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Ideology and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Excerpts from Peter Abraham's Tell Freedom

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Abstract

A critical study of a discourse or text will unravel some of the hidden implications of certain language elements employed by language users which are never obvious from the characterization and thematic development of such texts or discourses. This study sets out to examine some excerpts from the novel Tell Freedom to highlight the power and ideological relations that characterized the S/African society of the colonial era. The analysis of these excerpts was done at two levels. At the first level, we used the following discourse tools: inform exchange, elicitation, Face Threatening Act (FTA), cooperative maxims, interjection, politeness and presupposition, to analyse the excerpts. At the second level, we used the Fairclough's critical discourse tools of explanation, description and interpretation in addition to Haliday's Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory. SFL is a theory of language that has a discursive approach to language study, and takes into account context to assist in the understanding of how socio-political or socio-cultural ideologies are intertwined with language and discourse. The first level of discourse analysis illustrated what happens in the natural order of discourse or conversation as well as the discourse elements that are naturally employed. On the second level, we looked above the natural order of discourse to situations or contexts that can help to reveal certain hidden motives behind ordinary language use. Using afore mentioned tools, the study made a clear distinction between the two levels of analysis, showing where the ordinary analysis of discourse stops and the point where the critical investigation comes in. From the analysis of the excerpts, the different power relations and the ideological display inherent in the then S/African society were x-rayed. The study reveals that the structure of some utterances in the text shows power and control by a certain class in the society. In addition, it is discovered that titles which are taken as natural way of address are not just natural but are built around certain ideologies that are geared towards structuring the society and that they serve as strategies to subdue others. Furthermore, the study made explicit, the white man's wrong ideology about Africa proving from the data that Africa had a long history, culture and tradition before the coming of the white man. This paper therefore, recommends that critical language studies be re-introduced into the classrooms. Every student in the languages department should be made to undertake critical language studies classes. This will help them to understand when and where ideologies and power relations come into play in language use as well as the social structures that has empowered such language use. African diplomats should be exposed to critical language studies. This as well will help them to understand the manipulative nature of some discourses that they submit to which are not to the good of African countries.

Key words: discourse, critical discourse analysis, ideology, power

1. Introduction

Discourse is an activity of man that employs language as either a tool or a weapon. As a tool, man uses language to make life good and comfortable for others, but as a weapon, man employs language to destroy, exploit, manipulate, enslave, harm, etc. his fellow man. In so many situations of language use, the actual motive of the language user is not easily decipherable from the mere utterance made; although the meaning of such an utterance may be clear and the language or choice of word, simple. It is this motive behind some

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discourses that has evoked the concern of this study which is to critically divulge some fictionalized conversations in Tell Freedom to reveal the underpinned power and ideological contents of these discourses.

Language can be used as a means to control people and to influence what they think and do (Bolinger, 1990). Bourdieu (1991) posits that the choice of words, sentence structure, register or discourse structure can radically alter people's perceptions toward a method, a belief, or an ideology. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of research which attempts to reveal the connections between language use, power and ideology. According to Fairclough (1992), one of the goals of critical discourse analysis is to raise students' awareness of how language is used so that others cannot easily manipulate them. In other words, analysts need to be aware that language can be used to satisfy a secondary or hidden agenda; but CDA enables one to understand issues regarding power and control as well as the role language plays in these issues.

According to Van Lier (2004), language awareness develops through social interaction. He asserts that focusing on certain linguistic elements in the environment is required to raise critical language awareness. Fairclough known as the father of CDA, developed a framework for CDA by studying human interactions in society using the science of social ontology. Social ontology presupposes that what can exist (or is possible) in a society is referred to as abstract social structures. What is, or what already exists in a society is concrete, labelled as social events. Social structures are a set of potentials that include some possibilities and exclude others, e.g. sets of beliefs, norms and values, etc. of a group. Social relationships are not only established by discourses, but discourses are one powerful element that can be used to make or change relationships.

Discourse is one important activity of man which is both semiotic and social. It is an instrument of social construction of reality as perceived by the discourse participants i.e., language use shows language user's perception of a society. It has a dialectical relationship with social identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992). Embedded in language are social practices, defined as rules and structures that limit human actions and interaction within a context. CDA projects language and discourse as forms of social practice hence a deeper and critical analysis or evaluation of such will highlight unequal social relations, ideologies, powers etc. behind the production of certain utterances which are regarded as natural.

Critical discourse analysis is concerned with what we do with language and how we do it. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) assert that the primary interest of critical discourse analysis is to deconstruct and expose social inequality as expressed, constituted and legitimised through language use. In this sense, discourse is never neutral. It must thus be analysed in terms of the political ideology, social history, and power structures that it embodies and expresses, explicitly or indirectly. In order to be able to deconstruct discourse and reveal the most hidden intentions embedded into it, it is necessary to know the systems used to negotiate meaning. Thus, the grammatical structure of discourse may express or signal the perspectives and ethnic biases, political dominations and manipulations, racism, inequality, ideology, by a group or an individual. Thus:

The target of critical inquiry stands where talk amounts to action, where action projects consequences in a structure and texture of interaction which the talk itself is progressively embodying and realizing, and where the particulars of the talk inform what actions are being done and what sort of social scene is being constituted. (Schegloff, 2002:p.107)

2. Literature Review

What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse; an offshoot of critical linguistics, that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced in text and talk. It is an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach to analysis of discourse that does not confine itself only to linguistic methods but is interested in the interplay between language, ideology and power. Language is a site where ideology resides and invariably, grassland of struggles for power.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been described as "a type of discourse analytic research that studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context," Van Dijk (2001: p.352). CDA often involves a search for aspects or dimensions of reality that are obscured by an apparently natural and transparent use of language. Fairclough, (1995) is of the opinion that a CDA researcher should be alert to power relations being exercised through discourse and aims to unravel the opacity of social practices The investigation of the enactment, exploitation and abuse of power is the basis of CDA investigation because "for CDA language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (Wodak, 2002: p.10).

Fairclough (1995) emphasizes that CDA's attention is on how the opaque relationships decipherable in discursive practices, events and in texts, as well as in social and cultural structures, relations and processes are ideologically shaped by relations of power. He posits further that CDA examines the dual, reciprocal interplay of dialogic practices, events and textual constructions and broader social influences to understand their implications on social power.

CDA is critical to the study of social interactional power because discourses are inherently part of, and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction (Van Dijk, 2003). According to Fairclough & Wodak (1997), Critical Discourse Analysis sees language as social practice, which draws from Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar of ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language in its account of language use. In other words, discourse as a social practice is a product of a society, it sustains a society, as well as reproduces a society. In this wise, its discursive practices can embody ideologies that help produce, sustain and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, and ethnic/ cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

Billig (2003) asserts that CDA itself is situated firmly within the field of Applied Linguistics which has variously been taken to be a paradigm, a method and an analytical technique, that was originally known as Critical Language Studies or Critical Discourse Studies (Van Dijk, 2009). Its critical nature is in the area of awareness generation concerning the strategies used in establishing, maintaining and reproducing symmetrical and or asymmetrical relations of power in discourse(s). So, CDA focuses on those features that contribute to the structure of discourse in which dominant ideologies are adopted or challenged, and in which competing and contradictory ones coexist.

CDA according to Muralikrishnan (2011) is an approach to discourse analysis in two senses: the linguistic sense and the critical theorist's sense. The 'critical' refers to a way of understanding the social world drawn from critical theory. He stresses further that this is a paradigm which shows that discourses are constructed and shaped by various social forces but are often or frequently naturalized as part of everyday discourse, as opposed to critical discussions of them. With this mindset, certain discourses are taken to be the reality or the way things are, which cannot be questioned or challenged when in the real sense of it, they are outcomes of social practices that have been naturalized or a kind of naturalization. The process of naturalization obscures the fact that such discourses were meant to serve particular interests of particular groups.

The central claim of CDA is that the way certain realities get talked or written about- that is, the choices speakers and writers make in doing it-are not just random but ideologically patterned. One may be tempted to see CDA as a sociolinguistic practice but Kress (1990: p.8) stresses that sociolinguistics begins with language, focusing on the social, CDA intends to go from the social to the linguistics or, as Kress states, 'Critical Discourse Analysis sees the linguistics as within the social' (Kress, 1990: p.87). The analysis of linguistic structures cannot be separated from discourse theory; CDA analysts believe that it is a mistake to assume that discursive problems cannot be accessed by projecting the linguistic knowledge onto social contexts.

What is Discourse?

Bloor & Bloor (2007: p.p.6-7) define discourse as; the highest unit of linguistic description above phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts … a sample of language usage, generally written to be spoken, that is, a speech … the communication expected in one situation /context, alongside one field and register… a human interaction through any means, verbal and non-verbal… a spoken interaction only; … the whole communicative event.

Gee (1999) sees discourse as; talk and text; the knowledge being produced and circulating in talk; … the general ways of viewing and behaving in the world; … the systems of thoughts, assumptions and talk patterns that dominate a particular area; and …the beliefs and actions that make up social practices.

 Cameron (2001) postulates two types of discourses: linguistic discourse (language in use) and social theorists' discourses i.e. practice(s) constituting objects. In a similar vein, Van Dijk (1997) also proposes a three dimensional definition of discourse as: (a) linguistic, described at the syntactic, semantic, stylistic and rhetorical levels; (b) cognitive, that which needs to be understood in terms of the interlocutors" processes of production, reception and understanding; and (c) socio-cultural, which he posits as the social dimension of discourse, … a sequence of contextualised, controlled and purposeful acts accomplished in society, … a form of social action taking place in a context.

From Widdowson's (2004: p.8) perspective, discourse "is the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation", and text, its product. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: p.276) refer to discourse as language use in speech and writing, meaning-making in the social process, and a form of social action that is "socially constitutive" and "socially shaped". Fairclough (2009: p.164) stresses that discourses can be appropriated or colonised, and put into practice by enacting, inculcating or materialising them, which in turn makes texts "the semiotic dimension of events".

According to Foucault (2002: p.54),discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak". This is because texts are the only evidence for the existence of discourses; one kind of concrete realisation of abstract forms of knowledge; which interacts and is influenced by sociolinguistic factors. These discourses manifest ideologies that find themselves into people's consciousness, and influence their actions. Through the repetition of ideas and statements, discourse solidifies knowledge and reflects, shapes and enables social reality (Jäger and Maier 2009).

In general, discourse is a tool shaped in a way to reflect the social structure of discourse participants in different contexts whether economic, political, religious, educational, social etc. in addition too, it an embodiment of power and ideologies that sustain the power relations as put in place by the powerful. In other words, discourse can be a conscious politically programmed language for the politically unconscious.

What Makes Discourse Analysis Critical?

The major role of Critical Discourse Analysis is to find out the function of social power and language dominance, to check for exploitation and discrimination through texts and discourse patterns. The scope of CDA is not only within the realm of language, rather, it is said to have attracted scholars from various disciplines, (anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and communication studies, among others) as well as activists whose concern lie in unveiling patterned mechanisms of the reproduction of power asymmetries. For DA to be critical can be mistaken to imply being judgemental, however, Jäger & Maier (2009: p.36) state that this kind of critique "does not make claims to absolute truth" but must be understood to be critical in the following ways:

1. Its explicit and unapologetic attitude as far as values and criteria are concerned (Van Leeuwen 2006);

2. Its commitment to the analysis of social wrongs such as prejudice, or unequal access to power, privileges, and material and symbolic resources (Fairclough 2009);

3. Its interest in discerning which prevailing hegemonic social practices have caused such social wrongs, and in developing methods that can be applied to their study (Bloor & Bloor 2007).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) links the tools of linguistics and discourse analysis to a critical theory of power and ideology by critically analysing ideology in real-life situations, through engagement with language-use or discourse; using this as a significant element in a method for the study of social change.

Maingueneau (2006: p.229) opines that the difference between discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis is that discourse analysis would only describe discourse practices, whereas critical approaches to texts and talks would show how they hide power relations, prejudices, discrimination, and so on. Critical discourse analysis emerged as part of that wider project, to develop tools for the systematic study of how language works in relationships; and social life more generally, has often been inseparable from a critical agenda to explore how inequality, discrimination and injustice are perpetuated in language use.

In essence, CDA is an example of a research aiming for social intervention; a research that goes beyond hermeneutics, aiming at demystifying texts shaped ideologically through open interpretation and explanation that is based on systemic scientific procedures that achieve distance from the text by setting them in context. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) opine that CDA borrows from a model of context such as Moscovici's (2000) social representation theory which postulates that, "ones individual's cognition is informed by dynamic constructs known as social representations, that is, the concepts, values, norms and images shared in a social group, and activated and maintained in discourse." In essence, no discourse is ideologically neutral. All discourses can be analysed in terms of their political, social, historical ideology and power structures that they embody or express either explicitly or implicitly.

(Fairclough 1992: p.64) sees discourse as having a dialectical relationship with social identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief. Discourse reflects opinions on a given topic resulting from a certain belief, ideology or worldview. It is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.

Ideology

Fairclough (2003: p.218) defines ideology as "representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation." Van Dijk (1998: p. 8) posits that it is an entire system of ideas, beliefs and values, which provide a restricted view of the world; that helps conceal social contradictions that lend legitimacy to those in power. Van Dijk (1995: p.17) remarks that "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages such as pictures, photographs and movies." He emphasizes further in his approach to CDA that ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition and have the cognitive function of organising the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group. To him, ideology is an interpretation framework upon which sets of attitudes about other elements of the society are organised, and provides the cognitive foundation upon which various groups in societies advance their goals and interests. He goes further to assert that ideologies are acquired and they "mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources." Thus, ideologies help to allow members of a group to organise their group, coordinate their social actions and goals, protect their resources or gain access to resources of other groups. Wodak & Meyer are of the opinion that the ideas endorsed by dominant ideologies are rarely questioned and typically perceived as "common sense".

On the other hand, Fauconnier, (1994) asserts that linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge cannot be separated because they are formed and shaped by underlying construal operations which are ideological in nature. Halliday (1973: p.106) states that "language lends structure to . . . experience and helps determine . . . way[s] of looking at things". He states further that his functional view of language will not only help uncover hidden patterns of ideological organisation, but also demonstrate the resultant cognitive effects.

In order words, properties of texts can be ideological and our analysis will reveal more in this wise. Thus, features of vocabulary, metaphors, grammar, presuppositions and implicatures, politeness conventions, speech exchange (turn-taking) systems, generic structure, and style can embody ideology.

Power

Power is a complex and an abstract system embedded in language which significantly influence our lives. It is seen as the ability of an individual to intentionally control, manipulate or dominate other individual(s). According to Bullock, A and Trombley, S. (1999), power is the "ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will". Edelman (1977) opines that the power-holder is a person who can "exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings, thus wielding real power". Edwards (2006: p.324) notes that people do not "react to the world on the basis of sensory input but, rather, of what we perceive that input to mean" In the same vein, Rousseau, J.J.(2004), cited in The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thoughts, (1999, p.678) asserts that "the strongest is never strong enough always to be master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty". Similarly, Jones & Peccei (2004) point out that language can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs.

In other words, language plays a major role in the creation of power, (values in social life) and can transform such power into right, then, obedience becomes a duty. Thus social values and beliefs are created and shared through language and language use corresponds to views of social status of language user thereby providing simple stereotyped labels which go far beyond language itself.

Fairclough (2006: p.1) notes that language can "misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations". To him, the link between practice and speaking lies in the concept of "power/knowledge". In the modern age, a great deal of power and social control is exercised not by brute physical force or even by economic coercion, but by the activities of 'experts' who are licensed to define, describe and classify things and people. As Cameron (2001) says, "Words can be powerful: the institutional authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to do things to them".

Van Dijk (2006: p.360) opines that analysing interactions in power could reveal positive or negative manipulation. Manipulation implies "the exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse: manipulators make others believe or do things that are in the interest of the manipulator and against the best interests of the manipulated". Fairclough (1998) in linking power and ideology states that power (in some contexts) is not consciously exercised as it may be displayed unconsciously. In this case, participants are normally unaware that there is domination or exercise of power; participants accept power as natural or part of social practice. Those in positions of authority in such contexts assert and maintain control of an interaction in a way that reinforce the existing power relations already put in place or naturalized. In some other contexts, participants may lack the specific knowledge that might be used to resist manipulation (Wodak, 1989).

In Foucault's (1980) concept of power, the word "how" is the basic key word of analysis. He sees discourses as expressions of power relations that refer to all that can be thought, written or said about a particular topic or thing.

Brief Introduction of the Book, Tell Freedom by Peter Abraham

Tell Freedom is an autobiography of Peter Abraham's childhood and youth experiences at the slums in Johannesburg and other surrounding cities where he grew up. He had dual citizenship by birth in the sense that his father was an Ethiopian (a black, a third class citizen) and the mother coloured (a by-product of the early contact between white men and black women, a second-class citizen). The story of his life is one of suffering, abject poverty, discrimination, humiliation and domination. Although the text is meant to reveal his struggles to attain freedom, the novel makes available a rich ground for critical discourse analysis.

The focus of this study is not an elaboration of his life experiences but an X-ray of certain power relations, the ideological factors inherent in the society, and their implications on the S/African society.

3. Methodology

The qualitative data will involve four conversational excerpts from the book, Tell Freedom. The exerts are taken from pages 35- 37, 39- 40 and 43- 45. The analysis of each excerpt is in two folds. The first level will engage some discourse analysis tools such as inform exchange, elicitation act, Face Threatening Act (FSA), cooperative maxims, interjection, politeness, presupposition, implicature. The second level will adopt Fair clough's three stages of critical discourse analysis. These three stages include the descriptive, the interpretative and the explanation. The descriptive is concerned with the textual properties/ analysis. The interpretative constitutes examination of discursive practices of textual interaction, while the explanation underscores broader social practices that frame the social interaction. The concern here is with how context of interaction structure the flow of interaction and simultaneously, how the interaction itself affords understanding of the context in which social interaction occurred. In essence, attention is paid to the potential strategically intended meanings in the excerpts which are linked with ideology and power as inherent in the S/African society of the time. The clues found are interpreted with some explanations about their implications.

The Systemic Functional Linguistics approach is also adopted in this study. This is a grammar approach that sees language as networks of interlocking options. It is a grammar of meaning that views language as a system of meanings realised through the functions of the resources of grammatical options that language users make which embody meanings. The grammar approach identifies three functions texts can perform thus: ideational, textual and interpersonal. These functions can help to uncover what experiences, perceptions and unconsciousness are embodied through language, how information is structured and presented and how meanings about various interactions are expressed. That is, it can reveal how or assist in the understanding of how socio-political or socio-cultural ideologies are intertwined with language and discourse. Its discursive approach to language study that takes context of language into consideration makes available powerful methodology for ideological research in CDA.

4. Data Analysis

Below are some excerpts from Peter Abraham's Tell Freedom and their analysis:

1. …after what seemed hours, my turn came. … I took the sixpenny piece from the square of my cloth and offered it to the man.

Well? he said. (interjection)	Closing/ initiating/ framing,
Sixpence cracklings, please.'	(answering move)
	(page 35)

This is an interaction that took place between Lee and the white man selling the cracklings that Lee and Andries went to the location to buy alongside others. The cracking was the only part of the pork that the non-white people living at different locations around Elsberg could get to add to their meals. They were in queue until it got to Lee's turn and the sales white man opened the discourse with the word "well" with a question sign "?". Out of the so many meanings that could be derived from the use of the word "well", the white man used it as an interjection. "Well" as an interjection is used to introduce or resume something or a conversation. It can as well be interpreted to be a framing, used to indicate end of a transaction and the beginning of another.

Well? The man repeated coldly.

'Please bass', I said.

What do you want?   } Face Threatening Acts vs. politeness moves, exchange

'Sixpence crackling, please.'

 What?

Andries dug me in the ribs. 'Sixpence crackling, please baas.'

(page 35)

The next line is an answering move with the linguistic politeness 'please'. This falls in line with Lakoff's rule of politeness which advocates that societies need rules that insure that social interactions proceed smoothly (Lakoff 1974). On the other hand, the answering move satisfies Grice's cooperative principle of quantity (which demands ones utterance to be informative enough) as it stated the exact amount of crackling that he needed.

The reiteration of the first utterance by the white man, even with a cold look brings in the concept of negative face otherwise called a Face Threatening Act which was not the initial meaning of the utterance.

Andries nudged me at the back. The man's stare suddenly became cold and hard. Andries whispered into my ear.

What?

'Sixpence crackling, please baas.'   Elicitation/ politeness answering moves,
exchange

'You new here?'

'Yes baas'

At last he took the sixpence from me… filled my bag with craclking.

(page 35)

This second and third use of the word 'well' implies indignation or disapproval based on the fact that Lee did not add the word 'baas'; a natural way of addressing the whites, but which in this context becomes the deciding factor for Lee to get the crackling or not. The white man's reiteration also involves Face Threatening Act.

Face Threatening Act can impede, frustrate and undermine an interactant's feelings. This is the prima facie of the situation of this interaction where Lee's attempts at mitigating the threat with further politeness markers did not earn him the required response excepted, but that Andries lent a helping hand. This meant that the family would have had no meat in their meal for some days because of a word 'baas' sought for by the white man, and which must be arranged in a certain acceptable order to him.

By way of interpretation, the word 'baas' is a political behaviour that the white man displays on the S/Africans which, to the South Africans, was a natural way of responding to the white man, but which was originally imposed on him (Lee a case at hand) until he committed it to heart. This is a form of mind control designated and indexed to showcase the power asymmetry between them.

In the contemporary world of the Africans, this same behaviour is very prominent where address by title has remained an issue of conflict in interaction situations.

2. … Andries saw them and moved over to my side.

'White boys,' he said. (…they had school bags….)   (Informative/ directive acts/ opening move

'Better run for it,' Andries said   topic negotiation)

'Why?   Answering move/ Elicitation act

'No, that'll draw them. Let's just walk along, but quickly.' (Andries) (Topic negotiation) FTA

'Why?' I repeated   (answering/ elicitation move)
exchange 5

'Shut up,' he said   (negative face/ FTA)

Some of his anxiety touched me…. We marched as fast as we could…. We dare not look at them.

(page 36)

This second excerpt took place while Lee and Andries were walking home from the place of the cracklings. They were busy cursing each other based on the incident between Lee and the white man. At the site of the white boys, they forgot their differences and Andries moved over to Lee and the interaction ensued.

The first move has two acts. The first, "white boys" by Andries in discourse analysis can be an attention getting device, to draw Lee's attention to the coming white boys and a topic negotiation, i.e. changing the topic of their discourse from their cursing to something more important or a sign of danger. The next move "better run for it" can be an informative act meant to give him information on what to do when he sees white boys; a directive act that was giving him a command to run or a presupposition that refers to their real situational contacts with the white boys.

Lee's answering move is an elicitation device used to get the required quantity of information from Andries whose opening move failed the cooperative maxim of quantity. But rather than supply the missing information, Andries embarks on further directive act that is preceded by a negation 'no'. The negation is a device Andries (the current speaker) used to change the direction of his discourse which can as well work for topic negotiation. Changing his direction of the talk still did not provide Lee with the information sought, which leads to a repetition of his answering/elicitation move. The next elicitation move "why" was responded to by a further directive act requiring him to yield and obey. At the point of yielding, the same anxiety that possessed Andries possessed him and they sought a way out of their predicament but could not as the boys opened up curses at them.

'Hear them?' Andries said   (elicitation move)

'No.' (I looked over my shoulder)   (answering move)

'They are coming,' I said.   (informative act)

'Walk faster,' 'If they come closer, run'. (Andries said.)   directive act

(page 35)

Lee's questions were not answered by Andries but as the boys approached, Andries took over the elicitation side of the discourse to get information about Lee's awareness of the white boys utterances, and it was cooperatively responded to in the negative.

'Hey, Klipkop!' (from behind)   (derogatory summon act)

'Don't look back,' Andries said   directive act)

'Hottentot!' (we walked as fast as we could)   }(derogatory labeling

'Bloody Kaffir'   move)

'Faster,' Andries said. (They began pelting us with stones) (directive act)

'Run when we get to the bushes'.

The white boy self-selected himself with a summon 'hey' which is also an attention seeking device, and as well negotiated a rude topic. Anderies insisted on Lee obeying him with further directive acts: "walk faster", "don't look back", "faster", "run when we get to the bush". His directives were to keep Lee (who is not informed) from breaking the norms guiding the relationship of talk interaction between the white and black community- the whites are untouchable no matter what happens.

'Your fathers are dirty black bastards of baboons!'⎤ derogatory labeling/ attention getting/
(a voice from the back)   ⎦ informative act)
(A violent unreasoning anger suddenly possessed me.)
 I stopped and turned).

   'You're a lair!, I screamed it.   (answering move/ challenging act)

'An ugly black baboon!' (another voice joined)   (informative move)
(In a fog of rage I went towards him)

'Lair!' I shouted. 'My father was better than your father!'   (challenging/ informative move)

  The big boy struck me… I staggered … and leapt at the boy who had insulted my father.

 I struck him on   the face, hard. A heavy blow on the back of my head… Blows rained on me, my head, my neck, the side of my face, my mouth…but my enemy was under me and I pounded him fiercely… repeating)

'Lair! Lair! Lair!'   (informative act)

Suddenly, stars exploded in my head. Then there was darkness.

                                                       (page 36-37)

The white boys used four derogatory acts which constituted an initial complex move. Lee's response is a challenging move to the white boys' description of his fathers. He also followed it up with an informative act as a way of correction. The counterpoising argument became climaxed in an exchange of brawl as a further step to ascertain the power that be. Lee's reiteration of the word, 'liar' with the white boy under him proved some point in a way.

By way of description, Peter projected the nature of power tussle inherent in the society of the time of his writing. There were different levels of power manifestation/ manipulations – the micro power relation, as indicated between Lee and Andries which is a portrayal of power domination between the S/African of the coloured skin and the black African.

In the interactions above, Andries displayed powerfulness over Lee by refusing to offer him the information he requested for with the elicitation act of tag question "why?", at different times in the discourse. The initiating, redirecting, insisting and commanding devices are manipulative devices he used to hold unto power thereby making Lee a subordinate. The last directive act, "shut up" that lead to Lee's solidarity (even emotionally) was not built on shared knowledge which automatically indexes powerlessness on Lee's side. The decision to walk fast; run or hide in the bush as directed by Andries also presupposes powerlessness of the coloured (in contact situations) to face the whites as is the prevalent ideology in the society but which was challenged by Lee, the black.

The second level is the macro power level exhibited by the white boy's derogatory labels or name calling and insult on their fathers which is ideologically liked with social identity or social structure of inequality. The fight between Lee and the three white boys is a depiction of the fight between the S/Africans and the whites in which the whites joined forces to attack Africa and just as Lee was hit on the head, neck, mouth, etc, so was Africa or the black hit economically, socially, and politically until it became destabilized.

3.… A trap pull up outside. Before Uncle Sam reached…, the door burst open.) attention getting/ manipulative   device

       'Evening baas'. (UncleSam said)   (initiating/ opening move/ greeting)

       'That's him'. The bigger boy said, pointing at me.   (informative act)

   He's sorry, baas,' I've given him a hiding he won't forget soon.   (politeness move)

   'Tell the bass and the young baasies how sorry you are, Lee.   (directive act)

 (Uncle Sam said.)

       'He insulted my father,' I said. (the white man smiled)   (challenging/ informative act)

       'See Sam, your hiding couldn't have been good.' (The white man said)   (directive act)

       He's only a child, baas,' (Uncle Sam said)   (politeness move)

       You stubborn too, Sam?   (elicitation act)

       'No baas,'   (answering move)

       'Then teach him, Sam. If you and he are to live here,   (FTA)

       you must teach him well…?

   Yes baas. (Uncle Sam went into the other room and returned with a thick) (answering move)

    leather thong. Aunt   Liza's face encouraged Lee to yield not or cry).

    Bitterly Uncle Sam said:

   'You must never lift your hand to the white person.   (directive act)

No matter what happens,

'You must never lift your hand to the white person….'

(He lifted the strap and brought it down on my back three times; I did not cry,

I clenched my teeth and looked at Aunt Liza's face. The thong came down …again and again on my back. I screamed, begged for mercy, groveled at Uncle Sam's feet, begging him to stop, promising never to lift my hand to any white person….)

   'All right, Sam,' the white man said.   (Directive act)

  (Uncle Sam stopped. Aunt Liza sat like one in a trance)   exchange)

   'Is he still stubborn, Sam?'   (elicitation)

   ''Tell the baas and baasies you are sorry.' (Uncle Sam said)   (directive exchange)

   'I am sorry', I said   (informative act)

   'Bet his father is one of those who believe in equality.' (Liza Said)   (inform exchange/ topic negotiation)

   'Good night, Sam.'

   'Good night, bass. Sorry about this.'   Closing exchange

   … 'Good night Liza'.

   (page 39- 40)

In this context, the door "burst open" entails force. By this the social role of the host and guest has been broken. The social conventions of discourse between a host and guest, with the adjacency pair exchange of greeting to greeting was flouted by the white man. The white man employed Face Threatening Act on Uncle Sam which was manipulative. The social conventional expectation of a child meeting or coming into the house of an adult (greeting the adult) was also flouted here by the same boys whose ideology of the adult backs is that they are 'dirty black bastard baboons.

By way of explanation, the scene depicts the condition of the African society of the time. The little privileges ('if you must live here') the white man gave to some Africans bought-over their consciences that they became tools in the hand of the whites to subdue their fellow Africans as is the case with Uncle Sam. This then portrays the fact that the white man's success in subduing Africa was predicated upon the fact that he had to use an African against his fellow African. Lee's resistance also depicts African resistance to the white man's desire.

Another side of ideology exhibited in this context is that of chauvinism; the utterance of the woman that was meant to call to order the conscience of the man, was treated with high level of discountenance. Her utterance is an inform exchange (Dairo and Onadeko 2008:30) which usually informs, initiates a turn and predicts a response- negative or positive. But the society had no place for the voice of a woman; hence, it was the men's world. The women not only had to battle with the general oppression of the whites over the blacks but also had to grapple with a chauvinistic society.

4. …One day, going down the stream, I came upon a boy….he was not light brown… but dark brawn,

almost black. He called out in a strange language.

'Hello' I shouted.   Opening move
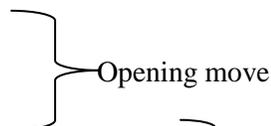
He called out again and again I could not understand. I… bounded across…   (Summon/challenging/

approached him slowly, he gripped his stick more firmly.
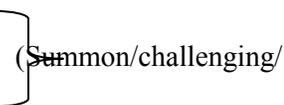
He spoke harshly, move) flung one stick on the ground at my feet… held the other ready to fight.

'Don't want to fight,' I said   (answering exchange)

I reached down to pick..and return the stick to him.   (politeness move)

He moved forward and raised the one in his hand. I moved back…. (challenging move)

I shook my head.   (Answering move)

'Don't want to fight.'

I pushed the stick towards him with my foot, ready to run at the first sign of attack. He said something that sounded less aggressive. I nodded, smiling…. He relaxed, picked up the sticks and transferred them to his left hand…. Smacked his chest

'Joseph! Zulu!'

(I smacked my own chest,)   informative move/ topic
negotiation

'Lee …'   (I didn't know what I was apart from that.)   answering move

(At home)

'Aunt Liza….   (Attention getting / opening move

'Yes'   answering move)

'What am I?'

40

'What are you talking about?'   elicitation move

'I met a boy at the river. He said he was Zulu'   (informative act)

She laughed.

'You are Coloured. There are three kinds of people:

white people, Coloured people and black people.   Informative exchange

The white people come first, then the Coloured people, then the black people.'

'Why?'   (elicitation)

 'Because it is so.'   (Answering move)

Next day, when I met Joseph, I smacked my chest and said :

'Lee! Coloured.

He clapped his hands and laughed.   Opening/ responding move

…. There were Joseph tales of black kings who lived in days before the white man….

At home I said:

'Aunt Liza'

'yes'   opening/ answering move

'Did we have Coloured kings before the white man?'

   'No'

'Then where did we come from?'   elicitation/ informative

Joseph and his mother come from the black kings   elicitation/

who were before the white man.'

And laughing and ruffling my head she said:

'You talk too much… Go'n wash up.'   (directive act)

And to Joseph, next day, I said:

'We didn't have Coloured Kings before the white man.'   (Informative/closing move)

 And he comforted me and said:

   'It is of no moment. You are my brother. Now my kings will be your kings.'

                        (page 43- 45)

    The discourse started with an opening move, (a call in a strange language) followed by Lee's answering move. Joseph also used a non-verbal summon, a challenging move to invite Lee to a contest which presupposes disagreement or conflict between the African Coloured and African black. Lee uses topic negotiation as his answering move which also serves as informative act. Joseph finally accepted Lee's topic and negotiated another topic by introducing himself to Lee as Joseph! Zulu! Using the informative act as well

as the maxim of quality and quantity. Lee's answering move flouted the maxims based on the fact that he had less information about himself.

Lee employed the elicitation move in his exchange with Aunt Liza. He flouted the maxim of quantity and quality at first which called for the elicitation move from Aunt Liza in place of answering move. Lee's answering move to Aunt Liza's elicitation move fulfilled the maxims. In return, she then employed the informative act that informed Lee of who he is. She also broke the maxim of quantity and manner as she gave more than the needed information by stretching into the social structure of the society, which incurred the elicitation move 'why?' by Lee. Her response, 'because it is so' flouted the four maxims but only showed the ideology and the authority of the white over the black.

Findings

The exchanges between Lee, Andries, Joseph, Aunt Liza, Uncle Sam and the baas and baasies reveals some salient issues about the S/African society of the Peter Abraham's time such as:

*the white man used colour to fragment S/Africa.

*Africans became hostile to one another on the basis of colour difference.

*Some S/Africans were confused by birth. They did not know who they were just like Lee; whose late father was of the black people and the mother, the Coloured people.

*Black Africans had kings before the coming of the white man which presupposes that Africa had a culture, traditions and a long history before the white man's interruption. This is predicated upon the use of the plural noun 'kings'.

*the coloured people were a by-product of the coming of the white man to Africa. They enjoyed some rights and privileges – 'no pass'. unlike the black people;

*the coloured people were used as tools by the white people to oppress and subdue the blacks.

*the European's claim that Africa had no culture nor past before their coming is linked with their association with the Coloured people who they preferred over the real blacks.

*the white people barricaded themselves from the real black people with 'pass' which in turn barricaded them from the true nature and the history of African society

*divide and rule was a prominent strategy of the white man over Africa.

*the present day tussles over the attachment of titles or addressing one by title is as a result of the colonialist mentality of title as an evidence of inequality or social class.

Summary

Critical discourse analysis aims at (using the various approaches CDA) raising awareness concerning the features of languages and the strategies used in establishing, maintaining and reproducing (a)symmetrical relations of power as enacted by means of discourse. The study has been able to show the two levels of analyses of discourse to demonstrate that beyond the naturalized way of looking at conversations, there are other elements that are imbedded in a discourse which can only emerge in critical language analysis.

Using the Van Dijk's critical discourse tools of explanation, description and interpretation, the study embarked on a historical exploration of the nature of the then South African society as portrayed in the novel. Through the structuring of the discourses, choice of words and some actions portrayed in the excerpts, the novelist exposes the power relations between the whites and the blacks, the coloured and the real Africans. These utterances are discursive in approach with ideological undertones which portray the social structure of the then South Africa.

5. Conclusion

CDA is an inter-discursive approach to discourse study with a primary concern on what we do with language and how we do it, how to deconstruct and expose social inequality as expressed, constituted, and legitimized through language use. Critical discourse analysts believe that discourse tends to become normative with repeated use and thus appears to be neutral; however, discourse is never neutral. CDA emphasizes that discourse must be analyzed in terms of the political ideology, social history, and power structures that it embodies and expresses, explicitly or implicitly.

It is also the belief of CD analysts that by teaching students some techniques to conduct this kind of analysis, they could become more critical of what they read, listen to and watch. Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful tool which would help people in communication situations to identify when texts have biases or when language is used with hidden intentions. CDA is very much needed today when language has become the most available means of manipulating people's thoughts, empowering some people and disempowering others.

6. Recommendations

This paper recommends that in addition to the natural order of analyzing discourse (with discourse analysis tools), students or language analysts should be encouraged to do a thorough critique of the materials available in a way to reveal hidden intentions of certain language resources that are manipulative, bearing in mind that language is a social practice. By this as well, students are expected to become better and critical citizens with clearer understanding of how people use language to achieve certain purposes and the effects that language use might create in a society and among individuals. Such project is bound to raise students' awareness of how language is used so that others cannot easily manipulate them.

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