the previous and present discussions of possible avenues for investigation.

2.3 An Explanation of CDA as a Research Method

First of all, the term critical discourse analysis deserves some explanation. What exactly is it that makes discourse analysis critical? According to one of its central advocates, Teun van Dijk (2001b), the notion simply refers to discourse analysis “with an attitude” (p. 96). The explicitly emancipatory agenda of CDA hence willingly or unwillingly turns all of its practitioners into engaged scholars. Fairclough (2016) asserts that CDA is

focused upon the problems confronting what we can loosely refer to as the ‘losers’ within particular forms of social life – the poor, the socially excluded, those subject to oppressive gender or race relations, and so forth (p. 125).

27 See, for example: Lalouschek, Wodak & Menz (1990); Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak (2000); Wodak (1996; 2015a); Wodak & Köhler (2010) or Wodak & Matouschek (1993).

28 See, for example: Wodak (2012); Wodak & Mitten (1994) or Wodak & van Dijk (2000).

29 See, for example: Angouri & Wodak (2014); Wodak (2013; 2015b; 2016) or Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart (1999).

30 Other strategies are referential strategies, predication, perspectivation, intensifying and mitigation.

A description that raises the following inevitable question: how do individuals overcome these problems and how are the issues reflected in the discourse they use? The notion of power has many obscure faces, depending on the context in which it is deployed. Also, access to discursive resources and the public arena are just as symptomatic of power struggles and inequality as the more obvious racially offensive examples of language used on social media.

The word ‘critical’ has an apparent negative connotation, signposting that CDA most likely involves interpretive evaluations of negatively inspired discourse. However, it refers just as much to the methodology employed by the analyst and, quite appositely, hints at the necessity of self-reflection. Quite a few CDA approaches incorporate concepts from critical theory, such as Foucault’s discourse formations in Fairclough’s oeuvre or Habermas’s communicationism in Wodak’s work. Following its critical stance, a common aim of CDA is to demystify ideological infusions in discourse and to reveal its manipulative force on minority groups. As Morrow (1994) notes, the emphasis

on relations of domination is connected intimately with critical theory’s concern with the simultaneous critique of society and the envisioning of new possibilities. Critique in this sense is concerned with normative theory, theory about values and what ought to be (p. 11).

The normative aspect of CDA owes much of its salience to Habermas (1984; 1987b). As well as being normative, however, the approach is also evaluative. Various innovative forms of positive discourse analysis (PDA) are currently starting to emerge as well (Martin, 2012; Martin & Rose, 2003). As Wodak & Chilton (2005) remind us, being critical does not necessarily entail adopting a negative attitude.

Critical theory may be traced back to renowned scholars such as Marx (2008), Weber (1913), or Durkheim (Alpert, 1939). In particular, the Frankfurt School, which was established by a group of Marxist scholars in Germany as early as 1923, has greatly guided the further evolution

of sociological inquiry. The conglomeration has distinctively left its marks in approaches such as DHA, in which the legacy of Horkheimer (1995), Adorno (2015), Habermas (1984; 1987b), and Marcuse (2013) may still be clearly felt. Critical theory is often seen by positivist scholars as not sufficiently scientific, whereas most postmodernists would assert it follows the Enlightenment aspirations of reason and therefore also of Western science. According to the latter group, the Enlightenment, along with its ideals and grand narratives, has long since passed and its conceptualisations are deemed no longer useful. Both a modernist and postmodernist stance may be differentiated within critical theory itself.³¹ The present study constitutes a pragma-functional critique of the discourse surrounding the independence issue in New Caledonia, thereby adopting a postmodernist and postcolonial perspective, instead of using a Habermasian theoretical framework. This will be explained further on.

2.4 Discourse as a Topic of Investigation

After having made an attempt at disambiguating the term ‘critical’, the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘discourse’ should now be addressed. What is it that forms the topic of investigation within the field of Critical Discourse Studies? Differentiating between language and discourse brings us back to the semiotic roots of discourse analysis and the Saussurian distinction between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech) or, more specifically, between a particular entity, the *signifié*, and its complementary counterpart, the speech sound or *signifiant* (de Saussure, 1979). Accordingly, a word’s *signification* (meaning) is not the same as its *valeur* (value) within a given linguistic system. For example, in French, the word *sérendipité*

31 Contemporary examples of critical theory applications include the work of Michael Pusey (Pusey & Wilson, 2003), Robert E. Young (1990) and Barry Smart (1998) in Australia and New Zealand; Anthony Giddens (1991), William Outhwaite (2009) and John B. Thompson (1990) in Britain; Seyla Benhabib (1992), Richard J. Bernstein (2013), Craig Calhoun (1997), Jean L. Cohen (1985), Henry A. Giroux (1995) and Martin Jay (1996) in the United States; Marcel Rioux (1978) and Charles Taylor (1989) in Canada.

(serendipity) does not have the same *valeur* as *hasard* (chance). CDA is the study of *parole*, more than it is of *langue*, since it explores discourse instead of language systems.

Discourse differs from language in its inherent association with social practice. The focus in CDA is on text, either oral or written, not on signs. Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) aptly define discourse as “social use of language in social contexts” (p. 81). It is the product of a process of construction by human beings that occurs within an appropriate setting. CDA further views discourses as ways of representing reality. As such, discourses, not only describe reality as it is, but also depict it as it should be. These representations are often referred to by social theorists as ‘imaginaries’ (Jessop, 2002; 2013).³² Fairclough, not only sees discourse as socially constructive, but also views it as socially constitutive, since, in his opinion, it constitutes systems of knowledge, situations or identities, transforming society, which, in its turn, influences people through the discourse it produces (Fairclough, 1993). Gee (1992) explicitly refers to discourses as social practices, within the boundaries of communities, as:

ways of displaying (through words, actions, values, and beliefs) membership in a particular social group or social network (people who associate with each other around a common set of interests, goals, and activities) (p. 107).

Within the context of the present study, discourse needs to be interpreted in its pragma-functional understanding of being focused on elucidating conflict within the public realm.

It is assumed here that all discourse contains argumentation, in the sense that speakers or writers usually intend to persuade the audience to accept a particular representation of reality that does not necessarily correspond with the world view they held previously, since it seeks to convince individuals to change their social representations and imagined realities. It is essential for

³² Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) also employ the term imaginaries to refer to social representations and assert that relating these representations to a conceptualisation of human rationality and practical reasoning may provide essential insights into depictions of reality as discourses, providing people with reasons for action.

argumentation to be integrated into the linguistic investigation that forms a part of this project, for it adheres to the argument that the primary function of language is pragmatic, in the sense that it aims to do something to its recipients. As such, it is goal-oriented, since it may either positively or negatively impact its audience in a rhetorical fashion.

2.5 Argumentation as a Social Practice

In order to further clarify the object of the study, the notion of argumentation needs to be differentiated from argument. In its abstract meaning, an argument may refer to argumentation as a speech act. However, in its literal meaning, it usually refers to one of the following: “an exchange of diverging or opposing views, typically a heated or angry one”, “a reason or set of reasons offered in support of an idea, action or theory”; or, in its mathematical sense: “an independent variable associated with a function or proposition and determining its value”, a synonym for “amplitude”; or, in its purely linguistic sense: “any of the noun phrases in a clause that are related directly to the verb”, such as subject, direct and indirect object; or, in its archaic sense: “a summary of the subject matter of a book” (OED, 2015). The actual speech act is the act of persuasion by which various arguments may be conveyed to the audience. These arguments are usually the products of a short or lengthy process of deliberation or, in its linguistic sense, a negotiation of meanings. For that reason, the study includes both a reconstruction and evaluation of the argumentative discourse contained within part of the collected data.

Argument designates conviction, as it encapsulates a strong perlocutionary element. It is a highly perlocutionary act because of its persuasive character, since it has an impact on social representations held by the audience. More importantly, though, it may stir the audience into action. In this sense, social representations constitute sets of ideas that are comprised within a system put in place by an institution or government to generate actions that hold the system

together, ensuring its continuation. The well-known pragmatician, John Searle (1995a; 2008; 2010), interprets speech acts psychologically, as based on individual beliefs and attitudes. His interpretation underlines their force to change convictions. It has become obvious now that, in order to elucidate the meaning of arguments as speech acts, the context in which they occur will need to be included in any type of discourse analysis, and that not just an amalgamation of propositions on a sentence-level, but the text as a whole will have to be considered.

Indirect speech acts are especially pertinent in the context of the current study. This type of speech act is defined by Searle (1975) as follows:

the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer (pp. 61-61).

Following Searle, one of the conditions for indirect speech acts is cooperation. Van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Snoeck Henkemans (1996) define argumentation as:

a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader, by putting forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify (or refute) the standpoint before a rational judge (p. 5).

Clarifying the viewpoints of all groups involved is of crucial importance within the process of reaching an agreement. Therefore, the whole process ought to be seen from a plurilogical perspective, not as much in terms of thesis-antithesis, but rather in the sense of social constructionism, in which individuals construe meanings in a collaborative manner.

It has become clear that collective argumentation constitutes a social practice that may involve both persuasion and conviction, aiming to either persuade the other groups to change their viewpoint or convince them to adhere to a proposed decision requiring action, regardless of

whether they agree with it or not, and despite the uncertainty of its outcome. The first goal of argumentation, persuasion, denotes that it is closely associated with rhetoric, which brings us back to historical figures such as Cicero and Aristotle. According to the latter, persuasion includes the use of three significant devices: ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos is the projection of a desirable and powerful self-image, pathos designates the desired emotional effects of the discursive act, while logos refers to the use of reasoning and rational arguments. Maingueneau (2004) sees ethos as a “socially evaluated behaviour that can not be understood outside of a specific communicational situation, itself integrated in a specific socio-historical conjuncture” (p. 205). The distinction he makes between prior and discursive ethos in particular may be useful in a critical analysis of discourse that transcends textual boundaries and allows for the oppressed to influence prior ethos. Amossy (2010) points out that “without this, we would be deprived of every possibility to interact efficiently, condemned to immobilism and forced to put a negative answer to the thorny question of Spivak (1988): can the subaltern speak?” (p. 72). This constitutes a highly relevant question indeed.

Habermas (1984) appreciates argumentation as a form of testing validity claims by the agents involved. Their arguments compete with each other while they search for the truth together, as equals, in a collaborative attempt to come to an agreement, which is based on their ability for rational reasoning. Within this view, all individuals are competent communicators and the linguistic event in which they are participating may be formative of a larger social process, such as a debate. Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak (2011) refer to argumentation as a discursive strategy, containing various topoi. However, perhaps it should not be seen as such, since it constitutes, above all, a social activity. Finally, PD explains argumentation as a critical discussion between a protagonist and an antagonist who attempt to resolve a difference of opinion (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004, p. 21). This may be achieved through a process that involves various stages, in which participants critically evaluate each other’s standpoints.

As Ramírez (2013) points out, despite the fact that most CDA approaches “explicitly take sides with non-dominant groups in society, they paradoxically solely focus – albeit critically – on the discourse of dominant groups, leaving the discourse of the out groups out of consideration.” By focusing on prior ethos and how it is discursively expressed using the ideational function of language, the current analysis may reveal how the formerly colonised represent the postcolonial reality and how they depict and position themselves within the decolonisation process. In addition, seeing the independence debate as a plurilogical exchange requires us to investigate how pathos is expressed through the interpersonal function and to explore the emotional and other effects of the discourse uttered in various interacting groups. Finally, logos will bring us to the argumentative structure and how the interlocutors apply reasoning to their responses and beliefs.

2.6 Power as a Motivator for Human Action

CDA is said to study the correlation between discourse, power, and ideology. Discourse, as opposed to language, has already been elucidated earlier. However, a tentative exploration of the abstract notions of power and ideology now seems appropriate. Power constitutes an inherent part of human social interaction.³³ Whenever people communicate, they unconsciously affirm and sustain existing power relationships. This may be seen on a small scale, as in a doctor asserting his authority towards a patient, or on a larger scale, as in France wielding its remaining empirical power to subdue minority populations within the shadow of a pervading colonial past. These types of power constellations are what propels social action, in the form of political and other decision-making, debate or political discourse. As illustrated above, power relations between people or nations are frequently asymmetrical. Unequal power configurations may

33 See also, on the notion of power: Blackledge (2009); Chouliaraki (2005); Fairclough (1989), (2002b) or van Dijk (1993b).

result from the fact that linguistic resources differ from one discourse community to another. CDA recognises the vital role of language in the production, reproduction, and change of power relations. Or, as Wodak (2001) describes it:

power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term. Language provides a finely articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures (p. 11).

Language is not powerful in itself. It gains its power from the people who use it and if these people hold a powerful position in society, it will be even more potent. Power, however, is not necessarily a negative entity.

Discourse is the elect instrument of power.³⁴ According to Searle (2010), human beings have the exceptional ability to impose functions onto other individuals or objects, thus creating an institutional reality that incessantly produces and maintains relations of power. This happens through language. In his genealogical work, Foucault (1994) discusses the discursive character of power, the political nature of discourse and the discursive character of social change. Whereas it is true that power is often contested in or through discourse and that evolving discursive practices play a vital role in the processes of social change, Foucault's writings (Foucault, 1977; 1982; Foucault, Rabinow & Faubion, 2002) do seem to place a rather exaggerated emphasis on power as all-pervading in human practice. As the author describes it, individuals are more or less passively subjugated and manipulated on a permanent basis without ever being able to protest against the malignant and immanent power systems that tower over them like invincible forces.

34 Poststructuralist scholars such as Foucault (1982) or Derrida (1967b; 2010) argue that communication necessarily occurs within a framework of power relations.

Domination of one group over another often appears to occur by consent of the less powerful group. For example, in the case of New Caledonia, the coloniser's language has clearly been used as a tool of control, through the local education system. As part of the colonisation process, the French language was established as being superior, by inculcating its subjects with its encoded values and beliefs while simultaneously and effectively pulverising any feelings of pride the students may still have had vis-à-vis their own mother tongue, since their first language is oral and therefore considered of a lesser status by the colonising power (Salaün, 2005). Morrow (1994) points out: "political power is not merely coercive, but increasingly is based on internalized beliefs on the part of the ruled who unwittingly serve the interest of the rulers" (p. 105). The New Caledonian education system, as it presents quintessential Frenchness as universal and civilised, has instilled a grinding feeling of inferiority and primitiveness into the people who were put through its trajectories as children.³⁵

Power relations are highly complex. Importantly, though, the constitutive process of discourse needs to be conceptualised in terms of a dialogical process, since not all human relations involve power or conflict. Consequently, the Foucauldian master-slave dialectic may be replaced with discursive interaction. According to Ricoeur & Blamey (2008), power and domination or control are two entirely different concepts. Ricoeur sees power as "the highest expression of Aristotelian praxis", which does nothing else but sustain the existing structure of a particular society (p. 256). However, this power "is forgotten as the origin of the political agency and is covered over by the hierarchical structures of domination between the governing and the governed" (p. 256). The resulting gap between power and domination constitutes the political space, which consists of various vertical and horizontal power structures.

³⁵ See also: Salaün & Vernaudo (2009).

Power is an essential human motivator for action. Ricoeur & Blamey (2008) assert that “one may define power as the ability to depict a particular reality and control as the ability to influence people’s behaviour or a course of events” (p. 5). An important question that needs to be asked, then, is the following: how does power motivate the rhetorical and linguistic choices made by social actors within the postcolonial sphere? Power relations may be produced and maintained through discursive interaction. As Bernstein (2000) points out, most models of reproduction are too general, since they do not mention specific rules for any of the agencies or transmission processes. Existing theories show considerable limitations in the sense that they do not describe these agencies or the discourse they employ. This is necessary, however, for the discursive structures in themselves contain the external power that influences them.

Power relations produce boundaries between various categories, such as class, gender, ethnicity, differences in agents, or differences in discursive use, and then maintain these boundaries. As such, they establish what Bernstein (2000) refers to as “legitimate relations of order” (p. 5). Control, on the other hand, sets up “legitimate forms of communication appropriate to the different categories” (p. 5). It embodies the power relations and socialises people into these social structures. In Bernstein’s theory, power is the entity that creates relations between different categories, whereas control determines the communication norms that are followed by the individuals who belong to one of these categories (Bernstein, 2000). Or, as Malinowski (1935) explained it: “the uttered word becomes a significant reaction adjusted to the situation, expressive of the inner state and intelligible to the human *milieu*” (p. 16). It is important to investigate power structures at work in contextual situations, as power configurations related to specific domains of power, thereby focusing on power strategies instead of investigating general processes of rationalisation with regard to abusive forms of power in societies (Foucault, 1982).

2.7 The Concept of Ideology and its Functions

The notions of power and ideology are closely intertwined. One of CDA's core objectives is to elucidate how ideology affects language use. But how can ideology be described? How exactly does it influence language use? In addition, how do we need to interpret its impact? The OED defines the notion of ideology as “a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy”, or, also, as “the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual” (OED, 2015). The term finds its origin in the late 18th century, when it was first employed by Destutt de Tracy, assembling the Greek words ‘idea’ (form, pattern) and ‘logos’ (word, discourse). Napoleon Bonaparte is said to have used the word *idéologues* to refer to his opponents in a demeaning sort of manner. Marxists, in the light of the iconic social theory of class and exploitation, tend to refer to ideologies in terms of domination (Marx & Engels, 1970).

Ideas are transformed into sets of ideas or ideological patterns through a choice-making process, which is continuous and dynamic in its nature. Ideologies may thus be situated on a continuum, ranging from weak to strong ideas, from sets proposed by the institutional or governmental body to fundamentalist ideologies.³⁶ Even though ideologies are usually labelled as political, various other types may be distinguished as well, such as epistemological, ethical, or social ideologies. The Frankfurt School underlines the fact that ideologies may be both conscious or unconscious ideas. This study, however, wishes to primarily interpret the notion in its epistemological sense: as a more dominant group representing the world in a certain way, urging the audience to accept this truth as an inevitable reality, in addition to a more sociological view that sees ideologies as permeating various layers of social life. According to Althusser

³⁶ George Walford (1979) and Harold Walsby (1947) formed part of a cluster, established in the United Kingdom in the late 1930s, investigating systems of ideology.

(1984), for example, ideologies are produced by social practices. Hasan (2003) claims that all language use is ideological, since

the actual choice, albeit unconscious, lies with speakers, who in the nature of things are socially positioned, and thus ideology-specific; their inclination towards this choice or that is a matter of their habitus, their mode of orientation to experience (pp. 439-440).

Political ideologies contain the following components: imaginary constructs or objectives and a proposed course of action. Bourdieu (2001) construes ideologies as vehicles of symbolic power and domination, thereby favouring a more bodily reaction over intellectual thought. It could be argued that the concept of ideology has become archaic and maybe even outmoded. Critical discourse analysts, such as van Dijk, for example, have proposed to replace the notion of ideologies with social representations, which seems acceptable, since ideologies, not only embody ideas, but also attitudes – or rather – ideological stances, such as racism.

As mentioned earlier, ideologies and power are closely linked. Power without any political backbone would be pure tyranny, for ideologies constitute the moral and ethical guidelines for political action. Modern ideologies are dynamic in character and form strong motivators for any type of human action. As such, they may create the required impetus for social change while at the same time providing an ethical framework for social and political action. Most importantly, though, ideologies shape and mould human thought and perception. Any political or other ideas are irrefutably produced by the ones who are in power and who maintain the system that holds the ideas together. More often than not, they cunningly conceal their own agenda by presenting the ideas as universal and in the interest of the common good. As Eagleton (1994) points out:

ideas, in short, are here granted an active political force, rather than being grasped as mere reflections of their world; and in its day the Marxist tradition has sought to describe ideology in terms of any or all of these various strategies (p. 6).

The more dominant representations are subsequently employed to justify and rationalise any decisions, political behaviour, and the like.

Within the German conceptualisation of ideology, however, consciousness tends to be perceived as practical and individuals are distracted from their own oppression by presenting them with imaginary goals. In other words, the ideas contained within an ideology are not necessarily false. The ways in which they may be used functionally, though, can be deceptive. Not all ideology is idealist either. There are material aspects to ideology as well, since ideologies are intrinsically linked with power structures. Eagleton (1994) further describes ideologies as “sets of discursive strategies for displacing, recasting or spuriously accounting for realities which may be embarrassing to a ruling power; and in doing so, they contribute to that power’s self-legitimation” (p. 6). However, ideology is not a tool in itself.³⁷ It could also be considered the effect of a particular conflict situation, a messy discursive field in which various social actors negotiate interdependence, as in the case of the current political situation in New Caledonia.

Following from the above example, it is important to note that ideology is highly contingent to the situational context: what is being said, to whom, and to which purpose? It concerns subjects, both historically and situationally positioned, who are making an attempt at communicating their intentions and who endeavour to come to an agreement on a particular topic while fervently holding on to their own assumptions. Or, as Althusser (1971), rather famously asserted: “man is an ideological animal by nature” (p. 159). Individuals need ideology in order to perform their actions and ideologies require people to be considered active. For example, politicians stage ominous facts as if they were true, even though they may be false, whenever they present various action plans for the near future. The audience, who shares the same

37 See also: Thompson (1990); Billig & MacMillan (2005); Hodge & Kress (1993) or Woolard & Schieffelin (1994).

information, often accepts these facts as truth but is also free to reject them, which is only possible with an emancipated audience that is literate and able to access information independently.

Ideology may be defined as a concept, in terms of what it designates, being both complex and ambiguous, as has been shown earlier, or it may be described according to its various functions, in terms of how it impacts human action, social change, or how it directly affects people. As Thompson (1990) contends, ideology may be described as “meaning in the service of power” (p. 56). Empirical ideology research therefore does not investigate ideology as an abstract entity, but rather as embodied in everyday language, processes, and discursive exchanges on a given societal phenomenon or issue between interactants who may or may not be politicians. According to van Dijk (1991), both ideologies and attitudes constitute general mental representations shared by the members of social groups. For example, a racist ideology may inspire a xenophobic attitude. As ideologies are abstract entities, van Dijk contends, they may be instantiated in individual models, in which they intermingle with other beliefs to form a person’s opinion on a particular matter. A politician’s individual opinion, as embodied in his discourse will be controlled by various, more general, political ideologies.

Ideologies may either be seen as cognitive, as in the case of van Dijk’s mental models, or as material practices. The first conceptualisation focuses on ideas, beliefs, or perceptions, whereas the second perspective emphasises the fact that the ideas are produced and thus have materialised under highly specific conditions. According to Blommaert (2009), ideologies and the symbolic have become mere commodities, as the media often derive deep meanings from rather marginal events. Thompson (1990) aptly warns against the common misunderstanding that the power of ideology resides in the message itself. He refers to this error as “the fallacy of internalism” (p. 24). Similarly, one cannot grasp any underlying ideologies by simply analysing the grammatical items contained in a given text. The material, political or social environments

in which the texts have been produced also need to be taken into account. As various scholars have argued,³⁸ “ideology comprises the habits of behaviour and belief which combine to make any social world appear to those, who inhabit it, as the natural world” (Billig, 2014, p. 37). The fact that ideologies constitute sets of ideas that have become naturalised is a Foucauldian insight that is often emphasised by critical discourse analysts.

Ideology is not the same as language. Subsequently, the focus mainly needs to be on ideological patterns in texts and on the investigation of the ideological significance of lexicogrammatical instances in terms of variation. As Hasan (2005) explains:

if a specific configurative rapport – a constellation of linguistic patterns – is perceived as criterial in the context of some ideology, it is not because the system of language has forced these patterns together; its contribution lies in providing the resources (p. 274).

Hence, ideology may be interpreted as a semiotic system, actively mediating between the symbolic system of a given language and concrete realisations of these shared beliefs as expressed within the linguistic system. Any attempt to separate the two would result in highly abstract forms of reasoning. As such, ideology is not the same as culture, since this is not what these shared beliefs are.

Within SFL, subjects are seen as social human beings who continuously create meanings in relation with other individuals. The notion of ideology has been explored by various functional linguists as well (Fowler, 2015; Halliday, 2007a; Hasan, 1986; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Kress, 1983). According to the view of language as a semiotic system, individuals actively engage in ideological practice with others, expressing various ideas through language, which are interspersed throughout the discourse they produce and which may clash with ideas set forth by

38 See Billig (1995); Eagleton (1994) or Fairclough (1992).

other individuals. Therefore, in the present study, ideology is interpreted in the first place as a notion that may lead to distorted communication rather than in the Marxist sense of false consciousness (Pines, 1993).

This perspective requires the introduction of the novel notion of emblematic choices.³⁹ Emblematic choices are selections, similar to linguistic choices, made by individuals in order to associate themselves with specific categories or entities that are significant or relevant to them. As such, emblematic choices are ideologically coloured, since they are based on an ideological system. They also form crucial indicators as to how people position themselves within the public sphere. Ideologies, within CDA, often have a negative connotation, as exemplified by the following definition, from Wodak (1996a): “ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (p. 18). Lemke (1995) offers the most depreciative definition of all by describing ideologies as “significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power” (p. 12). Emblematic choices are not obdurately negative in themselves, since people may simply wish to adhere to a nationalist ideology, without therefore being explicitly racist. However, the context in which the choices are made may cause them to clash, as they may differ between groups or individuals. It also needs to be added that, even though individuals make emblematic choices, they are still subject to the overarching powers that determine and label them as a particular group in society.

Another important question to ask is whether all discourse is ideological. Fairclough (1992) answers this question as follows:

I have suggested that discursive practices are ideologically invested if they incorporate significations which contribute to sustaining or restructuring power relations.[...] But *all discourse is not thereby irredeemably ideological*. [...] the fact that all types of discourse are open in principle, and no doubt to some extent in fact, in

39 Some of the insights explicated in this chapter have been published by the author under the form of a research article in the journal *Functional Linguistics* (Lecompte-Van Poucke, 2016).

our society to ideological investment does not mean that all types of discourse are ideologically invested to the same degree (p. 91, italics mine).

Fairclough's explanation seems to imply that some types of discourse are more ideological than other ones. The author further hints at how ideology functions within society, mostly in terms of social change. Now, if all discourse were ideological, analysis would be a rather straightforward business of mechanically retrieving underlying ideologies from underneath the linguistic surface. Of course, discourse can behave in an ideological way, since it is a vital tool that may be employed by individuals in order to diffuse specific ideological views, of which these individuals are not always aware themselves. However, it is not ideological in itself. In this sense, saying that ideologies are comprised within discourse, is largely insufficient, as it only offers part of the picture. Ideologies are both present in parts of discourse and in the context that surrounds the discourse, which is why all linguistic analysis needs to be complemented with a thorough investigation of any relevant background information.

Ideologies are not the same as presuppositions. A considerable amount of ink was spilt in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s on the notion of presuppositions, both among pragmaticians and semanticists.⁴⁰ First of all, it needs to be underlined that the notion of presuppositions is highly ambiguous. The term may be used to refer to information that is being evoked through communication, based on linguistic expressions, but it may also refer to what is known as common ground, tacit knowledge or simply assumptions. The first type simply seems to be based on anaphoric relationships and reference, whereas the second type appears to be based on inference or what is commonly referred to in French as *le non-dit* (what is not said).⁴¹

40 See, among others: Karttunen (1974); Stalnaker (1973; 1974); Heim (1983) or Geurts (1998; 2008; 2013).

41 See Derrida (1967a).

Benjamin Whorf (1927) once quite famously demanded Horace B. English for a term, borrowed from psychology, that might label a connection between ideas or thoughts, since he had observed a particular phenomenon, denoted by the linguist as “a necessary concomitant of the communicability of ideas by language” (Whorf, 1956, p. 36). He disliked the term ‘association’ and asserted that “one of the necessary criteria for a connection is that it be *intelligible to others*” (p. 36), referring to what has become known as common or shared knowledge in terms of: “a stock of conceptions common to people” (p. 36). Of course, an association is not the same as a connection, for it is based on personal experience. Whorf (1956) concluded that it is a “concept of continuity” (p. 38), which echoes Foucault’s notion of the enunciative field (Foucault, 1972). Consequently, Whorf’s request to name this phenomenon of the connection between language and thought implies that social practice is indeed governed by unconscious thinking patterns.

As mentioned earlier, Saussure (1979) saw language as a social system that may be developed in the individual through participation in *parole* (speech). For this very reason, *langue* (language), a system of forms, ought to be seen as the totality of signs that are agreed upon and shared by a particular community. There is no such thing as a one-to-one link between a sign and its meaning. Whorf (1956) seemed to agree with Saussure that a community develops patterns of meaning that may be seen as collective ways of perceiving reality. The signs that are part of this language system are chosen in an arbitrary manner.

The meaning of each sign, though, has been assigned to it by the collectivity of a discourse community and, consequently, its meaning can only be revealed by comparing it to other, contiguous, words within the same system. Saussure’s ideas had a significant impact on the thinking of linguists such as Whorf and Jakobson. Whorf’s principle of relativity is based on the assumption that conceptualisations differ across cultures, since each community has a different perception of reality (Whorf, 1956). Jakobson further developed Saussure’s view of human interactions as structured by an overarching system through reconciling the diachronic

and synchronic perspectives, proposed by Saussure (1979), and by replacing the concepts of *langue* and *parole* with ‘code’ and ‘message’ (Jakobson, 1971).

In his *Theory of communicative action*, Habermas (1987b) divides society into two components: the lifeworld and the system (p. 2). He describes how three implicit claims of validity appear to be present in all speech acts: true/not true, valid/invalid, sincere/insincere. However, it is the validity or the meaningfulness of assertions that occurs in all language games, according to Wittgenstein (1953). This validity principle may therefore be considered universal, according to Habermas (1987b):

The lifeworld is the intuitively present, in this sense familiar and transparent, and at the same time vast and incalculable *web of presuppositions* that have to be satisfied if an actual utterance is to be at all meaningful, that is, valid or invalid. The presuppositions relevant to a situation are only a segment of this (p. 131, italics mine).

Chilton (2004) asserts that it is this type of contextual information that needs to be taken into account when analysing political discourse. His notion of ‘backstage knowledge’ seems less subjective than the mental models proposed by van Dijk discussed earlier (van Dijk, 2001b).

Habermas (1987b) reasons that individuals, as members of the same community, are not expected to have any difficulties in understanding the presuppositions that are hidden in the arguments of other individuals with whom they interact, since “as members of a sociocultural lifeworld, actors satisfy in principle the presuppositions for responsible participation and communication” (p. 149). Indeed, it is in communicating with individuals who belong to other communities, holding incongruent assumptions or pre-knowledge, that issues may arise under the form of what may be referred to as an ‘intrinsic opposition’ (Lecompte-Van Poucke, 2014b, p. 222). In order for interdiscursive communication to succeed, both groups need to understand each other’s argumentative inferences and recognise each other’s utterances as being meaningful. Habermas (1987b) describes it as follows:

Coming to an understanding [*Verstandigung*] means that participants in communication reach an agreement [*Einigung*] concerning the validity of an utterance; agreement [*Einverständnis*] is the *intersubjective* recognition of the validity claim the speaker raises for it (p. 120, italics mine).

Subsequently, several situations are possible. The truth of the assertions may be accepted, even though the speaker's sincerity seems doubtful or when the utterances do not appear to be appropriate. Or, in the case of a promise, for example, the validity of the assertion may be accepted despite any doubts held by the audience apropos the feasibility of the promised actions (Habermas, 1987b).

Understanding can only emerge through the bare tool of language. As Halliday (2007b) asserts: "language theorises the human condition by providing a semiotic trajectory between the human organism and its ecosocial environment" (p. 78). The lifeworld may be seen as a complex network of communicative actions and assumptions that offers its members a sense of belonging. Seen from a Habermasian perspective, individual identity is being constituted through interaction with others. In this sense, the lifeworld becomes the indispensable background to all communicative action that occurs in society, as the subject may always be situated somewhere in space or time.

Essential to the notion of common knowledge is consensus or agreement on the reasons or principles for action, also referred to as cultural values (Wierzbicka, 2003). The notions of discourse and action need to be linked with the cognitive dimensions of culture, ideology, shared knowledge, and so on. These notions are to be situated within the appropriate historical, situational, social, and political contexts. As far as the concept of representation is concerned, how discourse is employed to represent people's shared or tacit knowledge, I would like to contend that language and thought are closely intertwined; not that language determines thought, however.

Halliday's system of transitivity, which is used by individuals to describe 'what is going on' in a particular discourse sample, and which seems to play an important role in power configurations, may be represented by choosing material processes (action, event or transaction), relational processes, and so on, creating various issues of representation. Describing these transitivity choices or grammatical patterns does not seem to be sufficient, however, since an apparently innocent-looking excerpt may also include various implicit elements or other inferences that can only be elucidated through the use of Argumentation theory (e.g. enthymemes or arguments that contain hidden premises). It also contains various lexical choices, especially metaphorically used lexical items, as well as significant contextual factors, including the interpretation of the hearer or reader, as mentioned by Hasan (1984) in her important paper on nursery tales. All of these need to be taken together in order to obtain a more accurate interpretation of a given text.

Within CDA, assumptions are often linked to ideologies in the form of cognitive components. Following the semantic paradigm (Levinson, 2013), assumptions tend to be found at the sentence-level. However, by interpreting them as a pragmatic notion (Stalnaker, 1974), it may be shown that assumptions permeate discourse on all levels.⁴² The link between pragmatics and grammatical items has been explored by various CDA scholars.⁴³ In van Dijk's work, the notion is interpreted as shared knowledge or common ground. He argues that socially or culturally shared knowledge is the result of a process of learning and that it is presupposed in public discourse. This type of knowledge may thus be described as knowledge that is shared among the members of a social group, as opposed to personal knowledge or general knowledge. As each individual is a member of various collectivities, which all share a particular form of

42 See also: Jeffries (2010); Simpson & Mayr (2010) or Grice (1975).

43 See, for example: Hausendorf (2000).

knowledge that has been acquired through a process of socialisation, the result is an amalgam of knowledge areas that include some but exclude others who are not familiar with them.

Assumptions, in the form of shared knowledge, are not to be confused with the more abstract notion of culture, which is, as Blommaert (2015) convincingly argues, not a stable, fixed concept due to the process of globalisation. The author further explains that “even simple dialogue should be impossible without at least a degree of sharedness in assumptions, codes for meaningful communication, awareness of common purpose and objectives, and so forth – culture, in short” (Blommaert, 2015, p. 2), thereby interpreting culture as an empirical notion.

Culture needs to be, in the first place, approached from a communicative perspective: as a structure that holds human verbal interactions together by providing a common thread of norms, rules, goals and values (Halliday, 1977). Accordingly, this project aims to investigate collective discursive interaction across cultural boundaries by focusing on various social actors involved in the social practice of deliberation within a specific situational context. Shared knowledge is interpreted in the study as a linguistic reservoir, a collective meaning potential, as it is instantiated through the individual linguistic repertoire of lexicogrammatical and emblematic choices.

This interpretation of assumptions does not correspond with van Dijk’s sociocognitive understanding of the notion, which is based on Moscovici’s theory of social representations. Potter & Wetherell (2010) claim that “what makes a group a group is exactly the sharing of representations among members” (p. 141). As such, social representations are said to have constructive effects. This is highly problematic, as, in reality, social representations cannot possibly be consensually and consistently shared across such a large number of individuals. Moscovici’s notion of presuppositions appears to amalgamate both the abstract and the concrete, therefore rendering it impracticable. Instead, the present study concentrates on

language as it is used by actual individuals in actual discursive events, as amply explicated in a Hallidayan framework (Halliday, 1977).

2.8 On Text and Context

At first sight, there seems to be no tangible distinction between text and context. Discourse can be viewed as a concrete instantiation that occurs between individuals whose main aim is to communicate with one another, at a certain point in time and space. The notions of text and context appear to be academic reifications that merely serve the analytical purpose of elucidating a set of abstract ideas, which exist in the realms of human thought, outside of the discursive reality, yet which are, at the same time, briefly captivated in it. Different settings and different individuals will create the most divergent contexts, which leads us to an overall perception of context and text as inextricably linked entities. However, how to set boundaries between the two notions? Where does context stop and, most importantly, how much discussion of context is required in a discourse analysis?

Martin (2000) contends that register in itself is not enough to explain the complicated interaction between text and context. Admittedly, a typical SFL analysis of tenor, field, and mode predominantly seems to focus on the linguistic features of text as the product of a particular social practice while not giving sufficient attention to the process that has given birth to the text in the first place. Within this view, the wider context could carry more weight than the context of situation in terms of realised meanings. Within SFL, Malinowski's conceptualisation of context is often referred to as a useful framework for analysis. His functionalist view pertains that the meaning of utterances is determined by their context of situation (Malinowski, 1923). As such, language becomes a mode of action. This

conceptualisation of language in use, put forth by both Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1957), has greatly informed Hallidayan thought.⁴⁴

There seems to be considerable overlap between context and shared knowledge, as familiarity with specific settings appears to be a prime condition for mutual understanding. In this sense, it is imperative to emphasise that any sociopragmatic failures that may occur in intercultural,⁴⁵ or rather, interdiscursive plurilogue should not be referred to as misunderstandings or mistakes. They are mere instances of distorted communication due to fallacious moves made by the speakers that may be based on divergences in contextual information or differences linked to existing power asymmetries, creating a situation of inequality.

The notion of deixis could offer a solution to the dilemmas described above. Deixis refers to the fact that all linguistic forms are context-dependent. Blackledge (2009) and Fairclough (2016) argue that indexical connections are covertly present in discourse and reproduced in each setting through interdiscursivity. The concept of deixis entails the existence of horizontal intertextual relations of a dialogical type that link a text to other texts that either precede or follow it along a textual chain (Kristeva & Moi, 1989). Vertical intertextual relations are also possible. These historically link a text with other more immediate or more distant texts across various parameters and time scales.

Within CDA, context is often considered a mere backdrop to the discourse that forms the topic of exploration,⁴⁶ whereas, in fact, it is fundamentally intertwined with ideology. As Blommaert (2001) argues, “a lot of a priori contextualization goes on in work qualified as CDA which I find objectionable” (p. 15). Apart from framing discourse with a summary of facts and events,

44 See, for example: Hasan (1985) on “Meaning, Context and Text – Fifty years after Malinowski” and Halliday (1974; 1975).

45 The label ‘intercultural’ may suggest that the negotiation process occurs between members of two different cultures as being essentialist categories, which is why the term ‘interdiscursive’ is hitherto preferred, as cultures are seen in the study as highly fluid and dynamic notions.

46 An example of such a container-like view of discourse is Fairclough’s three-dimensional conceptualisation (Fairclough, 1992).

quite a few CDA scholars often start their analysis with various negative propositions such as “politicians are immoral and manipulative” or “power is a Foucauldian tool of eternal submission”, to name but a few examples. This type of simplistic reasoning entails discourse analyses of a repetitive nature that merely confirm such postulations.⁴⁷

In guise of a solution, Blommaert (2001) points to three ‘forgotten’ contexts: resources, the shifting character of discourse across contexts and the history of the data. It is certainly true that the social actors, whose discourse forms the topic of investigation, often remain invisible and that access to the standard language in which the texts are written is usually limited to a more privileged elite. Similar to this point, it needs to be taken into account that discourse tends to shift, depending on the context in which it is used. Again, not all individuals have access to or are familiar with the same context(s). For example, Kanak people do not always have access to the same common knowledge as French individuals due to prevalent power asymmetries. Finally, the way in which discourse samples have been collected, selected, and prepared has an undeniable impact on the subsequent interpretation of the data.⁴⁸ As such, the present investigation could be seen as significant only because of New Caledonia’s transition towards self-determination at the same point in time as the research currently conducted on the topic.

Consequently, it is vital for CDA scholars to remain direct and upfront concerning data gathering and selection. A critical analysis of discourse needs to take into account far more than the, rather obvious, power relations, focusing instead on the opacity of power within discursive acts and the ideological effects this murkiness may have on people and society.

47 See, for example: Ruth Wodak’s study on doctor-patient interaction (Wodak, 1997).

48 See Haviland (1996); Silverstein (1992; 1996) or Bauman (1995).

2.9 Communicationism, Systemic Functional Linguistics and Pragma-Dialectics

The basis of knowledge is not cognition, but language, through which reality may be represented (Halliday, 1977). Thus, the subjective and the objective are mutually constitutive of each other. Habermas's strong program retains a closer relation to the Marxist tradition by defining itself as a reconstructed historical materialism (Habermas, 1979), as opposed to Giddens (1991), for whom historical materialism and evolutionary theories "cannot be reconstructed, but have to be replaced with an approach of a different character" (p. 206). The most obvious solution to the aforementioned issues would be an open-ended model of social and cultural reproduction, based on the agency structure and without associating culture with economy, as Marx did (Marx, 2008). Both Habermas and Giddens reject the subject-object polarisation or what Habermas refers to as the 'philosophy of consciousness' and adhere to a subject-subject model.

Habermas's model, like the one developed by Giddens, is founded on the differentiation between system integration and social integration, exemplified in Habermas's notion of 'the lifeworld'. As Habermas (1987b) explains:

instead of an instinct theory... we have a theory of socialization that connects Freud and Mead, gives structures of *intersubjectivity* their due, and replaces hypotheses about instinctual vicissitudes with assumptions about identity formation... (p. 389, italics mine).

Utterances always presuppose some form of intersubjectivity due to their illocutionary force. As mentioned earlier, Habermas (1987b) sees argumentation as a form of testing validity claims by the agents involved. In reality, however, the social group that produces a more powerful discourse also happens to determine the rules of the game, usually in their own interests and at the detriment of the minority groups they dominate and control. Therefore, the foremost aim of a critique of this type of discursive practice is to reveal the rhetorical devices employed by the

dominant group and to defend the minority discourse by finding ways to include it in the argumentative process, one of which is to incorporate it into academic discourse, of which this thesis constitutes an example.

Habermas developed his theory of communicative action in the 1960s, more specifically in *On the Logic of the Social Sciences and Knowledge and Human Interests* (1990), which forms a suitable framework for social science in general, especially his critique of social science. Similar to Halliday's views, Habermas (1987a) perceives language as a tool that is employed with a particular purpose by social human beings. He developed a critical theory that is based on the notion of communicative action. Through communication, rational subjects exchange propositions that raise various validity claims, which subsequently need to be evaluated in terms of their successfulness by the subjects with whom they have entered into discussion. The principal goal of communicative action is to reach a consensus, which is not necessarily political. It is more a form of understanding based on "the intersubjective recognition of criticizable validity claims" (Habermas, 1987b, p. 17).

According to Habermas (1987b), argumentation constitutes a dialogical process that includes various presuppositions in terms of validity and truth on the part of the speaker. Habermas refers to this pragmatically inspired form of communication as the "ideal speech situation" (ISS). Following Toulmin (2003), Habermas (1984) defines an argument as "the means by which intersubjective recognition of a proponent's hypothetically raised validity claim can be brought about and opinion thereby transformed into knowledge" (p. 25). As such, arguments show a general and recognisable structure, which may be reconstructed and evaluated. This practice of practical discourse entails a form of universal rationality, which is highly problematic in the light of this study, as, even though validity claims may be seen as having universal characteristics, cultural values are more or less limited to the community to which they apply.

Habermas was not only inspired by Wittgenstein and Weber's sociology of religion, but also by Mead's theory of communication, which centres around social behaviour, roles and identity. Habermas borrowed Mead's notion of the 'generalized other' in his universal pragmatics, as an expectation of the other to act upon our call for justice and appeal to universal human rights.⁴⁹ He was also inspired by Durkheim's theory of social integration,⁵⁰ since he declares that:

in Durkheim's collective consciousness we can identify a *prelinguistic root of communicative action* that has a symbolic character and thus can itself be 'constructed' that is, included in a reconstructive examination of normatively guided action (Habermas, 1987b, p. 46, italics mine).

Despite taking a sacred entity as the pivotal point of his theory, Durkheim's work laid the foundation for Habermas's normative framework within a communicationism that is based on a set of rules, which need to be followed by the interactants in order to enhance response and understanding, referred to by Durkheim in religious terms, as reaching a form of communion through various ritual practices. According to Habermas (1987b), ideologies or world views, as he designates them, "have the function, among others, of legitimating political leadership" (p. 56). This legitimation is significant in terms of lending authority to norms and thus rendering them valid within a society.

In Habermas's view, Durkheim's dualism, in terms of the sacred and the profane, and apparent lack of linguistic insight, as well as a rather confused view on the relationship between the individual and society, formed serious limitations of his theory. Habermas therefore added the mediating factor of communicative action. As he explains it:

Only in and through *communicative action* can the energies of *social solidarity* attached to religious symbolism branch out and be imparted, in the form of moral authority, both to institutions and to persons (Habermas, 1987b, p. 61, italics mine).

⁴⁹ See Mead (2013).

⁵⁰ See Durkheim's theory of social integration in Alpert (1939).

Again, this is problematic, as the question that now arises, is not as much ethical as it is essential: who determines the rules according to which the communication takes place, especially in the case of a debate between collectivities?

Democracy and equal rights are important European and Western concepts. Since Kant and Rousseau and the French Revolution, democracy has known various waves of upsurge and calmness, resulting in our modern day democratic society. Habermas (1987b) claims he has “attempted to free historical materialism from its philosophical ballast” (p. 383). Is this an ethnocentric view? Or rather, a delusional goal? According to Habermas (1984),

this Utopia of reason, formed in the Enlightenment, was persistently contradicted by the realities of bourgeois life and shown to be a *bourgeois ideology*. But it was *never a mere illusion*; it was an *objective illusion* that rose from the structures of differentiated lifeworlds which, while certainly limited in class-specific ways, were nonetheless rationalized (p. 329, italics mine).

The lifeworld can be thought of as “represented by a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretive patterns” (Habermas, 1987b, p. 124). It is “constitutive for mutual understanding as such, whereas the formal world-concepts constitute a *reference system* for that about which mutual understanding is possible” (p. 126, italics mine). Communication between speakers and hearers takes place within the more concrete lifeworld, whereas the actual meaning is construed inter-subjectively by referring to an overarching system.⁵¹ The lifeworld is present as the background of the situation and constantly shifts according to the themes that are being touched upon. As such, it appears to constitute the vast Hallidayan concept of meaning potential or cultural knowledge, which is endlessly transmitted from generation to generation,

51 Schutz & Luckmann (1975) make the same distinction between interpreting a particular situation and acting upon this interpretation while following Husserl’s model of the philosophy of consciousness.

as opposed to the situation at hand. Some scholars would simply refer to this reservoir of meaning as ‘culture’ (Goddard, 1997; Peeters, 2009). Habermas (1987b), however, defines the notion of culture as “the *stock of knowledge* from which participants in communication supply themselves with interpretations as they come to an understanding about something in the world” (p. 138, italics mine). Of course, the lifeworld has become heterogeneous and largely scattered under the pressures of modern society.

As a departure point for his theory of communicative action, Habermas (1984) extensively delves into the developmental psychologies of Kohlberg (1981) and Piaget (1932), which postulate various stages of development in individual thought patterns. Likewise, the individual is transformed into an autonomous being through intersubjective, discursive negotiations with other individuals. This process of self-transformation, as described by Habermas, was already an established notion in social psychology. In Habermas’s interpretation, though, it is no longer limited to the development of the individual as a child, as it is an ongoing process that continues well into adult life. In this sense, the consensus reached as a result of the communicative process is not political, but cognitive. Any arising conflicts are designated by Habermas (1987b) as “pathologies in the lifeworld” (p. 385) and “distorted communication” (p. 388).

However, even though Habermas’s theory of communicative action does seem useful for the investigation of various social inequality issues within Europe,⁵² applying it as a methodology in the present critical analysis of postcolonial discourse proves to be highly problematic for the following reasons:

- Habermas’s theory appears to be based on universalist values, such as reason, truth or democracy, which are in fact European Enlightenment values, which stand in a stark

⁵² Scholars of the Vienna School of CDA often draw on the work of Habermas (1984; 1987b) for European Critical Discourse Analysis. See, for example: Wodak (1989; 2006; 2011) or Wodak & Boukala (2015) for an outline of the key underpinnings of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA.

contrast with indigenous values, such as attachment to the land, identity or traditional customary law.

- Within an ideal speech situation, the interactants are considered equals, postulating and ratifying each other's validity claims. In reality, the individuals or social groups included in the independence debate are not equal due to the ongoing hegemonic power relation between France and New Caledonia.
- The goal of a Habermasian exchange is to reach a consensus or an agreement, which is again a highly Western democratic ideal. Furthermore, the whole independence issue entails a dissensus due to an intrinsic opposition of underlying ideologies.
- The Habermasian notion of the lifeworld appears too homogeneous and would need to be revised to make it more acceptable in this context. Numerous multiple lifeworlds exist and interact with each other.
- In Habermas's view, the public sphere, in which the dialogical exchange takes place, is a bourgeois sphere. Seeing it as such, immediately re-creates the image of the 18th century French dominant group that relegated the Kanak indigenous population to a hidden sphere in colonial society and thus by its very nature excludes the voices of colonised individuals from the political arena.

Similar to Habermas, Hallidayan linguistics conceives of language as a social semiotic system, thereby emphasising its intersubjective aspects. As Halliday (1977) asserts: "language does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse – the exchange of meanings in *interpersonal* contexts of one kind or another" (p. 2, italics mine). He further explains that

we do not experience language in isolation – if we did we would not recognize it as language – but always in relation to a scenario, some *background of persons and actions and events* from which the things which are said derive their meaning (p. 28, italics mine).

This situational context comprises all features that are relevant to the speech event. The context of situation contains the field of discourse, the tenor of discourse and the mode of discourse. Field indicates the setting in which a language event takes place. It does not just refer to what the event is about, but also the activity of whoever participates in it. It further tends to regulate the transitivity patterns, types of processes (relational, material, circumstantial, and the like). Tenor indicates how the participants relate to each other in terms of attitude, mood, and the like. It defines the patterns of mood (e.g. interrogative, imperative, and so on) and of modality. Finally, mode indicates the medium of communication that is being employed, also including cohesion and coherence.

The context of situation is that of a subject expressing an opinion and aiming at persuading the audience of his or her own point of view, in dialogue with other subjects who are doing the same thing. These mini-debates are part of an overarching debate on the same issue. Halliday (1977) sees the speech community as “an idealized construct, and it is one which combines three distinct concepts: those of social group, communication network, and linguistically homogeneous population” (p. 154). However, these days, a speech community appears to be a highly heterogeneous entity, comprising individuals who are, not only linguistically diverse among each other, but who also often happen to be bilingual as well, which means that we need to see each language system as an exceedingly flexible system. Individuals belonging to the same social group select various variables and attach normative significance to the variables. These values subsequently become common ground, reinforcing the links between them.

Halliday’s concepts of instantiation and realisation may shed some light on how it is possible to mediate between the overarching cultural context and the lexical and grammatical selections made by individuals within the context of situation (see Fig. 2.1). Instantiation constitutes “the

move between the system and the instance” (Halliday, 1992, p. 352) and realisation “is prototypically an interstratal relationship; meanings are realized as wordings, wordings realized as sound (or soundings)”. Halliday sees the social mode as the conscious mode of experience, instead of separating the two modes into a social and a cognitive component.

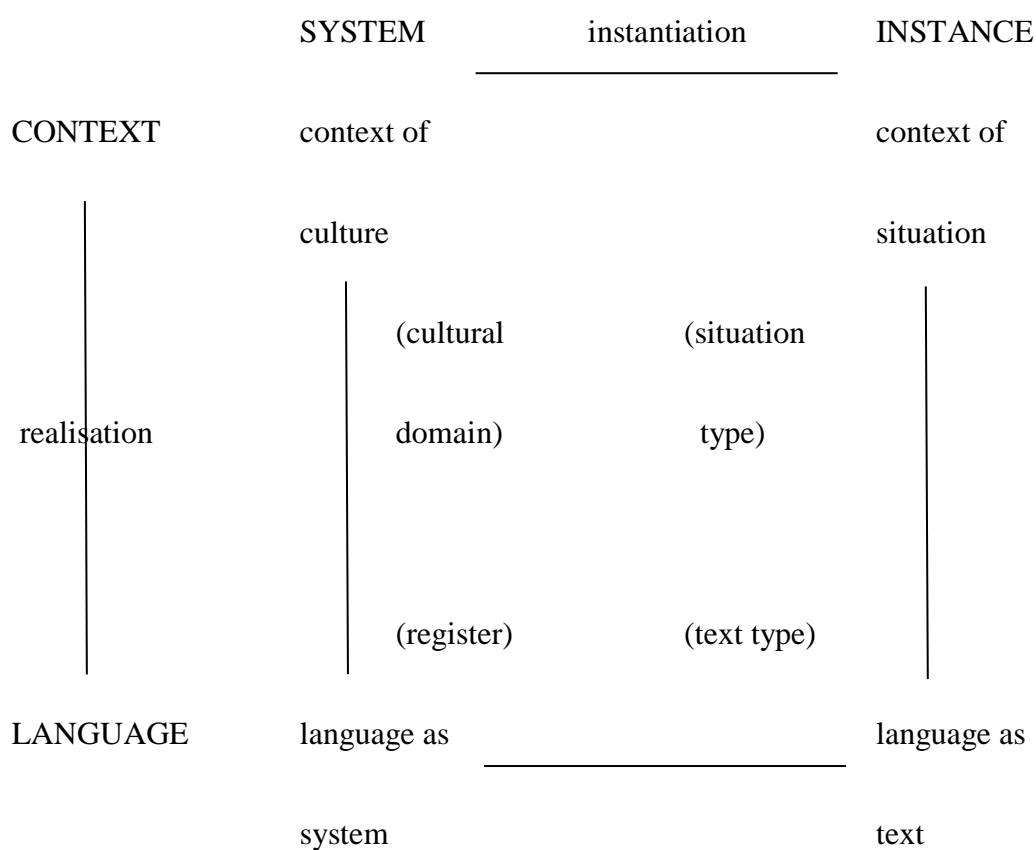


Figure 2.1: Language and context, system and instance (adapted from Halliday 1999)

Pragma-Dialectics considers each argumentation to be “part of an explicit or implicit discussion between parties who try to resolve a difference of opinion (that may be implicit) by testing the acceptability of the standpoints concerned” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p.21). Pragma-dialecticians further interpret argumentation as a ‘complex speech act’ (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984, p. 18). The definition underlines the importance of the effects discourse may have in terms of convincing the other side of a certain truth. The individual needs to be, in the first place, reasonable, which is comparable to Habermas’s rational subject. According to the anthropologico-relativistic view in Argumentation theory, the notions of rationality or reasonableness are culture-specific, dynamic, and group-bound.⁵³ PD, however, adopts a critical-rationalistic view of reasonableness.⁵⁴ The present study leans more towards a relativistic perspective on the notion.

The model, proposed by pragma-dialectic theorists, is in the first place pragmatic, since the interactants exchange speech acts at a certain point in time and in a certain place, and it is dialectical, as these speech acts are exchanged within a dialogical discussion that aims to resolve a difference in opinion. What Habermas designated ‘distorted communication’ is referred to as ‘fallacies’ in PD.⁵⁵ These violations of the rules of the critical discussion game constitute various derailments that may occur as part of strategic manoeuvring (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). The focus, also within CDA, has traditionally been on fallacies committed by the protagonist(s), as a form of manipulation. However, the intersubjective character of the debate that forms the topic of the present investigation also requires a closer examination of

53 Argumentation theory borrowed philosophical insights from Arne Naess, Stephen Toulmin’s *The Uses of Argument* (2003), Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca’s *Traité de l’argumentation, la nouvelle rhétorique* (1976) and Rupert Crawshay-Williams.

54 This view is based on Karl Popper’s epistemological philosophy. See *The Open Society and its Enemies* (2013), *Conjectures and Refutations* (2014), *The Myth of the Framework* (2014), *Unended Quest* (2005).

55 For a more detailed explanation of the notion of fallacies, see van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1984) and especially van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992).

possible fallacies contained within the argumentation of the antagonist(s) (Lecompte-Van Poucke, 2014a).

PD comprises four meta-theoretical principles: functionalising, externalising, socialising, and dialectifying (van Eemeren et al., 1996). Functionalising entails that every discursive act is seen as serving a particular purpose. Externalising means that the external repercussions of the discursive act, within the public realm, are considered as well. Socialisation involves the interaction with other individuals through the discursive act(s) and, finally, dialectification means that the discursive acts are seen as part of a dialogical movement that includes ongoing evaluation based on critical norms.⁵⁶

The exchange of viewpoints is seen as a ‘critical discussion’, which involves a continuous evaluation by the interactants of the opinions that are being exchanged.⁵⁷ In such a discussion,

the parties involved in a difference of opinion attempt to resolve this difference of opinion by achieving agreement on the acceptability or unacceptability of the standpoint(s) involved through the conduct of a regulated exchange of views. By following a dialectical procedure, the protagonist of a standpoint and the antagonist attempt to achieve clarity as to whether the protagonist’s standpoint can be defended in light of the antagonist’s critical reactions (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p. 58).

Within the negotiation process, various stages may be distinguished with which the interlocutors are confronted before arriving at a resolved difference of opinion. The first stage is the confrontation stage. In this stage, a particular standpoint is presented, which is deemed unacceptable or doubtful, leading to a verbal opposition. The second stage is the opening stage, in which the interactants attempt to figure out how much common ground they share in order to be able to bring the discussion to a good ending. The third stage is the actual argumentation

⁵⁶ For a more detailed explanation of the meta-theoretical principles, see Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson & Jacobs (1993).

⁵⁷ This is similar but not the same as what would ensue in formal dialectics, seen the additional pragmatic angle under which it occurs.

stage, in which the interlocutors exchange their arguments, aimed at reducing existing feelings of doubt or suspicion in their counterpart(s). Finally, in the concluding stage, the discussants make up the balance of the whole negotiation process and evaluate whether it was successful or not.

Various speech acts are exchanged during a critical discussion, following Searle's typology (Searle, 1979). Assertives, for example, are claims made concerning a particular truth and may be asserted by the interactants to simply make a statement. Directives may be employed to instruct the hearers into performing a particular desired action or, instead, not to engage in a particular act. Examples of directives are commands, requests, or prohibitions. The discussants may further resort to commissives, which constitute a type of speech acts that are accomplished to emphasise the speaker's commitment to do or not to do something. The most obvious example would be a simple promise. Expressives are another speech act type, which may be performed to express the speaker's feelings, such as offering condolences, uttering regrets, or congratulating someone. Not all speech acts play a direct role in critical discussions. Declaratives, for example, tend to occur more in institutionalised settings, in which a certain state of affairs may be declared open or closed.

PD has integrated the communicative and interactive principles, developed by Searle and Grice (1975) respectively, into the approach, relabelling Grice's cooperation principle as a 'communication principle' that designates the more general rules that ought to be followed by individuals engaging with others in a critical discussion, such as integrity, honesty, relevance or sincerity. In reality, however, discourse contains numerous implicit elements that are left unspoken or unwritten and need to be read between the lines. For example, it is not always clear to whom the argumentation is addressed and who exactly needs to be convinced of its acceptability.

The New Caledonian independence debate may be partly reconstructed as a critical discussion between representatives of various discourse communities and their audience, as a form of plurilogue aimed at resolving a difference of opinion on whether or not New Caledonia should become independent from France and how this decolonisation process should occur. Each separate discourse sample is a part of the same debate and, as such, is intertextually linked with other discourse samples surrounding the same speech event. Subsequently, the foremost aim of the research process is to clarify and critically evaluate the arguments, the underlying assumptions and viewpoints, as well as the ideological stances that are included in the respective dialogical moves between protagonists and recipients.

2.10 Postcolonial and Poststructuralist Perceptions

2.10.1 The Foucauldian and Saïdian concepts of power, knowledge and discourse.

The emergent postcolonial discourses, resulting from the decolonisation process that is currently underway in New Caledonia, are intertextually linked and influence each other, just as they are part of an ongoing ideational and interpersonal interaction between France and its dependencies or, as Fanon (1961) defines the process:

Decolonization, therefore, implies the urgent need to thoroughly challenge the colonial situation. Its definition can, if we want to describe it accurately, be summed up in the well-known words: "The last shall be first". Decolonization is verification of this (p. 6).

It is through producing a counter-discourse of resistance that decolonisation may be realised and achieved, hence the importance of presenting the debate that surrounds the independence issue as a plurilogical exchange of arguments that defend either a positive or negative standpoint towards the course of action suggested by the French dominant powers.

It is evident that the relationship between France and New Caledonia is one of power. Or, as Saïd puts it (1978), the “relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of various degrees of a complex hegemony” (p. 5). This Western hegemony presents itself as an important motivator in terms of power over its Eastern or ‘Other’ counterpart, thereby translating itself in a relationship characterised by a superiority that is constantly being justified. The two polarities appear to be involved in an ongoing “dialectic of information and control” (p. 33) despite the fact that, according to Saïd, the West may never fully get to know the Orient as it is, in reality.

The term Orientalism, then, needs to be understood as the justification or self-ratification of the dominant relationship entertained by the West through ideology. As far as power is concerned, Saïd (1978) makes a distinction between various kinds of power. This heterogeneous conceptualisation of power appears to be part of “an uneven exchange” (p. 12) through discourse. Instead of power, though, Saïd (1978) uses the term ‘authority’:

There is nothing mysterious or natural about authority. It is formed, irradiated, disseminated; it is instrumental, it is persuasive; it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it dignifies as true, and from traditions, perceptions, and judgements it forms, transmits, reproduces (p. 19-20).

However, there are various theoretical problems with Saïd’s Orientalism, especially with regard to any discursive acts that occur within the power relationship between the West and the Orient. In order to analyse linguistic expressions of hegemony, Saïd (1978) employs the concept of discursive formations, as outlined by Foucault (1972).⁵⁸ Foucault’s project *L’Archéologie du Savoir* (Archaeology of Knowledge) focuses on the structure of knowledge and how it is constructed. In this sense, it may indeed provide useful insights for a discourse analysis.

⁵⁸ See also: Foucault & Sheridan (2012).

As Foucault (1972) explains in this particular work, knowledge and discourse are closely linked, since “there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms” (p. 201). Consequently, we may conclude that some form of common ground exists prior to any linguistic expression of the shared knowledge, which has emerged historically, and that a set of rules exists with regard to the performance of discursive acts. This Foucauldian theme is continued in *Surveiller et Punir* (Discipline and Punish) (Foucault & Sheridan, 2012). However, this time the focus is not on knowledge and discourse but on knowledge and power.

The concept of a discursive formation, which is applied by Saïd (1978) in his own discourse analysis, is defined by Foucault (Foucault & Sheridan, 2012) as follows:

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation... (p. 41).

The above conceptualisation of discourse allows for an understanding of knowledge as it is being produced and reproduced by subjects and, subsequently, continues to exist as an object that may be traced down in time through an archaeological effort. Foucault (1972) claims that a speech act constitutes “what occurred by the very fact that a statement was made – and precisely this statement (and no other) in specific circumstances” (p. 83), without considering what happened previously, in the individual’s thoughts or without contemplating the individual’s intentions. The aforementioned assertion will particularly focus our attention on how statements are being made within a given situational context and how language is being used by the interactants in the debate to represent reality and to negotiate meaning while, at the same time, however, considering the impact of the hegemonic and minority discourse on both the audience and social reality.

When contrasted with Saïd's Orientalism, the Foucauldian notion of knowledge seems to have been replaced with an emphasis on identity and power, interpreted as institutional authority. Saïd (1978) further links Foucault's concept of discourse, still seen as a structure, to the Gramscian concept of hegemony. His work is characterised by apparent tensions between the notions of power, knowledge, and discourse. Saïd (1978) aims to "show that European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate self" (p. 3). The underlying assumption here is that European identity is dominant over any other identity. Saïd (1978) refers to this dominance as a "flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand" (p. 7). In fact, the Orient appears to be a discursive creation of the West, since this is what power tends to do: label and categorise, as well as essentialise the other identity as a homogeneous entity through discursive expressions of 'Otherness'.

Similar to the Foucauldian concept of discourse as a structured object, Saïd's discursive object is subject to both power and knowledge structures. Saïd's emphasis on these structures leads to a materialist conceptualisation of discourse that is able to mediate between the imaginary and reality. He underlines that "ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied" (Saïd, 1978, p. 5). As such, Orientalist discourse forms an inextricable part of the process of colonising Others, seen from Saïd's point of view.

Nevertheless, some attention needs to be paid to how these power relations have materialised.⁵⁹ Both the past and the present are being continuously produced and reproduced, resulting in highly disparate realities depicting race, ethnicity and national identity. Consequently, it is not only necessary to consider various points of view, including the indigenous stance, in order to

⁵⁹ For a description of the material relations of colonialism, see Ahmad (1992), Dirlik (2010), Dirlik & Zhang, 2009), Gupta (2003), San Juan Jr. (1999), Ong (1999), or Spivak (1988).

come to some sort of compromise in the form of a consensus, the minority discourse also needs to be incorporated into the overall depiction of ‘what is going on’ in order to create social change, by actively unsettling and resisting the dominant powers.

Some discursive thoughts evolve along and through other discourses and thus become normalised or naturalised in society. Captivating these *régimes de vérité* (regimes of truth) is a challenging and often daunting task. Even though Foucault does not explicitly focus on colonialism or postcolonial racism and, instead, analyses mental health issues (1988), sexuality (1978) or institutionalised discipline (1975), his insights still prove to be useful when investigating how racist or colonial statements have been reiterated and persist today as expressions of hegemonic discourse, held in place by neo-colonialist political power structures. However, the way interactants in the debate think about the independence issue primarily constitutes an ongoing negotiation process, by means of powerful discourse, of what individuals ought to think about the issue. Various stakeholders in the debate, including the New Caledonian population, attempt to manipulate and influence the discourse in order to mould it so it aligns with their own viewpoints.

2.10.2 Foucault’s framework of discursive formations. Now, what does

archaeology mean, according to Foucault?

Archaeology, [...], takes as the object of its description what is usually regarded as an obstacle: its aim is not to overcome differences, but to analyze them, to say what exactly they consist of, to differentiate them (Foucault, 1972, p. 171).

Despite their initially discontinuous appearance, discourses may show particular continuities or characteristics that need to be further explored in order to clarify the issue that forms their focus and to show how the discourse operates. As is often the case in a critical discourse analysis, a mere synchronic slice of reality is analysed, thereby focusing on various salient linguistic

features. By adding a Foucauldian, diachronic perspective to the textual analysis, one may trace back discursive formations, as well as analyse novel formations as they appear in the present.

An important question that now arises is whether offering resistance to power is effectively possible within a Foucauldian framework? Perhaps it is not, especially not when one considers Foucault's thoughts on the subject in *L'Ordre des Choses* (The Order of Things) (Foucault, 1971). By reducing the subject to a mere effect of discursive formations, the weight of the accumulating discourses appears to crash any possible agency the subject might have had and thus also any probability of resistance to institutionalised or political power.

As mentioned earlier, Saïd (1978) draws heavily from Foucault's work in *Orientalism*. He adds that:

...so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations of thought and action imposed by Orientalism (p 3).

The problem that flows from the scholar's suggestions is that, with a subjugated subject, no resistance seems possible.

Even though Saïd (1978) follows Foucault, his method comes closer to a textual analysis:

Accordingly my analyses employ close textual readings whose goal is to reveal the dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation to which his work is a contribution (pp. 24-25).

Similar to Saïd (1978), the present study aims to critique dominant Western systems of thought and representations in order to show how racism has become entrenched in French social practice and how racial inequality still pervades French discourse. On the other hand, it also seems necessary to contemplate the French dominant discourse in its entirety or to explore the

counter-discourse as a whole by outlining how these discourses have surpassed the subjects, who uttered the words they contain, and how they have taken on the abstract form of clearly recognisable formations.

This brings us to the discursive practice of ‘Othering’, which is explained by Foucault as follows:

The history of madness would be the history of the Other – of that which, for a given culture, is at once anterior and foreign, therefore to be excluded (so as to exorcise the interior danger) but by being shut away (in order to reduce its otherness); whereas the history of the order imposed on things would be the history of the Same – of that which, for a given culture, is both dispersed and related, therefore to be distinguished by kinds and to be collected together into identities (1971, p.xxvi).

As, according to Foucault, discourse is tied up within a discursive practice and its formation is not controlled by the subject who utters it, the role of the so-called ‘intellectual in exile’ is to critically expose the uncomfortable or opaque truths hidden within the discursive acts of others. Foucault’s discursive formations, however, are being generated and regenerated in an endless, impersonal cycle, whereas counter-discourse requires a far less submissive subject actively opposing existing power patterns within dominant discourse. Consequently, subjects, such as the Kanak, for example, who are represented in a certain way within French discourse, may - despite being subjugated by the dominant discourse – purposefully counter it through the power of their own contesting discourse, as creatively expressed in poetry, hip hop dance, Kaneka songs, bamboo engravings, blogs, and the like.

As Foucault (1970) asserts: “discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle” (pp. 52-53). In stressing the fact that discourse is both the objective of power and its means, Foucault is warning us that we are making a mistake in attempting to reduce the function of discourse to any one comfortable role within the operation of power. In fact, power structures need resistance in

order to be able to persist (Foucault, 1982). While power tends to reside in institutional entities, resistance is often situated at a more inconspicuous level, within specific contextual situations. As Foucault (1970) further explains in *L'Ordre du Discours* (Orders of Discourse), the author may be seen as representative of a body of texts that are a mere reiteration of what was already there in the context: “the author as the unifying principle in a particular group of writings or statements, lying at the origins of their significance, as the seat of their coherence” (p. 14).

The acts of resistance are not political in themselves. It is the context in which they occur that makes them political. Likewise, verbalising an opinion as a discursive act of opposition only becomes political within a context of deliberation or contestation, not when the discourse is uttered casually among friends or family. Discourse, within a Foucauldian perspective, hence needs to be seen as a social practice. Discursive events such as the New Caledonian independence debate are not only a consequence of the interplay between power and resistance, they are a site of struggle in themselves, as mentioned earlier. As Foucault (1971) points out: “speech is no mere verbalisation of conflicts and systems of domination”. Rather, it is “the very object of man’s conflicts” (p. 9).

In contrast with a more conventional view of power relations, as depicted by the numerous Eurocentric accounts of New Caledonian history that are available to us,⁶⁰ Dousset-Leenhardt (1978) proposes a contrastive view that appears to align rather favourably with the argument developed in this study: the development of events throughout time constitutes a form of collective, public communication, a veritable plurilogue, between various ethnic communities and, eventually, between the main stakeholders in the debate: the Kanak people, the Caldoches, the French government and the other communities. Thus, a discursive antagonism has arisen, which includes an intrinsic opposition between colonialism and anti-colonialism, between

⁶⁰ See, for example: Connell (1987), Aldrich (1996), Lyons (1986), Saussol (1981a; 1981b; 1983; 1985) or Kohler & Institut Culturel Mélanésien (1984).

dominating power and resistance to this power.⁶¹ The importance of discourse as an inherent site of power struggle can therefore not be denied.

In response to the dominating French discourse, Kanak activists and various representative individuals from other minority communities in New Caledonia, who also have a voice in the debate, may enter the public arena and attempt to renegotiate the meaning of the common destiny proposal through the use of a counter-discourse that is both creative and reactive.

According to Bhabha (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995), resistance

is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or the exclusion of the ‘content’ of another culture, as difference once perceived... [but] the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference (p. 33).

Until the 1890s, France sent many thousands of *déportés* (convicts) to New Caledonia.⁶² Free settlement was also greatly encouraged. The early settlers were allocated a piece of land and mostly engaged in cattle farming, following the example of Australia, with some experimenting with growing coffee, especially around Canala, and others working in the sugar cane industry, for which numerous labourers were attracted from Réunion in 1858 (Speedy, 2007a, 2007b). The ongoing development led to the dispossession of the Melanesians and, subsequently, numerous land disputes that endure to this day.⁶³ French land grabbing also led to the displacement of numerous Kanak clans, often with tragic consequences, such as loss of identity.⁶⁴ As Tjibaou (1976) emphasised, “un clan qui perd son territoire, c’est un clan qui perd sa personnalité” (a clan that loses its territory, loses its personality) (p. 285).

61 Other studies on resistance to power structures have been carried out by Escobar & Alvarez (1992) and Guidry, Kennedy & Zald (2009).

62 See also: Barbançon (2003). The convicts came from different regions in France and even from other French colonies.

63 According to the ‘Déclaration no. 18’, issued by Governor du Bouzet, France had now become the official owner of the land (Leblic, 2003).

64 The French settlers did not only claim the land for themselves, relegating the Kanaks to artificially and purposefully created reserves, they also considered Kanak women as their possession. As Dousset-Leenhardt

It is this ambivalence that is also found in Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*,⁶⁵ in which the Black subject expresses a profound desire to become White, like his oppressor, whereas, at the same time, this may be interpreted as an act of resistance. In this sense, any forms of mimicry may entail an active erosion of the colonial forces. Since the identities of both coloniser and colonised are constantly adapting themselves in a flux of discursive events and the expression of individual thoughts, resistance may be seen as an inevitable ideological effect of the discourse that is being exchanged between the social groups.

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, a review of the literature has been undertaken to investigate the conceptual landscape within CDA. A historical outline of the central protagonists and approaches within the field has been presented, and abstract notions such as power, ideology, and context, which are of importance within CDA, have been explicated and further explored. An explanation has also been provided in terms of why a Habermasian, modernist stance to the topic under investigation does not appear to be appropriate in the light of the present study. Instead, it has been argued that a pragma-functional approach to CDA, combining SFL and Argumentation theory, complemented with sufficient contextualisation of the New Caledonian independence issue, by adding a Foucauldian diachronic perspective to the critical discourse analysis, and enriched with postcolonial perspectives, seems recommended, both within the context of the present research project and in order to overcome some of the current methodological deficits within the discipline.

(1978) describes in her ethnographic account of the situation: “ils ne se sont pas privés d’enlever des femmes pour leur usage personnel et, dans la brousse, le fait pour un colon de vivre avec une popinée était quasiment de règle” (they did not withhold themselves from taking the women for their own personal use and, in the bush, it was practically considered normal for a settler to live with a Kanak woman) (p. 85).

⁶⁵ Fanon's work *Peau noire, Masques Blancs* (1952) was heavily influenced by the founder of the *négritude* movement: Aimé Césaire, who expressed his sympathy for the New Caledonian independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou in a poem (Césaire, 2009).

Chapter Three: A Pragma-functional Analysis of the Ontological Praxis of Power and Ideology in the New Caledonian Independence Debate

3.1 Introduction and Overview

The current empirical study constitutes a critical discourse analysis of part of the discourse that surrounds the New Caledonian independence issue. It aims to explore an audience's response to political speeches and other textual genres. It further aims to investigate how representative individuals attempt to persuade people to follow a particular course of action and to link the notions of discourse and action to the cognitive dimensions of ideology and assumptions. Finally, it also endeavours to further clarify various contextual factors, such as power configurations, to describe possible semantic incongruences in the debate, and to demonstrate the use of shared knowledge as a rhetorical tool.

For this purpose, the project has introduced an interdisciplinary, pragma-functional approach to CDA, combining SFL, Argumentation theory, as well as postcolonial and poststructuralist perspectives. Various French excerpts from across a relatively wide variety of genres and registers were analysed, thereby investigating salient lexical and grammatical patterns, as well as any significant inferences. It will be explained further on, in chapter six, how a plurilogical exchange of standpoints may lead to a discord between highly divergent discourse communities instead of a desired consensus, due to prevalent power asymmetries.

In this chapter, the main focus of the study is made explicit and a rationale for the chosen linguistic approach is provided. Then, the discourse samples that were included in the study and the origin of the data are discussed. After that, the data collection methods and the adopted research design of the project are explained. Subsequently, the theoretical assumptions and

linguistic approaches to CDA that were adopted in the study are looked into. A detailed overview of the discourse samples that were included in the analysis is then given. Finally, some ethical considerations and limitations of the study, such as the extrapolation of the data, are addressed.

3.2 The Construal of Power and Ideology through Lexicogrammatical Selections

Discourse is seen in the present study as constitutively argumentative, based on insights from Argumentation theory, in particular the New Rhetoric (Amossy, 2009; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1976) and Pragma-Dialectic theory (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Of all the existing conceptual frameworks for CDA, only the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), developed by Wodak (2001), includes argumentation. However, argumentation is perceived in this particular approach as a rhetorical strategy, not as a social practice. Grounded in the Frankfurt school and drawing inspiration from Habermas' linguistic philosophy, DHA lends itself well to the study of social practices such as discrimination or marginalisation of vulnerable groups of people in society.

The main focus of the present study, however, is on how the interactants in the debate construe power and ideology through the prominence of specific patterns of linguistic choices and how they employ various rhetorical or discursive strategies to achieve their purpose of persuading the audience to follow a preferred course of action, to change their viewpoint or to accept the other's standpoint as truth. All of this needs to be seen within the immediate situational contexts of the uttered discourse, with each individual being an instance of larger social and global processes and each text being an instantiation of a larger system. Negotiation discourse appears to be impregnated with assumptions that may be associated with dominant and non-dominant ideologies. The ideologies behind the discourses employed by the individuals, as members of various discourse communities, supersede the contextual levels and are known to be permeating

discourse on each of the strata of the social semiotic system and on all different levels. Overall, the project is aimed at analysing conflictual discourse as a collaborative social practice within the postcolonial space, integrating postcolonial and poststructuralist perspectives into the overall investigation.

The main research questions are the following:

- How do the selected representatives of the discourse communities that are participating in the independence debate attempt to influence or alter the recipients' point of view through their construction of an individual reality of a common destiny for New Caledonia and through their conceptualisation of agency?
- How do they endeavour to persuade the audience to accept their view as a reasonable solution to the independence issue by negotiating power and ideology with the other groups?
- What are some of the argumentative strategies employed by the selected interlocutors in the plurilogue and how do the dominant representatives use shared or implicit knowledge to their own benefit?
- What are some of the ideological practices each of the groups involved appear to be engaged in?

3.3 Discourse Samples

The study investigates and analyses the arguments and expressed opinions of individuals from various discourse communities in New Caledonia through an excerpt from an interview with a Kanak person and responses to an (online) questionnaire from some of New Caledonia's inhabitants, both asking the same set of questions, as well as through various downloaded texts,

such as a published letter written by former French President François Mitterrand, a published letter written by Kanak independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a poem written by Kanak author and politician Déwé Gorodé, the transcript of a speech made by former French President François Hollande and a transcript of a radio interview with Pierre Frogier (see chapter four and appendices). All of the excerpts share a common theme: the New Caledonian independence issue and the future of the island agglomeration with or without France. Any interested male or female Kanak adults, with sufficient literacy skills, from either the local village, Tiwaé, or in the capital city, Noumea, were invited to participate in the interviews or the questionnaire. Prior to the interviews or the questionnaire, formal permission was obtained from the village elders in a culturally appropriate fashion. The initial contact was made by performing a local customs ceremony in the presence of a village elder in a purposefully selected village, Tiwaé, on the northeast coast of New Caledonia, by building further on previous contacts that had been acquired between 2004 and 2008, when I worked as a field linguist among the Cèmuhi for an international NGO: SIL International.⁶⁶ When visiting some of the northern villages, I explained the reason for organising the interviews and asked for the elders' consent.

It is worth mentioning that people were free as individuals to participate in the research regardless of the ceremony, which constitutes a mere formality in Kanak culture. After obtaining formal permission, I was able to freely approach any willing participants. Individuals who showed an interest in the study and who appeared to be eager to participate were invited to do so. They received sufficient time and space to consider their participation privately before committing themselves to being interviewed. In the case of people living in the city, permission to elicit the required information was primarily obtained orally, through social networking.

⁶⁶ This NGO serves communities worldwide by providing sustainable language development through training, research, teaching and learning materials.

Official ethical and scientific approval for the project was obtained on 15 July 2015.⁶⁷ Hence, the study meets all of the requirements as set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007- Updated March 2015) (the National Statement). In order to ensure that ethical procedures were followed, the purpose of the interviews and the questionnaire was explained to all of the participants in French and a consent form was used, which was also explained to the participants before they agreed to sign it. Furthermore, participants were made aware of the fact that they could withdraw from the study whenever they wished. The field research was conducted in a respectful and collaborative manner by following local customs and protocol.

The five individuals from the village of Tiwaé who eventually participated in the interviews were all female and Kanak, since it appeared to be culturally inappropriate for me, as a White woman, to interview Kanak men on such a politically sensitive topic. Quite a few individuals from other ethnicities, who had initially shown an interest in the research project, preferred to fill out the online questionnaire instead of engaging in a face-to-face conversation about the independence issue. There seemed to be a great deal of fear among the respondents, even though I repeatedly reassured potential participants that both the interview and the questionnaire were completely anonymous.

All of the interviews with the Kanak women took place in a private space of their own choice. Again, it took considerable effort to establish relationships with the women, through sharing some food with them and by providing lengthy additional explanations in the local language, Cèmuhi, before they were willing to sign the consent form and declare themselves ready to

⁶⁷ Reference number of ethical clearance: 5201500170. Project name: *Data collection for Critical Discourse Analysis in New Caledonia*.

participate in the project.⁶⁸ The Kanak women were all mothers and all were involved in growing produce on the communal fields of the village for private use (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Characteristics of interview participants

Ethnicity	Age	Gender	Occupation
Kanak	28	female	mother/tourism
Kanak	32	female	mother/agriculture
Kanak	29	female	mother/agriculture
Kanak	25	female	mother/agriculture
Kanak	41	female	mother/agriculture

Each interview lasted for about 20 minutes. The women preferred the interview format, as they were not able to fill out the online questionnaire due to limited or no access to the internet. The interviews were recorded and the data were transcribed and then analysed using various linguistic tools for CDA, which will be described in more detail further on. The interview material forms a crucial part of the study, as it allowed for an enhanced insight into the minority discourse and their assumptions pertaining to the overarching independence debate. As van Dijk (2006) explains: “As the basis of a social group’s self-image, ideologies organize its identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relations to other social groups” (p. 115). All perspectives within the debate deserve closer investigation, which is why it was important to include viewpoints expressed through discourse that was elicited *in situ*, in New Caledonia.

⁶⁸ Cèmuhì is one of 28 local Melanesian languages that are currently being spoken in New Caledonia, apart from French, the official language, and various ethnic minority languages (Lynch, 2002).

Data obtained from the questionnaire were analysed in a similar manner (see Table 3.2). A total of 120 responses was received, of which 112 were complete and therefore useful for the project. It needs to be added that the standpoints on the New Caledonian independence issue, expressed individually in every discourse sample that has been included in the study, are by no means equal to the viewpoints of an entire group of people. They are merely illustrative of some of the assumptions shared by a given discourse community and, as such, may illuminate important underlying ideologies, and will be presented as such.

Table 3.2: Characteristics of questionnaire respondents

Ethnicity	Number of samples	Gender		Average age
		Male	Female	
Caldoche/Caledonian	27	14	13	34
French/European	34	20	14	50
Kanak/Melanesian	26	5	21	31
Wallisian/Futunian	11	2	9	28
ni-Vanuatu	0	0	0	0
Javanese Indonesian	2	2	0	45

Ethnicity	Number of samples	Gender		Average age
		Male	Female	
Vietnamese	1	0	1	33
Tahitian/Polynesian	2	2	0	32
Reunionese	1	0	1	21
Other	8	3	5	33
Total	112	48	65	31

Apart from the interviews and the online questionnaire, various other discourse samples were drawn from other communities, in the form of published letters, a political speech, a poem and a radio interview, in order to obtain data from all of the groups involved in the independence debate (see Table. 3.3). The oral data samples were collected and recorded *in situ*, whereas the written data samples, in the form of excerpts of texts and answers to the questionnaire, were retrieved online. The poem was downloaded from the internet.

Table 3.3: Discourse communities and number of samples

Discourse communities	Collected data	Number of samples
French/European	political speeches	1
	letter	1
	responses to online	34
	questionnaire	
Kanak/Melanesian	interviews	5
	poem	1
	letter	1
	responses to online	26
	questionnaire	
Caldoche/Caledonian	interview	1
	responses to online	27
	questionnaire	
Wallisian/Futunian	responses to online questionnaire	11
ni-Vanuatu	idem	0
Javanese Indonesian	idem	2
Vietnamese	idem	1
Tahitian/Polynesian	idem	2
Reunionese	idem	1
Other	idem	8
Total		120

3.4 Research Design Overview

The data collection methods used in the study were interviews, as well as an online questionnaire developed by the researcher, and texts downloaded from the internet. It was of crucial importance in this project for the interpretation to emerge from the data. Studying the linguistic patterns contained within each text therefore required a considerable amount of time and effort. As Verschueren (2012) points out, “rather than being hypothesis-driven, empirical ideology research is data-driven” (p.23). Consequently, I selected a variety of empirical data, focusing on the contemporary period of the debate, going back as far as the 1980s, following the classical criteria of reliability and validity, based on the principle of triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). As Wodak (2001, p. 29) interprets triangulation, it involves four different levels of context:

- the immediate language or textual level: the selected corpus of texts is registerially varied;
- interdiscursivity/intertextuality: the discourse samples belong to various genres, such as speeches, poetry, letters, interviews and the like;
- the extralinguistic level: the texts have been situated within the sociohistorical context that surrounds them;
- the wider context: the ideologies behind the discourse in the samples need to be explored and data have to be measured against the overarching sociocultural and historical context.

The data are also vertically varied, since they include both dominant and minority discourse and they are horizontally varied, across various genres and registers. Furthermore, the data are

both oral and written, both accessible and more restricted in terms of access and both political and non-political.

All of the discourse samples share a common theme: the future of New Caledonia and national identity, as a discursive and social construction, which echoes Anderson's conceptualisation of the nation as an imaginary construct. Anderson (1991) further maintains that the nation is always "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). Both the imagined New Caledonian community and its communicative interaction were described and closely examined in the study.

3.5 Interviews and Online Questionnaire

Five interviews in total were conducted with various local participants in a small village on the northeast coast of New Caledonia. The interviews followed a semi-structured format that privileged spontaneous conversation and focused on obtaining information about how the interviewees view the social reality surrounding the independence issue (Kvale, 2015). The participants' answers to a set of open questions were recorded using a laptop and a microphone (see appendices). The audio-recording procedure was carefully explained to the participants, after which they were invited to use the microphone. The recording was required in order to obtain clear discourse samples for the purpose of analysis. Finally, the proposed research activity did not involve any video-recording, even though all of the participants insisted on having their picture taken. The photographic material was not used in the analysis, however. It was also important to realise that asking direct questions could be seen as an intrusive activity, especially in Kanak culture, which is why I attempted to follow the format of a naturally occurring conversation as much as possible.

The data were analysed, following principles as set out by SFL and PD, and the structure of the arguments formed a further avenue of investigation. The data were presented by means of examples to show significant lexical and grammatical patterns contained within the discourse samples and to elucidate any fallacies or enthymemes in the argumentative structure of the text, without providing any further information on the identity of the individual who uttered the discourse, apart from mentioning the community to which the person belonged, as well as the individual's gender and age.

The method for the interviews used was to obtain verbal consent through the local custom, which is often referred to in French by Melanesian people as *faire la coutume* (Wittersheim, 1999).⁶⁹ This is the preferred way of obtaining approval for any project, initiative, or research conducted in a Melanesian village. I first consulted one of the community leaders and obtained consent and then obtained free, prior and informed consent of the individual participants as well. In case of potential interviewees in the city, people were simply invited to participate or to fill out the online questionnaire. For this purpose, an online questionnaire with eight predominantly open questions was made available online for the duration of several months (see appendices).

An important aim of the research was to integrate minority discourse into the study of arguments surrounding the issue of New Caledonian independence from France. In order to allow people to freely express their opinions, without too much difficulty or inconvenience, the format of a semi-structured interview was chosen. The option of the written questionnaire was added for those people who preferred to give their opinion in a written form. Also, it needs to be noted that, if the questionnaire would have been made available in a written form only, people who are not sufficiently literate in written French would have missed out on the

⁶⁹ *La nouvelle orthographe* (new French spelling) has been applied throughout the study ("La nouvelle orthographe", n.d.).

opportunity of expressing their opinion on the matter, whereas it was extremely important for the research project to allow everyone, young or old, male or female, who was willing to participate in the project, to be able to have their voice heard, not just the dominant population, who usually have sufficient internet access and are able to express their opinion on the independence issue far more easily. It was my explicit wish to elicit minority viewpoints, as opposed to those expressed by the more powerful French government representatives.

3.6 Transcription Issues

In order to prepare for the critical discourse analysis, the interviews needed to be transcribed and made available in written form. A verbatim account of what was said during the interaction with the participants was required (Maxwell, 2013, p. 95). I decided to adopt the international Jefferson method of transcription for the interviews. The main objective in transcribing was to make the verbal account useful for interpretation, thereby taking the research questions as a starting point (Kvale, 2015). As transcribing data may be considered a form of translation and therefore interpretation, I attempted to note everything that had been said, including interjections and pauses, which were subsequently removed from the included excerpts in the actual analysis.

3.7 Research design

The following diagram provides an overview of the research design that was followed in the study (see Fig. 3.1):

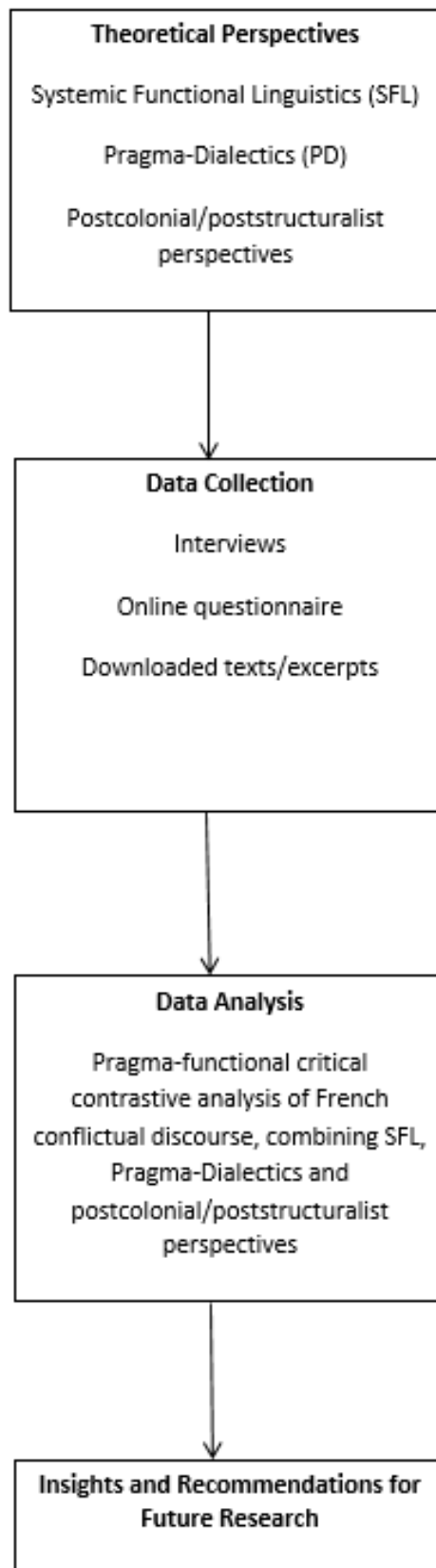


Figure 3.1: Research design

3.8 Theoretical Assumptions and Linguistic Approaches to CDA

3.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis. A critical, contrastive pragma-functional analysis combining SFL, PD, as well as poststructuralist and postcolonial conceptions, thereby integrating quantitative, linguistic evidence into an overarching qualitative analysis, was performed on the selected discourse samples, thereby using a novel approach to CDA. The project is explicitly interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary, as it constitutes an approach that is both qualitative and quantitative, thus exploring any salient grammatical patterns in French discourse that have emanated from a negotiation process, in order to mediate between contextual factors and textual units, as well as disentangling the subtleties and implications of the power structures that are part of the whole process. As asserted by Titscher, Wodak, Meyer & Vetter (2000), CDA

is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Accordingly CDA is essentially interdisciplinary (p. 146).

Through adopting an empirical outlook for the analysis, I aimed to position myself, the researcher, as an observer of the social reality in New Caledonia, allowing any interpretations to emerge from the data (Creswell, 2005) and concentrating on how the independence debate has been enacted by the main stakeholders (Silverman, 2008). In order to reveal any salient patterns in the empirical data, a pragma-functional approach was developed as a hermeneutic tool for interpretation. As Jardine (1992) asserts:

Hermeneutic inquiry has as its goal to educe understanding, to bring forth the presuppositions in which we already live. Its task, therefore, is not to methodically achieve a relationship to some matter and to secure understanding in such a method. Rather, its task is to recollect the contours and textures of the life we are already living, a life that is not secured by the methods we can wield to render such a life our object (p.116).

A critical discourse analysis focuses on “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1). The discourse, generated by the independence debate, and the ideologies that infused these utterances were subjected to a critical investigation that endeavoured to shed light on the social practice of deliberation, as well as on the discursive and social constructs of New Caledonia’s identity and future, which may be seen as an attempt at understanding “the whole from the individual and the individual from the whole” (Gadamer, 1988, p. 68). In interpreting the meanings contained in the text under investigation, I had to be aware of myself as an interpreter and my own personal involvement in the context of the topic as a Westerner who spent more than half of her life living in Belgium, Europe, with another part of it in Australia. Another issue in terms of ethnocentric bias arose from the fact that the research methodology constituted a Western way of thinking (Neuman, 2014).

It further needs to be underlined that discourse more or less constituted both the object and the method of the research. One of my objectives in carrying out the research was to participate in what Gadamer (1992) refers to as a hermeneutic conversation, which requires a common language:

Finding a common language is not, any more than in real conversation, preparing a tool for the purpose of reaching understanding but, rather, coincides with the very act of understanding and reaching agreement. Even between the partners of this conversation a communication like that between two people takes place that is more than mere accommodation. The text brings a subject matter into language, but that it does so is ultimately the achievement of the interpreter (p.388).

The study concentrated on the New Caledonian decolonisation process and its epistemic modalities, without therefore denying the realities of violent discord, oppression, and colonisation that occurred in the past, which was achieved through sufficient contextualisation of the interactants’ discursive acts that formed the focus of the investigation. Even though the end goals of the project were mutual understanding, indigenous empowerment, recognition of

Kanak rights, and overall clarification, an explicitly epistemic point of view was adopted that incorporated discursive acts from both local or indigenous individuals and their Western counterparts, instead of merely exploring a selection of Western or non-Western monologues. As Bakhtin & Holquist (1981) assert: “the idea begins to live, that is, to take shape, to develop, and to find and renew its verbal expression, to give birth to new ideas, only when it enters into genuine dialogic relationships with other ideas, with the ideas of others” (p. 98). Discursive exchange forms an inherent part of the deliberation process that characterises the negotiation of meanings linked to the common destiny metaphor and New Caledonian identity, which constitutes an imaginary construct (Anderson, 1991). However, it needs to be noted that the process was not perceived in the study as an inherently dyadic exchange, since it focused on discourse as it was being employed by manifold participants to express multiple viewpoints.

I would assert that an interactional model integrating the Hallidayan metafunctions of language, combined with Argumentation theory and further enriched by insights from various postcolonial and poststructuralist writers, allows for a sufficiently revealing description of the interdiscursive interaction or plurilogue⁷⁰ that occurs between various representatives and what appear to be highly divergent discourse communities within the New Caledonian context. Billig (2014) argues that the establishment of a national hegemony often includes a hegemony of language (p. 29). Hence, we may assert that the emerging nation of New Caledonia is being discursively imagined as a re-negotiated amalgam of identities (Anderson, 1991). Analysing the discourse pertaining to the independence issue as a plurilogue or polylogue may be justified

70 The notion of ‘plurilogue’ or ‘polylogue’ was introduced in the field of pragmatics by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004). Some non-Western cultures privilege a collective exchange of viewpoints over a dyadic exchange, which may be seen as ethnocentric by these communities (Levinson, 1988). Possible English translations for the Greek prefix *dia-* are *through*, *by*, *with* or *across*, referring to the fact that the discursive act occurs through the use of language in the first sense or that it goes across to the other side in the latter. The lexeme *logos* means *word*, referring to what is being talked about (“Kypros-Net”, n.d.). Yet, the prefix *dia-* is often interpreted as referring to a discursive interaction between two sides. To avoid any misinterpretation, the term ‘plurilogue’ is used throughout the study.

by using the notions of ‘speaker’ and ‘audience’, the latter being both multiple and mixed⁷¹, also designated as the Others or the other groups, which is a concept borrowed from postcolonialism. In essence, a debate already constitutes an exchange between several subjects in itself. However, in reality, it does not always contain two sides that are interacting with one another in a dialogical fashion (ababab), which is a highly common, Western way of engaging in a discussion, or rather, of reconstructing argumentative interaction. Instead, a debate was perceived in the study as a collective exchange of various standpoints between numerous interactants, avoiding a binary perspective and thus adopting a more relevant, non-centric view to deliberating conflictual issues.

One of the primary objectives of CDA is “to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscure structures of power, political control and dominance...” (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 1999, p. 8). A critical perspective is thereby adopted, which is often based on the ontological underpinnings of critical theory and which postulates that various overarching historical and social processes permeate human behavioural patterns and individual perspectives on the reality that surrounds people. Or, as Kress (2001) points out:

In critical linguistics the social is prior; it is a field of power; and power (and power differences) is the generative principle producing linguistic form and difference. Individuals are located in these fields of power, but the powerful carry the day, and the forms which they produce are the forms which shape the system (p. 36).

Contrary to most CDA projects, the study aimed to simultaneously investigate both the dominant discourse and the counter-discourse of resistance, specifically exploring Kanak indigenous sites of empowerment and resistance to the dominant power structures that originated in New Caledonia’s colonial past. There is no uniform CDA method. Subsequently,

⁷¹ See van Eemeren (2010), who differentiates between a multiple audience “consisting of individuals or subgroups having different positions in the difference of opinion” and a mixed audience “consisting of individuals or subgroups having different starting points” (p. 110).

CDA refers to various personally developed approaches to the critical analysis of discourse, according to the nature of the topic under investigation (Perakyla, 2005). The main focus in CDA is on language as a social practice, reaching beyond the abstract level and perceiving of lexical and grammatical choices as individual expressions in highly specific social, historical or political circumstances. By exploring the link between text and context, specific attention needs to be paid to inferences and the concept of intertextuality (Gee, 1999).

The difference between critical discourse analysis and discourse analysis *tout court* lies in the addition of the superseding levels of power and ideology to the analysis. By investigating how individuals of the dominated group are disadvantaged or marginalised during the social practice of negotiation, a particular critical perspective is adopted. Fairclough (2013), as an example of a critical discourse analyst, asserts that the objective of the three-tiered model he developed for the analysis of discourse is “to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice” (p. 2).

In the current study, a four-level model for analysis was applied to the empirical data (see Table. 3.4), as shown below.

Table 3.4: Four-level model for a critical analysis of discourse

Motivators for human action: ideologies, power, cognitive constructs, emotional constructs
Overarching context: sociocultural and historical background
Situational context: intertextuality, social practice, interdiscursivity
Textual level: lexicogrammatical choices within a language-specific register containing field, tenor and mode

It needs to be noted that power, ideologies, and other systems of knowledge permeate all of the other levels. Some scholars formulate the links between text and context as respectively the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of the theoretical framework (Titscher et al., 2000) (see Table. 3.5).

Table 3.5: Levels of analysis

Micro-level: text
Meso-level: discursive practice
Macro-level: social context

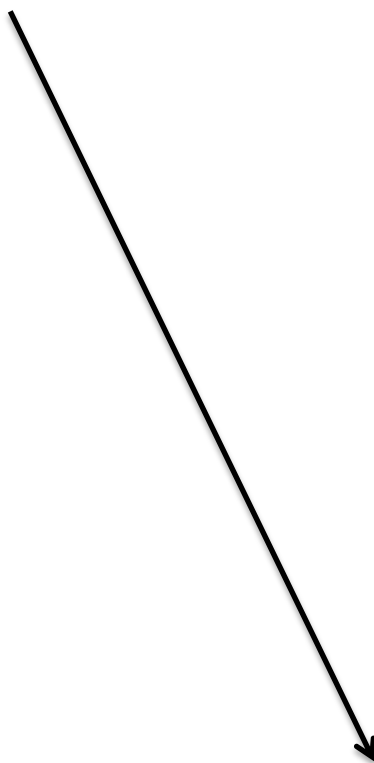
According to Bogdan & Biklen (2007), “the goal of qualitative research is to better understand human behavior and experience. [Qualitative researchers] seek to grasp the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meanings are” (p. 43). Fairclough (1989)

translated the levels into three concrete steps when undertaking an analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation. An additional step was added to the analytical framework, as further suggested by Fairclough: evaluation or even re-evaluation, as an attempt is made at determining who benefits from the revealed patterns and discourses of power and knowledge and who does not, leading to suggestions in terms of social change, which forms part of a qualitative analysis.

3.8.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics. In SFL, individuals employ various functions of language: the ideational or experiential, the interpersonal, and the textual. These metafunctions are realised as specific registers, consisting of field, tenor and mode and corresponding with “what is being presented, who is involved, and how it is being presented” (Eggins, 2013; Halliday & Hasan, 1998; Martin, 1992). According to Halliday (1977), the concept of register can be interpreted as “the clustering of semantic features according to situation type” (p. 68) (see Table. 3.6). Field “refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place” (p. 218). Tenor may be defined as the “relationship the user has with his audience” (Gregory & Carroll, 1981, p. 8). Finally, mode is conceptualised by Halliday (1985) as “the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel” (p. 12). Any lexicogrammatical choices made by individuals speaking a particular language, with its own specific register, depend upon how these individuals position themselves ideologically and in terms of power. As Butt (2005) explicates: “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). Within a particular register, the interactants use a specific genre in order to express an ideology, to which they adhere, and to make emblematic choices in terms of identifying themselves with regard to a particular community. Halliday & Hasan (1998) define genre as follows:

A genre is known by the meanings associated with it. In fact the term “genre” is a short form for the more elaborate phrase “genre-specific semantic potential” ... Genres can vary in delicacy in the same way as contexts can. But for some given texts to belong to one specific genre, their structure should be some possible realisation of a given GSP Generic Structure Potential ... (p. 108).

Table 3.6: Metafunctions of language (adapted from Halliday & Hasan, 1998, p. 26)

SITUATION: Feature of the context	realized by	TEXT: Functional component of semantic system
FIELD of discourse (what is going on)		Experiential/Ideational metafunction (transitivity)
TENOR of discourse (who are taking part)		Interpersonal metafunction (mood, modality)
MODE (role assigned to language)		Textual metafunction (coherence and cohesion)

With regard to the social practice of deliberation, the argumentative structures of each discourse sample also deserved a closer look in the investigation. Components that seem to be relevant to a dialogical exchange of arguments and the corresponding language function are shown in the table below (see Table. 3.7).

Table 3.7: Components of dialogical exchange of arguments and corresponding language function

Topic: what the dialogical interaction is about and how the issue or topic is represented, discursive field: representation of reality, imaginary constructs	Language function: ideational/experiential function
Participants: transitivity system/agents	ideational/experiential function
Type of discursive interaction: how the dialogical action is realised as a negotiation process, argumentative mode, foregrounding of particular themes, cohesion	textual function
Inter-subjectivity: shared values/knowledge/ideologies, who is involved, power relations, rules for negotiation	interpersonal function
Goals: imaginary or desirable realities	ideational/experiential function

A conflict situation occurs when there is an apparent clash between values, concerns or social representations or between goals or imagined realities or both, which impedes a consensus all parties involved can agree with. Bakhtin's notion of dialogicality (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981)

proved useful for me in understanding the link between linguistic features and context, as the concept reveals how meaning is created, influenced, and moulded within the postcolonial space.

For this study, however, the analysis mainly drew from SFL and primarily concentrated on the ideational and interpersonal functions of language, as explicated in Halliday's theoretical framework. As far as the ideational or experiential metafunction was concerned, I focused on how reality and power were construed through the transitivity patterns in the discourse (see Fig. 3.2) and, more specifically, on agency and verbal processes. Halliday (2004) distinguishes between various different process types within the transitivity system: material, behavioural, relational, mental, and verbal. Ideology is constructed by the participants through the processes they employ (Caffarel & Rechniewski, 2009). The category of transitivity, as described in the Hallidayan framework, allows us to explore how individuals use the experiential metafunction of language in order to come to a better understanding of their perception of reality through the way in which they express themselves. The world views expressed by the interactants in the dialogical exchange, as representatives of the main stakeholders in the New Caledonian independence debate, are highly divergent, as shown in the lexicogrammatical choices they make within the transitivity system. Thwaite (1983) emphasises the importance of material processes in the exertion of power, as it seems more straightforward to use 'doing', in terms of political action, than 'saying' in terms of attempting to influence people's beliefs. Consequently, it was important to find out who was involved in the action of 'doing', as more dominant interactants were attempting to construe a powerful position for themselves through the use of material processes and by appearing as an Agent/Actor in processes.⁷²

⁷² Agent and Actor are considered more or less the same for the purposes of the study.

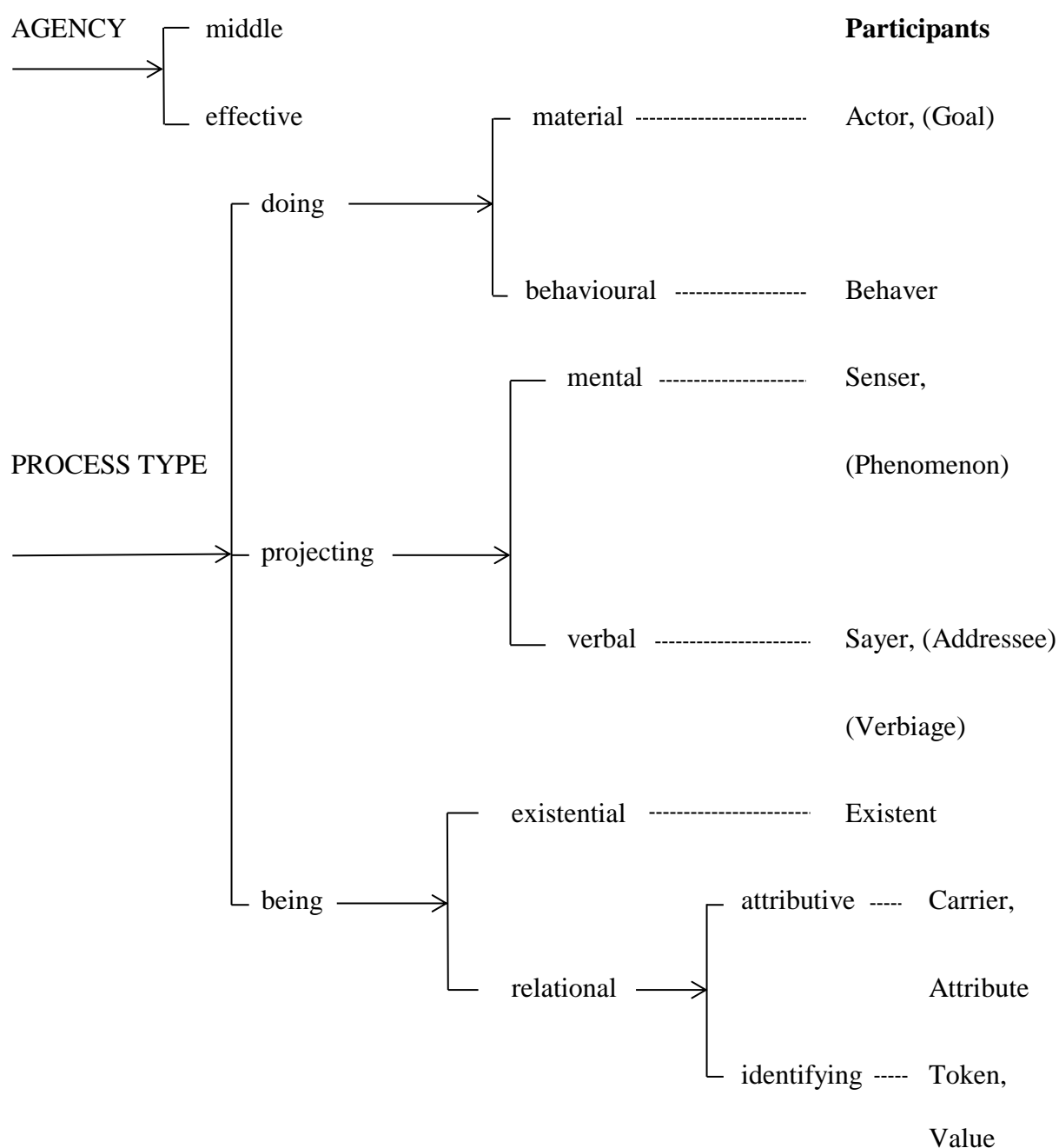


Figure 3.2: French transitivity system (Caffarel, 2006)

In terms of the interpersonal metafunction, the features that appeared relevant to the research objectives of the study were mood selections, modal adjuncts, and modal verbs. The arguments that are being exchanged between the interactants in the independence debate not only contain

propositions or claims that convey ideological meanings. There is a dialogical movement between each of the representatives and the audience that relates to the interpersonal metafunction of language, as opinions and viewpoints are negotiated and disputed by participants who are caught up in asymmetrical power relations. Ideology also pertains to the positioning of the speaker/writer. Mood, in French, is formed by three crucial elements: Subject, Finite, and Predicator, commonly designated as the Negotiator. These components are central to the negotiation process and the realisation of Mood selections (Caffarel, 2006) (see Fig. 3.3).

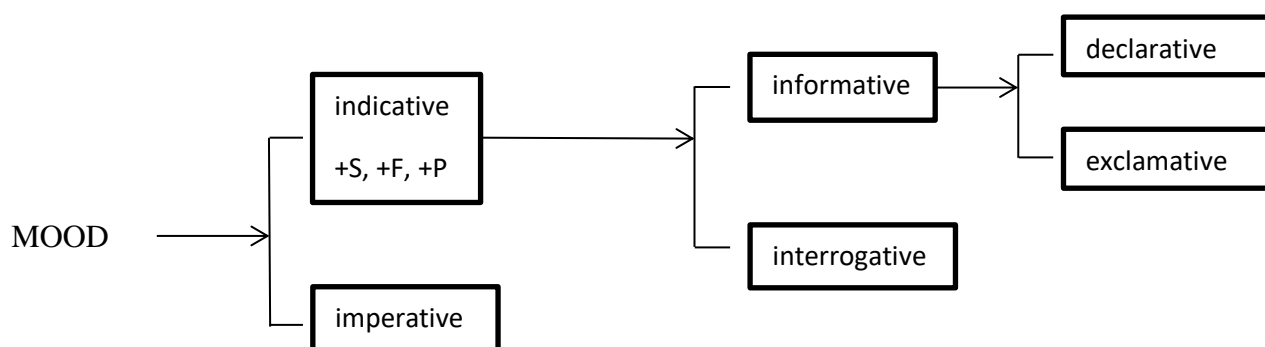


Figure 3.3: Primary mood options in French (Caffarel, 2006)

Halliday (2004) distinguishes between various different mood options: declarative, exclamative, interrogative, imperative. As Caffarel (2006) points out, the primary options of the French mood system are the same as in English, but in spoken French both tone and pitch may be the only way to differentiate between the mood options.⁷³

It needs to be noted, however, that English modality is realised differently compared to French modality. Halliday (2004) defines the purpose of the English modality system as “to construe the region of uncertainty that lies between yes and no” (p. 147). He differentiates between

⁷³ It is important not to confuse the notion of mood in the Hallidayan sense of the word with French verbal mood, which consists of six different subcategories: indicative, subjunctive, conditional, imperative, participle and infinitive. Halliday (2004) explains one may refer to this type of contrasts in verbal mood as mode.

modalisation and modulation, depending on whether the area of meaning pertains to propositions, which is described as “the scales of probability and usuality” and referred to as modalisation or proposals, which is described as “the scales of obligation and inclination” and referred to as modulisation (p. 147). According to Halliday (2004), modalisation may be congruently realised by a finite modal operator, such as *should*, and/or modal adjuncts, such as *maybe*, whereas modulisation is realised by a finite modal operator, such as *need*, a passive verb predicator, such as *required*, or an adjective predicator, such as *determined*. Halliday adds to that the values of low, median, and high. The framework developed by Halliday is useful for an investigation of how ideology is expressed through modality. A detailed comparison between English and French modality lies beyond the scope of this study. However, a discussion of any relevant modal verbs and modal adjuncts employed in the French discourse samples will be provided in chapter four. It needs to be noted that modality constitutes a popular discursive strategy that may be employed by dominant Actors in the New Caledonian independence debate to manipulate the audience by establishing a bias in their discourse that favours their own thinking. Hence, it is of crucial importance to investigate the linguistic manifestation of modality in the interactants’ discursive utterances. As Fowler (2007) describes it: “language does not allow us to say something without conveying an attitude to that something” (p. 76). A closer look at how modality is employed by the interlocutors may reveal more information on their ideological attitude towards the issue (Halliday, 2002).

3.8.3 Pragma-Dialectics. Argumentation theory or Pragma-Dialectics, developed by van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004), was applied in terms of a reconstruction and evaluation of the argumentative structure of the eight selected discourse samples. The New Caledonian independence debate was perceived in the study as a total of critical discussions or a plurilogue among the main stakeholders in the negotiation process that resulted from the conflict situation and their audience. This non-Western perspective disagrees with the pragma-dialectical

perception of an argumentative exchange as taking place between two sides, since more than one group is involved in the discussion. As Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004) highlights:

As for the alternating pattern, the famous ababab formula only works for dialogues, whereas for trilogues the alternation does not respect any kind of fixed rules: we are dealing with an infinite number of possibilities, the abcabcabc model being very exceptional... (p. 5).

Each discourse sample was interpreted as a discursive interaction between a selected representative of each of the main groups involved in the negotiation process and their audience. Subsequently, every interaction was analysed as a critical discussion. All of the discursive interactions were seen as linked, based on the principle of intertextuality, forming an all-inclusive plurilogue of voices.

The critical discussion model provided by PD proceeds through four different stages: the confrontation stage, the opening stage, the argumentation stage, and the concluding stage. Each stage has particular objectives (van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Snoeck Henkemans, 2002, p. 25), and may be linked to specific speech acts. Consequently, every discourse sample in this study was seen as a complex speech act, consisting of minor speech acts and producing various illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. The question of independence contains a multifaceted issue, which was analysed as an exchange of incongruous standpoints amongst various representatives of groups that share a common system of knowledge or socially construct a specific cultural reality and that each hold a shared opinion on the issue, in its turn, encompassing multiple layers or social consciousnesses.

The main focus in the pragma-dialectical analysis was on hidden assumptions and fallacious moves made by the interactants in the critical discussion surrounding the independence issue,

based on an interpretation of linguistic or argumentative indicators in the discourse samples.⁷⁴ Van Eemeren & Houtlosser (2003) see fallacies as derailments that occur in strategic manoeuvring. The focus has traditionally been on fallacies committed by the protagonist, as a form of manipulation. However, the intersubjective character of the debate required a closer examination of possible fallacies contained within the argumentation of the antagonists as well, thanks to the notion of plurilogue.⁷⁵ More generally, according to the pragma-dialectical approach (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004), “every violation of any of the rules of the discussion procedure for conducting a critical discussion (by whichever party and at whatever stage in the discussion) is a fallacy” (p. 175). The most famous example of a fallacious move is probably the *argumentum ad hominem*, which constitutes a direct verbal attack on one’s opponent.

In a pragma-dialectical study, a resolution-oriented reconstruction of the discourses is required. The analyst needs to find out how the discourse manages to alter the viewpoints of the audience, how the audience responds to it, thereby differentiating between persuasion and conviction. As van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004) explain:

while persuasion implies the immediate effect that the audience reacts to the argumentation in the desired way, conviction can only be reached after some further reflection on the part of the person who is to become convinced (p. 30).

Consequently, argumentation, is seen in PD as a social practice. The interactants in the New Caledonian independence debate aim to convince the others of the acceptability of their common sense solution to the issue at hand, which is in essence a social activity that involves multiple parties.

⁷⁴ For a more detailed explanation of a pragma-dialectic analysis based on argumentative indicators, see van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1984; 1996) and van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Snoeck Henkemans (2002).

⁷⁵ For a fuller exposition of the pragma-dialectical approach to fallacies, see van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992).

In reality, discourse contains numerous implicit elements that are left unspoken or unwritten and need to be read between the lines. One important question that has to be asked, for example, is to whom the argumentation is addressed and who exactly needs to be convinced of its truth. The independence debate was therefore partly reconstructed as a collective critical discussion between representatives of various discourse communities, a plurilogue aimed at resolving a difference of opinion about whether or not New Caledonia should become independent from France. Each separate discourse sample forms part of a collectivity of arguments and is intertextually linked with other discourse samples surrounding the same speech event. The main goal of argument reconstruction, as contained in the excerpts under investigation, was clarification. For example, the French stakeholders in the debate may assume that the minority groups, who are part of the audience, are able to reconstruct the implicit elements in their argumentation, required to fully understand what is involved in ‘free association with France’, whereas, due to their inability to access certain forms of knowledge, the minority groups may fail to fully comprehend the inferences that are necessary for a full understanding of the French dominant discourse.

Another question that needed to be asked, following a pragma-dialectical approach, was whether the debate was reasonable or not. Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1976) regard argumentation as sound if the target audience accepts it. Toulmin (2003), on the other hand, asserts that the soundness of argumentation depends in the end on the specific evaluation criteria of a particular group of people. According to van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004),

The reasonableness of the procedure is derived from the possibility it creates to resolve differences of opinion (its problem validity) in combination with its acceptability to the discussants (its conventional validity). In this connection, the rules of discussion and argumentation developed in a dialectical theory of argumentation must be scrutinized in terms of both their problem-solving effectiveness and their intersubjective acceptability (p. 132).

It is the intersubjective acceptability of the rules for discussion that may create issues in a cross-cultural environment, as one needs to ask the question as to who decides upon the guidelines that need to be followed and whether a universal set of rules for critical discussion is appropriate at all, seen from a postcolonial perspective. For this reason, I decided to primarily concentrate on assumptions in the argumentative discourse, using deductive logic as a means for analysis. Enthymemes constitute unexpressed premises that, according to van Eemeren (2001), “are often pivotal in transferring acceptance from the premises that are explicitly put forward in the argumentation for the standpoint that is defended” (p. 17). Therefore, a focus on the discursive interaction between each of the protagonists and the audience, which functions as a collective evaluating body of the representative’s discourse based on shared knowledge, was adopted.

The outcome of the independence debate will not only be determined by how it is being argued, but by the power status of the participants in the negotiation process, how the audience is being manipulated into accepting the prevailing point of view, as propagated by the dominant discourse, and how they attempt to defend their own ideological stance, as a form of rebellion against the hegemonic discourse. A putative interpretation of the argumentative indicators within the discourse samples (van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007) was therefore provided, with any hidden assumptions elucidated. As van Eemeren (2005) argues:

manipulation in discourse boils down to intentionally deceiving one’s addressees by persuading them of something that is foremost in one’s own interest through the covert use of communicative devices that are not in agreement with generally acknowledged critical standards of reasonableness (p. xii).

The analysis of enthymematic discourse had to be complemented with careful consideration of the sociohistorical and cultural context in which it occurred and its effects on the audience and social reality, in terms of social change.

3.9 Samples Selected for Analysis

The following eight pre-selected excerpts were subjected to a more in-depth systemic functional and argumentative analysis:

1. **Excerpt from a letter:** an open letter to François Mitterrand, written by Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Kanak independence leader, and first published on 14 April 1988 (Tjibaou, Bensa & Wittersheim, 1996).
2. **Excerpt from a letter:** an open letter to all French citizens, written by François Mitterrand, former French President, and published on 7 April 1988 (Lettre à tous les Français, 2015).
3. **Excerpt from a speech:** made by François Hollande, former French President, in Noumea, on 16 November 2014 (Déclaration de M. François Hollande, Président de la République, sur l'accord de Nouméa et l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2014).
4. **A poem:** titled “Araucaria”, written by Déwé Gorodé, Kanak author and pro-independence politician, in 1974 (Gorodé, 1985).
5. **Excerpt from a response to the online questionnaire:** written by an anonymous member of the Caldoche discourse community in 2015, currently living in New Caledonia.
6. **Excerpt from a response to the online questionnaire:** written by a member of the Wallisian/Futunian discourse community in New Caledonia, in 2015.
7. **Excerpt from an interview:** with a Melanesian woman, conducted in the village of Tiwaé, New Caledonia, in September 2015.

8. **Excerpt from a radio interview:** with Pierre Frogier, former President of the local government and French senator for New Caledonia since 2011, conducted by a journalist of Radio Rythme Bleu, on 12 February 2010 (Nouar, 2010).

One of my goals in selecting the samples was to obtain a corpus of data that maintained thematic coherence and continuity across various genres and registers. The interactants in the resulting dialogical exchange were chosen as members of various relevant discourse communities in New Caledonia, with the aim of obtaining an equally balanced set of data (see Table. 3.8). Apart from the poem, which was analysed in its totality, the other discourse samples constituted excerpts taken from the whole text, due to word and time constraints.

Table 3.8: Discourse communities and samples selected for analysis

French/European	Kanak/Melanesian	Caldoche	Futunian/Wallisian
excerpt letter Mitterrand	excerpt letter Tjibaou	excerpt questionnaire response	excerpt questionnaire response
excerpt speech Hollande	excerpt interview Kanak woman	excerpt radio interview	
	poem Gorodé		

The eight selected samples were analysed following Halliday's theory of the metafunctions (Halliday, 2004), revealing salient linguistic patterns and various discursive strategies employed by the interactants in the debate. The metafunctional analysis combined with the discourse analysis revealed that the mental processes in the discourse samples were employed in an attempt to influence the reader/listener, representing the Actors of material processes as being more powerful, trying to persuade the other group to accept a particular view of reality through the negotiation of interpersonal meanings, using declarative mood to express a high

degree of certainty or strong authority, employing rhetorical questions to elicit a positive response from the audience, and so on, primarily focusing on how power and ideology were construed in various transitivity and mood patterns by the participants. Subsequently, the argumentative structure of the texts was reconstructed and evaluated, using PD, in order to explore various enthymematic constructions, fallacious reasoning, and inferences in the discourse samples. The table below provides an overview of the discourse samples and the analytical approach that was adopted to analyse the samples (see Table. 3.9).

Table 3.9: Discourse samples and analytical approach

Discourse samples	Eight selected discourse samples
Analytical approach	Systemic Functional Linguistics
	Pragma-Dialectics
Detailed analysis	SFL: transitivity mood, modality
	PD: reconstruction of arguments evaluation of arguments - fallacious moves - enthymemes

3.10 Ethical Issues and Limitations

The overall aim of the study was to clarify the independence issue by elucidating any underlying goals and values and, as such, enhance mutual understanding of the viewpoints held by the main stakeholders in the debate, especially those expressed by individuals in New Caledonia who belong to the Kanak minority group. As such, it offered participants the opportunity to make their voice heard on a political matter of great importance both to them and to the country by contributing to the discourses that may shape their nation's future. There was no risk to participants, as the survey and the interviews were conducted anonymously, and therefore any potentially sensitive data is not attributable to persons who responded to the survey.

The research did not involve any significant hazards for the participants. They were asked to voice their own personal opinion on an important political matter. If this had caused any psychological distress at all, the interview would have been immediately stopped. As the researcher, I endeavoured to remain unbiased and an innocuous recipient of information without getting involved in any in-depth discussion of the issues at hand. Verbalising their opinion did not seem to have any negative impact on the participants. On the contrary, I did everything I possibly could to make participants feel that their opinion was highly valued and interesting, regardless of content.

The selection of the discourse samples, obtained from the interviews and the online questionnaire, as well as the already available downloaded texts, occurred on the basis of the research questions and was therefore not guided by any biased assumptions on my part, even though the entire process of selection and subsequent interpretation is always subjective. After selecting, collecting, and transcribing the empirical data, I started looking for linguistic patterns in the discourse samples, applying the theoretical framework as described in this chapter.

Power structures and racial or other inequality issues have usually taken long periods of time to develop and flourish. Even though an overview of the historical development of power asymmetries in the New Caledonian context would be further illuminating, a detailed description of the ways in which the power regimes were established lies beyond the scope of this thesis. It further needs to be noted that such an overview would be primarily based on Western historical accounts and hence turn out to be Eurocentric and biased, seen from a postcolonial perspective.

Due to time and word constraints, the in-depth analysis was limited to eight discourse samples. However, the other data could be further investigated using corpus linguistics in the future, in order to enhance the credibility of the study. Overall, an explicit linguistic analytical approach was taken, instead of a historical one, in order to clarify the problematic issue of the Kanak independence struggle. Foucault (1972) posed the following question: “Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a beating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious matter of history?” (p. 09). Because of the constitutive nature of discourse, as described in the quote above, the primary focus of the study was on the social practice of the independence debate, as a plurilogical exchange that occurs between various representative individuals from specific discourse communities and their audience.

The negotiation process that arose from the conflict situation is discursively enacted by the social actors through their individual use of the French language. They continuously construe and re-negotiate meanings, which are woven throughout the discourse that is employed as part of the social activity of deliberation in which they participate. A pragma-functional analysis therefore seemed most appropriate, as it links social constructs, such as neo-colonialism, for example, to how the French language functions ideationally and interpersonally and to how the arguments of the interactants are structured. By integrating this linguistic, quantitative evidence

into an overall critical discourse analysis, the study allowed for a qualitative evaluation of the independence issue, especially in terms of the ideologies or Foucauldian discourse formations, obfuscated in the discourse of New Caledonian nationalism(s). A closer investigation of some of the significant historical events and their impact on the discursive acts, as produced by the main stakeholders, however, still proved useful, which is why a description of the contextual situations of the discourse was included at the beginning of the systemic functional analysis chapter.

3.11 Extrapolation of Data

Membership of a particular discourse community or cultural group is only an issue to the extent that it leads to contradictory ideologies and goals or imagined realities. However, these social constructs did not form the starting point for the analysis, which was based on the discourse as construed by the social actors or participants involved. A discourse community may be referred to as a group of individuals who share a considerable amount of common knowledge, a set of rules and conventions, a common language and a lexicogrammar, the same rhetorical strategies, the same physical environment, the same social representations and the same goals or concerns. It is important to note that representatives, as members of discourse communities, cannot be seen as voicing the concerns and imagined realities in terms of fixed notions. All individuals involved in the debate are actively negotiating various fluid identities while – to some extent – still being affected by existing power relations and cultural knowledge. They are effectively co-constructing a new meaning of a future, hypothetical ‘common destiny’.

Consequently, the analysis revealed the teleological or purpose-driven nature of ‘political’ discourse, as shown in the collectivity of “choices that the text recruits to its purpose” (Butt, Moore & Tuckwell, 2013, p. 51), entrenched in the unconsciously selected discursive acts of

each of the interlocutors in a prolonged plurilogue, in order to achieve highly contradictory goals that lie outside the discourse employed.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a detailed overview of the research methodology that was employed to obtain the research objectives of the project. Firstly, a rationale for the study was provided. Subsequently, the data selection and collection methods were explained. Then, the research design for the project was identified. After that, various theoretical assumptions and the actual analytical approach to CDA that was applied to the data were discussed. A summary of the discourse samples used in the study was given. Finally, some of the important ethical issues and limitations of the project were pointed out.

Chapter Four: The Construction of New Caledonian Identity and the Negotiation of Power and Ideology by the Interactants through the Systems of Transitivity and Modality

4.1 Introduction and Overview

The main focus of this chapter is on how various representative individuals construe power and ideology through a detailed investigation of salient grammatical patterns in the discourse employed by the interlocutors in the overarching New Caledonian independence debate. The chapter further aims to elucidate any discursive strategies the social actors apply to construct their view on the situation in New Caledonia or to influence the perspective taken by the others on New Caledonia's future. The excerpts are introduced by a brief political and sociohistorical sketch of the context, in which they were produced. Then, the focus zooms in on the transitivity choices made by the interactants through their use of the ideational function of language by exploring agency and verbal processes, as demonstrated by the powerful positioning of participants as Agents through the use of material processes, for example. Another strategy unconsciously employed by the interactants is the ideological representation of oneself as the Experiencer of mental processes or as the Behaver in behavioural verbal processes. Finally, the use of relational processes to ascribe positive or negative connotations to various phenomena or the selection of identifying relational processes to bring together different categories within a particular discursive framework constitute some other salient moves. In terms of the interlocutors' use of the interpersonal metafunction, significant linguistic features such as mood, modal adjuncts, and modal verbs are described for each of the excerpts, as the participants negotiate the meaning of the common destiny collocation, as a social construct of New Caledonian identity, and its political and personal consequences. The interactants' point

of view is demonstrated by their use of declarative mood by some of the participants to express a high degree of certainty or authority. The use of rhetorical questions by Tjibaou appears to elicit positive audience response. Furthermore, Mitterrand's selection of median modal adjuncts and verbs designates the high probability of future events, whereas the use of high modal verbs by Hollande creates a sense of high obligation on the part of the audience. The choice of low modal verbs by the questionnaire respondent expresses the low possibility of a common destiny, while the use of median modal auxiliary verbs by the Kanak interviewee indicates the relative likelihood of everyone agreeing with a solution of full independence. As shown above, some of the linguistic manifestations of modality are highly revealing of the interlocutors' viewpoint with regard to New Caledonia's future (Halliday, 2002).

4.2 Political and Sociohistorical Context of the Independence Debate

In order to effectively untangle the discourses that surround the independence issue, a brief historical sketch is required. A detailed diachronic overview of the non-conflictual and conflictual encounters between the French colonisers and the first inhabitants of New Caledonia, as well as the Pacific nation's progressive transition towards independence, however, goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Far more lengthy accounts, such as those authored by Connell (1987), Aldrich (1996), Lyons (1986), Saussol (1981a; 1981b; 1983; 1985), Kohler & Institut Culturel Mélanésien (1984), and Leblic (2003) already exist.⁷⁶ More recent works include Merle (1995), Muckle (2012), Bensa, Goromoedo & Muckle (2015).

A famous appeal for Melanesian unity was made in 1975 by Jean-Marie Tjibaou⁷⁷ at the occasion of Melanesia 2000, a public celebration of Kanak culture. Shortly after this event, the

⁷⁶ Other Anglophone works providing a synopsis of New Caledonian history are Thompson & Adloff (1971), Ward (1982) and Spencer, Ward & Connell (1988). A traditional, French account of New Caledonian history was written by Bernard Brou (1998), as seen from a French settler's perspective.

⁷⁷ In a poem, titled "Pour Jean-Marie Tjibaou", Aimé Césaire (2009) writes: « Si, dans la rétrospective des hommes de l'année, il y a une figure que l'on n'a pas le droit d'oublier, c'est bien celle de Jean-Marie Tjibaou,

PALIKA party was created, led by Nidodoish Naisseline, Déwé Gorodé, and Élie Poigoune, and the official demand for full Kanak independence was expressed in an enthusiastic attempt to create social change. This awakening of the collective consciousness of the Kanak people, constituting a veritable *renaissance mélanésienne* (Melanesian revitalisation), instigated a decolonisation process seeking to establish a new government. Tiffin (1987) sees the process of decolonisation as “an ongoing dialectic between hegemonic centers systems and peripheral subversion of them” (p. 95). For New Caledonia, this meant the start of an open-ended process of collective negotiation and conflict resolution.

The emergent discourses, resulting from this process, are intertextually linked and influence each other, since they are part of an ongoing dialogical movement between the collectivities of France and its dependencies or, as Fanon (1961) defines the process:

Decolonization, therefore, implies the urgent need to thoroughly challenge the colonial situation. Its definition can, if we want to describe it accurately, be summed up in the well-known words: “The last shall be first.” Decolonization is verification of this (p. 6).

It is through producing a counter-discourse of resistance that decolonisation may be realised and achieved, hence the importance of presenting the debate surrounding the independence issue as a discursive exchange between various groups, each containing a multitude of voices, as a plurilogue, thereby focusing on singular dialogical movements between several representatives of the groups that are involved in the negotiation process and their audience. These communicative scenes are intertextually linked, for they are all based on the same topic.

car nul à mes yeux n’incarne mieux en cette fin de siècle . . . la noblesse et la grandeur . . . d’un petit peuple luttant pour sa survie et la survie d’une civilisation. » He further writes: « Jean-Marie Tjibaou . . . demeure. Il aura inventé une voie nouvelle: la voie Kanak de la décolonisation. » (p. 15). Translation: “If, in looking back on men of the year, there is one character we should not forget, it must be Jean-Marie Tjibaou, since, in my view, no one else personifies the nobility and greatness of a small people battling for both their own survival and the survival of a civilisation quite like him.” “Jean-Marie Tjibaou remains. He has invented a new way: the Kanak way of decolonisation.”

As a reaction to the public demand by the UC⁷⁸ for full independence, at Bourail, an anti-independence movement was promoted heavily by the RPC,⁷⁹ led by Jacques Lafleur, instigating further conflict and direct confrontation.⁸⁰ Generally speaking, the 1960s and 1970s saw little positive response to the call for independence from the French side and were characterised by further negative and often violent repression. For example, by establishing the Dijoud statute, it was made clear that New Caledonia was to remain French. Meanwhile, in France, the conservative government was replaced with a socialist government under Mitterrand, filling the Kanak independence leaders with false hope (Ward, 1982).

After the Lemoine statute, established after a visit to New Caledonia by Georges Lemoine in 1983, with the aim of promoting greater autonomy - on French terms - it became clear that not much common ground was ever to be found and further direct confrontations followed. A conference organised at Nainville seemed to promise a more peaceful future that, in fact, appeared to be rather fragile and distant, especially to those involved in the Kanak independence struggle, which led to the birth of the FLNKS.⁸¹

In a rather desperate attempt to seek support for their cause, the new party started knocking on foreign doors, going as far as asking Cuba and Russia for help. Other protest actions followed: the 1984 elections were heavily boycotted under the leadership of Eloi Machoro, general secretary of the UC, who symbolically broke one of the ballot boxes with an axe.⁸² Various road blocks were set up, especially around Thio. Subsequently, the RPCR elected Dick Ukeiwé as the new President of the Territorial Assembly. The events up north hardly created a ripple in the capital though, further segregating the town from the bush.

⁷⁸ *L'Union Calédonienne* (The Caledonian Union).

⁷⁹ *Le Rassemblement pour la Calédonie* (The Rally for Caledonia).

⁸⁰ When, in 1978, Chirac created the RPR in France, the RPC was rebaptised the RPCR (*Le Rassemblement pour la Calédonie dans la République/The Rally for Caledonia in the Republic*) in New Caledonia.

⁸¹ *Le Front de libération nationale kanak et socialiste* (The Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front).

⁸² See Bolis (13 June 2014).

The eventful 1980s period was covered by the French media in a rather negative fashion, seen from a Kanak perspective, as the minority group to which they belonged was being portrayed as a group of troublemakers and instigators, which only further added to the local turmoil.⁸³ As a response to the underlying fears of a civil war erupting, Mitterrand decided to send Edgard Pisani to New Caledonia “to establish order and dialogue” (Connell, 1987, p. 333). This proved to be an empty command, as tensions kept rising and eventually culminated in further clashes.

What occurred next, however, would taint any fragile beginnings of negotiating a collective future: while on their way back from a FLNKS meeting at Hienghène, ten Kanak were surprised by loyalist settlers and killed at Tiendanite. Among the men were two brothers of Tjibaou, Louis and Tarcisse. Two years later, however, the killers were out of prison and François Semur, the local investigating magistrate, judged the killings as a situation of legitimate self-defence, yet not a single shot had been fired by the unarmed Kanak. The case was considered a *non-lieu* (no case) by the French legal authorities.⁸⁴ Again, in the 1980s, more specifically on 19th September 1981, the islands were shaken by the news that Pierre Declercq, the pro-independence general secretary of the UC, had been assassinated in his home in Mont Dore. Declercq’s murderer has never been identified and the case remains unsolved to this day (Robie, 1989, p. 98).

By 1985, the conflict situation in New Caledonia had become a political issue in France and, after visiting the islands, Mitterrand urged Pisani to come up with a plan to resolve the crisis. Pisani suggested the application of a framework that involved permanent association with France. An official state of emergency was declared and France sent military reinforcements to New Caledonia. At La Foa, Machoro was shot in the chest, joining the ranks of other fallen Kanak independence heroes. The Hienghène killers were brought to trial on 19 October 1987

⁸³ See especially Bensa (1985).

⁸⁴ See Guiart (1991).

but were acquitted of the charges by the jury, who were predominantly white (Robie, 1989, p. 114).

In the mid 1980s, the FLNKS established the Écoles Populaires Kanak (EPK), with the intention of openly promoting Melanesian languages and culture. The project would, like several other Kanak educational projects, be cut short due to a lack of funding, teachers, and resources. Meanwhile, the new French Prime Minister, Laurent Fabius, sent another representative to New Caledonia: Bernard Pons. A new crisis situation occurred on the island of Ouvéa: the FLNKS had occupied another police station and, as a result, four policemen were killed and 17 held hostage. More French military was sent to Ouvéa and 11 policemen were removed. Jean-Marie Le Pen, one of the country's most famous extreme right politicians, commented on the incident using the words: "la soumission ou l'extermination!" (submission or extermination!) (Leblic, 2003). The drama that occurred at the Gossanah cave on 5 May 1988 seemed to echo Le Pen's statement, as 19 independence fighters were killed in a violent assault by the French Special Forces.

In 1990, Paul Némaoutyine, former President of the PALIKA and mayor of Poindimié, succeeded Tjibaou as the leader of the FLNKS. A clear opposition thus emerged between the FLNKS, claiming full Kanak independence, with the RPCR again uttering the desire for New Caledonia to remain within France. The Kanak had now become a minority in their own country. However, as Henningham (1991) asserts, they did constitute a large minority, unlike the Maori in New Zealand or the Aboriginal people in Australia, though not a majority as in other neighbouring Pacific nations, who had already become independent (p. 116). The decolonisation process seemed to have been transformed into a neo-colonialist political strategy to maintain a status quo.

At the end of the 1980s, provincial elections were organised, in which the FLNKS obtained the majority in the Northern Province and the islands, while the RPCR gained a majority of votes in the Southern Province. Against the backdrop of rising tensions between Kanak and non-Kanak, Jean-Marie Tjibaou arose as a capable mediator and Kanak representative advocating for peace and compromise. Tjibaou was a former priest who had been personally scarred by the independence struggle, as his own grandmother had been killed by the French military in 1917 and his brothers had died in the Tiendanite massacre in 1984.

A partial compromise was reached in the form of the *Accords de Matignon* (Matignon Agreements), signed by Jacques Lafleur for the RPCR, French Prime Minister Rocard and Jean-Marie Tjibaou for the FLNKS, on 26 June 1988, and the *Accord de Nouméa* (Noumea Accords), signed by Roch Wamytan for the FLNKS, Jacques Lafleur for the RPCR and French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, on 5 May 1988, which appeared to be highly significant for the future of the island nation.⁸⁵ As a consequence of the Matignon Agreements, negotiated by Christian Blanc, New Caledonia was divided into three provinces with a higher degree of autonomy: the Province Nord, the Province Sud, and the Province des Isles. Together with the Accords d'Oudinet, signed on 20 August 1988, the Matignon Agreements were meant to ensure a *rééquilibrage* (rebalancing) of the economy over a period of ten years and a referendum on New Caledonia's self-determination in 1998.⁸⁶

Shortly after signing the agreements, however, on 4 May 1989, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, leader of the independence movement in New Caledonia and its presumed new President, was assassinated by Djubelly Wéa, together with Yeiwéné Yeiwéné.⁸⁷ The Kanak assassin did not

⁸⁵ Des Accords de Matignon à l'Accord de Nouméa (1988-1998) (2015, January 20).

⁸⁶ See chapter six.

⁸⁷ At a celebration of the poet Aimé Césaire on 23 October 2013, Daniel Maximin asserted the following: « Parmi tous ces hommes, un homme alors encore en vie symbolise sans doute le grand rêve de Césaire de 'donner une conscience aux colonisateurs': Jean-Marie Tjibaou. » Translation: "Among all these men, there is one man still alive who, without any doubt, symbolises Césaire's great dream to 'give the colonisers a

agree with the compromising attitude adopted by Tjibaou.⁸⁸ On 4 May 1998, the *Centre Culturel Tjibaou* (Tjibaou Cultural Centre) was inaugurated at Noumea, in remembrance of the Kanak leader.

The Noumea Accords saw former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin postponing the proposed referendum until between 2014 and 2018, promising a gradual transfer of most, though not all, competencies from the central French government to the local government. The years after the agreements constituted a period of transition for New Caledonia, in which the Noumea agreement was to be further realised through the promotion of ‘Caledonianness’.⁸⁹ Various symbolic expressions of this new national consciousness, more pertinently referred to as the *destin commun* (common destiny), were set up under the auspices of the CPSIP (Comité de pilotage sur les signes identitaires du pays/Steering committee on the nation’s signs of identity): a hymn, titled *Soyons unis, devenons frères* (Let us unite, let us become brothers) was composed, a new motto, *Terre de parole, terre de partage* (Land of the spoken word, land of sharing) was chosen and the banknotes were changed.⁹⁰ This left the highly contested choices of a new flag and a name for the newly emerging nation, which are still to be chosen. The FLNKS refuse to give up their own flag, designed in the 1980s (see Fig. 4.1), whereas local loyalists tend to prefer the French flag.

As a result of a flag design competition in 2010, a common destiny flag (see Fig. 4.2) was proposed, which has been heavily promoted, without much success.⁹¹ Due to rising tensions surrounding the flag issue, the anti-independentist French senator for New Caledonia, Pierre Frogier, even suggested flying the two flags together. As stipulated by the Noumea Accords:

conscience’: Jean-Marie Tjibaou” (Hommage à Aimé Césaire, 1913-2008) (Rencontre sur l’actualité de l’œuvre et du discours d’Aimé Césaire, 17 August 2016).

88 Sarah Walls (2009) asserts that “Wéa bitterly opposed the Matignon Accord, and wanted immediate independence: internal dissension over the peace plan had apparently cost Tjibaou his life” (p. 165).

89 *Des signes identitaires pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (2009).

90 Banknote news: breaking news about international paper and polymer money (n.d.).

91 See, for example: Gallais (2014).

Le moment est venu de reconnaître les ombres de la période coloniale, même si elle ne fut pas dépourvue de lumière... La décolonisation est le moyen de refonder un lien social durable entre les communautés qui vivent aujourd'hui en Nouvelle-Calédonie, en permettant au peuple kanak d'établir avec la France des relations nouvelles correspondant aux réalités de notre temps... (Accord sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie signé à Nouméa le 5 mai 1998, 1998).⁹²



Figure 4.1: The Kanak flag

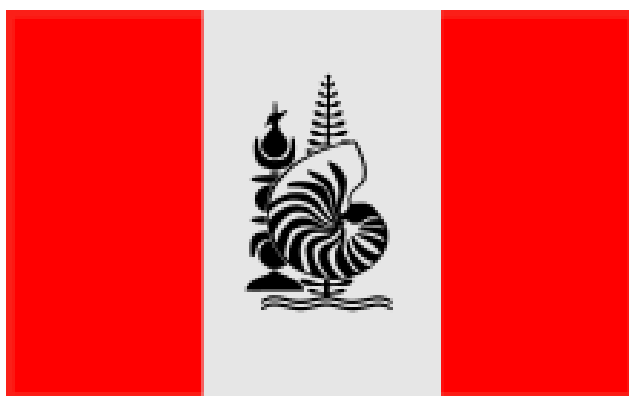


Figure 4.2: The proposed new flag for New Caledonia

⁹² “Accord sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie signé à Noumea le 5 mai 1998” (1998). Translation: The moment has come to acknowledge the shadows of the colonial period, even if it was not lacking in light... Decolonisation is the best way to re-establish a long-lasting social link between the communities that live in New Caledonia today, by allowing the Kanak people to establish new relations with France that are in tune with the reality of our time...

In order to further challenge French colonial rule, the FLNKS not only sought support from the United Nations, especially during the highly controversial 2014 elections, they also joined the *Groupe Mélanésien Fer de Lance* (GMFL/Melanesian Spearhead Group), originally instigated by Vanuatu.⁹³ In April 2014, the FLNKS lodged more than 7000 court cases contesting the overall fairness of the elections and, in particular, the fact that not all Kanak were able to register to vote. The *Calédonie Ensemble* party (Caledonia Together Party), led by Philippe Gomès won the 2014 elections. Various heated discussions took place before and after the voting. However, as Fanon (2004) appositely emphasised:

challenging the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of viewpoints. It is not a discourse on the universal, but the impassioned claim by the colonized that their world is fundamentally different (p. 6).

It is this demand for recognition of difference, rather than the actual claim for independence, that may drive the colonised Kanak to transcend Manichean binaries of Kanak versus non-Kanak and Black versus White by expressing a collective desire to unite through the social practice of resistance. Fanon's suggestion that violent opposition is an inevitable part of the decolonisation process seems to stand in stark contrast with French diplomatic attempts to introduce a *destin commun* (common destiny). However, as Fanon (1952) explains, "at the foundation of Hegelian there is an absolute reciprocity which must be emphasized" (p. 217). Breaking through the cycle of dominance thus requires the violent act by the colonial self, for recognition, through entering into an open conflict with the coloniser and, as such, the possibility to transition from colonised subject to full citizenship.

In contrast with a conventional view of power relations, as depicted by various French historians in numerous Eurocentric accounts of New Caledonian history, the contrastive view proposed by Dousset-Leenhardt (1978) appears to align more favourably with the argument

⁹³ "Solidarités Pacifique: la France, un partenaire actif" (2016, July 25).

developed in this study: the development of events throughout time constitutes a form of collective, public communication, a plurilogical movement between various groups, and, eventually, between the main stakeholders in the debate: the Kanak, the Caldoches and the French government. Thus, a discursive antagonism has arisen, which seems to include an intrinsic opposition between colonialism and anti-colonialism, between imperialism and anti-imperialism, between dominating power and resistance to this power.⁹⁴

The importance of discourse as an inherent site of power struggle can therefore not be denied. It needs to be noted, however, that the oppressed group does not solely consist of Kanak indigenous people, but also of members of various other minority groups in New Caledonia who call the island home as well. Its population amounts to a total of about 270, 000 individuals; 40% are Kanak, 29% are European, about 9% are from Wallis or Futuna, and the rest includes Tahitians, Javanese Indonesians, ni-Vanuatu, Vietnamese and various other Asian groups (New Caledonia population, 21 October 2015).

4.3 Analysis of Lexicogrammatical Choices Made by the Participants in the New Caledonian Independence Debate

4.3.1 Excerpt from an open letter to François Mitterrand, written by Jean-Marie Tjibaou and first published on 14 April 1988 (Tjibaou, Bensa & Wittersheim, 1996).

Monsieur le Président, quel avenir nous réservez-vous ?

⁹⁴ Other studies on resistance to power structures have been carried out by Escobar & Alvarez (1992) and Guidry, Kennedy & Zald (2009).

Serons-nous les derniers des Mohicans de la région pacifique, comme il y a eu les derniers Tasmaniens ?

Vous le savez, le peuple kanak a toujours refusé d'être considéré comme un vestige archéologique de l'histoire du monde.

Il se refusera encore plus d'être celui de l'histoire coloniale française.

Monsieur le Président, au moment où vous achevez votre septennat, je tiens à vous remercier de ne pas avoir hésité à utiliser les termes de situation coloniale pour qualifier celle qui prévaut en Nouvelle-Calédonie et qui se traduit par l'injustice pour le peuple kanak.

Vous êtes aujourd'hui à la veille d'un nouveau septennat.

Vous allez porter devant la face du monde le destin de la France.

Allez-vous encore exhiber cette plaie qui constitue au XXe siècle le colonialisme français ?

L'opinion publique française est sensible aux massacres en Palestine à Gaza.

Je vous demande de rappeler aux Français que chez eux, dans un pays du bout du monde qu'ils appellent la France, la situation est la même que dans les territoires occupés et que cette situation est de plus en plus tragique pour notre peuple.

Monsieur le Président, nous avons écouté, au début de votre septennat, le grand discours que vous avez prononcé à Cancun.

Cela nous a donné beaucoup d'espoir.

Mais, vous le savez, le gouvernement socialiste, pas plus qu'aucun autre, n'a su trouver de solutions institutionnelles adaptées à la situation calédonienne qui est unique, comme chaque situation coloniale.

La revendication du peuple kanak est une revendication de dignité et de recouvrement de libertés dans l'indépendance.

Je souhaite que vous soyez à nouveau le représentant de tous les hommes qui se réfèrent aux droits de l'homme et à une image progressiste et moderne de la France.

A cause de ce que vous êtes personnellement, à cause des orientations que vous avez prises et de la fidélité à votre option pour la dignité des hommes, à cause de cette considération que nous avons pour vous, nous pensons que vous devriez, si vous êtes élu, imaginer des solutions de justice.

Français et Kanaks sont considérés comme des adversaires.

De plus en plus, ils vont devenir des ennemis.

A moins que vous acceptiez de tracer avec nous un chemin de liberté pour le peuple kanak et pour tous ceux qui habitent la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Et pour l'honneur du peuple que vous représentez.

Monsieur le Président, nous avons en face de nous, en Nouvelle-Calédonie comme dans le gouvernement, des responsables qui personnifient une image figée de la France.

Nous pensons que la représentation de la France dans le Pacifique ne peut être assurée et acceptée, dans la mesure où elle est confiée à des affairistes qui exploitent le drapeau et le nom de la France, uniquement pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts.

Il faut que vous sachiez que le discours arrogant tenu à l'encontre des Kanaks est interprété par l'ensemble des pays du Pacifique comme un discours de mépris à leur propre égard.

Cela va grandissant.

Monsieur le Président, je souhaite le retour des libertés, le retour à une situation normalisée, en France comme en Nouvelle-Calédonie.

C'est pour cela que je souhaite que vous soyez à nouveau Président et que vous formiez un autre gouvernement qui n'emprisonne pas systématiquement les Kanaks, comme celui-ci le fait actuellement.

Monsieur le Président, j'espère que le message que je vous transmets ne restera pas vain.

Notre peuple encourt de plus en plus de risques pour sa sécurité physique.

J'aimerais que vous puissiez mettre l'opinion publique française devant ses responsabilités, que vous l'interpelliez au cours de cette campagne électorale pour qu'elle se rende compte qu'en son sein se pratiquent des dénis de justice.

Peut-elle tolérer chez elle des pratiques qu'elle dénonce ailleurs, en Afrique du Sud ou dans les territoires occupés ?

Les ingrédients mis en place par le gouvernement de Monsieur Chirac déterminent les mêmes effets.

J'espère, Monsieur le Président, que vous pourrez revenir en force à la tête de l'État pour offrir à notre peuple, et à la France bien sûr, une nouvelle ère de liberté.

4.3.1.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by Tjibaou through transitivity and agency.

The transitivity analysis of each of the excerpts aims to show how the interactants in the independence debate construe an ideological reality of a common destiny that fits in well with their own vision for New Caledonia's future by uttering discourse within the overarching context of the decolonisation process. In the case of Kanak independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a Kanak inspired reality of the common destiny metaphor is depicted in his powerful plea for peaceful negotiation directed at the French President, François Mitterrand.

Through his use of the genre of an open letter, Tjibaou further construes the power of resistance and Kanak socialist ideology, which emerge from various salient patterns in the discourse of the excerpt. The construal of power could be seen here as what Honan & Davies (2000) describe when they refer to agency as using power "to generate possibilities ... that move beyond what

powerful others could have imagined” (Honan, Knobel, Baker & Davies 2000, p. 22). The main purpose of a letter is to build or maintain a relationship. Subsequently, Tjibaou does use the genre to negotiate his relationship with Mitterrand and, in a much broader sense, between the Kanak people, the French government, and a wider audience. It needs to be noted that the letter has personal appeal and that its language is more direct. The negotiation of interpersonal meanings that occurs as a result of the discursive exchange will be discussed in the next section. However, Tjibaou also uses the letter - in a far more symbolic and more significant sense - to construe a reality of New Caledonia, Kanaky, as he prefers to name it, as he perceives it to be.

Tjibaou mostly uses mental processes, as shown in Table 4.1: the proportion of mental processes to the total of clauses amounts to 39%. Halliday (2004) asserts that mental clauses “are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness” (p. 197). Tjibaou employs various mental processes to share his thoughts, reflections, and ideas on New Caledonia’s future with the addressee of the letter, as well as the wider audience, and to impart his emotions concerning the fact that it might be a future shared with France. This way of communicating is typical of more casual, conversational discourse. Tjibaou is using mental processes, such as *je souhaite* (I wish), *Nous pensons* (We think), *j’espère* (I hope), *J’aimerais* (I would like), and so on, in a strategic attempt to construe abstract thought (see Table 4.1) and in an attempt to influence the perceptions and behaviour of anyone who will read the letter: Mitterrand’s thinking, but also that of his audience, in the public realm. Mental clauses such as the above-mentioned ones may also serve as metaphors of modality (Caffarel, 2006, p. 148). The main Experiencer of the mental processes is Tjibaou himself, who responds to various conceptions of the common destiny metaphor.

Even though mental processes are more frequent than material processes in the letter, various processes of doing are also worth noting: the proportion of material processes to the total of clauses is 35% (see Table 4.1). When investigating material processes, it is important to

examine who is the doer, Agent or Actor in the process, as this may reveal how the author positions himself in the discourse in terms of power. In the letter, most of the Actors in effective material processes refer to the addressee: Mitterrand (see Table 4.2). As for the category of middle material processes, the Actors are more varied and refer to Tjibaou himself, *ils* (they/the French and the Kanak), *cela* (that/the arrogant discourse), *notre peuple* (our people/Kanak people), as shown in Table 4.2. The Actors involved in effective material clauses appear to be more powerful than the ones involved in middle material clauses in the sense that they act upon other participants. As Caffarel (2006) mentions: “experiential grammar, like logical grammar, can be used to construe second order meanings: philosophical ones ... or ideological ones.” The Goals of the material processes are what is being acted upon by the main Agent, Mitterrand. Examples of Goals include the following: *le destin de la France* (the destiny of France), *cette plaie* (this wound/French colonialism), and *quel avenir* (which future).

Table 4.1: Process types in excerpt 1

Process types				Total percentage
material			11	11/31 = 35%
relational	attributive	intensive	3	5/31 = 16%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	2	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural			1	3/31 = 10%
	verbal		2	
mental	cognitive		5	12/31 = 39%
	desiderative		7	

existential			0	
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Table 4.2: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 1

<p>Agents in effective material clauses: ‘vous’ (you/Mitterrand); ‘Vous’ (You/Mitterrand); ‘vous’ (you/Mitterrand); ‘Cela’ (That/Mitterrand’s Cancun speech); ‘le gouvernement socialiste’ (the socialist government); ‘nous’ (we); ‘Les ingrédients’ (The elements)</p>
<p>Actors in middle material clauses: ‘je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘ils’ (they/the French and the Kanak); ‘Cela’ (That/the arrogant discourse); ‘Notre peuple’ (Our people/Kanak people)</p>
<p>Sayer in verbal processes: ‘le peuple Kanak’ (the Kanak people); ‘Je’ (I/Tjibaou)</p>
<p>Experiencer in mental process: ‘Il’ (It/the Kanak people); ‘nous’ (we/the Kanak people); ‘Je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘nous’ (we/the Kanak people); ‘Français et Kanak’ (the French and the Kanak); ‘Nous’ (We/the Kanak people); ‘Il’ (It); ‘je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘Je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘Je’ (I/Tjibaou); ‘Je’ (I/Tjibaou)</p>
<p>Goals of material processes: ‘quel avenir’ (what kind of future); ‘le destin de la France’ (the destiny of France); ‘cette plaie’ (this wound/French colonialism); ‘beaucoup d’espoir’ (a lot of hope); ‘de solutions institutionnelles’ (institutional solutions); ‘des ennemis’ (enemies); ‘des responsables’ (officials); ‘les mêmes effets’ (the same effects)</p>

4.3.1.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by Tjibaou through his use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

The focus now turns to how Tjibaou, as a representative of the Kanak community, endeavours to persuade Mitterrand and the audience to accept his view of the reality of full independence from France through negotiating interpersonal meanings with the President and the audience in a plurillogical fashion. Subsequently, the investigation concentrates on the systems of mood and modality, as it manifests itself in various salient linguistic features.

Mood types used in Tjibaou's letter are declarative and interrogative. Tjibaou's most typical mood choice is the declarative. Nearly all of the clauses in the excerpt are declarative, apart from four interrogatives, thus conveying a high degree of certainty on the part of the author. As Halliday (2004) stipulates, declarative clauses "most frequently combine with tone 1, the feature of certainty" (p. 141). It is the same in French discourse, as this particular sample shows: the declarative is used by Tjibaou to share information with the addressee and the audience and to emphasise his authority as a politician whose opinions and assertions ought to be valued and respected.

Tjibaou further employs various rhetorical questions in this excerpt. The use of questions may be seen as a discursive strategy by the author and may serve various different purposes in terms of power. In the case of the first question, directed at Mitterrand, *Monsieur le Président, quel avenir nous réservez-vous ?* (Mister President, which future do you hold for us?), various answers to the question are possible but none of the answers are provided. The second, rhetorical question, *Serons-nous les derniers des Mohicans de la région pacifique, comme il y a eu les derniers Tasmaniens ?* (Will we be the last of the Mohicans of the Pacific region, like there were the last Tasmanians?) is used by Tjibaou to mock the concept of French imperialist colonialism, which once openly called for the extermination of all first inhabitants. He employs

two more semi-rhetorical questions in order to consolidate his authority on the matter and to expose Mitterrand's possible thoughts on the topic.

In terms of modality, Tjibaou's first few propositions do not include any modal verbs or adjuncts. A median modal verb occurs in clause 15: *je souhaite* (I wish), expressing the probability of Mitterrand becoming President of France for a second time. The same modal verb is repeated three more times to indicate Tjibaou's wish for a return to freedom, a return to a normalised situation and Mitterrand becoming President again. Another construction, using a mood conditional is used in clause 28, *j'aimerais* (I would like), to describe something that has not yet occurred and that is highly dependent on the right circumstances for it to take place: to challenge French public opinion and to call upon it during the election campaign in order to raise awareness about the injustice that has been perpetrated against the Kanak population of New Caledonia.

Tjibaou uses a great variety of modal verbs and adjuncts, as shown in Table 4.3, not only expressing probability, but also various possibilities. He employs the modal verb *pouvoir* (be able to/can/may) to indicate the possibility of the French public ignoring the occurrence of practices that it condemns abroad, in South Africa or in the occupied territories, in France itself, to hint upon the possibility of Mitterrand becoming President again, and of his ability to challenge French public opinion. However, he uses the same verb, combined with negative polarity, to describe the impossibility of French representation in the Pacific in the case of it being entrusted to profiteers who abuse the French flag and the name of France solely to safeguard their own personal interests. It may be concluded that some of the manifestations of modality within Tjibaou's discourse are highly revelatory of his personal stance on the independence issue.

Table 4.3: Modalisation used by Tjibaou

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	bien sûr (of course)
Modal verbs	peut (may)	souhaite (wish)	faut (need)
	peut (can)	souhaite (wish)	devriez (would have)
	pourrez (will be able to)	souhaite (wish)	
	puissiez (may)	souhaite (wish)	
		aimerais (would like)	

4.3.2 Excerpt from an open letter to all French citizens, written by François Mitterrand and published on 7 April 1988 (Lettre à tous les Français, 2015).

Les Français comprendront que celui qui a beaucoup aide celui qui n'a plus rien.

Mais tandis que j'écris ces lignes, on pose sur ma table un message de M. Tjibaou.

C'est un appel au secours en même temps qu'un rappel des principes qui l'inspirent.

Il combat pour l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, et pour lui, la Nouvelle-Calédonie, c'est avant tout le peuple canaque.

Je résume un peu vite, peut-être, sa pensée. M. Tjibaou et son parti ne demandent pas l'exclusion des Français d'origine et des autres ethnies.

Ils veulent simplement, si je puis dire, en décider eux-mêmes, car ils sont, à eux seuls le suffrage universel.

- Je connais cette théorie.

Depuis sept ans que je le rencontre, M. Tjibaou ne varie pas.

C'est un homme que je respecte, avec lequel les mots vont plus loin que les mots.

Mais je ne crois pas que l'antériorité historique des Canaques sur cette terre suffise à fonder le droit.

Histoire contre Histoire : les Calédoniens d'origine européenne ont aussi, par leur labeur, modelé ce sol, se sont nourris de sa substance, y ont enfoncé leurs racines.

Les deux communautés face à face n'ont aucune chance d'imposer durablement leur loi, sans l'autre et contre l'autre - sinon par la violence et la violence elle-même atteindra ses limites.

L'indépendance, pourquoi pas ?

La population eût été homogène que la Nouvelle-Calédonie en serait là, comme ses voisins.

Mais l'indépendance dans cet -état de rupture, entre deux populations d'importance comparable, signifie guerre civile, la seule guerre inexpiable, et donc l'écrasement d'un des deux camps.

On devine lequel.

Le droit bafoué des Canaques ne sera relevé, restauré que par la paix intérieure et le garant de cette paix et de ces droits ne peut être que la République française.

Il n'est pas d'autre arbitre.

Je n'énonce pas là un principe, je constate un fait et ce fait commande le salut de tous.

Les Calédoniens d'origine européenne, eux, ne bâtissent pas de théorie.

Ils ont le pouvoir.

Les plus forts le gardent.

Sans nuances.

Les Canaques avaient des terres, on les leur a prises.

Des ministres de la République, avant et après 1981, avaient cherché à leur rendre justice par une réforme foncière.

Ces ministres sont partis.

La réforme aussi.

Les Canaques ont une culture.

Des ministres Français, avant et après 1981, avaient voulu la protéger et avaient pour cela créé un office culturel.

Les ministres sont partis.

L'office aussi.

Il n'y avait pas de bachelier canaque jusqu'en 1962.

Il y a peu de médecins ou d'ingénieurs canaques, trente-six instituteurs sur plus de huit cents, six fonctionnaires de rang élevé sur près de mille.

Les trois régions à majorité canaque ont reçu un demi-milliard de francs Pacifique ; la région Sud, six milliards et demi.

Je veux dire par là que si l'ultime chance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de vivre en paix et des Canaques d'être entendus tient à la République, la République doit être juste.

L'exclusion des minorités n'est pas de notre tradition.

- Mais la majorité parlementaire, à Paris, a voté une loi, et la population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie un référendum.

C'est notre principe, à nous républicains, que d'appliquer la loi et mon devoir, à moi, est de la promulguer, puis de la respecter, comme tout citoyen.

En revanche rien n'interdit de changer la loi par les mêmes moyens.

C'est même recommandé |

Voilà ce que je puis répondre à M. Tjibaou comme à vous, mes chers compatriotes.

La Nouvelle-Calédonie avance dans la nuit, se cogne aux murs, se blesse.

La crise dont elle souffre rassemble, en miniature, tous les composants du drame colonial.

Il est temps d'en sortir.

Je forme des vœux pour que les communautés en présence évitent le piège d'un affrontement, ces prochaines semaines.

Ensuite, j'userai du pouvoir que vous me confierez pour que l'histoire de France, à l'autre bout du monde, retrouve sa vieille sagesse.

4.3.2.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by Mitterrand through transitivity and agency.

The second excerpt constitutes Mitterrand's answer to Tjibaou's plea for independence. Mitterrand also uses the genre of an open letter when responding to Tjibaou in order to express his ideological views and to negotiate the relationship between the Kanak people and the French government, albeit in an even more public manner, as opposed to the more personally-tinted correspondence he received from the Kanak independence leader, as if to avoid any personal involvement in the matter. In doing so, he completely distances himself from his addressee, Tjibaou, and the letter is thus transformed into a speech providing propaganda for the French Republic.

The transitivity patterns in the excerpt reflect Mitterrand's construal of French imperialist power and neo-colonialist ideology as he depicts how he sees New Caledonia's future. Material processes are of the greatest importance in Mitterrand's reply: the proportion of material processes to the total of clauses is 45%, as shown in Table 4.4. A closer look at who is carrying out these processes of doing reveals that the most important Actors involved in the processes are *les Calédoniens d'origine européenne* (the New Caledonians of European origin), as shown in Table 4.5. These Actors are mentioned and referred to - through the use of deixis - six times in total. This means that the New Caledonians of European origin are represented as being more

active than any other participants, such as the Kanak people or New Caledonians in general. The most important Goals of the material processes in the excerpt are power, culture, and the land. Mitterrand's use of material processes evokes a reality, in which non-Kanak people are the decision makers when it comes to New Caledonia's future.

Table 4.4: Process types in excerpt 2

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	20	25/56 = 45%
		middle	3	
		passive	2	
relational	attributive	intensive	4	10/56 = 18%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	6	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural			1	10/56 = 18%
	verbal		9	
mental	cognitive		6	7/56 = 12%
	desiderative		1	
existential			3	3/56 = 5%
medium		effective	1	1/56 = 2%

Table 4.5: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 2

Agents in effective material clauses: ‘on’ (one/they); ‘les Calédoniens d'origine européenne’ (the New Caledonians of European origin); ‘ils’ (they/the New Caledonians of European origin); ‘Les deux communautés face à face’ (The two communities opposing each other); ‘les Calédoniens d'origine européenne’ (the New Caledonians of European origin); ‘ils’ (they/the New Caledonians of European origin); ‘Les plus forts’ (the strongest ones); ‘Les Canaques’ (the Kanak); ‘on’ (they/the New Caledonians of European origin); ‘Des ministres de la République’ (the Ministers of the Republic); ‘Ces ministres’ (Those Ministers); ‘Les Canaques’ (the Kanak); ‘Des ministres Français’ (French Ministers); ‘ils’ (they/the French Ministers); ‘L’office’ (the office); ‘La Nouvelle-Calédonie’ (New Caledonia); ‘Elle’ (it/New Caledonia); ‘Elle’ (it/New Caledonia); ‘La crise’ (The crisis); ‘je’ (Mitterrand)

Actors in middle material clauses: ‘Il’ (he/Tjibaou); ‘M. Tjibaou’ (Mr Tjibaou); ‘Le droit bafoué des Canaques’ (The violated rights of the Kanak)

Sayer in verbal processes: ‘Je’ (I/Mitterrand); ‘M. Tjibaou et son parti’ (Mr Tjibaou and his party); ‘Je’ (I/Mitterrand); ‘ce fait’ (this fact); ‘Je’ (I/Mitterrand); ‘la majorité parlementaire’ (the parliamentary majority); ‘la population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie’ (the population of New Caledonia); ‘rien’ (nothing); ‘Je’ (I/Mitterrand)

Experiencer in mental process: ‘Les Français’ (the French); ‘Ils’ (They/Mr Tjibaou and his party); ‘Je’ (I/Mitterrand); ‘je’ (I/Mitterrand); ‘l'indépendance’ (independence); ‘On’ (We); ‘je’ (I/Mitterrand)

Goals of material processes: ‘un message de M. Tjibaou’ (a message from Mr Tjibaou); ‘ce sol’ (this land); ‘leurs racines’ (their roots); ‘aucune chance’ (no chance); ‘de théorie’ (theory); ‘le pouvoir’ (the power); ‘le’ (it/the power); ‘des terres’ (land); ‘les’ (them/land); ‘une culture’ (a culture); ‘la’ (it/a culture); ‘un office culturel’ (a cultural office); ‘se’ (itself/New Caledonia); ‘se’ (itself/New Caledonia); ‘tous les composants du drame colonial’ (all the elements of a colonial drama); ‘du pouvoir’ (power)

4.3.2.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by Mitterrand through his use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

It is important to note that the whole debate on the New Caledonian independence issue constitutes an ongoing process of negotiation between various representatives of the social groups involved and their audience. As Hodge & Kress (1993) point out, communication between individuals (or groups) needs to be seen

as a *process*, not as a disembodied set of meanings or texts. Meaning is produced and reproduced under specific social conditions, through specific material forms and agencies. It exists in relation to concrete subjects and objects, and *is inexplicable except in terms of this set of relationships* (viii, italics mine).

One snapshot of the negotiation process may be found in the correspondence between Tjibaou and Mitterrand. The latter uses the following mood types in his reply to the Kanak leader: declarative and interrogative. He mainly opts for declarative mood to utter various statements, which emphasises his authority on the matter. Statements such as these convey a very high degree of probability, as pointed out by Halliday (2004). For example, the following statement used by Mitterrand:

(1) *Ensuite, j'userai du pouvoir que vous me confierez...*

Then, I will use the power you will confide in me...

is a much stronger statement than:

(2) *Ensuite, je pourrais utiliser du pouvoir...*

Then, I could use the power...

However, the fact that Mitterrand would be able to use his presidential power is debatable, since he has not yet been elected at this point in time. Mitterrand still employs the declarative mood here, which omits any doubt on his ability to resolve the issue.

Only one example of an interrogative is found in the excerpt:

(3) *L'indépendance, pourquoi pas ?*

Independence, why not?

The interrogative constitutes a rhetorical question that presupposes a positive response from the audience of the open letter written by Mitterrand: a confirmation of the possibility that New Caledonia may become independent from France: *oui, pourquoi pas ?* (yes, why not?).

Modality, then, is used by Mitterrand as an expression of indeterminacy and subjectivity, influencing the main verbal processes (Halliday, 2004). The linguistic manifestations of modality within Mitterrand's discourse are highly revelatory of his assumptions and beliefs with regard to the New Caledonian independence issue. We note that he mainly opts for median modal adjuncts and verbs, which indicates the probability of various events, as shown in Table 4.6. For example, he uses the modal adjunct *peut-être* (maybe), which indicates the likelihood of not doing Tjibaou's message justice by quickly summarising his letter. The following median modal auxiliary verbs are used by Mitterrand: *veulent* (want), *avaient voulu* (had wanted), *veux* (want). For example:

(4) *Je veux dire par là que si l'ultime chance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de vivre en paix et des Canaques d'être entendus tient à la République, la République doit être juste.*

By that I mean that, if the ultimate opportunity for New Caledonia to live in peace and for the Kanak people to be heard depends on the Republic, the Republic must be fair.

Some low probability modal verbs are also used by Mitterrand and, overall, the excerpt lacks modal devices of high certainty. Mitterrand expresses the possibility of various events through the use of low modals such as *puis* (may/can). For example:

(5) *Voilà ce que je puis répondre à M. Tjibaou...*

Here's how I may respond to Mr. Tjibaou...

Another modal from the lower end of the scale used by Mitterrand expresses the opposite and indicates impossibility:

(6) *Le droit bafoué des Canaques ne sera relevé, restauré que par la paix intérieure et le garant de cette paix et de ces droits ne peut être que la République française.*

The violated rights of the Kanak people will only be restored, repaired through inner peace and only the French Republic may guarantee this peace and these rights.

Table 4.6: Modalisation used by Mitterrand

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	peut-être (maybe)	-
Modal verbs	puis (may)	veulent (want)	doit (must)
	peut (can)	avaient voulu (wanted)	
	puis (can)	veux (want)	

4.3.3 Excerpt from a speech made by François Hollande, in Noumea, on 16 November 2014.

Avec le Premier ministre, avec les membres du gouvernement et Victorin LUREL, nous devons vous dire clairement ce que vous pouvez attendre de l'État et ce que l'État attend de l'Outre-mer.

Je le rappelle une nouvelle fois : les Outre-mer sont une chance pour la France. Grâce à vous la République est présente partout dans le monde. Avec leurs ressources naturelles, leur biodiversité, leurs espaces, mais surtout avec les femmes et les hommes qui vivent sur ces territoires, les Outre-mer font la France ! La France ne serait pas ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui si vous n'y aviez pas apporté, génération après génération, votre contribution à travers la culture, à travers l'économie, à travers les langues parce que là aussi la langue française n'a rien à craindre de la diversité linguistique.

Vous n'êtes donc pas les invités de la République ! Vous êtes la République française !

Dans le même temps, je n'ignore rien de vos difficultés. Je suis allé, par les responsabilités qui m'ont été données, pratiquement dans tous les territoires, tous les départements et j'aurai encore à le faire comme Président.

Je mesure ce qu'est la violence de la crise d'abord ici dans l'Hexagone mais encore plus brutalement, plus durement, plus intensément dans les Outre-mer. Les taux de chômage y sont 2 à 3 fois supérieurs à celui de l'Hexagone. Pour les jeunes, dans la plupart de vos départements, ce taux dépasse 50%.

Comment d'ailleurs ne pas mettre en regard ce que je viens de dire sur la situation économique mais également ce que je pourrais dire sur la délinquance car un certain nombre de vos départements sont parmi les plus touchés de France ? Les niveaux de prix créent des inégalités criantes. Vos entreprises, pourtant excellentes, peinent davantage que partout ailleurs à accéder aux financements bancaires. Vos économies, par la géographie, font face à l'éloignement, à l'insularité, à l'étroitesse des marchés et aussi à des comportements d'un autre âge. Voilà ce que je sais.

Mais porter un constat ne suffit pas. Nous devons agir et depuis 6 mois, le gouvernement de Jean-Marc AYRAULT a agi.

J'ai d'abord veillé à créer un ministère des Outre-mer de plein exercice. C'était l'engagement que j'avais pris, ce n'était pas le plus difficile à tenir, il ne coûtait rien mais en même temps il avait valeur de symbole en étant rattaché directement au Premier ministre avec un correspondant pour les Outre-mer désigné dans tous les cabinets ministériels.

Ensuite, il fallait nommer le ministre, un ultramarin. Fallait-il encore faire le choix. Victorin LUREL m'est apparu, ainsi qu'à Jean-Marc AYRAULT, comme celui qui pouvait défendre, non seulement l'Outre-mer, mais être un ministre et un ministre de toute la République.

Ensuite, la nomination d'une déléguée interministérielle à l'égalité des chances des Français d'Outre-mer, originaire elle de La Réunion, est venue compléter ce dispositif.

Fallait-il encore qu'il y ait un budget ! Un ministère ne suffit pas ! Faut-il encore qu'il ait les moyens, là-encore, d'intervenir. Le budget de la Mission Outre-mer a été l'un des rares à être préservés malgré la difficulté des temps. Les crédits qui lui ont été affecté vont augmenter de 5% en 2013.

J'ai voulu enfin que la question de la vie chère dans les Outre-mer puisse être l'une des premières interventions du Parlement.

La loi de régulation économique Outre-mer vient d'être adoptée à une très large majorité. J'en remercie ici tous les parlementaires. Cette loi s'appliquera sans délai. Je rappelle qu'elle renforce les pouvoirs de l'autorité de la concurrence pour lutter contre les déséquilibres des marchés. Elle met en place un « bouclier qualité-prix » qui garantira des prix justes sur de nombreux produits de consommation courante. Elle supprime les abus de certaines exclusivités de marques. Elle améliore le fonctionnement des observatoires de prix qui s'intéresseront désormais aussi aux marges et aux revenus...

Cette loi offre de nouveaux outils pour réduire les coûts, trouver des péréquations possibles au niveau national et changer les modes de fixation des prix pour les carburants, pour les services bancaires, pour la téléphonie, parce qu'il m'a toujours paru étrange que ces services coûtent plus chers en Outre-mer que dans l'Hexagone sans qu'il y ait la moindre justification par rapport à la réalité des territoires.

Je sais ce qu'avaient été les mouvements puissants dans beaucoup de départements par rapport au thème de la vie chère. Il me paraissait indispensable d'apporter immédiatement les apaisements nécessaires.

Je ne veux pas non plus, avec le gouvernement, entraver le fonctionnement des entreprises ultramarines qui font déjà face à tellement de contraintes.

Il s'agit d'agir avec elles dans la concertation. Des conférences économiques et sociales sont organisées en ce moment même dans tous les départements d'Outre-mer. Elles visent à recueillir le consensus le plus large possible sur les axes des politiques économiques à mener localement, c'est-à-dire dans chaque territoire. Une synthèse nationale sera présentée par le ministre, Victorin LUREL, d'ici la fin de l'année. Le gouvernement de Jean-Marc AYRAULT sera très attentif, je vous l'assure, à ses conclusions.

L'une des difficultés, ce n'est pas la seule, des collectivités que vous représentez est l'accès aux financements pour leurs investissements. Je le dirai demain au congrès des maires. Je veux faire en sorte que toutes les collectivités, par de multiples instruments et moyens, y compris ceux dont elles voudront bien se doter, puissent avoir les financements leur permettant de réaliser leurs investissements.

Pour l'Outre-mer il y avait la nécessité de prévoir les autorisations d'engagements du plan de relance des investissements publics. Je l'affirme ici, toutes les autorisations seront inscrites dans le projet de loi de finances pour 2013.

J'ai même voulu que soit supprimée une obligation, qui pesait sur les collectivités territoriales d'Outre-mer, de financer au moins 20% des projets dont elles avaient

la maîtrise d'ouvrage. Ce verrou a été purement et simplement levé et c'est une avancée majeure pour beaucoup de vos collectivités.

Mais je veux vous dire un mot de la négociation européenne qui va s'ouvrir dans quelques jours et qui va, pour beaucoup, déterminer l'avenir des financements que vous pourrez mobiliser. Je suis très attaché à deux piliers de la politique européenne : les fonds structurels de cohésion -- et je rappelle que les régions ultrapériphériques ont accès à ces financements -- et la politique agricole commune dont là-encore les territoires et les départements d'Outre-mer sont pour partie bénéficiaires.

Une certaine conception de la politique européenne, ce n'est pas la mienne, voudrait que l'on baisse le budget de l'Europe pour les sept prochaines années. Au moment même où nous appelons à la solidarité, à la mobilisation pour la croissance, la réponse de l'Europe serait de faire moins ! Des pays -- je ne citerai pas lesquels, je ne veux pas ici me fâcher, je ne veux pas vous compromettre -- viennent chercher leur chèque, leur rabais, leur ristourne parce que l'idée qu'ils se font de l'Europe c'est d'obtenir exactement ce qu'ils y ont versé, comme si la solidarité ce n'était pas que les plus favorisés payent pour les autres -- ce que fait un État partout, lorsqu'il est organisé sur le plan démocratique et qu'il a des principes de justice à faire valoir.

J'en prends ici l'engagement, la France se battra pour garder les fonds structurels et la politique agricole commune au niveau permettant à vos territoires, et à bien des territoires en Europe, d'être soutenus pour leurs investissements.

Au-delà de ce que nous avons à faire sur le plan fiscal, nous avons aussi à utiliser au mieux pour l'Outre-mer les instruments que nous avons mis en place pour l'emploi.

Le premier c'est ce qu'on appelle les emplois d'avenir : 10% de l'enveloppe nationale, soit près de 10 000 contrats, seront réservés aux jeunes d'Outre-mer en 2013. Pourquoi cette ampleur ? Parce que je le disais, le chômage des jeunes est un risque sérieux pour ces départements et ces territoires. Je vois bien le désœuvrement, le découragement, la désillusion d'une génération, avec tous les risques que cela peut engendrer. De la même manière, je sais que cela a été

difficile à comprendre, nous avons fait en sorte que les contrats aidés puissent être non seulement préservés mais augmentés en Outre-mer. Pour les emplois d'avenir ce sera la même priorité.

De la même façon je souhaite que les jeunes ultra-marins puissent accéder aux emplois créés localement dans le secteur privé comme dans le secteur public. Là où les jeunes sont formés, là ils doivent travailler.

Ces jeunes ont besoin de logements pour prendre leur autonomie. Et là encore, le Gouvernement a augmenté de plus de 6% les crédits de la Ligne Budgétaire Unique, principal levier de financement du logement social en Outre-mer.

Voilà l'action qui a été menée. Certains diront tous les engagements n'ont pas été tenus. Mais nous ne sommes là que depuis 6 mois. Il faut en laisser pour le reste du temps, surtout si je dois revenir chaque année.

Je souhaitais, et cela vaut aussi pour l'ensemble du pays, apaiser les relations entre l'État et les collectivités, en particulier l'Outre-mer. J'avais en mémoire les mouvements qui avaient marqué ces dernières années en Guadeloupe, en Martinique, à La Réunion, à Mayotte. Je connais la situation de la Guyane, je sais ce que vivent beaucoup de territoires, même s'ils ne se sont pas fait connaître pour un certain nombre de grèves ou de conflits.

Apaiser c'était aussi la méthode que je préconisais pour rétablir le dialogue avec les autorités de la Polynésie française dont la situation financière s'est considérablement dégradée et dont le redressement nécessitera des efforts de part et d'autre, parce que chaque fois que l'État intervient il doit demander une contrepartie aux collectivités qui l'accompagnent.

C'est cette même démarche qui m'inspirera pour traiter la question de la sortie de l'Accord de Nouméa. J'accueillerai, dans quelques jours, les membres du comité des signataires. Je leur rappellerai qu'ils ont la grande responsabilité, l'immense responsabilité, d'offrir ensemble un destin commun à La Nouvelle Calédonie. Et là encore l'État jouera son rôle de partenaire pour les y aider dans la paix, dans le respect, dans la tranquillité.

J'ai proposé 30 engagements spécifiques sur les Outre-Mer, c'est la feuille de route du gouvernement. La situation économique et budgétaire ne nous autorise pas à tout entreprendre en même temps, d'où le rythme que nous avons fixé. Mais le cap c'est l'égalité, l'égalité réelle entre les Outre-Mer et l'Hexagone. L'égalité est plus facile à proclamer qu'à faire, et puis on veut toujours être plus égalitaire que l'autre, ce qui crée parfois une surenchère et des suspicions ! L'égalité réelle, il ne suffit pas d'une loi -- encore moins d'un décret -- pour la réaliser. L'égalité réelle se construit étape par étape.

Je pense à l'Éducation, priorité du gouvernement, que l'on retrouvera dans tous les départements et régions d'Outre-Mer. Je pense à la santé, et notamment à la situation particulièrement grave des hôpitaux en Outre-Mer qui pourtant - compte tenu là aussi de déserts médicaux - sont souvent le seul refuge pour accéder correctement aux soins. L'égalité réelle c'est aussi des infrastructures pour pouvoir attirer des entreprises.

Les relations entre l'État et les Outre-Mer ne relèvent pas d'une comptabilité entre ce que l'État apporterait et les retours qu'il pourrait escompter. Non, nous ne sommes pas dans cette relation-là, mais plutôt d'égalité et de fraternité. Ensemble, nous sommes la France et nous avons à la faire ensemble. Chacun doit prendre sa part : l'État à travers une vision -- ce qu'il pense être le destin de la France pour les prochaines années -- et vous les collectivités, et notamment l'Outre-Mer, en multipliant toutes les initiatives, en prenant tous les risques -- sauf financier -- et en faisant en sorte que l'innovation dans tout domaine soit votre boussole.

Je sais que vous en êtes capables, car -- et ce sera mon dernier mot -- si nous sommes tous partie prenante de la même République, le destin des Outre-mer appartient d'abord aux ultra-marins, à ceux qui les représentent, aux élus que vous êtes et qui sont fiers à la fois de servir l'Outre-Mer et la République.

4.3.3.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by Hollande through transitivity and agency.

The main theme of the speech, made by former French President François Hollande is the future of New Caledonia and the concrete materialisations of this reality. Hollande's construction of identity and power, through the transitivity choices he makes, rivals the Kanak and Caldoche perceptions of a common destiny for New Caledonia. He uses the genre of a political speech to construe a desirable reality and to negotiate power, in an attempt to persuade the audience of his viewpoint that the Overseas Territories are an opportunity for France to convey a message of homogeneity and that the inhabitants of the Overseas Territories, including those of New Caledonia, are part of France. By convincing them of this particular point of view, he wants to influence the audience toward a particular course of action: to collaborate with the French government.

In expressing his opinion on the independence issue, Hollande mainly opts for material processes: the proportion of material processes to the totality of clauses is 43%, as shown in Table 4.7. The main Actors involved in this type of process are Hollande himself, *la loi de régulation économique Outre-Mer* (the law of economic regulation of overseas territories), the State and the French government, as shown in Table 4.8. All of these Actors are represented as more powerful and active than the other participants. Some of the most significant Goals they act upon are Hollande, France, *l'éloignement, l'insularité, l'étroitesse des marchés* (the remoteness, insularity, the narrowness of the markets), *des comportements d'un autre âge* (behaviour from another era), *ce dispositif* (this plan of action) and *les relations entre l'État et les collectivités* (relations between the state and the local authorities).

Table 4.7: Process types in excerpt 3

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	23	50/121 = 43%
		middle	27	
relational	attributive	intensive	11	28/121 = 23%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	17	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural			1	17/121 = 14%
		verbal	16	
mental	cognitive		14	23/121 = 19%
	desiderative		7	
	emotional		2	
existential			1	1/121 = 1%

Table 4.8: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 3

Agents in effective material clauses: ‘les Outre-mer’ (the overseas territories); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Les niveaux de prix’ (The price levels); ‘il’ (it/the commitment); ‘il’ (it/the commitment); ‘il’ (it); ‘Elle’ (it/this law); ‘Elle’ (it/this law); ‘Elle’ (it/this law); ‘Cette loi’ (This law); ‘Il’ (it); ‘Des pays’ (Countries); ‘nous’ (we/the French government); ‘nous’ (we/the French government); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘l’État’ (the state); ‘Les relations entre l’État et l’Outre-mer’ (relations between the State and the overseas territories); ‘nous’ (we/everyone); ‘Chacun’ (Everyone); ‘l’État’ (the state); ‘vous’ (you/the communities)

<p>Actors in middle material clauses: ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘ce taux’ (this number); ‘Vos économies’ (Your savings) ; ‘elles’ (they/your savings); ‘porter un constat’ (analysing); ‘Nous’ (We/the French government); ‘le gouvernement de Jean-Marc AYRAULT’ (Jean-Marc Ayrault’s government); ‘Victorin LUREL’ (Victorin Lurel); ‘la nomination d’une déléguée interministérielle à l’égalité des chances des Français d’Outre-mer’ (the nomination of an interdepartmental delegate for equal opportunities for overseas French citizens); ‘Un ministère’ (One department); ‘Les crédits’ (The loans); ‘La loi de régulation économique Outre-mer’ (The law of economic regulation of overseas territories); ‘Cette loi’ (This law/the law of economic regulation of overseas territories); ‘il’ (it); ‘Il’ (It); ‘Des conférences économiques et sociales’ (Economic and social conferences); ‘Ce verrou’ (This constriction); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘la France’ (France); ‘10 % de l’enveloppe nationale’ (10 % of the national budget); ‘ils’ (they/the young people); ‘le Gouvernement’ (the government); ‘Il’ (it); ‘il’ (it); ‘L’égalité réelle’ (real equality); ‘le destin des Outre-mer’ (the overseas territories’ destiny)</p>
<p>Sayer in verbal processes: ‘nous’ (we); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘le ministre Victorin LUREL’ (Minister Victorin Lurel); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Certains’ (Some); ‘il’ (it/the State); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘la situation économique et budgétaire’ (the economic and budgetary situation)</p>
<p>Experiencer in mental process: ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Vos entreprises’ (Your companies); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Elles’ (They/ Economic and social conferences); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande);</p>

‘Une certaine conception de la politique européenne’ (A certain view of European politics); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Ces jeunes’ (These young people); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘Je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande); ‘je’ (I/Hollande)

Goals of material processes: ‘la France’ (France); ‘le’ (it/visiting all of the territories and departments); ‘50%’; ‘des inégalités criantes’ (striking inequality); ‘l’éloignement, l’insularité, l’étroitesse des marchés’ (the remoteness, insularity, and narrowness of the markets); ‘des comportements d’un autre âge’ (behaviour from another era); ‘valeur de symbole’ (symbolic value); ‘ce dispositif’ (this plan of action); ‘se’ (itself/this law); ‘un « bouclier qualité-prix »’ (a quality/price shield); ‘les abus de certaines exclusivités de marques’ (the abuse of certain exclusive rights of brands); ‘le fonctionnement des observatoires de prix’ (the functioning of the price monitoring service); ‘de nouveaux outils’ (new tools); ‘me’ (to me/Hollande); ‘me’ (to me/Hollande); ‘d’agir avec elles dans la concertation’ (to work with them in close consultation/les entreprises); ‘leur chèque, leur rabais, leur ristourne’ (their cheque, their discount, their rebate); ‘l’engagement’ (the commitment); ‘se’ (itself); ‘les instruments’ (the tools); ‘jeunes d’Outre-mer’ (young people of the overseas territories); ‘les crédits de la Ligne Budgétaire Unique, principal levier de financement du logement social en Outre-mer’ (the loans of the Unique Budgetary Line, main financial leverage of social housing in the overseas territories); ‘l’action’ (the action); ‘en’ (some); ‘les relations entre l’État et les collectivités’ (relations between the state and the local authorities); ‘les membres du comité des signataires’ (the members of the committee of the signatories); ‘son rôle de

partenaire' (its partnership role); 'se' (itself); 'y' (in it); 'y' (in it); 'les ultra-marins, ceux qui les représentent, les élus' (the Ultramarines, those who represent them, the elected)

4.2.3.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by Hollande through his use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

Hollande's preferred mood choice is the declarative mood, which is characteristic of political speeches (Feng & Liu, 2010). He also selects the interrogative mood a few times. Here is an example:

(7) *Pourquoi cette ampleur ?*

Why this scale ?

This is not a rhetorical question, as Hollande answers the question himself in the following line:

Parce que je le disais, ... (As I said,...). The only other question used by Hollande is rhetorical:

(8) *Comment d'ailleurs ne pas mettre en regard ce que je viens de dire sur la situation économique... ?*

How can we not look at what I have just said in the light of the economic situation...?

The question is employed as a rhetorical strategy to simulate an interaction with the audience, in an attempt to influence their thoughts on the poor economic situation in the overseas territories, so it matches his own views better.

In terms of modality, Hollande mainly opts for modal verbs taken from the higher end of the scale: *devoir* (must) and *falloir* (need), as shown in Table 4.9. Doing so creates a high sense of obligation on the part of the audience. For example:

(9) *Là où les jeunes sont formés, là ils doivent travailler.*

Young people must work where they have received training.

(10) *Chacun doit prendre sa part...*

Everyone needs to do their bit...

However, Hollande also expresses obligation on the part of the French government, as shown in the following examples:

(11) *Nous devons agir...*

We have to act...

(12) *... nous devons vous dire clairement ce que vous pouvez attendre de l'État...*

...we have to make clear what you can expect from the State...

It is clear that indeterminacy is not appreciated in political speeches and that a high degree of certainty is inherent to this particular genre. Indeed, it is quite rare to find such a high number of lower degree modals in the excerpt, especially modal auxiliary verbs such as *pourrait* (might be able). Features such as *pouvez* (may), *faut* (need), and *devons* (must) are far more common in this type of register and genre (Lillian, 2008). The modal verb *pouvoir* (can/may) also occurs rather frequently, indicating possibility. There is a high degree of probability in Hollande's mood options through his use of modal verbs such as *vouloir* (want) or *souhaiter* (would like), expressing the probability of allowing sufficient funds to flow towards the overseas territories in order to ensure adequate functioning of its economy or the improbability of compromising the audience, to give but a few examples. Hollande does not use any modal adjuncts. It has been shown how the linguistic manifestations of modality in the former Prime Minister's discourse are highly indicative of his attitude and beliefs with regard to New Caledonia's future.

Table 4.9: Modalisation used by Hollande

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	pouvez (can)	ai voulu (wanted)	devons (need)
	pourrais (might be able to)	veux (want)	devons (must)
	pouvait (may)	veux (want)	fallait (needed)
	puisse (may)	voudront (will want)	fallait (needed)
	puissent (may)	ai voulu (wanted)	fallait (needed)
	pourrez (will be able to)	veux (want)	avait la nécessité (had)
	puissent (may)	voudrait (would like)	doivent (must)
	peut (may)	veux (want)	faut (need)
	pourrait (might be able to)	veux (want)	
	puissent (may)	souhaite (would like)	dois (must)
	pouvoir (be able to)	souhaitais (would have liked)	doit (must)
		veut (wants)	faut (need)
			doit (must)
			doit (must)
			devez (must)

4.3.4 A poem titled “Araucaria”, written by Déwé Gorodé in 1974.

Araucaria

pin colonnaire*

qui troue le ciel de mon pays
de son tronc s'étirant
vers les souvenirs inavoués
de mon peuple humilié
réfugié dans le ciel des prières

pour oublier

Araucaria

arbre à palabres
de clans et tribus trahis
sur cette terre qui est leur
leurs paroles figées
dans ta dure résine solide
je les dirai en face car je ne veux

PAS OUBLIER

Je les écrirai
là où je le pourrai
du mieux que je le pourrai
ici et maintenant car

j'ai beau chercher
la nuit le jour
je ne vois rien d'autre dans le ciel que
pour éclairer ma mémoire

*Le pin colonnaire, comme son nom l'indique, est un arbre qui pousse tout en hauteur et qui peut s'élever jusqu'à 50 m.

4.3.4.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by Gorodé through transitivity and agency.

The Kanak author and politician Déwé Gorodé is using the genre of a poem in order to construe a reality of New Caledonia that is motivated by Kanak socialist ideology and to evoke an emotive response in the reader. The poem is inspired by the author's memories of the humiliation and abuse of the Kanak people, her people, which are hidden from the public eye. The largest number of verbal processes used by Gorodé in the poem are material processes and behavioural processes: the proportion of material verbal processes to the total of clauses is 33%, while the proportion of behavioural verbal processes to the total of clauses is also 33%, as shown in Table 4.10. She sees herself as a powerful Agent, as the person involved in significant actions such as *écrire* (to write) and *chercher* (to search) (see Table 4.11). She is also the main Behaver, involved in crucial verbal processes such as *dire* (to say) and *voir* (to see). The main Goal that is impacted upon by Gorodé is *les* (them), referring to *palabres* (endless discussions) and *paroles* (words), which she describes as engraved into the bark of the pine trees. She sees herself as the person who writes down what her male ancestors have said and who continuously searches for their words.

Table 4.10: Process types in excerpt 4

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	2	2/6 = 33%
relational	attributive	intensive	1	1/6 = 17%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	0	

		circumstantial	0	
behavioural			1	2/6 = 33%
	verbal		1	
mental	cognitive		1	1/6 = 17%
	desiderative		0	
existential			0	

Table 4.11: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 4

Agents in effective material clauses: ‘Je’ (I/Gorodé); ‘je’ (I/ Gorodé)
Actors in middle material clauses: -
Sayer in verbal processes: ‘je’ (I/Gorodé)
Behaviour in behavioural processes: ‘je’ (I/Gorodé)
Experiencer in mental process: ‘je’ (I/Gorodé)
Goals of material processes: ‘les’ (them/endless discussions)

4.3.4.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by Gorodé through her use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

Gorodé only uses the declarative mood in her poem, which renders her statements powerful and authoritative, as she adopts the role of someone who instructs the reader/listener on ancient

Kanak knowledge (Halliday, 2002).⁹⁵ She mainly opts for low modal auxiliary verbs, such as *pourrai* (will be), as shown in Table 4.12, which expresses the possibility of writing down the words spoken by her ancestors and the possibility of her being capable of doing so:

(13) *Je les écrirai là où je le pourrai du mieux que je le pourrai*

I shall write them down wherever I will be able to as well as I will be able to

The poet also employs one median modal verb in the excerpt, which refers to the improbability of wiping the important words from her memory:

(14) *je les dirai en face car je ne veux PAS OUBLIER*

I will speak them upfront for I do not want TO FORGET

Table 4.12: Modalisation used by Gorodé

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	pourrai (will be able to)	veux (want)	-
	pourrai (will be able to)		-

4.3.5 Excerpt from a response to the online questionnaire, written by an anonymous member of the Caldoche discourse community in 2015.

Je suis contre l'indépendance socialiste kanak de la Nouvelle Calédonie parce qu'à notre époque il n'est pas concevable qu'une ethnie soit mise sur un piédestal par rapport au reste de la population. De plus la Nouvelle Calédonie étant une

⁹⁵ The English translation of the poem is my own.

terre pluriethnique, où le métissage est plus que présent, l'indépendance socialiste kanak a donc un caractère raciste.

En effet certains représentants de cette communauté partent du principe qu'eux seuls sont aptes à décider. Le principe de démocratie se verrait automatiquement bafoué.

Le destin commun, c'est ce que nous vivons depuis que les populations se sont mélangées il y a déjà plus de 150 ans. En effet nous sommes pour la plupart issus de ce mélange, de ce métissage qui fait la richesse de notre Pays. Le destin commun c'est respecter l'autre malgré ses différences, c'est l'entraide que nous pouvons avoir les uns envers les autres dans les coups durs. En somme, être un seul peuple.

L'indépendance c'est l'appauvrissement de mon Pays.

C'est la prise de contrôle d'une élite qui fera marcher ses intérêts avant ceux du Pays et de sa population.

Je pense que nous ne sommes pas prêts, et cela sur presque tous les niveaux.

4.3.5.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by the Caldoche respondent through transitivity and agency.

In his response to the online questionnaire, the Caldoche respondent uses the genre of a personal narrative to construe his depiction of the reality of New Caledonia's independence. The largest number of verbal processes used by the Caldoche respondent are relational processes: the proportion of relational verbal processes to the total of clauses is 72%, as shown in Table 4.13. Out of these verbal processes, 4 are attributive and 6 identify relational processes. The respondent employs the relational verbal processes to ascribe various positive and negative characteristics to the participants and phenomena described in the discourse sample. One of the phenomena referred to by the respondent is *le destin commun* (common destiny), which is

described, using positive connotations, as *ce que nous vivons* (what we live), as *respecter l'autre malgré ses différences* (to respect the other despite his/her differences), as *l'entraide* (mutual assistance) and as *être un seul peuple* (being one single people). Another phenomenon that is characterised by the respondent is *l'indépendance* (independence), which is described, using rather negative connotations, as *l'appauvrissement de mon pays* (the impoverishment of my country) and as *la prise de contrôle d'une élite* (a takeover by an elite).

Table 4.13: Process types in excerpt 5

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	1	3/14 = 21%
		middle	2	
relational	attributive	intensive	4	10/14 = 72%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	6	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural	verbal		0	
mental	cognitive		1	1/14 = 7%
	desiderative		0	
existential			0	

Table 4.14: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 5

Agents in effective material clauses: 'l'indépendance socialiste kanak' (Kanak socialist independence)

Actors in middle material clauses: ‘certains représentants de cette communauté’ (certain representatives of this group); ‘Le principe de démocratie’ (The democratic principle)
Sayer in verbal processes: -
Experiencer in mental process: ‘Je’ (I/questionnaire respondent)
Goals of material processes: ‘un caractère raciste’ (a racist nature); ‘principe’ (principle); ‘se’ (itself)

4.3.5.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by the Caldoche respondent through his use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

Again, the declarative mood is the preferred mood for the interactant. As for modality, the Caldoche respondent opts for low modal auxiliary verbs, as shown in Table 4.15.

For example:

(15) *Le destin commun c'est l'entraide que nous pouvons avoir les uns envers les autres dans les coups durs.*

A common destiny is the mutual assistance that we may be able to render to each other in times of hardship.

The respondent selects a low modal verb, which expresses the low possibility of a common destiny, allowing for a healthier working relationship and a deeper consideration of the other's needs. No other modal adjuncts or verbs are used by the Caldoche interactant.

Table 4.15: Modalisation used by the Caldoche respondent

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	pouvons (may be able to)	-	-

4.3.6 Excerpt from a response to the online questionnaire, written by a member of the Wallisian/Futunian discourse community in New Caledonia, in 2015.

L'indépendance c'est se détacher de 'l'autre' et vivre indépendamment de ce que ce dernier nous avait apporté (au niveau financier, social, capitaux, ouverture au monde, nouvelles technologies ...)

Selon moi la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne semble pas prête à assumer le statut d'indépendance car elle ne parvient même pas à s'auto suffire. Aussi, peu de gens sont formés, ou ont assez étudié pour répondre à la demande sur le marché du travail. Nous en venons même à proposer des postes aux métropolitains pour assurer un minimum de bon fonctionnement dans la société.

Je suis contre l'indépendance car la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne semble pas prête à l'être.

Le destin commun c'est ne former plus qu'un! Peu importe les populations, se soutenir et s'engager volontairement dans un projet commun ayant un même but/intérêts. S'accorder sur la manière de parvenir à satisfaire nos besoins et cela de façon la plus unanime possible, prendre en compte les demandes de la population calédonienne.

4.3.6.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by the Wallisian/Futunian interactant through transitivity and agency.

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent uses the genre of a personal narrative to construct her depiction of the reality of New Caledonia's independence from France and to negotiate power with the recipients. It immediately becomes evident that the respondent employs a large number of relational verbal processes, just like the Caldoche respondent: the proportion of relational processes to the total of clauses is 70%, as shown in Table 4.16. Out of these relational verbal processes, 3 are attributive and 6 are identifying. The respondent uses the processes to attribute certain qualities to various phenomena and participants and to identify phenomena and participants as something. One of the phenomena, described by the respondent, is *l'indépendance* (independence), which is characterised, using rather negative connotations, as *se détacher de l'autre* (to grow away from the other) and, more neutrally, as *vivre indépendamment* (to live independently). Another phenomenon, described by the respondent using positive connotations is *le destin commun* (common destiny), which is characterised as *ne former plus qu'un* (to form but one), as *se soutenir et s'engager volontairement dans un projet commun* (to support one another and to voluntarily commit oneself to a common plan), as *s'accorder* (to agree), and as *prendre en compte les demandes de la population calédonienne* (to take into account the demands of the New Caledonian population).

Among the participants described by the respondent are the vague *peu de gens* (few people), characterised as *formés* (educated), which is rather negative, for it means that the respondent thinks the majority of New Caledonia's population are not sufficiently educated to ensure a good functioning of the nation after it would become independent, and *la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (New Caledonia) itself, which is described as *pas prête* (not ready) for a possible independence

scenario. The respondent also describes herself as being *contre* (against) New Caledonian independence.

Table 4.16: Process types in excerpt 6

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	0	2/13 = 15%
		middle	2	
relational	attributive	intensive	3	9/13 = 70%
		circumstantial	0	
	identifying	intensive	6	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural	verbal		0	
mental	cognitive		2	2/13 = 15%
	desiderative		0	
existential			0	

Table 4.17: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 6

Agents in effective material clauses: -
Actors in middle material clauses: ‘elle’ (New Caledonia); ‘Nous’ (we/New Caledonia)
Sayer in verbal processes: -

Experiencer in mental process: ‘moi’ (I/questionnaire respondent); ‘peu de gens’ (not many people)
Goals of material processes: ‘en’ (-)

4.3.6.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by the Wallisian/Futunian interactant through her use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

The declarative mood is again the preferred mood selection. An example of a declarative mood selection is:

(16) *Je suis contre car la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne semble pas prête à l'être.*

I am against independence because New Caledonia does not seem to be ready to be independent.

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent's claim is emphasised by opting for the declarative mood. She opts for the exclamative mood as well.

Here is an example of an exclamative mood selection:

(17) *Le destin commun c'est ne former plus qu'un!*

Common destiny means no longer forming but one!

By selecting the exclamative mood, the respondent presents information that may be surprising to know for the audience, thereby assuming that the reality is different from the common destiny ideal, as seen from the Caldoche perspective.

In sum, the respondent mainly opts for the declarative mood and does not use any modal adjuncts or modal verbs, as shown in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Modalisation used by the Wallisian/Futunian respondent

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	-	-	-

43.7 Excerpt from an interview with a Kanak woman, conducted in the village of Tiwaé, New Caledonia, in September 2015.

<L'indépendance pour> moi ça signifie trouver un job sans des diplômes.

Pour moi c'est ça.

T'as pas besoin des diplômes pour trouver <du travail> par exemple <dans> la cuisine.

C'est vrai que les Kanaks réclament leur pays mais je pense que par rapport aux autres ethniques de (corps brun).

Ou ils travaillent ensemble avec les Kanaks qui sont en Nouvelle-Calédonie mais <ce sont> des Kanaks qui sont sur leur pays .

Puis moi je pense que je suis pas contre l'indépendance.

Je suis pour l'indépendance mais ma pensée a moi c'est de travailler ensemble.

Si on prend l'indépendance il y aura des autres qui sont contre par rapport au peuple kanak.

L'indépendance c'est travailler ensemble avec les autres ethnies.

Je suis pas contre mais ça fait des années et des années que l'on a fait.

C'est vrai que les gens luttent pour l'indépendance.

Le peuple kanak ils luttent contre leur pays.

Je préfère que c'est toutes les ethnies qui luttent pour l'indépendance.

Mais je sais pas si le jour arrive pour l'indépendance je sais pas s'il y a des autres qui sont contre ou je sais pas.

Mais moi je veux que c'est toutes les ethnies qui sont en Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Je veux qu'ils soient tous d'accord pour l'indépendance.

Ça c'est ma façon de voir.

<Je veux> que les Évènements qui sont passés pendant les époques où on était tout petit cessent.

Je veux qu'on prend l'indépendance en pays.

Je votais pour parce que c'est vrai que nous les Kanaks on réclame notre pays.

Il y a des autres qui arrivent pour tenir leur manières de gérer le pays alors que nous on est ici.

Puis il y a des autres qui ne respectent pas les Kanaks

Et ils font ce qu'ils veulent sur le territoire.

Ma pensée c'est de voter pour.

Je veux que ce soit tout le monde qui vote pour

et qu'il n'y aient pas de malentendus entre les Kanaks et les autres ethnies.

Je veux qu'on soit uni, tous ensemble.

C'est difficile.

Déjà on regarde toujours la télé.

On voit toujours ce qui se passe avec les rumeurs et tout ça, les blocages.

Je vois ce qui se passe pour les étudiants.

Ils commencent jeune encore.

Puis je sais pas pour l'indépendance ce sera comment.

Ce sont des tests pour l'avenir.

Pour les langues kanaks je vois comment cela se passe pour ma fille.

Avant l'école elle était à la maison.

Elle était toute petite.

Elle parle la langue mais quand elle rentre à l'école, elle ne parle plus elle comprend seulement.

C'est ça que je vois pour la plupart des jeunes aujourd'hui.

Il faut dire qu'ils parlent la langue mais c'est ça qui est difficile.

Mais la culture aussi <est difficile> parce que en tant que femme kanak on a quelque chose à faire, l'artisanat.

Mais là on dirait qu'on a perdu notre culture.

Nous les femmes kanaks on tresse des nattes.

C'est pour la coutume.

<Pour les femmes> c'est les nattes.

Puis <pour> les hommes c'est le monnaie kanak.

Mais je vois que, aujourd'hui, les gens ont perdu tout cela.

Ils posent toujours la question aux jeunes pour le destin commun.

Je ne sais pas.

Moi je pense que le destin commun c'est travailler ensemble.

Maintenant on entend déjà à la radio ou à la télé qu'il y a des délais à Nouméa.

Ce n'est pas jolie à entendre.

On rentre chez nous.

C'est bon.

Il y a les vieux qui sont à la tribu pour nous aider mais là on est à Nouméa.

Pour moi mon destin commun c'est ça.

Je souhaite à tous les jeunes de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de retourner vers leur vie vers les vieux de la tribu ou commune.

C'est pour savoir faire la culture et les choses qu'on oublie déjà aujourd'hui.

Alors il faut demander aux vieux, surtout pour faire la coutume.

Je vois que les jeunes parlent de la coutume.

Mais les hommes ils se cachent.

On dirait qu'ils ont honte de parler devant tout le monde, devant le public et tout ça.

Je vais penser à ça ou <je vais> suivre des formations au centre culturel Tjibaou là, à Nouméa.

Il y a trop de difficultés pour la coutume.

Tout ça, c'est toujours les vieux.

Maintenant ils sont vieux déjà mais il y a des jeunes qui sont là pour prendre le relais, pas seulement ici, dans d'autres tribus aussi.

4.3.7.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by the Kanak interactant through transitivity and agency.

In her answers to the interview, the Melanesian woman uses the genre of a personal narrative to construe a new reality when she describes New Caledonia's independence, using the concept of a common destiny, and to negotiate power with the audience. The first thing we note is that the largest number of verbal processes, employed by the interviewee, are relational verbal processes: the proportion of relational processes out of the total of clauses is 37%, as shown in

Table 4.19. There is not much power being exercised in relational processes. However, as demonstrated earlier, it is important to explore any positive or negative connotations attached to the attribution or identification process. The interviewee uses 18 attributive processes and 12 identifying processes to describe various phenomena. As Caffarel (2006) further clarifies, the Agent in attributive relational processes functions as an Attributor within the transitive system “to attribute a quality to something” (p. 98), whereas the Agent in identifying relational processes functions as an Assigner to assign a Value to a Token or a Token to a Value (p. 82).

Among the phenomena described by the interviewee, using negative connotations, is *la culture (Canaque)*, which is characterised as *difficile* (difficult). Among those described by the interviewee, using positive connotations, are *l’indépendance* (independence), which is described as *trouver un job sans diplômes* (to find a job without diploma) and as *travailler ensemble avec les autres ethnies* (working together with people of other ethnicities), *ma pensée à moi* (my idea), which is described as *de travailler ensemble* (to work together) and *ma pensée* (my thought), which is described as *de voter pour* (to vote yes), as well as *mon destin commun*, which is characterised as *ça* (that) deictically referring back to working together in the village, as opposed to working together in the capital city, Noumea. The interviewee does not describe any participants. We also note that quite a few deictics are used to refer to Carrier and Attribute in relational clauses.

Table 4.19: Process types in excerpt 7

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	6	12/81 = 15%
		middle	6	

relational	attributive	intensive	16	30/81 = 37%
		circumstantial	2	
	identifying	intensive	12	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural			2	9/81 = 11%
	verbal		7	
mental	perceptive		5	24/81 = 30%
	cognitive		11	
	desiderative		8	
existential			6	6/81 = 7%

Table 4.20: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 7

Agents in effective material clauses: ‘tu’ (you); ‘je’ (I/interviewee); ‘ils’ (they/others); ‘on’ (we/Kanak women); ‘les femmes kanak’ (the Kanak women); ‘je’(I/interviewee)
Actors in middle material clauses: ‘ils’ (they/other coloured ethnicities); ‘ça’ (it); ‘Le peuple kanak’ (The Kanak people); ‘Ils’ (They/students); ‘On’ (We); ‘les hommes’ (the men)
Sayer in verbal processes: ‘Elle’ (She/my daughter); ‘elle’ (she/my daughter); ‘on’ (they); ‘Ils’ (They); ‘On’ (One)
Experiencer in mental process: ‘elle’ (she/my daughter); ‘je’ (I/interviewee); ‘Je’ (I/interviewee); ‘je’ (I/interviewee); ‘Je’ (I/interviewee); ‘Je’ (I/interviewee); ‘Je’ (I/interviewee)

Goals of material processes: ‘des diplômes’ (diplomas); ‘des années et des années’ (many many years); ‘leur pays’ (their country); ‘pour’ (for); ‘quelque chose’ (something); ‘des nattes’ (mats); ‘se’ (themselves); ‘des formations’ (training)

4.3.7.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by the Kanak interactant through her use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

The Kanak interactant opts for the declarative mood throughout all of her responses to the interview, which is typical of the genre of the Kanak narrative. Here is an example:

(18) *C'est vrai que les gens luttent pour l'indépendance.*

It is true that people fight for independence.

In terms of modality, the Kanak interviewee mainly selects median modal auxiliary verbs, such as *veux* (want), *souhaite* (would like) or *veulent* (want), to express the probability of everyone agreeing with New Caledonia's independence, of no return to the violence of the past, of seizing independence, of everyone voting in favour of independence, of everyone being united, of young people returning to the village and to their elders, as shown in Table 4.21.

A few modal verbs from the higher end of the scale are also selected by the interviewee to express obligation: *[il] faut* (need) is used twice throughout the excerpt. Here is an example:

(19) *Alors il faut demander aux vieux, surtout pour faire la coutume.*

So we need to ask the elders, especially to exchange gifts and/or speeches.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Most English accounts translate the phrase *faire la coutume* with ‘make custom’. However, Peeters & Lecompte-Van Poucke (In press) propose to translate it with ‘to exchange gifts and/or speeches’, which appears to be more culturally relevant.

A closer look at the linguistic manifestations of modality in the Kanak woman's discourse has revealed some of the assumptions and beliefs held by the interviewee. It has become clear that the interviewee sees the realisation of a common destiny as a return to Kanak values and traditions. No other modal verbs or adjuncts are selected by the interactant.

Table 4.21: Modalisation used by the Kanak interviewee

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts	-	-	-
Modal verbs	-	veux (want)	faut (need)
		veux (want)	faut (need)
		veux (want)	
		veux (want)	
		veulent (want)	
		veux (want)	
		veux (want)	
		veux (want)	
		souhaite (would like)	

4.3.8 Excerpt from a radio interview with Pierre Frogier, conducted by a journalist of Radio Rythme Bleu, on 12 February 2010 (Nouar, 2010).

Tout le monde le sait, nous sommes à la recherche de signes identitaires, depuis 1998, depuis la signature de l'Accord de Nouméa. Alors, il y en a eu, des colloques, il y en a eu, des réunions, il y en a eu, des tables rondes et pourtant, nous n'arrivons pas à déboucher. Si, on débouche sur un hymne, qui est d'ailleurs un peu controversé, on débouche sur une devise, qui est assez partagée. Et puis,

il y a une chose dont on ne veut pas parler, et bien évidemment, donc, on n'arrive pas à déboucher, c'est sur le drapeau

J'ai toujours été convaincu que la Nouvelle-Calédonie, bien sûr, doit se doter de signes identitaires et, en plus, ça a été négocié, ça a été signé, ça a été accepté par nous, même si le Rassemblement de 1998, au moment de l'Accord de Nouméa ne l'avait pas demandé, mais nous l'avons accepté. Donc, nous sommes dans la recherche, depuis 1998. Ce dont je suis convaincu, et ça, ça a été ma conviction dès le départ, c'est que ce drapeau, chacun, bien sûr, a l'espoir qu'il représente l'identité de toutes les communautés de Nouvelle-Calédonie. Est-ce que ça peut être un dessin d'artiste ? Est-ce que c'est en lançant un concours, dans les écoles, ou dans la population, de savoir quel sera le drapeau identitaire de la Calédonie, avec les plus belles couleurs ?

Vous pensez vraiment que la population s'identifiera, se reconnaîtra dans ce qui sera, à ce moment-là, le résultat d'un jury qui aura choisi entre divers dessins ? Eh bien, j'ai toujours pensé que c'était une voie sans issue. Alors, évidemment, on en parle, ça fait longtemps qu'on en parle, des initiatives qui ont été prises de toutes parts. Et je dois vous dire que le Rassemblement ne s'est jamais vraiment associé à ce type de démarche, parce que depuis l'origine, je suis persuadé que c'est une impasse. Et pourtant, tout le monde en a besoin.

Pourquoi c'est une impasse ? Parce que depuis 20 ans, depuis 1988, nous n'avons pas parlé d'une chose qui fâche, mais qui existe, sur nos épaules, dans nos cœurs, dans nos tripes, dans nos têtes : c'est l'emblème du FLNKS. Disons les choses. Et tant qu'on n'aura pas levé ce tabou, et pour lever un tabou, il faut bien en parler, tant qu'on n'aura pas levé cet obstacle, nous ne pourrons pas progresser, non seulement sur le chemin des signes identitaires, mais aussi sur le chemin de la construction de la Calédonie nouvelle, qui est née le jour de la signature des Accords de Matignon, en 1988.

En 1988, quand on signe les Accords de Matignon, nous avons mis un terme à la violence. Cette violence, elle résultait d'une confrontation entre la légitimité bleu blanc rouge, souveraineté de la France en Nouvelle-Calédonie, que nous

incarnions et que nous incarnons toujours, et puis, une revendication indépendantiste, portée par cet emblème du FLNKS.

Lorsque nous signons, en 88, nous mettons un terme aux affrontements, et nous sommes rentrés dans une nouvelle période : c'est la construction d'une Calédonie nouvelle, portée par ces deux légitimités, le bleu blanc rouge et l'emblème du FLNKS.

À partir du moment où nous renonçons les uns et les autres à la violence, parce que cette violence, elle a été provoquée, et on y a quand même répondu. Donc, nous y avons renoncé, les uns et les autres. Nous rentrons dans un nouveau processus. Ça fait près de 30 ans maintenant, 88, oui, 25 ans que nous travaillons ensemble. Je veux dire : notre famille politique et, en face, les indépendantistes, nous partageons, nous nous respectons dans le travail, dans les décisions.

Je suis bien obligé d'admettre que nous sommes dans une autre relation, et je suis bien obligé d'admettre..., et c'est là où, effectivement, je souhaite que leur réponse soit positive. Qu'est-ce qu'ils incarnent à mes yeux ? Qu'est-ce que les indépendantistes, qu'est-ce que les responsables indépendantistes incarnent à mes yeux ? Eh bien, une quête, une recherche d'identité, une recherche de dignité. Mais ils portent aussi, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, cette part d'identité mélanésienne, d'identité océanienne, que les seuls représentants, que les seuls porteurs de la souveraineté de la République française n'auraient pas été capables de porter eux-mêmes, n'auraient pas été capables de comprendre, d'assimiler et de traduire dans les textes, au jour le jour.

Si aujourd'hui nous avons reconnu, mis en place le sénat coutumier, si nous avons reconnu et donné une autre dimension politique, juridique, aux terres coutumières, si nous avons reconnu et renouvelé le statut civil particulier d'une partie de la population, si nous avons mis en place les provinces pour donner, pour partager une partie du pouvoir dans la province Nord et la province des Îles, si nous avons un gouvernement collégial dont le fonctionnement est complexe, c'est pas parce qu'il y a seulement le bleu blanc rouge, c'est qu'il y a autre chose à côté.

Et donc, ma proposition, une piste de solution, c'est de reconnaître symboliquement cette double appartenance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Il vous a pas échappé, quand même, que les uns et les autres parlent beaucoup de destin commun, parlent beaucoup de communauté de destin, mais à part les brochettes du 24 septembre autour du Mwa Ka, qu'est-ce qui s'est passé de nouveau depuis ? Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé de nouveau ? De très symbolique ? Je vous pose la question : qu'est-ce qui s'est passé de nouveau ?

Bien, ce que j'affirme, c'est qu'à partir du moment où la Nouvelle-Calédonie retrouvera ses deux jambes pour avancer, tout est possible, y compris, un jour, si les populations le ressentent, un drapeau identitaire partagé par tous, un emblème identitaire qui flotte au vent, partagé par tous. Je considère aujourd'hui que ce n'est pas encore possible, et qu'il faut passer par l'étape des deux légitimités : la légitimité de la souveraineté de la République, bleu blanc rouge, dans laquelle nous nous reconnaissons et la grande majorité de nos compatriotes se reconnaît, et puis, la légitimité identitaire mélanésienne et océanienne qui traduit, je me répète encore une fois, tout ce que l'on a fait depuis 20 ans, depuis 1988. On n'avait jamais fait ça avant. On n'avait jamais mis en œuvre toutes ces dispositions particulières à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Eh bien, c'est ça qu'il faut, aujourd'hui, montrer. Nous l'avons signé, en juin 88. Aujourd'hui, il faut l'exprimer publiquement et le montrer symboliquement. À partir de ce moment-là, je suis persuadé qu'on cheminera ensemble, et à partir de ce moment-là, nous commençons à bâtir un destin commun.

Mais, je le répète : tant que cet obstacle..., mais c'est une conviction que j'ai, tant que cet obstacle ne sera pas levé, il manquera toujours quelque chose pour parfaire l'initiative, pour parfaire cet accord, ces signatures qui ont été données dans un moment extrêmement affectif, extrêmement émotionnel, de juin 1988, à Matignon. Aurions-nous dû le faire avant ? Peut-être. Je pensais qu'il était possible peut-être de le faire en 1998, parce qu'on avait déjà travaillé pendant dix ans ensemble. Si ça n'a pas été fait, il y a probablement une bonne raison à

ça. Mais, il est temps, maintenant de se reconnaître, de se reconnaître symboliquement pour continuer à avancer.

Ce que je sais, c'est que la façon dont la Calédonie trouvera sa place..., a trouvé depuis 1988-98, et le processus n'est pas encore terminé, et c'est pour ça que je souhaite que les discussions s'ouvrent assez tôt pour que, dès 2014, nous puissions décider. C'est sûr que, lorsque la Calédonie aura trouvé définitivement sa place dans la République, cette place, tout en faisant en sorte que la Calédonie reste française, c'est-à-dire que la République continue à exercer ses compétences de souveraineté, des compétences régaliennes, elle sera différente de ce qu'étaient les relations institutionnelles de la Calédonie avec la République, il y a 50 ans, c'est bien évident. J'essaye de l'exprimer de façon simple, mais ça me paraît tellement évident. Alors, vous savez, c'est pas en se disant : si jamais on accepte que l'emblème du FLNKS soit aux côtés du drapeau bleu, blanc, rouge..., c'est pas en redoutant qu'on écarte les dangers. Ça me paraît tellement légitime et tellement aller de soi. Pourquoi ? Parce que, déjà, dans la province Nord, déjà dans la province Île, c'est la réalité.

Parce que tout le monde était content de recevoir le président de la République française, Jacques Chirac, en juillet 2003, c'était sur la place des Cocotiers. Et là, ce jour-là, il y avait, effectivement, beaucoup d'enthousiasme, et on avait l'impression que la Calédonie était réconciliée avec elle-même. Parce que c'est ça que je recherche : que la Calédonie soit réconciliée avec elle-même, et que ça apparaisse aux yeux du monde, et en tout cas, aux yeux de nous tous, en Calédonie. Mais ce jour-là..., enfin, pendant ce voyage, et le président de la République, Jacques Chirac, n'a fait qu'un voyage en Nouvelle-Calédonie, pendant le temps de sa présence à l'Élysée, il est venu, certes, bain de foule, place des Cocotiers. Il est allé officiellement saluer le maire de Nouméa. Mais où s'est-il exprimé ? Il ne s'est pas exprimé au Congrès de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Le fait, pour le chef de l'État, de s'exprimer dans une enceinte officielle, ça a un sens. Il n'est pas allé au Congrès. Il n'est pas allé s'exprimer dans l'hémicycle de l'assemblée de la province Sud. Et pourtant, c'est Jacques Lafleur qui était le président de la province Sud. Il n'est pas allé au gouvernement. Je présidais le

gouvernement, à ce moment-là. Il a décidé, pour prononcer son seul discours officiel, il a décidé d'aller s'exprimer dans l'hémicycle de la province Nord. Et qu'est-ce qui est arrivé ce jour-là ? Eh ben, le président de la République française, moi, je suis français et je suis obligé de respecter, quoi que je pense, une décision du chef de l'État. Il est arrivé avec, dans ses bagages, le drapeau du FLNKS tissé dans les ateliers de l'Élysée. Et il s'est exprimé très symboliquement. Son seul discours officiel : dans l'hémicycle de la province Nord, présidée par Paul Néaoutyine.

Et il avait, dans son dos, trois drapeaux : le drapeau de la République française, le drapeau européen et le drapeau du FLNKS. Même taille, même hauteur, tout ce que vous voulez. Eh bien, vous savez, il y a beaucoup d'observateurs, et, en général, qui n'ont pas voulu comprendre ou qui n'ont pas vu..., n'ont pas compris ce que ça voulait dire, ça, ce jour-là.

Eh bien ce jour-là, le président de la République française a validé, a admis qu'il y avait, à côté du drapeau de la République, un emblème qui était celui dont on parle. Et qu'est-ce qui s'est passé, alors que le drapeau bleu blanc rouge avait disparu sur les mairies indépendantistes, enfin, les mairies du Nord, depuis les Évènements ? Eh bien, quelques mois après, on a vu réapparaître le bleu blanc rouge. Alors, qu'est-ce qu'on pense de ça ? Moi, je souhaite que ce débat ouvert, nous parlions de ça, et que les indépendantistes nous disent : mais nous aussi.

Est-ce que, vraiment, dans une démarche indépendantiste dure, les responsables élus dans les mairies, assemblées de provinces, auraient admis, auraient fait ce geste que personne ne leur a demandé, de lever le bleu blanc rouge à côté de leur emblème ? Est-ce qu'ils ont vraiment l'intention de..., la question est la suivante, c'est : est-ce qu'ils ont vraiment l'intention de le baisser dans quelques années ? Je ne le crois pas. Et c'est pour ça que j'ai proposé une solution institutionnelle innovante qui permette à la Nouvelle-Calédonie de choisir elle-même les conditions de son existence institutionnelle dans la République française.

Et pour faire ça, il faut que je partage cette..., il faut faire en sorte de partager cette solution institutionnelle avec les indépendantistes, qui ne veulent plus d'une rupture ou d'une sécession avec la République, mais qui sont en quête de dignité

et qui ont envie que leur identité, non seulement soit reconnue, mais soit gravée, soit gravée dans les instruments de reconnaissance de la République française.

4.3.8.1 Construal of New Caledonian identity and power by Frogier through transitivity and agency.

In his answers to the radio interview, Pierre Frogier, former President of the local government and French senator for New Caledonia since 2011, employs the genre of a personal narrative to construe a particular reality of New Caledonia's independence and the idea of a common destiny, and to negotiate power with the audience. The largest number of verbal processes used by Frogier are relational processes: the proportion of relational verbal processes out of the total of clauses is 34%, as shown in Table 4.22. Halliday (1985) affirms that the relational process in scientific writing is the most informative type of process. Since relational processes are employed to identify and describe entities, their use may be seen as characteristic of casual talk and informal conversation here for the interactant uses them for the purposes of argumentation and explanation. The excerpt is a radio interview, which is a casual genre. Through employing attributive and identifying relational processes, Frogier ascribes various qualities and characteristics to the phenomena and participants in his discourse. Some of the phenomena described by the politician, using positive connotations, are the following: *ça*, deictically referring to *signes identitaires* (signs of identity), which are described as being negotiated, signed and accepted, *ça*, deictically referring to *ce drapeau* (this flag), which is identified as *un dessin d'artiste* (an artist's design), *ce* (this), referring to a new period, which is characterised as *la construction d'une Calédonie nouvelle* (the construction of a new New Caledonia), *ma proposition, une piste de solution* (my proposition, a possible solution), which is identified as the symbolic recognition of two groups in New Caledonian society: the French and the Caledonians. Phenomena referred to by Frogier, using negative connotations are *cette violence*

(this violence), which is characterised by the interviewee as being provoked and *le processus* (the process), which is described as *pas encore terminé* (not yet finished). Participants described by Frogier, using positive connotations, are *je* (I/Frogier), described as *convaincu* (convinced), *persuadé* (convinced) and *français* (French), and *tout le monde* (everyone), characterised as *content* (happy).

Also important to note are the relational identifying processes employed by Frogier, which are highly characteristic of political discourse and which may serve as a purposeful rhetorical tool within the context of the New Caledonian debate by symbolically bringing together different categories within a particular stream of sentences, thus bestowing value upon the first category:

(20) *La question est la suivante, c'est : est-ce qu'ils ont vraiment l'intention de le baisser dans quelques années ? Je ne le crois pas.*

The question is the following, it is: do they really have the intention to lower it [the French flag] in a few years from now? I don't think so.

Table 4.22: Process types in excerpt 8

Process types				Total percentage
material		effective	15	41/129 = 31%
		middle	26	
relational	attributive	intensive	20	44/129 = 34%
		circumstantial	13	
	identifying	intensive	11	
		circumstantial	0	
behavioural	verbal		15	15/129 = 12%
mental	perceptive		3	19/129 = 15%
	cognitive		13	

	desiderative		3	
existential			10	10/129 = 8%

Table 4.23: Agent and Actor functions in excerpt 8

<p>Agents in effective material clauses: ‘les responsables’ (the people in charge); ‘on’ (we); ‘on’ (we); ‘nous’ (we); ‘nous’ (we); ‘nous’ (we); ‘ils’ (they/the independence leaders); ‘On’ (we); ‘On’ (we); ‘Nous’ (We); ‘nous’ (we); ‘Il’ (He/Jacques Chirac); ‘Le fait’ (The fact); ‘il’ (he/Jacques Chirac); ‘les responsables’ (the people in charge)</p>
<p>Actors in middle material clauses: ‘nous’ (we); ‘on’ (they); ‘nous’ (we); ‘Cette violence’ (This violence); ‘Nous’ (We); ‘ils’ (they/the separatists); ‘les indépendantistes’ (the freedom fighters); ‘les responsables indépendantistes’ (the separatists in charge); ‘ils’ (they/the separatists); ‘qu’est-ce qui’ (what); ‘Qu’est-ce qui’ (What); ‘Qu’est-ce qui’ (What); ‘nous’ (we); ‘on’ (we); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier); ‘ça’ (that); ‘il’ (he/Jacques Chirac); ‘Il’ (He/Chirac); ‘Il’ (He/Chirac); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier); ‘qu’est-ce qui’ (what); ‘le président de la République française’ (the President of the French Republic); ‘Il’ (He/the President); ‘qu’est-ce qui’ (what)</p>
<p>Sayer in verbal processes: ‘on’ (they); ‘je’ (I/Frogier); ‘nous’ (we); ‘on’ (they); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier); ‘il’ (he/Chirac); ‘Il’ (He/Chirac); ‘Il’ (He/Chirac); ‘il’ (he/Chirac); ‘le président de la République française’ (the President of the French Republic)</p>
<p>Experiencer in mental process: ‘Tout le monde’ (Everyone); ‘tout le monde’ (everyone); ‘Il’ (It); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier); ‘nous’ (we); ‘les uns et les autres’ (both of us); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier);</p>

‘vous’ (you); ‘me’ (to me/Frogier); ‘on’ (we); ‘Il’ (He/Chirac); ‘il’ (he/Chirac); ‘vous’ (you); ‘on’ (we); ‘on’ (we); ‘je’ (I/Frogier); ‘ils’ (they/the people in charge); ‘Je’ (I/Frogier)

Goals of material processes: ‘un hymne’ (a hymn); ‘une devise’ (a currency); ‘le’ (it); ‘la violence’ (the violence); ‘un terme aux affrontements’ (an end to the confrontation); ‘un nouveau processus’ (a new process); ‘Qu’est-ce que’ (What); ‘Qu’est-ce que’ (What); ‘qu’est-ce que’ (what); ‘une quête, une recherche d’identité, une recherche de dignité’ (a quest, a quest for identity, a quest for dignity); ‘cette part d’identité mélanésienne, d’identité océanienne’ (this part of Melanesian identity, of oceanian identity); ‘se’ (-); ‘se’ (-); ‘se’ (-); ‘ça’ (that); ‘toutes ces dispositions’ (all of these measures); ‘le’ (it/Noumea Accord); ‘le’ (it); ‘le’ (it); ‘me’ (to me); ‘le maire de Nouméa’ (the mayor of Noumea); ‘un sens’ (a meaning); ‘Congrès’ (Congress); ‘gouvernement’ (government); ‘le gouvernement’ (the government); ‘trois drapeaux : le drapeau de la République française, le drapeau européen et le drapeau du FLNKS’ (three flags: the flag of the French Republic, the European flag and the FLNKS flag); ‘se’ (-); ‘ce geste’ (this gesture)

4.3.8.2 Negotiation of power and ideology by Frogier through his use of the interpersonal metafunction of the French language.

Frogier mainly opts for the declarative mood in the radio interview. This sentence type underlines the fact that he is a powerful leader whose opinions ought to be taken seriously. Apart from this highly common mood selection, he also opts for the interrogative mood several times, as shown in the following example:

(21) *Pourquoi c'est une impasse ?*

Why is it a deadlock situation ?

Frogier provides the answer to the rhetorical question himself in the following sentence:

(22) Parce que depuis 20 ans, depuis 1988, nous n'avons pas parlé d'une chose qui fâche, mais qui existe, sur nos épaules, dans nos cœurs, dans nos tripes, dans nos têtes : c'est l'emblème du FLNKS.

Because for 20 years, since 1988, we have not talked about something that makes us angry, but that is there, on our shoulders, in our hearts, in our guts, in our heads: the FLNKS flag.

The question constitutes a subtle rhetorical device, referred to as an inner dialogue, that reveals the speaker's feelings and thoughts on the matter. He also employs the rhetorical question to convince the audience of the fact that a common destiny through adopting a symbolic representation of the nation, such as a common flag, is, in fact, an unfeasible challenge. Frogier uses this particular discursive strategy quite a few times throughout the interview. Another example:

(23) Et qu'est-ce qui est arrivé ce jour-là ?

And what happened on that day?

It is assumed the audience already knows what happened on the day the French President came to visit New Caledonia. However, Frogier wants the audience to reflect upon the event, once again by providing an answer to the question himself in the sentences that follow, in order to draw their attention to the fact that the President brought three different flags with him: a French flag, a European flag, and a Kanak one, and that he only gave a speech in the Northern Province and not in the capital of Noumea.

The imperative mood is also selected by Frogier, as shown in the following example:

(24) *Disons les choses.*

Let's say it how it is.

According to Halliday (2004), *let's* is “best interpreted as a wayward form of the Subject you and I” (p. 139). In French, a command realised as an imperative consists of the Negotiator on its own, as pointed out by Caffarel (2006). The inclusive command used by Frogier implicates both himself as the speaker and the addressees. Both are urged to openly discuss the issues mentioned by Frogier.

When it comes to modality and its linguistic manifestations, Frogier mainly selects modal adjuncts and verbs drawn from the higher end of the scale, conveying a high degree of certainty, as shown in Table 4.24. He opts for various high end modal adjuncts, such as *bien sûr* (of course), *sûr* (certain), *bien évident* (quite obvious), *tellement évident* (so obvious), *tellement aller de soi* (so obvious) and *certes* (certainly). For example, a statement like *C'est sûr que, lorsque la Calédonie aura trouvé définitivement sa place dans la République, cette place, elle sera différente de ce qu'étaient les relations institutionnelles de la Calédonie avec la République, il y a 50 ans, c'est bien évident* constitutes an assertion that conveys a high degree of certainty regarding the possibility of New Caledonia's ongoing association with France. Frogier further seeks to impose various obligations on the audience by his use of modal verbs such as *doit* (must), *faut* (need), *aurions dû* (should have), and so on.

Here are a few examples:

(25) *J'ai toujours été convaincu que la Nouvelle-Calédonie, bien sûr, doit se doter de signes identitaires...*

I have always been convinced that New Caledonia, of course, must adopt signs of identity.

(26) *il faut faire en sorte de partager cette solution institutionnelle avec les indépendantistes, qui ne veulent plus d'une rupture ou d'une sécession avec la République...*

This institutional solution needs to be shared with the independence leaders, who no longer want a severance or secession from the Republic...

Frogier also uses the French expression *je suis bien obligé d'admettre...* (*I really have to admit...*) several times to express high deference and politeness with a rather false connotation, feigned honesty even, as it constitutes an illocutionary speech act, more specifically an expressive that is employed by Frogier to state his feelings and that can be evaluated to be true or false (Searle, 1995b):

(27) Je suis bien obligé d'admettre que nous sommes dans une autre relation...

I really have to admit that we are in a different relationship...

Table 4.24: Modalisation used by Frogier

	Low	Median	High
Adjuncts		peut-être (maybe)	bien sûr (of course)
		peut-être (maybe)	sûr (certain)
		probablement (probably)	bien évident (quite obvious)
			tellement évident (so obvious)
			tellement aller de soi (so obvious)
			certes (certainly)
Modal verbs	peut (can)	veut (want)	doit (must)
	pourrons (will be able to)	veux (want)	dois (must)

	puissions (are able to)	souhaite (would like)	faut (need)
	auraient été capables (would have been able to)	souhaite (would like)	suis obligé (really have to)
	auraient été capables (would have been able to)	voulez (want)	suis obligé (really have to)
		ont voulu (wanted)	faut (need)
		voulait (wanted)	faut (needs)
		souhaite (would like)	faut (needs)
		ont l'intention (want)	faut (needs)
		ont l'intention (want)	aurions dû (should have)
		veulent (want)	suis obligé (must)
		ont envie (want)	faut (need)
			faut (need)

First of all, the systemic functional analysis has shown how the selected representatives of the groups included in the independence debate attempt to influence or alter the recipients' point of view through construing an individual reality of a common destiny for New Caledonia. Secondly, the investigation has demonstrated how the protagonists endeavour to persuade the audience to accept their view as a reasonable solution to the independence issue by negotiating power and ideology with the other groups.

Tjibaou constructs New Caledonia's national identity as an entity that is under threat of remaining in a state of colonisation due to ongoing French intervention in the nation's internal affairs based on self-interest, the wilful blindness or ignorance of France with regard to the dire situation the Kanak find themselves in, racial discrimination, acts of injustice, loss of rights and liberties, and ill-treatment. He also uses various material processes to position himself in terms of power, thereby referring to Mitterrand as the most powerful Agent in the situation, as the person who can have a great impact on the destiny of the French nation, the Kanak wounds caused by French colonialism and New Caledonia's future. Tjibaou employs various rhetorical and semi-rhetorical questions to challenge Mitterrand's thoughts on New Caledonia's future and to encourage him to undertake action with regard to what he sees as a an urgent issue.

In a public reply to Tjibaou's letter, Mitterrand mainly portrays the Caldoche inhabitants of New Caledonia as the social Agents in material verbal processes, thus constructing a reality, in which any decisions about the future of the island agglomeration are in the hands of the local settler population and their leaders. The entities the Caldoches actively act upon and control are land, power, and culture. Former French President Hollande's main aim is to convince the other groups of the need for New Caledonia to remain within France. He mostly employs material processes to represent himself and the French government and its institutions as the most powerful Agents who have an important impact on France, the remoteness of the New Caledonian markets, the local economy's past, the required course of action, and the relations between the French State and the local authorities. He further employs a rhetorical question in an attempt to manipulate the audience into believing that New Caledonia's poor economic situation urgently requires French intervention, thereby adopting a neo-colonialist stance towards the nation.

The Caldoche respondent associates a common destiny for New Caledonia, with mainly positive connotations, whereas independence is characterised negatively through his use of

relational verbal processes. The Futunian-Wallisian representative in the present study is another respondent to the questionnaire that was made available online in the context of the current research project. The questionnaire respondent uses a large number of relational processes to describe various phenomena and participants. Phenomena that are negatively characterised by the respondent include independence from France and being separated from the mother country. One of the entities that are described with positive connotations by the interactant is the idea of a common destiny. The respondent understands the metaphor as an image of a collaborative effort that is supposed to forge New Caledonia's identity. Participants such as the majority of the nation's inhabitants are negatively characterised due to their lack of education.

The Kanak interviewee mainly employs relational verbal processes while making transitivity choices. Doing so, she negatively characterises various phenomena, such as maintaining and transmitting important cultural values that are closely associated with female activities within the Kanak lifeworld. On the other hand, she attributes various positive connotations to independence, working together across ethnicities and a common destiny that is based on Kanak socialist ideology and that promotes the highly prevalent Kanak value of social harmony.

Frogier shares the idea of a common destiny for New Caledonia. Through his dominant use of relative verbal processes, he attributes positive connotations to various signs of identification, such as flags, for example, as well as the construction of a 'new' New Caledonia and the symbolic recognition of two different groups: the French and the Caledonians. He associates any violence and the negotiation process with negative characteristics, whereas his own solution to the issue is seen as positive, as are the French, and himself as a politician. Halliday (2002) explains that the different types of mood selection correspond with "differences in the communication role adopted by the speaker in his interaction with a listener" (p. 189). Frogier profiles himself as a strong leader here through his use of the declarative mood, thus creating a powerful

asymmetry between himself and the audience. The politician also frequently employs rhetorical and semi-rhetorical questions, in an attempt to influence the viewpoint of the audience on what a common destiny would entail for the nation's inhabitants.

The modality analysis has shown that Mitterrand and Hollande express the low likelihood of the restoration of the Kanak people's rights, sufficient financial means for the French overseas territories, any financial profit for France, attracting funds from the European Union and access to employment for the local population. They express the probability of protecting the Kanak culture and funding the local economy. Finally, they express the obligation on the French government to remain fair, to make their expectations clear, and to undertake further action and on New Caledonia's population to collaborate with the government and to work. The French interactants also express the desire to appease the relations between France and its dependencies, to verbalise their thoughts and to fund New Caledonia's local economy.

The Caldoche interlocutors express the low likelihood of rendering assistance to one another in difficult times and the high likelihood of adopting signs of identity that represent all of New Caledonia's communities, discussing the identity issue, proposing a new solution to the independence leaders and New Caledonia remaining within France. They further express the obligation to symbolically and publicly recognise the fact that there are two legitimate communities. Finally, they express the desire for the independence leaders to respond in a positive way, to discuss the issue and to achieve reconciliation.

The Kanak interlocutors express the necessity of pointing out that the Kanak are experiencing verbal and other forms of racial discrimination, consulting the elders, and preserving Kanak languages. They further express the obligation on the part of the French government, in particular Mitterrand, to devise solutions for justice concerning the issues. They also express the low likelihood of tolerating injustice, Mitterrand being re-elected and challenging French

public opinion and expressing the ancestral voice. Finally, they express the desirability of a return to freedom, a return to a normalised situation, remembering ancestral words, Mitterrand becoming President again, unity, everyone agreeing with full independence, voting for independence, no more violence, seizing independence, and young people returning to their village and the elders.

4.4 Conclusion

The systemic functional analysis in this chapter has focused on the exchange of ideational and interpersonal meanings between various interactants in the New Caledonian independence debate and their targeted audience. First, a brief overview of the political and sociohistorical background of the debate has been provided. Then, the construction of New Caledonian identity and power by the interlocutors through transitivity choices and agency has been discussed, as well as their discursive strategies to influence the viewpoint of the others involved in the same negotiation process. Finally, the negotiation of power and ideology through the participants' mood and modality selections has been looked into in order to investigate their expressions of possibility, probability, and certainty with regard to various events and phenomena. It has become clear that, even though the interlocutors all focus on the same topic of New Caledonian independence, they express different viewpoints on how this reality needs to be constructed. Beyond these apparent dissimilar perceptions of the future, however, the discourse samples in the study also reveal various ideological and other incongruences, which will be further discussed in chapter five.

Chapter Five: Argumentative Reconstruction and Evaluation of the Discourse Samples

5.1 Introduction and Overview

The main objectives of this chapter are to reconstruct and evaluate the arguments of the interlocutors based on a description of various argumentative indicators contained in the discourse samples, thereby following the recommended guidelines developed by pragma-dialectical theory (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007).⁹⁷ The New Caledonian independence debate comprises a dialectical movement between the main stakeholders, which is collective in its form, and strategic manoeuvring, and which is individual and rhetorical in its nature. The usefulness of an approach such as PD as an add-on tool is illustrated in an application of the critical discussion model to the arguments advanced by some of the interactants in the negotiation process, as part of a plurilogical exchange of standpoints. The analysis model used in the study may be justified by relying on the notions of speaker and audience, in which the audience is perceived to be both multiple and mixed and alternated with the postcolonial designation of the audience as the Others.

The plurilogue under investigation includes eight group representatives, selected for the study based upon their apparent self-identifying or emblematic choices, who each put forward an individual argument pertaining to the independence issue, and the recipients of their persuasive discourse. It is important to mention that each of the advanced arguments needs to be looked at beyond its perceived polarity as a for/against controversy. The use of discursive strategies by

⁹⁷ Some of the insights explicated in this chapter have been published by the author under the form of a research article in the journal *Argumentation* (Lecompte-Van Poucke, 2017).

the interlocutors already implies that a qualitatively mixed multiple dispute is taking place that focuses on the same issue but questions several different positions and propositions. The main positions that can be taken by the interlocutors to the proposition “independence is the preferred outcome of the debate” may be roughly summarised as:

1. I agree that independence is the preferred outcome of the debate.
2. I do not agree that independence is the preferred outcome of the debate.
3. I am not sure whether independence is the preferred outcome of the debate.

In sum, the standpoints can be positive, negative or zero (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992) and may be represented as follows:

1. $+/p$ *positive* standpoint regarding proposition p
2. $-/p$ *negative* standpoint regarding proposition p
3. \emptyset/p *zero* standpoint regarding proposition p

After having reconstructed each individual argument, aided by the dialectical profile of a plurilogue, in which a representative protagonist exchanges various speech acts with an audience of antagonists, it will then need to be critically evaluated in terms of its reasonableness and inferential meanings, for all of the interactants in the debate aim to persuade the others of the truth of their particular point of view. Subsequently, each discourse sample may be seen as a complex speech act, which is described by van Eemeren (2015) as “aimed at convincing another person of the acceptability of a standpoint” (p. 279). It is important to note that, even though the other groups may eventually accept the viewpoint of the speaker or writer, this does not necessarily mean that they fully agree with it.

Each of the arguments is evaluated in terms of reasonableness by examining its structure for any fallacies or enthymemes. Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004) have created a set of norms

for optimal communication and negotiation, referred to as the rules for critical discussion. Any parties involved in a conflict situation are invited to follow the rules in order to come to a consensus on a highly contentious issue while exchanging speech acts with the audience. It can be useful to investigate whether the interactants in the debate on the New Caledonian independence issue do effectively follow the ethical rules as set out by PD to come to a final agreement on how the exchange of speech acts between the protagonist of each group and the Others occurs. As van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2015) explain:

Although as an ideal model it by definition is not a true-to-life representation of reality, and reproduces only aspects that are of specific importance to the particular objective concerned (in this case the resolution of a dispute), such a model provides a set of tools to grasp reality and to determine the extent to which practice corresponds with the requirements for this objective (p. 557).

The main prerequisite of reaching a consensus, however, is that the parties are willing to come to an agreement at the onset of the debate. Following the pragma-dialectic model and while taking into account that all discourse is, in fact, argumentative (Amossy, 2006; 2009), a critical discussion may, in the first place, provide a suitable structure to a description of the linguistic indicators that can provide further insight into the participants' discursive moves.

Whenever any of the interactants' arguments do not meet the requirements for the arguments in terms of reasonableness, fallacies may occur on all sides of the debate. The fallacies that emerge in the structure of the arguments may be analysed by focusing on strategic moves that constitute violations of the rules for critical discussion. Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1987) more aptly define fallacies as "speech acts which hinder in any way the resolution of a dispute in a critical discussion" (p. 284). It is important to note that, within PD, fallacies are not treated as blatant errors but rather as individual moves that hinder the smooth running of the negotiation process. Furthermore, breaking one of the communication rules does not mean the interlocutor is violating the Principle of Communication, which is the equivalent in PD of the Gricean

Principle of Cooperation. A violation against one of the rules goes against the norms of reasonableness, based on its performance as strategic manoeuvring, which is inherently fallacious as a dialogical move (van Eemeren, 2013).

Any individual argument may also include implicit elements or inferential meanings, referred to as enthymemes (van Eemeren, 2001). Enthymemes are unexpressed premises or forms of argumentation that may be “directed at a particular audience, in a particular situation, and with a particular goal” (van Eemeren, Garssen, Krabbe, Snoeck Henkemans, Verheij & Wagemans, 2014, p. 18). The interactant employs the enthymeme to convey a piece of information with the audience they are supposedly already familiar with. The interplay of text, context and perlocutionary effects is complex and multi-layered but of critical importance to the study, as it paints a picture of what is going on in the political situation. The interlocutor will aim to use premises the audience can agree with (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992). Following the CDA approach, the main goal of the author is to elucidate any implicit assumptions or ideologies in the discourse uttered by the participants in the debate. The resulting representation of the argument may contain an unexpressed premise, based on common knowledge, with which the audience can agree or disagree (Walton, 2001).

A comparison of the argument structures by providing a detailed outline of every discourse sample provides further insight into its rhetorical components and various dissimilarities between these elements in terms of genre. All of the participants in the debate on the independence issue employ various discursive strategies to try to convince the others of the truth of their particular standpoint. Both Mitterrand and Hollande, as representatives of the French government, aim to persuade their audience, all French citizens, including all of New Caledonia’s inhabitants, to accept their point of view as truth: that New Caledonia needs to remain within France. Mitterrand believes this would be the best solution, as it would avoid another civil war, and Hollande already sees all inhabitants of the French Overseas Territories

as French citizens. Tjibaou's aim, however, is to convince Mitterrand and, as such, the French government that the Kanak people deserve to become fully independent from France. The Kanak interviewee's desire is for everyone in New Caledonia to work together to achieve full Kanak socialist independence, while Déwé Gorodé aims to convince others of the importance of the ancestral legends as a form of truth in itself. The Wallisian/Futunian respondent endeavours to convince others from the viewpoint that New Caledonia does not seem to be ready to become independent from France. As far as the Caldoche participants are concerned, the Caldoche questionnaire respondent attempts to make others realise that full Kanak independence would be unfair and racist towards other ethnicities in New Caledonia, whereas Pierre Frogier attempts to get his viewpoint across that all parties involved need to put an end to any form of direct confrontation and start constructing the New Caledonia of tomorrow. The subsequent analysis based on the interpretation of various argumentative indicators will explain the strategic moves in further detail.

5.2 Reconstruction and Evaluation of the Arguments

5.2.1 Tjibaou's pragmatic argument. An interpretation of the argumentative discourse indicators in Tjibaou's letter, as part of the interdiscursive plurilogue that constitutes the independence debate in the public domain, reveals the following findings.

Confrontation stage:

Tjibaou asserts that the Kanak should gain full independence from France and, subsequently, regain their dignity and freedom. He thereby adopts a more general, positive standpoint towards the proposition 'independence is the preferred outcome of the debate', signalled by the argumentative indicator *mais* (but) in the preceding sentence (see excerpt).

He further advances an additional, collective standpoint, addressing both Mitterrand and the audience, which is hinted upon by the linguistic indicator *nous pensons que* (we believe that):

(1) ... *nous pensons que vous devriez*, si vous êtes élu, imaginer des solutions de justice.

... *we believe that, if you are re-elected, you should devise solutions for justice.*

The assertion mentioned above expresses a strong conviction on the part of the protagonist with regard to the subsequent proposition, for it challenges Mitterrand to take up a standpoint himself. It is followed by another strong assertive, indicated by the verb *devriez* (must) (see example 1). It must be added that the assertion also contains semantically ambiguous language, since what Tjibaou means with *des solutions de justice* (solutions for justice) may not be clear to the audience.

Opening stage:

Tjibaou explicitly announces that he is willing to put forward any arguments that support his standpoint, indicated by the expression *C'est pour cela que* (That is why) thereby accepting the burden of proof:

(2) *C'est pour cela que* je souhaite que vous soyez à nouveau Président.

That is why I hope you would become President again.

The independence leader proposes to adopt the following proposition as a starting point of the discussion, using a rhetorical question:

(3) Peut-elle tolérer chez elle des pratiques qu'elle dénonce ailleurs, en Afrique du Sud ou dans les territoires occupés ? Les ingrédients mis en place par le gouvernement de Monsieur Chirac déterminent les mêmes effets.

Is it possible for (French public opinion) to be more sensitive to the practices it condemns elsewhere, in South Africa or in the occupied territories than in France? The elements put in place by Mister Chirac's government lead to the same effects.

The statement that follows Tjibaou's rhetorical question constitutes an argument that pleads in favour of the following implied assertion: that French public opinion is not sensitive to the practices that are being mentioned by Tjibaou. The rhetorical question can be reconstructed as an assertion adding *puisque* (since): elle ne peut pas tolérer X (French public opinion cannot tolerate X) *puisque* les ingrédients mis en place par le gouvernement de Monsieur Chirac déterminent les mêmes effets (*since* the ingredients put in place by Mister Chirac's government lead to the same effects). The rhetorical question is employed by Tjibaou as a commonly accepted starting point.

Argumentation stage:

Tjibaou's argumentation is causal⁹⁸ but it is also pragmatic, since the standpoint advanced by the Kanak leader urges Mitterrand to get re-elected as President of the French Republic and to devise solutions for justice. This particular course of action is supported by various argumentative statements that mention the positive consequences of the proposed plan, such as the return of liberties (for the Kanak), the return to a normalised situation, both in France and New Caledonia and a new era of freedom (for the Kanak people).

Tjibaou's argumentation may be presented as follows:

'X is desirable,
for X leads to Y
and Y is desirable.'

⁹⁸ See van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans (2007).

The causal relationship in Tjibaou's argument becomes apparent from various implicit indicators. Examples of such indicators in the discourse sample are verbal expressions that indicate a process resulting in negative effects or results:

(4) Cette situation est *de plus en plus* tragique pour notre peuple.

The situation is becoming more and more tragic for our people.

(5) Cela va *grandissant*.

Things are only getting worse.

But also examples of verbal expressions that indicate a process resulting in positive results:

(6) ...le *retour* des libertés, le *retour* à une situation normalisée,

... the return of liberties, the return to a normalised situation.

Tjibaou's causal argumentation is further indicated by various verbs in the future/subjunctive aspect that refer to the (possible) future:

(7) Je souhaite que vous *soyez* à nouveau le représentant de tous les hommes qui se réfèrent aux droits de l'homme et à une image progressiste et moderne de la France.

I hope that you would – once again – become the representative of all the people who refer to human rights and a progressive and modern image of France.

(8) Monsieur le Président, j'espère que le message que je vous transmets ne *restera* pas vain.

Mister President, I hope that the message I am trying to get across to you will not be in vain.

(9) J'aimerais que vous *puissiez* mettre l'opinion publique française devant ses responsabilités, que vous l'*interpelliez* au cours de cette campagne électorale pour qu'elle se *rende* compte qu'en son sein se pratiquent des dénis de justice.

I would like for you to point French public opinion toward its responsibilities, to call out to it during this election campaign, so it would realise that it is committing a denial of justice.

Other expressions that are indicative of pragmatic argumentation are the following:

(10) *De plus en plus, ils vont devenir des ennemis.*

They will increasingly become enemies.

(11) Les ingrédients mis en place par le gouvernement de Monsieur Chirac *déterminent* les mêmes effets.

The ingredients put in place by Mister Chirac's government lead to the same effects.

Other examples are verbs that indicate desire:

(12) Monsieur le Président, je *souhaite* le retour des libertés...

Mister President, I wish for a return of (Kanak) liberties...

(13) C'est pour cela que je *souhaite* que vous soyez à nouveau Président...

That is the reason why I would like you to become President again...

(14) Monsieur le Président, j'*espère* que le message que je vous transmets ne restera pas vain.

Mister President, I hope that the message you are communicating will not be in vain.

A critical evaluation of Tjibaou's argumentation could include the questions of whether the re-election of Mitterrand as President of France will lead to the desired result of the return of (Kanak) liberties, the return to a normalised situation, both in France and New Caledonia, and a new era of freedom (for the Kanak people); whether everyone involved in the debate would find the fact that the Kanak regain their freedom desirable; whether any other actions are necessary to obtain the desired outcome of the debate or whether Mitterrand's re-election could have any negative consequences

Concluding stage:

Tjibaou ends his letter with an assertive that starts with a propositional attitude indicator:

(15) *J'espère, Monsieur le Président, que vous pourrez revenir en force à la tête de l'État pour offrir à notre peuple, et à la France bien sûr, une nouvelle ère de liberté.*

I hope, Mister President, that you will be back in force as head of State to offer our people, and France, of course, a new era of freedom.

The weak assertive used by the Kanak leader expresses doubt on the part of the speaker as to whether Mitterrand will accept his proposal or not. It challenges the former French President to respond to the thoughts expressed in Tjibaou's standpoint.

5.2.2 Mitterrand's argument of comparison based on the principle of justice.

Confrontation stage:

Mitterrand immediately advances the following standpoint when starting his interaction with Tjibaou and the audience, using a rather vague proverbial expression:

(16) Les Français comprendront que *celui qui a beaucoup aide celui qui n'a plus rien.*

The French understand that those who have a lot help those who no longer have anything.

The assertive is followed by a contrary *mais* (but) that indicates that the dispute is multiple in a qualitative sense and, as such, also mixed with regard to the issue at hand. Tjibaou initiated various standpoints in his open letter: that the Kanak should gain full independence from France, that Mitterrand should be re-elected, and that he ought to devise solutions for justice. Mitterrand now connects these previously expressed standpoints to his own viewpoint. It is clear that the audience he primarily targets with the advanced standpoint includes all French citizens. By advancing his standpoint, however, Mitterrand already makes a fallacious move known as *argumentum ad populum*, since he presents his view as a form of common knowledge,

whereas Tjibaou, as well as various other individuals in the audience, might disagree with his way of seeing things. He also plays on the emotions of the audience, using pathos.

Opening stage:

Mitterrand establishes a starting point for his interaction with the audience by letting them know that he has a lot of respect for Tjibaou and that he considers him a man for whom words go beyond just words:

(17) C'est un homme que je respecte, avec lequel les mots vont plus loin que les mots.

He is a man I respect, for whom words go beyond just words.

He then uses this starting point as an argument to introduce a new standpoint, also introduced by *mais* (but), and indicated by a negated weak assertive attitude indicating expression, *je ne crois pas que* (I do not believe that), to express his thoughts that the Caldoches have an equal right to the land through their hard labour in the past, and that the two communities do not stand any chance to impose their law on a long-term basis other than through violence:

(18) *Mais je ne crois pas que l'antériorité historique des Canaques sur cette terre suffise à fonder le droit.*

But I do not believe that the Kanak's historical precedence on this land is sufficient to lay down the law.

The negation does not apply to the belief of the speaker but to the proposition, anticipating doubt on behalf of the audience. Mitterrand goes on to defend his standpoint by providing various reasons for his proposed course of action: free association with France.

The following rhetorical question asked by Mitterrand, indicated by *pourquoi pas ?* (why not?), refers back to his earlier standpoint that states that the Kanak are not the only ones who have rights to the land.

(19) L'indépendance, *pourquoi pas ?*

Independence, why not?

Mitterrand thereby indirectly assumes that the audience accepts the proposition stated in the rhetorical question: that independence is not an option, thereby taking a negative attitude towards the more general proposition in the conflict situation: 'independence is the preferred outcome of the debate'. The rhetorical question is followed by a further, more detailed clarification of the claim made earlier.

Argumentation stage:

Mitterrand's argument is based on a comparison between the Caldoches and the Kanak.⁹⁹ He reasons that both groups should be treated in the same way; if 'X' (the Kanak) have a right to the land, then also 'Z' (the Caldoches), which could be represented as:

'X ..., then also Z'.

The former French President's reasoning constitutes an argument of comparison based on the principle of justice, indicated by various linguistic expressions of comparison. For example:

(20) Mais je ne crois pas que l'antériorité historique des *Canaques* sur *cette terre* suffise à fonder le droit. *Histoire contre histoire : les Calédoniens d'origine européenne* ont aussi, par leur labeur, modelé *ce sol*...

But I do not believe that the Kanak's historical precedence is sufficient to lay down the law. History against history: the (New) Caledonians of European origin also – through their hard labour – shaped this land...

(21) La population eût été *homogène* que la Nouvelle-Calédonie en serait là, *comme* ses voisins.

⁹⁹ See van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans (2007).

If this were the case, New Caledonia's population would have been homogeneous, like its neighbours.

(22) *Ils (Tjibaou et son partie) veulent simplement, si je puis dire, en décider eux-mêmes, car ils sont, à eux seuls le suffrage universel. Les Calédoniens d'origine européenne, eux, ne bâtissent pas de théorie.*

They simply want, if I may say so, to reach their own decisions, for they alone are universal suffrage. The New Caledonians of European origin do not develop any theories.

(23) *Les Canaques avaient des terres, on (les Caldoches) les leur a prises.*

The Kanak had land, it was taken away from them.

(24) *Les trois régions à majorité canaque ont reçu un demi-milliard de francs Pacifique; la région Sud, six milliards et demi.*

The three regions with a Kanak majority received half a billion French Pacific Francs; the (mainly Caldoche) South, six and a half billion.

It has become evident that Mitterrand continuously draws a comparison between 'X' (the Kanak) and 'Z' (the Caldoches), as well as other elements of comparison, as shown in the examples above, while interacting with what he perceives to be an audience mainly consisting of French citizens. Critical questions that may be asked when confronted with Mitterrand's argument could be the following: do the Caldoches show any similarity with the Kanak, apart from the fact that they live on the same land at the present time? In addition, the Kanak were the first owners of the land, while the Caldoches acquired part of it, which means there does exist an important difference between the two groups. These questions may make the audience wonder whether the comparison drawn by Mitterrand is valid in the first place, as it appears to be based on a particular ideological stance that clashes with Kanak ideology.

In advancing his arguments, Mitterrand uses various weak assertives:

(25) *Je veux dire par là que si l'ultime chance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de vivre en paix et des Canaques d'être entendus tient à la République, la République doit être juste.*

By that I mean if the ultimate opportunity for New Caledonia to live in peace and for the Kanak to be heard depends on the (French) Republic, the (French) Republic needs to be fair.

(26) *Je forme des vœux pour que les communautés en présence évitent le piège d'un affrontement, ces prochaines semaines.*

I wish that the present communities avoid the trap of a confrontation over the coming weeks.

Concluding stage:

Mitterrand concludes his argument, expressing that he considers it closed, indicated by the expression *ensuite* (ulteriorly):

(27) *Ensuite, j'userai du pouvoir que vous me confierez pour que l'histoire de France, à l'autre bout du monde, retrouve sa vieille sagesse.*

Ulteriorly, I will use the power that you have endowed upon me to ensure that the history of France, on the other side of the world, restores its ancient wisdom.

5.2.3 Hollande's argument of analogy. A critical evaluation based on argumentative indicators in the discourse sample reveals the following information.

Confrontation stage:

Hollande introduces his standpoint that the inhabitants of Overseas Territories are the French Republic, hinting upon an implicit difference of opinion. He reminds the audience of the fact that French dependencies, such as New Caledonia, form an opportunity for France, since they establish a French presence everywhere in the world. His standpoint, an assertive with which the addressees may or may not agree, is signposted by the argumentative indicator *donc* (therefore):

(28) ... Vous n'êtes *donc* pas les invités de la République ! Vous êtes la République française !

Therefore, you are not guests of the Republic! You are the French Republic!

The factual claim asserted by Hollande constitutes a speech act referred to as an assertive.

Opening stage:

Hollande asserts the following:

(29) Dans le même temps, je n'ignore rien de vos difficultés.

At the same time, I am well aware of your struggles.

The speaker pretends he knows everything about the struggles his audience encounters, which is an indirect acceptance of the burden of proof, as he does go on to explain these problems later on in the speech. It also indicates the use of pathos.

He further asks the following question:

(30) Comment *d'ailleurs* ne pas mettre en regard ce que je viens de dire sur la situation économique mais également ce que je pourrais dire sur la délinquance... ?

How can we not look at what I have just said against the economic situation but also against what I could say about crime...?

Hollande's rhetorical question constitutes a starting point for the discussion, indicated by *d'ailleurs* (besides). By posing the question, he assumes that the audience concurs with what he is stating about the economic situation and crime, which he presents as facts.

Argumentation stage:

Hollande further defends his standpoint by providing several examples that show the necessity for France to continue its intervention in New Caledonia's affairs: the presence of violence, the high unemployment and crime rates, and the insularity of the nation's economy.

His argument could be represented as follows:

‘X must be treated like Y.’

The expression above is indicative of argumentation by comparison based on the rule of justice (van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007). A clear introduction to another strong assertive, indicated by the verb *devons* (must) follows. The claim made by Hollande that further action is required, is introduced by *mais* (but):

(31) *Mais* porter un constat ne suffit pas. Nous *devons* agir...

But making observations is not enough. We have to act...

Hollande then provides further justification for his proposed course of action, which constitutes ongoing French involvement in New Caledonia’s economic and social life. His argument is based on an analogy drawn between the inhabitants of French dependencies such as New Caledonia and French citizens living in France.

Other expressions indicative of argumentation by comparison in Hollande’s speech include the following, alluding to the sharp contrast that exists between France and its Overseas Territories:

(32) Je mesure ce qu'est la violence de la crise d'abord *ici dans l'Hexagone* mais encore plus brutalement, plus durement, plus intensément *dans les Outre-mer*.

(33) ...qu'il m'a toujours paru étrange que ces services coûtent plus chers *en Outre-mer* que *dans l'Hexagone*...

(34) Je mesure ce qu'est la violence de la crise d'abord *ici dans l'Hexagone* mais encore plus brutalement, plus durement, plus intensément *dans les Outre-mer*.

(35) ...encore *nous* avons nos différences, les sensibilités existent *dans notre pays*, mais ce que *nous* avons à faire ensemble, ce qui *nous* unit dans le sortie de crise que *nous* devons préparer, c'est le redressement, c'est la reconquête.

(36) ...qu'il m'a toujours paru étrange que ces services coûtent plus chers *en Outre-mer* que *dans l'Hexagone*...

In the examples above, France and its dependencies are continuously compared by Hollande, thereby appealing to the rule of justice: the inhabitants of Overseas Territories, such as New Caledonia, must be treated like French citizens. One can now pose the critical question whether the comparison drawn by Hollande between the two countries is valid or not, since it supports a claim of homogeneity.

Hollande uses various assertives to advance his argumentation. For example, he employs the semi-assertive *je sais que* (I know about) to indicate to the audience that he is aware of the situation and to provide further information about his attitude regarding the issues at hand:

(37) *Je sais ce qu'avaient été les mouvements puissants dans beaucoup de départements...*

I know about the powerful movements in a lot of departments...

Further on in his speech, he reassures the audience by introducing his proposition with *je vous l'assure* (I guarantee you that). What he mainly guarantees, is more financial aid.

One strategic move made by Hollande consists of his use of semantically ambiguous language:

(38) Je leur [les membres du comité des signataires] rappellerai qu'ils ont la grande responsabilité, l'immense responsabilité, d'offrir ensemble un *destin commun* à La Nouvelle-Calédonie.

I will remind them [the members of the committee of signatories] that they have a great responsibility, an immense responsibility, to offer, together, a common destiny to New Caledonia.

What Hollande means with *destin commun* (common destiny), a collocation that frequently occurs in French political speeches on the same topic¹⁰⁰, may not be clear to his audience and,

100 See, for example: Jospin (1998).

as such, may create misunderstandings, which, in turn, may have negative consequences when it comes to achieving a tangible resolution to the conflict. It appears that both the French and Caldoche discourse communities understand the common destiny metaphor as New Caledonia remaining within France, as emphasised by the French and Caldoche representatives in the study, whereas the Kanak appear to interpret it as all New Caledonian inhabitants living together in harmony. This difference in opinion inevitably leads to a communication failure.

Concluding stage:

It becomes clear that Hollande maintains his initial standpoint, indicated by another semi-assertive, *Je sais que* (I know that):

(39) *Je sais que* vous en êtes capables, car -- et *ce sera mon dernier mot* -- si nous sommes tous partie prenante de la même République, le destin des Outre-mer appartient d'abord aux ultra-marins...

I know that you can do it, as – and this will be my final word – if we are all actively involved in the same Republic, the overseas territories' destiny is first of all in the hands of the Ultramarines...

Evidently, Hollande still holds the opinion that New Caledonia needs to remain within France and that the two countries ought to work together towards a common destiny, signposted by the expression *ce sera mon dernier mot* (this will be my final word) in the excerpt.

5.2.4 Gorodé's causal argument.

Confrontation stage:

Déwé Gorodé advances a standpoint that may not be acceptable to her mixed audience, addressing both a highly symbolic type of tree, the New Caledonian pine (*Araucaria*

columnaris), and the audience itself, by making an important assertion. The performed assertive is introduced by a negated linguistic indicator, expressing desire¹⁰¹:

(40) Je les dirai en face car *je ne veux pas oublier*.

I will speak them (my ancestors' words) out loud because I do not wish to forget.

By negating the proposition, Gorodé implies that there also exists another viewpoint that refers to the opposite: *je veux oublier* (I wish to forget), making it into a strong assertive and, at the same time, a strong indicator for a mixed dispute. This may be referred to as *une négation polémique* (polemic negation) (Ducrot, 1984, p. 218), for it seeks to repudiate the generally accepted assertion in New Caledonia's Caldoche community that it is good or even necessary to forget the past. As such, it constitutes a relevant counter-argument to the dominant French and Caldoche discourses.

Opening stage:

According to van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Snoeck Henkemans (2007), linguistic indicators such as *car* (because) are usually “argumentative in clauses of reason if they are used to motivate one's own action, emotion or thought” (p. 114). The part that precedes *car* (because) thus refers to the action of the poet, while the part that follows conveys an emotion or thought. Gorodé aims to justify her act of speaking out her ancestor's words, justifying this by the argument that she does not wish to forget, which is equally an argumentatively used starting point.

Argumentative stage:

101 The English translation of the poem is my own.

The poet appears to make a causal connection, using *car* (because), between various elements in her poem: speaking out her ancestors' words and the desire to remember, as well as writing down the words and this being the only way in order to remember them:

(41) Je les écrirai là où je le pourrai du mieux que je le pourrai *car* j'ai beau chercher la nuit le jour

I shall write them down wherever I will be able to as well as I will be able to because I keep searching day and night

Her argumentation is based on a causal relationship, in which the standpoint is presented as the cause of the argument (van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007). Being able to speak out her ancestors' words ('Y') as a result of a desire to remember ('X') and being able to write down the words ('Y') as a result of her persistent search ('X').

The argument may thus be represented as follows:

'Y, through X.'

Critical questions that may be asked of the poet's argumentation are whether the fact that she does not wish to forget will effectively lead to her being able to speak out or write down her ancestors' words or whether this depends on the sociohistorical context.

Another salient linguistic indicator that the argumentation is causal is the use of the future tense:

(42) Je les écrirai là où je le pourrai du mieux que je le pourrai

Concluding stage:

The verbal expression *avoir beau chercher* (to keep searching) indicates that the argument is now closed:

(43) j'ai beau chercher la nuit le jour

I keep searching day and night

5.2.5 The Caldoche respondent's causal argument.

Confrontation stage:

The Caldoche respondent advances a standpoint by making the following strong assertion:

(44) Je suis contre l'indépendance socialiste kanak de la Nouvelle Calédonie...

I am against the Kanak socialist independence of New Caledonia...

As such, the respondent adopts an explicitly negative standpoint towards the proposition 'independence is the preferred outcome of the debate', for it completely denies the proposition.

Opening stage:

The respondent motivates his thought by providing argumentation, hinted upon by the linguistic indicator *parce que* (because), to justify his negative stance:

(45) ... *parce qu'à notre époque il n'est pas concevable qu'une ethnie soit mise sur un piédestal par rapport au reste de la population.*

... because, in our days, it is unthinkable for one single ethnic group to be put on a pedestal, compared with the rest of the population.

By doing so, the respondent provides a starting point for his interaction with the audience, which is both multiple and mixed.

Argumentation stage:

The type of reasoning used by the Caldoche individual is causal,¹⁰² for it provides a justification for his advanced standpoint, thereby employing the strong assertive force modifying expression *il n'est pas concevable que* (it is unthinkable that):

(46) ... parce qu'à notre époque *il n'est pas concevable qu'une* ethnïe soit mise sur un piédestal par rapport au reste de la population.

By using the above expression, the respondent aims to assure the audience of the fact that full independence entails a form of positive discrimination toward the Kanak, which, in his view, is wrong. It is assumed that this type of independence is highly excluding in its nature. Members of the Kanak socialist independence movement would strongly disagree with the respondent's claim, which appears to be based on Caldoche nationalist ideology or a postcolonial racist stance.

The argument constitutes an appeal to opinion or a fallacious move known as an *argumentum ad populum* (Walton, 1989). It may be represented as follows:

'X is generally accepted as true.

Moreover, Y is the case.

Therefore, X is a plausible hypothesis.'

Critical questions that may be asked by the audience are whether the provided justifications for the conclusion that full Kanak independence has a racist character are based on true facts and, as such, constitute satisfactory justifications or, alternatively, whether there is a valid counter-argument against the respondent's conclusion.

Other argumentative indicators are *de plus* (moreover) and *donc* (therefore):

102 See van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans (2007).

(47) *De plus* la Nouvelle Calédonie étant une terre pluriethnique où le métissage est plus que présent...

New Caledonia is a pluriethnic nation, where intermingling is more than present...

(48) ...l'indépendance socialiste kanak a *donc* un caractère raciste.

...Kanak socialist independence therefore has a racist character.

Yet again, the interactant uses semantically ambiguous language when he employs the collocation *destin commun* (common destiny) and refers to it as

(49) ce que nous vivons depuis que les populations se sont mélangées il y a déjà plus de 150 ans

what we have been living since the populations started mixing more than 150 years ago

but also as

(50) respecter l'autre malgré ses différences, c'est l'entraide que nous pouvons avoir les uns envers les autres dans les coups durs

to respect the other despite his/her differences, it is the mutual assistance that we may be able to render to each other in times of hardship

and as

(51) être un seul peuple

to be one single people

Concluding stage:

The Caldoche respondent concludes his argumentation with the weak assertive attitude indicating expression *je pense que* (I believe that):

(52) *Je pense que nous ne sommes pas prêts...*

I believe that we are not ready...

The respondent does not implicate that the audience should accept his proposition based on the evidence provided.

5.2.6 The Wallisian/Futunian respondent's argument from the position to know.

Confrontation stage:

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent advances her standpoint using a weak assertive force modifying expression:

(53) *Selon moi* la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne semble pas prête à assumer le statut d'indépendance...

In my view, New Caledonia is not ready to assume its role as an independent nation...

The expression *selon moi* (in my view) implies that the respondent may not be able to provide sufficient evidence for her claim. Subsequently, it urges the audience not to accept her claim at face value.

Opening stage:

The argumentative indicator *aussi* (also) indicates that the preceding proposition is a standpoint and indicates a starting point for the interaction with the audience:

(54) *Aussi*, peu de gens sont formés, ou ont assez étudié pour répondre à la demande sur le marché du travail.

Also, there are few people with diplomas, who are educated well enough in order to respond to the demands of the labour market.

Argumentation stage:

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent is rejecting the idea of New Caledonian independence, thereby adopting a negative attitude towards the proposition ‘independence is the preferred outcome of the debate’. The respondent’s reasoning appears to follow the scheme for *argument from the position to know* (Walton, 2003):

‘X is true because of Y and Z.’

However, the respondent is not an expert on New Caledonia, so the proposition uttered by the source may not be true at all, or the evidence provided may be irrelevant or dubious, as seen from the perspective of the audience. The respondent believes New Caledonia is not ready to become independent because it does not even succeed in being self-sufficient. Becoming independent from France would not be the preferred course of action for the following reasons, which are signposted by the argumentative indicators *car* (since), *aussi* (also) and *même* (even):

(55) ... *car* elle ne parvient même pas à s'autosuffire.

... *since it does not even succeed at becoming self-sufficient.*

(56) *Aussi*, peu de gens sont formés, ou ont assez étudié pour répondre à la demande sur le marché du travail.

There are few people with diplomas, who are educated well enough in order to respond to the demands of the labour market.

(57) Nous en venons *même* à proposer des postes aux métropolitains pour assurer un minimum de bon fonctionnement dans la société.

We have even gone as far as to offer jobs to metropolitan French in order to ensure minimal smooth running of society.

(58) Je suis contre l'indépendance *car* la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne semble pas prête à l'être.

I am against independence because New Caledonia does not seem to be ready to become independent.

Concluding stage:

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent maintains her initial standpoint by concluding her argument with an assertive identifying expression:

(59) *Le destin commun c'est ne former plus qu'un...*

Common destiny is to form a single people.

By doing so, the respondent employs semantically ambiguous language, as it may not be clear to the audience what is meant by *destin commun* (common destiny). The collocation is identified as *ne former plus qu'un*, which may be translated as: to form a single people. However, the practical consequences of the goal expressed by the respondent may not be positive or desirable in the eyes of the audience, since they assume a form of national identity that appears to be based on nationalist ideology.

5.2.7 The Kanak interviewee's causal argument.

Confrontation stage:

The Kanak woman uses various assertives to advance her standpoint:

(60) *Je pense que ...c'est vrai que les Kanaks réclament leur pays.*

I think that it is true the Kanak claim back their country.

(61) *Puis moi je pense que je ne suis pas contre l'indépendance. Je suis pour l'indépendance.*

And then I [also] think that I am not against independence. I am for independence.

(62) *Ma pensée à moi c'est de travailler ensemble.*

My thought is to work together.

The first assertive, in example 60, *Je pense que* (I think that), is a propositional attitude indicator, whereas the second one is a force modifying expression. Both are weak assertives which anticipate that the antagonists may cast doubt on the advanced standpoint and may not accept her claim at face value. The assertive, in example 62, is another variant of *je pense que* (I think that).

The Kanak woman then establishes her standpoint regarding the independence issue, introduced by *mais* (but) and indicated by *ma façon de voir* (my view):

(63) ...*mais*, pour moi, *ma façon de voir* : je veux que toutes les ethnies qui sont en Nouvelle-Calédonie... qu'on est tous d'accord pour l'indépendance. C'est *ma façon de voir*.

...*but, as for me, my way of seeing things: I want all of the ethnicities of New Caledonia... to all agree in favour of independence. That's my view.*

Opening stage:

The interviewee indirectly accepts the burden of proof for the argument put forward, as indicated by the expression *C'est vrai que* (It is true that):

(64) *C'est vrai que* nous les Kanaks on réclame notre pays.

It is true that we, Kanak, are claiming back our country.

She believes that what she has just said is true and is therefore willing to defend the proposed standpoint. The use of *parce que* (because) is an implicit suggestion to accept the proposition as a starting point:

(65) ...*parce que* oui c'est vrai que nous les Kanaks on réclame notre pays.

...*because, yes, it is true that...*

The indicator *parce que* (because) is argumentative in the above clause of reason, since it indicates the interviewee's motivation for voting in favour of full independence, based on the argument that it is true that the Kanak are claiming back their country.

Argumentation stage:

The Kanak woman's argumentation is causal,¹⁰³ since she defends the standpoint that everyone in New Caledonia should agree upon becoming fully independent from France as a desired outcome of the debate.

Her argument could be represented as follows:

'X is desirable
for X leads to Y
and Y is desirable.'

The argument contains various expressions that are indicative of causal argumentation because they constitute references to possible or future events that lead to the realisation or rejection of the desired outcome expressed in the interviewee's standpoint:

(66) Il y *aura* des autres qui sont contre [l'indépendance] par rapport au peuple kanak.

There will be others who are against [independence] compared to the Kanak people.

(67) ...qu'il n'y *aient* pas de malentendus entre les Kanaks et les autres ethnies qui arrivent.

...that there will not be any misunderstandings between the Kanak and the other ethnicities that arrive.

(68) Puis je ne sais pas comment ce *sera* pour l'indépendance.

And then, I don't know how it will be for independence.

103 See van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans (2007).

Another indicator of both positive or negative consequences is *puis* (then), which points to the results of the desired course of action:

(69) *Puis c'est trop... ce n'est pas jolie à entendre.*

And then, it's too much...it's not nice to hear.

Other salient expressions are verbs that indicate desire:

(70) *Je préfère que tous les ethnies luttent pour l'indépendance.*

I prefer all ethnicities to fight for independence.

(71) *Je veux que tout le monde vote pour [l'indépendance].*

I want everyone to vote in favour of independence.

(72) *Je souhaite que tous les jeunes de la Nouvelle-Calédonie retournent vers leur vie, les vieux de la tribu ou commune.*

I wish all the young people of New Caledonia to return to their lives, the elders of the village or community.

In critically evaluating the Kanak woman's argumentation, one could wonder whether maintaining Kanak traditions and languages would indeed achieve the goal of a general consensus and whether there are any other ways of preserving Kanak identity while remaining part of the French Republic.

Concluding stage:

The interviewee employs the expression *oui, voilà* (yes, that's it) to indicate that she wishes to maintain her initial standpoint:

(73) *Oui, voilà, prendre le relais.*

Yes, that's it, taking over.

She then uses an assertive to conclude that this particular outcome of the debate is what she wishes to occur:

(74) Cela était mon souhait.

That was my wish.

5.2.8 Frogier's symptomatic argument.

Confrontation stage:

Frogier uses various strong assertive propositional attitude indicators and force modifying expressions to make it clear that he is convinced of something and that the audience should accept what he says:

(75) *J'ai toujours été convaincu que la Nouvelle-Calédonie, bien sûr, doit se doter de signes identitaires.*

I have always been convinced that, of course, New Caledonia has to develop signs of identity.

(76) *Ce dont je suis convaincu, et ça, ça a été ma conviction dès le départ, c'est que ce drapeau, chacun, bien sûr, a l'espoir qu'il représente l'identité de toutes les communautés de Nouvelle-Calédonie.*

What I am convinced of and have been since the beginning, is that this flag, of course, everyone hopes that it will represent the identity of all the communities of New Caledonia.

(77) *... je suis persuadé que c'est une impasse.*

... I am convinced it is a dead end.

He establishes the standpoint that New Caledonia must develop signs of identity and that the new flag needs to represent the identity of all the groups that live in New Caledonia, which is presented as a given fact, indicated by the expression *bien sûr* (of course).

Opening stage:

In the interview, the journalist immediately requests further clarification for the fact that Frogier has been putting forward the matter of signs of identity as a contentious topic:

(78) Tout de suite, *pour que les choses soient claires* : quel est le sens de cette démarche ?

Right away, to make things clear: what does this initiative mean?

Frogier justifies his viewpoint by using the expression *tout le monde le sait* (everyone knows that):

(79) *Tout le monde le sait*, nous sommes à la recherche de signes identitaires, depuis 1998, depuis la signature de l'Accord de Nouméa.

Everyone knows that we have been searching for signs of identity since 1998, since signing the Noumea Accord.

He thereby firmly establishes his standpoint as a collectively accepted starting point by referring to the authority of the general population, which is a potentially fallacious move known as *argumentum ad populum* (Walton, 1989). In fact, Frogier is dodging the burden of proof by using various expressions that indicate his standpoint is shared by the audience. Another example is shown below:

(80) Alors, *évidemment*, on en parle.

So, obviously, we talk about it.

Argumentation stage:

In his argument, Frogier makes a strong generalisation based on his own impressions of the situation. Subsequently, the type of argumentation he puts forward is symptomatic (van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007) and could be represented as follows:

‘Y is true of X
because Z is true of X
and Z usually goes together with Y.’

According to Frogier, the fact that the inhabitants of New Caledonia have been searching for signs of identity since the Noumea Accord was concluded as being true because it is everyone’s desire that the new flag will represent the identity of all the communities of the country and this desired result of the discussion usually goes together with building a new nation. However, most Kanak people would disagree with Frogier’s standpoint, since, seen from their perspective, New Caledonia is not a new nation. One could critically ask whether it is true that all of the country’s inhabitants want a new flag and, as such, a new identity, or whether it is a clear example of a Caldoche nationalistic attitude.

The numerous identifying relational processes in Frogier’s argument (‘Y serves to identify X’) are further indicative of symptomatic argumentation:

(81) Eh bien, *c'est* ça qu'il faut, aujourd'hui, montrer.

Well, that's what we, today, have to show.

(82) ... *c'est* bien évident.

It is quite obvious.

(83) ... *c'est* la réalité.

...that's the reality.

Concluding stage:

Frogier assumes he has conclusively defended his standpoint by using the expression *en tout cas* (in any case):

(84) *En tout cas*, ils répondent, soit par des mots d'humour.

In any case, they respond, albeit with words of humour.

The Caldoche politician presents his ideas on New Caledonia's future as if they are based on logic and true premises, whereas, in fact, they are based on premises that rely on assumptions and common knowledge:

(85) *C'est sûr que, lorsque la Calédonie aura trouvé définitivement sa place dans la République, cette place, tout en faisant en sorte que la Calédonie reste française, ... sera différente de ce qu'étaient les relations institutionnelles de la Calédonie avec la République, il y a 50 ans, c'est bien évident.*

It is certain that, when New Caledonia will permanently have found its place within the Republic, this place, while ensuring that New Caledonia remains French, which means that the Republic preserves its sovereign powers, will be different from what the institutional relations between New Caledonia and the Republic were 50 years ago, this is obvious.

He is making fervent attempts to manipulate the audience into accepting his ideas as common sense: that a common destiny is merely symbolic and that New Caledonia needs to remain within France, as shown in the collective acceptance of both the French and Kanak flags as signs of national identity.

5.3 Conclusion

The arguments contained in the eight French discourse samples pertaining to the New Caledonian negotiation process have been reconstructed and evaluated in this chapter, following a linguistic description based on various linguistic or argumentative indicators. The pragma-dialectical analysis has primarily focused on strategic manoeuvres and speech acts performed by the interactants in the debate that surrounds New Caledonia's future and its independence issue. It has been demonstrated how the dominant interactants attempt to alter the viewpoints of the audience that respond to it, aiming to convince them of the truth and common sense of their claims, rather than seeking to persuade them. This was particularly

evident in the interview with Frogier, whose symptomatic argument aims to convince the audience of the fact that Kanak independence would be catastrophic for New Caledonia's future. The main goal of the argument reconstruction has been to clarify the inferential meanings that remained concealed due to discrepancies in common knowledge. Hence, the analysis also investigated whether the arguments expressed by the proponents of New Caledonian independence and its opponents were reasonable by elucidating any unexpressed premises. In doing so, it was shown that some of the arguments of the participants contained various underlying ideological attitudes and that the more powerful representatives were using various elements of shared knowledge to their advantage.

The arguments conducted by Mitterrand and Hollande, for example, can be linked to a perpetuation of neo-colonialist thinking. In his reply to Tjibaou, Mitterrand presents his standpoint as a form of common knowledge and, as such, commits a fallacy referred to as *argumentum ad populum*. He also uses pathos to play on the emotions of his audience. Mitterrand claims that the Kanak are not the only ones who have rights to the land. His reasoning follows an argument scheme of comparison based on the right of justice, which can be seen as fallacious based on the reality of the overarching historical context. Hollande claims that all French dependencies, including New Caledonia, are part of France and that all of the local inhabitants are French citizens. His reasoning also constitutes an argument by comparison based on the rule of justice. He uses his primary claim of homogeneity to justify the same preferred course of action as proposed by Mitterrand, free association with France, and he uses highly ambiguous language to refer to the nations' common destiny. It is important to underline the fact that the two entities compared by Hollande, French citizens and New Caledonia's population, are not equal in reality.

Tjibaou's argument appears to be based on a blatant opposition between Kanak and Western thought based on Kanak nationalist views. In his public letter, Tjibaou challenges Mitterrand's

attempt to be re-elected as French President. He thereby refers to the collective Kanak objective of obtaining solutions for justice, which is a semantically ambiguous expression. His primary claim, however, is for New Caledonia to become fully independent from France. By asking a rhetorical question, he suggests that French public opinion remains insensitive to the Kanak question. Tjibaou's reasoning follows a causal pragmatic argumentation scheme, pointing out positive effects in the scenario of Mitterrand's re-election as President of the French Republic, such as the return of Kanak liberties and to a normalised situation, as well as a new era of freedom for the Kanak. However, he also points out negative consequences in case the proposed course of action is not followed, such as the Kanak ending up as the last Mohicans of the Pacific, further deterioration of the Kanak's way of life and their well-being, and an increasing animosity between the French and the Kanak.

The Kanak interviewee's argument also follows a causal pattern. She confirms that her people demand full independence from France. The Kanak woman asserts that she is in favour of this particular course of action and perceives the realisation of the common destiny ideal as a harmonious co-existence between all of the differing groups that are present in New Caledonian society. Subsequently, she argues that everyone needs to work together and pursue independence. Her dream of social harmony is tarnished by the fact that the dominant French powers do not wish to collaborate and, instead, impose their own version of a common destiny for the nation. Déwé Gorodé, in her turn, asserts that she does not wish to forget the words spoken by her ancestors. She argues that she is able to speak out their words because she is motivated to remember them and that she is able to write them because she actively seeks to reveal what her ancestors have said. However, it is uncertain whether her desire to express or replicate her ancestors' thoughts is sufficient to make the voice of her people heard.

The Wallisian/Futunian respondent carefully asserts that New Caledonia may not be ready for independence yet, since only a few people have the required qualifications to run the country,

the nation is not self-sufficient, too many job positions are still being filled by temporary French workers, and it does not seem the right time to gain independence from France. According to the respondent, the main requirement to realise the independence objective is to form a single people, which is not the case and maybe never will be.

Frogier emphasises the importance of developing signs of New Caledonian identity and asserts that the New Caledonian flag ought to adequately represent the identity of all the different groups within New Caledonian society. By referring to this as a dilemma, he actually wants to point out that the right choice to make, with regard to these symbolic representations, is a rather straightforward decision. He points out that everyone has been searching for new signs of identity since the Noumea agreement was concluded, whereas they could simply use two flags. The politician believes it is not yet possible for New Caledonia's population to come to an agreement on the flag, as a symbol of the nation's new identity. All of the above-mentioned findings may be historically linked to various key ideologies and ideological practices, which will be further highlighted in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Discussion of the Ideological Adherences and Practices of the Participants in the Independence Debate

6.1 Introduction and Overview

New Caledonia's history has been shaped by various ideologies. The way the present debate is configured has been determined by ideas and knowledge that have been transmitted through the centuries and that have made the island nation what it is today. This chapter focuses on ideologies, not as merely abstract entities, but in terms of the ideological adherences and practices of the key stakeholders in the debate on the independence issue: the French government, represented in the study by former French Presidents François Mitterrand and François Hollande; the Caldoche loyalists, represented by a Caldoche questionnaire respondent and local Senator for France, Pierre Frogier; and the Kanak pro-independence nationalists, represented by independence leader, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Kanak poet, Déwé Gorodé, and a Kanak interviewee, as well as a Futunian-Wallisian respondent, as a representative of the other ethnic minorities groups in New Caledonia. After linguistically analysing the participants' discourse in the previous chapters, their ideological motivations are compared to the reality of a nation that is currently progressing towards independence from France. Finally, it will be concluded that there are various incongruences between the socially constructed ideologies and that the French government aims to maintain a status quo, refusing to grant full independence to its former overseas territory.

6.2 Ideological Adherences and Motivations of the Participants

A stark contrast between the French ideological motives and the Kanak socialist ideology becomes apparent, demonstrated by the discursive choices made by Mitterrand and Hollande over the New Caledonian independence question. The ideological reasoning of both of the former French Presidents shows significant differences with the ones formed by Tjibaou, Gorodé and the Kanak interviewee, resulting in an ideological clash that historically defines the independence debate. Both Mitterrand and Hollande adopt an explicit pro-French attitude towards the independence issue throughout all of their discursive deployment on the topic.

The argumentative structure of the politicians' discourse reveals various values that are propagated and perpetuated throughout most of their discourse. Mitterrand appears to adhere to principles such as generosity, respect, hard labour, peace, respect for the law, and wisdom. Values identified in Hollande's argument are commitment, Francophonie, equality, cohesion, solidarity, justice, responsibility, peace, respect, fraternity, and pride. There are quite a few similarities between the values promoted by Mitterrand and Hollande. Both politicians have been influenced by the French culture, in which these ideals were created, and to which they both belong. Historically, the principles that the French participants in the debate are committed to can be traced back to the Republican values of the French Revolution in 1789: liberty, equality, and fraternity. However, these ideals are highly problematic within the postcolonial discursive context and are continuously evolving and re-defined.

In his argument, Mitterrand speaks of the New Caledonians of European origin as a group that does not develop any theories, and that has more power than the Kanak group because the land of the latter was taken during colonial times. He then goes on to point out that several Ministers of the Republic endeavoured to do the minority group justice through land reform but that this French gesture has not protected the Kanak from being lowly educated, for example. Based on these observations, Mitterrand claims that the Caldoches had a profound influence on New

Caledonia through their hard labour in the past and that the ongoing opposition between the local settler population and the Kanak is characterised by violence. From there, he concludes that granting full independence to the island nation would most likely result in a civil war situation. Consequently, his primary objectives are to maintain peace and to organise a referendum to present New Caledonians with the opportunity to vote for or against independence. It has become apparent from his reasoning that he aims for New Caledonia to remain within the French Republic.

Similarly, Hollande describes New Caledonia as a place where the unemployment rate is two to three times higher than in France, with a high crime rate, glaring inequalities due to relative price levels, as well as an economy that is confronted with issues of remoteness, insularity, a limited market, and behaviour from another era. He sees the inhabitants of all French overseas territories, including New Caledonia, with its special status as a *sui generis* collectivity, as French citizens. The goal of his argument expresses real equality between the Overseas Territories and France, as he explains in his speech, which opposes Tjibaou's objectives of the return of liberties for the Kanak people and a new era of freedom. In addition, Hollande only mentions the other two well-known values of the French revolution in his open letter: equality and fraternity. The other aim, expressed by Hollande, is to offer a common destiny to New Caledonia, which is, again, an objective that totally disagrees with Tjibaou's primary aim of full Kanak independence.

Both Mitterrand and Hollande employ various discursive strategies to persuade their audience to accept a common destiny for New Caledonia as a common sense solution to the independence issue. They both construe a neo-colonialist ideology, as the culmination of French imperialism, which is reproduced and shared by most of New Caledonia's French inhabitants, as well as the vast majority of the Caldoche population. The latest French election results showed a clear tendency towards the extreme right, which was rather worrying, as the new French President is

to oversee the upcoming independence referendum in New Caledonia in 2018. During his election campaign, Emmanuel Macron asserted that French colonisation is a *crime contre l'humanité* (crime against humanity) and a *vraie barbarie* (truly barbaric), thereby calling for a national apology, propositions that were not well received by the French right wing parties (Lambrecq, 15 February 2017). However, overall, the new French President appears to share the opinion of the rest of the French government: that it would be better for New Caledonia to maintain its ties with France.

Historically, France has always been inclined to retain its dependencies by not allowing them to become fully sovereign nations. Algeria, Africa, and Indochina are all examples of the French reticence when it comes to dealing with decolonisation. The South Pacific does not form an exception to this general tendency. Furthermore, the French colonial project has always been strongly assimilating and based on 'cultural transformation' (Miles, 2014, p. 9), as opposed to the British colonial endeavour, which favoured a mercantilist system. Both systems sought to let the indigenous population gradually become extinct while encouraging the growth and well-being of the local settler population, but the French colonial enterprise was far more damaging to the local cultures and languages in its dependencies, as mentioned by the Kanak woman in an interview conducted for the current research project:

Mais la culture aussi <est difficile> parce que en tant que femme kanak on a quelque chose à faire, l'artisanat.

Mais là on dirait qu'on a perdu notre culture.

Nous les femmes kanaks on tresse des nattes.

C'est pour la coutume.

<Pour les femmes> c'est les nattes.

Puis <pour> les hommes c'est le monnaie kanak.

Mais je vois que, aujourd'hui, les gens ont perdu tout cela.

[*'But for the culture, it is hard too because, as Kanak women, we have something to do: arts and crafts. But then it seems like we have lost our culture. Us, Kanak women,*

we weave mats. It is for the exchange of gifts and speeches. For the women, it is mats. And for the men, it is Kanak money. But I notice that, these days, people have lost all of that. ’]

The idea of one unified French Republic remains prevalent, as shown in the French politicians’ rhetoric of homogeneity.

New Caledonia has a special status as a *sui generis* collectivity, transitioning towards independence through a transfer of powers from France to its former overseas territory. Other French dependencies are referred to as DOMs or TOMs, with varying degrees of autonomy regarding administration and institutions (Corbin, 2011). The French government opted for a segregation policy that was based on the assumption that the local indigenous population consisted of primitive, uncivilised individuals, who were supposed to remain in their status of naivety and ignorance (Chappell, 2010). The Caldoche inhabitants, however, some of whom were descendants of convicts, were sent to the colony between 1864 and 1897 and received a more privileged status. They were encouraged to get involved in constructing a new nation through hard labour and good conduct. The French government’s attitude towards the Kanak is strongly reminiscent of the perspective taken by one of France’s most renowned authors, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who referred to indigenous people as *nobles sauvages* (noble savages) in some of the most prominent works of French Enlightenment, titled *Les Confessions* (The Confessions, 1768), *Émile, ou de l’Éducation* (Emile, or on Education, 1762), or *Les Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire* (Reveries of the Solitary Walker, 1782). The myth of the noble savage further evolved into the European perception of primitive people as brutal savages. Both views of indigenous populations are highly offensive: they either describe indigenous people as individuals who live in a state of continuous harmony within a paradise-like context or as subhumans. Perspectives such as these, which are still prevalent up to this day, tend to keep the

native population imprisoned within a largely distorted Europeanised perception of what it means to be indigenous.

Since the French Revolution in 1789, the French Republic has become further decentralised and its attitude towards its dependencies has slightly changed: assimilationism has been replaced with a preference for increasing equality, as exemplified in the political speech made by Hollande. France currently has five DOMs: Mayotte, Martinique, Reunion, French Guyana, and Guadeloupe. All of the aforementioned dependencies have French citizenship and are governed by a French prefect. Among the remaining overseas collectivities are territories such as Wallis and Futuna and French Polynesia. The indigenous people who live in these particular regions have rejected the French assimilationist policy and endeavour to gain greater autonomy within a global context of growing nationalist tendencies.

The French ideological practices that have become apparent from the discourse uttered by the interactants in the debate on the New Caledonian independence issue show how the majority of the interlocutors appear to adhere to a neo-colonialist ideology. Neo-colonialism is a term that was coined by the former President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, to indicate the use of cultural imperialism, globalisation, and capitalism to control a former colony instead of adopting a direct hegemonic or imperialist approach.¹⁰⁴ He described it as “imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous form” (Nkrumah, 1975, p. 199) and further asserts that its main characteristic is

that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.

¹⁰⁴ The term is also said to originate from the works of Karl Marx and, more specifically, his critique of Western capitalism in *The Capital* (1972), as well as the “Preface to the Critique of Political Economy” (1977).

It needs to be noted that a neo-colonialist attitude is not limited to (former) colonial powers. Australia often gets involved in the local politics of various nations in the South Pacific, such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, or the Solomon Islands, for example. The promotion of the French language and culture and the exploitation of mineral resources are both relevant examples of France's neo-colonialist attitude towards New Caledonia. Even though the notion was first developed within a Marxist theoretical framework, it can also be approached from a postcolonial perspective to show how French political discourse represents the Kanak as inferior human beings whose culture, economy, education, and political system require ongoing management by a Western political power. This universalist attitude may be referred to as Eurocentrism, claiming the uniqueness of Europe and its superiority (Alatas, 2014). It further constitutes a denial of the Other (Mudimbe, 2011; Saïd, 1978). Alatas (2014) describes it as "a particular instance of ethnocentrism" and adds to this that:

Ethnocentrism is generally defined as the regard of one's own ethnic group or society as superior to other groups. It involves the assessment and judgment of other groups in terms of the categories and standards of evaluation of one's own group (p. 49).

It mostly results in the imposition of a highly hegemonic political, social, and economic order. Nkrumah (1967) already pointed out that the West may adopt a neo-colonialist attitude, as part of the last stage of their imperialist process of exploitation and subjugation. As he explained it:

without a qualm it dispenses with its flags, and claims that it is 'giving' independence to its former subjects, to be followed by 'aid' for their development. Under cover of such phrases however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism (Nkrumah, 1967).

The necessity of providing further financial aid for economic and social development to New Caledonia is a frequent theme in French political discourse, of which Hollande's speech is an excellent example, as referred to earlier.

The Caldoche participants in the debate: a Caldoche questionnaire respondent and Pierre Frogier both construe a reality, in which New Caledonia keeps its strong ties with France. Both interactants display a form of French loyalism, based on Caldoche nationalism. The Caldoche respondent argues that full Kanak independence would be an undesirable outcome of the debate and even considers it a racist move, since, in his view, New Caledonia is a multicultural nation where everyone is the same. He asserts that its blend of ethnicities have shaped the country's current identity. The respondent, therefore, propagates a future, in which respect and mutual assistance prevail, for, so he claims, a common destiny is already a reality. Again, the interlocutor presents his preferred outcome of the debate as common sense, which constitutes a fallacious move. Values that are important in the Caldoche respondent's framework are multiethnicity, democracy, respect, and mutual assistance. His use of the common destiny metaphor further obfuscates its meaning. Finally, he assumes that full Kanak independence would exclude all other ethnicities in New Caledonia from the decision process when it comes to constructing the nation's new identity, a claim that conflicts with the beliefs and values of the Kanak.

Frogier explains the common destiny metaphor as a symbolic recognition of New Caledonia's double identity as both a French and Caledonian nation, thereby firmly rooting its identity within a close relationship with the French Republic. Values adhered to by the Caldoche politician include peace, respect, and dignity. He establishes the truth of his position by presenting his claim as a viewpoint that is shared by the audience and the general population. He also uses pathos, in an attempt to influence people's emotions, such as their fear of a civil war, for example. Frogier assumes that New Caledonians have always lived out the reality of a common destiny in the period that followed the Matignon agreements. However, even though he presents this as a fact, it is probably not a perspective that is shared by all of New Caledonia's inhabitants, especially not the Kanak.

Tjibaou's argument is directed towards former French President Mitterrand and, as such, towards the French government. His plea for full Kanak independence aims to persuade the readers of his open letter of the pertinence of his claim that New Caledonia needs to separate itself from its French coloniser and Western power and appears to be motivated by Kanak social nationalism. In order to influence the audience, he often uses pathos in his discourse, creating a sense of belonging for his people and encouraging feelings of empathy in his readers. In his argument, the Kanak independence leader assumes that there exists a blatant opposition between French and Kanak culture and their corresponding ideologies, which may not be compatible with a reality of an actual common destiny.

The Kanak woman's argument aims to defend Kanak languages and cultural values, as the building blocks for a nation that has been torn apart by years of ongoing conflict. One assumption made by the Kanak interviewee is that her people are losing their identity and language under the pressure of a dominant French culture that promotes La Francophonie (Martin, 1985, p. 198). Another assumption is that working together will resolve the issue. This view indicates how she interprets the idea of a common destiny for New Caledonia's inhabitants, a vision that closely correlates with the Kanak socialist view of the nation's future held by the late Tjibaou. In her argument, the Kanak poet and politician Déwé Gorodé underlines the importance of her ancestors' legacy and her desire to continue it. She uses the image of the *Araucaria* (New Caledonian pine), a tree that is central to Kanak debates, as a symbol of the Kanak culture's growth and persistence. The main value evoked in her poem is commemoration.

It needs to be noted once more that the Kanak do not form the only minority within New Caledonia, even though they do constitute the largest minority group, making up about 40% of the total population. Various individuals from other Pacific islands, Asians and others also self-identify as New Caledonians (ISEE, 2009). One such minority group are the Wallisian-

Futunians. The Wallisian-Futunian participant included in the study does not believe that New Caledonia is ready to become entirely independent from France. Education and job opportunities are central to her argument. The most significant value held by the respondent is consensus. She asserts that collective agreement upon a future within the French Republic is the preferred course of action, since she does not deem the nation to be ready for full independence due to the low level of education of its general population.

6.3 The Impact of the Caldoche Nation-building Project in Relation to Social Inequality

Caldoche ideological beliefs are mirrored in the promotion of political, social, and economic *rééquilibrage* (rebalancing), which appears to be similar to the Australian ‘close-the-gap’ strategy, a notion that is mentioned in the Matignon and Noumea Accords and heavily promoted by the French loyalist group. Social rebalancing is mainly based on the French Republican value of equality. The Matignon agreement, which took place on 26 June 1988, after the Events of the 1980s, was consolidated by the historic handshake between Jacques Lafleur, as a representative of the local government, and Jean-Marie Tjibaou, as a delegate of the pro-independence movement. It recognised the fact that several groups within New Caledonian society suffered under decennia of colonial violence, as mentioned by Mitterrand in his open letter: “La Nouvelle-Calédonie avance dans la nuit, se cogne aux murs, se blesse” (New Caledonia moves forward in the night, bumps into walls, hurts itself). An intrinsic opposition between the viewpoints of two groups of people is mentioned: those who wish for New Caledonia to remain within the French Republic and those who aim for full independence. A new perspective was added that ought to encourage long lasting peace, based on co-existence and dialogue between the opposing parties. The nation was divided up into three administrative areas: the *Province Nord* (Northern Province), *Province Sud* (Southern Province) and the *Province Isles Loyauté* (Loyalty Islands Province), overseen by a Territorial Congress. The

powers of the various State and Territory institutions were clearly defined in the agreement and the enhancement of economic, social, and cultural development was explained as well. Most importantly, it promised the organisation of a referendum on the issue of self-determination ten years later. Since 1998, the school curriculum has been adapted and four Melanesian languages are now part of the *Baccalauréat* (year twelve school leavers' certificate). The Referendum Act also gave birth to the ADECAL (Agency for New Caledonian Economic Development), overseeing both regional development and trade. It further established the Rural Development and Land Management Agency (ADRAF), leading to a redistribution of lands among the various Melanesian communities.

The Noumea Accord, which was officially signed on 5 May 1998, constitutes an agreement between different parties, represented at the time by Jacques Lafleur, a Caldoche politician and mining magnate, former French President Lionel Jospin and Roch Wamytan, former President of the Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front. It promised a gradual transition towards decolonisation by increasingly transferring powers from the French to the New Caledonian government. The Preamble of the agreement stipulates that the former annexation of New Caledonia in 1853 was not based on a legal agreement with the Kanak indigenous people, but that it was inspired by other examples of European dominance; that the Kanak had already developed their own civilisation, with its own traditions, languages and culture; that the relationship between New Caledonia and France has been characterised by dependency of the former on the latter; that the time has come to re-appear from the shadows of colonisation as a new nation whilst recognising the fact that the act of colonisation caused a great deal of trauma for the indigenous inhabitants; that the French colonising project was detrimental for Kanak identity; that colonisation deprived the Kanak of their identity and that decolonisation could provide a way of creating new alliances between the competing communities in New Caledonia, allowing the Kanak to develop a new relationship with France. It also included a recognition of

the Caldoche effort in shaping New Caledonia's identity. It further promised the construction of a new citizenship, encouraging the local communities to pursue a new *destin commun* (common destiny).

The Noumea Accord made a clear distinction between the past, as an era of colonisation, and the present, characterised as a time of sharing and economic rebalancing. Full recognition of Kanak identity would allow for an equal recognition of Kanak customary law and French civil law and a new Customary Senate would see to the application of indigenous law. Finally, only long-term residents would be allowed to vote: people residing in New Caledonia since 1988, their children and the people who have been living in New Caledonia for twenty years by the time a referendum is organised. The agreement encouraged the recognition of Kanak languages, as co-existing modes of communication with French, the reinstatement of Kanak names for various locations and the return of Kanak sacred objects from European museums. A newly established *Académie des langues kanak* (Academy of Kanak languages) would protect and safeguard the use of indigenous languages and carefully follow their evolution. The French government further promised to sponsor the building of a cultural centre, dedicated to Kanak culture and the person of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a promise they kept. The *Centre Culturel Jean-Marie Tjibaou* (Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Centre), which was constructed only eight kilometres away from the capital, Noumea, was officially opened 4 and 5 May 1998 by former French President, Lionel Jospin. Tjibaou's clan organised a customary ceremony to endorse the naming of the cultural centre after their famous family member and leader.

The Noumea Accord ordered that various signs of identity ought to be sought, such as a new name for the country, a common flag, a national hymn, and a new currency to realise the full common destiny potential. More governmental power would be granted to the New Caledonian government in the period following the agreement. However, France would retain control over the country's justice, public order, defence and currency, as well as its international relations

with the rest of the world. More money would be spent on education, training, and the local economy, such as mining and the provision of electricity supply to more isolated areas. The main objective of the agreement was the eventual acquisition of full New Caledonian independence. It was also agreed that a referendum would be organised before the end of 1998.

However, France has continuously postponed holding a referendum, which will now take place in the second half of 2018 and, in case the vote would be negative, two further referenda will be organised by 2022 (Levine, 2016). Even though the Noumea Accord was generally well-received, it only guarantees decolonisation without the option of becoming entirely independent from France, which differs significantly from Tjibaou's vision of full Kanak independence, a claim that is shared by Déwé Gorodé and the Kanak interviewee in the present study. It does align with the viewpoints expressed by Mitterrand, Hollande, Frogier, the Caldoche questionnaire respondent, and the Wallisian-Futunian respondent. The latter seems to share the fear of her fellow group members of losing their job security. A considerable number of Wallisians and Futunians live in highly precarious circumstances on the fringes of New Caledonian society and can be found in the slums around the nation's capital, Noumea. Fanon (1952; 1961) asserted that decolonisation could only occur when a colonised nation becomes entirely separated from the colonising country, if necessary, through rebellious acts of violence (Fanon, 1961, p. 102). The fear of another outbreak of violence, such as in the tumultuous period of *les Évènements* (the Events) in the 1980s, is one of the greatest fears of the French government, as mentioned in Mitterrand's political speech.

According to Chappell (1999), the Noumea Agreement can be interpreted in different ways:

as a precedent- setting plan for gradual self-determination that provides for a multiethnic nationality, or as a victory for neocolonial, modernist development that provides token cultural recognition in exchange for profit-sharing with a multiethnic client elite (p. 391).

One particular sentence in the Noumea Accord describes the colonisation period as “pas dépourvue de lumière” (not deprived of light), resorting to the French ‘duty of protection’, as stated in article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations¹⁰⁵, as an excuse for exploiting New Caledonia’s resources and maintaining control over the education system and other institutions. At the most, the Noumea agreement can be seen as a compromise and an attempt to decentralise economic and political power, which were previously concentrated in and around the capital of Noumea.

6.4 Persistent Economic Inequality between the Caldoche and Kanak Communities

It has become evident that France is not inclined to easily abandon its former colonies in the Pacific, including New Caledonia, for several reasons. First of all, the remote areas form an excellent basis for various nuclear experiments, some of which have had devastating consequences for Pacific inhabitants in terms of their health and damage to the environment (Dyer, 1973). Secondly, France wishes to retain its military presence in the Pacific, especially since the rising tensions between the US and North Korea. Thirdly, New Caledonia’s riches in terms of nickel and cobalt have form another source of interest for France and provide a large source of income for the country, so it is not surprising that nickel mining has become the nation’s primary industry (USGS, 2015). Goro, New Caledonia’s largest mine, near Yaté in the Southern Province, produces about 25% of the world’s nickel reserves. Two large mining projects were initiated on the Territory in 2010: one at Koniambo and another one near Goro. Nickel mining in New Caledonia has always been an area of conflict. French mining endeavours started in 1874 and continued to take place under the auspices of the *Société Le Nickel* (The Nickel Company), founded in 1880 by the Rothschild family, of which Jacques Lafleur, who

¹⁰⁵ The members of *La Société des Nations* (The League of Nations), which was founded following the Paris Peace Conference in 1920 and established thanks to the Treaty of Versailles, committed themselves “to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control” (Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919, Art. 23b). See Northedge (1986).

later became involved in local politics as a senator and leader of the anti-colonialist RPCR party, was one of the most colourful managers. Goro Nickel has attracted a great deal of criticism due to the negative impact of the mining projects on New Caledonia's marine ecosystems. According to Ali & Grewal (2006), projects such as the ones established by Goro Nickel do have the potential of meeting both indigenous and non-indigenous outcomes, provided the right measures are taken to protect the environment and the interests of the Kanak people on whose land the mining activities take place.

Most Kanak elders are still uncomfortable with what they see as the invasive and destructive act of nickel mining in areas that are deemed sacred (Personal communication, 2015). In fact, the large majority of Kanak people perceive Western anthropogenic operations such as nickel mining as highly destructive and a direct colonial attack on their ancestors, since the notions of land and ancestors are understood in the Kanak mind as one whole (Horowitz, 2001). The apparent clash between Kanak beliefs and Western capitalist motivations has led to situations such as preferred non-Kanak employment of mining labourers by the companies. Also, several FLNKS Kanak politicians have, in vain, attempted to take up significant leadership positions in the mining industry, which can be viewed as a violation of Article 26 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) (2008), which asserts the following:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.
2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.
3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.

Further development in mining and in particular the opening of the mine in Koniambo, form a significant part of the economic rebalancing in terms of creating equality. Subsequently, the Kanak, more specifically those living in the Northern Province, had high expectations when the news of a new mine became public, for they assumed it would help them enable their independentist objectives of economic development and autonomy (personal communication with one of the village elders at Tiwaé, 2015). Several Kanak have gained employment through the Koniambo project (Horowitz, 2009). Nevertheless, the site remains highly contentious, as the multinational mining companies prefer to attract workers from outside the country who have no customary obligations and who can work within a more Western model.

6.5 The Kanak Right to Self-determination and the Melanesian Way

According to international law, it is important not to define the right of self-determination, based on who had the first claim to the land, but rather on how long a particular group has been present and their sufficiently high connection to the land. The central question in the case of New Caledonia is when the local settler population became permanent and whether they also have a right to self-determination. In the case of *Gillot versus France*, the Human Rights Committee explains that, while organising the upcoming referendum on the independence issue, the French government decided to limit participation to individuals who were able to prove they had strong ties with the territory. The decision raised the issue of a possible violation of Articles 2, 25 and 26 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR, 1966).¹⁰⁶ Subsequently, the criteria of the place of birth and length of residency were added to the conditions of eligibility. It is important to note that the question, also referred to as the ‘sliding interpretation’ of the Noumea Accord, was raised by French migrants who had been

¹⁰⁶ See *Gillot et al. v. France*, Communication No 932/2000 (United Nations Human Rights Committee, 2002) Doc CCPR/C/75/D/932/2000.

residing in New Caledonia for less than ten years, and not by any of the minorities involved. Article 3 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008) stipulates the following:

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development (p. 4).

It further states, in Article 4, that

Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions (p. 4-5).

Hence, the right to participate in any referendum on the nation's independence should in the first place be viewed as a fundamental human right of the Kanak indigenous inhabitants of New Caledonia, as agreed upon at the time of the Noumea Accord, for its main objective is to repair some of the abhorrences that occurred as a consequence of the French colonial enterprise. Eventually, the French government issued a constitutional bill, ordering that only individuals already present on the electoral role on 8 November 1998 and who had been residing in the territory for at least ten years, a measure referred to as the 'frozen interpretation', would be able to participate in the vote. Even though the bill was already approved in 1999, the amendments were not ratified until much later, in 2007.

The right to self-determination of minority groups, which constitutes a general right of all people groups under international law, was initially associated with the right to gain independence. However, even though the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* expanded the right to all minorities, they do favour a right to recognition,

rather than full independence, in the case of dependencies that are geographically far removed from the countries who colonised them (Palayret, 2004).

The concept of self-determination is a rather ambiguous one. The notion, in its original meaning, was conceived during the Enlightenment period and the American and French Revolutions, but it has only become a more prominent theme in political discourse in the 20th century, more specifically after the Second World War (Crawford, 2001). As mentioned in the Charter of the United Nations as its main objective for international governance, self-determination soon became legally associated with the decolonisation process (Cassese, 1998) and is now even considered by some as *jus cogens* (Anaya, 2004).

Generally speaking, a distinction is made between external and internal aspects of the right: between being freed from foreign domination and becoming autonomous in every sense of the word (Cassese, 1998). The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* defines self-determination as a right for all indigenous people. Their stance was adopted by a large number of states in 2007, except for 11 states, who decided to refrain from voting, and four other countries who declared themselves against the notion: the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. The latter nations later changed their mind and ended up endorsing the concept. However, the UNDRIP is not binding, and the notion of self-determination remains a rather vague notion, usually applied in its internal sense only within the context of decolonisation.

Nevertheless, the declaration should still guarantee a protection of the rights of indigenous people to maintain their languages and culture and stay in possession of their lands and resources. It should further allow them to manage their own customary institutions whilst fully participating in State government, to access education in their own language and to make their

own decisions with regard to the cultural, political, or social development of their people. As article 8 of the UNDRIP states:

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.
2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:
 - (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;
 - (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;
 - (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;
 - (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration;
 - (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them (p. 5).

It is quite essential for self-determination to be seen as an intrinsic right of the Kanak indigenous people, as emerging from their desire to become independent from France. However, the ongoing relationship between the Kanak and the French and Caldoche institutions is one based on the negotiation of power and mostly depends on the sociohistorical context. As far as consulting is concerned, at first sight, a referendum seems like a good solution, based on democratic principles.

Any referendum generally contains three possible options: independence, free association, or association. Full independence or sovereignty would entail that New Caledonia becomes a sovereign state and that all financial aid from France would be ceased. In the case of free association, New Caledonia would become an independent nation while still conceding certain powers to France. If the course of action were association or integration, New Caledonia would remain within the French Republic, which would mean a prolongment of the status quo, unless both countries come to another agreement and the French government succeeds in postponing the decision by organising another referendum.

There are various issues associated with the upcoming independence referendum. First of all, the Kanak population only constitutes 40% of all the people who live in New Caledonia, so the democratic character of a referendum soon becomes perverted by the fact that the indigenous population have been largely outnumbered by French migrants and the local Caldoche population. Secondly, the exact wording of the questions has not yet been decided. Finally, the notion of independence is a highly ambiguous concept in itself that requires further clarification and that may be distorted by the dominant powers to manipulate the outcome of the referendum.

To investigate whether the Noumea Accord was actually being applied, a special United Nations field visit to New Caledonia was made on 20 February 2014. The visiting mission consisted of various representatives from Fiji, Ecuador, Papua New Guinea and Sierra Leone, as well as administrative staff and an electoral expert. The special delegation came up with various recommendations and suggestions, such as the following:

The mission shares the views of all those who consider the current situation in New Caledonia to be extremely fragile and stresses the importance of a constructive dialogue among all actors to find common ground, preserve peace and promote a “common destiny” (Report of the United Nations Mission to New Caledonia, 2014, p. 24).

And also:

The mission considers that for the future of New Caledonia it is essential that the recommendations contained in the 2011 report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, in particular those concerning Kanak participation in the political arena and governance (see A/HRC/18/35/Add. 6, paras. 72-76) and those relating to social and economic disparities (*ibid.*, paras. 84-88), be urgently implemented (Report of the United Nations Mission to New Caledonia, 2014, p. 24).

However, none of the recommendations made by the members of the special mission was implemented, which is why the Customary Senate took the initiative of issuing a charter on the fundamental principles and values of the Kanak indigenous people. Overall, the Kanak values

that are held in high esteem by the Kanak interactants in the present study, closely align with the most prominent Kanak values, which seek to enhance the overarching ideals of social harmony, consensus and cohesion. All of the values are summarised in the *Charter of the Kanak people* (Charte du Peuple Kanak, 2014). The system is held in place by means of *bwénaado* ‘celebration’ and *pwö bwénaado* ‘to exchange (gifts and/or speeches)’ (Peeters & Lecompte-Van Poucke, in press, p. 16), which occurs through the use of the spoken word, another sacred notion, based on the rule of reciprocity. As explicated in the charter, “life is sacred” and “the source of life, which runs in the veins of an individual, comes from the uterine uncle” (Charte du Peuple Kanak, p. 17). An individual’s Kanak name links him or her to the clan for life.

Land is another sacred concept in Kanak culture. As Tjibaou (1976) explains,

Paysage, dessin de village, société, défunts et êtres mythiques ne forment qu’un ensemble non seulement indivisible, mais encore pratiquement indifférencié. Ce qui veut dire que l’espace ici est peu intéressant par sa réalité objective. On ne peut donc pas l’hypothéquer, le vendre ou le violer par des travaux qui en bouleversent la physionomie, car ce serait porter atteinte à des aspects divers de l’incarnation du mythe (p. 284).

[‘*The landscape, the design of the village, society, the deceased and mythical beings, all form one whole that is not only indivisible but also practically undifferentiated. This means that the space here is not very interesting in terms of its objective reality. For this reason it cannot be mortgaged, sold or violated by works that disrupt its physiognomy, as this would undermine various appearances of the myth’s incarnation.*’]

Consequently, the idea of a *terra nullis* does not exist in Kanak culture. However, following European settlement in 1853 and the *Déclaration no. 18*, issued by Governor du Bouzet, France became the official owner of the land (Leblic, 2003), causing the dispossession and displacement of the Kanak, further aggravating their loss of identity. As Tjibaou (1976) mentioned, “un clan qui perd son territoire, c’est un clan qui perd sa personnalité” (a clan that loses its territory, loses its personality) (p. 285). After taking possession of the lands, the French

government has not ceased to exploit New Caledonia's resources, primarily nickel, in their own interests and not for the benefit of the indigenous population.

Kanak socialism constitutes a blend of communist ideas imported from France in the late 1960s by a group of young Kanak, who referred to themselves as *les Foulards Rouges* (the Red Scarves), and Kanak values such as reciprocity and communality. What is commonly known as the *Melanesian* or *Pacific way*, was further promoted by Tjibaou during Melanesia 2000, a Melanesian art festival, organised by the Kanak leader in Noumea in 1975, in an attempt to revitalise Melanesian culture. According to Waddell (2008), the attempt was highly successful: he describes how Melanesia 2000 reinforced the Kanak sense of collectivity and how it brought Melanesians together as a people. Kanak society, as seen through the eyes of Tjibaou (1981), "is the exact opposite of the capitalist world!" (p. 87) Kanak socialist ideology, therefore, clashes with French neo-liberal ideology, as Tjibaou further explained in the same passage, in Kanak society, you

cannot honor your uncles if you possess a lot and you don't give. The more you have, the more you have to give. And since communities are small, people know what you have! (p. 88).

Other important Kanak values are belonging and community: the Kanak individual exists in reference to the group to which he or she belongs, rooted firmly at the centre of a maternal and paternal kinship system (Charte du Peuple Kanak, p. 18). Respect, humility, and pride are highly valued and so are solidarity, sharing, hospitality, and work. The main values that hold Kanak society together, however, are respect, humility, solidarity, pride, sense of duty in relation to others and to the land (Charte du Peuple Kanak, p. 25), values that are also mentioned in the interview with the Kanak woman who volunteered to participate in the present study. As she mentions: "L'indépendance c'est travailler ensemble avec les autres ethnies." (Independence means working together with other ethnicities), or when she says: "Je veux

qu'ils soient tous d'accord pour l'indépendance.” (I want all of them to agree upon independence).

The Kanak arrive at decisions through a manifold process of deliberation that leads to a consensus, since they always strive for cohesion and social harmony. The process is referred to in Cèmuhi as *pwö jèkulè* (sharing narratives) and can take several days or even weeks. It stands in stark contrast with Western and French society in particular, where the emphasis lies on the individual, and one side commonly aims to persuade the other side of the merits of their position and the validity of their claim to a particular truth, thereby adopting a twofold type of dialogue. The values mentioned in the Charter of the Kanak People and the vision for Kanaky put forward by independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou are closely linked to the ideas of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG)¹⁰⁷ and the notion of the Melanesian Way, highlighting the very distinct character of Melanesian identity, as opposed to the Polynesian or European settler identity.¹⁰⁸ The notion soon became a collective denotation of ‘everything Pacific’, including the common values of consensus and respect and encapsulated in postcolonial counter-discourse, uttered by several Pacific nations, in an attempt to differentiate themselves from the Western discourse on issues pertaining to the Pacific region. In its original sense, as employed by Mara, the term was not anti-colonial whatsoever, as pointed out by Lawson (2013), but this changed after it was used by Ron Crocombe, who applied it to the specific nations of Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga. Lini’s vision, as expressed in a speech made in Canberra, in 1982, stands in contrast with Tjibaou’s view on the West. Lini strongly opposed against Western capitalist values, whereas Tjibaou aimed for compromise and reconciliation of Western and Kanak

107 The Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), which emerged in 1983, is a political organisation that can be situated alongside related organisations such as the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the Micronesian Chief Executives’ Summit (MCES) and the Polynesian Leaders’ Group (PLG).

108 The term ‘Pacific Way’ was first mentioned by Ratu Mara, the former Prime Minister of Fiji, during a speech made in the presence of the UN General Assembly, in 1970. It is also the title of a book (Tupounia, Crocombe & Slatter, 1975), containing various articles written by Pacific politicians and scholars. The term ‘Melanesian Way’ is further associated with the work of Bernard Narokobi (1983) and Walter Lini’s Melanesian socialism in Vanuatu (Premdas, 1987).

values, as described in a famous work, entitled *Kanake: the Melanesian way* (Tjibaou, 1989).

Or, as Tjibaou (Tjibaou, Bensa & Wittersheim, 1996) himself put it:

You know, among ourselves, we work more through consensus than by elections. This means that we try to work out questions together, and try to find shared common ground before deciding. This is how we live. Although this does not exclude the possibility of individual positions, the people are particularly respectful of common commitment. And if one takes a new position in relation to the collective thought, I would say the unspoken rule is not to break things apart (pp. 180-181).

Very importantly, the Kanak independence leader thus established a Melanesian identity as a positive construct of the Kanak self, as opposed to the French other, within the colonial power system. However, as Lawson (2013) emphasises:

As with virtually all regional identities (and national identities for that matter), the salience of the idea of Melanesia operates at a rather different level, underpinning the identity of the region's elites more so than those at the grassroots level (p. 22).

For example, the Melanesian woman interviewed for the present study does not self-identify as Melanesian but as Kanak, as becomes apparent from her use of the first person pronoun *nous* (we) in the interview: “Je votais pour parce que c’est vrai que *nous les Kanaks* on réclame notre pays” (I would vote for independence because it is true that we, the Kanak, demand our land back).

However, the Kanak do see themselves as being part of a larger whole: the Pacific. Despite a strong French assimilationist policy, New Caledonia does not constitute a blend of cultures, as underlined by Tjibaou (Tjibaou, Bensa & Wittersheim, 1996), but shows a society where ethnicities are strictly divided by the local government, despite the claims from Caldoche politicians such as Frogier who claim that a common destiny is already a reality. The original reserves, to which the Kanak were relegated, still exist next to *le village* (the town), which is mainly French and White. Subsequently, most Kanak would concur that there is no actual social equality, as Kanak languages and culture are still not fully recognised and the French rhetoric

of homogeneity only further marginalises the Kanak in terms of education and job prospects. In fact, as seen from a Kanak nationalist perspective, France is still behaving like a coloniser, since the French government continues to provide financial aid, as mentioned by Hollande in his speech, and Kanak languages are referred to as dialects that are bound to disappear under the pressure of the wider language of communication, French. As the Kanak woman explains in the interview conducted for this study:

Pour les langues kanaks je vois comment cela se passe pour ma fille.

Avant l'école elle était à la maison.

Elle était toute petite.

Elle parle la langue mais quand elle rentre à l'école, elle ne parle plus elle comprend seulement.

C'est ça que je vois pour la plupart des jeunes aujourd'hui.

Il faut dire qu'ils parlent la langue mais c'est ça qui est difficile.

['As for the Kanak languages, I can see what happens with my daughter. Before starting school, she was at home. She was only little. She speaks the language (Cèmuhi), but when she went to school, she stopped speaking it and could only understand it. That's what I see happening among the majority of the young people today. They speak the language, but that's what makes it hard. ']

Generally speaking, there is little respect for Kanak culture, resulting in a highly popularised rhetoric, propagated by most French politicians with regard to the island nation, that conveys the message that New Caledonia would be completely lost without France. Even locally, most Caldoche people would refer to Kanak languages as dialects and Kanak culture as *que du folklore* (nothing more than folklore) (Personal communication with the Belgian honorary consul to New Caledonia, 2009).

It has become clear that the collective verbal expression of the French and Caldoche perceptions of the common destiny metaphor and the Republican ideal of equality does not correspond with the reality of a present-day experience for Kanak individuals who perceive the common destiny

myth to be a harmonious form of co-existence based on Kanak values such as cohesion, respect and recognition. The imaginary construct of New Caledonia as a nation (Anderson, 1991) has been described as the French desire for a homogeneous state, with the French culture and language as its main denominators. This perspective disagrees with the Kanak construct of the Republic of Kanaky, based on the discourse uttered by various representatives of the groups involved in the negotiation process, including an anonymous Kanak woman.

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter has made an attempt at describing some of the ideological adherences and practices of the key stakeholders in the New Caledonian independence debate. First, the French neo-colonialist ideological attitude, as exemplified by the open letter written by Mitterrand, and the political speech made by former French President Hollande, and as being defined and re-defined by other members of the French government, has been discussed. Then, Caldoche nationalism as an ideological motivator for some of the Caldoche courses of action within the context of New Caledonia's decolonisation process, and as a reduplication of French imperialist thinking by French loyalists, has been further explored, as conjunctive with Kanak social nationalism, an ideology which has formed a highly significant motivator for the Kanak independence struggle and which gave birth to important Kanak concepts of nationhood. Several examples of how these ideologies have informed current policies and agreements within the New Caledonian context have been provided, such as social and economic rebalancing as part of the Caldoche common destiny project, as well as the Matignon-Oudinot and Noumea Accords. The Kanak right to recognition and self-determination has been interpreted, as seen from an international law perspective, to gain a better understanding of what it entails for New Caledonia's future. Finally, the concept of the 'Melanesian way' has been clarified. It has

become evident that various ideological incongruences between the main interlocutors in the debate have historically informed and guided political action in the public arena.

Chapter Seven: Insights and Recommendations for Future Research

7.1 Introduction

The present study has investigated how eight representatives of four different groups that are implicated in the New Caledonian independence debate discursively construct a view of the nation's future and identity that fits best with their ideological beliefs and values. How power and ideology are negotiated and re-negotiated between the participants has also been looked into. Finally, the interlocutors' arguments have been reconstructed and critically evaluated by performing a pragma-dialectical analysis of the discursive exchange of viewpoints between each of the protagonists and their audience, based on a description of linguistic or argumentative indicators in the excerpts. Eight discourse samples were studied at the micro-level and further contextualised to reveal various historically transmitted discursive patterns and an intertextually linked blend of contexts of situation, in which the eight protagonists construe meaning, inspired by tacit ideological allegiances.

Few critical discourse studies simultaneously focus on both the political discourse, as expressed by more dominant powers, as well as a contentious issue and the audience response, expressed by minority groups, and even fewer explore both the rhetorical and dialectical objectives of the interactants in the resulting debate as a historically contextualised plurilogue across cultural boundaries by describing the participants' discursive moves as speech acts that aim to achieve a particular political result. This thesis has made a contribution to knowledge by answering the following questions: How do the selected representatives of the discourse communities that are participating in the independence debate attempt to influence or alter the recipients' point of view through their construction of an individual reality of a common destiny for New Caledonia and through their conceptualisation of agency? How do they endeavour to persuade the audience to accept their view as a reasonable solution to the independence issue by negotiating

power and ideology with others? What are some of the argumentative strategies employed by the selected interlocutors in the plurilogue and how do the dominant representatives use shared or implicit knowledge to their own benefit? In addition, what are some of the ideological practices all of the groups appear to be engaged in?

7.2 Summary of the Study's Main Findings

In response to the first question, the transitivity analysis of verbal processes and agency has demonstrated how a collective New Caledonian identity is being constructed in the discourse concerning the independence issue. A closer investigation of how language is used by the interactants at the ideational level has revealed how the common destiny metaphor affects the actions of the groups and how they are represented. Also, by exploring how the interlocutors exchange interpersonal meanings with one another, the importance of the metaphor in influencing the power dynamics between the groups has become clear. The overarching focus of the study was on how the power relations between the French, Caldoche, and minority groups have been shaped by various permeating ideologies, as well as the influence of these power structures and ideological disparities on both political and non-political discourse and social practice.

The French and Caldoche interactants construct New Caledonia's identity and future as inextricably interwoven with the French ideals of peaceful co-existence and collaboration, symbolised in the common destiny imaginary.¹⁰⁹ The Kanak interlocutors, however, construct the nation's identity and future as free from the French colonising power. Furthermore, it has become clear that the more powerful French and Caldoche groups represent themselves as Agents in the discursive construction of New Caledonia's identity and future. The French participants see themselves, the French government, the Law and the Caldoches as the most

¹⁰⁹ See chapter four.

powerful Actors, having a significant impact on New Caledonia's economy, the population's behaviour, the action plan with regard to the nation's independence, and the relationship between France and its dependencies, power, culture and the land.

The Caldoche respondent represents the common destiny ideal, respect, and mutual assistance, the present reality of all different groups living together and being one single people as positive entities and full independence, impoverishment and a possible takeover by an elite as inherently negative. Entities that are represented in a positive way by Frogier are signs of identity, the symbol of the flag and his idea of the construction of a new nation, where everyone shares a peaceful existence. He attributes negative connotations to entities such as violence and the ongoing negotiation process. It becomes evident that neo-colonial ideology, linked to key French values such as Francophonie, respect, peace, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, and Caldoche nationalist ideology, linked to values such as democracy, multiethnicity, peace and respect, exercise great influence on the above-mentioned positive and negative representations. Subsequently, the individual use of the common destiny metaphor by the more powerful representatives indicates that the other protagonists are less powerful than they are when it comes to the collective construction of New Caledonia's identity. Their discourse further implies that the ethnic minority groups are violent, non-cooperative, self-promoting, and view full independence from France as the ultimate solution.

A closer look at the counter-discourse, uttered by the representatives of the Kanak minority group, has shown that some Kanak people still believe they have a role to play in how New Caledonian identity is defined, based on the beliefs and thoughts of their ancestors and symbolised in the Melanesian Way or by voicing their concrete expectations of the French government. They represent full independence from France, their own views and an interpretation of the common destiny goal that differs from the one expressed by the dominant groups as positive entities, whereas internal division, loss of the Kanak culture and *la langue*

(the Kanak language) are represented by the Kanak participants in a negative way. The positive and negative representations put forward by the Kanak minority group are structured by Kanak nationalist ideology linked to salient values such as social harmony, consensus, and cohesion. The Futunian/Wallisian minority group representative attaches positive connotations to the common destiny ideal, consensus and taking into account the populations' views, whereas division and untimely independence are seen as negative.

To answer the second question, in terms of the likelihood of the course of action proposed by the interactants and the desirability of the political acts or events, the modality analysis has shown that the French protagonists assert that the French government needs to remain fair by also focusing on the needs of the Caldoche population.¹¹⁰ It has to act with regard to the independence issue and make its expectations clear. The representatives also point the New Caledonian population to its obligation to collaborate with the French State. Their main goals are to appease the tense relations between France and its dependencies, to express their views on the matter and to provide financial support, revealing a neo-colonialist stance. The Caldoche protagonists assert the need for a public and symbolic recognition of both the French and Kanak identities. They endeavour to obtain a positive response from the independence leaders, to discuss the matter, and to achieve reconciliation, inspired by Caldoche nationalist ideology.

The Kanak protagonists, in turn, claim that their people are suffering great injustice. They believe it is necessary to consult the elders on how to maintain the tradition of exchanging gifts and speeches and the preservation of indigenous traditions and languages. Obtaining freedom and a normalised situation, as well as unity, in favour of full independence and no more violence, are their main priorities, while they also desire to seize independence. Finally, they would like the young people to return to the villages and the elders. The more powerful French

¹¹⁰ See chapter four.

and Caldoche groups appear to stand a greater chance of achieving their objectives of peaceful co-existence - while maintaining close ties with France - than the indigenous minority group has of obtaining full Kanak socialist independence.

It is important to emphasise that individual and collective viewpoints should not be confounded, as doing so can, in itself, lead to the discrimination of dissenting views as expressed by individuals who disagree with the collective standpoint or who may be offended by the alternative perspective taken by an individual who belongs to the same group. For example, some Kanak people may disagree with gaining full independence or some Caldoche people might think that the Kanak deserve independence. Also, a Caldoche individual may not agree with another Caldoche person's opinion on the matter, and so on.

The dominant French and Caldoche protagonists presuppose common knowledge on how the relations between the groups ought to be defined and maintained. They assume that their socially shared opinions serve the nation's interests, whereas, as it turns out, their arguments mainly serve their own political ends. Following in the footsteps of John Locke or Alexis de Tocqueville¹¹¹ in the nineteenth century, the French and Caldoche representatives in the independence debate conceptualise the concepts of democracy and multiethnicity as positive, whereas, in fact, they are representing themselves as intrinsically superior and more powerful in their discourse than the minority population. As such, they are ignoring the Kanak people's rights to self-determination and cultural recognition, while promoting their own ideological agenda.

In their interaction with the audience, the dominant French and Caldoche interlocutors aim to convince the other groups of the fact that a common destiny for France and New Caledonia is the best and most effective solution for the independence issue.¹¹² In order to achieve their

111 See Locke & Yolton (2002) and de Tocqueville & Griffith (2005).

112 See chapter five.

political objectives, the French and Caldoche participants employ similar discursive strategies. They argue for reconciliation, collaboration, and unity, whereas, in reality, their arguments contain various fallacies and inferential meanings that all have an impact on the heterogeneous audience that forms the target of their rhetorical efforts. A pragma-dialectical analysis was carried out, thereby focusing on various salient linguistic or argumentative indicators in the discourse, to clarify the argumentation of the more powerful participants in terms of a critical discussion and to evaluate their reasoning with regard to reasonableness and validity, seen from an audience perspective.

The analysis revealed that Mitterrand's assertion that 'those who have a lot help those who no longer have anything' is a fallacy, known as an *argumentum ad populum*. It is based on a form of French common knowledge the audience is supposed to be familiar with: non-coloured people need to be generous towards coloured people, who generally lack their wealth of resources and power. The former French President further claims that the Caldoche population has an equal right to the land as the Kanak due to their hard labour and collective efforts. Therefore, his proposed course of action is free association with France. Mitterrand's argument is based on comparison, for he continuously compares the Kanak and the Caldoche inhabitants of New Caledonia and then concludes they are the same. However, as the brief historical overview included in the study shows, the descendants of the European settler population are not the same as New Caledonia's first inhabitants, for the simple reason that the ancestors of the former have never been subjected to a foreign colonising regime, resulting in long-lasting trauma, social discrepancy, an ongoing loss of language and culture, the deprivation of their land, being allocated to reserves or separate living areas, and so on. The only similarities shared between the Caldoches and the Kanak appear to be their current co-existence and sheer humanity.

In his turn, Hollande claims that all inhabitants of any of the French Overseas Territories, including New Caledonia, are French citizens. Similar to Mitterrand's type of reasoning, his argument is based on a comparison, but it does not contrast the Kanak and the Caldoches. Instead, the former French President compares the Kanak and the French people while asserting that the Kanak should be treated like French citizens. At first sight, this appears to be a reasonable and highly admirable type of reasoning. However, instead of recognising the Kanak right to independence and to constructing their particular collective identity, Hollande's claim of homogenisation aims to amalgamate all New Caledonia's inhabitants into a single French Union, thereby rendering the Kanak and all other minorities invisible. Subsequently, the politician's argument mainly constitutes a justification for the ongoing involvement of the French government in New Caledonia's internal affairs and its neo-colonialist attitude of funding the local economy. Hollande's preferred political action is symbolised by the common destiny ideal, which he interprets as New Caledonia remaining within France.

The Caldoche respondent asserts that he is against independence while using causal argumentation. He assumes that the audience agrees with his proposition that full Kanak independence should be seen as a racist move. However, it has become clear that such a statement cannot be put forward as common knowledge or as something everyone can agree with. The appeal to opinion that follows can, again, be interpreted as being fallacious. The respondent's preferred outcome of the debate is more or less a continuation of the past, since he sees a common destiny as simply living together. Frogier, the Caldoche politician, in his turn, makes the highly binary claim that New Caledonia needs to develop signs of identity and that these signs ought to represent both the French and Kanak communities. Similar to Mitterrand, Frogier refers to the authority of the population in his symptomatic argument, which is entirely based on his personal perspective on the issue, when he says that both parties have always sought for signs of a collective identity, ever since the conclusion of the Noumea Accord

in 1998. He thereby assumes that his viewpoint is shared by the audience. However, part of Frogier's audience consists of Kanak members, most of whom would probably disagree with his proposal of a double collective identity, as it implies that the recognition of their people and their right to self-determination ought to be merely symbolic in nature, instead of being the result of concrete ways to achieve full independence. Frogier assumes that the audience silently agrees with his action plan to keep New Caledonia as a part of the French Republic.

Tjibaou argues that Mitterrand should be re-elected as French President, based on his familiarity with the politician's strong socialist views. He further argues that New Caledonia ought to obtain full Kanak independence. His pragmatic argumentation points to various positive consequences of Mitterrand's re-election, such as the return of Kanak liberties and to a normalised situation and a new era of freedom for his people. It further refers to more numerous, negative consequences, in case Mitterrand is not re-elected, such as racial extermination, discrimination, a denial of Kanak rights, and the rise of racial tension between the French and the Kanak inhabitants of New Caledonia.

The Kanak interviewee, in turn, claims that everyone should agree upon the action plan of New Caledonia becoming fully independent from France, making her reasoning follow a causal argumentation scheme. Her argument presupposes that a general consensus will lead to the aforementioned desired outcome of the debate, based on the Kanak cultural value of acquiring an agreement after thorough deliberation. Déwé Gorodé asserts that she does not wish to forget the words and views of her ancestors. Her search relies on the collective memory of Kanaky that ties her people together and that has been preserved and reproduced by them for many centuries, as well as their memories of the colonial era.¹¹³ However, its oral nature renders it highly fragile and hard to retrieve, compared to the written French historical construct. Finally,

¹¹³ Memories may be interpreted here as a blend of both individual and socially shared memories of the Kanak people of the colonial period that still influence their attitude towards the French and that affect their current construction of self and sense of wellbeing (Fanon, 1961).

the Wallisian/Futunian respondent puts forward the view that New Caledonia is not ready to become fully independent due to the highly fragmented character of the nation, which could be an assertion motivated by fear of becoming destitute or unemployed after the French powers retreat.

The study further explored how the common destiny metaphor and neo-colonialist and nationalist ideologies structure various political practices of the French and Caldoche groups such as social and economic rebalancing.¹¹⁴ It has looked at these practices with the aim of providing further evidence for the present social and economic inequality between the co-existing communities, after offering ample linguistic evidence. Discord between French neo-colonialism, Caldoche nationalism, and Kanak socialist ideology has become apparent. The French government representatives in the study appear to adhere to the French Republican ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which are recast in the Caldoche aspirations for independent rule as part of the universalist philosophy proclaimed by the French politicians. By emphasising values and objectives such as Francophonie, peace, cohesion, solidarity or responsibility, Mitterrand and Hollande provide a type of justifying reasoning.

The common destiny ideal, proposed by the French government and mirrored in the Caldoche discourse of multiethnicity, proclaims a form of egalitarianism and democracy based on French principles that perpetuate a status quo that leads to ongoing racial discrimination. It has been further demonstrated how the Caldoche nationalist stance intersects with persistent social and economic inequalities between the two groups that have been living together since the nineteenth century. Finally, the Kanak's fundamental right to self-determination and cultural recognition, as stipulated in the Matignon and Noumea agreements, has been emphasised as lying at the core of the New Caledonian decolonisation process. Kanak ideals such as

¹¹⁴ See chapter six.

reciprocity, communality, belonging, sharing, humility or respect, which are described in the Charter of the Kanak people, as well as the sacred concept of the land, are closely intertwined with the Melanesian way and are firmly established by independence leaders such as Tjibaou and Gorodé as positive constructs of self that serve to differentiate the Kanak from their French oppressors.

7.3 Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Study

The study has adopted a novel pragma-functional, contrastive approach to CDA by using linguistic tools such as Systemic Functional Grammar and Pragma-Dialectics, informed by postcolonialism and poststructuralism, to explore the impact of power and ideology on language use and social or political practice in the New Caledonian decolonisation process. Linguistic evidence was adduced to show how the French dominant powers employ a common destiny rhetoric to manipulate the other groups into accepting that New Caledonia needs to remain closely associated with France, motivated by a neo-imperialist agenda. Subsequently, the standpoints advanced by the representatives of the main stakeholder groups involved in the plurilogical conflict between the French, Caldoche, and Kanak communities were reconstructed from the perspective of a critical discussion between each of the protagonists and their audience, demonstrating the impact of some of the inferential meanings and perlocutionary acts on political action in terms of social change and decolonisation. The arguments put forward by the interactants were further evaluated in terms of their reasonableness and validity.

It must be said that French policy with regard to its overseas dependencies has changed considerably. Since New Caledonia was officially claimed for France by counter admiral Febvrier Despointes in 1853, it evolved from being strongly assimilationist, inspired by the French Revolution, to be more inclined towards the associative viewpoint of the 20th century (Betts, 1960). The idea of association, however, still promotes French superiority, as shown by

the grammatical and pragma-dialectical analyses of Mitterrand and Hollande's discourse, for example. While upholding the ideals of multiculturalism and collaboration, evident in both the French and Caldoche discourse samples, the more powerful French and French loyalist protagonists maintain a status quo that continues to limit access to electoral power and economic opportunities for the indigenous minorities. This policy of association-in-disguise is presented by the rulers, confronted with the fact that the international context of globalisation demands an omnipresent decolonisation policy of former colonies, as peaceful co-existence.

Part of the innovative character of the project is that it does not merely focus on both oral and written texts produced by the French colonisers or the Caldoche politicians, it also includes the perspective of the formerly colonised and discriminated minority population. The samples selected for the study feature several different genres and registers and include interviews, public letters, a political speech, responses to an online questionnaire, and poetry, as expressed in various French registers. Adequate contextualisation of the discourse uttered by the interlocutors is provided to disclose how discursive formations are historically transmitted and to reveal various linguistic patterns in the discourse that may be linked to pervading ideologies or constructions of shared knowledge. It is exactly this realisation of incongruent value systems that ought to propel French political action towards a policy of cultural recognition and a long overdue acknowledgement of the Kanak right to self-determination.

The study's contrastive pragma-functional approach to Critical Discourse Studies analyses discourse as a social practice that contains argumentation, since it constitutes various discursive acts that are bound to have a positive, negative or other type of impact on its recipients' views and behaviour. Due to its perlocutionary character, argumentation is interpreted psychologically in terms of the beliefs, attitudes and values held by the interlocutors. A framework that combines SFG and PD allows us to look at discourse beyond the clause or sentence level, including an analysis of both grammatical patterns and the illocutionary or

perlocutionary effects of argumentative moves in a discursive exchange. As mentioned earlier, CDA does not constitute a theoretical framework.¹¹⁵ It is a type of interdisciplinary discourse analysis that aims to critically evaluate the discourse concerning various phenomena or issues that require closer observation because of their acute relevance in society by investigating linguistic instances of discursive violence in terms of control or power abuse.

Critical Discourse Studies privilege the analysis of data across a wide variety of contexts. The present study has taken this a step further by exploring the link between discourse and culture as a social construct. By contrasting the disparate forms of common knowledge shared among various heterogeneous groups, the interlocutors' argumentative discourse may be evaluated against the norms agreed upon by each of the communities to which the social actors belong, instead of relying on a universal set of principles. Subsequently, every fallacious move made by the interactants constitutes an instance of distorted communication,¹¹⁶ mostly in the Foucauldian sense of power abuse, but also as an unintentional clash of ideological systems. As such, the cross-cultural aspect of the framework and topics such as independence, nation-building or postcolonial racism require an approach that incorporates postcolonial perspectives.¹¹⁷ Within a context of historically evolved power systems and social constructs such as race or national identity, a Habermasian approach, based on social theory, is unsuitable, since Habermas' theory promotes the exact Enlightenment values that ought to be questioned in the specific situation at hand from a critical, intercultural angle. However, a Hallidayan perspective, which allows for mediation between the different cultural systems or contexts and the discourse, in terms of lexicogrammatical choices made by the social actors in a specific context of situation, can be integrated into the overall pragma-functional or interdiscursive

115 See van Dijk (2013).

116 Habermas (1970) interprets distorted communication as a type of discursive exchange that breaches the principle of equality due to its connection with asymmetrical power relations.

117 See Foucault (1970; 1972; 1982), Fanon (1952; 1961) and Saïd (1978).

discourse analytical framework, provided it takes into account that multiple semiotic systems exist that are continuously instantiated in the form of hybrid discourse.

The interactional model further incorporates insights from Argumentation theory, thereby adopting a relativistic view of reasonableness as being highly culture-specific. It does represent and evaluate arguments that have been put forward by various interlocutors, thereby following the model of a critical discussion, proposed by PD.¹¹⁸ However, the argumentative exchange of speech acts is perceived in the study as a plurilogue, since it occurs between a protagonist and a heterogeneous audience, instead of being interpreted as a dialogical or dyadic interaction between a protagonist and an antagonist. Decolonisation requires a counter-discourse that challenges, contests and questions the colonisers' discourse.¹¹⁹ Subsequently, the minority and majority groups continuously alternate the roles of protagonist and antagonist while addressing an audience that consists of recipients who are members of multiple groups themselves, but who also make emblematic choices as to which community they wish to adhere. Hence, following Saïd (1978), the other groups are seen as a discursive creation of each of the protagonists.

7.4 Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

The study has combined various perspectives and concepts from several theoretical frameworks into a novel pragma-functional and contrastive approach to the critical analysis of discourse. As a result, the methodology may seem rather eclectic. However, it needs to be emphasised that the present study merely aims to realise its critical aims of revealing covert racism or power imbalances and of elucidating ideological inferences that permeate the discourse expressed by the participants in the independence debate, as well as evaluating the argumentation employed

¹¹⁸ See van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1984; 1992; 2004), Searle (1975) and Grice (1975).

¹¹⁹ See Saïd (1978).

by the interactants in terms of the effects it has on its recipients and New Caledonian society at large. For this purpose, various linguistic tools were used to explore the topic within its wider and more immediate context, as seen from a relevant, critical perspective, constituted by postcolonial theory and poststructuralism, instead of adopting a Habermasian perspective. The approach presents itself as a type of mixed-methods research, which is a highly common practice within Critical Discourse Studies.

Only a limited number of excerpts were selected for the research project, which was due to limitations in terms of space and time. The use of corpus linguistics tools or any other relevant type of software could allow for a more extensive pragma-functional analysis of the topic by incorporating more data into the analysis. Furthermore, the choice of texts for the study may be seen by some as biased,¹²⁰ for it seems to favour arguments that align with the core viewpoints adopted by each of the stakeholder groups. However, it was adequately pointed out that, due to the hybrid and heterogeneous nature of both discourse and audience, highly dissimilar viewpoints may be taken individually and collectively across any categorical boundaries. Most importantly, the study's overarching postcolonial perspective, in defence of the indigenous minority voice and with the explicit intent of exposing the indelible impact of imperialism and colonialism on the minority community, largely resolves the issue of researcher subjectivity.

Nevertheless, a more corpus-based approach seems recommended to reduce possible research bias. Another possible limitation is that the excerpts are all in French and no discourse was elicited in any of the indigenous or minority languages, again, due to limited resources and time. In this sense, it would have been better to be able to work as part of a team, in a truly interdisciplinary fashion. Any critical discourse study is a highly laborious process of gathering data, followed by detailed linguistic analysis, interpretation, and explanation of findings that, ideally, may be obtained through collaboration between scholars from different fields or

¹²⁰ See, for example: Schegloff (1997).

disciplines, as well as the use of software that facilitates the investigation of larger corpora, preferably across various languages and registers.

7.5 Conclusion

The study has demonstrated how power and ideology permeate all conflictual discourse that is being exchanged between dissenting collectivities in society, with the potential of leading to communication failure, especially when the groups adhere to highly incongruous cultural discursive worlds. It has further uncovered the way a coercive rhetoric of common sense attributes to the perpetuation of power asymmetries. As far as New Caledonia's independence is concerned, only the future can tell which of the arguments put forward by the stakeholders will ultimately prevail. It is hoped, however, that the study has provided some useful ideological insights and dialectical tools to enhance mutual understanding and respect among some of the interlocutors that are involved in the decision-making process of the New Caledonian nation and to ensure that all of the interactants' viewpoints are considered before taking the most unbiased and inclusive political action possible. Most importantly, however, the project constitutes an example of how discourse construes interpersonal relations and reality in a particular manner, as well as how individuals construct knowledge, identity, and social practice through the use of discourse.

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Appendix One: Systemic Functional Analysis

Excerpt 1

1. Monsieur le Président, quel avenir nous réservez-vous ?

Exp		Goal	Beneficiary	Proc: mat (effective)	Ac
Int	Voc.	qu-Comp.	C-clitic	Fin: pres	S-clitic
	Remainder			Negotiator	
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme		

2. Serons-nous les derniers des Mohicans de la région pacifique,
[[2.1]]

Exp	Proc: ident and intens	Tok	Val
Int	Fin: fut	S-clit	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: interp		Rheme

- 2.1 [[comme il y a eu les derniers Tasmaniens ?]]

3. Vous le savez, le peuple kanak a toujours refusé [[3.1]]

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc:-	Circ	-beh (verbal)
Int	Adj.	Subj.	Fin: pres	Adj.	Pred.
	Remainder		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 3.1 [[d'être considéré comme un vestige archéologique de l'histoire du monde.]]

4. Il se refusera encore plus [[4.1]]

Exp	Se	Phen	Proc: ment	Circ: manner: quality
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin: fut	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 4.1 [[d'être celui de l'histoire coloniale française.]]

5. Monsieur le Président, [[5.1]] je tiens à vous remercier [[5.2]]

Exp	-	Actor	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

- 5.1 [[au moment ou vous achevez votre septennat,]]

- 5.2 [[de ne pas avoir hésité à utiliser les termes de situation coloniale pour qualifier celle qui prévaut en Nouvelle-Calédonie et qui se traduit par l'injustice pour le peuple kanak.]]

6. Vous êtes aujourd'hui à la veille d'un nouveau septennat.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Circ: spatial: time	Att
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

7. Vous allez porter devant la face du monde le destin de la France.

Exp	Actor	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: place	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

8. Allez- vous encore exhiber cette plaie [[8.1]]

Exp	Proc:-	Actor	Circ: spatial: time	mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Fin: pres	S-clitic	Adj.	Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Rheme			

- 8.1 [[qui constitue au XXe siècle le colonialisme français ?]]

9. L'opinion publique française est sensible aux massacres en Palestine à Gaza.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator	Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

10. Je vous demande de rappeler aux Français
[[10.1]] [[10.2]]

Exp	Sayer	Addressee	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

10.1 [[que chez eux, dans un pays du bout du monde qu'ils appellent la France, la situation est la même que dans les territoires occupés]]

10.2 [[et que cette situation est de plus en plus tragique pour notre peuple.]]

11. Monsieur le Président, nous avons écouté, au début de votre septennat,

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment cog	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Adj.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

le grand discours [[11.1]]

Phen
Comp.
Remainder

11.1 [[que vous avez prononcé à Cancun.]]

12. Cela nous a donné beaucoup d'espoir.

Exp	Act	Recipient	Proc: (effective) mat	Goal
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

13. Mais, vous le savez, le gouvernement socialiste, pas plus qu'aucun autre,

Exp	-	-	Act	Circ: manner: comparison
Int	-	Adj.	Subj.	Adj.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Theme: interp

n' a su trouver de solutions institutionnelles[[13.1]] [[13.2]]

Exp		Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	A-neg-clit	Fin^Pred	Comp.
			Remainder
Text	Rheme		

13.1 [[adaptées à la situation calédonienne]]

13.2 [[qui est unique, comme chaque situation coloniale.]]

14. La revendication du peuple kanak est une revendication de dignité et de recouvrement de libertés dans l'indépendance.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

15. Je souhaite [[15.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text		

15.1 [[que vous soyez a nouveau le représentant de tous les hommes qui se réfèrent aux droits de l'homme et à une image progressiste et moderne de la France.]]

16. [[16.1]] à cause des orientations nous pensons [[16.4]]
 [[16.2]] à cause de cette
 considération [[16.3]]

Exp	Circ: cause: reason	Se	Proc: ment cog
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Remainder	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

16.1 [[A cause de ce que vous êtes personnellement,]]

16.2 [[que vous avez prises et de la fidélité à votre option pour la dignité des hommes,]]

16.3 [[que nous avons pour vous,]]

16.4 [[que vous devriez, si vous êtes élu, imaginer des solutions de justice.]]

17. Français et Kanaks sont considérés comme des adversaires.

Exp	Se	Proc: ment cog	Phen
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

18. De plus en plus, ils vont devenir des ennemis. [[18.1]]
[[18.2]]

Exp	Circ: manner: quality	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

18.1 [[A moins que vous acceptiez de tracer avec nous un chemin de liberté pour le peuple kanak et pour tous ceux qui habitent la Nouvelle-Calédonie.]]

18.2 [[Et pour l'honneur du peuple que vous représentez.]]

19. Monsieur le Président, nous avons en face de nous,

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

en Nouvelle-Calédonie des responsables [[19.1]]

comme dans le gouvernement,

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Goal
Int	Adj.	Comp.
Text		

19.1 [[qui personnifient une image figée de la France.]]

20. Nous pensons [[20.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment cog
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

20.1 [[que la représentation de la France dans le Pacifique ne peut être assurée et acceptée, dans la mesure où elle est confiée à des affairistes qui exploitent le drapeau et le nom de la France, uniquement pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts.]]

21. II faut [[21.1]]

Exp	Exist part	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

21.1 [[que vous sachiez que le discours arrogant tenu à l'encontre des Kanaks est interprété par l'ensemble des pays du Pacifique comme un discours de mépris à leur propre égard.]]

22. Cela va grandissant.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: quality
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

23. Monsieur le Président, je souhaite le retour des libertés,

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Phen
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

24. ^JE SOUHAITE le retour à une situation normalisée,

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

en France comme en Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Circ: spatial: place

Adj.

25. C' est pour cela [[25.1]] [[25.2]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	att
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

25.1 [[que je souhaite que vous soyez à nouveau Président]]

25.2 [[et que vous formiez un autre gouvernement qui n'emprisonne pas systématiquement les Kanaks, comme celui-ci le fait actuellement.]]

26. Monsieur le Président, j' espère [[26.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme

26.1 [[que le message que je vous transmets ne restera pas vain.]]

27. Notre peuple encourt de plus en plus de risques pour sa sécurité physique.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

28. J' aimerais [[28.1]] [[28.2]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: cond.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

28.1 [[que vous puissiez mettre l'opinion publique française devant ses responsabilités,]]

28.2 [[que vous l'interpelliez au cours de cette campagne électorale pour qu'elle se rende compte qu'en son sein se pratiquent des dénis de justice.]]

29. Peut-elle tolérer chez elle des pratiques [[29.1]]

Exp	Proc.-	Proc: beh	Circ: spatial: place	Range
Int	Fin: mod.-S-clitic	Pred.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: interp	Rheme		

29.1 [[qu'elle dénonce ailleurs, en Afrique du Sud ou dans les territoires occupés ?]]

30. Les ingrédients [[30.1]] déterminent les mêmes effets.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

30.1 [[mis en place par le gouvernement de Monsieur Chirac]]

31. J' espère, Monsieur le Président, [[31.1]]
[[31.2]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	-
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Voc.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

31.1 [[que vous pourrez revenir en force à la tête de l'État]]

31.2 [[pour offrir à notre peuple, et à la France bien sûr, une nouvelle ère de liberté.]]

Excerpt 2

1. Les Français comprendront [[1.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	Subj.	Fin: fut.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

1.1 [[que celui qui a beaucoup aide celui qui n'a plus rien.]]

2. Mais [[2.1]] on pose sur ma table un message de
M. Tjibaou.

Exp	-	Acto	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: place	Goal
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator		Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

2.1 [[tandis que j'écris ces lignes,]]

3. C' est un appel au secours [[3.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

3.1 [[en même temps qu'un rappel des principes qui l'inspirent.]]

4. Il combat pour l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie,

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

5. et pour lui, la Nouvelle-Calédonie,

Exp	-	Beneficiary	Tok
Int	-	Comp.	Subj.
			Negotiator
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top

c' est avant tout le peuple canaque.

Exp	-	Proc: ident and intens	Circ: condition	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
Text			Remainder	
	Rheme			

6. Je résume un peu vite, peut-être, sa pensée.

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Circ: manner: quality	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

7. M. Tjibaou et son parti ne demandent pas l'exclusion des Français d'origine et des autres ethnies.

Exp	Sayer	-	Proc: beh (verbal)	-	Verbiage
Int	Subj.	A- neg- clitic	Fin.: pres.	A- neg	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Rheme		

8. Ils veulent simplement, [[8.1]] en décider eux-mêmes,

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Circ: manner: quality	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod.	Adj: manner	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

8.1 [[si je puis dire,]]

9. car ils sont, à eux seuls le suffrage universel.

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Circ: condition	Val
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

10. Je connais cette théorie.

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

11. [[11.1]] M. Tjibaou ne varie pas.

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres.	A-neg
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

11.1 [[Depuis sept ans que je le rencontre,]]

12. C' est un homme [[12.1]] [[12.2]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

12.1 [[que je respecte,]]

12.2 [[avec lequel les mots vont plus loin que les mots.]]

13. Mais je ne crois pas [[13.1]]

Exp	-	Se	-	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	-	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres.	A-neg.
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Rheme			

13.1 [[que l'antériorité historique des Canaques sur cette terre suffise à fonder le droit.]]

14. Histoire contre Histoire: les Calédoniens d'origine européenne

Exp	-	Act
Int	Adj.	Subj.
		Negotiator
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top

ont aussi, par leur labeur, modelé ce sol,

Exp	Proc:-	-	Circ: manner: means	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.	Pred.	Comp.
		Remainder			
Text	Rheme				

15. ^ILS se sont nourris de sa substance,

Exp	Beh	Beneficiary	Proc: beh	Range
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

16. ^ILS y ont enfoncé leurs racines.

Exp	Act	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Adj. clit.	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

17. Les deux communautés face à face n' ont aucune chance
[[17.1]]

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 17.1 [[d'imposer durablement leur loi, sans l'autre et contre l'autre - sinon par la violence et la violence elle-même atteindra ses limites.]]

18. L'indépendance, pourquoi pas ?

19. La population eût été homogène [[19.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

19.1 [[que la Nouvelle-Calédonie en serait là, comme ses voisins.]]

20. Mais l'indépendance dans cet -état de rupture, entre deux populations d'importance comparable,

Exp	-	Se	Circ: condition
Int	-	Subj.	Adj.
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top

signifie guerre civile, [[20.1]]

Exp	Proc: ment	Phen
Int	Fin: pres.	Comp.
		Remainder
Text	Rheme	

20.1 [[la seule guerre inexpiable, et donc l'écrasement d'un des deux camps.]]

21. On devine lequel.

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

22. Le droit bafoué des Canaques ne sera relevé, [[22.1]]

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.^Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

22.1 [[restauré que par la paix intérieure et le garant de cette paix et de ces droits ne peut être que la République française.]]

23. Il n' est pas d'autre arbitre.

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	-	Val
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clit.	Fin: pres.	A-neg.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

24. Je n' énonce pas là un principe,

Exp	Sayer	-	Proc: beh (verbal)	-	Circ	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

25. je constate un fait

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme	Rheme	

26. et ce fait commande le salut de tous.

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	-	Subj.	Fin: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

27. Les Calédoniens, eux, ne bâtissent pas de théorie.
d'origine européenne

Exp	Act	-	-	Proc: mat (effective)	-	Goal
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	A-neg-clit.	Fin: pres.	A-neg.	Comp.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: absolute		Rheme			

28. Ils ont le pouvoir.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

29. Les plus forts le gardent.

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin.: Pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

30. [[Sans nuances.]]

31. Les Canaques avaient des terres,

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin: past	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

32. on les leur a prises.

Exp	Act	Goal	Recipient	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.^Pred.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

33. Des ministres avant et après 1981, avaient cherché [[33.1]]
de la République,

Exp	Act	Circ: spatial: time	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	Subj.	Adj.: time	Fin.^Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme	Rheme

33.1 [[à leur rendre justice par une réforme foncière.]]

34. Ces ministres sont partis.

Exp	Med/Goal	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres.^Pred.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

35. La réforme aussi ^EST PARTIE.

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subj.	Adj.	Fin.	Pred.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

36. Les Canaques ont une culture.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

37. Des ministres Français, avant et après 1981, avaient voulu

Exp	Act	Circ: spatial (time)	Proc: -
Int	Subj.	Adj: time	Fin: mod.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

la protéger

Exp	Goal	-mat (effective)
Int	C-clitic	Pred.
Text		

38. et ^ILS avaient pour cela créé un office culturel.

Exp	-	Act	Proc:-	Circ: cause: purpose	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	S- clitic	Fin: past	Comp.	Pred.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator		Remainder		
	The me: text	Theme : top	Rheme			

39. Les ministres sont partis.

Exp	Med/Goal	Proc: med (effective)
Int	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

40. L'office aussi ^EST PARTI.

Exp	Med/Goal	-	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	Subj.	Adj.	Fin.^Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

41. Il n' y avait pas de bachelier canaque jusqu'en 1962.

Exp	Exist part	-	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	-	Existent	Circ: spatial: time
Int	S- clitic	A-neg- clit.	Adj. clit.	Fin: past	A- neg.	Comp.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator					Remainder	
	Them e: top	Rheme					

42. Il y a peu de médecins ou d'ingénieurs canaques, trente-six instituteurs sur plus de huit cents, six fonctionnaires de rang élevé sur près de mille.

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

43. Les trois régions à majorité canaque ont reçu un demi-milliard de francs Pacifique ;

Exp	Med	Proc: mat (pass)	Range
Int	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

44. la région Sud, ^A RECU six milliards et demi.

Exp	Med	Proc: mat (pass)	Range
Int	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

45. Je veux dire par là [[45.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Proc:-	beh (verbal)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

45.1 [[que si l'ultime chance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de vivre en paix et des Canaques d'être entendus tient à la République, la République doit être juste.]]

46. L'exclusion des minorités n' est pas de notre tradition.

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Rheme		

47. Mais la majorité parlementaire, à Paris, a voté une loi,

Exp	-	Sayer	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	-	Subj.	Adj: place	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

48. et la population ^A VOTE un référendum.
de la Nouvelle-Calédonie

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

49. C' est notre principe, à nous républicains, [[49.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

49.1 [[que d'appliquer la loi et mon devoir, à moi, est de la promulguer, puis de la respecter, comme tout citoyen.]]

50. En revanche rien n' interdit [[50.1]]

Exp	-	Sayer	-	Proc: beh (verbal)
Int	-	Subj.	A-neg-clit.	Fin: pres.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

50.1 [[de changer la loi par les mêmes moyens.]]

51. C' est même recommandé.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Pred.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

52. Voilà ce [[52.1]]

Exp	-	Verbiage
Int	-	S-clitic
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top

52.1 [[que je puis répondre à M. Tjibaou comme à vous, mes chers compatriotes.]]

53. La Nouvelle-Calédonie avance dans la nuit,

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.: place
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

54. ^ELLE se cogne aux murs,

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

55. ^ELLE se blesse.

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

56. La crise [[56.1]] rassemble, en miniature, tous les composants du drame colonial.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ: manner: quality	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

56.1 [[dont elle souffre]]

57. Il est temps [[57.1]]

Exp	Existent particle	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

57.1 [[d'en sortir.]]

58. Je forme des vœux [[58.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

58.1 [[pour que les communautés en présence évitent le piège d'un affrontement, ces prochaines semaines.]]

59. Ensuite, j' userai du pouvoir [[59.1]] [[59.2]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: fut.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

59.1 [[que vous me confierez]]

59.2 [[pour que l'histoire de France, à l'autre bout du monde, retrouve sa vieille sagesse.]]

Excerpt 3

1. Avec le Premier ministre, nous devons vous dire
avec les membres du
gouvernement
et Victorin LUREL,

Exp	Circ	Sayer	Proc:-	Addressee	-beh (verbal)
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: mod.	Comp.	Pred.
	Remainder	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

clairement [[1.1]]

Circ: manner: quality
Adj.: manner

1.1 [[ce que vous pouvez attendre de l'État et ce que l'État attend de l'Outre-mer.]]

2. Je le rappelle une nouvelle fois:

Exp	Sayer	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verbal)	Circ
Int	S-clit	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

3. les Outre-mer sont une chance pour la France.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

4. Grâce à vous la République est présente partout dans le monde.

Exp	Circ: condition	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Adj.	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

5. Avec leurs ressources les Outre-mer font la France !
naturelles, leur biodiversité,
leurs espaces, mais surtout
avec les femmes et les
hommes [[5.1]]

Exp	Circ: manner: means	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Adj.	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

- 5.1 [[qui vivent sur ces territoires,]]

6. La France ne serait pas [[6.1]] [[6.2]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	-
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: cond.	A-neg
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 6.1 [[ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui]]

- 6.2 [[si vous n'y aviez pas apporté, génération après génération, votre contribution à travers la culture, à travers l'économie, à travers les langues]]

7. parce que là aussi la langue française n' a rien
[[7.1]]

Exp	-	Circ.	Se	-	Proc:-	-
Int	-	Adj.	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
			Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme	Theme: top	Rheme		

à craindre de la diversité linguistique.

Exp	-ment (emot)	Phen.
Int	Pred.	Comp.
Text		

8. Vous n' êtes donc pas les invités de la République !

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	-	-	Val
Int	S-clit	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	A-neg	Comp.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

9. Vous êtes la République française !

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

10. Dans le même temps, je n' ignore rien de vos difficultés.

Exp	Circ: time	Se	-	Proc: ment (cog)	-	Phen
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres.	A-neg	Comp.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme			

11. Je suis allé, par les responsabilités [[11.1]] pratiquement dans tous les territoires, tous les départements

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ	Circ: place
Int	S-clitic	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 11.1 [[qui m'ont été données,]]

12. et j' aurai encore à le faire comme Président.

Exp	-	Act	Proc.-	-	-(Goal) mat (effective)	Circ.
Int	-	S-clit	Fin.: fut.	Adj.	Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

13. Je mesure [[13.1]] [[13.2]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	S-clit	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

13.1 [[ce qu'est la violence de la crise d'abord ici dans l'Hexagone]]

13.2 [[mais encore plus brutalement, plus durement, plus intensément dans les Outre-mer.]]

14. Les taux de chômage y sont 2 à 3 fois supérieurs à celui de l'Hexagone.

Exp	Ca	Circ.: spatial: place	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subj.	Adj.- clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

15. Pour les jeunes, dans la plupart ce taux dépasse 50%.
de vos
départements,

Exp	Recipient	Circ: place	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	Comp.	Adj.	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
				Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

16. Comment d'ailleurs ne pas mettre en regard
[[16.1]] [[16.2]]

Exp	-	-	-	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	qu-Adj.	Adj.	A-neg-clit A-neg	Pred.
			Negotiator	
Text	Theme: interp	Theme: text	Rheme	

16.1 [[ce que je viens de dire sur la situation économique]]

16.2 [[mais également ce que je pourrais dire sur la délinquance]]

17. car un certain sont parmi les plus touchés de France ?
nombre de vos
départements

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

18. Les niveaux de prix créent des inégalités criantes.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

19. Vos entreprises, [[19.1]] peinent davantage [[19.2]] [[19.3]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (emot)	Circ: manner: quality
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

19.1 [[pourtant excellentes,]]

19.2 [[que partout ailleurs]]

19.3 [[à accéder aux financements bancaires.]]

20. Vos économies, par la géographie, font face à l'éloignement, à l'insularité, à l'étroitesse des marchés

Exp	Act	Circ	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Adj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

21. et ^ELLES FONT FACE aussi à des comportements d'un autre âge.

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	-	Goal
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin^Pred.	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

22. Voilà ce que je sais.

Exp	-	Phen.	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	-	qu-Comp.	Subj.	Fin: pres.
				Negotiator
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

23. Mais porter un constat ne suffit pas.

Exp	-	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	-	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres.	A-neg
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

24. Nous devons agir

Exp	Act	Proc:-	- mat (middle)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

25. et depuis 6 mois, le gouvernement a agi.

de Jean-Marc AYRAULT

Exp	-	Circ: time	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	Adj.	Subj.	Fin.^Pred.
	Remainder		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

26. J' ai d'abord veillé [[26.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc:	Circ	-ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Pred.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

26.1 [[à créer un ministère des Outre-mer de plein exercice.]]

27. C' était l'engagement [[27.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

27.1 [[que j'avais pris,]]

28. ce n' était pas le plus difficile à tenir,

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: past	A-neg	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

29. il ne coutait rien

Exp	Existent	-	Proc: mat (effective)	-
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: past	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

30. mais en même temps il avait valeur de symbole [[30.1]]

Exp	-	Circ: time	Existent	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: past	Comp.
			Negotiator		Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Them e: top	Rheme	

30.1 [[en étant rattaché directement au Premier ministre avec un correspondant pour les Outre-mer désigné dans tous les cabinets ministériels.]]

31. Ensuite, il fallait nommer le ministre, un ultramarin.

Exp	-	Existent	Proc:-	-beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: mod.	Pred.	
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

32. Fallait-il encore faire le choix.

Exp	Proc:-	-	-mat (effective)
Int	Fin.: mod-S-clitic	Adj.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

33. Victorin LUREL m' est apparu, ainsi qu'à Jean-Marc AYRAULT, [[33.1]]

Exp	Act	Ben	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

- 33.1 [[comme celui qui pouvait défendre, non seulement l'Outre-mer, mais être un ministère et un ministre de toute la République.]]

34. Ensuite, la nomination [[34.1]] est venue compléter ce dispositif.

interministérielle

à l'égalité des chances

des Français d'Outre-mer,

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	-	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

34.1 [[originaire elle de La Réunion,]]

35. Fallait-il encore [[35.1]]

Exp	Proc: mat-existent	-
Int	Fin.: mod-S-clitic	Adj.
	Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

35.1 [[qu'il y ait un budget !]]

36. Un ministère ne suffit pas !

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	A-neg
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

37. Faut-il encore [[37.1]]

Exp	Proc: mat-existent	-
Int	Fin.: mod-Subj.	Adj.
	Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

37.1 [[qu'il ait les moyens, là-encore, d'intervenir.]]

38. Le budget a été l'un des rares à être préservés malgré la
de la Mission difficulté des temps.

Outre-mer

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

39. Les crédits [[39.1]] vont augmenter de 5% en 2013.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ	Circ: time
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

39.1 [[qui lui ont été affecté]]

40. J' ai voulu enfin [[40.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Circ: time
Int	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Adj.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

40.1 [[que la question de la vie chère dans les Outre-mer puisse être l'une des premières interventions du Parlement.]]

41. La loi vient d'être adoptée à une très large majorité.

de régulation

économique

Outre-mer

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator	Remainder		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

42. J' en remercie ici tous les parlementaires.

Exp	Sayer	Verb	Proc: beh (verbal)	Circ	Addressee
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

43. Cette loi s' appliquera sans délai.

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin.: fut.	Adj.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

44. Je rappelle [[44.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verbal)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

44.1 [[qu'elle renforce les pouvoirs de l'autorité de la concurrence pour lutter contre les déséquilibres des marchés.]]

45. Elle met en place un « bouclier qualité-prix »
[[45.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

45.1 [[qui garantira des prix justes sur de nombreux produits de consommation courante.]]

46. Elle supprime les abus de certaines exclusivités
de marques.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

47. Elle améliore le fonctionnement des observatoires de
prix [[47.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

47.1 [[qui s'intéresseront désormais aussi aux marges et aux revenus...]]

48. Cette loi offre de nouveaux outils [[48.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

48.1 [[pour réduire les coûts, trouver des péréquations possibles au niveau national et changer les modes de fixation des prix pour les carburants, pour les services bancaires, pour la téléphonie,]]

49. parce qu' il m' a toujours paru étrange [[49.1]]
[[49.2]]

Exp	-	Act	Goal	Proc:-	Circ: time	-mat (middle)	Circ
Int	-	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator						Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Them e: top	Rheme				

49.1 [[que ces services coûtent plus chers en Outre-mer que dans l'Hexagone]] 49.2 [[sans qu'il y ait la moindre justification par rapport à la réalité des territoires.]]

50. Je sais [[50.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

50.1 [[ce qu'avaient été les mouvements puissants dans beaucoup de départements par rapport au thème de la vie chère.]]

51. Il me paraissait indispensable [[51.1]]

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: past	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

51.1 [[d'apporter immédiatement les apaisements nécessaires.]]

52. Je ne veux pas non plus, avec le gouvernement,

Exp	Se	-	Proc:-	-	Circ	Circ
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clit	Fin: Pres	A-neg	Adj.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator				Remainder	
	Theme: top	Rheme				

52.1 [[qui font déjà face à tellement de contraintes.]]

entraver le fonctionnement des entreprises ultramarines [[52.1]]

-ment (des)	Phen
Pred.	Comp.

53. Il s' agit d'agir avec elles dans la concertation.

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	S-clit	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

54. Des conférences sont organisées en ce moment même
économiques
et sociales

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

dans tous les départements d'Outre-mer.

Circ: spatial: place
Adj.

55. Elles visent à recueillir le consensus le plus large possible sur les axes des politiques économiques à mener localement, [[55.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

55.1 [[c'est-à-dire dans chaque territoire.]]

56. Une synthèse nationale sera présentée par le ministre, d'ici la fin de l'année.
Victorin LUREL,

Exp	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verb)	Sayer	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

57. Le gouvernement sera très attentif, je vous l'assure,
de Jean-Marc

AYRAULT

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att	-
Int	Subj.	Fin.: fut.	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

à ses conclusions.

Att
Comp.
Remainder

58. L'une des difficultés, est l'accès aux financements
[[58.1]] des collectivités pour leurs investissements.

[[58.2]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

58.1 [[ce n'est pas la seule,]]

58.2 [[que vous représentez]]

59. Je le dirai demain au congrès des maires.

Exp	Sayer	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verb)	Circ: spatial: time	Circ: spatial: place
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: fut.	Adj.	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

60. Je veux faire [[60.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc:-	-ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: mod.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

60.1 [[en sorte que toutes les collectivités, par de multiples instruments et moyens, y compris ceux dont elles voudront bien se doter, puissent avoir les financements leur permettant de réaliser leurs investissements.]]

61. Pour l'Outre-mer il y avait la nécessité [[61.1]]

Exp	Circ	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	Comp.	S-clitic	Adj- clitic	Fin.: past	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

61.1 [[de prévoir les autorisations d'engagements du plan de relance des investissements publics.]]

62. Je l' affirme ici, [[62.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verb)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

62.1 toutes les autorisations seront inscrites dans le projet de loi de finances pour 2013.

63. J' ai même voulu [[63.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc:-	Circ	-ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Pred.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

63.1 [[que soit supprimée une obligation, qui pesait sur les collectivités territoriales d'Outre-mer, de financer au moins 20% des projets dont elles avaient la maîtrise d'ouvrage.]]

64. Ce verrou a été purement et simplement levé

Exp	Act	Proc:-	Circ: manner: quality	-mat (middle)
Int	Subj.	Fin.: passive	Adj.	Pred.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

65. et c' est une avancée majeure pour beaucoup de vos collectivités.

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

66. Mais je veux vous dire un mot de la négociation européenne[[66.1]]

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc:-	Addressee	beh (verbal)	Verbiage
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: mod	C-clitic	Pred.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator				Remainder
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

66.1 [[qui va s'ouvrir dans quelques jours et qui va, pour beaucoup, déterminer l'avenir des financements que vous pourrez mobiliser.]]

67. Je suis très attaché à deux piliers de la politique européenne: les fonds structurels de cohésion [[67.1]] et la politique agricole commune [[67.2]]

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

67.1 [-- et je rappelle que les régions ultrapériphériques ont accès à ces financements --]]

67.2 [[dont là-encore les territoires et les départements d'Outre-mer sont pour partie bénéficiaires.]]

68. Une certaine conception

de la politique européenne, [[68.1]] voudrait [[68.2]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	Subj.	Fin.: mod.
Text	Negotiator	

68.1 [[ce n'est pas la mienne,]]

68.2 [[que l'on baisse le budget de l'Europe pour les sept prochaines années.]]

[[69.1]] la réponse de l'Europe serait de faire moins !

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin.: cond.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

69.1 [[Au moment même où nous appelons à la solidarité, à la mobilisation pour la croissance,]]

70. Des pays [[70.1]] viennent chercher leur chèque, leur rabais, leur ristourne

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

70.1 [-- je ne citerai pas lesquels, je ne veux pas ici me fâcher, je ne veux pas vous compromettre --]]

71. parce que l'idée [[71.1]] c' est [[71.2]] [[71.3]]

Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	-	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

71.1 [[qu'ils se font de l'Europe]]

71.2 [[comme si la solidarité ce n'était pas que les plus favorisés payent pour les autres --]]

71.3 [[ce que fait un État partout, lorsqu'il est organisé sur le plan démocratique et qu'il a des principes de justice à faire valoir.]]

d'obtenir exactement ce qu'ils y ont versé,

Val
Comp.

Remainder

72. J' en prends ici l'engagement,

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ	Goal
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

73. la France se battra [[73.1]]

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: fut.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

73.1 [[pour garder les fonds structurels et la politique agricole commune au niveau permettant à vos territoires, et à bien des territoires en Europe, d'être soutenus pour leurs investissements.]]

74. [[74.1]] nous avons aussi à utiliser au mieux

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-	-mat (effective)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

74.1 [[Au-delà de ce que nous avons à faire sur le plan fiscal,]]

pour l'Outre-mer les instruments [[74.2]]

Circ	Goal
Comp.	Comp.

74.2 [[que nous avons mis en place pour l'emploi.]]

75. Le premier c' est [[75.1]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

75.1 [[ce qu'on appelle les emplois d'avenir:]]

76. 10% de seront réservés aux jeunes d'Outre-mer en 2013.

l'enveloppe

nationale, [[76.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal	Circ: spatial: time
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

76.1 [[soit près de 10 000 contrats,]]

77. Pourquoi cette ampleur ?

78. Parce que je le disais, [[78.1]]

Exp	-	Sayer	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verbal)
Int	-	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: past
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

78.1 [[le chômage des jeunes est un risque sérieux pour ces départements et ces territoires.]]

79. Je vois bien le désœuvrement, le découragement, la désillusion d'une génération,

Exp	Se	Proc: beh	Circ	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

avec tous les risques [[79.1]]

Circ
Adj.

79.1 [[que cela peut engendrer.]]

80. De la même manière, je sais [[80.1]]

Exp	Circ	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

80.1 [[que cela a été difficile à comprendre,]]

81. nous avons fait [[81.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-mat (effective)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

81.1 [[en sorte que les contrats aidés puissent être non seulement préservés mais augmentés en Outre-mer.]]

82. Pour les emplois d'avenir ce sera la même priorité.

Exp	Circ	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Comp.	S-clitic	Fin.: fut.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

83. De la même façon je souhaite [[83.1]]

Exp	Circ	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

83.1 [[que les jeunes ultra-marins puissent accéder aux emplois créés localement dans le secteur privé comme dans le secteur public.]]

84. Là [[84.1]] là ils doivent travailler.

Exp	Circ	Circ	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	Adj.	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: mod^Pred
	Remainder		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top		Theme: top	Rheme

84.1 [[où les jeunes sont formés,]]

85. Ces jeunes ont besoin de logements [[85.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Phen
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

85.1 [[pour prendre leur autonomie.]]

86. Et là encore, le Gouvernement a augmenté de plus de 6%

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	-	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

les crédits de la Ligne Budgétaire Unique, principal levier de financement du logement social en Outre-mer.

Goal
Comp.

87. Voilà l'action

Exp	-	Goal
Int	-	Subj.
		Negotiator
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top

87.1 [[qui a été menée.]]

88. Certains diront [[88.1]]

Exp	Sayers	Proc: beh (verbal)
Int	Subj.	Fin: fut
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

88.1 [[tous les engagements n'ont pas été tenus.]]

89. Mais nous ne sommes là que depuis 6 mois.

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	Att	Circ
Int	-	S-clitic	A- neg- clitic	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Adj.
Text		Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

90. Il faut en laisser pour le reste du temps, [[90.1]]

Exp	Exist part	Proc:-	Goal	-mat (middle)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: mod.	C- clitic	Pred.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator				Remainder
	Theme: top	Rheme			

90.1 [[surtout si je dois revenir chaque année.]]

91. Je souhaitais, [[91.1]] apaiser les relations entre l'État et les collectivités, [[91.2]]

Exp	Act	Proc: -	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: past	Pred.	Comp.
Text	Negotiator			Remainder
	Theme: top	Rheme		

91.1 [[et cela vaut aussi pour l'ensemble du pays,]]

91.2 [[en particulier l'Outre-mer.]]

92. J' avais en mémoire les mouvements
[[92.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)		Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

92.1 [[qui avaient marqué ces dernières années en Guadeloupe, en Martinique, à La Réunion, à Mayotte.]]

93. Je connais la situation de la Guyane,

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

94. je sais [[94.1]] [[94.2]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

94.1 [[ce que vivent beaucoup de territoires,]]

94.2 [[même s'ils ne se sont pas fait connaître pour un certain nombre de grèves ou de conflits.]]

95.	Apaiser	c'	était	aussi	la méthode [[95.1]]
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Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	-	Val
Int	Pred.	S-clitic	Fin.: past	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

95.1 [[que je préconisais pour rétablir le dialogue avec les autorités de la Polynésie française dont la situation financière s'est considérablement dégradée et dont le redressement nécessitera des efforts de part et d'autre,]]

96. parce que [[96]] il doit demander une contrepartie

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

96.1 [[chaque fois que l'État intervient]]

aux collectivités [[96.2]]

Adressee
Comp.

96.2 [[qui l'accompagnent.]]

97. C' est cette même démarche [[97.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

97.1 [[qui m'inspirera pour traiter la question de la sortie de l'Accord de Nouméa.]]

98. J' accueillerai, dans quelques jours, les membres du comité des signataires.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ	Goal
Int	S- cliti c	Fin.: fut.	Adj.	Comp.
Text	Negotiator		Remainder	
	The me: top	Rheme		

99. Je leur rappellerai [[99.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Addressee	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: fut.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

99.1 [[qu'ils ont la grande responsabilité, l'immense responsabilité, d'offrir ensemble un destin commun à La Nouvelle Calédonie.]]

100. Et là encore l'État jouera son rôle de partenaire [[100.1]]

Exp	-	Circ	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	Adj.	Subj.	Fin.: fut.	Comp.
			Negotiator		Remainder

Text	The me: text	The me: top	Theme : top	Rheme
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100.1 [[pour les y aider dans la paix, dans le respect, dans la tranquillité.]]

101. J' ai proposé 30 engagements spécifiques sur les Outre-Mer,

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

102. c' est la feuille de route du gouvernement.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

103. La situation ne nous autorise pas [[103.1]] [[103.2]]

économique

et budgétaire

Exp	Sayer	-	Addressee	Proc: beh (verb)	-
Int	Subj.	A- neg- clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres.	A-neg
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

103.1 [[à tout entreprendre en même temps,]]

103.2 [[d'où le rythme que nous avons fixé.]]

104. Mais le cap c' est l'égalité,

Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

105. ^C' EST l'égalité réelle entre les Outre-Mer et l'Hexagone.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

106. L'égalité est plus facile [[106.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

106.1 [[à proclamer qu'à faire,]]

107. et puis on veut toujours être plus égalitaire que l'autre,
[[107.1]]

Exp	-	Ca	Proc:-	Circ	-rel att	Att
Int	-	S-clit	Fin: mod	Adj.	Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

107.1 [[ce qui crée parfois une surenchère et des suspicions !]]

108. L'égalité réelle, il ne suffit pas d'une loi
 [[108.1]]
 [[108.2]]

Exp		Exist part	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-	Existent
Int	Comp.	S-clitic	A- neg- clit	Fin: pres	A-neg	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme			

108.1 [-- encore moins d'un décret --]

108.2 [[pour la réaliser.]]

109. L'égalité réelle se construit étape par étape.

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

110. Je pense à l'Education, priorité du
 gouvernement, [[110.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

110.1 [[que l'on retrouvera dans tous les départements et régions d'Outre-Mer.]]

111. Je pense à la santé,

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

112. et ^JE PENSE notamment à la situation
particulièrement grave des
hôpitaux en Outre-Mer
[[112.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Circ	Phen
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

112.1 [[qui pourtant - compte tenu là aussi de déserts médicaux - sont souvent le seul refuge pour accéder correctement aux soins.]]

113. L'égalité réelle c' est aussi des infrastructures [[113.1]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	-	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clit	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Rheme		

113.1 [[pour pouvoir attirer des entreprises.]]

114. Les relations ne relèvent pas [[114.1]]

entre l'État et

les Outre-Mer

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (effective)	-
Int	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top		Rheme	

114.1 [[d'une comptabilité entre ce que l'État apporterait et les retours qu'il pourrait escompter.]]

115. Non, nous ne sommes pas dans cette relation-là,

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

116. mais ^NOUS SOMMES plutôt ^DANS UNE RELATION d'égalité et de fraternité.

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

117. Ensemble, nous sommes la France

Exp	Circ	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

118. et nous avons [[118.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

118.1 [[à la faire ensemble.]]

119. Chacun doit prendre sa part:

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

120. l'État ^DOIT Y PRENDRE PART à travers une vision [[120.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc:-	Goal	-mat (effective)	Circ
Int	Subj.	Fin: pres	A-clit	Pred.	Adj.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

120.1 [[– ce qu'il pense être le destin de la France pour les prochaines années --]]

121. et vous les collectivités, [[121.1]] ^VOUS DEVEZ Y

Exp	-	-	Act	Proc:-	Goal
Int	-	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	A-clitic
			Negotiator		
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

121.1 [[et notamment l'Outre-Mer,]]

PRENDRE PART [[121.2]] [[121.3]] [[121.4]]

-mat (effective)
Pred.

121.2 [[en multipliant toutes les initiatives,]]

121.3 [[en prenant tous les risques -- sauf financier --]]

121.4 [[et en faisant en sorte que l'innovation dans tout domaine soit votre boussole.]]

122. Je sais [[122.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

122.1 [[que vous en êtes capables,]]

123. car [[123.1]] [[123.2]] le destin des Outre-mer appartient

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	Subj.	Fin: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

123.1 [-- et ce sera mon dernier mot --]

123.2 [[si nous sommes tous partie prenante de la même République,]]

d'abord aux ultra-marins, à ceux [[123.3]] aux élus [[123.4]]

Circ	Goal
Adj.	Comp.
Remainder	

123.3 [[qui les représentent,]]

123.4 [[que vous êtes et qui sont fiers à la fois de servir l'Outre-Mer et la République.]]

Excerpt 4

1. Araucaria pin colonnaire [[1.1]] ^TU ES réfugié dans le
[[1.2]] ciel des
prières pour
oublier

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Voc.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

[[qui troue le ciel de mon pays de son tronc]]

[[s'étirant vers les souvenirs inavoués de mon peuple humilié]]

2. Araucaria arbre à palabres de clans et tribus [[2.1]] [[2.2]]

-
Voc.
Theme: top

2.1 [[trahis sur cette terre qui est leur]]

2.2 [[leurs paroles figées dans ta dure résine solide]]

3. je les dirai en face

Exp	Sayer	Verbiage	Proc: beh (verb)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	C-citic	Fin: fut	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

4. car je ne veux PAS OUBLIER

Exp	-	Se	-	Proc:-	-	-ment (cog)
Int	-	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: mod	A-neg	Pred.
		Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

5. Je les écrirai là [[5.1]]

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat	Circ
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin: fut	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

5.1 [[où je le pourrai du mieux que je le pourrai ici et maintenant]]

6. car j' ai beau chercher la nuit

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat	Circ (time)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

7. le jour je ne vois rien d'autre dans le ciel
[[7.1]]

Exp	Circ (time)	Beh	-	Proc: beh	Phen
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

7.1 [[que pour éclairer ma mémoire]]

Excerpt 5

1. Je suis contre l'indépendance socialiste kanak de la Nouvelle Calédonie

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

2. parce qu' à notre époque il n' est pas concevable
[[2.1]]

Exp	-	Circ	Exist part	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	-	Adj.	S- clitic	A- neg- clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg	Comp.
			Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Them e: top	Rheme			

2.1 [[qu'une ethnie soit mise sur un piédestal par rapport au reste de la population.]]

3. De plus [[3.1]] l'indépendance a donc un caractère
socialiste kanak raciste.

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	-	Goal
Int	-	Subj.	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

3.1 [[la Nouvelle Calédonie étant une terre pluriethnique, où le métissage est plus que présent,]]

4. En effet certains représentants partent du principe [[4.1]]
de cette communauté

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	-	Subj.	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

4.1 [[qu'eux seuls sont aptes à décider.]]

5. Le principe se verrait automatiquement bafoué.
de démocratie

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc:-	Circ	-mat (middle)
Int	Subj.	C-clitic	Fin: cond	Adj.	Pred.
Text	Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: top	Rheme			

6. Le destin commun, c' est [[6.1]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

- 6.1 [[ce que nous vivons depuis que les populations se sont mélangées il y a déjà plus de 150 ans.]]

7. En effet nous sommes pour la plupart issus de ce mélange,

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

8. ^NOUS SOMMES ISSUES de ce métissage
[[8.1]]

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

- 8.1 [[qui fait la richesse de notre Pays.]]

9. Le destin commun c' est respecter l'autre malgré ses différences,

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S- clit	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

10. ^LE DESTIN COMMUN c' est l'entraide [[10.1]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clit	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

10.1 [[que nous pouvons avoir les uns envers les autres dans les coups durs.]]

11. En somme, ^LE DESTIN COMMUN C' EST être un
seul
peuple.

Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

12. <l'indépendance c' est l'> appauvrissement de mon Pays,

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

13. <c' est la> prise de contrôle d'une élite [[13.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

13.1 [[qui fera marcher ses intérêts avant ceux du Pays et de sa population]]

14. <Je pense> [[14.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

14.1 [[que nous ne sommes pas prêt, et cela sur presque tous les niveaux.]]

Excerpt 6

1. <l'indépendance c' est> se détacher de "l'autre"

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

2. et ^L'INDEPENDANCE C' EST vivre indépendamment
[[2.1]]

Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	Subj.	S- clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: e: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

2.1 [[de ce que ce dernier nous avait apporté (au niveau financier, social, capitaux, ouverture au monde, nouvelles technologies ...)]]

3. Selon moi la NC ne semble pas prête [[3.1]]

Exp	Se	Phen	-	Proc: ment	-	Range
Int	Adj.	Subj.	A- neg- clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme			

3.1 [[à assumer le statut d'indépendance]]

4. car elle ne parvient même pas [[4.1]]

Exp	-	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-	-
Int	-	S-clitic	A- neg- clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	A-neg
		Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

4.1 [[à s'auto suffire.]]

5. Aussi, peu de gens sont formés,

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

6. ou ^PEU DE GENS ont assez étudié
[[6.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc:-	Circ	-ment (cog)
Int	-	Subj.	Fin: pres	Adj.	Pred.
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

6.1 [[pour répondre à la demande sur le marché du travail.]]

7. Nous en venons même [[7.1]] [[7.2]]

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin.: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

7.1 [[à proposer des postes aux métropolitains]]

7.2 [[pour assurer un minimum de bon fonctionnement dans la société.]]

8. Je suis contre

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

9. car la NC ne semble pas prête [[9.1]]

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	att
Int	-	Subj.	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg	Comp.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

9.1 [[à l'être.]]

10. <Le destin commun c' est> ne former plus qu'un!!

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S- clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

11. Peu importe ^LE DESTIN COMMUN C' EST

les populations,

Exp	Circ	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	Adj.	Subj.	S- clitic	Fin.: pres
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

se soutenir et s'engager volontairement dans un projet commun [[11.1]]

Val
Comp.
Remainder

11.1 [[ayant un même but/intérêts.]]

12. ^LE DESTIN COMMUN C' EST s'accorder [[12.1]]

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

12.1 [[sur la manière de parvenir à satisfaire nos besoins et cela de façon la plus unanime possible,]]

13. ^LE DESTIN COMMUN C' EST prendre en compte les demandes de la population calédonienne.

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

Excerpt 7

1. <L'indépendance pour> moi ça signifie trouver un job sans des diplômes.

Exp	Tok	Circ	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Comp.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

2. Pour moi c' est ça.

Exp	Circ	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Comp.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

3. T' as pas besoin des diplômes [[3.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc:-	-	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin:-	A-neg	-pres	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

- 3.1 [[pour trouver <du travail> par exemple <dans> la cuisine.]]

4. C' est vrai [[4.1]]

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

4.1 [[que les Kanaks réclament leur pays]]

5. mais je pense [[5.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Rheme	

5.1 [[que par rapport aux autres ethniques de (corps brun)]]

6. Ou ils travaillent ensemble avec les Kanaks [[6.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: text	Rheme	

6.1 [[qui sont en Nouvelle-Calédonie]]

7. mais <ce sont> des Kanaks [[7.1]]

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

7.1 [[qui sont sur leur pays.]]

8. Puis moi je pense [[8.1]]

Exp	-	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	-	S-clitic	Subject	Fin.: pres
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

8.1 [[que je suis pas contre l'indépendance.]]

9. Je suis pour l'indépendance

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

10. mais ma pensée à moi c' est

Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	-	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

de travailler ensemble.

Val
Comp.
Remainder

11. [[11.1]] il y aura des autres [[11.2]]

Exp	Existent part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Adj-clitic	Fin: fut	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

11.1 [[Si on prend l'indépendance]]

11.2 [[qui sont contre par rapport au peuple kanak.]]

12. L'indépendance c' est travailler ensemble avec les autres ethnies.

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

13. Je suis pas contre

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

14. mais ça fait des années et des années
[[14.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

- 14.1 [[que l'on a fait.]]

15. C' est vrai [[15.1]]

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

- 15.1 [[que les gens luttent pour l'indépendance.]]

16. Le peuple kanak ils luttent contre leur pays.

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

17. Je préfère [[17.1]] [[17.2]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

17.1 [[que c'est tous l'ethnies]]

17.2 [[qui luttent pour l'indépendance.]]

18. Mais je sais pas [[18.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

18.1 [[si le jour arrive pour l'indépendance]]

19. je sais pas [[19.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

19.1 [[s'il y a des autres qui sont contre]]

20. ou je sais pas.

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

21. Mais moi je veux [[21.1]]

Exp	-	-	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	-	S-clitic	Subject	Fin: mod
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

21.1 [[que c'est toutes les ethnies qui sont en Nouvelle-Calédonie.]]

22. Je veux [[22.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

22.1 [[qu'ils soient tous d'accord pour l'indépendance.]]

23. Ca c' est ma façon de voir

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subject	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

24. <Je veux> [[24.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

24.1 [[que les Évènements qui sont passés pendant les époques ou on était tout petit cessent.]]

25. Je veux [[25.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

25.1 [[qu'on prend l'indépendance en pays.]]

26. Je votais pour

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Fin: past	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

27. parce que c' est vrai [[27.1]]

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

27.1 [[que nous les Kanaks on réclame notre pays.]]

28. Il y a des autres [[28.1]] [[28.2]]

Exp	Existent part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Adj-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

28.1 [[qui arrivent pour tenir leur manières de gérer le pays]]

28.2 [[alors que nous on est ici.]]

29. Puis il y a des autres
[[29.1]]

Exp	-	Existent part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	-	S-clitic	Adj-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

29.1 [[qui ne respectent pas les Kanaks.]]

30. Et ils font [[30.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

30.1 [[ce qu'ils veulent sur le territoire.]]

31. Ma pensée c' est de voter pour

Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

32. Je veux [[32.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

32.1 [[que ce soit tout le monde qui vote pour]]

33. et ^JE VEUX [[33.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: mod
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

33.1 [[qu'il n'y aient pas de malentendus entre les Kanaks et les autres ethnies.]]

34. Je veux [[34.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

34.1 [[qu'on soit uni, tous ensemble.]]

35. C' est difficile.

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

36. Déjà on regarde toujours la télé.

Exp	Circ	Beh	Proc: beh	Circ	Phen
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Adj.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator		Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

37. On voit toujours [[37.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (perc)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

37.1 [[ce qui se passe avec les rouleurs et tout ça, les blocages.]]

38. Je vois

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (perc)
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

38.1 [[ce qui se passe pour les étudiants.]]

39. Ils commencent jeune encore.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

40. Puis je sais pas pour l'indépendance [[40.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	-	Phen
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

40.1 [[ce sera comment.]]

41. Ce sont des tests pour l'avenir.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

42. Pour les langues kanaks je vois comment cela se passe pour ma fille.

Exp	Circ	Se	Proc: ment (perc)	Phen
Int	Comp.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

43. Avant l'école elle était à la maison.

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

44. Elle était toute petite.

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

45. Elle parle la langue

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

46. mais [[46.1]] elle ne parle plus

Exp	-	Sayer	-	Proc: beh (verb)	-
Int	-	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin.: pres	A-neg
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

46.1 [[quand elle rentre a l'école,]]

47. elle comprend seulement.

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Circ
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

48. C' est ça [[48.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

48.1 [[que je vois pour la plupart des jeunes aujourd'hui.]]

49. Il faut dire [[49.1]]

Exp	Existent part	Proc:-	-beh (verb)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: mod	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

49.1 [[qu'ils parlent la langue]]

50. mais c' est ça [[50.1]]

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	C-clitic
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

50.1 [[qui est difficile.]]

51. Mais la culture aussi <est difficile>

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subj.	Adj	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

52. parce que [[52.1]] on a quelque chose [[52.2]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

52.1 [[en tant que femme kanak]]

52.2 [[à faire,]]

53. ^C' EST l'artisanat.

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clitic	Fin.: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

54. Mais là on dirait [[54.1]]

Exp	-	Circ	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	-	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: cond
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

54.1 [[qu'on a perdu notre culture.]]

55. Nous les femmes kanak on tresse des nattes.

Exp	-	Act	-	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clitic	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

56. C' est pour la coutume .

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme	Rheme	

57. <Pour les femmes> c' est les nattes.

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

58. Puis <pour> les hommes c' est le monnaie kanak.

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

59. Mais je vois [[59.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (perc)
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

- 59.1 [[que, aujourd'hui, les gens ont perdu tout cela.]]

60. Ils posent toujours la question aux jeunes

Exp	Sayer	Proc:-	Circ	-beh (verb)	Addressee
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.	Comp.
Text	Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: top	Rheme			

pour le destin commun.

Phen
Comp.

61. Je ne sais pas.

Exp	Se	-	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

62. Moi je pense [[62.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clitic	Subject	Fin: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

62.1 [[que le destin commun c'est travailler ensemble.]]

63. Maintenant on entend déjà à la radio ou à la télé [[63.1]]

Exp	Circ	Beh	Proc: beh	-	Circ
Int	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	Adj.
Text		Negotiator		Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

63.1 [[qu'il y a des délais a Nouméa.]]

64. Ce n' est pas jolie [[64.1]]

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	S-clitic	A-neg-clitic	Fin: pres	A-neg	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

64.1 [[à entendre.]]

65. On rentre chez nous.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ: spatial: place
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

66. C' est bon.

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

67. Il y a les vieux [[67.1]]
[[67.2]]

Exp	Existent part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Adj-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme	Rheme		

67.1 [[qui sont à la tribu]]

67.2 [[pour nous aider]]

68. mais là on est à Noumea.

Exp	-	Circ	Ca	Proc: att	Att
Int	-	Adj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.
				Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

69. Pour moi mon destin commun c' est ça.

Exp	Circ	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Comp.	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme		

70. Je souhaite à tous les jeunes de la Nouvelle-Calédonie [[70.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (des)	Phen/Range
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

70.1 [[de retourner vers leur vie vers les vieux de la tribu ou commune.]]

71. C' est [[71.1]] [[71.2]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: att
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

71.1 [[pour savoir faire la culture et les choses]]

71.2 [[qu'on oublie déjà aujourd'hui.]]

72. Alors il faut demander aux vieux, [[72.1]]

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc:-	-beh (verb)	Addressee
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: mod	Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

72.1 [[surtout pour faire la coutume.]]

73. Je vois [[73.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (perc)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

73.1 [[que les jeunes parlent de la coutume.]]

74. Mais les hommes ils se cachent.

Exp	-	Act	-	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	Subj.	S-clitic	C-clitic	Fin: pres
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

75. On dirait [[75.1]]

Exp	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

75.1 [[qu'ils ont honte de parler devant tout le monde, devant le public et tout ça.]]

76. Je vais penser à ça

Exp	Se	Proc:-	-ment (cog)	Phen.
Int	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

77. ou <je vais> suivre des formations au centre culturel Tjibaou là, à Noumea.

Exp	-	Act	Proc:-	mat (effective)	Goal	Circ
Int	-	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Pred.	Comp.	Adj.
Text		Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

78. Il y a trop de difficultés pour la coutume.

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

79. Tout ça, c' est toujours les vieux.

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: att circ	Circ	Att
Int	Subj.	S-clitic	Fin: pres	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

80. Maintenant ils sont vieux déjà

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

81. mais il y a des jeunes [[81.1]] [[81.2]] [[81.3]]

Exp	-	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	-	S-clitic	Adj- clitic	Fin: pres	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

81.1 [[qui sont là]]

81.2 [[pour prendre le relais,]]

81.3 [[pas seulement ici, dans d'autres tribus aussi.]]

Excerpt 8

1. Tout le monde le sait,

Exp	Se	Phen	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	Subj.	Comp.	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

2. nous sommes à la recherche de signes identitaires,

Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

depuis 1998, depuis la signature de l'Accord de Noumea.

Exp	Circ: spatial: time	Circ
Int	Adj.: time	Adj.: time
Text		

3. Alors, il y en a eu, des colloques,

Exp	-	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	-	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	-	S-clitic	Adj-clit	C-clit	Fin^Pred	Comp.
Text	Theme: text	Theme : top	Rheme			
					Negotiator	Remainder

4. il y en a eu, des réunions,

Exp	Exist part	Circ: spatial: space	-	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Adj-clit	C-clit	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

5. il y en a eu, des tables rondes

Exp	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	-	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	S-clitic	Adj-clit	C-clit	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

6. et pourtant, nous n' arrivons pas [[6.1]]

Exp	-	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	-	Subj.	A-neg-clit	Fin: pres.	A-neg.
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		
					Negotiator

6.1 [[à déboucher.]]

7. Si, on débouche sur un hymne, [[7.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

7.1 [[qui est d'ailleurs un peu controversé,]]

8. on débouche sur une devise, [[8.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

8.1 [[qui est assez partagée.]]

9. Et puis, il y a une chose [[9.1]]

Exp	-	Exist part	Circ: spatial: place	Proc: exist	Existent
Int	-	S-clit.	Adj-clit	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

9.1 [[dont on ne veut pas parler,]]

10. et bien évidemment, donc, on n' arrive pas [[10.1]]

Exp	-	-	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	-
Int	-	-	S-clit.	A-neg-clit	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.
				Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

10.1 [[à déboucher,]]

11. c' est sur le drapeau.

Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin: pres	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

12. J' ai toujours été convaincu [[12.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc:-	Circ	rel att	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin: pres	Adj.: time	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

12.1 [[que la Nouvelle-Calédonie, bien sûr, doit se doter de signes identitaires]]

13. et, en plus, ça a été négocié,

Exp	-	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	-	S-clit.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
			Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

14. ça a été signé,

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

15. ça a été accepté par nous, [[15.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att	Benef.
Int	S-clitic	Fin^Pred	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

15.1 [[même si le Rassemblement de 1998, au moment de l'Accord de Noumea ne l'avait pas demandé,]]

16.	mais	nous	l'	avons accepté.
Exp	-	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)
Int	-	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin^Pred
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

17.	Donc,	nous	sommes	dans	depuis 1998.
				la recherche,	
Exp	-	Ca	Proc: att circ	att	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin: pres	Comp.	Adj.: time
		Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

18.	Ce [[18.1]] [[18.2]]	c'	est [[18.3]]
Exp	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	Subj.	S-clit	Fin: pres
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

18.1 [[dont je suis convaincu,]]

18.2 [[et ça, ça a été ma conviction dès le départ,]]

18.3 [[que ce drapeau, chacun, bien sûr, a l'espoir qu'il représente l'identité de toutes les communautés de Nouvelle-Calédonie.]]

19.	Est-ce que	ça	peut être	un dessin d'artiste ?
Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	M-int.	Subj.	Fin: mod^Pred	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

20.	Est-ce que	c'	est [[20.1]] [[20.2]] [[20.3]]
Exp	-	Ca	Proc: att circ
Int	M-int.	S-clit.	Fin: pres
		Negotiator	
Text		Theme: top	Rheme

20.1[[en lançant un concours, dans les écoles, ou dans la population,]]

20.2 [[de savoir quel sera le drapeau identitaire de la Calédonie,]]

20.3 [[avec les plus belles couleurs, etc.,]]

21. Vous pensez vraiment [[21.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin: pres	Adj: manner
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

21.1 [[que la population s'identifiera, se reconnaîtra dans ce qui sera, à ce moment-là, le résultat d'un jury qui aura choisi entre divers dessins ?]]

22. Eh bien, j' ai toujours pensé [[22.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc:-	Circ	-ment (cog)
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.	Adj.: time	Pred.
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

22.1 [[que c'était une voie sans issue.]]

23. Alors, évidemment, on en parle,

Exp	-	Circ	Sayer	-	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	-	Adj.: manner	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.
			Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

24. ça fait longtemps [[24.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ	Circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.: time
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

24.1 [[qu'on en parle, des initiatives qui ont été prises de toutes parts.]]

25. Et je dois vous dire [[25.1]]

Exp	-	Sayer	Proc:-	Addressee	-beh (verb)
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: mod	Comp.	Pred.
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

25.1 [[que le Rassemblement ne s'est jamais vraiment associé à ce type de démarche,]]

26. parce que depuis l'origine, je suis persuadé [[26.1]]

Exp	-	Circ	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Adj.: time	S-clit	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
			Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

26.1 [[que c'est une impasse.]]

27. Et pourtant, tout le monde en a besoin.

Exp	-	Se	Range	Proc: ment (des)
Int	-	Subj.	C-clit	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

28. Pourquoi c' est une impasse ?

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Qu-Adj.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

29. Parce que depuis 20 ans, depuis 1988, nous n'

Exp	-	Circ	Circ	Sayer	-
Int	-	Adj.: time	Adj.: time	S-clit.	A-neg-clit
		Remainder		Negotiator	
Text		Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme

avons pas parlé [[29.1]]

Exp	Proc:-	-	-beh (verb)
Int	Fin.	A-neg	Pred.
Text			

29.1 [[d'une chose qui fâche, mais qui existe, sur nos épaules, dans nos cœurs, dans nos tripes, dans nos têtes: c'est l'emblème du FLNKS.]]

30. Disons les choses.

Exp	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	Pred. S+	Comp.
	Negotiator	Remainder
Text	Theme: top	

31. Et [[31.1]] [[31.2]] [[31.3]] nous ne pourrons pas

Exp	-	Act	-	Proc:-	-
Int	-	S-clit.	A-neg-clit	Fin.: fut.	A-neg
		Negotiator			
Text		Theme: top	Rheme		

progresser, non seulement sur le chemin des signes identitaires,
mais aussi sur le chemin de la construction de la
Calédonie nouvelle, [[31.4]]

Exp	mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Pred.	Comp.
		Remainder
Text		

31.1 [[tant qu'on n'aura pas levé ce tabou,]]

31.2 [[et pour lever un tabou, il faut bien en parler,]]

31.3 [[tant qu'on n'aura pas levé cet obstacle,]]

31.4 [[qui est née le jour de la signature des Accords de Matignon, en 1988.]]

32. En 1988, [[32.1]] nous avons mis un terme à la violence.

Exp	Circ	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Adj.	S-clit	Fin.^Pred.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

32.1 [[quand on signe les Accords de Matignon,]]

33. Cette violence, elle résultait d'une confrontation entre la
légitimité bleu blanc rouge,
souveraineté de la France en
Nouvelle-Calédonie, [[33.1]]
[[33.2]] et puis, une revendication
indépendantiste, [[33.3]]

Exp	Act	-	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	Subj.	S-clit.	Fin.: past	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

33.1 [[que nous incarnions]]

33.2 [[et que nous incarnons toujours,]]

33.3 [[portée par cet emblème du FLNKS.]]

34. [[34.1]] nous mettons un terme aux affrontements,

Exp	Circ	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Adj.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

34.1 [[Lorsque nous signons, en 88,]]

35. et nous sommes rentrés dans une nouvelle
période:

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

36. c' est la construction d'une Calédonie nouvelle,
[[36.1]] [[36.2]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

36.1 [[portée par ces deux légitimités, le bleu blanc rouge et l'emblème du FLNKS.]]

36.2 [[À partir du moment où nous renonçons les uns et les autres à la violence,]]

37.	parce que	cette violence, elle	a été	provoquée,	
Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subj.	S-clit.	Fin^Pred	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

38.	et	on	y	a	quand même	répondu.
Exp	-	Sayer	Range	Proc:-	Circ	-beh (verb)
Int	-	S-clit.	Adj.-clit.	Fin.	Adj.	Pred.
		Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

39.	Donc,	nous	y	avons renoncé,	les uns et les autres.
Exp	-	Se	Range	Proc: ment	Se
Int	-	S-clit.	Adj.-clit.	Fin^Pred	Subject
		Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

40.	Nous		rentrons	dans un nouveau processus.	
Exp	Act	Proc:	mat	Goal	
		(middle)			
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: fut.		Adj.	
	Negotiator			Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

41.	Ça fait près de 30 ans maintenant, 88, oui, 25 ans [[41.1]]						
Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att	Circ	Circ	-	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.	Adj.	Adj.	-	Comp.
Text	Negotiator		Remainder				
	The me: top	Rheme					

41.1 [[que nous travaillons ensemble.]]

42.	Je	veux	dire: [[42.1]]
Exp	Sayer	Proc:-	-beh (verb)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

42.1 [[notre famille politique et, en face, les indépendantistes, nous partageons, nous nous respectons dans le travail, dans les décisions.]]

43.	Je	suis	bien	obligé [[43.1]]
Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

43.1 [[d'admettre que nous sommes dans une autre relation,]]

44.	et	je	suis	bien	obligé [[44.1]]
Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

44.1 [[d'admettre...,]]

45.	et	c'	est	là [[45.1]]
Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

45.1 [[où, effectivement, je souhaite que leur réponse soit positive.]]

46.	Qu'est-ce qu'	ils	incarnent	à mes yeux ?
Exp	Goal	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Qu-Comp.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

47.	Qu'est-ce que	les indépendantistes	^INCARNENT,
Exp	Goal	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	Qu-Comp.	Subj.	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator	
Text		Theme: top	Rheme

48.	qu'est-ce que	les responsables indépendantistes	incarnent	à mes yeux ?
Exp	Goal	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	Qu-Comp.	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text		Theme: top	Rheme	

49.	Eh bien, ^ILS	INCARNENT	une quête, une recherche,	une recherche d'identité de dignité.
Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme : text	Theme: top	Rheme	

50.	Mais	ils	portent	aussi,	en Nouvelle-Calédonie,
Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	-	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme : top	Rheme		

cette part d'identité mélanésienne, d'identité océanienne, [[50.1]]

Exp	Goal
Int	Comp.
Text	

50.1 [[que les seuls représentants, que les seuls porteurs de la souveraineté de la République française n'auraient pas été capables de porter eux-mêmes, n'auraient pas été capables de comprendre, d'assimiler et de traduire dans les textes, au jour le jour.]]

51.	[[51.1]] [[51.2]] [[51.3]] [[51.4]] [[51.5]]				c'	est	pas
Exp					Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int					S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.
					Negotiator		
Text					Theme: top	Rheme	

51.1 [[Si aujourd'hui nous avons reconnu, mis en place le sénat coutumier,]]

51.2 [[si nous avons reconnu et donné une autre dimension politique, juridique, aux terres coutumières,]]

51.3 [[si nous avons reconnu et renouvelé le statut civil particulier d'une partie de la population,]]

51.4 [[si nous avons mis en place les provinces pour donner, pour partager une partie du pouvoir dans la province Nord et la province des Îles,]]

51.5 [[si nous avons un gouvernement collégial dont le fonctionnement est complexe,]]

52.	parce qu' il y a seulement le bleu blanc rouge,					
Exp	-	Exist part	Circ	Proc: exist	Circ	Existent
Int	-	S-clit.	Adj.- clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: text	Them e: top	Rheme			

53. c' est [[53.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

53.1 [[qu'il y a autre chose à côté.]]

54.	Et donc, ma proposition, une piste de solution, c' est [[54.1]]			
Exp	-	Tok	-	Proc: ident and intens
Int	-	Subj.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top		Rheme

54.1 [[de reconnaître symboliquement cette double appartenance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.]]

55. Il vous a pas échappé, quand même, [[55.1]]

Exp	Se	Range	Proc.:-	-	-ment (perc)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator					
	Theme: top	Rheme				

55.1 [[que les uns et les autres parlent beaucoup de destin commun, parlent beaucoup de communauté de destin,]]

56. mais à part les brochettes du 24 septembre autour du Mwa Ka,

Exp	-	Circ
Int	-	Adj.
Text		
	Theme: text	Theme: top

qu'est-ce qui s' est passé de nouveau depuis ?

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc:-	-mat (middle)	Range	Circ
Int	Qu-Subj.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Adj.	Adj.
Text		Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme	Rheme				

57. Qu'est-ce qui s' est passé de nouveau ?

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc.:-	-mat (middle)	Range
Int	Qu-Subj.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator				Remainder
	Theme	Rheme			

58. ^QU'EST-CE QUI S' EST PASSE de très symbolique ?

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc.:-	mat (middle)	Range
Int	Qu-Subj.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	
Text	Negotiator				Remainder
	Theme	Rheme			

59.	Je	vous	pose	la question: [[59.1]]
Exp	Sayer	Addressee	Proc: beh (verb)	Verbiage
Int	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

59.1 [[qu'est-ce qui s'est passé de nouveau ?]]

60.	Bien,	ce que j'affirme,	c'	est	[[601.1]]
Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: att circ	
Int	-	Qu-Comp.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	
			Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme	Rheme		

60.1 [[qu'à partir du moment où la Nouvelle-Calédonie retrouvera ses deux jambes pour avancer, tout est possible, y compris, un jour, si les populations le ressentent, un drapeau identitaire partagé par tous, un emblème identitaire qui flotte au vent, partagé par tous.]]

61.	Je		considère	aujourd'hui [[61.1]] [[61.2]]	
Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)		Circ	
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.		Adj.	
Text	Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: top	Rheme			

61.1 [[que ce n'est pas encore possible,]]

61.2 [[et qu'il faut passer par l'étape des deux légitimités: la légitimité de la souveraineté de la République, bleu blanc rouge, dans laquelle nous nous reconnaissons et la grande majorité de nos compatriotes se reconnaît, et puis, la légitimité identitaire mélanésienne et océanienne qui traduit, je me répète encore une fois, tout ce que l'on a fait depuis 20 ans, depuis 1988.]]

62.	On	n'	avait	jamais	fait	ça	avant.
Exp	Act	-	Proc:-	-	-mat (effective)	Goal	Circ
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: past	A-neg.	Pred.	Comp.	Adj.
	Negotiator					Remainder	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme					

63. On n' avait jamais mis en œuvre toutes ces dispositions

Exp	Act	-	Proc:-	-	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clit.	A-neg.-clit.	Fin.: past	A-neg	Pred.	Comp.
Text	Negotiator				Remainder	
	Theme: top	Rheme				

[[63.1]]

63.1 [[particulières à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.]]

64. Eh bien, c' est ça [[64.1]]

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

64.1 [[qu'il faut, aujourd'hui, montrer.]]

65. Nous l' avons signé, en juin 88.

Exp	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin^Pred	Adj.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

66. Aujourd'hui, il faut l' exprimer publiquement

Exp	Circ	Exist part	Proc:-	Verb	beh (verb)	Circ
Int	Adj.	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.	C-clit.	Pred.	Adj.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme			

67. et ^IL FAUT le montrer symboliquement.

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc:-	Goal	-mat (effective)	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.	C-clit.	Pred.	Adj.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

68. À partir de ce moment-là, je suis persuadé [[68.1]]

Exp	Circ		Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	Adj.		S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
			Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Theme: top	Rheme	

68.1 [[qu'on cheminera ensemble,]]

69. et à partir de ce moment-là, nous commençons [[69.1]]

Exp		Circ	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	Adj.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
			Negotiator	
Text	The me: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	

69.1 [[à bâtir un destin commun.]]

70. Mais, je le répète: [[70.1]] [[70.2]] il manquera toujours

Exp	-	-	Exist part	Proc: exist	Circ
Int	-	Adj	S-clit	Fin: fut	Adj
			Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: interp	Theme: top	Rheme	

70.1 [[tant que cet obstacle..., mais c'est une conviction que j'ai,]]

70.2 [[tant que cet obstacle ne sera pas levé,]]

70.3 [[pour parfaire l'initiative,]]

70.4 [[pour parfaire cet accord,]]

70.5 [[qui ont été données dans un moment extrêmement affectif, extrêmement émotionnel, de juin 1988, à Matignon.]]

quelque chose [[70.3]] [[70.4]] ces signatures [[70.5]]

Exp	Existent	Existent
Int	Comp.	Comp.
Text		

71. Aurions- nous dû le faire avant ?

Exp	Proc: -	Act	-	Goal	-mat (effective)	Circ
Int	Fin.: mod.	S-clit.	Pred.	C-clit.	Pred.	Adj.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Rheme			

72. Peut-être.

73. Je pensais [[73.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: past
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

73.1 [[qu'il était possible peut-être de le faire en 1998,]]

74. parce qu' on avait déjà travaillé pendant dix ans

Exp	-	Act	Proc:-	-	-mat (middle)	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: past	Adj.	Pred.	Adj.
		Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme : top	Rheme			

ensemble.

Exp	Circ
Int	Adj.
Text	

75. [[75.1]] il y a probablement une bonne raison à ça.

Exp	Exist part	Circ	Proc: exist	Circ	Existent
Int	S-clit.	A-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

75.1 [[Si ça n'a pas été fait,]]

76. Mais, il est temps, maintenant [[76.1]]

Exp	-	Exist part	Proc: exist	Existent	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.	Adj.
		Negotiator		Remainder	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

76.1 [[de se reconnaître, de se reconnaître symboliquement pour continuer à avancer.]]

77. Ce que je sais, c' est [[77.1]]

Exp	Ca	-	Proc: rel att
Int	Qu-compl.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

77.1 [[que la façon dont la Calédonie trouvera sa place..., a trouvé depuis 1988-98,]]

78. et le processus n' est pas encore terminé,

Exp	-	Ca	-	Proc: rel att	-	Att
Int	-	Subj.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.
		Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

79. et c' est pour ça [[79.1]] [[79.2]]

Exp		Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

79.1 [[que je souhaite que les discussions s'ouvrent assez tôt]]

79.2 [[pour que, dès 2014, nous puissions décider]]

80. C' est sûr [[80.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

80.1 [[que, lorsque la Calédonie aura trouvé définitivement sa place dans la République, cette place, tout en faisant en sorte que la Calédonie reste française, c'est-à-dire que la République continue à exercer ses compétences de souveraineté, des compétences régaliennes, elle sera différente de ce qu'étaient les relations institutionnelles de la Calédonie avec la République, il y a 50 ans,]]

81. c' est bien évident.

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

82. J' essaye [[82.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator	
Text	Theme: top	Rheme

82.1 [[de l'exprimer de façon simple,]]

83. mais ça me paraît tellement évident.

Exp	-	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)	Range
Int	-	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: mod.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

84. Alors, vous savez,

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

85. c' est pas [[85.1]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	-
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

85.1 [[en se disant: si jamais on accepte que l'emblème du FLNKS soit aux côtés du drapeau bleu, blanc, rouge...,]]

86. c' est pas [[86.1]] [[86.2]]

Exp	Ca	Proc: rel att	-
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

86.1 [[en redoutant]]

86.2 [[qu'on écarte les dangers.]]

87. Ça me paraît tellement légitime et tellement aller de soi.

Exp	Med	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen
Int	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: mod.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	The me: top	Rheme		

88. Pourquoi ?

89. Parce que, déjà, dans la province Nord, déjà dans la province Île,

Exp	-	Circ	Circ	Circ	Circ
Int	-	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top

	c'	est	la réalité.
Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Rheme		

90. Parce que tout le monde était content [[90.1]]

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.: past	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

90.1 [[de recevoir le président de la République française, Jacques Chirac, en juillet 2003,]]

91. c' était sur la place des Cocotiers.

Exp	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: past	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

92. Et là, ce jour-là, il y avait, effectivement, beaucoup d'enthousiasme,

Exp	-	Circ	Circ	Exist part	Circ	Proc: exist	Circ	Existent
Int	-	A- clit.	Adj.	S- clit.	A-clit.	Fin.: past	Adj.	Comp.
Text		Negotiator					Remainder	
	The me: text	Them e: top	Theme: top	The me: top	Rheme			

93. et on avait l'impression [[93.1]]

Exp		Se	Proc: ment (perc)
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: past
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

93.1 [[que la Calédonie était réconciliée avec elle-même.]]

94.	Parce que	c'	est	ça [[94.1]]
Exp		Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

94.1 [[que je recherche: que la Calédonie soit réconciliée avec elle-même, et que ça apparaisse aux yeux du monde, et en tout cas, aux yeux de nous tous, en Calédonie.]]

95.	Mais	ce jour-là...,	enfin,	pendant ce voyage,
Exp	-	Circ	Circ	Circ
Int	-	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Theme: top

[[95.1]]	[[95.2]] il	est venu,	certes,	bain de foule,	place des Cocotiers.
Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	-	Circ	Circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin^Pred	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.
	Negotiator	Remainder			
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

95.1[[et le président de la République, Jacques Chirac, n'a fait qu'un voyage en Nouvelle-Calédonie,]]

95.2 [[pendant le temps de sa présence à l'Élysée,]]

96.	Il	est	allé	officiellement	saluer	le maire de Noumea.
Exp	Act	Proc:-	- - -	Circ	-mat (effective)	Goal
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.	Adj.	Pred.	Comp.
	Negotiator					Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

97. Mais où s' est- il exprimé ?

Exp	-	Circ	-	Proc:-	Sayer	-beh (verb)
Int	-	Adj.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	S-clit.	Pred.
			Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

98. Il ne s' est pas exprimé au Congrès de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Exp	Sayer	-	-	Proc:-	-	-beh (verb)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.	Adj.
Negotiator							Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme					

99. Le fait, pour le chef de l'État, [[99.1]] ça a un sens.

Exp	Act	Range	-	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Compl.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Theme: top		Rheme	

99.1 [[de s'exprimer dans une enceinte officielle,]]

100. Il n' est pas allé au Congrès.

Exp	Act	-	Proc:-	-	-mat (middle)	Goal
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.	Adj.
Negotiator						Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme				

101. Il n' est pas allé s' exprimer dans
l'hémicycle de
l'assemblée de
la province
Sud.

Exp	Sayer	-	Proc:-	-	- - - -	-	-beh (verb)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.	C-clit.	Pred.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator							Remainder
	Theme: top	Rheme						

102. Et pourtant, c' est Jacques Lafleur [[102.1]]

Exp	-	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
Text	Negotiator			Remainder
	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

102.1 [[qui était le président de la province Sud.]]

103. Il n' est pas allé au gouvernement.

Exp	Act	-	Proc:-	-	-mat (middle)	Goal
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg.	Pred.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator					Remainder
	Theme: top	Rheme				

104. Je présidais le gouvernement, à ce moment-là.

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Goal	Circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: past	Comp.	Adj.
Text	Negotiator	Remainder		
	Theme: top	Rheme		

105. Il a décidé, [[105.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc:-	-ment (cog)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.
Text	Negotiator		
	Theme: top	Rheme	

105.1 [[pour prononcer son seul discours officiel,]]

106. il a décidé [[106.1]]

Exp	Se	Proc:-	-ment (cog)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

106.1 [[d'aller s'exprimer dans l'hémicycle de la province Nord.]]

107. Et qu'est-ce qui est arrivé ce jour-là ?

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	-	qu-Subj.	Fin^Pred	Adj.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme	Rheme	

108. Eh ben, le président ^EST ARRIVE.
de la République
française,

Exp	-	Act	Proc:-	-mat (middle)
Int	-	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.
		Negotiator		
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

109. moi, je suis français

Exp		Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	C-clit.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

110. et je suis obligé [[110.1]]

Exp	-	Ca	Proc: rel att	Att
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
		Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

110.1 [[de respecter, quoi que je pense, une décision du chef de l'État.]]

111. Il est arrivé avec, dans ses bagages, le drapeau du FLNKS [[111.1]]

Exp	Act	Proc: mat (middle)	Circ
Int	S-clit.	Fin^Pred	Adj.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

111.1 [[tissé dans les ateliers de l'Élysée.]]

112. Et il s' est exprimé très symboliquement.

Exp	-	Sayer	Rang e	Proc:- -beh (verb)	Circ
Int	-	S-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred. Adj.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

113. Son seul discours officiel: ^ETAIT dans l'hémicycle de la province Nord,
[[113.1]]

Exp	Ca		Proc: att circ	Att
Int	Subj.		Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top		Rheme	

113.1 [[présidée par Paul Némaoutyine.]]

114. Et il avait, dans son dos, trois drapeaux: le drapeau de la République française, le drapeau européen et le drapeau du FLNKS.

Exp	-	Act	Proc: mat (effective)	Circ	Goal
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: past	Adj.	Compl.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	The me: text	Them e: top	Rheme		

115. Même taille, même hauteur, tout ce que vous voulez.

Exp	Phen	Phen	Phen	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	Comp.	Comp.	qu-compl	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: top				Rheme

116. Eh bien, vous savez, il y a beaucoup d'observateurs, et, en général, [[116.1]]

Exp	-	-	Exist part	Circ	Proc: exist	Existent	-
Int	-	Adj	S-clit	Adj- clit	Fin: pres	Comp.	-
Text			Negotiator			Remainder	
	Theme: text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme			

116.1 [[qui n'ont pas voulu comprendre ou qui n'ont pas vu..., n'ont pas compris ce que ça voulait dire, ça, ce jour-là.]]

117. Eh bien ce jour-là, le président a validé, a admis de la République française

Exp	-	Circ	Sayer	Proc: beh (verb)	Proc: beh (verb)
Int	-	Adj.	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Fin^Pred
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

[[117.1]]

117.1 [[qu'il y avait, à côté du drapeau de la République, un emblème qui était celui dont on parle.]]

118. Et qu'est-ce qui s' est passé, [[118.1]]

Exp	-	Act	Goal	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	qu-Subj.	C-clit.	Fin^Pred
	Negotiator			
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme	

118.1 [[alors que le drapeau bleu blanc rouge avait disparu sur les mairies indépendantistes, enfin, les mairies du Nord, depuis les Évènements ?]]

119. Eh bien, quelques mois après, on a vu réapparaître

Exp	-	Circ	Se	Proc:-	-ment (perc)
Int	-	Adj.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Pred.
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

le bleu blanc rouge.

Exp	Phen.
Int	Comp.
	Remainder
Text	

120. Alors, qu'est-ce qu' on pense de ça ?

Exp	-	-	Se	Proc: ment (cog)	Phen.
Int	-	qu-Comp.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator				Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Theme: top	Rheme	

121. Moi, je souhaite [[120.1]] [[121.2]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc: ment (des)
Int	C-clit.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

120.1 [[que ce débat ouvert, nous parlions de ça,]]

120.2 [[et que les indépendantistes nous disent: mais nous aussi (?).]]

121. Est-ce que, vraiment, dans une démarche indépendantiste dure,

Exp	-	-	Circ
Int	M-int.	Adj.	Adj.
Text		Theme: text	Theme: top

les responsables [[121.1]]

auraient admis, auraient fait

ce geste

[[121.2]]

[[121.3]]

Exp	Beh/Act	Proc: beh (verb)	Proc: mat (effective)	Goal
Int	Subj.	Fin^Pred	Fin^Pred	Comp.
	Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme		

121.1 [[élus dans les mairies, assemblées de provinces,]]

121.2 [[que personne ne leur a demandé,]]

121.3 [[de lever le bleu blanc rouge à côté de leur emblème ?]]

122. Est-ce qu' ils ont vraiment l'intention [[122.1]]

Exp	-	Se	Proc:-	Circ	-ment (cog)
Int	M-int.	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Adj.	Comp.
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text		Theme : top	Rheme		

122.1 [[de...]]

123. la question est la suivante,

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	Subj.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

124. c' est: est-ce qu'ils ont vraiment l'intention

[[124.1]]

Exp	Tok	Proc: ident and intens	Val
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.
	Negotiator		Remainder
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

124.1 [[de le baisser dans quelques années ?]]

125.	Je	ne	le	crois	pas.
Exp	Se	-	Phen	Proc: ment (cog)	-
Int	S-clit.	A-neg-clit.	C-clit.	Fin.: pres.	A-neg
	Negotiator				
Text	Theme: top	Rheme			

126.	Et	c'	est	pour ça [[126.1]]	
Exp	-	Ca	Proc: att circ	Att	
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: pres.	Comp.	
		Negotiator			Remainder
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme		

126.1 [[que j'ai proposé une solution institutionnelle innovante qui permette à la Nouvelle-Calédonie de choisir elle-même les conditions de son existence institutionnelle dans la République française.]]

127.	Et [[127.1]]	il	faut [[127.2]]
Exp	-	Exist part	Proc: mat (middle)
Int	-	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.
		Negotiator	
Text	Theme: text	Theme: top	Rheme

127.1 [[pour faire ça]],

127.2 [[que je partage cette...,]]

128.	il	faut	faire [[128.1]]
Exp	Exist part	Proc:-	-mat (middle)
Int	S-clit.	Fin.: mod.	Pred.
	Negotiator		
Text	Theme: top	Rheme	

128.1 [[en sorte de partager cette solution institutionnelle avec les indépendantistes, qui ne veulent plus d'une rupture ou d'une sécession avec la République, mais qui sont en quête de dignité et qui ont envie que leur identité, non seulement soit reconnue, mais soit gravée, soit gravée dans les instruments de reconnaissance de la République française.]]

Appendix Two: Questions Semi-structured Interviews and Online Questionnaires

Quel est votre sexe ?

En quelle année êtes-vous né(e) ?

Qu'est-ce que c'est « l'indépendance » et qu'est-ce que cela signifie pour vous ?

Que pensez-vous de l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie ?

Êtes-vous pour ou contre l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie ?

Pourquoi ?

Que signifie le « destin commun » pour vous ?

Quelle est votre ethnicité ?

Appendix Three: Ethical Clearance

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

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MACQUARIE
University
SYDNEY · AUSTRALIA

15 July 2015

Associate Professor Karin Speedy
Department of International Studies
Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Dear Associate Professor Speedy

Reference No: 5201500170

Title: *Data collection for Critical Discourse Analysis in New Caledonia*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review.

Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)) at its meeting on 27 March 2015 at which a resubmitted application was requested to be reviewed by the HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) out of session.

The resubmitted application was received with correspondence on 21 April 2015. The HREC requested that you seek assistance in preparing your response to the HREC and a second resubmitted application was received on 20 May 2015.

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) considered your second resubmitted application at its meeting on 26 June 2015 at which further information was requested to be reviewed by the Executive.

Your response was received on 2 July 2015 and the Executive reviewed your response at its meeting on 14 July 2015.

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted at:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated March 2014) (the *National Statement*).

This letter constitutes ethical and scientific approval only.

Standard Conditions of Approval:

Details of this approval are as follows:

Approval Date: 14 July 2015

The following documentation has been reviewed and approved by the HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities):

Documents reviewed	Version no.	Date
Macquarie University Ethics Application Form & Appendix B: Research to be Undertaken Outside Australia	2.3	July 2013
Correspondence from Ms Margo Lecompte-Van Poucke responding to the issues raised by the HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities)		Received 21/04/2015 & 20/05/2015
MQ Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF): 1 – French translation		
MQ Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF): 2 – French translation		
MQ Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF): 1 – English translation		
MQ Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF): 2 – English translation		
Flyer: French translation		
Flyer : English translation		
Online questionnaire: English translation		
Interview questions: in English and French		

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.