DISCOURSE ANALYSIS :
A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE FRENCH PRESS'S
REPRESENTATION OF THE
POLITICAL CRISIS IN TAHITI (2004-2005) -
IN *LE FIGARO*, *LE MONDE* AND *LA LIBERATION*.

A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Arts in French

in the

University of Canterbury

by

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University of Canterbury

2006

ABSTRACT

French Polynesia went through a political crisis from 2004 to 2005 which constituted an important chapter in the history of this recently upgraded 'Pays d'Outre-mer'. After the general elections of May 2004 in Tahiti, a series of controversial events unfolded which created polarity among the local people and which destabilised the government. This research aims to study qualitatively how the Tahitian political crisis is constructed by the French press, namely, *le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération*. Based on the CDA framework and Halliday's systemic grammar, this research embarks on Foucault's idea of subjectivity which governs the formation of discourse, by examining the linguistic structure of the clause in the press representations. The analysis reveals that events and people from the crisis can be configured in different ways in the clausal structure, which is, to a certain degree, triggered by the subjectivity of newspapers. *La Libération* offers a socialist view of the crisis through its discursive constructions which are more inclusive of the local people and by showing Temaru's rise to power in an optimistic manner. As for the conservative newspaper *le Figaro*, power hierarchies can be observed in some representations while certain individuals' responsibilities are hidden in the clausal structure. Even *le Monde*, which claims to maintain a neutral ground, exposes its intellectual and critical conceits in the construction of clauses which represent Tahiti's recent political crisis.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the European discovery of the South Pacific islands, Polynesia was sought after by the major world powers who were attracted to the abundant tropical environment and the beautiful inhabitants of these islands. France was able to claim Tahiti as its territory which was widely known at the time as 'the Garden of Eden'. In 1843, Tahiti became a French protectorate and by 1880, other areas such as the Tuamotu atolls and the Austral Islands were also taken into France's possession. Today, the local people of French Polynesia are considered as French citizens and they have some autonomy in governing their island nation, such as having the right to form their own Territorial Assembly which can be administered without the supervision of a State Representative from France. This administrative autonomy was obtained when a new institutional law was introduced in 1984. However, since then, Tahiti and the outer islands have been under the rule of Gaston Flosse, a pro-France political leader, as well as a devoted friend of Jacques Chirac.

In February 2004, an important revision of status took place which changed French Polynesia from being a 'Territoire d'Outre-mer' to a 'Pays d'Outre-mer'. This was a significant occasion, considering that the French nation has always been reluctant to grant any form of independence to the Tahitian government. A general election followed on 23rd May 2004, to fill up the increased number of assembly seats and this election resulted in an unexpected turnover in the governing power of French Polynesia. Gaston Flosse, who had been the president of French Polynesia for almost twenty years, had to step down from his position, as his party *Tahoeraa Huiraatira* did not gain enough votes to secure the majority of 57 seats in the Polynesian Assembly and was overthrown by the pro-independence party, *Tavini Huiraatira* led by Oscar Temaru. Flosse's pro-French regime came to an end when Temaru became the new president of French Polynesia in 2004. However, Flosse continued to seek assistance from the metropolitan authorities in France to annul Temaru's victory. This created a lot of resentment among the population who supported Temaru and triggered a major political turmoil as the pro-independence leader fought back. French Polynesia was left with many problems and the political situation remained unresolved for ten months.

This research is a discourse analysis which examines the linguistic construction of Tahiti's recent political crisis in the French press discourse. It aims to study news articles from *le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération* which report on the Tahitian situation and compare how these newspapers have represented the events. Analysing the linguistic features contained in the clausal structure will be able to expose the press subjectivity to a certain degree. Thus, the proposed research intends to observe at the clausal level, the structure and function of grammatical constituents to unveil the ideologies and subjectivity behind the discursive choices made by the three major, politically diverse French newspapers.

The recent transition of government in Tahiti is of great concern to France because it questions the power of the metropolitan government as well as affecting its relations with this South Pacific nation. The gravity of the situation can be observed from the substantial amount of coverage produced by the French press media from the time of the election in May 2004 until the latest political turmoil, which took place in March 2005. In *le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération*, there have been regular reports of the political situation in Tahiti. These newspapers provide a French perspective on the matter, however each of them presents their news from a different political angle. *Le Figaro* has a reputation for being conservative while *la Libération* is a socialist newspaper which is placed on the left side of the political spectrum, opposite *le Figaro*. As for *le Monde*, it tries to maintain a central political position, however, it is often classified as a centre-left national daily. Due to the diversity of political scope offered by the three newspapers, each newspaper is likely to present a slightly different account of the political reform in Tahiti. Social, cultural or historical factors, such as France's past colonial relationship with French Polynesia may also influence the representation of the affair.

A linguistic analysis will be carried out on a corpus which will consist of articles that report on the events which occurred after the general election of May 2004 in Tahiti. The main objective of this research is to study these articles at the clausal level in order to describe the discursive structure of the representations and see how the different linguistic features could indicate the press subjectivity and ideologies towards power relations and attitudes. By opting for a set of methods drawn from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the analysis of the corpus will elucidate the ways

in which the French media has represented Tahiti's recent political crisis. This linguistic study will be based on the functional theory of grammar developped by M.A.K. Halliday which will equip the research with adequate tools to decipher the clausal structure. The discursive stuctures in the three press discourse formations of Tahiti's political crisis will offer a range of views and will give an insight into how France perceives and constructs the political situation of this newly evolved 'Pays d'Outre-mer'. The analysis will focus on the configuration of transitivity as it is an essential part of representation in discourse formation. Subsequently, this analysis will contribute to gaining a deeper and more insightful understanding of the situation that has caused major changes and controversies in Tahiti.

The nature of this research is qualitative and the global analysis of the events which will feature in the third chapter, will expose the internal linguistic structures of the discursive representations as presented by each newspaper. The event-analysis will be followed by a micro analysis which will investigate the discursive representation of the main social actors who were involved in the Tahitian political crisis, namely, Temaru, Flosse and the metropolitan government.

This thesis is divided into three chapters: At the outset, a historical inquiry will be made regarding France's presence and influence in Tahiti. Carrying out this contextual work will reinforce the understanding of the events that took place during the political crisis in 2004 and 2005. The first chapter will therefore examine the historical and political context of the Tahitian government and illustrate its relations with France. The first chapter will look at France's initial visits to Tahiti, the times of colonisation and current ties between French Polynesia and the metropolitan power. It will also investigates the development of political activities in Tahiti which leads up to the recent crisis that emerged from the election of May 2004. This background chapter will justify the importance and gravity of the situation reported by the French press media.

The second chapter will establish the framework for this research and specify its methodology. It will also include a description of the corpus and the procedures which will be taken to analyze the articles in the corpus. First, it will explore Michel Foucault's philosophical theory of discourse formation and his ideas on subjectivity. Next, this chapter will explore the field of Critical Discourse Analysis which will be

chosen as the main framework for this research. Then, this chapter will examine the systemic-functional grammar of Michael (A.K.) Halliday with special focus on aspects of the grammatical framework which are most relevant to the analysis. The next section will review the three different French daily newspapers studied in this research and then this chapter will describe the corpus material. Finally, a template will be set up to define the method of analysis which will comprise all the methodologies and linguistic tools that were especially selected for the research.

The third chapter will present the linguistic findings which have been accumulated from carrying out the analysis. A global analysis will be conducted to investigate the discursive construction of the selected events in the corpus and observe how the grammatical aspects of the clause representing each event differ according to the subjectivity of the newspaper. This will be followed by a micro-analysis which will look at the representation of the main participants involved in the Tahitian crisis.

A close observation of syntactic elements in the clause can reveal how a particular experience can be represented in various ways. Keeping in mind that the syntactic configuration of a clause could be ideologically motivated, the research will focus on how each newspaper has linguistically represented Tahiti's political crisis by looking at different types of processes, nominalisation, use of passive or active voicing. These features will be compared and interpreted in the discourse of the three newspapers in relation to the ideologies, subjectivities and social values. The effects of transitivity will be analysed according to the ideational component of *Halliday*'s theory. The thesis will then conclude by reviewing the outcome of the analysis and by establishing a correlation between the linguistic structures and the newspapers' subjectivities. This will affirm to what extent the linguistic structure of the press discourse has been influenced by the subjectivity of the three newspapers.

Chapter One: Background

In order to extract all the meanings contained in the discourse, it is vital to understand the context in which it takes form. Meaning is not solely constructed by grammatical elements or lexical choices, but also by many social and cultural factors. One has to bear in mind that the role of individuals or groups that are responsible for creating and delivering a particular message is the determining factor in shaping the form of discourse, which ultimately has some kind of impact on the society as a whole.

Given that this research examines the discourse of the French newspaper articles which have been written about the current political state in French Polynesia, there are a number of background issues that must be acknowledged before carrying out the analysis. First of all, this chapter will specify the nature of the relationship between France and Tahiti. It will give an account of when and why the first Europeans arrived in the pacific region, with particular regards to what happened in Tahiti. It will also discuss the practice of colonialism by France, its impact on the islanders, and will illustrate how Tahiti has evolved to this present day. Furthermore, this chapter will present an outline of the political development in French Polynesia and discuss the political events that arose from the May elections in 2004.[1] The description of the events will accommodate the comprehension of the corpus and make it easier for the readers to understand the occurrences in the analysis.

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[1] The books: *The French Pacific Islands* (1971) by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific (1961)* by F.J. West, and *The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842-1940* (1990) and France and *The South Pacific since 1940* (1993) by Robert Aldrich will serve as the main sources for this chapter.

1.1. France-Tahiti Relationship: The Beginning

The first European voyages to the South Pacific Ocean were made by the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch explorers during the 16th Century. In September 1519, Ferdinand Magellan left the Spanish port of Seville in order to accomplish a circumnavigation around the globe. Initially, there were five ships that set out for this expedition, however, only three were able to sail across the Pacific. Magellan did not encounter any islands in the Pacific Ocean during his navigation but due to the stillness of the waters in this region, he named this area 'Pacific',[2] which is an essential part of the identity of the island communities to this day.[3] In Zweig's literary work on Magellan's journeys, he writes:

> *Long since, though Magellan, he must have got beyond Zipangu (as Marco Polo had called it), beyond Japan, Dai Nippon, the Land of the Rising Sun. Yet at the time when he believed this, he had not yet traversed as much a third of the width of the vast ocean which, because it was so peaceful, he called the Pacific. Peaceful though it was, its peace was cruel, for the monotony of its stillness proved a martyrdom. Continually the same azure mirror was the ocean, perpetually cloudless and burning was the sky, dumb and toneless the atmosphere, interminably distant and equably rounded the horizon, a metallic line separating water from air, heartlessly unvaried.* (Zweig, 1938:215-216)

The Marquesas Islands, located Northeast of French Polynesia, are Europe's first discovery of the Polynesian civilisation. These islands were sighted in 1595 by the Spanish navigator, Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira, who named the islands in honour of his patron's wife, marquesa de Mendoza.

These first voyages to the Pacific were motivated by the cosmological philosophies of 'sphericity' and 'equilibrium', which believed that the landmass of the northern hemisphere was balanced by the undiscovered lands in the Southern hemisphere.[4] The myth of undiscovered lands in the southern hemisphere dates back to the ancient Greek philosophy of Aristotle. Ptolemy later extended this theory and located on his map 'terra

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[2] Zweig, S., 1938, *Magellan- Pioneer of the Pacific*, p.?
[3] 'Oceania' is another common term for referring to this region.
[4] Dunmore, J., 2004, *Storms and Dreams*, p.195-196.

australis incognita', hypothesizing the presence of an imaginary continent beyond Africa. This map was of great importance and use to later explorers. During the Renaissance period, Spain and Portugal built bigger ships, in order to explore the globe and expand their empires, as well as to find resources, such as gold and spices. Trade was a predominant activity of these ships, which created pathways from Europe to China, the Spice Islands and other newly found lands.

The second period of European expeditions to the Pacific took place in the 18th Century, predominantly by the French and the English. Unlike the Spanish/Dutch explorers, the voyages made to the Pacific Ocean during the Classical era were of a scientific nature. Philibert Commerson and Joseph Banks are among the most well known naturalists who went on board to study and classify the botany, animals and even people in foreign environments. The studies carried out by these naturalists often reflected the concept of dualism and this is evident in the way that people of Oceania were first viewed as a racial line was drawn to distinguish the indigenous people of Polynesia and Melanesia.[5] While the former group was considered beautiful and light-skinned, people from the latter group were often referred to as being ugly, black and of African origin. The Tahitian people were highly regarded by Europeans due to their physical appearance and their highly organised social structures[6]. Such positive impressions of Tahiti led to centuries of fascination and fantasies about the Pacific, notably in European literature and arts. Hence, emerged the notions of 'Le Bon Sauvage'[7] and 'La Nouvelle Cythère'[8].

Although Tahiti has been a prized territory of the French Republic over a long period of time, the first European contact was made by the British. On 19th June 1767, Captain Samuel Wallis arrived in Tahiti and named it 'King George III's Island'. He later informed Captain James Cook about this island who made several visits there from

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[5] Another conventional grouping of islands in the South Pacific Ocean includes 'Micronesia', meaning 'little islands'.

[6] Polynesian societies are hierarchical and ethnically uniform, whereas Melanesian societies tend to be less structured and more culturally diverse.

[7] The term 'le bon sauvage' denotes human beings living in natural conditions who are pure as they are unaffected by developed societies. This concept comes from the writings of the French philosopher of the Enlightenment Age, Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

[8] 'La Nouvelle Cythère' is the name Bougainville gives Tahiti on his arrival and it is named after a Greek island.

1767.[9] It was not until the after Wallis' arrival that the French encountered Tahiti. Count Louis-Antoine de Bougainville conducted this expedition, and having no knowledge of the prior visitors, he assumed that he was the first European to discover the island.[10] Contrary to the violence that broke out when Wallis first approached the Tahitians, Bougainville's ships 'La Boudeuse' and 'L'Etoile' were immediately greeted by the inhabitants in a peaceful and friendly manner. The local people also offered abundant hospitality to the crew (even that of a 'sexual' nature) which was deeply appreciated by the Europeans having sailed such a long distance in harsh (and lonely) conditions.

Bougainville's stopover in Tahiti was very brief and only lasted eight days, as opposed to the three weeks spent by Wallis and his crew on this island. Bougainville made close observations of the local lifestyle, and identified the people and places with names from Greek mythologies. His narrative, which was written during the expedition, was published in 1771, and translated into English by Johann Foster in 1772. Wallis and Cook's narratives were published later, in 1773. Their journals were given to professional writers who edited and modified the stories before they were published and presented to the King. There are certain similarities between the Bougainville and Wallis/Cook narratives, which could suggest the influence of the former work over the latter. These narratives offer an exclusive insight into how Europeans viewed and interacted with Tahitian people upon their first contact.

1.2. Colonisation

Shortly after the discovery of Tahiti by the European explorers, visits to the island became more frequent. As the two worlds became increasingly familiar with one

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[9] Despite the initial skirmish upon Wallis' arrival, his report on this island was positive, emphasizing particularly on the 'friendliness' of the native people. The main intent of Captain Cook's voyage in 1769, which was inspired by this report, was to witness the transit of Venus. West, F.J., 1961, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific*, p.78.
[10] Dunmore, p.190.

another, stronger ties were established, bringing many changes to the Pacific communities. The French/British presence and colonial ambitions in Tahiti had a dramatic impact vis-à-vis administration, commerce, and religion. The arrival of the Europeans also caused environmental change and population decline.

During the 19th Century, major imperialistic movements took place all over the Pacific region by dominant European Powers, namely, England, France, Germany and America. These nations competed intensively to take possession of the Pacific islands. In the case of Polynesia, tension was especially great between the French and the British, and in order to formally recognise each other's presence in certain areas, annexation became essential. Within the Polynesian triangle[11], New Zealand was the first country to be annexed when it was claimed by the British in 1840. Two years later, France annexed the Marquesas Islands and in that same year, Tahiti became a French Protectorate, although it was ceded unwillingly on the part of the Polynesians[12]. France was finally able to annex the island in 1880 when King Pomare V gave up his throne. Many other islands were automatically transferred into France's possession, which included the Tuamotu Group, and some other islands in the Australs Group and the Society Group.

The colonial powers took advantage of their newly founded territories and exploited the lands in various ways to gain economic benefit. Cotton and sugar plantations were set up on certain islands, as in Fiji and Hawaii, and in the case of Australia and New Zealand, livestock was introduced for agricultural developments. Tahiti, on the other hand, was not as affected by such imperialistic ventures, mainly due to its geographic isolation. Nonetheless, it served as a major port town and received a great number of traders, sealers and whalers, as well as other ships passing through. Missionaries also began to arrive on the island and introduced Christianity to the local people, which transformed their traditional lifestyle in many ways.

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[11] The Polynesian triangle marks the boundaries of Polynesian communities in the Pacific Ocean. New Zealand, Hawaii and the Easter Island are each situated at the three corners of this triangle.
[12] According to Fischer, coercive tactics were used by the French to gain administrative control of Tahiti. Local chiefs were forced to sign a petition requesting French protection and once Tahiti was officially claimed as a French Protectorate, Admiral Du Petit-Thouars overthrew the monarchy with military power. Fischer, S.R., 2002, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, p.132-133.

Although sexual liberty in Polynesia captivated the Europeans at first, it was soon regarded as amoral and evil. Europeans discovered that many improper activities such as incest and infanticide were being practiced casually in the local communities, and were horrified at the Polynesian tradition of cannibalism. In the eyes of the Europeans, religion was the sole key to solve this problem and they believed that it was their duty to save the souls of these indigenous people who were considered as 'heathens'. This is evident in Fisher's account on his first mission to Tahiti, which states:

> *Only at the end of the end of the eighteenth century did a new missionizing dynamic emerge, the first and most influential being that of Protestant Evangelists whose literal interpretation of the Bible, they believed, would 'save' those souls James Cook and other had so recently described in the highly popular accounts of their Pacific voyages.* (Fisher, 2002: 102-103)

At the time when Christianity was first brought to the Pacific Islands, there were two kinds that were introduced. England established a Protestant mission whereas France brought Catholicism to the islands. The French missionaries began to arrive in the Pacific during the 1820s and were very insistent on annexing the islands. Hence, religion played a major political role, as explained by Aldrich:

> *At this time, Catholic and French were almost synonymous in the South Pacific, and many missionaries continually pleaded for French annexation of the islands where they had set up their churches and schools- the Tonga and Samoa archipelagos for instance.* (Aldrich, 1990: 18)

The British Protestants arrived earlier than the French Catholics to introduce Christianity to the Polynesian people, and they were successful as they maintained a good relationship with the royalty. When the London Missionary Society (LMS) sent 18 pastors to Tahiti in 1796, King Pomare offered them some land as a gift. The missionaries then taught the Tahitian King how to read and write, and by 1806, they managed to convince him to abolish all practices of human sacrifices and infanticides on the island. Pomare was also keen to accept the British flag in return for protection.[13] The process of christianisation took approximately 20 years in Tahiti and the conversion of

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[13] This is evident in the letter addressed to King George IV, which was signed by Pomare. De Deckker, P., ed. 1983, *The Aggressions of the French at Tahiti*, p.26.

important chiefs, civil wars and waves of disease-related deaths, played a major role in converting the rest of the population.

In 1836, the Roman Catholic faith was brought to Tahiti by the French missionaries from *La société des missions évangéliques*, however, their mission was immediately rejected because the LMS was already very active there. Moreover, the Tahitian Monarchy did not want any interference in the strong friendship Tahiti was sharing with England at the time. Nevertheless, as soon as the French protectorate over Tahiti was declared in 1842, the English missionary work was suspended and Catholicism began to flourish. By bringing education and the European mentality to the Polynesian people, Christianity played an influential role in reshaping their lifestyles. However, at the same time, it deprived the Polynesians of their culture by dissuading belief in ancient gods and by banning cultural activities such as dancing and tattooing, although this was not completely preventable.

This section has illustrated the nature of Polynesian societies and their initial contact with the European voyagers and revealed in chronological order, how the Europeans interacted with the Tahitian people and what kind of relationship was established between them. It has also discussed the prominence of Franco-British rivalry and what impacts each of these nations had on the Polynesian way of life. Such observations made about Tahiti's past situation provide a useful insight into what has happened there in more recent times.

1.3. *Recent Political History of French Polynesia*

This section will review how Tahiti was governed before and after the French regime, and what political development took place. The following excerpt explains that a good understanding of Tahiti's history and its original social/governing system is vital to observing the specificities of Tahiti's current political situation:

The Old Tahitian society is nevertheless important in political advancement principally because of one survival, kinship, which still operates strongly in Tahitian life, and also because the forces which worked on that society to break it down, if they succeeded in their purpose also left a legacy which colours the general attitude towards the Government and towards the French. Much of the present political situation in Tahiti can only be explained by its history: it has coloured what, for want of a better and more precise term, can only be called the 'climate of opinion'. (West, 1961:77)

This view can be confirmed by Jean-Marc Regnault, who comments:

La vie politique, en Polynésie, obéit en effet à des règles originales. Première vue, les institutions, les partis, la vie associative laissent penser que les îles sont le prolongement de la métropole. En réalité, l'observateur doit faire un effort pour comprendre ce qu'est un territoire d'outre-mer, c'est-à-dire un milieu qui a sa culture propre, des pratiques particulières, déterminées par la géographie, l'histoire, le souvenir de la colonisation, la démographie et les mentalités. (Regnault, 2004: 21)

1.3.1. Before the French Regime

Traditionally, the people of Tahiti were organised according to a complex social system. A distinct hierarchy existed within the social structure and the highest was class comprised of chiefs of different ranking whose power was transmitted by inheritance. The high chiefs were called *hui arii* and under them, there were other sub-chiefs. Together, they held the power to rule the general population. Individual tribes existed among the three main clans on the island: *Vaiari*, *Punaauia*, and *Papara*. [14] At the time of the European arrival, the Pomare family had a powerful standing in Tahiti and in several other islands, which was partially attributable to Christianity. Pomare, who was a high chief originally called *Tu*, was regarded as the 'king' of Tahiti by the newly arrived Europeans. With the advantage of being in possession of Matavai Bay which was an

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[14] West states that within each grouping of the gradient social organisation, family tribes retained a *marae* or temple that represented them.

exclusive trading spot, as well as maintaining a strong support from the missionaries, Pomare was able to expand his territories and power over other tribes. Subsequently, a certain type of 'kingdom' began to emerge in the Tahitian society with Pomare as the king. An assembly of chiefs was established in due course and a code of laws was also established. This could be seen as the beginning of European infiltration in the governance of Tahiti which permanently transformed the entire island.

King Pomare's reign was continued by Pomare II's, during which mass conversions took place. This was achieved by often violent measures as he was challenged by numerous discontented chiefs who sought war against him. Pomare II died in 1821 and his sister became the Queen of Tahiti as Pomare IV. The son of Pomare II, who was the rightful heir to the throne, could not assume the role as King because he died at the age of one. Through the Protestant missionaries, Britain managed to uphold a close relationship with the Tahitian sovereignty, and as a result, received more recognition than the French Catholics on the island. Still, neither of the European nations was able to obtain any governing power in the Tahitian community.

The next section will cover the period between colonial practices and the recent political reform, which will illustrate the way French Polynesia was administered and how political developments came about.

1.3.2. The French Regime

The Franco-British rivalry over territorial claims to Tahiti ended in 1843 when it became a French protectorate. Captain Abel-Aubert Dupetit-Thouars played a significant role in convincing the local authority to accept the French presence in Tahiti. A treaty was put together which agreed to respect the roles of Tahitian monarchy and chiefs, and on 30

September 1843, the statute of French protectorate was officially declared[15]. At first, France only had control over international and public affairs which concerned Europe. However, this situation soon changed when the French enforced more legislation in order to expand their administrative powers on the island.

When Pomare V's rule came to an end, France was able to gain total control over Tahiti. Subsequently, the protectorate became annexed as the *Établissement Français de l'Océanie* (EFO), and other territories in the outer island groups also came into France's possession. The proclamation of metropolitan responsibility over Tahiti allowed France to gain 100% control over the administrative system of the islands. Before long, the traditional practices of governance began to crumble as the Frenchmen set up offices everywhere in order to regulate internal and external activities of the territory. Furthermore, French nationality was offered to the local population, which envisaged more intense and extensive assimilation in the Polynesian communities. With regards to such assimilation, West states the following:

> *Assimilation implied a number of things: legal assimilation to the obligations and penalties of French civil and penal codes; the extension of French education, language, customs and values; economic assimilation by the extension of metropolitan tariffs to local trade; the liberal donation of French nationality to the Polynesians [...] also implied, of course, that ultimate political control was in Paris.* (West, 1961: 84)

A governor was commissioned by the Paris headquarters to act on behalf of the president. He had ultimate authority in all decision-making processes, but he was supported by a council that was formed in 1885. The general council (*Conseil Général*) consisted of 18 members- ten representatives from the main island and Moorea, and eight representatives from the outer islands- and together, they dealt with financial aspects of the administrative service, such as budgetary issues or taxation. Nevertheless, Polynesians were disadvantaged from taking part in the council because full proficiency in the French language was a prerequisite. In 1903, the *Conseil Général* was dissolved and replaced by another form of assembly which was called the *Conseil d'administration consultatif*. The new system only included seven members and gave even more power to

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[15] De Deckker, p.86.

the governor as the council merely acted as an advisory body. There were several other administrative bodies below the council, which were namely, the commune of Papeete, district centres and the *gendarmerie*.

The Great Depression followed the First World War, bringing to Tahiti many financial problems. The public owed a huge amount of money to the government and this had to be paid back by means of taxation.[16] Many people opposed this retroactive taxation, which led to a protest which took place in 1921. This protest proved to be successful as it convinced the governor to write off the previously imposed taxes. After losing a huge amount of highly qualified men in the war, France decided to send more people as officials to EFO to take up most of the high positions in the governing sectors, and France was thus able to retain firm control of the administration of Tahiti. Posting ministers overseas proved to be an efficient solution for France to get rid of their problematic politicians.[17]

In 1930, the advisory council was replaced by the *Délégations Economiques et Financières*, which again only played an advisory role for the governor. Too much pressure from the central government and lack of respect for local bodies created resentment, and the situation worsened due to the governor's continual exploitation of powers. Thompson and Adloff mention that a governor, on one occasion, arrested a Polynesian man for failing to salute him correctly. According to the authors, this governor also attempted to ban the Tahitian people from singing in public after 9pm.[18]

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[16] According to Thompson and Adloff, the total sum of public debt was 951,000 francs.
[17] West explains that there was a frequent turnover of governors because Tahiti was used as a 'dumping ground for bad officials', p.86.
[18] Thompson and Adloff, p.24.

1.4. Development of Political Activities

Like World War I, the Second World War also had a big impact on Tahiti, especially at the political level. France was not only concerned with the economy and administration of EFO, but also expected service from the local people to support their mother country in the war. In June 1940, the German troops defeated the French opposition in the Battle of France, and subsequently, the Germans began to occupy France under the Vichy government. Islands from all parts of French Polynesia showed their allegiance by participating in the rallying of 'France libre', and in the following year, one thousand Polynesian men left home to fight in the Pacific Battalion (*Bataillon du Pacifique*). After the battles which took place in Libya and Italy, and a sense of nationalism began to emerge in Tahitian society. There was also a need to reorganise the governing system which was fulfilled when General de Gaulle came into power.

In 1945, a first Representative Assembly (*L'Assemblée représentative*) was created. It consisted of twenty members who were voted by universal suffrage. The Assembly held more responsibilities compared to the previous models of governing bodies, and it was to meet twice a year to discuss economic and other administrative matters. The following year, Tahiti evolved from being a colony to a *Territoire d'Outre-Mer* (TOM) and the new statute meant that it had to be represented by a deputy, a senator as well as a councillor. Under the decree issued on 25th October 1946, the life of the Assembly increased from four to five years, and the minimum age of membership also increased from 21 to 23 years old. Later, further changes were made to the Assembly[19] and it was allocated a new name, *Assemblée territoriale*. Although the Assembly grew in size and exercised more influence on the administration of TOM, the power and role of the governor did not diminish. In fact, the governor became even more dominant when the duties of the ministers in the *Conseil général* were reduced. Worse still, the newly founded local Assembly did not seem to fulfil its functions adequately. The members of the Assembly were reputedly too casual about their attendance and made little progress

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[19] The number of Assembly members changed to 25 in 1952, then to 30 in 1957.

with their work, which often lacked adequate revision. This situation can be observed in the following remark:

> *Many members appeared at sessions only long enough to pick up their pay checks. Often meetings had to be adjourned for lack of a quorum, and the work of assembly committees was usually done by the same few conscientious members. [...] The administration was legitimately charged with railroading its controversial proposals without sufficient preliminary study, and with sometimes bypassing the assembly by submitting projects for decision to the five-man permanent commission, but the assemblymen themselves were not above reproach in procedural matters. With respect to revising the code of civil law, for example, the assemblymen failed for [...] a year to vote on a report that had been given them, because only a handful of them had taken the trouble to study the document.*
> (Thompson and Adloff, 1971:59-60)

French specialists are often perplexed by the nature of political parties in Tahiti and, according to Jean-Marc Regnault, the traditional left-right wing distinction in politics is not really applicable to the political scene of Polynesia. On one occasion, he discusses a comment made by a metropolitan journalist by saying the following:

> *Il n'existe pas de partis. On constate l'existence de groupes, sans programme écrit et variant fréquemment sur certains points de leur programme oral, proclamé lors de telle ou telle élection.*
> (Regnault, 2004:21)

As a result of intermarriages, a substantial group of mixed-race Tahitians emerged in the society, and those that belonged to this particular category were identified as *demi*. The *demi* had a specific social status and function. Most of them occupied jobs in the administrative sectors and were considered superior to the general Polynesian population. The *demi* also played a significant role in the political domain, as West explains:

> *Some Metropolitan Frenchmen, after a brief foray into local politics soon after World War II, found themselves unwelcome, and they soon withdrew to materially more rewarding positions in the administration or in business enterprises. The resident Chinese have not participated directly in domestic politics, using their influence only in cases where their economic interests are*

involved. Consequently, it has been the demi who control both the R.D.P.T.[20] and the conservative parties and who fill all the elective posts and the territorial civil service. (West, 1971: 64)

Although the administrative and political power was largely in the hands of the *demi*, the indigenous Polynesian population eventually found some voice and recognition through Pouvanna a Oopa who was the pioneering figure of indigenous political activities in French Polynesia. Pouvanna was also widely known as the '*Metua*' or '*le père de la nation*'.[21] Under his leadership, the territory acquired a new recognition as *Polynésie française* and everyone in this region gained the right to become a French citizen. On behalf of all local residents, he campaigned against the metropolitan administration in order to claim more autonomy and in 1947, he protested against the arrival of government officials sent from Paris, for which he had to serve a prison sentence. He is renowned for creating a sense of nationalism among the Tahitian people who continued to support his independence movement. He founded *le Comité Pouvanaa* and *le Rassemblement démocratique des Populations tahitiennes* (RDPT), which can be regarded as the first political party representing the general public of French Polynesia. By 1953, the RDPT was able to secure the majority of seats in the Territorial Assembly and Pouvanaa managed to acquire a number of important positions in the government. First, he was elected as Deputy in 1947 and was re-elected in 1951 and again 1956. Then in 1958, he became the Vice-President of the Government Council and, finally, was Senator in 1971. On 28th September that year, a referendum was carried out, concerning whether French Polynesia wished to keep receiving France's assistance, hence, stay as a dependent nation. Pouvanaa encouraged the voters to say 'no' but the result turned out to be in favour of France. In October that same year, the French government arrested Pouvanaa, accusing him of conspiring to burn down Papeete. Consequently, he was imprisoned for eight years, as well as being exiled from his homeland for fifteen years. Thus, *Metua*'s devoted service towards Tahiti's freedom was put to an end, and he died in 1977.

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[20] R.D.P.T. is the name of the first local political party and it stands for 'Rassemblement Démocratiques des Populations Tahitiennes'.
[21] Regnault, p.10.

The installation of the *Centre d'expérimentation nucléaire du Pacifique* (CEP) had a dramatic impact on various aspects of life in French Polynesia and fuelled strong local political motivations. The nuclear experiments were launched in 1964, on a Tuamotu atoll called Mururoa, and the programme lasted thirty years. The construction of testing sites and airports required a large labour force, which made jobs readily available for the local population. It also provided education, as the workers had to receive technical training from the centres especially set up for the CEP. Despite certain short term benefits CEP had to offer, there were also some serious long term consequences. The Polynesians observed an increase in population number and in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) during the twenty years of nuclear testing, but, major local exporting of products such as coconuts, coffee and vanilla, deteriorated considerably.[22] In spite of the French 'scientific' assurance that nuclear testing was not harmful[23], people also began to observe health risks such as birth defects and early deaths, which occurred most frequently among those who had been exposed to the testing areas. Francis Sanford and John Teariki, both prominent politicians at the time, strongly opposed the French government's actions for exploiting the Pacific region for such purposes. When General Charles de Gaulle made his visit to Tahiti in 1966, he was challenged by Teariki's demand for the departure of the CEP.[24]

With the rising consciousness of nationalism, the people of French Polynesia began to wish for more local power and freedom. The question of autonomy or independence became a major concern for politicians, and also defined the character of their parties. On one side, there were autonomists such as Sanford, the mayor of Faa'a as well as the leader of *E'a Api*, and Teariki, a faithful follower of Pouvanaa who formed his own party called *Here Ai'a* after the dissolution of the RDPT. These leaders rallied against the CEP and the intense French control over the administration of its overseas territory. Oscar Temaru, who was not so prominent at the time, also contributed to the autonomists' voice. On the opposing side to these politicians, was Gaston Flosse. He maintained a strong relationship with France and supported the Gaullist movement. In the early days, Flosse practiced politics as a member of the *Union tahitienne démocratique* which was a

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[22] Shineberg, B., "The Image of France", p.81.
[23] Thompson and Adloff, p.70. The book also mentions later that in order to prove nuclear testing was safe, several of CEP staff members swam in the water only hours after an explosion.
[24] Thompson and Adloff, p.68, and also, Regnault, p. 11.

party that aimed to overthrow Pouvanaa.[25] Later, he founded his own party called *Tahoeraa Huiraatira* and worked towards obtaining a greater internal autonomy, while securing a favourable position for France's assistance. With a strong will to bring 'modernity' to the Pacific, he promoted CEP among other development projects. As the mayor of Pirae, he was able to make many constructive changes to his small commune, as well as the whole of Tahiti. Flosse won the territorial elections in 1982 and secured the top position of the local government as vice-president. When a new status was granted to Tahiti in 1984, he gained the authority to become the president of French Polynesia. He managed to stay in power for twenty years until the recent election held on May 2004 that resulted in a surprising change of government.

1.5. Present Status

In 2004, the five archipelagos that constitute French Polynesia became officially recognised as the '*Pays d'outre-mer de la Polynésie française*'. This name replaced the previous identification of this region, '*Territoire d'outre-mer de la Polynésie française*', which had lasted 58 years. The new status gave French Polynesia more recognition and administrative power. The Territorial Assembly expanded the number of seats from 49 to 57, and an election immediately followed in order to select the members. This election instigated a startling change of power in the government, as the pro-independence party attained enough seats to become the new majority. Subsequently, Oscar Temaru, the leader of the UPLD (Union pour la Démocratie), replaced Gaston Flosse as president of French Polynesia, and for the first time, Tahiti became governed by a pro-independence leader.

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[25] Regnault, p.88.

1.6. Political Crisis in French Polynesia (2004-2005)

People in French Polynesia have been striving for a long time to access more autonomy in their own government and some are still hopeful that, one day, this Pacific region will become completely independent from France. When the status of French Polynesia was elevated to a 'country' rather than a 'collectivity' or 'territory' as it had been called in the past, certain administrative alterations also took place. Among these changes was the increase in the number of seats of the Territorial Assembly, and Gaston Flosse, President of French Polynesia at the time, saw this as a chance to hold an election to renew the entire Assembly, expecting to further expand his party involvement in the government and obtain more power from this election. Subsequently, he sought Metropolitan approval to dissolve the Assembly of French Polynesia and hold new elections for the creation of the enlarged Assembly. This proposal was immediately accepted by President Chirac.

The election was held on 23 May in 2004 and the outcome of this event was not what Flosse, or the rest of the population, had foreseen. Surprisingly, the opposing political party *Union pour la démocratie (UPLD)*, led by Oscar Temaru, received enough votes to gain 26 seats in the Assembly and was supported by the Austral Islands which gave him the total of 27 seats. Meanwhile, Flosse's party *Tahoeraa Huiraatira* won 28 seats and needed only one more seat to win the absolute majority. However, the two other minority parties *No Oe E Te Nunaa* and *Fetia Api* formed a coalition with *UPLD* which gave Temaru 29 seats in the Polynesian Assembly. So in the end, it was Temaru's pro-Independence party that acquired the majority, and merely by one seat. This resulted in a dramatic turnover in the government and, eventually, the newly formed Assembly had to elect a new President. Temaru was expected to be the successful candidate. However, Flosse and his party members refused to participate which forced the rescheduling of this election. On 14th June, Oscar Temaru obtained the votes of 30 seats out of 57 and, consequently, he became the new president of French Polynesia.

Temaru's success in the elections and ascendancy to the presidency was not a permanent victory. Flosse reached out for France's assistance to reassess the validity of the election procedures taken on 23rd May 2004 and to annul Temaru's rise to power. In October, two motions of censure against the new government were forwarded, of which one was approved. The censure motions stated that there were certain irregularities which took place on the day of the election. This included the failure to remove all decorations of colours associated with political parties in the ballot rooms.

1.6.1. Tahiti and its Two Leaders

Jean-Marc Regnault's book *Taui: le pouvoir confisqué* gives a detailed insight into the political lives of the two opposing leaders, namely Temaru and Flosse, and it also gives a good description of Tahiti's past and present experiences with their government under the French system. His writing captures the reality of the situation as it was not produced under any government surveillance, or commissioned by France to deliver an account of the political situation in French Polynesia. The author claims:

> *Le 23 mai, sans un mot plus haut que l'autre, un sourire bonhomme aux lèvres, fier de son identité **maohi**, Oscar Temaru devint l'inattendu [mais éphémère ?] président d'un pays d'outre-mer grâce à une expérimentation hasardeuse de MM. Flosse et Chirac, la dissolution de l'assemblée de Polynésie française, deux ans avant l'échéance. Même outre-mer l'histoire se répète parfois. Elle se répéta encore quatre mois plus tard, quand le gouvernement français, une fois de plus, mit tout son poids pour changer la majorité sortie des urnes polynésiennes.* (Regnault, 2004: 17)

According to Regnault, Paris intervened to prevent the pro-Independent leader from claiming presidential power. Thus, despite the election results and public demonstrations, Flosse managed to overthrow Temaru's government and take over the presidency. Flosse was elected as president on 22nd October. Regnault views that such

gestures made by France demonstrate colonial supremacy and violate the existing democratic values.

In November, the State council in Paris summoned the two Tahitian leaders to negotiate about the date of new elections. Flosse left the country and headed back home before the negotiations were finalised because he was angry that pro-Independence supporters did not refrain from blocking the presidential quarters in Tahiti. In the end, the new by-election was scheduled for 13 February and the French Polynesian people voted once more to reaffirm their hopes for their 'country'. This election gave Temaru's party and its coalition party 30 seats, as opposed to 27 obtained by Flosse. Yet again, Temaru won the majority and he was re-elected as president of French Polynesia on 3rd March.

Chapter Two:

Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Corpus

In the previous chapter, the historical context of the Tahitian crisis was discussed in order to illustrate and understand the original circumstances from which the current political situation in Tahiti evolved. As for this chapter, it will select and describe specific theoretical frameworks and methods which will be used to analyse the corpus.

There are four sections in this chapter: The first section will indicate and explain which theoretical frameworks have been adopted for this research. The next section will introduce the theory of the systemic-functional grammar established by M.A.K. Halliday. Halliday's theory of grammar is an appropriate reference for this discourse study because it explains how linguistic features of the clause take form and function in discourse. Some of his theory's most useful aspects will be selected and taken into account when analysing the clausal structures of the discursive representations. The third section will give an introduction to the discipline of CDA and discuss its main concerns and objectives which will in turn, elucidate the basic outline of this research. Kress (1979a, 1979b), Fowler (1980) and Fairclough (1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2001, 2003) will be the main sources used to review CDA. In Section Four, the three French newspapers which will be studied in this thesis will be described, and then in Section Five, there will be a detailed discussion about the selection and treatment of the corpus of discourse. Finally, to conclude this chapter, a methodological template will be presented which is designed to conduct the analysis of the press's discursive construction of Tahiti's recent political turmoil.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Fairclough's work follows the tradition of discourse analysis which is a study of instances of language-use in society and which usually deals with spoken or written discourse to investigate its structure and function. Over the past few decades, discourse analysis has become a broad and well-established field which is now, according to many discourse specialists, equipped with an extensive range of approaches and styles. Discourse analysis can be practiced within various disciplines and can easily incorporate a mixture of perspectives from other disciplines to accommodate the different needs of individual discourse studies. This inter-disciplinary nature of discourse analysis makes it possible to situate this research, which is the study of French newspapers' representation of the Tahitian political crisis, in this field. The analysis of the French press discourse will draw largely from the framework of CDA in which Fairclough has developed specific linguistic methods to explore the relationship between discourse and society. In his work, he stresses the importance of observing the grammatical aspects of discourse, and he also talks about the role of language as a representing tool. The following comment made by Fairclough is relevant and valuable to this research:

> *Particular aspects of the world may be represented differently, so we are generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses. Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people.* (Fairclough, 2003: 124)

Based on this assumption, this research intends to investigate the discursive nature of French newspapers which portray the recent political events that took place in Tahiti. CDA is a suitable theoretical approach for the study of the French press discourse because it offers a repertoire of analytic methods that can decipher the linguistic structure of discursive representations at a clausal level. By using these methods offered by CDA, one can decipher the social and political factors which condition the clausal structure of the press's representations. CDA looks at discourse as an institutional

product and establishes a firm link between the ideologies in society and the choices available to language when discourse is produced. This is the underlying idea taken by this research which has drawn out appropriate tools from CDA to conduct the analysis and to achieve its objectives.

2.2. Foucault and Discourse Formation

Foucault's philosophies have contributed to the development of discourse studies in many ways. Foucault introduced new ways of looking at various concepts related to discourse and stated that discourse is not only about what it represents, but what makes representation possible. In the following quote, Foucault refers to discourse as a linguistic unit called an *énoncé* which is a systemically organised set of statements, meanings, values formed by a particular institution:

> *Un énoncé [...] est lié plutôt à un « référentiel » qui n'est point constitué de « choses », de « faits », de « réalités », ou d'« êtres », mais de lois de possibilité, de règles d'existence pour les objets qui s'y trouvent nommés, désignés ou décrits, pour les relations qui s'y trouvent affirmées ou niées. Le référentiel de l'énoncé forme le lieu, la condition, le champ d'émergence, l'instance de différenciation des individus ou des objets, des états de choses et des relations qui sont mises en jeu par l'énoncé lui-même; il définit les possibilités d'apparition et de délimitation de ce qui donne à la phrase son sens, à la proposition sa valeur de vérité.* (Foucault, 1972: 120)

The above extract describes the grounds which determine the possibility of discourse formation and which ultimately reinforce the meaning delivered by the discourse. In this way, Foucault reflects on the rules and criteria that determine the formation of statements.

Subjectivity refers to a personal or institutional point of view in discourse production and Foucault's conception of subjectivity will be applied to this research in order to

investigate the subjectivity of the different French newspapers. Foucault sees subjectivity as something which is being constantly shaped by the society, which is relative to and defined by immediate external conditions, and which is constrained by various rules underlying discourse formation. The subject does not create discourse on individual terms, solely by using the set of linguistic tools available to his language, but is conditioned by society to form certain discursive constructions. This is one of the essential principles of post-structuralism which asserts that discourses are influenced by conditions of existence, and they are constrained by social and cultural influences. His idea of subjectivity in the formation of discourse can be noted in the following description:

> *On appellera discours un ensemble d'énoncés en tant qu'ils relèvent de la même formation discursive; il ne forme pas une unité rhétorique ou formelle, indéfiniment répétable et dont on pourrait signaler (et expliquer le cas échéant) l'apparition ou l'utilisation dans l'histoire; il est constitué d'un nombre limité d'énoncés pour lesquels on peut définir un ensemble de conditions d'existence. Le discours ainsi entendu n'est pas une forme idéale et intemporelle qui aurait, de plus, une histoire; le problème ne consiste donc pas à se demander comment et pourquoi il a pu émerger et prendre corps en ce point-ci du temps; il est, de part en part, historique, - fragment d'histoire, unité et discontinuité dans l'histoire elle-même, posant le problème de ses propres limites, de ses coupures, de ses transformations, des modes spécifiques de sa temporalité plutôt que de son surgissement abrupt au milieu des complicité du temps.* (Foucault, 1972: 153)

According to this quote, a subject does not single-handedly create discourse because subjectivity itself is conditioned by the social world. In other words, Foucault sees language as a totality rather than an individual instance of subjects expressing a thought or a fact. His approach to discourse moves away from using the traditional notion of subjectivity and gives more focus on historical and institutional factors which are principle conditions of discourse formation. He claims that 'discourse', as a unit, is a group of enunciative entities associated with particular objects and subjects.

Foucault's conception of discourse formation and subjectivity is also useful for understanding the nature of newspaper production. The journalist does not write articles just to show his unique writing style and opinions, but does so to communicate the general outlook of the newspaper agency, and at the same time, he aims to write for the

general readers and conform to the normal practice of journalism. The articles can manifest the political values belonging to the newspaper establishment, and this reality demonstrates the practice of social subjectivity. Due to this conception of subjectivity, the three newspapers studied in this research will be considered as three different discourse formations.

The following section will discuss the framework of CDA and illustrate how this research abides by CDA's approaches, particularly Fairclough's methods.

2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

While formal linguistics is capable of systematically describing the structure and form of language, it cannot capture much information about how language interacts within society and how linguistic features in discourse manifest attitudes and ideologies. This is why CDA is significant as it provides tools which enable one to observe and understand the personality of language instead of knowing merely its anatomical aspects.

Critical Discourse Analysis is about how discourse represents social realities and changes. CDA is an inter-disciplinary study incorporating a wide range of frameworks drawn from different fields such as linguistics, sociology, communication studies, psychology, among many others. Although it is a fairly recently developed way of approaching discourse, it is an important domain of social research and there is an abundant literature available. Studies carried out within the framework of CDA can approach the study of discourse with diverse interests such as politics or media.

2.3.1. Fairclough

Norman Fairclough is an influential figure in the development of CDA along with several other discourse specialists like Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress, Roger Fowler, and Ruth Wodak. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis is significant because it primarily deals with textual materials and his main influence in discourse analysis is his development of linguistic tools. He tests social and political theories on linguistic grounds and by applying formal linguistics in discourse analysis, a more comprehensive view of the function of language as reflecting social realities can be gained. Fairclough's approach to CDA is also unique in that he deals with the Foucauldian concept of discourse with a strong focus on linguistic analysis of textual materials.[26] This type of study is valuable as it bridges the gap between the structural form of language and the external social world it tries to represent. This way, a deeper understanding of discourse can be obtained, as it grounds a solid correlation between the internal mechanics of text and the underlying social, political, historical and cultural factors.

Fairclough situates CDA within social sciences which study the changes that takes place in contemporary society. The following quote contains his belief about the development of CDA, its importance and what it aims to achieve:

> *Critical research on language is certainly not new- for instance, Volosinov's (1973) influential Marxist theory of language dates from the 1920s- but it has emerged as a distinct and reasonably substantial position, especially in Western Europe (though also for instance in Latin America) since the 1970s. Those who worked within 'critical linguistics' (Fowler et al. 1970; Hodge and Kress 1993) and other groups at that time were very much driven by a sense of the social and political importance of a critical perspective on language in contemporary society [...] The global scale and sheer complexity of contemporary economic and social processes increase the sense of helplessness and incomprehension. A pervasive postmodernist claim is that there is little that practical action can do to change this condition (Baudrillard 1983, 1988; Lyotard 1984, 1990). Yet these changes are at least in part the outcome of particular strategies pursued by particular people for particular interests within a particular system- all of which might be different.* (Fairclough, 2003: 3)

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[26] Fairclough, N., 2003, *Analysing Discourse*, p.2.

Fairclough's work in CDA demonstrates a sound collaboration of social and linguistic research which opens up gateways for further advances in interdisciplinary types of studies. His interest in discourse analysis is primarily of a political nature, however, he mainly deals with textual discourse and has developed linguistic means of analysing textual forms and structures. Fairclough's approach to studying discourses such as the advertising media or the news discourse will be used in the analysis of French press discourse which reports on the recent political crisis in French Polynesia. Various methods drawn from Fairclough's work will enable the study to establish links between linguistic features of the newspaper discourses and the ideologies carried by the newspapers.

Ideological, political and social values of newspapers can influence the discursive shape of representations in the discourse. The linguistic choices made in the construction of discourse can reflect social identities and relations seen from the newspaper's perspective. In order to verify the linguistic correlations to such subjectivity, Fairclough adopts the framework offered by Halliday's systemic theory (1979) to analyse discourse at the clausal level. He shows that in textual analysis, it is essential to ask questions concerning how a particular event is represented, what the relationship is between the participants, and under what circumstances the event takes place. The connection between discourse and social responsibilities can be exposed through a grammatical analysis of clausal structures. According to Norman Fairclough, society not only constitutes discourse but is also constituted by discourse. Discourse shapes the way people think and the linguistic features are vehicles which carry ideologies and perceptions of the social world. Fairclough comments:

> *Representation is a process of social construction of practices, including reflexive self-construction- representations enter and shape social processes and practices. [...] Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned- differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, different discourses*
> *(Fairclough, 2001: 123)*

This quote states that discourse constitutes the society at the same time as being socially constituted. The assumption that discourse is socially constituted arises from the fact that in order for discourse to exist, human subjectivity is necessary to give it some kind of form. In other words, human beings must reconstruct social realities through language. Discourse serves to represent social roles, activities, conditions within the linguistic limits of clausal structures. CDA assumes that any form of linguistic representation is ideologically (or socially) conditioned to a certain extent and, thus, discourse studies can be effective as they can reveal social relations and values of certain institutions or groups.

Barker and Galasínski, authors of *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*, explain the concept of ideology as "antagonisms of practices in ways which accords with the interests and projects of power".[27] This definition of ideology puts forward the idea that meaning can never be fixed and discourse practice is an attempt to spread out and impose a certain kind of meaning on the whole of society. However, the following definition offered in an article by Hodge, Kress and Jones will be considered as more appropriate for this research as it gives a definition of ideology which is not focused on the notion of power.

> *Ideologies are sets of ideas involved in the ordering of experience, making sense of the world. This order and sense is partial and particular. The systems of ideas which constitute ideologies are expressed through language. Language supplies the models and categories of thought, and in part people's experience of the world is through language. The categories of language may, like those of ideology, seem to be fixed and given, but both may be subject to constant change. In speaking, we establish, maintain, confirm and often challenge the categorizations of language, and of the ideologies which language expresses. The analysis of language is thus a necessary part of any attempt to study ideological processes: through language ideologies become observable.* (Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew, 1979: 81)

In order to clarify the ideologies found in the discursive constructions of the French press, the proposed research will progress with the use of Halliday's theory of the systemic-functional grammar. The third edition of *Introduction to Systemic-Functional Grammar* printed in 2004 will be used as the main reference for the analysis.

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[27] Barker, C. and Galasínski, D., 2001, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*, p.66.

2.4. Halliday and Functional Grammar

The Systemic-Functional theory of grammar was developed in the late 1970s by the British language specialist M.A.K Halliday, and this particular approach to the study of grammar is significant because it bridges the gap between social and linguistic structure in a precise, methodical manner. The basic assumption surrounding Halliday's systemic theory is that form and function of grammar play a fundamental role in discourse formation and that there is a selection of linguistic choices available to satisfy various instances of social needs.

This framework of grammar developed by Halliday has been valuable for many discourse studies. Halliday offers comprehensive and practical methods to define and interpret various linguistic structures in the discourse. Moreover, the systemic-functional theory of grammar shows that language is a socially regulated practice of communication. This approach to grammar is different from other formal grammars because the latter tend to focus on the rules that govern 'correct' sentences whereas Halliday's systemic model of grammar deals with how all aspects of meaning are constructed in actual instances of language use. The social context of linguistic communication is an important factor which influences grammatical choices made in the construction of discourse. Instead of prescribing grammatical rules, Halliday looks at grammar as a social construct, within its context of use, and describes the functional aspect of language.

2.4.1. Multi-functional Components

Halliday's systemic theory of grammar is based on the idea that language is governed by simultaneous functions. There are three basic components which construct meaning in language- ideational, interpersonal and textual components. The ideational component is to do with experiences and happenings in the outside world. The ideational function enables people to construe reality by configuring their experiences into clauses. The second component, which is the interpersonal component, is about the relationship established between people who are engaged in a particular discursive setting. Lastly, in the textual component, the thematic structure is observed, indicating a focal point of the message to identify what the clause is 'about'.

This research will be primarily concerned with the ideational component of language because it aims to find out how the newspapers have represented Tahiti's recent political crisis. The interpersonal component will not be taken into account as the press discourse contains an insufficient amount of interpersonal elements, as opposed to conversational discourses. Interpersonal elements of discourse include: the use of a personal pronoun for reference to 'self' and the 'other', indicative, imperative, or subjunctive moods. Unlike everyday dialogues, newspaper articles do not require concurrent physical presence or social interaction between the person who produces the discourse and the person who is at the receiving end. The press media discourse is directed at a mass audience and it is read at one's own leisure which means that there is less human interaction involved in the exchange of information.

The third of these multi-functional components which is the 'textual' function deals with the organisation of text and it can identify the focal point of the message given in a particular sentence which functions as an information structure comprising of a Theme and a Rheme. The Theme is the "element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday, 2004: 64) The Rheme is what is said about the Theme and it usually occurs after the Theme. Since the research focuses on the structure of representation at the clausal level

rather than the sentence level, the textual function will not be the main concern of the analysis, however, this component will be looked at when the need arises to identify theme elements in the clause which have an impact on the interpretation of the meaning.

The analysis will give special focus to the ideational component of Halliday's systemic theory and identify how the use of various process types affected the French newspapers' representation of the Tahitian political crisis. It will investigate the discursive differences in *le Figaro*, *la Libération* and *le Monde* by interpreting how the choice of process type can indicate certain ideological attitudes. The ideational structure of clauses is realised by the configuration of transitivity which constructs a specific representation of events. The following section will examine in detail the linguistic properties of transitivity and define each process type by locating such instances of use in the press discourse on Tahiti's political crisis. It will identify how transitivity is manipulated in order to project or conceal certain kinds of meaning in the representation and give a clear definition of the concepts which will be used in the analysis.

2.4.1. *Process Types and Transitivity*

When compared with the traditional notion of transitivity which defines this concept as a transfer of energy from one entity to another in an activity signified in a sentence, Halliday's notion of transitivity is slightly different. Halliday views transitivity as an ideational feature which serves to linguistically construct the goings-on of the real world. According to his theory of systemic-functional grammar, transitivity configures linguistic elements to represent inner and outer experiences of the world. Halliday explains:

> *Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of "goings-on": of doing, happening, feeling and being. These goings-on are sorted out in the semantic system of the language, and expressed through the grammar of the clause.* (Halliday, 2004: 170)

The different goings-on are sorted into types of processes. Transitivity involves selecting from the category of process types to project a certain kind of experience, and at the same time, it deals with what participants and circumstances will feature in the clausal structure to represent that experience. Each process type relates to a particular aspect of reality and using certain process types over others can induce a considerable impact on the overall meaning of the clause.

Halliday's grammar construes transitivity as the force which puts together linguistic elements to form a clausal structure which has the function of representing a certain aspect of reality. Within the clause, there is an experiential centre which is constituted by the verb signifying the process and the participants directly associated with that process. Circumstantial elements in the clause do not enter the experiential centre, and furthermore, participants involved in the process can be sometimes linguistically represented as circumstances.

On the other hand, some theories show transitivity as a gradable concept. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), the intensity of transitivity can be measurable in relation to certain parameters such as the number of participants involved in the process, whether the process has a kinetic or non-kinetic property, or how much impact is inflected on the object entity by the process. The more participants feature in a representation, the higher the level of transitivity, and likewise, the more kinetic the nature of the process, the higher the level of transitivity. This understanding of transitivity can also correlate with Halliday's theory of transitivity to some degree. The material process represents a physical experience which evidently creates, changes or has a certain impact on the object entity. The action denoted by this type of process is mostly kinetic so it can be construed as having a high intensity of transitivity.

Hopper and Thompson's theory that transitivity is measurable will be used to study clausal structure which is based on the main verb of the sentence. According to their theory, material processes are seen as corresponding to a high intensity level of

transitivity but this level can be reduced when this process occurs as an intransitive material process or when the transitive material process takes a receptive form.[28]

A clausal structure may be high in transitivity if it consists of a material process which projects agency in the experiential centre. However, if the agency is not present or not represented in the experiential centre, the transitivity level is reduced. Material processes which are presented in receptive form demonstrate this instance because the Agent participant is removed from the experiential centre and can optionally occur elsewhere in the clausal structure as an adjunct. Moreover, intransitive material processes do not involve any agency and they would be placed in a lower position on the transitivity scale. Conversely, if a transitive material process in its operative form occurred as the main verb of a clausal structure in which a nominalised process played the role of the Agent participant, the transitivity level is even more intense. Such configuration of transitivity demonstrates a case where there is more than one event represented within a single clausal structure. In this way, the level of transitivity can be increased (or reduced) by using syntactic techniques such as foregrounding, nominalisation or passive voicing. A representation of a single event can manifest in various syntactic forms and configurations and this demonstrates the flexibility of human language.

Agency is usually assigned to a more powerful social actor who is seen as transmitting and exercising his authority upon a less powerful entity. The object entity which is affected by the action is the Goal participant and it is one of the parameters which construe the intensity of transitivity present in a discursive construction. It can be assumed that, when there is a higher level of transitivity present within a clause, there is more power involved in the activity represented by that clause. Certain constructions which are modified by syntactic tools such as nominalisation or passive voicing can omit the agent participant from the structure. This has the effect of reducing the level of transitivity and taking away the responsibility held by certain social actors.

Transitivity is an important feature of representation which linguistically constructs a particular event, people involved in it and the context in which it unfolds. Studying the

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[28] A receptive form of verb is expressed by passive voicing. For more information, see p.40 of this thesis.

configuration of transitivity in the clausal structures can reveal what choices have been made by each newspaper to represent a particular event. These choices concern, in Fairclough's words, "what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematised and what is unthematised, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events, and so on"[29].

2.4.2.1. Material Process

Halliday explains that external realities which are physical activities or happenings of the outer world are usually expressed through 'Material' processes. This type of process signifies external experiences which are creative or transformative, and when transitive, the action carried out has some impact on something, namely the goal element. Compared to other types of processes, it can represent an event in a more direct and perceptible manner as it depicts an action carried out by an entity which is inflected onto another entity. According to Halliday's definition, this process "construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy".[30] The level of transitivity carried by a standard material process can be regarded as having a high intensity of transitivity.

A standard transitive material process which constitutes the experiential centre of a clausal structure contain the following grammatical elements: the Agent participant who is responsible for the action, a verb which signifies the action taking place, the participant who is affected by the action, and could also contain adjunctive clauses which describe the circumstances surrounding the action.[31] These elements can be observed in the following occurrence:

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[29] Fairclough, N., 1995b, *Media Discourse*, p.104.
[30] Halliday, M.A.K., 3rd ed. 2004, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, p.179.
[31] Halliday refers to the logical subject of both the transitive and intransitive material processes as the Actor participant. However, the subject of the transitive variant is charged with agency and in order to

(1) [32]Deux jours après l'élection partielle des îles du Vent, /l'Union pour la démocratie de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru/ A DÉPOSÉ hier **une motion de censure** contre le président de la Polynésie Gaston Flosse (UMP), qui pourrait être adoptée samedi avec l'appui probable des centristes de l'ADN (Alliance pour une démocratie nouvelle). (*Le Figaro*, 17 February 2005, 'Flosse face à la censure en Polynésie')

The Actor participant in this clausal structure refers to Temaru's political party and the action signified by the main verb '*déposer*' which is a transitive material process. The Goal participant which is directly affected by the action is the censure motion. The Actor, the process and the Goal in this clausal structure constitutes the experiential centre of the representation. However the first adjunctive phrase which appears in the theme position is a supplementary element. This is also true for all the elements which are placed after the Goal participant in the clause. The entity assuming the role of an Agent participant is usually placed before the main verb, however, it can also feature after the verb when the clause is constructed with passive voicing which presents the process in a receptive form.

The material process can be represented with an active or passive voicing and, in Halliday's grammar, these linguistic features are referred to as 'operative' and 'receptive' clauses. The level of transitivity is reduced to being low when the material process occurs in a receptive clause. The receptive material process only consists of a single participant who performs the action, namely the Actor participant. Contrary to the transitive material process, this variety depicts a 'happening' rather than an 'action'.

> *The contrast between 'operative' and 'receptive' is a contrast in **voice** [...] The clauses are the same experientially; they both represent a configuration of Actor + Process + Goal. But they differ in how these roles are mapped onto the interpersonal functions in the modal structure of the clause. In the 'operative' variant, the Actor is mapped on to the Subject, so it is given modal responsibility and in the 'unmarked' case (in a 'declarative' clause) it is also the Theme, and the Goal is mapped on to the Complement, so in the 'unmaked' case it falls within the Rheme, However, in the 'Receptive' variant, it is the Goal that is mapped on the Subject, so it is assigned modal*

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make this semantic distinction, the agentive logical subject will be called an Agent participant, while the other remains as the Actor participant.

[32] The coding system for identifying clausal entities is shown in Appendix I.

responsibility and it is also the Theme in the 'unmarked' case; and the Actor has the status of an Adjunct within the Rheme of the clause and, as an Adjunct, it may in fact be left out. (Halliday, 2004: 182)

Receptive clauses demonstrate a syntactic transformation where the Goal participant moves into the theme position and replaces the logical subject. The modification of the conventional structure has an impact on the ultimate meaning produced by the representation because it reduces or removes the attention given to the responsible participant. Instead, the focus is given to the Goal participant in the clausal construction. The absence of certain social actors is sometimes a deliberate attempt to conceal responsibility and power. Below is an occurrence which contains a receptive material process as the main verb.

(2) Le premier gouvernement en Polynésie présidé par un indépendantiste, **Oscar Temaru**, A ÉTÉ RENVERSÉ samedi 9 octobre <u>par l'Assemblée du territoire</u>, quinze semaines après son accession au pouvoir. (*Le Monde*, 10 October, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

The main verb is '*renverser*' which is a material process, but in this clausal structure, this verb is expressed with passive voicing which turns the structure receptive. The participant responsible for conducting this action is located after the verb in an adjunctive phrase. The Goal entity in this clause is '*Oscar Temaru*' which is placed before the verb in the theme position.

Halliday differentiates the subject function according to the three multi-functional components of his grammar. The ideational subject refers to the logical subject (e.g. Agent participant) which is the participant who performs or is responsible for a certain task or state denoted by the process. In (2), the logical subject is '*l'Assemblée du territoire*'. Next, the psychological subject is the entity placed in the theme position of the clausal structure. The thematic subject is always located at the beginning of the clause and it determines the topic of the message (e.g. '*le premier gouvernement en Polynésie présidé par un indépendantiste*'). Thirdly, a subject can serve a grammatical function which relates to the entity being predicated, or in other words, the entity with which the verb agrees. Due to these varying notions of subject presented by Halliday,

references made to the logical subject in the analysis will be labelled according to its precise participant type, eg. Agent, Sayer, etc., and the elements which occupy the psychological subject position will be recognised as the theme. Grammatical subjects will not be studied because they are not relevant to the analysis of this research.

Furthermore, the material process can be transitive[33] or intransitive. The transitive variant represents an activity which involves agency. The action is transferred from the Agent participant to the Goal participant who is affected by the process. On the other hand, the intransitive variant of material processes depicts an activity which only involves a single participant. This participant is the Actor who conducts the action and this action remains dissociated from anything else. When the intransitive material process constitutes the experiential centre of the clausal structure, the transitivity level is reduced. An example of an intransitive material process constituting the experiential centre of a clausal structure can be observed in (3):

(3) *Le gouvernement du président indépendantiste Oscar Temaru* **EST TOMBÉ** ce week-end après le vote par l'Assemblée de Polynésie des deux motions de censure déposées la semaine dernière <u>par l'opposition</u>. (*Le Figaro*, 11 October 2004, 'Le gouvernement Temaru renversé')

In this sentence, the main verb is '*tomber*' which is an intransitive material process and the Actor participant who is associated with this activity is the noun phrase '*le gouvernement du président indépendantiste Oscar Temaru*'. The reduced level of transitivity makes the event seem less physical and less consequential. Through receptive structure, the agency of the material activity can be completely omitted from representation. While the Agent participant is expelled from the experiential centre in receptive presentation of material process, it can nevertheless feature in the clause after the verb in the adjunctive phrase (see underlined in (3)). However, it is also possible for the Agent participant to be not represented at all in the clausal structure and this is evident in (4):

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[33] This variant was described as the standard transitive material process, see p.38 of this thesis.

(4) A 17 000 kilomètres Paris, en Polynésie, **la paix civile** EST désormais MENACÉE. (*Le Monde*, José-Alain Fralon, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien'.)

In this clause, the main verb is '*menacer*' which is a transitive material process presented in a receptive structure through the use of passive voicing. The entity affected is '*la paix civile*' and the agency of this activity is mystified as it does not feature at all in the representation.

Many CDA studies reveal that political commitments and the power hierarchy in social relations are factors that determine linguistic choices such as nominalisation and passive voicing. Fairclough's studies have revealed such ideological influences in discursive structures. In *Analysing Discourse*, Fairclough demonstrates that the exclusion and inclusion of social actors can be syntactically manipulated. He comments:

> *There are many motivations for exclusion, such as redundancy or irrelevance, but exclusion many be politically or socially significant. [...] what are we to make of the agentless passive clauses ('men who were recently downsized', 'After they were let go')...* (Fairclough, 2003: 149)

Thus, the use of receptive construction can remove participants who are responsible for certain actions.

2.4.2.2. Mental Process

Internal realities are cognitive, emotional and sensing experiences and these can be expressed by mental processes. This type of process denotes a state of being which is intangible and abstract, and by using this process to represent an event, it can make the event seem less direct or compelling. The example given by Barker and Galasínski demonstrates the effects of using mental processes when representing events:

As a marker of objectivity and facticity we would normally expect a high level of material clauses e.g. 'Children were dying out there'. However, if we replace material clauses by mental clauses there will be a significant change in the pattern of the text. The speaker no longer talks about actions, what was done, but about what was perceived, felt or sensed [...] 'I saw children dying out there' makes a journalist's report more dramatic than 'Children were dying out there'. (Barker and Galasínski, 2001: 71)

Mental processes give an insight into people's consciousness and how they sense their experience of the world. This process type represent the experience of thinking, feeling and seeing and in this respect, the use of mental process in the discursive structure makes the sentence seem less physical and exposes attitudes of the participants. The participant which undergoes the experience signified by the mental process is called a Senser and the complementary object of the verb is referred to as the Phenomenon. Occurrence (5) indicates a state of being with the pronoun '*ils*' standing as the Senser and Temaru as the Phenomenon.

    (5) /Ils/ VEULENT **Oscar Temaru**. (*La Libération*, 18 October 2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

This sentence is taken from an article written by *la Libération* regarding the Polynesian people's protest against Flosse and his political manoeuvres that caused the overthrow of Temaru's government. The central element in the above sentence is the mental process '*vouloir*'. This process denotes the inner experience of the protesters, which is their wish to have Temaru as president. Mental processes signals the consciousness and feelings of a particular individual, and by doing so, this type of process can reinforce human subjectivity. The Mental processe used in the above occurrence give an insight into the minds of the Polynesian people in Tahiti which makes the readers see the situation from the protesters' perspective. This creates an intimate connection which draws the readers closer to the Tahitians and gives the impression that the journalist is presenting the news from a certain proximity of the incident which could justify *la Libération*'s reputation for being able to provide an "on-the-scene journalism and a genuine relationship of complicity with its readers".[34]

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[34] See p.66 in Section 2.4.1. of this thesis.

2.4.2.3. Relational Process

Relational processes represent a state of being and this particular process fulfils the function of identifying, or attributing certain qualities to, individuals or concepts. The discursive construction in (6) contains instances of relational processes which are highlighted in small capitals:

> (6) /Le président de la République/ EST **garant** de la paix civile et de la bonne marche des institutions sur tout le territoire. En Polynésie, /la paix civile/ EST **en danger**, /les institutions/ SONT **en déshérence**. (*le Monde*, 19 October 2003)

The relational process has the function of affirming something or making a judgment by establishing a link between two separate entities. There are three different associations made in the above occurrence. Firstly, the French president is shown as the figure who is responsible for Tahiti's well being. The Identifier element which is attributed to the Identified participant is the phrase '*garant de la paix civile et de la bonne marche des institutions sur tout le territoire*'. In the second sentence of (6), it is '*la paix civile*' which is identified. The entity '*la paix civile*' is characterised with the circumstantial attribute '*en danger*'. Thirdly, in the same sentence construction as the previous attribution, there is another relational process. Here, '*les institutions*' is the Identified element and '*en déshérence*' is the Identifying element.

The verb which is typically used to mark the relational process is '*être*'. However, because the focus is on the two relational entities, the Identifier, Identified or the Attributive participants, the process itself does not have a significant presence. Halliday's remarks on this process type can be observed below:

> *Verbs in general in 'relational clauses are typically non-salient, whereas verbs in 'material' and 'mental' clauses are salient at the accented syllable [...] This weak phonological presence of the Process represents iconically its highly generalized, grammatical nature. [...] The configuration of Process +*

> *'Be-er1' + 'Be-er2' opens up the potential for construing the abstract relationships of **class-membership** and **identity** in all domains of experience.* (Halliday, 2004: 214)

Wodak confirms the fact that ideological and racist attitudes are manifested in discursive structure, especially with the use of relational processes.[35] She makes reference to Quasthoff's pioneering study of racism in discourse which asserts that statements are racist when they claim a 'truth' about a certain behaviour or trait related to a racial group:

> *From the point of view of logic, it is a generalization that can be formalized by use of a universal quantifier as the specific analytical judgment (e.g. Germans are industrious and hardworking), which suggests that the predicate ascribed to the subject is intentional on the part of the subject and is an essential, inherent and intrinsic feature of the group.* (Wodak, 1999:182)

Thus, in relational processes, a connection between entities is made to convey a judgment. Relational processes can be categorised into two types.

The identifying relational process identifies A as B. The entity signified in A and B are the same entity and it is possible to switch the order of A and B in the clausal structure without creating ambiguities in its meaning.

> (7) /La Polynésie française/ EST **un "pays" d'outre-mer doté d'un statut de large autonomie**, situé dans l'océan Pacifique à quelque 17 000 km de la métropole. (*Le Monde*, 4 March 2005, 'L'Assemblée de Polynésie a élu Oscar Temaru à sa présidence')

The second type of relational process is different from the identifying process because in this case, A and B are non-identical entities.

> (8) Il faut comprendre l'importance de cette dernière question : privées de ressources propres, /les 48 communes de Polynésie/ SONT **dépendantes** du bon vouloir du gouvernement en place. (*Le Monde*, 28 November 2004, 'un accord a minima pourrait intervenir entre les deux parties')

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[35] Wodak, R., 1999, "Discourse and Racism: European Perspectives", *Annual review of Anthropology, Vol. 29.*

The attributive relational process assigns the attributional feature signified by B to the entity A. This type of relational process is perceived as a process 'of judgment, specifying qualities of whatever it is that is being judged or commented on'[36] which can indicate subjective value and judgment, and relational processes are used as vehicles to carry attributive features.[37] Attributes are an ideological judgment of the newspaper regarding a particular entity which has the role of a Carrier. This technique can be used to foreground the difference of the people represented by the relational process and shows the newspaper's subjectivity. A judgment is mainly encoded in attributive relational processes as evident in occurrence (10).

> (9) /La situation/ EST désormais DEVENUE **intenable** pour le président en exercice de la Polynésie française, le sénateur (UMP) Gaston Flosse. (*Le Figaro*, Delorme, 17 February 2005, 'En Polynésie, Temaru se trouve des alliés pour renverser Flosse'.)

In (9), the relational process '*devenir*' attributes a rather negative quality to the situation in French Polynesia. Here, the Carrier participant is '*la situation*' and the Attribute participant which evaluates the former entity is the adjective '*intenable*'.

2.4.2.4. Verbal Process

Halliday identifies material, mental and relational processes as the three principle types available to the English language.[38] He also describes other process types which are subsidiary to the processes mentioned above. There are three subsidiary process types which are: behavioural, verbal and existential. Only the verbal process will be used in this research to carry out the analysis of the press discourse as the other two subsidiary types rarely occur in the representations.

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[36] Kress, G. and Hodge, R., 1979, *Language as Ideology*, p.103.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[38] Halliday, 2004, p.248.

Verbal processes fill the boundary between mental and relational experiences and they represent the act of saying, shouting, asking, etc. The news media usually makes extensive use of verbal processes because journalists and reporters constantly quote what the authorities or other important figures say regarding the situation described in the news. Verbal processes can reveal the newspaper's ideological values as they represent certain individuals as having the social power or knowledge to say certain things.

When the verbal process occurs as the main verb of the clausal structure, the experiential centre of this representation can be configured in two different ways. In one way, the verbal process can be represented as being delivered by the Sayer participant and as associated with a Verbiage element which is the content of the message communicated. Thus the verbal process only involves a participant that does the saying and the thing which is said by the Sayer, and this usually represents a fact or an idea expressed by a particular individual.

The following occurrence is taken from *le Monde*'s discourse formation and it is a case of a clause constructed by a verbal process with only the Sayer and the Verbiage element.

> (10)   /La Constitution/ PROCLAME **que la République "offre" aux territoires d'outre-mer des institutions fondées "sur l'idéal commun de liberté, d'égalité, de fraternité et conçues en vue de leur évolution démocratique"**. (*Le Monde*, José-Alain Fralon, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien'.)

This clausal structure conveys a fact. In (10), the Verbiage is '*proclamer*' and it signals the promise that the institutions in Tahiti will function according to the French Republican values which are liberty, equality and fraternity.

Another way of representing the verbal process is to include the latter elements in combination with the Receiver participant who is also featured as a part of the experiential centre. When the Receiver is present in the clausal structure, a social relation is established between this participant and the Sayer. CDA studies have revealed that verbal processes give clues to how the power hierarchy can be discursively

constructed among the participants engaged in the process. When the verbal process exposes a Receiver to whom the verbal message is destined, it is representing an act of communication. The Sayer role is often occupied by authoritative figures whose comments are considered as knowledgeable and important.

As for the second way of configuring the verbal process, the Receiver is presented in the clausal structure, as evident in (11):

> (11)   A plus de 17 000 km de Paris, /l'ancien douanier de 60 ans/ A LANCE <u>vers l'Elysée</u> : **"M. Chirac, acceptez la démocratie! Que soient organisées dans ce pays de nouvelles élections, c'est tout ce que nous demandons."** (*Le Monde*, 26 October 2004, 'Gaston Flosse affirme son autorité et Oscar Temaru en grève de la faim'.)

This representation, which contains a Sayer and a Receiver, immediately establishes a relationship between these participants who are involved in the communication. The Sayer in this sentence is Temaru and he is represented as saying something to the French president, Jacques Chirac. The Verbiage element depicts the reported speech delivered by Temaru which pleads with Chirac to accept the democratic decision made by French Polynesia.

2.4.4. Participant Types and Functions

Participants who engage or are involved in an action occupy certain linguistic positions. Actors are people who carry out the action and Goal participants are those who are acted upon and affected by the action of others.[39] Depending on the verb presented, the thematic structure varies. Material processes contain a logical subject, the 'do-er', which is either an Actor or Agent participant. If the material process has an Agent participant, then it necessarily contains a Goal participant to whom (or to which) the action is

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[39] Oktar, L., 2001, *Discourse & Society*, vol.12, no.3, p.336.

imposed. Mental processes consist of a Senser and a Phenomenon. The Senser is the participant whose inner state is being realised and the Phenomenon is the entity which triggers this experience. Relational processes work on a token/value basis in which one could be an identified element or a carrier element, while the other is an identifying element or an attributive element. This type of process usually involves one participant who is given a particular identity or qualities, or who is judged. Finally, verbal processes involve a Sayer, a Verbiage and possibly a Receiver. The presence of a Receiver establishes a relationship between the participants and it is usually the people of higher social status who are assigned the Sayer role.

These semantic roles reveal how real life actors are mapped discursively onto the propositional structure. Configuration of participants in transitivity can determine how the newspaper construes powerful figures, responsibility and social relations. In material processes, certain individuals can be represented as the Agent participant who carries out a physical activity signified by the process. This participant is burdened with responsibility for that particular action. The level of transitivity is particularly high with the presence of the Agent participant but, as seen in the previous sections, it can be omitted through certain syntactic transformations. However, when the Agent is placed in the thematic subject position, the newspaper allows for evaluation of this participant.

> *Le modèle actionnel est particulièrement propice à la construction discursive des acteurs qu'on veut mettre en valeur de façon positive ou négative, car il permet de mettre au premier plan les acteurs «choisis» par les auteurs*
> (p.6, Sylvie Gagnon)

Occurrence (12) illustrates this point:

> (12)   Illustration pratique de ce divorce : /M. Flosse/ **"GOUVERNE"** depuis les bureaux de son parti, le Tahoeraa, alors que, à une centaine de mètres de là, /M. Temaru/ OCCUPE toujours le palais présidentiel. (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien'.)

The logical subjects in the clausal structure of (12) are placed in the theme position of the clausal structure and this puts them in the limelight of the overall representation. This occurrence presents Flosse as an Actor of a potential agentive process. The verb

'*gouverner*' is a transitive material process which is normally completed with a Goal participant, but in this case, Flosse can only assume the role of an Actor because the probable object, French Polynesia is not present in the clause. By omitting the Goal from the construction, the level of transitivity is reduced which has the effect of limiting the power of the participant and minimising the impact of Flosse's activity signified by the verb '*gouverner*'. As for the second part of the above sentence, the clause illustrates that Temaru is physically occupying the '*palais presidentiel*' which is where Flosse should be carrying out his activity. Compared to Flosse, Temaru is occupying the logical subject role of a more transitive configuration and this portrays him as a physically influential figure. The occurrence shown below has a clausal structure which is constructed with an inanimate entity playing the role of the logical participant:

> (13)   Depuis une semaine, *une pétition* réclamant la dissolution CIRCULE dans l'archipel. (*Figaro*, 26 October 2004, 'Temaru poursuit le bras de fer'.)

Actors can be non-animate (these include institutional entities) and when they occur in the clausal structure, the representation acquires a lower intensity of transitivity. Fairclough explains the function of this feature in the following quote:

> *Impersonal representation of social actors (e.g. 'the bottom end', 'the workforce'[…]) can dehumanize social actors, take the focus away from them as people, represent them […] instrumentally or structurally as elements of organizational structures and processes. The opposite extreme to impersonalization is naming- representating individuals by name.* (Fairclough, 2003: 150)

They do not have qualities of prototypical Agent participants eg. volition. When these type of entities are associated with highly transitive processes, it produces the effect of generalising and backgrounding real agents. The inanimate logical subjects may be another way to remove blame or responsibility because the energy input which is present in the action is minimised.

2.4.5. Circumstances

The ideational component of Halliday's theory of grammar explores the range of linguistic choices available to a person when representing his experiences or the outer realities of the world. So far, this chapter has presented various process types and participant roles illustrated by Halliday which are essential tools of representation in discourse formation. Although circumstantial elements do not feature in the experiential core of the clausal structure, these linguistic elements are also important to the construction of meaning because they contribute to the representation in their own terms. In the following statement made by Halliday, circumstances are described as supplementary entities of the clausal structure and they are seen as contributing to the projection of the experiential centre:

> *Circumstantial elements are almost always optional augmentations of the clause rather than obligatory components. In contrast, participants are **inherent** in the process: every experiential type of clause has at least one participant and certain types have up to three participants [...] Participants are closer to the centre; they are directly involved in the process, bringing about its occurrence of being affected by it in some way. The nature of participants will thus vary according to the type of process [...] and we can say that the configuration of process + participants constitutes the **experiential centre** of the clause. Circumstantial elements augment this centre in some way- temporally, spatially, causally and so on; but their status in the configuration is more peripheral and unlike participants they are not directly involved in the process.* (Halliday, 2004: 176)

A clause can only partially represent something. In other words, there are limitations to the clausal structure and the writer needs to make necessary linguistic choices to select certain aspects of the reality it aims to project. This partiality of discourse's role in representing the world gives rise to linguistic differences in the discursive constructions of events. Details of a particular event or participants involved in that event can be shown in various ways or they could be omitted from the clausal structure. A clause represents a certain event by selecting a particular category of process type which determines the character of the event being represented. When the process type is selected, a range of possible participant roles which are associated with that process

becomes available and the writer may manipulate the syntactic structure to avoid representing some of these participants. Having illustrated the core elements of the clause, there are also other elements which contribute to the representation. These elements are called circumstances.

Circumstantial elements in a clause are capable of answering the following questions regarding a certain event being depicted- *when*, *where*, *how* and *why*? The function of the circumstantial element is to specify spatial or temporal aspects of an event or give more information about the manner or purpose regarding the action being taken. According to Fairclough, the use of temporal, locative elements are "significant in helping to project profoundly different constructions of politics".[40]

Circumstantial elements add extra qualities to the representation by giving more information about the process and they fall into four different categories: enhancing, extending, elaborating and projection. The first type of 'enhancing' circumstance is the Extent circumstance which expresses the distance, duration and frequency of an action being carried out. The use of this circumstance adds a physical quality to the process which can be noted in the underlined phrase below:

> (14)   Neuf responsables politiques de Polynésie, parmi lesquels les deux rivaux, Gaston Flosse (UMP), président de l'archipel, et Oscar Témaru, ex-président indépendantiste, ont discuté <u>pendant plus de trois heures</u> avec la ministre pour tenter de débloquer la crise qui dure depuis un mois et demi dans l'archipel. (*Le Monde*, 24 November 2004, 'Oscar Temaru et Gaston Flosse négocient à Paris')

Phrases which show the temporal or physical Location are also 'extent' circumstances. This type of circumstantial element can indicate the time and place of the event in a concrete or abstract manner. This serves a different function from circumstances that show the duration of time taken for the activity and it locates the event in a specific point in time and space. In (15), there are two circumstantial elements which both indicate the temporal and spatial location of the event being represented. The first circumstance

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[40] Fairclough, 1995b, p.116.

shows the time while the second one specifies in an abstract way where the event is taking place:

(15)   Deux jours après l'élection territoriale partielle en Polynésie, une majorité SE DESSINE, au sein de la nouvelle Assemblée, pour renverser le président sortant, Gaston Flosse. (*Le Monde*, 17 February 2005, 'En Polynésie, une majorité se dessine pour renverser Gaston')

The 'enhancing' circumstance depicts the Manner of the action and this is evident in the underlined phrases in (16):

(16)   En exagérant, le président de Polynésie estime que le cinquième de la population (240 000 habitants) est descendu dans la rue. (*La Libération*, 18 October 2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

The final type of the 'enhancing' circumstance looks at the Causal aspect which gives the reason or cause of the action taking place. When the main process in the clause is supported by a circumstantial element which clarifies the cause of the event, the event represented seems more logical. The following occurrence contains three phrases which express the reasons and purpose for the activity depicted by the main process:

(17)   Pour démentir tous ceux qui, à Paris ou à Papeete, ont cherché à le [Temaru] diaboliser, il a PLAIDE pour une démarche politique privilégiant le redressement économique afin d'assurer la viabilité d'une éventuelle indépendance à terme. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 16 June 2004, 'Temaru élu président de Polynésie'.)

The use of circumstantial elements specifying time, place and manner of action or event can be more elaborate with the material type of process as opposed to the processes signifying internal experiences. In (18), the material process is marked in small capitals and the circumstances are underlined:

(18)   En Polynésie française, dotée depuis la loi organique du 27 février 2004 d'un statut d'autonomie, /les électeurs/ ONT pourtant CHOISI clairement, lors des élections du 23 mai, l'alternance. (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien'.)

This sentence contains many adjunct clauses, in which two adjuncts state the circumstances of the main activity. The nuclear element is the verb '*choisir*' and it is expressed with active voicing. The event is represented as a material process which makes it possible to load the sentence structure with numerous circumstantial elements. The insertion of the first circumstantial phrase which is modified by the attributive adjective phrase '*dotée depuis la loi…*' creates room for anticipation and gives more emphasis to the Goal participant in the object position. The second circumstantial contained in (18) is '*lors des elections du 23 mai*' which indicates the temporal location of the event represented. The above occurrence is informative, and presents the political transition as a product of what the people of French Polynesia, '*les électeurs*', have done.

The remaining types of circumstance, namely 'extending', 'elaboration' and 'projection' circumstances, which refers to the Accompaniment, Role, Matter and Angle of the process, are considered in this thesis as minor and less commonly occurring types of circumstances in the corpus, and so, will not be looked at in the analysis. On the other hand, the different types of the 'enhancing' circumstantial elements which were explained above will be taken into account in the analysis. The type of circumstances identified in the clause will reveal how and to what extent the selected event from the Tahitian political crisis is represented.

2.5. Syntactic Transformation: Nominalisation

The discourse analyses carried out by Fairclough, Hodge, Kress and Fowler explore the use of syntactic transformations such as nominalisation which is a development of Halliday's grammar. In doing so they have developed valuable ways to analyse such linguistic features and have found various ways of interpreting their significance in the discourse.

Fairclough asserts that processes can be represented as 'things' rather than actual 'happenings'.[41] A special syntactic technique, namely nominalisation, has to be implemented to achieve this task. Through nominalisation, a basic proposition consisting of a subject, verb and an object can be turned into a much simpler entity. The process denoting a particular event thus acquires a nominal status instead of occupying the core of the experiential centre which is realised by the main verb of the clausal structure.

The reasons for using such syntactic transformative technique could be stylistically or ideologically motivated. First, nominalisation is spatially effective. This syntactic tool is capable of contracting a verb phrase which may contain various participants and circumstantial information into a single word. Sometimes, several lengthy sentences can also be represented by a nominal. It can also stand as a signifier for opinions, attitudes, accumulated and intuitive knowledge on the signified subject. Due to this efficiency and convenience of being able to compact large amounts of information into a single word, nominalisation is a widely exploited linguistic technique in news discourse. The analysis has found that words such as '*vote*', '*élection*', '*dissolution*' and '*renversement*' are some of the most frequently featuring nominalised elements in the newspaper articles studied which will shortly be examined in more detail.

Syntactic transformations can also convey ideologies of the writer. Fowler explains that nominalisation 'attenuates any feeling of activity in the language'.[42] It can avoid mentioning certain people in the event described and can also create an impersonalising effect through the deletion of participants. Furthermore, through nominalisation, it becomes syntactically possible for processes to occupy participant roles.

According to Kress and Hodge, nominalisation is a syntactic transformation which turns whole clauses into nominals, allowing the latter to gain autonomous existence. This enables it to gain agency by occupying the actor position and also gives an abstract quality to an action/event. These authors explain that nominalisation produces the following list of effects:

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[41] Like Halliday, Fairclough describes nominalization as a metaphorical feature. Fairclough, 2003, p.132.
[42] Fowler, R., 1979, *Language and Control*, p.207.

1. Deletes actor and affected participants which shifts focus to the action.
2. Makes the event seem abstract: 'Verbs in English tend to be about actions of processes, and they have to be placed in time. Nouns in English tend to be about objects, abstract notions, and concepts.'[43]
3. Compresses information: 'Reducing the complexity of an argument and limiting the terms which it can contain is a drastic intervention. Showing less means someone else seeing less- And seeing less means thinking less.'[44]
4. Removes negation and turns a 'negative' action into a 'positive' action.
5. Hides responsibility of the agent participant.

The functions of nominalisation mentioned above will be taken into consideration while carrying out the analysis, however, there is no guarantee that all of these will be discovered in the corpus of discourse.

In Fowler's study of nominalisation, he states that: 'Nominalisation is a radical syntactic transformation of a clause, which has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities' (Fowler, 1991: 80) Nominalised elements can take up an agentive role after compressing all its participants into a single abstract concept. By placing the nominalised process in the Actor position, responsibility is given to the nominal instead of the actual individual. Occurrence (19) from *le Figaro* contains a nominalised entity in the clausal structure which could be interpreted as concealing France's implications in the Tahitian struggles.

(19)   <u>Alors que le vote des motions</u>, bien que conforme aux statuts de la Polynésie, commence à susciter la polémique en métropole dans les rangs du PS et de l'UDF, des rebondissements sont encore possibles dans ce lointain archipel français du Pacifique. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 11 October 2004, 'Le gouvernement Temaru renversé'.)

This clausal structure contains a nominalised entity which is '*le vote*'. The logical subject associated with this nominalised process is not represented in the clausal structure but the Goal entity is shown as part of the noun phrase. Through the syntactic transformation of nominalisation, '*le vote*' is turned into an abstract object which, in this case, contributes as the adjunctive phrase which is assigned an agentive role of the verb '*commencer*'.

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[43] Kress and Hodge, 1979, p.21.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.22.

In the next occurrence shown below, the nominalisation of the process *voter* plays an Agentive role. The process '*mettre fin à*' is presented in an operative construction which allows the agentive nominal, '*ce vote*', to occur in the thematic subject position. The transitivity level of the whole clausal structure is high because the experiential centre is made up of an operative transitive material process.

> (20)   Adoptées à la majorité absolue, à l'issue d'une laborieuse séance de deux jours émaillée de nombreux incidents, /**ce vote/** DEVRAIT logiquement METTRE FIN à une parenthèse indépendantiste de quatre mois. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 11 October 2004, 'Le gouvernement Temaru renversé'.)

The discursive construction of the voting activity is represented in a different way from the previous occurrence as the nominalised entity is located in a different syntactic position in the clausal structure:

> (21)   **Le gouvernement de Polynésie française présidé par le leader indépendantiste Oscar Temaru** A ETE RENVERSE samedi 10 octobre par le vote d'une motion de censure à l'assemblée territoriale après moins de quatre mois d'existence. (*Le Monde*, 10 October 2004, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

As evident in the above occurrence, the level of agency has been reduced because of the suppression of participant involvement in voting process which is resulted from nominalisation. The main verb which is a material process in (23) occurs in a receptive form which places the nominalised Agent participant *le vote* in the circumstantial position and as a result, more focus given to the Goal participant which is Temaru's government.

The following occurrence also demonstrates the way nominalisation of a process can reduce the level of transitivity in the representation:

> (22)   Après le vote, le week-end dernier, des deux motions de censure déposées par le Tahoeraa et le Te Ara à l'Assemblée de Polynésie, le gouvernement du président indépendantiste Oscar Temaru a en effet été

renversé. (*Le Monde*, Geisler, 13 October 2004, 'Flosse candidat à la présidence')

The nominalised entity '*le vote*' features in a circumstantial clause rather than being placed in the experiential centre which is constituted by the verb '*renverser*' and the Goal element which refers to Temaru. This removes a sense of participation of the voting process in the downfall of Temaru.

Fairclough reassesses the effect of nominalisation in *Critical Discourse Analysis*,[45] where nominalisation makes discourse sound more impersonal. In *Media Discourse*, he analyses a transcription called '*A New Green Revolution?*', which is a program about poor people living in third world countries. The poor are not explicitly represented as participants of the processes of 'crisis', 'poverty', 'inequality', etc. Similarly in *Analysing Discourse*, the author illustrates the generalising effect of nominalising as evident in the following statement:

> *...there is no specification of **who** progresses, acts, destroys or creates. Nominalisation is a resource for generalising, for abstracting from particular events and series or sets of events [...] such generalization and abstraction, for instance in the genres of governance, can erase even suppress difference. It can also obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social division. In this case, for instance, the question of who makes progress, who doesn't, who destroys and might be held responsible for destruction, whose livelihoods, etc. are destroyed.* (Fairclough, 2003: 144.)

Therefore, the use of nominalisation could be understood as a deliberate attempt to conceal responsibility and render a human-instigated activity as a generalised and abstract conceptual entity. The following discursive structure taken from *le Monde* demonstrates such effect of nominalisation:

> (23) Peu préparé à diriger le pays, il n'a pu éviter, en moins de quatre mois, **un ralentissement de l'économie** et un certain attentisme de la part des investisseurs. (*Le Monde*, 10 October 2004, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

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[45] Fairclough, 1995a, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, p.100.

The nominalised process '*un ralentissement*' derives from the verb '*ralentir*' and it is depicting the economic situation in French Polynesia which is slowing down. Temaru is liable for this phenomenon, but, through the use of nominalisation, his responsibility is syntactically obscured from the clausal structure.

2.6. Corpus: Description and Collection

Prior to the 2004-2005 political crisis in French Polynesia, these three newspapers rarely included news items which relate to this region. However, the changeover in the government resulting from the election held in May 2004 caught the attention of France and naturally the French media. The new lead in the government by a pro-Independence party gave rise to a number of concerns and incidents, and there were various courses of action taken by the public, as well as by the local and metropolitan administrative system.

This research is a detailed, linguistic analysis of a corpus of articles featured in three major national newspapers in France. The focus is on how each of these newspapers has represented the political events that took place in Tahiti as a result of the elections held on 23rd May 2004 and for this reason, a specific selection of discourse is required to form a suitable corpus. Certain precautions regarding the date, type and content of article were taken to ensure that the corpus is precise, consistent and fair, and that the outcome of the research will not be biased due to the materials used.

A special database system called 'Factiva' which is available on-line was used to obtain all the necessary press items for this study. This database acts like an archive which stores full text articles of most well-known newspapers around the world and therefore, it proved to be a convenient and effective device which made it possible to locate all the relevant sources in a systematic and effective manner. The search of articles was restricted to three French newspapers, namely, *le Figaro*, *la Libération*, and *le Monde*

which are considered to be the leading daily newspapers in France. The key words specifying the search were 'Temaru', 'Flosse', and/or 'Polynésie'. To make sure that the search included the targeted articles, the date range entered was 23 May 2004 until April 2005. The articles selected for the analysis cover the period between early June 2004 when Temaru became the new President of French Polynesia, and early March 2005 when Temaru reclaimed his position as President. Once the articles were collected, they were sorted chronologically. The classification of articles was done to facilitate the research analysis because this enabled the analysis to deal with one event at a time. In the corpus, there is a total of fourteen articles from *le Figaro*, twenty from *le Monde* and fourteen from *la Libération*.[46] The chronology of events selected for the analysis are as follows:

1. *Election of Temaru as President of French Polynesia*
2. *Overthrow of Temaru's Government*
3. *People of French Polynesia Protest*
4. *Temaru Declares a Hunger strike*
5. *Negotiations in Paris*
6. *By-elections in February*
7. *Overthrow of Flosse*
8. *Temaru is Re-elected as President*

Precaution was taken during the analysis in order to ensure that the examples were not biased or random. It was made sure that each event was a major and significant event which was covered by all three French newspapers. The press coverage of the first event is quite limited as there is only one short article from each newspaper which report on Temaru's election but the size of the news discourse is much more substantial for the events at the later stage of the crisis.

The data used for the event-analysis was collected in a systematic way. In the articles relating to a particular event, all the sentences which directly represent that event were identified and sorted into three groups according to the type of newspaper. Then, these sentences were analysed by using the set of linguistic tools which were selected and demonstrated in Chapter Two. After that, the analysed discourse was compared, from which linguistic differences or similarities (if any, respectively) were identified. The

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[46] For more information about the articles used in the analysis, refer to Appendix II of this thesis.

data of each event-analysis was then checked to see whether it provided a consistent pattern of subjectivity/characteristics of the newspapers. At times there were copious amount of data which demonstrated the same point, therefore it was necessary to make a selection for the presentation of findings. The analysis of later events provides more data because there are more articles available which represent these events. This resulted from the increasing amount of discourse which became available for each event as the political situation in Tahiti progressed. This also meant that for the earlier events where the press coverage was minimal, the amount of clauses selected for analysis was limited.

2.7. Method of Analysis

In *Language and Power*, Fairclough proposes a three-step procedure of discourse analysis which concerns: (1) description of text, (2) interpretation of the relationship of textual features, (3) explanation of the relationship between textual features and social context. Based on this model of procedure, a template for the empirical analysis will be drawn up in this section. The template will be tailored to meet the aims of this research and by taking into account other theories, concepts and methods discussed in this chapter.

The template applied to the event analysis in the third chapter will examine the representation of each event in order to find out what linguistic decisions were made by each newspaper to depict the event. The first action envisioned for the template is the description of the event. There are eight events in the corpus discourse which will be treated separately. Before the analysis of each event, a content summary will be given. The second component of the template will identify the linguistic phenomena found after comparing the representation of the event in the three newspapers. This is the main linguistic observation made from the discourse. Once the linguistic differences are discovered, it will be explained in detail in the third part of the template. Here, the analysis will focus, formulate and elaborate the linguistic problem by describing the

linguistic features and mechanisms behind the discourse structure of the representations. The selection of tools used for this part of the template can be roughly captured within one of the ten questions identified by Fairclough in *Language and Power*. The list of questions covers the linguistic choices writers make in discourse, and the selected question which this research will embark on is placed under 'Grammar'. This category gives rise to a set of preliminary questions which are illustrated below (these questions have been modified for the purpose of the empirical analysis):

> *What type of **process** is selected to represent the event?*
> *How are the **participants** mapped in the clause?*
> *What positions or roles do the participants occupy?*
> *Is the **agency** clear?*
> *Are **nominalisations** or **passive voicing** used?*
> *What type of **circumstances** are included in the representation?*

A representation of an event concerns: the event itself, participants involved in the event and the circumstances surrounding the event. The event can be an action, happening or an attribution according to a specific type of process opted for the representation. The type of process is an important linguistic feature to scrutinise because it can produce various effects on the way an event is portrayed, as well as containing certain social implications. People or things which are involved in the event are encoded in the discourse structure and are sorted into types of participants. Each participant carries a particular semantic role and takes up a particular position in the clause.

The theme is the starting point of the message and it is considered to be the key information of the whole sentence. It can be identified by its location which is the first position of the sentence. The entity situated in the theme position is the called the psychological subject.[47] Apart from the theme, the main process and its participants, the sentence representing the event may also consist of circumstances which may be prepositional phrases, relative clauses or other adjunctive elements of the main clause. Circumstantial elements appear in the adjunctive clauses of the sentence structure.

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[47] P.57, Halliday (2004)

The representation may reduce or emphasise the participants involved in the process by using various linguistic methods. Agents can be absent from the discursive structure by syntactic techniques such as nominalisation or passive voicing, which turns an action into a happening or even a more abstract and conceptual entity. This may have ideological implications of concealing responsibilities of certain social actors. Conversely, agency can be articulated through inanimate entities. The inanimate participant acts as a scapegoat as the cause is attributed to this entity, rather than to people who are actually responsible for the action.

The occurrences of findings from the corpus which will be presented in the analysis to support the arguments will follow a consistent marking system. The verb which depicts a process will be always shown in small capitals and sometimes in bold to accentuate this entity in the clause structure. The nouns or noun phrases occupying the participant positions will appear with different markings depending on the type of participant role. The participant of the intransitive variant of material processes will be indicated in italics while the logical participants of all process types will be shown within the two solidi. The affected or passive participant entities will be highlighted in bold. Finally the circumstances will be underlined in the sentence structure. These elements will be marked only when they are relevant to the particular analytic point made. This system of presenting the occurrences will be provided in Appendix I.

The subjectivity of French newspapers can be witnessed by comparing the use of different categories of processes which portray the political situation in Tahiti. The function of certain participants represented in the discourse can also give clues to the way newspapers perceive the social/power hierarchy. The level of agency assigned to process participants can reveal whether certain individuals have a powerful or passive role in the events. The analytic methods include the observation of syntactic transformations, namely nominalisation and passive voicing, which can be employed by journalists to make events seem more abstract, or to hide responsibilities of certain individuals.

The analysis will primarily identify how the actual event is represented- what process type signifies the event, what participants are involved, and what syntactic form it

takes...etc. After that, the transitivity level of the whole clausal structure will be discussed if necessary. If there are any significance attached to the transitivity level of the clause, the event represented will be analysed in relation to transitive structure of the whole occurrence.

If the event is represented in the experiential centre of the whole sentence which is high in transitivity, the newspaper is portraying it as a physical activity which has some impact on its object entity. If the event is nominalised and plays the agent role of the experiential centre, then the representation can be construed as even higher in transitivity and the event is seen as causing another action which is expressed by the main verb of the clause, and therefore having some impact on the society. On the other hand, if the event is constructed as a circumstance of the clausal structure, it also plays a role in the projection of representation depending on the type of circumstantial element used, and in relation to something that is represented in the experiential centre of the occurrence. The analysis of transitivity level, at times, had some significance for the way an event was perceived and constructed by the newspaper, however, this was not always the case. Thus, the measurement of transitivity was only a complementary tool to the analysis and it only came into discussion when necessary.

As for the final part of the template, an interpretation will be made from the linguistic differences which have been identified and described. It will attempt to establish a connection between the discursive structure of the event represented and the subjectivity, ideologies and social values conveyed in each of the French newspapers studied in the empirical study.

2.8. The French Press: Genre and Style

The newspapers chosen to be studied in this research are: *le Figaro*, *la Libération* and *le*

Monde, which are regarded as major national daily newspapers of France.

La Libération is a left-wing newspaper, which was founded by Jean-Paul Sartre and Serge July, on 22nd May, 1973. This newspaper grew out of the student revolts of May 1968, in Paris and is generally popular among the younger population of France. Although it takes a left-wing political stance, it does not support any political parties in particular. *La Libération* has a liberal outlook on social and cultural issues and tends to show support for minority groups, which is a trait which sets it apart from the other two newspapers.

The introductory paragraph from an interview with Serge July, director of *La Libération* since 1981, describes the basic nature of this newspaper: "As the original creator of a style made up of independence, insolence, investigative on-the-scene journalism and a genuine relationship of complicity with its readers, *Libération* has always succeeded in mirroring the social movements of its day.'"

From the 1970s, *La Libération* began to express even more socialist ideas, often challenging the right-wing government for their economic and social choices. However, in the 1990s, it strongly supported the racist themes of the fascist party in France, the Front National, with the justification that the best way to stop the fascist party from being voted into local and national government was to accept the basic assumptions of racism (such as the assumption that immigrants are a danger to France), while promoting a more moderate implementation of racist concepts.

Le Monde is a moderate to centre-left newspaper and it was created in 1944, under the direction of Hubert Beuve-Méry. It was to replace *Le Temps*, which was the French daily of record before *Le Monde* took over this prestige position. *Le Monde* can be characterised by its serious and formal style, and its high quality is recognised at an international level. Previous studies have shown *le Monde* as an informative newspaper which tries to be as factual as possible, and which informs its readers 'd'une manière precise et équilibrée'[48]. In *Panorama de la presse parisienne*, Grosse describes *le Monde*

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[48] Grosse, E.U., 1996, *Panorama de la presse parisienne*, p.164.

by using the following words- 'un air très sérieux', 'la sobriété du signifiant', 'un signifié non-sensationnel, raisonnable, bien réfléchi', 'la densité du texte', 'l'information dense', 'variété de sujets traités', 'de qualité supérieure'.[49] These characteristics will be sought for and tested in the analyses carried out in this research.

Finally, *Le Figaro* is the oldest of the three newspapers studied in this thesis. It made its first appearance as a satirical weekly in 1854, then it was reinstated as a daily by Hippolyte de Villemessant in 1866. Even today, it has retained its conservative standing and its right-wing political view. During World War Two, this newspaper was mostly read by the upper middle class. The circulation of *Le Figaro* diminished considerably when François Mitterrand was re-elected as president. This newspaper is presently controlled by Serge Dassault, who is a senator of UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire, Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle), a right wing political party supportive of Jacque Chirac. His son, Olivier Dassault, is also a member of the same party. According to Tchirva's article, the characteristic style of *le Figaro*'s discourse formation is impersonal and concise. Despite *Le Figaro*'s conservative outlook, this newspaper attempts to present information in an objective manner. *Figaro* also attempts to preserve its French image as well as being 'modern' and 'serious'.[50] Tchirva states: 'les liaisons syntaxiques enfin sont assez remarquables parce qu'elles sont extrêmement limitées. On peut constater une élimination quasi systématique des relations causales, qui introduisent un jugement « de facto », et des relations finales qui introduiraient pour le moins une interprétation ou un jugement sur les intentions.'[51] This statement regarding the objective nature of *le Figaro*'s discourse formation will be tested in this study.

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[49] *Ibid.*, p.16.
[50] *Ibid.*, p.130.
[51] *Ibid.*, p.131-132.

Chapter Three: Analysis

Having established the theoretical framework for this empirical study, this chapter will carry out two types of analysis. Firstly, a global analysis of the selected events from Tahiti's political crisis will be carried out. Secondly, a micro-analysis will observe how specific individuals, who are major participants of the crisis, are represented by the discourse formations- *le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération*. These analyses will aim to discover the correlation between linguistic structures and the three newspapers' discourse formations, and to do so, the set of methods which were described in the previous chapter for these analyses will be used. The event-analysis will be examined according to the methodological template which was set up at the end of Chapter Two. A brief outline of the template is given below:

TEMPLATE

- *Description: event summary*
- *Observation: general statement*
- *Explanation: detailed linguistic analysis*
- *Interpretation: social/ideological implications of the linguistic findings*

3.1. Global Analysis of Events

This section will conduct an analysis on the press discourse concerning each of the events which took place during the political crisis in French Polynesia in 2004 and 2005. It will employ the methods and the specific set of linguistic tools described in the second

chapter of this thesis in order to examine the linguistic structure of the different discourse formations which represent the Tahitian crisis. Specific details regarding the articles used as the discourse corpus of this research such as the date, title, author and the number of words is provided in the second appendix section of this thesis.

3.1.1. Event One: Election of Temaru as President of French Polynesia

- Description: event summary

The general election held in May 2004 was the starting point of the political crisis in French Polynesia as it caused a major turnover in the government. Prior to this election, Tahiti had been under the control of a pro-France leader, Gaston Flosse, for almost twenty years, but surprisingly, the popular vote in this election enabled the pro-independentist Oscar Temaru's party (Flosse's opposition) to obtain the majority of the seats in the territorial assembly. The outcome of the general elections led to the eventual nomination of Temaru as the new President of French Polynesia and this meant a huge political change in the government. It was the first time that a pro-independence leader was able to rise to such power and the representation of this event by the three French newspapers will be studied in this section. Even though the three newspapers only contained one article each which reported on Temaru's election to the presidency in French Polynesia, this event was selected for the analysis because of its significance as the starting point of the political crisis. The shortness of the articles meant that there was a limited amount of comparison which could be observed from the differences in the representations but at the same time, this made it convenient to present the whole text to illustrate in detail the working procedure of the analysis. The first step of the analysis is to find and select the different ways the three newspapers have represented the events.

- Observation: general statement

The main difference observed in the discursive structures of the French newspapers is the representation of how Temaru became the new president of French Polynesia. The event is not syntactically constructed in the same way in the discourse of *le Figaro*, *le Monde*, and *la Libération*. The focus given to the event in the clause may indicate the degree of importance or value attached to that particular situation. The analysis examined the linguistic features of the representation of Temaru's election to the presidency, and tested what ideological implications may be carried in these newspapers.

- Explanation: detailed linguistic analysis

Here is the first article by *la Libération*. The discursive structures which are identified as representing Temaru's election are highlighted in bold:

La Polynésie est entrée dans une nouvelle ère avec l'élection comme président, hier, de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru. Sitôt désigné par 30 voix sur 57 (l'opposition n'a pas participé au vote), cet homme de 59 ans a promis de rompre avec le style de son prédécesseur, l'ultrachiraquien Gaston Flosse, qui verrouillait la vie politique et économique locale depuis près de vingt ans. «Le résultat des élections n'était pas un référendum pour ou contre l'indépendance, mais la sanction d'un style de gouvernement qui favorisait les uns au détriment des autres», a déclaré Temaru qui a dénoncé «le clientélisme, l'autoritarisme et la mégalomanie» de Flosse. Pour démentir tous ceux qui, à Paris ou à Papeete, ont cherché à le diaboliser, il a plaidé pour une démarche politique privilégiant le redressement économique afin d'assurer la viabilité d'une éventuelle indépendance à terme. «Je le réaffirme solennellement: il faudra que toutes les conditions politiques, économiques et sociales soient réunies» pour que soit posée la question de l'autodétermination et «cela peut attendre dix, quinze ou vingt ans», a-t-il expliqué. Ex-compagnon de route de Jean-Marie Tjibaou, le leader indépendantiste kanak assassiné en 1989 à Ouvéa, Temaru aimerait négocier avec la France un processus d'émancipation de la Polynésie, inspiré de celui de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Il devrait se rendre mi-juillet en métropole pour «faire le point sur les relations conventionnelles avec la France».Son nouveau gouvernement, qui s'inscrit au sein des institutions françaises, sera chargé d'appliquer «le programme commun de la majorité plurielle», composée de membres de sa formation, le Tavini, mais aussi d'autonomistes et d'écologistes. Il souhaite un rattachement de la Polynésie à l'Europe et son entrée dans la zone euro. Des projets localement très contestés, tel celui de la voie rapide devant relier Papeete à la presqu'île de Tahiti au prix de l'expropriation de mille familles, sont abandonnés. Le train de vie de la présidence, «comparable, si ce n'est supérieur, à celui de l'Elysée», selon Temaru, sera «notablement diminué». Les indemnités des ministres et des élus à l'Assemblée seront «corrigées à la baisse». Une révolution de velours est en marche.

La Libération does not construct this event within the experiential centre of the whole clausal structure.

> (24)   *La Polynésie* EST ENTRÉE dans une nouvelle ère <u>avec l'élection</u> <u>comme président</u>, hier, de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 16 June 2004, 'Temaru élu président de Polynésie.')

In occurrence (24), *la Libération* represents Temaru's election as a nominalised element which features in an adjunctive clause. Through nominalisation, the event is turned into an abstract entity and as a circumstance, it is shown as being instrumental to the activity denoted by the main verb of the sentence which is '*entrer*'. This verb is an intransitive material process and the Actor participant is the entity '*la Polynésie*' which also occupies the theme position in the construction. The focus of the clausal structure is on the Actor participant which is Polynesia. The nominalised process '*l'élection*' enhances the representation of the main verb because the election is portrayed as enabling Polynesia to enter a new phase to a fresh beginning.

In the second occurrence from *la Libération*'s discourse, the event of Temaru's election is, again, not represented within the experiential centre of the clause:

> (25)   <u>Sitôt désigné par 30 voix sur 57</u> (l'opposition n'a pas participé au vote), /cet homme de 59 ans/ A PROMIS **de rompre avec le style de son** **prédécesseur**, l'ultrachiraquien Gaston Flosse, qui verrouillait la vie politique et économique locale depuis près de vingt ans. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 16 June 2004, 'Temaru élu président de Polynésie.')

The election is signified by the verb '*désigner*' and it is placed at the beginning of this occurrence as a circumstance. The thematic status of this circumstance shows that it carries important information of the clause but it does not constitute the experiential centre of transitivity in the clausal structure. The event is represented as a temporal circumstance which is associated with the verbal process. Temaru occupies the Sayer role of the process '*promettre*' which is inside the experiential centre of this occurrence. The election which occurs as a circumstance augments the representation of Temaru's action and gives the latter more legitimacy.

The right-wing newspaper, *le Figaro,* gives a very brief account of the situation:

> **L'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru a été élu hier président de l'Assemblée de Polynésie.** Son prédécesseur Gaston Flosse n'a pas participé au vote. «Je réaffirme solennellement que dans 10, 15 ou 20 ans, quand les conditions politiques, économiques et sociales seront réunies, nous pourrons alors poser la question de l'autodétermination», a déclaré Oscar Temaru, en expliquant que le renouvellement de l'Assemblée de Polynésie «n'était pas un référendum pour ou contre l'indépendance» mais la sanction d'un style de gouvernement.

Le Figaro represents Temaru's election to presidency as a 'happening' rather than an 'action':

> (26)   /L'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru/ A ÉTÉ ÉLU <u>hier</u> **président de l'Assemblée de Polynésie**. (*Le Figaro*, 15 June 2004)

This newspaper portrays Temaru's election in the main experiential centre of the whole clausal structure but the event is represented in a static way. The election is signified by the verb '*élire*' which is normally a transitive material process. However, in this occurrence, this verb signifies a relational process due to the predicative noun phrase '*président de l'Assemblée de Polynésie*' which is attributed to Temaru. The thematic element of this clause is the token participant whose state of being is expressed through the relational process. This syntactic configuration presents this event as a non-physical activity and allows other participants to be absent from the clausal structure i.e. the people of French Polynesia. Moreover, the representation in occurrence (26) contains a word which indicates the temporal circumstance of the event, namely '*hier*' which also gives a static quality to the representation.

Below is *le Monde*'s article about the first event:

> **Le président du Tavini, le mouvement indépendantiste polynésien, Oscar Temaru, 59 ans, a été choisi, lundi 14 juin, par ses pairs de la nouvelle assemblée locale, élue le 23 mai, pour devenir le premier "président de la Polynésie française".** Son prédécesseur, le sénateur (UMP) Gaston Flosse, n'était que "président du gouvernement de la Polynésie française". Ce changement de dénomination fait suite à la réforme du statut d'autonomie de cet ancien territoire, devenu "pays d'outre-mer", voulue par M. Flosse et adoptée par le Parlement en février. **Maire de Faa'a, principale commune de la Polynésie, M. Temaru a été élu par 30 voix sur 30 suffrages exprimés.** Les 27 conseillers du Tahoeraa - l'UMP locale - n'ont pas pris part au vote. Dans son premier discours, M. Temaru a affirmé que "l'indépendance n'est pas à l'ordre du jour". Son gouvernement doit être constitué jeudi 17 juin.

Le Monde's representation of Temaru's election has the following linguistic structure:

> (27)   Maire de Faa'a, principale commune de la Polynésie, **M. Temaru** A
> ÉTÉ ÉLU par 30 voix sur 30 suffrages exprimés. (*Le Monde*, 16 June 2004,
> 'Repères')

This occurrence constructs Temaru's election to presidency within the experiential centre of the whole clause. The main verb of the clause which represents the event is '*élire*' and it appears in receptive form. The receptive structure allows the Goal participant to be placed before the verb which gives more focus to Temaru. Moreover, the attention given to the Goal participant is further enhanced by the elements in the thematic position which are qualities of Temaru and which modify the latter. The Agent participant is displaced from the experiential centre and agency is indicated by the circumstantial underlined in the construction. Agency is not shown in the experiential centre and instead, it is represented as a circumstance. This syntactic configuration of transitivity presents the event as a happening rather than an action.

Another representation from *Le Monde*'s is illustrated in occurrence (28) which constructs the election as a circumstance:

> (28)   Le président du Tavini, le mouvement indépendantiste polynésien,
> **Oscar Temaru**, 59 ans, A ÉTÉ CHOISI, lundi 14 juin, par ses pairs de la
> nouvelle assemblée locale […] pour devenir le premier "président de la
> Polynésie française". (*Le Monde*,16 June 2004, 'M. Temaru élu "président
> de la Polynésie française"')

In (28), Temaru's election is signified by the verb '*choisir*' and '*devenir*'. There are two parts to the representation: the first part portrays the selecting part of the election process whilst the second shows the result of the election. The verb '*choisir*' is a material process and it constitutes the experiential centre of occurrence (28). It is expressed with passive voicing which puts the Goal participant '*Oscar Temaru*' in the receptive position. The Agent role is removed from its original position and appears later in the clause as a circumstantial element e.g. '*par ses pairs de…*'. The second part of the representation '*devenir*' is delayed in the syntactic configuration of (28) because it occurs in the adjunctive clause as a causal circumstance. This verb represents the

consequential aspect of Temaru's election, however, it does not feature in the experiential centre. As a circumstance, the phrase '*pour devenir…*' expresses the purpose/reason of the selection aspect of Temaru's election. Thus, the process '*devenir*' does not receive the same amount of attention as '*choisir*' which is the focus of the overall construction. Furthermore, due to the infinitive nature and the syntactic position of the verb '*choisir*', there are no other obligatory participants associated with this verb structure. The above representation of the election emphasises the fact that Temaru was chosen by his peers while backgrounding the fact that he became a president which makes the situation seem more arbitrary and problematic.

- Interpretation: social/ideological implications in the linguistic findings

The socialist discourse formation constructs Temaru's election as an abstract concept by placing the event in adjunctive clauses. To achieve this, *la Libération* nominalises the event which makes it possible to position it outside the experiential centre of the clause, and to represent it as a circumstantial element. This syntactic configuration of transitivity has a dramatic effect because, from the grammatical point of view, the election of Temaru to the presidency is causing other happenings which are signified by the main verbs of the clausal structure. On the other hand, *le Figaro* represents the election in a minimal and static way. Although the event is portrayed within the experiential centre of the clause, the representation only includes the election and Temaru as the affected participant in the structure. The Agent participant of the verb is omitted through the use of receptive structure and this removes the sense of concreteness or activeness in the event. Therefore, from the conservative perspective, Temaru's election is achieved effortlessly, which does not appear to concern or have an impact on anybody or anything. As for *le Monde*, the two occurrences representing the election demonstrate this newspaper's stylistic flexibility of portraying the same event in different ways and also its tendency to present news in a thoughtful manner. *Le Monde*'s special interest in Tahiti's political crisis is significant and this is explained by Regnault in the following excerpt:

Quand l'assemblée fut dissoute début avril 2004, la presse métropolitaine ne consacra que quelques lignes à la question. Toutefois, la campagne électorale suscita l'intérêt du quotidien Le Monde. Son directeur, Jean-Marie Colombani, qui a vécu et travaillé en Nouvelle-Calédonie, auteur d'ouvrages sur les drames calédoniens, pensa qu'il pourrait y avoir matière à articles.
(Regnault, 2004 : 166)

The socialist newspaper gives a more human representation of the event as it seems to motivate other events initiated by French Polynesia or Temaru. *La Libération*'s discourse formation constructs Temaru's election as being instrumental to the new changes in French Polynesia. In *le Figaro*, the event is represented in a static manner due to the use of passive voicing and obscured agency, and is reluctant on explicitly representing the will of the local population who voted for this pro-independence leader. In contrast, the left-wing paper gives a more dynamic account of the rise of Temaru's power in the Tahitian government. As for *Le Monde*, it expresses its interest in the affair and represents the event in versatile ways. When the event is constructed in the way that it does not receive much focus, a sense of expectation felt by the journalist about the situation is exposed.

3.1.2. Event Two: Overthrow of Temaru's government

- Description

The political crisis in French Polynesia began when Temaru's party (UPLD) won the elections in May 2004. Temaru subsequently replaced Flosse as President of French Polynesia but he could not maintain his role as president because Flosse was able to censure Temaru's government. The French metropolitan power approved the censure motion against Temaru according to which, the new government was incompetent and that it dramatically impaired the financial and economic situation in French Polynesia. Another reason for censuring Temaru was that there were certain irregularities which

were believed to have taken place during the May elections. The election was then declared to be illegitimate and many people began to accuse Flosse of trying to reclaim his power by taking advantage of his familiarity with the French system and his friendship with the French president Jacques Chirac. Nevertheless, Temaru defended his position tenaciously and asserted the importance of respecting the will of the local population. The second event to be analysed in this chapter is the downfall of Temaru's new government.

- Observation

The main linguistic difference identified in the discursive structure of the second event is the representation of Temaru's downfall. The analysis of this event unveiled how the clauses concerning the overthrow of the newly elected government represent the cause of the event. It looked at how the individual who is most responsible for Temaru's downfall, namely Flosse who censured the government with the approval of the French government, is constructed in the clause. In the corpus, there were five articles reporting on this event, among which, the two lengthiest ones belonged to *le Monde*. The right-wing press also provided two articles: one long article and a short one. The left-wing press only provided one, fairly short article. This analysis investigated the three newspapers' discursive constructions of the event to see to what extent they have represented Flosse as a responsible participant of the process signifying the overthrow, and whether there are circumstantial elements exposing the cause in the clausal structure.

- Explanation

In *La Libération*, Temaru's downfall features within the experiential centre of the clausal structure:

(29)   Après quatre mois seulement d'exercice du pouvoir, **Temaru** A ÉTÉ
RENVERSÉ dimanche après un débat des plus rocambolesques, où la
majorité a basculé d'un siège et où l'ancien président Gaston Flosse a été
victime d'une vraie-fausse agression au couteau (*La Libération*, Didier, 13
October 2004, 'Paris bénit le coup de force de "Papa Flosse"'.)

In occurrence (29), the event is signified by a transitive material process which is the
verb '*renverser*'. This verb is expressed with passive voicing which places it in a
receptive structure. This syntactic configuration allows the Goal participant of the
process which is *Temaru* to occur before the verb. The Agent participant is removed
from the experiential centre, and in this particular occurrence, the agency of the process
is completely hidden as it does not even feature as a circumstance. This occurrence
contains a number of circumstantial elements which indicate the temporal aspect of the
activity. The first circumstance is the theme of the clausal structure '*après quatre
mois…*' which expresses in an abstract way the time of the overthrow and which implies
the briefness of Temaru's presidency. The next circumstance indicates the day when the
event took place and the third circumstance signifies the temporal location of the event
which indicates the time after the debate. This circumstantial element is also loaded with
details about what else was happening at the time of the debate and there could be a
possible causal connection between the debate and the overthrow. Overall, from *la
Libération*'s point of view, the overthrow of Temaru is situated in a succession of
events.

In occurrence (30), the overthrow of Temaru's government does not feature in the
experiential centre of the clause:

(30)   Artisan du renversement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru, /ce vieil
ami de Chirac/ POURRA REPRENDRE **la tête de la Polynésie**. (*La
Libération*, Didier, 13 October 2004, 'Paris bénit le coup de force de
"Papa Flosse"'.)

The event is represented as a nominal '*renversement*' which is a minor feature of a noun
phrase which is attributed to the element signifying Flosse's agency. The main verb of
this occurrence is the material process '*reprendre*' which is carried out by the Agent
participant '*ce vieil ami de Chirac*'. Although in most cases, the participants of the

process which is nominalised tend to be omitted from the clause, in the nominalised process of this discursive structure, both the Agent ('*Artisan*') and the Goal participant ('*l'indépendantiste…*') of this process are explicitly indicated. Flosse is thus shown as the cause of the nominalised process '*renversement*', as well as the material process '*reprendre*'. The adjunctive phrase placed in the theme position is attributed to Flosse which represents him as the individual responsible for two very physical actions.

The third occurrence from *la Libération*'s representation of this event also exemplifies the cause of Temaru's downfall:

> (31) /Paris/ A VALIDÉ hier **la censure du gouvernement indépendantiste d'Oscar Temaru**, en choisissant de ne pas convoquer les électeurs polynésiens. (*La Libération*, Didier, 13 October 2004, 'Paris bénit le coup de force de "Papa Flosse"'.)

This discursive structure does not directly represent the downfall of Temaru's government. Instead, it shows how it is caused. The main verb of the clausal structure is '*valider*' which is a verbal process and the agency of this representation is clearly marked by the entity *Paris* who is the Sayer. *Paris* is also the theme element of this occurrence because it is placed in the initial position of the sentence. The French government is, therefore, represented as the responsible participant of the whole situation. The verbal process used by *la Libération* suggests a sense of blame towards the French government regarding the political crisis, which resides in the Agent participant '*Paris*'.

The conservative newspaper, *le Figaro*, takes a different approach in representing this event.

> (32) *Le gouvernement du président indépendantiste Oscar Temaru* **EST TOMBE** ce week-end après le vote par l'Assemblée de Polynésie des deux motions de censure déposées la semaine dernière par l'opposition. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 11 October 2004, 'Le gouvernement Temaru renversé'.)

In this occurrence, the responsible body for the downfall of Temaru is represented in a very minor way. This event is depicted by the verb '*tomber*' which is intransitive as it

does not signify a physical action which is inflected on something else. This verb only involves one participant, namely the Actor participant which acts on its own without affecting anything else. The Actor participant is signified by the noun phrase '*Le gouvernement du président indépendantiste Oscar Temaru*'. The voting of the censure motions occurs as a nominalised process within a circumstance which is peripheral to the experiential centre. This circumstance signifies the temporal aspect of the downfall which seems to minimise the representation of agency or causation in the discursive structure. The role of the Flosse as a responsible agent is signified by '*par l'opposition*', however this element has an even more peripheral syntactic status because it features as part of the circumstantial phrase which begins with the preposition '*déposer*'. The other circumstance which is signified by '*ce weekend*' also serves this function.

As in the previous occurrence, *Le Monde* constructs the event with an intransitive material process '*tomber*'.

> (33)   *Le gouvernement*, à majorité indépendantiste, *de Polynésie française*
> **EST TOMBÉ**, <u>samedi 9 octobre</u> <u>peu avant 22 heures</u>. (*Le Monde*, 12
> October 2004, 'En Polynésie, Gaston Flosse (UMP) renverse le
> gouvernement Temaru'.)

The Actor particpant of this process is the French Polynesian government and the phrase which signifies this entity is modified by an adjunct '*à majorité indépendantiste*'. This occurrence contains two temporal circumstantial elements. The first circumstance places the event in a precise date of existence and the second circumstance specifies the time when the event unfolded. There is no external agent represented so the downfall of the French Polynesian government seems non-causal. The process *tomber* is a self-inflicted action which is carried out by the government itself.

Le Monde also offers a more transitive representation of the overthrowing of Temaru's government. This time, a transitive material process is used to represent the event and due to the receptive structure, the Agent participant is expressed as a circumstance, among the other two temporal circumstances. This is evident in occurrence (34):

(34) **Le premier gouvernement en Polynésie présidé par un indépendantiste, Oscar Temaru**, A ÉTÉ RENVERSÉ <u>samedi 9 octobre</u> <u>par l'Assemblée du territoire</u>, <u>quinze semaines après son accession au pouvoir</u>. (*Le Monde*, 10 October 2004, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

- Interpretation

The left-wing newspaper constructs the event in a personalised way and seems to show sympathy for Temaru. In the first occurrence taken from the discourse of *la Libération*, the event is represented in a complex way with a number of other embedded processes. This gives the impression that Temaru's downfall is a complicated issue with many implications. In another one of *la Libération*'s occurrences, the event is situated within a noun phrase which is signifying Flosse as the Agent participant of '*reprendre*'. This reinforces Flosse's agency and responsibility in the whole affair. The third occurrence from *la Libération* draws attention to the cause of Temaru's downfall, which is France's role in the decision-making process of the censure motions. *La Libération* makes Temaru appear as a victim through the discursive construction and exposes Paris and Flosse as responsible agents of the event. Conversely, *le Figaro* represents the event in a very simple way with the minimal amount of *participants* indicated in the clause. The use of the verb '*tomber*' is significant because it restricts the number of participants who could be involved in the event. The conservative discourse formation presents Temaru's government as acting on its own, bringing about its own downfall. The event seems much more dramatic and complex from the socialist perspective whereas *le Figaro*'s representation is less transitive and plain. *Le Monde* represents the event by using an intransitive as well as a transitive material process. However, on both occasions, the process depicting the event is the main verb of the sentence. From this, one can observe that *Le Monde* has used a variety of linguistic structures to represent the situation, even if, both occurrences are focused on Temaru.

3.1.3. Event Three: People of French Polynesia Protest

- Description

The censure motion proposed by Flosse against Temaru's government was approved by the metropolitan power, and the voting of this censure motion resulted in the overthrow of Temaru from his position. Temaru did not give up and made a request to the metropolitan for a fresh election to be held in French Polynesia which was rejected. The downfall of Temaru created some intense feelings of disapproval and resentment among the local population, especially on the part of the *Taui* supporters. Soon, a protest was organised which took place on 16th October and according to Temaru, about one fifth of the population marched through Papeete. The main objective of the protest was to let France see that they disagreed with the toppling of Temaru's government and that they wanted new elections to resolve the awkward political situation French Polynesia was going through.

- Observation

In the corpus, *le Monde* provided the greatest number of articles on this event with three articles. *Le Figaro* and *la Libération* produced one article each and the socialist press article was the longest. There are three parts to the analysis of this event which are divided into part (a), (b) and (c). Firstly in (a), the representation of the protest was studied. Part (b) examined how the different discourse formations have portrayed the socialists' involvement in the protest and finally in (c), the representation of French Polynesia was analysed.

- Explanation (a): The protest

La Libération portrays this event as an intransitive material process:

> (35)   *Au moins 20 000 personnes* ONT DÉFILÉ à Papeete pour réclamer des élections après le renversement de l'indépendantiste Temaru. (Hassoux, *La Libération*, 18 October 2004)

> (36)   *Une partie* ARRIVE de l'ouest, de Tahiti. (Hassoux, *La Libération*, 18 October 2004)

The processes in the above representations are devoted to the Actor participant who carries out the action. With the use of locative circumstances, the protest is represented in an immediate context which adds a spatial dimention to the actual unfolding of the event. In (35) and (36), the verbs which signify the protest are '*défiler*' and '*arriver*'. The Actor participants of these verbs in the following two occurrences refer to a proportion of the local people of Tahiti.

This event is represented differently in the discourse formation of *Le Figaro*:

> (37)   C'est ainsi que /le président de la Polynésie française/, Oscar Temaru, A QUALIFIÉ **la manifestation** organisée samedi par son parti, l'Union pour la démocratie (UPLD), <u>afin de réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée de Polynésie et l'organisation de nouvelles élections</u>. (S.P., *Le Figaro*, 18 October 2004, '«Historique !» C'est ainsi que le président de la Polynésie française, Oscar...' **)**

The protest is nominalised and does not feature in the experiential centre of the clausal structure. The main verb of this occurrence is the verbal process '*qualifier*' and the protesting event is encapsulated in a nominal element which is the Verbiage of the main verb. As a result, the protest is perceived as a conceptual entity and as playing a passive role. Moreover, the circumstantial element which is underlined in occurrence (37) indicates the Sayer's objective in qualifying the protest.

The next occurrence is another clausal structure formed by *le Figaro* which represents this event.

> (38)   **Cette manifestation**, qui a vu deux cortèges s'étirer samedi sur plusieurs kilomètres à l'est et à l'ouest de Papeete, ÉTAIT DIRIGÉE <u>contre l'ancien président de l'Assemblée polynésienne</u>, le sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse, à qui il est reproché d'avoir réussi à renverser la semaine passée le gouvernement de Polynésie après le vote d'une motion de censure. (S.P., *Le Figaro*, 18 October 2004, '«Historique !» C'est ainsi que le président de la Polynésie française, Oscar...' **)**

Again, the protesting activity has been nominalised but this time, it features in the experiential centre of the representation. The main verb of this occurrence is '*diriger*' and it is a transitive material process which is presented in a receptive structure. Due to the use of passive voicing, the transitive level is reduced and the Agent participant is dismissed from the experiential structure while the Goal participant of this event is promoted to the slot before the verb. As the nominalised event *cette manifestation* plays the role of the Goal and as the theme element of the clause, this entity receives the focus attention. The circumstance '*contre l'ancien président…*' in occurrence (38) states what the purpose of the protest aims to achieve, which is to remove Flosse from power. This has a victimising effect on Flosse.

In another occurrence observed from *Le Figaro*'s discourse formation, the protest is represented thus:

> (39)   *Les manifestants*, qui arboraient souvent deux drapeaux, le tricolore et celui des indépendantistes, ONT DÉFILÉ <u>dans le calme et dans une ambiance presque familiale</u>. (*Le Figaro*, S.P., 18 October 2004, '«Historique !» C'est ainsi que le président de la Polynésie française, Oscar...')

In occurrence (39), the protesting activity is depicted in two ways. Firstly it is attributed to the noun phrase which is the Actor participant of the main verb '*défiler*'. The Actor participant is signified by '*les manifestants*' and it features as the focus of the clausal structure as the theme element. Secondly, the event is also represented by the main verb which is an intransitive variant of material processes. Thus, this representation shows the

protesters as conducting an action which describes the act of protesting. Furthermore, the circumstance portrays the good conduct maintained by the protesting event.

Le Monde represents this event in various linguistic configurations of clausal structure:

> (40)   *Quinze à trente mille personnes* ONT DÉFILÉ, samedi 16 octobre à Tahiti, <u>pour réclamer la tenue de nouvelles élections et protester contre le renversement du gouvernement d'Oscar Temaru.</u> (*Le Monde*, 17 October 2004, 'Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale'.)

> (41)   Samedi 16 octobre, *plus de 20 000 personnes* ONT MANIFESTE à Papeete <u>pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée locale et demander la convocation de nouvelles élections.</u> (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'La Polynésie française se mobilise contre Gaston Flosse'.)

Occurrences (40) and (41) have a similar structure to the ones presented by *la Libération* in that the event is portrayed with a material process with active voicing. The reasons for protesting are clearly stated in all the occurrences and can be seen in the underlined adjunct phrases. The next two occurrences are also from *le Monde* and they represent the protest with diverse linguistic structures. The event features as a verbal process in (42), as a transitive material process in (43).

> (42)   Répondant à l'appel de la Majorité plurielle (indépendantistes et autonomistes alliés), les manifestants ONT EXPRIMÉ leur désir de <u>poursuivre le changement entamé en mai avec la défaite électorale de Gaston Flosse et de son parti, le Tahoeraa Huiraatira (lié à l'UMP)</u>. (*Le Monde*, 17 October 2004, 'Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale'.)

> (43)   **Ils** ÉTAIENT DOMINÉS par une forêt de drapeaux tricolores et polynésiens ainsi que des dizaines de banderoles et pancartes <u>pour réclamer la dissolution de l'assemblée.</u> (*Le Monde*, 17 October 2004, 'Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale'.)

- Interpretation (a)

Le Figaro portrays the protest as an abstract entity which is being affected by other activities or individuals in the clause. This newspaper also victimises Flosse by exposing the protests' motives to remove him from power. In *la Libération*, the event seems to be represented in zoom because it shows the action as being conducted by the Tahitian people and because the location of the protest is explicitly represented. From *Le Monde*'s construction, one can see how this newspaper is concerned with the reasons why the protest took place in the circumstantial elements of the clausal structure.

- Explanation (b): The Socialists

Another interesting observation made in the discourse about event three concerns the representation of the French politicians from the Socialist parties who came to Tahiti to participate in the protest. The level of transitivity in the linguistic structure differs from one newspaper to another. *La Libération* shows the lowest level of transitivity because the Socialists do not occur as being part of the main process, but instead feature in the adjunctive clause as a circumstance:

> (44)   Quand il [Temaru] arrive ce samedi midi au centre de Papeete, <u>en compagnie des quatre parlementaires socialistes venus de métropole</u>, **le petit homme au chapeau de paille** EST PORTÉ <u>par la foule</u> : "Oscar président, Oscar président." (Hassoux, *la Libération*, 18 October 2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

The participation of the French Socialists in the protest is not represented directly as they do not feature in the experiential centre of the clausal structure and instead occur as a circumstantial element. The main verb of this clausal structure is '*porter*' which is a transtive material process in receptive form. The noun phrase '*le petit homme au chapeau de paille*' which signifies Temaru is the Goal participant of this process. Temaru is being affected by the action carried out by the entity '*la foule*' which is the natural Agent participant although it is constructed as a circumstance in this occurrence.

In *le Monde,* the socialists are also represented as being involved with Temaru as well as the local people protesting in French Polynesia.

> (45)   /M. Temaru/ A, par ailleurs, REMERCIÉ **la délégation du Parti socialiste** […] (*Le Monde*, 17 October 2004, 'Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale')

The socialists' input in the process is represented as a verbal process. The Sayer participant is Temaru and the socialists feature as the Receivers of Temaru's utterance which denotes his gratitude towards them.

On the other hand, *le Figaro* represents the socialists' participation in the most direct and physical way.

> (46)   De fait, /Christian Paul, ancien secrétaire d'Etat à l'Outre-Mer de Lionel Jospin, ainsi que quatre députés et sénateurs socialistes/ AVAIENT FAIT **le voyage** depuis la métropole pour participer à cette manifestation tahitienne. (S.P., *Le Figaro*, 18 October 2004, '«Historique !» C'est ainsi que le président de la Polynésie française, Oscar...')

The socialists are represented as Agent participants of the material process '*faire*'. The Goal participant is '*le voyage*' and together, these elements make up the experiential centre. The level of transitivity is high in this representation compared to the other newspapers which depicted this event with a reduced level of transitivity. The motivation behind the Socialists for travelling to Tahiti and for contributing to the protest is clearly represented in this occurrence which are shown as circumstances

- Interpretation

Le Figaro reveals the French left-wing support in the Tahitian protest in a direct manner by assigning agency to the socialist politicians in the discursive structure. It sees the event from a right-wing perspective and is more critical of the Socialists' behaviour. As for the other newspapers, they represent this event with less focus and in a less physical way. In *la Libération,* the Socialist presence in Tahiti is represented as being an adunct to the activities carried out by Temaru and the local people.

- Explanation (c): French Polynesia

Another notable difference between the three newspapers' discourse formation is how they convey information about French Polynesia, its people, or the protesters. The next two occurrences illustrate the descriptive nature of *la Libération*'s portrayal of French Polynesia. This newspaper employs the relational process in order to link certain features and qualities to the people who were involved in the protest. Attributed elements associated with the protesters are marked in bold:

> (47) /Ils/ SONT **jeunes**, /ils/ SONT **vieux**. Ils viennent d'Asie, d'Océanie ou d'Europe (les popa'a, les Blancs). /Ils/ SONT **en bonne santé** ou **handicapés**. /Ils/ SE DISENT **de droite** ou **de gauche**. /Ils/ SONT **autonomistes** ou **indépendantistes**. (Hassoux, *la Libération*, 18 October 2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

The pronoun '*ils*' refers to the protesters and the attributes designated to the pronoun show the diverse range of the people who participated in the march. According to the above description, the people in the protest were far from uniform in age group, nationality, health conditions and even political commitments.

The relational process is not the only experiential category employed by *la Libération* to represent the protest. Mental processes were also used to display the inner state of mind associated with the protesters. Occurrence (48) employs the verb '*penser*', which is a cognitive mental process:

> (48) Mais /tout le monde/ PENSE bien évidemment À **"Gaston"**, le fédérateur de cette foule bigarrée et paisible. (Hassoux, *la Libération*, 18 October 2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

Flosse features as the phenomenon which triggers this inner experience. Although it is not explicitly worded, the use of the process '*penser*' in the following case implies a negative attitude towards the object element. The mental process in this occurrence is used in a sarcastic sense which exposes Flosse as an unwanted and unpleasant object of the Senser's minds.

The next verb used to signal a mental process is *vouloir*, and this time, this process is to do with the emotional side of the human psychological experience. Unlike the process shown in the above occurrence, *vouloir* is used to project a positive outlook on the object entity which signifies *Temaru*. See below:

    (49)   /Ils/ VEULENT **Oscar Temaru**. (Hassoux, *la Libération*, 18 October
          2004, 'Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien')

This process describes the mental state of the local people and indicates positive aspects of their state of mind with regard to Temaru. From these words, one can perceive a sense of desire and strong will on the part of the people participating in the march.

In *le Monde*, the protest is seen from a more distant and political point of view. It has an impersonal approach to representing the implications of the protest. This newspaper deals with the situation by looking at the stability of the public order, and the following sentences contain material processes which indicate such concerns:

    (50)   A 17 000 KILOMÈTRES de Paris, en Polynésie, **la paix civile** EST
          désormais MENACEÉ. (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron
          tahitien')

The material process which could also be seen as an agentive psychological verb, has *la paix civile* as its Goal participant and is presented in a passive structure. The Agent is missing in the clause but it is obvious from the topic of discussion that this particular semantic role could be implicitly designated to the protesters. A very similar sentence structure can be observed in (51).

    (51)   L'ordre public N'A PAS ÉTÉ TROUBLÉ. (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'Le
          chaudron tahitien')

This time, *la paix civile* is replaced by *l'ordre public* and the material process portrayed is *troubler*. As in the previous occurrences, the Agent participant is absent from the construction but the protesters could be implied to have possibly deranged the public order. The next occurrence consists of a relational process which is, again, associated

with the public order of French Polynesia. The attributive element in sentence (52) is *en danger* which comments on the seriousness of the political situation in Tahiti.

> (52)   En Polynésie, /la paix civile/ EST **en danger**, les institutions sont en déshérence. (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien')

- Interpretation (c)

The discursive constructions of the event in *la Libération* give descriptions or evaluations about French Polynesia, its people, and their involvement in the protest. On the other hand, *le Figaro* does not provide any information about French Polynesia or the local people. While *La Libération* tends to identify the people who are involved in the protest more personally, *le Monde* sees the protest more impersonally and from a political perspective. The former pays individual and personal attention to the participants and it employs relational and mental processes with active voicing. The relational processes present more information about the 'carrier' participants and thus, they allow the readers to become more familiar with the entities described. In *Le Monde* the social order is taken seriously, and the entities which describe the situation are '*la paix civile*' and '*l'ordre public*', rather than the local people, as done in the socialist discourse. This way, *le Monde* chooses to ignore the human involvement in the protest and instead, recognises the negative consequences which could arise from the protest. Such representation could be designed to engage the readers in an intellectual and political assessment of the situation, and make them think about the event as a possible threat to the social order of the Tahitian community.

3.1.4. Event Four: Temaru Declares a Hunger strike

- Description

While the local people in Tahiti marched through the streets of Papeete in order to protest against Flosse's return and to demand that, in the interest of justice and democracy, the government hold fresh elections for the French Polynesian Assembly, Temaru showed his disapproval by announcing that he would embark on a fast. In the meanwhile, Flosse was not able to get into the presidential palace because the location was blockaded by Temaru's supporters. Moreover, Temaru requested the French government to cancel the censure motions which brought Flosse back to power, only to be rejected. The analysis will examine the discursive structure of the fourth event which represents Temaru's proposal to embark on a fasting period in response to the political manoeuvres that put him out of power.

- Observation

The difference in the discursive construction of this event as presented by the three newspapers is to be found in their treatment of the fasting plan proposed by Temaru. The press coverage on this matter was greater than the previous events with two articles from *la Libération*, two from *le Figaro*, and three from *le Monde*. The analysis showed that all three newspapers have selected the verbal process to depict Temaru's action. However, there are notable differences in the projection of participants that are involved in the event and certain uses of circumstance add a different quality to the representation which may conform to the subjectivity of the newspapers.

- Explanation

In *la Libération*, this event is shown as a verbal process with the verb *appeler*. Observe occurrence (53):

> (53)   Lundi, à Papeete, /le gouvernement d'Oscar Temaru/ DEVAIT APPELER **la population à entamer une grève de la faim** pour protester contre le retour controversé de Gaston Flosse aux manettes de l'archipel. (*La Libération*, Hassoux, 26 October 2004, 'Temaru vers un appel à la grève de la faim')

The main verb constituting the experiential centre of this clausal strcture is a verbal process, namely '*appeler*'. This verb is associated with the fasting event and Temaru's government is represented as the Sayer participant. The Verbiage contains the message about the fasting which is uttered by Temaru and it is addressed to the people of French Polynesia as the Receiver. This occurrence also consists of a circumstantial element which justifies the reason for Temaru undertaking the fasting.

Unlike the left-wing press discourse formation which shows the whole government as being involved in Temaru's announcement of going on a hunger strike, which is extended to the general public, *Le Monde*'s representation of this event does not include either of these participants as playing a part in the activity. Observe the occurrence below:

> (54)   /Le président sortant de la Polynésie française/, l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru, A ANNONCE lundi **qu'il entamait un jeûne**, avec "ministres et élus", au sein même du palais présidentiel qu'il occupe toujours à Tahiti. (*Le Monde*, 26 October 2004, 'Gaston Flosse affirme son autorité et Oscar Temaru en grève de la faim'.)

The experiential centre of this occurrence is also constituted by a verbal process. The verb depicting this event is '*annoncer*'. However this time, the Receiver participant is absent from the clausal construction. Meanwhile, the entity occupying the Sayer role is highly individuated, and signifies Temaru. Like occurrence (53), the Verbiage element is in italics and it depicts his intention to carry out the fasting in this occurrence. The clause also portrays other people being involved through the accompaniment

circumstance which appears in inverted commas in an adjunctive clause. Moreover, one of the circumstances presented in (54) illustrates the spatial location of Temaru's announcement which is the blockaded president palace. This representation gives more focus to Temaru and the description of the location where the process takes place seems to make him legitimate in his actions.

The conservative discourse formation portrays this event in a more generalised manner:

> (55) Alors que la foule commençait à gronder autour de l'Assemblée, /les membres de l'ancien gouvernement de Temaru/ ONT ANNONCE au même moment **leur intention de débuter une grève de la faim**. (*le Figaro*, 26 October 2004, 'Temaru poursuit le bras de fer'.)

This occurrence consists of the verbal process '*annoncer*' which is the main verb of the clausal structure. Instead of representing Temaru as the individual responsible for the fasting, the participant role is extended to the other members of his party. The fasting project is represented as the Verbiage element and there is no Receiver indicated in this clausal structure. The entity occupying the theme position is a circumstantial element which gives information about the context in which the verbal process unfolds. This circumstance describes what was happening when the main process took place and by situating Temaru's announcement amongst the disruptive and noisy crowd, his behaviour of announcing the hunger stike is shown as abrupt, irrational and disorderly.

- Interpretation

All three newspapers have employed the verbal process to depict this event which has the effect of presenting the fasting as an unfulfilled action, and as being a conceptual plan which engenders a sense of uncertainty. Temaru's announcement about the hunger strike is represented as something which is not put into action. Temaru's fasting protest is taken more seriously by *le Monde*. This newspaper represents this event as an official process and, at the same time, it captures the urgency of the situation by reminding the readers about the occupation of the local presidential quarters. The right-wing interpretation of Temaru's announcement is less individuated and represents the event as

something indefinite. As for *la Libération*'s representation, it is inclusive of the local population and the objective of undertaking the fast is explicit.

3.1.5. Event Five: Negotiation in Paris

- Description

French Polynesia reached the peak of its political dilemma when Temaru's government was overthrown by the censure motions proposed by Flosse. There were many outcries opposing Flosse's return and protests took place all over French Polynesia to express people's wish to have fresh elections. Temaru refused to vacate the presidential palace for Flosse who reclaimed his power as the president of French Polynesia and this was achieved by a group of military officers supporting Temaru who blocked the presidential buildings. At this point in time, France approved Flosse's request to invalidate the May elections while it rejected Temaru's pleas to invalidate the censure motions which caused his downfall, and this also became a very controversial matter. The two leaders, Temaru and Flosse persistently argued for their legitimacy as president and as a result, there was a continual struggle in the Tahitian government. In order to resolve this political crisis in French Polynesia, the two leaders were summoned to Paris headquarters in early November, in order to negotiate under the supervision of Brigitte Girardin, the Minister of French overseas territories. When they were about to come to a final agreement, Flosse unexpectedly abandoned the negotiations and returned to Tahiti. Event five is based on the negotiations which were held in Paris in order to put an end to the chaotic situation in French Polynesia but it is treated in two separate subsections.

- Observation

There were eleven press articles written about the negotiations held in Paris in the corpus. The news coverage lasted six days and the three newspapers produced similar number of articles on this event. *Le Figaro* provided three moderate to long articles and *le Monde* provided four fairly lengthy ones. *La Libération* provided four articles although two of them were short articles. In this event analysis, there were two separate incidents discussed. Firstly, the analysis focused on how the newspapers have represented the holding of the meeting in Paris. Brigitte Girardin's responsibility for summoning the two Tahitian leaders to France was not consistently represented in the discursive structure of the three newspapers. Secondly, the analysis was concerned with how Flosse's departure from the negotiations was constructed in the clause as the three press discourse formations portrayed this incident with different information.

- Explanation (a): Girardin's Role

The discursive construction of Girardin's authority in summoning the two leaders from Tahiti to negotiate in Paris is most explicitly depicted in the conservative newspaper. The following occurrence taken from *le Figaro* portrays the meeting in a highly transitive clausal structure.

> (56)   /Brigitte Girardin/ A en effet RÉUSSI **à réunir autour d'une même table hier soir, trois heures et demie durant, Gaston Flosse et Oscar Temaru**, pour tenter de dénouer la crise politique que traverse la Polynésie française depuis près de deux mois. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 24 November 2004, 'les adversaires enfin face à face'.)

This clause shows Girardin as a powerful figure as she occupies the role of the Agent participant of the transitive material process '*réussir*' which constitutes the experiential centre of the representation. The verb '*réunir*' is complement to the main verb which describes Girardin's action of bringing together Flosse and Temaru and this verb is syntactically constructed as the Goal participant of '*réussir*'. The entities affected by the action signified by the Goal element are the two leaders from French Polynesia, namely

Temaru and Flosse. The discursive structure of this representation positions the participants at different experiential levels and this creates a sort of hierachy which puts Girardin at a higher level than the Tahitian leaders. This way, Girardin is constructed as a powerful figure whose action is imposed on the Tahitian leaders who are shown as powerless participants. A similar discursive structure occurs in this newspaper which can be observed below.

> (57)   En attendant, <u>entourée hier de Richard Didier et d'Emmanuel Charron, conseillers pour l'outre-mer respectivement du chef de l'Etat et du premier ministre</u>, /Brigitte Girardin/ A OBTENU que **les participants se serrent la main avant de s'asseoir autour de la table**. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 24 November 2004, 'les adversaires enfin face à face'.)

In this occurrence, the core verb of the clausal structure is '*obtenir*' which is a transitive material process. The Actor participant of this process is '*Brigitte Girardin*' and the Goal participant is expressed by the adjunctive clause marked in bold in (57). Like the previous occurrence, this representation maintains a highly transitive structure. The French officials are represented within an adjunctive clause but, nevertheless, they are portrayed as being at the same level as Girardin while the Tahitian leaders are placed in a lower position as the object entity of the main verb. Again, Giradin is the authoritative figure who is represented as doing something to Temaru and Flosse.

Le Monde's discursive representation of this event exposes Girardin's input in the organisation of the negotiation. However, it does so in a less explicit manner.

> (58)   <u>Réunissant</u>, mardi 23 novembre, <u>neuf responsables politiques de Polynésie</u> pour une table ronde organisée sous son égide, /la ministre de l'outre-mer, Brigitte Girardin/, A APPELÉ **l'archipel à apaiser ses tensions et à dégager un consensus pour organiser "le cas échéant" un nouveau scrutin dans l'ensemble du territoire**. (*Le Monde*, 24 November 2004, 'Oscar Temaru et Gaston Flosse négocient à Paris'.)

In this occurrence, Girardin's act of summoning the Tahitians is not represented in the experiential core of the representation. It features as a circumstance which expresses what was happening concurrently with the event depicted by the main verb of the clausal structure which is '*appeler*'. The adjunctive clause '*réunissant…*' is also the theme of

the clause and as a circumstantial element, it plays the role of augmenting the verbal process which is realised by the Sayer participant, namely Girardin. As already mentioned in Chapter Two, verb processes can establish a power hierarchy which gives importance to individuals who are socially recognised as authoritative or knowledgeable figures. In this case, Girardin is represented as having the power to call upon French Polynesia to do something.

The second occurrence from *le Monde*'s discourse also represents Girardin's authority to a certain extent, however like (58), it is constructed outside the experiential centre of the clause.

> (59)   *La table ronde sur la crise en Polynésie*, organisée, mardi 23 novembre, sous l'égide de la ministre de l'outre-mer, Brigitte Girardin, S'EST TERMINÉE par un appel "à l'apaisement des tensions en Polynésie" et l'établissement d'un calendrier de réunions. (*Le Monde*, 24 November 2004, 'Oscar Temaru et Gaston Flosse négocient à Paris')

The main verb of this occurrence is '*se terminer*' which represents how the negotiation ended. This process is an intransitive variation of material processes and the use of this verb reduces the transitivity level of the whole clausal structure. The Actor participant of this process is signified by the theme element which refers to the negotiation. As for Girardin's calling of the meeting, it is implied by the adjuncts '*organisée*' and '*sous l'égide de…*' which do not feature inside the experiential centre or as circumstances of this clausal structure. Moreover, the Tahitian politicians are not linguistically constructed and therefore they are not represented as being involved in the event. Girardin's agency is included in the discursive structure but this is accomplished in a non-centralised way.

In another discursive construction of this incident by *le Monde*, Girardin's agency in summoning Temaru and Flosse is not evident:

> (60)   En marge de la négociation, /les Polynésiens/ DOIVENT RENCONTRER en métropole **leurs amis politiques respectifs**. (*Le Monde*, Jean-Louis Saux, 25 November 2004, 'MM. Flosse et Temaru lancent un appel commun à "l'apaisement des tensions" en Polynésie'.)

This clausal structure is configured around the material process '*rencontrer*'. The noun entity '*les Polynésiens*' plays the role of the Actor participant and the object entity which receives their action is '*leurs amis politiques respectifs*'. This is a highly transitive structure with agency assigned to the Tahitian leaders who are identified in a generalised manner. Girardin does not feature anywhere in this occurrence. So far, all three of *le Monde*'s discursive construction of this event have avoided representing Girardin's agency in summoning the Tahitian leaders as the experiential centre of the clausal constructions. However, in occurrences (59) and (60), this newspaper gave thematic importance to the negotiation itself.

In contrast to the other two newspapers, *La Libération* does not represent Girardin as having any control over the meetings in Paris.

> (61)   */Chaque camp/* SE RENDRA <u>à nouveau</u>, <u>à tour de rôle</u>, <u>au ministère</u> <u>cet</u> <u>après-midi</u> <u>pour de nouvelles discussions</u> et PARTICIPERA A **une réunion commune** <u>demain</u>. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 25 November 2004, 'les négociations continuent à Paris'.)

In occurrence (61), Girardin is not included in the representation. The main verbs of this clause are '*se rendre*' and '*participe*' which are both material processes. These verbs depict a physical action carried out by the same Actor participant, namely '*chaque camp*' which refers to the two Tahitian leaders summoned by Girardin to attend the negotiation. Girardin's agency in summoning Temaru and Flosse is not linguistically represented in this occurrence. Instead, there are numorous circumstantial elements which indicate the manner, place, time and purpose of the meeting event. Occurrence (62) exemplifies a similar discursive structure as (61):

> (62)   *Les délégations des amis d'Oscar Temaru et de Gaston Flosse* **DOIVENT SE RETROUVER** <u>aujourd'hui</u> <u>au ministère de l'Outre-Mer</u> <u>pour une table ronde</u> <u>en présence de Brigitte Girardin et du conseiller de Jacques Chirac pour l'outre-mer, Richard Didier</u>. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 26 November 2004, 'Chirac sort de son silence'.)

This occurrence also contains a material process which is signified by the verb *se retrouver*. The Actor participant is the thematic element '*les délégations des…*' which

refers to Temaru and Flosse's delegations. The circumstantial elements of (65) situates the action denoted by the main process in time (*aujourd'hui*) and place (*au ministère de l'Outre*-Mer), as well as indicating a reason and other people involved in the activity. Both (61) and (62) contain an extensive range of circumstantial elements which augment the experience of the Tahitian leaders meeting to negotiate, and which define the location and purpose of the negotiation held in Paris.

- Interpretation (a)

The right-wing press constructs the event with a clear indication of Girardin's agency in summoning the two Tahitian leaders to Paris to participate in the negotiation. *Le Monde*'s discursive construction of Girardin's involvement is less directly projected, nevertheless it is shown as a part of the representation which has some influence in the portrayal of this event. The socialist discourse construction of this event avoids the representation of Girardin's authoritative role in summoning the two leaders. This newspaper focuses on the Tahitian leaders who are represented as carrying out an action on their own and also, the occurrences constructed by *la Libération* are loaded with circumstantial elements which add to the representation of the meeting.

- Description (b): Flosse's Departure

The negotiation held in Paris came to an end when Flosse decided to leave France and return home to Tahiti. Flosse was frustrated with the meetings because they could not agree on the date of the new elections and because Temaru's supporters were still occupying the presidential quarters in Tahiti.

- Observation (b)

The discursive construction of Flosse's departure was examined in this section and linguistic differences noted from the three newspapers' representation of this incident were explained.

- Explanation (b)

La Libération's description of Flosse's departure can be observed below:

(63)   /Gaston Flosse/ **EST REPARTI** <u>hier</u> <u>à Tahiti</u>. (Hassoux, *Libération*, 30 November 2004)

The verb representing the event is '*repartir*' and Flosse occupies the Actor role of this process. Other elements in the clause include time and place circumstantial elements. This representation only involves the participation of Flosse who performs the physical activity of going back to Tahiti. The use of an intransitive process to represent this event gives Flosse full responsibility for the incident.

In the next occurrence which is also taken from *la Libération*'s discourse, Flosse's departure does not feature in the experiential centre of the clause.

(64)   /Ils/ **le** SUSPECTENT <u>de vouloir "rentrer le premier à Papeete pour préparer quelque chose"</u>. (Hassoux, *Libération*, 30 November 2004)

The main verb of this clausal structure is '*suspecter*' which is a mental process. The pronoun '*ils*' which is the logical subject of this process and the Sensor role is given to the people who were present at the negotiation meetings in Paris. Flosse who is signified by the direct object pronoun '*le*' has a passive role in this discursive construction because it is represented as the Phenomenon entity which triggers the mental experience of suspecting. Flosse's departure is represented outside the experiential centre of this representation because it features as the Phenomenon of a mental process '*vouloir*' which is complementary to the main verb signified by the verb '*suspecter*'. This

occurrence represents the event in a static manner as it depicts the assumption of the people at the negotiation who construe Flosse's departure as being purely volitional on his behalf.

Le Monde constructs this incident with a different configuration of transitivity.

> (65)   /Gaston Flosse/ (UMP) QUITTE brutalement **la table des négociations**.
>   (*Le Monde*, 30 November 2004)

The verb portraying this event is *quitter* which is a transitive material process. Contrary to *la Libération*, which only shows Flosse leaving in the representation, this sentence shows another entity being affected by Flosse's action. The clausal structure of this occurrence is highly transitive because the main verb is a material process presented in operative form. Flosse is the Agent participant and his agency is amplified by its thematic status. The Goal participant is signified by *'la table des négociations'* which has been directly interrupted by Flosse's behaviour.

A significant note of different between *la Libération* and *le Monde*'s portrayal of the event is that the former shows Flosse's departure with a destination while the latter newspaper represents the event with locative source of departure. This could imply that the socialist press is more interested in what happens in Tahiti as opposed to what happens in Paris regarding the Tahitian political crisis. *Le Monde*'s representation of Flosse's departure is more pessimistic as it indicates Flosse's attempt to escape the situation which could imply that he is trying to avoid something at the negotiation.

As for *Le Figaro*, the event portrayed has a very low level of transitivity. This is achieved by use of an infinitive verb form, backgrounding and nominalisation, which are shown in bold respectively, in the occurrence below. This newspaper also pays attention to the cause of Flosse's departure and justifies his actions noticeably which adds a rational quality to Flosse's behaviour:

(66)   «Nous sommes fius[52], notre patience a assez duré, nous rentrons ce matin à Papeete», A DÉCLARÉ, très solennellement, /le président de la Polynésie française/, avant de prendre le vol Air Tahiti Nui de 10 h 20. Rompant, de fait, les négociations qui se tenaient depuis une semaine au ministère de l'Outre-Mer, /Gaston Flosse/ A JUSTIFIÉ **ce départ brutal** en raison de la poursuite de l' «occupation politique» des locaux de la présidence de Polynésie par des militants indépendantistes. (*Le Figaro*, 30 November 2004, 'Gaston Flosse rompt les négociations avec Oscar Temaru')

The main process of the first sentence presented in occurrence (66) is a verbal process signified by the verb '*déclarer*'. This process is delivered by Flosse, '*le président de la Polynésie française*', which is the Sayer participant, and the Verbiage justifies the grounds for his next action which is represented as a circumstantial element, namely '*avant de prendre le vol…*'. In the second sentence of (66), the main verb is '*justifier*' which is again, a verbal process. Flosse is the Sayer of this process and his departure is represented as the Verbiage. This sentence contains a causal circumstance which shows the reason why Flosse left the negotiation.

- Interpretation (b)

The representations in the newspapers emphasise different aspects of Flosse's departure. While *la Libération* shows Flosse leaving towards another destination, *le Monde* portrays him as leaving something behind which could insinuate his motivations to run away from something. *Le Monde*'s representation of this event is different from the other newspapers because it seems to question Flosse's motives with regards to his departure. Moreover, *la Libération* gives focus to him as the sole participant of the process without any justifications of Flosse's action while *le Monde* demonstrates the effect of Flosse's departure. *Le Figaro*'s representation is very descriptive of Flosse's actions and the clause contains a Cause circumstantial element which explains why he left the negotiations. By doing so, the right-wing newspaper portrays Flosse in a more positive way.

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[52] The word 'fiu' is a popular Tahitian expression which describes a state of weariness, boredom or frustration.

3.1.6. Event Six: By-elections in February

- Description

On 13th February, a by-election was held in the two most populated and central islands of French Polynesia, namely Tahiti and Moorea. This election was a decision made by the French State Council in November 2004 when the Tahitian leaders met in Paris to resolve the continuing political predicament. The negotiations concluded the results of the last election were invalid, due to irregularities that occurred in some polling stations. People hoped that the new election would bring results which would form a clear-cut majority in the Tahitian government, which did not turn out to be the case. Temaru and Flosse's parties both won 27 seats each and the Central party *ADN* led by Nicole Bouteau obtained 3 seats in the Territorial Assembly. Bouteau affirmed that she would not become involved with any particular party and, without a winning side, the turmoil continued in French Polynesia. The by-election was an important event contributing to the ten-months-period of crisis in Tahiti, and the representation of this event by the three newspapers can be observed below.

- Observation

The main event observed in this analysis is the representation of the election that took place on the two main islands of French Polynesia. Through linguistic configuration of transitivity in the clause, the three newspapers have represented this event in ways which project a varying degree of Temaru's success in the elections and which reveal the newspaper's attitude towards the outcome. There was only one article available from each of the three discourse formations (*le Monde*, *le Figaro* and *la Libération*).

- Explanation

Le Monde constructs this event in a direct and physical way:

> (67)   /Oscar Temaru, chef de file des indépendantistes de Polynésie/, A
> EMPORTÉ, dimanche 13 février, **l'élection territoriale partielle des îles
> du Vent**. (*Le Monde*, Saux, 15 February 2005, 'Le succès de M. Temaru
> ne résout pas la crise en Polynésie'.)

In this occurrence, Temaru's success in the election is realised by the whole clausal
structure which is configured around the transitive material process '*emporter*'. This is
the main verb of the sentence and the experiential centre is constructed in a highly
transitive way as it consists of the Agent participant whose agency is amplified by its
theme status, and a Goal participant. Temaru is the individual responsible for winning
the election and the noun phrase '*l'élection territoriale…*' is the entity affected by his
action. This shows Temaru's control of the situation and his victory is depicted through
the core element of the clausal structure.

The representation in (68) is also taken from *le Monde*'s discourse formation of the
crisis and like the previous occurrence, it has a high level of transitivity:

> (68)   Quatre mois après avoir été renversé par une motion de censure
> déposée par les amis du sénateur (UMP) Gaston Flosse, /l'ancien président
> de Polynésie et son Union pour la démocratie (UPLD)/ DEVANCENT
> **l'homme fort du territoire** de plus de 6 000 voix. (*Le Monde*, Saux, 15
> February 2005, 'Le succès de M. Temaru ne résout pas la crise en
> Polynésie'.)

The main verb used in this sentence is '*devancer*' which is a transitive material process.
It is presented with active voicing and Temaru features as the Agent participant of this
process. The process depicts the election outcome where Temaru is ahead of Flosse. The
Goal participant is Flosse who is being directly affected by the depicted event. This
discursive construction is high in transitivity which represents Temaru's success in the
election and the person who is affected by his action.

As for the conservative newspaper *le Figaro*, the representation of this event in this discourse formation is less direct about the victory of Temaru:

> (69)   /La liste Union pour la démocratie (UPLD), emmenée par l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru/, A OBTENU **46,94% des voix**, <u>loin devant celle du Tahoera'a</u>, conduite par le sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse (40%) lors de l'élection partielle des îles du Vent. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 15 February 2005, 'La Polynésie vote, la confusion demeure'.)

Like the previous occurrences, (69) maintains a highly transitive structure with the use of the material process '*obtenir*' as the core of the whole clausal structure which occurs in an operative form. The Agent participant of this process is not individuated because it does not refer to Temaru alone. Instead, the agency is given to a more general entity, namely '*la liste Union pour la démocratie*' which is the political party led by Temaru. The main verb of the sentence depicts the physical process of obtaining a certain amount of votes in the election and the Goal entity which is affected by the action is the percentage of votes. In this discursive structure, Flosse is a peripheral element in the representation and Temaru's success is alluded in the circumstantial phrase '*loin devant celle du Tahoera'a*' which is also located outside the experiential centre constructed by this clause. The information which shows Temaru's success in the elections is represented in an abstract manner as a locative circumstance which situates the vote obtaining event in a conceptual space.

La Libération's representation of this event seems to be more pessimistic about the outcome of the bi-election:

> (70)   <u>Malgré une avance de 6 000 voix pour Temaru</u>, *la Polynésie* SE RETROUVE dans une nouvelle situation de blocage politique. (Le Goff, *La Libération*, 15 February 2005, 'La victoire amère de Temaru')

The core of this clausal structure is signified by the verb '*se retrouver*' which is an intransitive material process. This verb reduces the transitivity level of the representation and the Actor participant is '*la Polynésie*' which completes the experiential centre. These elements portray Polynesia as having another political problem, and the circumstantial element placed in the theme position augments the representation of this

situation. The circumstance underlined expresses a sence of concession and denotes Temaru success in the election which underscores the negative situation represented by the experiential centre of occurrence (70).

The next occurrence is also an occurrence taken from the discourse of *la Libération* and this clausal structure also represents Temaru's success in the election outside the experiential centre:

> (71)   En fin de soirée, /il/ COMPREND **que**, <u>malgré sa victoire dans les urnes</u> mais à cause du mode de scrutin ubuesque, **l'UPLD n'est pas majoritaire à l'assemblée** même si elle a recueilli 47 % des voix (contre 40 % à Flosse). (Le Goff, *La Libération*, 15 February 2005, 'La victoire amère de Temaru')

The verb '*comprendre*' constructs the experiential centre of occurrence (71). It is a mental process which gives an insight to Temaru's internal experience as the Senser participant of this process. The phenomenon which is the adjunctive phrase highlighted in bold signifies the state of Temaru's political party as a result of the election. As in (70), Temaru's success is represented as a contingency type of circumstantial element which expresses its concession to what is represented in the experiential centre of the clausal structure. The victorious outcome of the election on behalf of Temaru is construed as positive fact as opposed to the main message of the occurrence which depicts that Temaru's party was unable to obtain the majority of the seats in the election.

- Interpretation

The discursive patterns observed from the three newspapers differ in the way they portray Temaru's success in the election. *Le Monde*'s representation of the election is highly transitive which directly represents Temaru's success and Flosse's loss as a physical process. *Le Figaro* also represented this event in a transitive way. However, it was done in a less direct manner. The agency was generalised and Flosse did not feature as the affected participant of the event. As for the left-wing discourse formation, *la Libération* represented the event in a non-transitive way and exposed a pessimistic

outlook on the situation. It seems to be rather frustrated with the expected lack of effectiveness of Temaru's win in the election.

3.1.7. Event Seven: Overthrow of Flosse

- Description

At the time of the February by-elections, Flosse announced to the public that he would resign his position as president if he were unsuccessful in the election. However, he changed his mind about this and made a proposition to Temaru's party *UPLD* and to *ADN* led by Bouteau about uniting the parties and about working together in order to achieve the satisfaction of the entire population. They refused Flosse's offer and criticised him for failing to keep his promise. Although the centralist ADN made it clear that they would not form an alliance with either *UPLD* or Tahoeraa, Bouteau and the MP members of this party agreed to participate in the voting of the censure against Flosse.

- Observation

This event was an interest of the press media as there were ten articles from the corpus reporting on Flosse's downfall. *La Libération* provided three articles: one very short article, one short article and one very long one. There were five articles from *Le Monde* which were all moderately lengthy. Finally, *le Figaro* provided two articles: one moderately long article and a short article. In this analysis, the discursive constructions of the overthrow of Flosse were examined and it was found that they indicated responsibility in varying ways.

- Explanation

La Libération represents this event by using the material verb '*renverser*' in a receptive structure:

> (72) **Flosse** POURRAIT donc ÊTRE RENVERSÉ vendredi. (*La Libération*, 17 February 2005, 'Motion de censure déposée contre Flosse'.)

Flosse is the Goal participant of the process and he is placed in the theme position which gives him the focus attention. The receptive construction allows the Agent participant to be absent from the experiential centre of the representation, and in this case, the responsible participant is completely missing. The transitivity level is low in this representation.

Occurrence (73) is also from *la Libération* and it contains the same verb to represent the event:

> (73) **Le président de la Polynésie française** A ÉTÉ RENVERSÉ vendredi <u>par une motion de censure</u>, présentée par le leader indépendantiste Oscar Temaru. (*La Libération*, Le Goff, 19 February 2005, 'Gaston Flosse détrôné'.)

Like the previous occurrence, this clause structure is low in transitivity due to the receptive nature of the material process. However this time, agency is not completely avoided as it is represented as a circumstance. The goal participant '*le président de la Polynésie française*' occupies the theme position in the construction and the logical subject of the verb '*renverser*' is signified by the censure motion which is a non-human entity. The censure motion contained in the circumstance is modified by the adjunctive phrase '*présentée par…*' which illuminates Temaru's involvement with the censuring process.

Le Figaro's represents the event with a similar clausal structure as *la Libération*'s representations but it indicates agency of the main process in a clear manner:

(74)   Sauf revirement inattendu, **le sénateur UMP** DEVRAIT donc ÊTRE RENVERSÉ samedi <u>par l'assemblée</u>, qui devrait ensuite élire un nouveau président. (*Le Figaro*, 17 February 2005, 'Flosse face à la censure en Polynésie'.)

In (74), the entity which is responsible for Flosse's overthrow is the territorial assembly and this participant is placed as a circumstantial element which expresses the cause of the event. The representation of this event in this occurrence is anticipated by the circumstantial element which is placed in the theme position. This circumstance expresses the inevitability of the overthrowing process.

Another discursive construction of this event from the conservative newspaper can be observed in (75):

(75)   **Lequel** AVAIT ÉTÉ RENVERSÉ à son tour le 18 février <u>par un vote de défiance des représentants de l'Assemblée de Polynésie</u>... (*Le Figaro*, 17 February 2005, 'Flosse face à la censure en Polynésie'.)

Occurrence (75) is low in transitivity. The event is represented by the material verb '*renverser*' and again, it occurs in a receptive structure. The participant which is responsible for the overthrow is moved out of the experiential centre and is shown as a circumstance. The nominalised process '*un vote*' signifies the causal circumstance of the event.

Contrastingly, in *le Monde*, the level of transitivity is high in the following representation:

(76)   /Une motion de censure/, déposée à l'initiative du leader indépendantiste Oscar Temaru et examinée en moins de trois heures, A MIS FIN vendredi À **plus de deux décennies de "règne" du sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse en Polynésie française**. (*Le Monde*, 19 February 2005, 'Gaston Flosse renversé par une motion de censure'.)

The censure motion is a non-animate entity. However, it occupies the Agent role of the material process '*mettre fin à*'. The material process is a transitive variant and it occurs

in an operative construction which gives focus to the Agent which is the theme of this clause. The responsibility of the real, human agent, ie. Temaru, is lost through this discursive structure and is instead attributed to a non-animate entity, namely the censure motion. The Goal participant which is affected by the action denoted by the material process is the phrase '*plus de deux décennies de…*' which depicts the duration of Flosse's presidency. His past role as president of French Polynesia is depicted in a rather mocking manner and represents the censure motion as having a big impact on this latter. In other words, this occurrence represents the censure motion as being responsible for Flosse's downfall which is shown as a good outcome.

- Interpretation

Both the left-wing and the right-wing newspapers employ passive voicing to represent Flosse's overthrow. This reduces the transitivity level in the representation and portrays the event as a happening rather than an action. In one of *la Libération*'s occurrences, Temaru's responsibility in the Flosse's downfall is completely avoided. The second one also diminishes his responsibility by giving agency to the censure motion rather than directly to Temaru. On the other hand, *le Figaro* represents the Territorial Assembly as being the responsible entity in all its occurrences. *Le Monde* represents this event in a more transitive manner which emphasises the effectiveness of the overthrow. This newspaper assigns agency to the censure motion and shows it as solving a problem, namely Flosse's long reign as the president of French Polynesia.

3.1.8. Event Eight: Temaru Becomes Re-elected as President

- Description

As the outcome of the negotiations held in Paris, a bi-election was held on 13th February to re-elect the members of the Polynesian Assembly. This election did not seem to resolve the political dilemma in French Polynesia because it resulted in a tie between Temaru's party *UPLD* and *Tahoeraa* led by Flosse with 27 seats each. Moreover, Flosse broke his promise by refusing to step down from presidency which complicated the situation even further. Temaru's reaction was to file a censure motion against Flosse, and he was able to gain the support of the central party *ADN* in the voting of the censure. The censure motion was successful with 29 parliamentary votes in favour. With Flosse vacating the presidential office, it became possible to organise a presidential election. It was scheduled to take place on 4th March and, once again, Temaru was elected as the President of French Polynesia.

- Observation

As usual, the articles from *le Monde* outnumbered the articles written by the other two newspapers. *Le Monde* produced three articles while *la Libération* produced one. There were two articles from *Le Figaro*'s discourse. However, one of these articles was short in length. The election of Temaru as the president of French Polynesia is predominantly represented with a low level of transitivity in the clausal structure. Syntactic transformations such as nominalisation and receptive constructions are commonly used in the representations observed in this event analysis. The election is mostly presented as a 'happening' rather than an 'action'.

- Explanation

The discursive construction of this event in occurrence (77) demonstrates *le Monde*'s representation of Temaru being elected as president which is constructed with passive voicing.

> (77)   **Le chef indépendantiste Oscar Temaru** A ÉTÉ ÉLU, <u>vendredi 4 mars</u>, président de la Polynésie <u>par l'Assemblée territoriale</u> <u>au terme de dix mois de crise politique</u>, <u>succédant au sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse</u>, qui a régné durant plus de 20 ans sur ce territoire français du Pacifique. (*Le Monde*, 4 March 2005, 'L'Assemblée de Polynésie a élu Oscar Temaru à sa présidence'.)

The entity occupying the theme position ('*le chef indépendantiste…*') signifies Temaru who is the token participant of the process '*élire*'. Due to the presence of the adjective phrase '*président de la Polynésie*' and the receptive construction of the material process '*élire*', this verb serves the function of a relational process. Thus, this event is portrayed as a state of being on the part of Temaru, instead of being represented as a physical activity. The Territorial Assembly which is naturally the agent participant of the event is represented as a circumstantial element. Occurrence (77) contains three circumstantial elements which all indicate the temporal aspect of '*élire*'. Temaru's involvement in the election is even further diminished by the heavy loading of circumstantial elements in the clausal structure which makes the event seem static. According to Fowler, this type of syntactic configuration has a mitigating effect on participation. The following data is one of the examples presented in his analysis regarding a killing incident:

> *The jury at Stafford Crown Court was told that five-year-old John Shorthouse was hit in the heart from a distance of just nine inches during an early morning armed raid on his parents' Birmingham home. (Eastern Daily Press)*

He explains:

> *The openings of the reports themselves mitigate the accusation by noting that this is a statement of the prosecutor by the use of the passive voice and by wrapping it up in syntactic complexity by mentioning other circumstances.*
> (Fowler, 1991: 72)

The next occurrence has a similar syntactic configuration as occurrence (77):

> (78)   **M. Temaru**, 60 ans, chef de file de l'Union pour la démocratie (UPLD), A ÉTÉ ÉLU <u>devant son unique concurrent et candidat du Tahoeraa Huiratira (parti de M. Flosse)</u>. (*Le Monde*, 4 March 2005, 'L'Assemblée de Polynésie a élu Oscar Temaru à sa présidence'.)

Temaru is presented as the Goal participant of the verb '*élire*' which is depicted with passive voicing. Again Temaru occupies the theme position which gives him the focus attention, and the circumstantial element in this occurrence (see underlined) represents how the action took place. Although the event is situated in a receptive construction in this representation, unlike (77), the agency is not at all observable from this discursive construction. Through the use of passive voicing, the Agent entity is completely removed from the structure and not represented in the clause.

In occurrence (79), the event is syntactically transformed into a nominal entity.

> (79)   *L'élection du chef indépendantiste*, qui ouvre en Polynésie une troisième alternance en moins d'un an, **EST INTERVENUE** <u>après une longue période de tension qui a conduit au renversement, le 18 février par une motion de censure, de Gaston Flosse et de son gouvernement</u>. (*Le Monde*, 4 March 2005, 'L'Assemblée de Polynésie a élu Oscar Temaru à sa présidence'.)

The event of Temaru's election is nominalised in the above discursive construction and it plays the Actor role in the main process in the clause which is an intransitive verb, namely '*intervenir*'. Temaru is identified as the '*chef indépendantiste*' and his participation in the event is represented in a minor way, namely as part of the noun phrase which plays the Actor role. The circumstantial phrase which is underlined in occurrence (79) is a temporal circumstance which shows that the event took place after a difficult period during which Flosse was overthrown.

The occurrence below is again taken from *le Monde*'s discourse:

> (80) **L'annonce de l'élection de M. Temaru** A ÉTÉ SALUÉE <u>par des applaudissements et par de bruyants "taui roa" ("grand changement")</u>, cri de ralliement des partisans du chef indépendantiste. (*Le Monde*, 4 March 2005, 'L'Assemblée de Polynésie a élu Oscar Temaru à sa présidence'.)

In (80), the election process is nominalised and by doing so, it is made more abstract. The transitivity level is very low in this representation as the clausal structure is in a receptive form. The nominalised entity '*l'élection*' is the Goal participant which is the object affected by the process '*saluer*'. This verb is in the experiential centre of the occurrence but the Agent participant occurs outside this centre as circumstantial elements (*'des applaudissements'* and '*de bruyants "taui roa"*'). Overall, this occurrence displays a low level of transitivity which gives the representation a static quality.

In *Le Figaro*, active voicing is employed to represent Temaru's ascension to power (see occurrence (81)) which gives agency to Temaru:

> (81) /Le dirigeant indépendantiste/, qui avait assuré la présidence de cette collectivité de juin à octobre 2004, avant d'être renversé par une motion de censure, SUCCÈDE ainsi **au sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse**. (*Le Figaro*, Geisler, 4 March 2005, 'Oscar Temaru président'.)

Temaru is represented as the Agent participant of the discursive construction of this event. This syntactic arrangement depicts him as being the initiator of his own success and at the same time, it victimises Flosse as being affected by Temaru's actions. The transitivity level is high in the clausal structure because of the use of material process which is signified by the verb '*succéder*'. The agency present in the representation is further intensified by the operative structure which places the Agent participant in the theme position which gives this element more status.

La Libération adds a personal quality to the representation of Temaru's election as president by increasing the level of transitivity in the clause. See (82) and (83):

> (82) /Son élection/ à la présidence de l'Assemblée territoriale CLÔT **dix mois de crise**. (*La Libération*, Le Goff, 5 March 2005, 'intronisé, Temaru se pose en rassembleur'.)

(83)   /Cette élection/ VIENT COURONNER **le succès de l'UPLD** au scrutin
partiel du 13 février, et clore près de dix mois de crise politique. (*La
Libération*, Le Goff, 5 March 2005, 'intronisé, Temaru se pose en
rassembleur'.)

The nominal containing the process '*élire*' is an Agent participant which carries out the
ultimate role of finalising the Tahitian politial crisis. The nominal in the occurrences
(82) and (83) play the Agent role of the verbs '*clôtre*' and '*couronner*'. The transitivity
level is intensive because of the high agency and due to the presence of a material
process which is in an operative form.

- Interpretation

La Libération represents Temaru's election to presidency as a nominalised process and
assigns agency to this entity. It is seen as playing a part in the political situation of
French Polynesia. However, this newspaper demonstrates an impersonal approach to
representing the event and Temaru is not mentioned in the discursive structure. On the
contrary, *le Figaro*'s constructs this event in an individuated and transitive manner. The
sentence structure gives focus to Temaru as the Actor as well as the theme of the clause.

This newspaper's representation may suggest that Temaru's victory is less valued from
the right-wing political perspective. Finally, *le Monde*'s representation is very detailed
and uses diverse linguistic techniques to portray the event. As in *la Libération*, the event
is represented in the form of a nominal. However, in *le Monde*, the nominalised events
also serve as Goal participants. *Le Monde* demonstrates a moderate stance in the
representation of this event.

3.1.9. Conclusion

The analysis carried out in Section 3.1. revealed that different types of newspapers, specifically, *le Figaro, la Libération* and *le Monde,* do indeed convey some subjectivity in the discursive structure at a clausal level. Depending on the political perspective of the newspaper, certain political figures or activities are treated more sympathetically in the linguistic representation of eventualities. This was clearly demonstrated by the three French newspapers as each encoded their ideological beliefs and values in the writing of the news on French Polynesia's controversial transitions of government during 2004 and 2005.

The discourse formations constructing each major event which took place during the political crisis in French Polynesia unveiled distinct linguistic choices made at the clausal level which conveyed certain ideologies of the newspapers. The configuration of transitivity in the linguistic structure of representations provided a general picture of how that newspaper perceives the crisis and also revealed what ideological implications are embedded in the choices made.

The first event selected in the corpus concerned the election of 15th June, when the local Assembly voted for Oscar Temaru, a leader of the pro-independence party, as the new President of French Polynesia. In the left-wing discourse formation, *la Libération*, the election of Temaru is constructed as a pretext for other happenings. This event is shown as creating possibilities which gives the representation an optimistic quality regarding Tahiti's political transition. In this newspaper, Temaru's election is constructed outside the experiential centre in both representations of this event. The first occurrence shows the election as a circumstance which is instrumental to the activity signified by the main verb of the clausal structure. So the election is enabling Polynesia to enter a new phase, a new beginning. *La Libération* perceives the election as the result of the big shift undergone by the whole of French Polynesia. The second occurrence also represents the election in the same manner as a circumstantial element. It indicates the temporal circumstance of the action signified by the main verb which is about Temaru making a

promise and which is represented as taking place as soon as the election occurs. The election is therefore seen as triggering Temaru to act that way, promising to put an end to Flosse's bad ways. On the other hand, the conservative press discourse formation portrays this event in the experiential centre of the whole clause which is low in transitivity due to the receptive presentation of the material process *élire*. A lot of information is hidden, such as the participant who is agentive to the activity. The whole representation is static and the election is portrayed as having no effect. As for *le Monde*, this newspaper gives a lot of attention to Temaru in the representation. Like *le Figaro*'s representation, the election is shown as a static reality. However more circumstantial details are given to the representation which makes the election seem more plausible.

In the second event analysis, the left-wing press discourse formation showed Temaru's downfall as taking place at a hectic time and emphasises the briefness of Temaru's presidency which is caused by this overthrow. This newspaper is also very explicit about the people responsible for Temaru's downfall by assigning agency to Flosse and Paris in the linguistic constructions of this event. This analysis reveals *La Libération*'s support for Temaru and how this newspaper is critical of Chirac's government for abusing power and democratic values. The conservative newspaper sees this situation in a totally different way. This discourse formation constructs the downfall as if it is instigated by Temaru alone. The conservative newspaper perceived this event differently and this is reflected in the configuration of transitivity in the clause. Temaru was shown as the logical subject of the material process *tomber* which concealed Flosse's agency. Again, *Le Monde* represented this event with a wide range of syntactic options.

The third event analysis which was about the protest was depicted as being people-oriented in the left-wing newspaper. The representations of the protest in *la Libération* were more focused on the activity of the protest and constructed this process as intransitive material processes with the Actors as the people of French Polynesia. Furthermore, this newspaper made extensive use of relational process to describe the local people of French Polynesia who took part in the protest. The attributive elements were signified by words associated with people's state of mind and their physical appearance as well as identities. *Le Figaro*'s account of the event represented the protest

in a totally different way. Through nominalisation, the protest was constructed as an object rather than an activity. In both occurrences from the conservative discourse formations, the nominalised entities representing the event played the role of the Goal participant of the main verb in the clausal structure. *Le Monde* represented the protest in a similar manner to *la Libération* except that in *le Monde*, the motives of the protest were clearly stated. This newspaper also illustrated the protest as a potential threat to maintaining good civil order and as disturbing a peaceful state of society.

The third event analysis also included the study of how the newspapers represented the socialists' involvement in the protest. *La Libération* represented this incident as a circumstance which describes the metropolitan socialist politicians as being in company of Temaru. *Le Monde* represented this event as a verbal process which exhibited a favourable relationship between Temaru who is the Sayer and the socialists who occupy the Receiver role of the process '*remercier*'. As for *Le Figaro*'s representation of the same incident, the Socialists' involvement in the protest was constructed in a more explicit way. The conservative discourse formation gave more focus to the socialists as agents of a highly transitive clausal structure and Temaru was not part of the representation. The main verb of this construction depicted these politicians travelling to Tahiti and the circumstantial element stated their purpose of going there which was to take part in the protest. *La Libération* displays the involvement of the socialist politicians in the Tahitian affair in a more discrete manner than *le Monde* which represents this incident by indicating their relationship with the pro-independence leader, and much more than *le Figaro* which reveals the agency and responsibility of the socialists.

The analysis of event four was concerned with the representation of Temaru planning to undertake a fast. This activity was portrayed as a verbal process in all three newspapers which depicted Temaru as simply announcing his plan to undertake a fasting. However, there were slight linguistic differences in the configuration of the experience. *La Libération* portrayed Temaru's government as the Sayer who called the local population of Tahiti, which was represented as the Receiver, to undergo a fast which was the Verbiage of the verbal process. This representation was inclusive of the local people and

the whole government. *Le Monde*'s construction of this event was more individuated. Temaru was the Sayer of the verbal process and the Verbiage indicated the fasting project. Other participants involved in the event were shown as a circumstance rather than inside the experiential core of the representation. In the conservative press discourse, this event was constructed as something which happened among a disruptive crowd. It points to several members of Temaru's political party as the Sayer of the verbal process representing the event, and the circumstances used in the clause constructs a setting which sheds a negative light on the affair.

The analysis of event five showed that in the newspapers' discursive constructions of the meeting in Paris, the participants were configured in distinct ways. *Le Figaro* established a social hierarchy which emphasised Girardin's authority while placing the Tahitians as less significant elements of the clausal structure. The socialist newspaper demonstrated the opposite, destroying such hierarchy. Here, the Tahitian leaders were shown as actors who contributed in the negotiations in their own right. As for *le Monde*'s representation, all the participants are clearly depicted in the clause and the event was constructed in a detailed way with many circumstantial elements. Backgrounding Girardin's agency in the syntactic structure has the effect of making the meeting seem more productive. The representation of Girardin's authoritive role of summoning the two Polynesian leaders is textually constructed to a varying degree in the newspapers. In the occurrences from *Le Figaro*, active voicing is used to express the transtive material verb which has Girardin occupying the Agent role and from this construction, a power hierarchy can be observed because Girardin is shown as acting upon the Tahitian leaders. On the other hand, *la Libération* uses an intransitive process to represent the meeting of the two leaders without mentioning Girardin in the clause. *Le Monde* acknowledges Girardin's role as a controlling figure but it does not give this too much focus because it occurs as an adjunctive element. Flosse's departure from the meeting was shown as an escape and as an irresponsible act in the discourse formation of *le Monde* and *la Libération*. However, in the right-wing newspaper's account, Flosse acts is shown as justifiable by providing cause and reason circumstances in the same clausal structure. In this fashion, the conservative press shows its support for the pro-France leader while he is not so positively represented in the other two newspapers.

In the sixth event analysis, *le Monde* portrayed Temaru's victory of the February elections in highly transitive structures which emphasised Temaru winning the election. *Le Figaro* also represented this event in a highly transitive way. However, this newspaper did not illustrate any sympathy for Temaru because his success does not feature as part of the experiential centre. Surprisingly, *la Libération*'s representation of this event was rather pessimistic. Nevertheless, this newspaper clearly indicated its favouritism of Temaru. The result of the election was constructed with Temaru's success backgrounding the fact that a clear majority was not drawn. This representation gave the impression of complaining at the same time, it revealed the left-wing newspaper's disappointment towards a not so decisive win on Temaru's side.

Th analysis of Event Seven is concerned with Flosse's downfall and this event is comparable to Event Two which is about Temaru's downfall. The incident of Flosse being overthrown by the censure motion is represented with a low level of transitivity by the left-wing discourse formation. The clause was constructed in an attempt to conceal agency, whereas the same newspaper exemplified agency when representing Temaru's downfall. In the conservative newspaper, Flosse's downfall was represented with more explicit reference to the responsible participant, but in the representation of Temaru's downfall, *le Figaro* employed an intransitive material to conceal responsibility. As for *le Monde*'s construction of the event, it represented the overthrow as a direct and physical event, and seemed to portray Flosse's overthrow as a good thing. *Le Monde* represents the overthrow by representing Temaru as the Actor, but this newspaper also portrays him as a victim in another occurrence. Again, *Le Monde* is more flexible with the linguistic construction of the crisis which does not position it as being more (or less) sympathetic towards Temaru.

In the final event analysis, *le Monde*'s discursive construction of Temaru's election to the presidency for the second time was loaded with circumstances. *Le Figaro* depicted this event in a highly transitive clausal structure which showed Temaru as doing something to Flosse, which victimised the latter. As for the socialist perspective, this newspaper represented the election as resolving problems. *La Libération* represented the

event as a nominalised entity which was given agency in the representation. The re-election of Temaru to presidency was therefore shown as being productive and as a driving force for French Polynesia to actively initiate a new start.

La Libération demonstrated the left-wing perspective in representing Tahiti's recent crisis. This newspaper's representation of the events in the crisis had a more down to earth style which seemed to include the local people as main participants of the representations most of the time. The events were represented as being created by or associated with human agency. Moreover, the representations explicitly exposed the French government's involvement in the Tahitian political struggles. In sum, the linguistic structure of *La Libération*'s discourse reflects its democratic motives and its valuing of people as it maintains a people-focus to the representations. This newspaper also breaks down the social/power hierarchy which is perceptible in the representations of participants in clause structures.

Le Monde constructed the events of Tahiti's political crisis in an intellectual manner which challenged the readers to think about the affair at the political level. Most of *le Monde*'s discursive structures are loaded with circumstantial elements which give a range of details about the main event being depicted in the clause. This showed the tendency of this newspaper to build a holistic picture of what is happening in the discourse.

Le Figaro maintained a conservative outlook and in many places was able to hide the agency of the metropolitan government which imposed power and influenced the political situation in Tahiti. This was achieved by omitting or syntactically backgrounding Agent participants. Such constructions revealed that subjectivity can arise from not only what is shown in the discursive construction but, also, by what is not represented in the clause. Imbalance in power relations was clearly reflected in some clausal structures where the more powerful figures assumed agentive roles while the less powerful were affected by the actions.

3.2. Micro-analysis of Participants

In this part of the chapter, a micro-analysis will be conducted to make a final observation of how these three newspapers view the political crisis of French Polynesia. This micro-analysis will observe how the main participants of the crisis are linguistically mapped in the clausal structure in an attempt to reinforce the previous findings. These participants are- Temaru, Flosse and the French government- and each of them will be analysed separately. This analysis will assess the newspapers' attitudes and outlook on the situation in French Polynesia and expose whether they view certain participants in a more sympathetic way than others.

The first two participants examined in the analysis are Temaru and Flosse who will be observed through relational processes which are employed to represent them. Next, the French government will be examined within the representations made by the use of verbal processes and the representation of President Chirac will be also studied in this section. The focus on verbal or relational process types in the analysis of these participants results from the newspapers' tendencies and the wide availability of data which represents them in such ways. Some of the occurrences which are used in this analysis have already been used to illustrate the linguistic patterns identified in the event analysis, however in the following sections, they will serve as examples of different linguistic features.

3.2.1. Representation of Oscar Temaru

This research has selected the two most prominent figures in the Tahitian crisis, namely Temaru and Flosse, to be studied in the micro-analysis. It will decipher how the three newspapers have represented the two men through relational processes which will reveal

the different approaches taken to construct and project their image of Temaru and Flosse.

Oscar Temaru is one of the two prominent figures in the recent political crisis in French Polynesia. As a pro-independence leader, he sought more political power for his party in the government and as the result of the May elections in 2004, he was able to obtain a majority of the seats in the Territorial Assembly. Despite Flosse's manoeuvres and the Metropolitan intervention to restore Flosse's authority, Temaru continued to stand by his people's wish to have him as the president of French Polynesia.

La Libération is unique compared to *le Monde* and *le Figaro* because it characterises Temaru more thoroughly by employing attributional relational process. A similar case can be noted in *la Libération*'s choice of words for labelling Temaru and Flosse: it is much more descriptive and personal than the other two newspapers. Despite the substantial quantity of *le Monde*'s articles in the corpus, this newspaper only offered a limited number of instances in which relational processes were used to represent Temaru. Likewise, *le Figaro* had very few relational processes which were associated with Temaru. *Le Monde* makes a connection between Temaru and the presidential role through the identifying relational process:

> (84)   Le président du Tavini, le mouvement indépendantiste polynésien, Oscar Temaru, 59 ans, a été choisi, lundi 14 juin, par ses pairs de la nouvelle assemblée locale, […] <u>pour devenir le premier "président de la Polynésie française"</u>'. (*Le Monde*, 16 June 2004)

The relational process *devenir* makes a link between two separate entities A and B. It is very similar to the process '*être*'. However, unlike identifying relative processes, the token and value of attributional processes cannot be reversed without losing its sense. While the phrase *'le premier "président de la Polynésie française" est Temaru'* makes perfect sense, it is semantically ambiguous to say *'le premier "président de la Polynésie française" est devenu Temaru'*.

Thus, *le Monde* does not identify Temaru as president in the same sense as the verb '*être*', but in the sense of '*devenir*' which characterises him as a future president. Moreover, the inverted commas indicate the paradox of the situation which could be a signal that *le Monde* senses some uncertainty regarding the political transition in Tahiti. Furthermore, the event of Temaru becoming the president of French Polynesia is syntactically peripheral in the clausal structure. The identifying relational process '*devenir*' appears inside an adjunctive clause in an infinitive form. The main clause denotes Temaru being chosen by the Assembly as a presidential candidate but, by placing '*devenir*' outside the main clause, this newspaper may be indicating that there is a step which Temaru must take in order to actually become a president.

The relational process representing Temaru as the president of French Polynesia is an infinitive verb which makes the message seem more abstract. In (87), the relational process '*devenir*' is in infinitive form and due to the a-temporal character of this verb, the event is not seen to take place in real space or in real time. Overall, the relational process in this newspaper has the role of identifying Temaru as president, however, this is achieved in an intangible manner, making this piece of knowledge seem less significant.

The use of relational processes in *la Libération* produces a different portrayal of Temaru from *le Monde*. The socialist newspaper employs the relational process to display attributional qualities of Temaru. *Libération* uses various styles of relational processes-identifying, possessive, attributional- to characterise Temaru with particular qualities. These relational processes define Temaru's personality and his background which presents him as a human being as well as a politician.

> (85)   Comme beaucoup de Polynésiens, /le leader indépendantiste/ A **une foi protéiforme**. (*La Libération*, Hassoux, 27 October 2004, 'Pour Temaru, "jeûner fait partie de son sacrifice"')

> (86)   Chez lui, à Faaa, /Temaru/ EST RESTÉ **serein**, discret et souvent seul. (*La Libération*, Le Goff, 15 February 2005, 'La victoire amère de Temaru'.)

(87)   /Lui/ RESTE **prudent**, et dit attendre les résultats définitifs. Avec raison. (Le Goff, *La Libération*, 15 February 2005, 'La victoire amère de Temaru'.)

In *le Figaro*, the relational processes which represent Temaru do not feature as frequently as in *le Monde* and *la Libération*, and are not related to Temaru's character, but instead, are associated with conditions.

(88)   Comme le prévoient les statuts de la Polynésie, /le gouvernement Temaru/ A en effet **quinze jours** pour expédier les affaires courante**s.** (Geisler, *Le Figaro*, 11 October 2004, 'Le gouvernement Temaru renversé')

In this occurrence, Temaru is represented with a possessive relational process which portrays him as having fifteen days to do something. Unlike identifying or attributional relational process, this process does not describe a stable characteristic of Temaru.

3.2.2. Representation of Gaston Flosse

Surprisingly, there are more relational processes which represent Flosse than Temaru in *le Monde*. However, the ones that do occur are critical and portray Flosse in a negative light. It is the opposite case for *la Libération* as there are hardly any occurrences of relational processes associated with Flosse. In *le Figaro*, there are a couple of instances of relational processes representing Flosse which represent him in a rather positive way. *Le Figaro*'s representation of Flosse are as follows:

(89)   Certes, /Gaston Flosse/ SEMBLE **avoir gagné** sur le plan du droit. (*Le Figaro*, 26 November 2004, 'Temaru poursuit le bras de fer')

This relational process establishes a connection between Flosse and his standing in the political situation. The attribute denotes a condition.

(90)   /Gaston Flosse/ EST « **fiu** », comme disent les Polynésiens. (Geisler, *Le Figaro*, 30 November 2004, 'Gaston Flosse rompt les négociations avec Oscar Temaru')

Again, this process represents a condition, but this time, it is more associated with the physical and mental condition of Flosse. The expression '*fiu*' is used to describe a certain weariness or frustration.

While the discourse formation of *le Figaro* constructs a rather positive view of Flosse, *le Monde* chooses to present him in a more negative manner. The attributive entities in *le Monde*'s discursive constructions reveal this newspaper's suspicions regarding Flosse's actions. The use of relational processes above demonstrate a negative judgment made by this newspaper against Flosse which is evident in the occurrences analysed in this section. Observe sentence (91):

(91)   /M. Flosse/, qui affirme avoir "compris la leçon" des élections du 23 mai et qui promet de se soumettre "dans un an" à un vote de confiance de l'Assemblée territoriale, N'EST PAS **décidé** à relever le gant et à accepter ce retour aux urnes. (*Le Monde*, 26 October 2004, 'Affaiblis sur le plan juridique, les indépendantistes de Polynésie cherchent à gagner du temps')

Unlike the uses of attributive relational process which were observed in the analysis, this particular occurrence employs this process type to make a judgment upon what Flosse *does* or *does not* do. The negation expresses something that is *not* the case and in occurrence (91), the Carrier element contains an ideological assumption about what Flosse should be doing which is to accept the holding of another election. Likewise, in the following occurrence, the relational process concerns Flosse's behaviour:

(92)   En dépit de son échec de dimanche 13 février, /celui-ci [Flosse]/ N'EST, en effet, PAS **tenu** d'abandonner ses fonctions. (*Le Monde*, 17 February 2005)

In this sentence, the word '*tenu*' is associated with Flosse's behaviour which shows his failure to resign his position as promised.

The relational process in sentence (93) is also critical of Flosse's state of mind:

> (93)   Face à ces attaques et à l'appel lancé à la population par M. Temaru pour soutenir sa protestation, /M. Flosse/ NE SEMBLE PAS, pour le moment, **prêt** à utiliser la force pour s'installer dans le palais présidentiel. (*Le Monde*, 27 October 2004)

In the above occurrence, the adjective '*prêt*' is the value participant which is attributed to Flosse via the relational process '*sembler*'. As for the following occurrence, the adjective '*mécontent*' is the attributive element associated with Flosse.

> (94)   Le parti de M. Flosse assure n'être pour rien dans le conflit, mais /il/ N'EST PAS **mécontent** de voir le nouveau gouvernement au pied du mur. (*Le Monde*, 27 March 2005)

The attributive element '*mécontent*' exposes a state of being of Flosse's party which is described as being keen to see Temaru's government defeated. In this occurrence, *le Monde* evaluates Flosse's state of mind which makes him blameable for the action represented in the underlined phrase.

In occurrence (95), the main process depicted in the clause is the phrasal verb '*faire suite à*' which can be interpreted as a material process:

> (95)   *Ce changement de dénomination* FAIT suite à la réforme du statut d'autonomie de cet ancien territoire, devenu "pays d'outre-mer", voulue par M. Flosse et adoptée par le Parlement en février. (*Le Monde*, 16 June 2004, 'Repères')

It is an intransitive process as there is no Goal participant indicated. This process is presented in an operative construction with the nominalised noun phrase '*ce changement de dénomination*' as the Actor participant. The relative clause '*voulue par…*' modifies the noun '*la réforme*'. This adjunctive element states a cause relating to French Polynesia's change of status in which a mental process is used to represent Flosse's state

of mind. However in this case, the verb is directly associated with him and the upgrading of French Polynesia's status is placed in the theme position. By including this information, the representation exposes highly official and important administrative changes such as the change in the status of autonomy in French Polynesia as being linked to Flosse's emotions and as an object of his desire. The next adjunctive phrase which is parallel to the latter is headed by '*adoptée*'. This element signifies the metropolitan parliament is responsible for allowing the change in status which, in this occurrence, satisfies Flosse's inner state of being. In the meanwhile, this change in the status of Tahiti or the island's wishes for more autonomy and independence are not mentioned at all in *le Figaro*. As for *le Monde*, this newspaper shows Flosse as directly associated with the reform and in *la Libération*, the latter issue is discussed on numerous occasions although it seems to be ambivalent about it.

3.2.3. Representation of the French Government

In *le Monde*, verbal processes that represent the French involvement in the affair is constructed as Temaru's conception of the French government.

> (96)   /Le président du gouvernement renversé/ A aussitôt DÉNONCE **une "manoeuvre" de Paris**. (*Le Monde*, 10 October 2004, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

The Verbiage entity which is placed within the quotation marks is given special status. The meaning associated with this element is not integrated into the meaning of the overall clause structure. *Le Monde* distances itself from Temaru's claims which are rather strong.

> (97)   /Le dirigeant indépendantiste/ ACCUSE **Paris d'avoir menacé de réduire les subventions de l'Etat central à la Polynésie**. (*Le Monde*, 10

October 2004, 'Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru')

Here, the Sayer is not sending the Verbiage message to the Receiver, but instead, it is making a statement *about* the receiver. This is significant because the verbal process exposes what Paris has done and not what is said to Paris. Occurrence (97) and the following occurrence demonstrate *le Monde*'s tendency to be sceptical about the events in the representation.

(98)   Mais /le leader indépendantiste/ ACCUSE **Paris d'avoir manœuvré pour remettre Gaston Flosse au pouvoir**. (*Le Monde*, 17 October 2004, 'Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale'.)

Again, in (98), the verbal process does not involve direct communication which could be indicating that Temaru is not powerful enough to impose on the French government. This may elude a social hierarchy which situates *Paris* at a higher position than Temaru who is signified by the label, '*le leader indépendantiste*', and also higher than '*les électeurs polynésiens*'.

(99)   /Paris/ A VALIDÉ hier **la censure du gouvernement indépendantiste d'Oscar Temaru**, en choisissant de ne pas convoquer les électeurs polynésiens. (*La Libération*, Didier, 13 October 2004, 'Paris bénit le coup de force de "Papa Flosse"'.)

The participant roles in this discourse construction reflect a certain relationship of social power. More important social individuals are often mapped on to the transitivity configuration as occupying agentive positions. Similarly, the clausal structure in (100) may present a certain hierarchy between the participants involved.

(100)   /Le juge des référés/ A en effet REJETÉ **deux requêtes de M. Temaru demandant la suspension de la motion de censure qui l'a renversé le 9 octobre**. (*Le Monde*, José-Alain Fralon, 19 October 2004, 'Le chaudron tahitien'.)

In this sentence, *Le juge des référés* is the logical subject of the verbal process. The allocation of agency to the judge figure emphasises his power. The verb *rejeter* has

elements of a material process as it entails a certain degree of action which gives the representation a somewhat higher intensity in transitivity.

La Libération takes this further by not only representing the same entity more explicitly, but also by specifying to whom the authority is exercised. In occurrence (101), Temaru is shown as the Receiver participant of the verbal process *ordonner*, and the Goal participant of the material process *soumettre*. Due to the presence of the Receiver, the transitivity level is high in this representation. Note the underlined elements below:

> (101) Hier, /le juge des référés du Conseil d'Etat/ A ORDONNE à **Oscar Temaru de "libérer (sous 72 heures) les locaux de la présidence" qu'il continue à occuper avec les siens depuis son renversement**. /Il/ **le** SOUMET à payer une astreinte de 300 euros par jour de retard, mais mandate surtout Brigitte Girardin pour "pourvoir à l'exécution" de son ordonnance. (*La Libération*, Guiral, 26 November 2004, 'Chirac sort de son silence'.)

The discursive structure in the left-wing newspaper manifests the French government as the powerful body which exercises authority over the Tahitian leader. The processes in the above passage embody how power is exercised upon Temaru by an authoritative figure in the French State Council.

In occurrence (102), *Le Figaro* represents Chirac's intervention as a mental process:

> (102) /Jacques Chirac/ SOUHAITE **qu'un accord « puisse intervenir sous les auspices » du ministre de l'Outre-Mer** à l'issue des négociations actuellement en cours à Paris. (Geisler, *Le Figaro*, 26 November 2004, 'Chirac recommande un accord')

This clausal structure formed by the right-wing newspaper demonstrates its sympathetic attitude towards president Chirac. *Le Figaro*'s support for Chirac is evident in the way this newspaper has used the mental process to represent Chirac's involvement in Tahiti's political affair. The mental process signifies the inner experience of someone, in this case of Chirac, who is the Senser participant of the process represented by the verb '*souhaiter*'. This verb reveals Chirac's positive attitude towards something good which

is indicated by the Phenomenon participant, namely the complementary phrase '*qu'un accord…*'.

La Libération represents Chirac's involvement through the use of a mental process. However, as evident from the following occurrence, the material type is also used to construct Chirac's involvement in the crisis. The processes associated with Chirac are marked in small capitals:

> (103)   Sur le fond, rien de bien original, si ce n'est que c'était la première fois que le Président s'exprimait sur la Polynésie. Un dossier qu'il CONNAIT sur le bout des doigts <u>en raison de sa proximité avec le sénateur UMP Gaston Flosse</u>, lequel a renversé l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru début octobre. Depuis un mois et demi, l'Elysée et Matignon observaient un mutisme complet sur cette crise, laissant la seule Brigitte Girardin au front. Hier, *Jacques Chirac* S'EST aussi TRAHI en faisant état de ses "derniers entretiens [...] avec le président Flosse". Même si ces conversations relèvent du secret de polichinelle, /elles/ TRADUISENT **à quel point le Président s'implique dans le casse-tête polynésien**. (Guiral, *La Libération*, 26 November 2004, 'Chirac sort de son silence')

The left-wing press discourse formation exposes Chirac's involvement with the Tahitian political situation in a critical manner. The mental verb '*connaître*', which is associated with Chirac who is portrayed as the Senser participant, describes how much Chirac knows about the situation. Through the employment of circumstances, this clausal structure gives the reason why Chirac knows about the Phenomenon, namely his proximity to Flosse. The next process which configures the representation of Chirac is the verb '*se trahir*'. This occurrence depicts the newspaper's suspicion of Chirac by illustrating how he betrayed himself by exploiting his close relationship with Flosse. The final sentence of the above extract also represents Chirac's involvement in a negative way. The main verb constituting the experiential centre of this clausal structure is '*traduire*' and the Goal participant which is '*à quel point…*' shows how much Chirac is involved in the Tahitian affair.

3.2.4. Conclusion

The second part of the analysis which concerned the French press's representation of Temaru, Flosse and the French government showed how *le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération* viewed these participants by revealing the way these participants were mapped in the clausal structure. Through the study of relational processes which were associated with Temaru and Flosse, identification and judgment about each of these Tahitian leaders was examined in three discursive formations. *Le Monde* attributed the identity of being a president to Temaru who was represented as the token of the relational process, but this experience was constructed outside the experiential centre of the clausal structure with an infinitive verb. This syntactic configuration made Temaru's appointment as the new president seem like a less definite actuality. The relational processes which are used by the socialist newspaper to represent Temaru serve to characterise him. The attributive elements assigned to Temaru are mostly positive words which portray his personal qualities. On the other hand, the relational processes which represented Temaru were rare in the conservative press discourse and where it was found, the occurrence did not relate to him as a person, but instead, it described the condition in which he had to deliver a certain action. From these observations, one was able to draw conclusions about the newspaper's attitude towards Temaru. *La Libération* demonstrated its sensitivity to Temaru as it displayed his human qualities in the discursive structure while *le Figaro* did not represent them at all. *Le Monde* represented Temaru as the president in a static way.

The next participant examined in the micro-analysis was Flosse and relational processes associated with this participant were studied. In the analysis of Temaru, *la Libération* confirmed this newspaper's tendency to construct discourse with a people-focus, however it was not always the case because there were no such representations of Flosse. This could be an indication of *la Libération*'s political viewpoint which sees Temaru in a more favourable light than Flosse. *Le Monde*'s discourse consisted of many relational processes associated with Flosse. However, these processes represented Flosse

in a critical manner. In almost all cases, the relational processes were attributional and critical of Flosse's actions and his state of mind. Finally, in the conservative newspaper, Flosse is represented in a more concerned manner, for example, when it exposed Flosse's frustration with the situation in Tahiti.

The third micro-analysis examined the verbal processes which depicted the French government. The verbal process constructed a relationship between participants who were mapped in the clausal structure. In *le Monde*, there were several occurrences which constructed Temaru as the Sayer, the metropolitan government as the Receiver and Paris' involvement in the crisis was represented as the verbiage. This construction represented Temaru's resentment towards the action of metropolitan government which was discursively placed as a conceptual fact. In *la Libération*'s discursive structure, the French government always figured as the powerful participant whose action had some impact on other entities. A power hierarchy was thus established which exposed the authority of the French government whose action was linguistically constructed as a process in the experiential centre of the representation. *Le Figaro* did not represent the French government as participants in the configuration of verbal processes in their discourse and this meant that the conservative news construction avoided exposing responsibilities, actions and contributions of the French government in the political turmoil experienced in Tahiti.

Studying the news discourse was useful in seeing how the different French newspapers construe Tahiti's crisis in relation to their own subjectivity. Individuals involved in the affair are linguistically mapped as playing certain roles and at times, they are not constructed in the clausal structure. From this, one can assume what responsibilities the newspapers have attempted to hide and the motivations for doing so. The different discourse formations present the events in different linguistic structures and this revealed whether they share the same point of view or whether they represent the situation with a completely different approach which betrays their subjectivity and style. Due to the limited number of occurrences found in the corpus, a strong conclusion could not be drawn from this micro-analysis of participants. However, this type of analysis could be developed further in other research.

CONCLUSION

In this research, the CDA framework was used to carried out an analysis on the French press's representation of the political crisis which took place in French Polynesia during 2004-2005. The main objective of this research was to discover the linguistic features which reflect the subjective nature of French newspapers and to identify the ideologies conveyed in the representation of Tahiti's recent political crisis. This research investigated the discourse of major French national daily newspapers *le Figaro, Le Monde* and *Libération* which provided different perspectives of the Tahitian crisis. While most people consider *le Monde* as a centre-left newspaper, *Libération* is perceived as a left-wing newspaper and *le Figaro* as a conservative, right-wing newspaper. Due to this political diversity, each newspaper presented the account of the political affair in different ways which was noted in the linguistic form and structure of their discursive formations. This study evaluated the modern viewpoints of French press discourse formations towards their former colonial territory.

Foucault's idea on subjectivity in discourse was used in this research within the framework of CDA and helped to decipher the institutional ideologies hidden behind the linguistic representation of Tahiti's recent political crisis. The linguistic structure of the representations was studied within the framework of CDA and by using some of the methods drawn from Halliday's model of systemic-functional grammar. Various methods established in Fairclough's work enabled the analytic component of this thesis to explore the corpus discourse with a specific set of linguistic tools. The analysis showed how each newspaper discursively reconstructed the events and deciphered the clausal structures which illustrated some correlation between linguistic functions and social ideologies. The analysis also revealed the tendency of each newspaper to map the major participants onto the discursive structure in different ways which demonstrated the newspapers' standpoint regarding these social relations.

Halliday's theory on functional grammar offered effective tools for analysing the press discourse on Tahiti's recent crisis. His book on systemic-functional grammar proved to be a useful reference to identify the function of language in actual discourse. The analysis examined mainly the ideational component of clausal structures constructed by the newspapers to represent how they construe the Tahitian crisis. The analysis employed the theoretical model which explores transitivity as a tool of representing inner and outer world experiences. By analysing the type of process, participants and circumstances which construct the event within the clausal structure, it was possible to understand how the three newspapers categorised the experience to project it in their way. It exposed the impartial limits of linguistic representations and how this correlates with linguistic choices and subjectivity of the newspapers. It also demonstrated how a certain intensity or configuration of transitivity in the clausal structure could establish a connection between language and social subjectivity.

Akin to CDA studies which aim to demonstrate how language and society constitute each other, this research aspired to show the correlation between the French press discourse and the political crisis in Tahiti. It observed the grammatical configuration of the discursive representation of the selected events. This framework enabled the research to conduct a linguistically focused analysis. Fairclough's 'textual' methods of analysis proved to be especially valuable for the empirical analysis, especially the representation of social actors through syntactic transformations and the construal of transitivity. By defining semantic roles occupied by certain elements, it drew attention to how agency is explicitly shown in some sentences while it is deliberately hidden in others. The analysis also showed that alternating the transitive level of the clause can have a considerable effect on the overall representation of an event or concept. Particular social actors were exempted from responsibility in the event represented when they were syntactically eliminated from the clause structure by means nominalisation or passive voicing. Conversely, when discourse represented certain social actors as Agents, they were semantically assigned powerful roles.

The analysis demonstrated each newspaper's perspective regarding the Tahitian crisis and the linguistic structure of the press articles exposed various differences in the

representation of the events which were possible indications of the political character of the newspapers. This illustrated how the newspaper's subjective values correlate to the discursive representation of the political crisis in French Polynesia. A deeper understanding of how the French press views the Tahitian situation was gained from this research.

The socialist press tended to construct the events of Tahiti's recent political crisis as being associated with human agency. This gave the sense that people rather than the event are the focus of the news content, and that the event is a consequence or consequential to other happenings which are presented in the clause. This newspaper constructed the reality as a sequence of happenings manipulated by people who are always at the experiential centre of discourse construction. It gave character to all individuals that are involved in the events (i.e. the local Tahitian people) and the representations left openings for more possibilities. *La Libération*'s representation of the Tahitian crisis has indicated its sympathetic support for Temaru and a caring interest in this newly emerging 'pays d'outre-mer'. The descriptive and people-oriented nature of *la Libération*'s discourse formation revealed its subjectivity and an optimistic attitude towards the situation in Tahiti. The left-wing press discourse is constructed in a way which shows its support for Temaru's rise to power and it reveals this newspaper's expectations for more things to happen in Tahiti.

On the contrary, the world which *le Figaro* has represented through discourse seemed to be more flat and of a fixed nature. Most clausal constructions had a static and abstract feel due to the lack of transitivity in the discursive structure. Moreover, this newspaper has demonstrated its likelihood to conceal agency. This had a de-humanising effect which is an opposite characteristic to the socialist representations. *Le Figaro* avoided representing the Tahitian people as being part of the situation and managed to suppress the responsibility of the French government in the conflict. Nonetheless, the authority of the French government was clearly indicated in the representations which conformed to this newspaper's nationalistic disposition. This newspaper also portrayed Chirac in a positive and an intimate manner. *Le Figaro* often took the side of the pro-French leader, Flosse, in the representations in that his actions were viewed in a positive light and that

Temaru's success in the political situation was not prominently featured. The linguistic constructions of the Tahitian conflict were factual and aloof in this discourse formation which demonstrated the dispassionate subjectivity of *le Figaro* which represented the crisis in a narrow way.

Le Monde, as a prestigious newspaper known for its serious quality and substantiality, delivered the news on Tahiti in an intellectually engaging manner. *Le Monde* seemed to take Tahiti's political matters seriously and perceived each event through a critical eye. This newspaper's construction of the events of Tahiti's political crisis revealed its scepticism towards certain situations and it regarded Flosse with suspicion. While the left-wing discourse formation presented the news from an inside view which was inclusive of human participants, *le Monde* discussed the events from the outside and represented the events at a political level by dealing with issues rather than human agency. The clausal constructions contained large amounts of information and discussions on the political implications of each event in a complex configuration of transitivity in the clausal structure. This displayed *le Monde*'s subjectivity and its tendency to take a rational and professional approach to journalism.

This research showed that the presentation of news, which is often assumed to be relatively neutral, is actually very distinctive from one newspaper to another. The discourse of three major French newspapers (*le Figaro*, *le Monde* and *la Libération*) was studied by discerning and analysing the ideational constituents of the clausal structure representing Tahiti's recent crisis. This made it possible to identify the different grammatical configurations which reflected the subjectivity of each newspaper. Different processes types were used to add certain qualities to the portrayal of events. While material processes presented an event as something physical and influential, mental processes made the event seem more abstract and limited to the experience of the logical subject. The syntactic structure of clauses was manipulated by means of nominalisation or passive voicing to accentuate or suppress participants. Semantic roles illuminated how social actors were mapped linguistically, which revealed the newspaper's inherent ideology of social relations and hierarchy.

It was not possible to include a comprehensive analysis of all the textual features observed in the corpus because this would have been beyond the scope of the research. However, the study has opened up possibilities to explore and analyse more linguistic characteristics of the discourse formations e.g. lexical aspects of the verbs chosen as processes, or category labels assigned to different participants. Moreover, the type of methodology and analysis developed in this research could be applied to attest the discursive representation of other major news constructed by the same (or other) newspapers. Such studies would strengthen the conclusions drawn from this research and further investigate the linguistic characters of these newspapers.

Together, the global analysis of the individual events and the micro-analysis of the main participants in the crisis built up a larger picture of how each newspaper constructed Tahiti's political crisis in their discourse. In conclusion, this analysis illustrated what the crisis means from the perspective of the three French newspapers. The left-wing discourse constructed Tahiti's recent political situation in an optimistic way. It is usually physical and the events are depicted as being initiated by and having impact on various participants. On the other hand, the conservative discourse tended to leave out the participants involved in the representations. This produced a static quality to the representations. As for *le Monde*, it formed holistic and substantial discursive structures which represented the events in an informative manner without showing a particular preference for one side.

APPENDIX I: Presentation of occurrences

MARKING SYSTEM OF CLAUSAL STRUCTURE IN THE OCCURRENCES:

Process	SMALL CAPS
Actor	*italics*
Logical Participant (Agent, Senser, Sayer, Identified, Carrier)	/between solidus/
Secondary Participant (Goal, Phenomenon, Verbiage, Identifier, Carrier)	**bold**
Receiver	**<u>bold & underline</u>**
Circumstance (including do-er in receptive clauses)	<u>underline</u>

e.g. <u>Quand il [Tony Geros] arrive ce samedi midi au centre de Papeete</u>, <u>en compagnie des quatre parlementaires socialistes venus de métropole</u>, **le petit homme au chapeau de paille** EST PORTÉ **<u>par la foule</u>** : "Oscar président, Oscar président."

e.g. *Gaston Flosse* EST REPARTI <u>hier à Tahiti</u>.

e.g. /Ils/ **le** SUSPECTENT <u>de vouloir "rentrer le premier à Papeete pour préparer quelque chose"</u>.

APPENDIX II: Table of Articles

EVENT 1: ELECTION OF TEMARU AS PRESIDENT OF FRENCH POLYNESIA				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
15 June 2004	Le Figaro	Temaru élu président	-	88
16 June 2004	La Libération	Temaru élu président de Polynésie.	Antoine Guiral	396
16 June 2004	Le Monde	Repères : M. Temaru élu "président de la Polynésie française"	-	568

EVENT 2: OVERTHROW OF TEMARU'S GOVERNMENT				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
13 October 2004	La Libération	Paris bénit le coup de force de "Papa Flosse"	Didier Hassoux	448
10 October 2004	Le Monde	Polynésie : Renversement du gouvernement de l'indépendantiste Oscar Temaru	AFP/Reuters	980
12 October 2004	Le Monde	En Polynésie, Gaston Flosse (UMP) renverse le gouvernement Temaru	Jean-Louis Saux/Olivier Gelin	760
11 October 2004	Le Figaro	Le gouvernement Temaru renversé	Rodolphe Geisler	676
13 October 2004	Le Figaro	Flosse candidat à la présidence	Rodolphe Geisler	269

EVENT 3: PEOPLE OF FRENCH POLYNESIA PROTEST				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
18 October 2004	La Libération	Tahiti contre le coup de force chiraquien	Didier Hassoux	958
17 October 2004	Le Monde	Manifestation historique en Polynésie pour réclamer la dissolution de l'Assemblée territoriale	AFP/Reuters	838
19 October 2004	Le Monde	La Polynésie française se mobilise contre Gaston Flosse	-	157
19 October 2004	Le Monde	Le chaudron tahitien	-	521
18 October 2004	Le Figaro	«Historique !» C'est ainsi que le président de la Polynésie française, Oscar...	S.P.	504

EVENT 4: TEMARU DECLARES A HUNGER STRIKE				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
26 October 2004	La Libération	Temaru vers un appel à la grève de la faim	Didier Hassoux	176
27 October 2004	La Libération	Pour Temaru, "jeûner fait partie de son sacrifice"	Didier Hassoux	516
26 October 2004	Le Monde	Affaiblis sur le plan juridique, les indépendantistes de Polynésie cherchent à gagner du temps	José-Alain Fralon	756
26 October 2004	Le Monde	Polynésie française : Gaston Flosse affirme son autorité et Oscar Temaru en grève de la faim	AFP/Reuters	831
27 October 2004	Le Monde	En Polynésie, M. Temaru et ses partisans	José-Alain Fralon	625
26 October 2004	Le Figaro	Polynésie : Temaru poursuit le bras de fer	Rodolphe Geisler	555
27 October 2004	Le Figaro	Polynésie : Oscar Temaru se lance dans une grève de la faim	Rodolphe Geisler	802

EVENT 5: NEGOCIATIONS IN PARIS				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
24 November 2004	La Libération	Polynésie: début des pourparlers	Antoine Guiral	144
25 November 2004	La Libération	Polynésie: les négociations continuent à Paris	Antoine Guiral	284
24 November 2004	Le Monde	Polynésie : Oscar Temaru et Gaston Flosse négocient à Paris	AFP	629
25 November 2004	Le Monde	MM. Flosse et Temaru lancent un appel commun à "l'apaisement des tensions" en Polynésie	Jean-Louis Saux	407
24 November 2004	Le Figaro	Polynésie : les adversaires enfin face à face	Rodolphe Geisler	483
26 November 2004	La Libération	Polynésie : Chirac sort de son silence	Antoine Guiral	404
28 November 2004	Le Monde	Polynésie : un accord a minima pourrait intervenir entre les deux parties	Jean-Louis Saux	490
26 November 2004	Le Figaro	Polynésie : Chirac recommande un accord	Rodolphe Geisler	276
30 November 2004	La Libération	Flosse file à Papeete et laisse la Polynésie dans l'impasse	Didier Hassoux	502
30 November 2004	Le Monde	Polynésie : Gaston Flosse (UMP) quitte brutalement la table des négociations	Jean-Louis Saux	788
30 November 2004	Le Figaro	Gaston Flosse rompt les négociations avec Oscar Temaru	Rodolphe Geisler	601

EVENT 6: BI-ELECTIONS IN FEBRUARY				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
15 February 2005	La Libération	La victoire amère de Temaru	Christian Le Goff	710
15 February 2005	Le Monde	Le succès de M. Temaru ne résout pas la crise en Polynésie	Jean-Louis Saux	715
15 February 2005	Le Figaro	La Polynésie vote, la confusion demeure	Rodolphe Geisler	853

EVENT 7: OVERTHROW OF FLOSSE				
DATE	*NEWSPAPER*	*TITLE*	*JOURNALIST*	*WORDS*
17 February 2005	La Libération	Motion de censure déposée contre Flosse	-	53
18 February 2005	La Libération	Polynésie : Gaston Flosse au bord de la démission	-	127
19 February 2005	La Libération	Gaston Flosse détrôné	Christian Le Goff	825
16 February 2005	Le Monde	Une motion de censure a été déposée contre Gaston Flosse	AFP/Reuters	575
17 February 2005	Le Monde	En Polynésie, une majorité se dessine pour renverser Gaston Flosse	Jean-Louis Saux	560
18 February	Le Monde	En Polynésie : Gaston Flosse envisage de	Jean-Louis Saux	322

| 2005 | | démissionner avant d'être censuré | | |
| 18 February 2005 | Le Monde | En Polynésie, Gaston Flosse, menacé, propose un "gouvernement d'union" | AFP | 395 |

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