A Critical Discourse Analysis of Jacob Zuma's First Term (2009-2014) Inaugural and State-of-the-Nation Addresses through a Transitivity Focus

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Abstract: This paper analyses President Jacob Zuma's Inaugural and State-of-the-Nation addresses. Fairclough's (1989) three-stage approach to Critical Discourse Analysis has been adopted to describe, interpret and explain these two addresses in order to check if the political promises made are kept or not. A transitivity-oriented analysis has helped to sort out the power relations and the dominating ideological assumption which are expressed through these addresses. In this perspective, the results of the analyses have disclosed a predominance projecting processes in the Inaugural address and a superfluity of doing processes in the State-of-the-Nation address. As for the scrutiny of the discursive practices, they have revealed the ideology of 'renewal'. In light of the preponderance of doing processes in the State-of-the Nation address and the reelection of President Jacob Zuma for a second term, it is deducible that the majority of the promises are fulfilled though 'the end justifies the means'.
Keywords: discourse, ideology, inaugural, transitivity.

Résumé : Ce document analyse le discours inaugural et le discours sur l'état de la nation du président Jacob Zuma. L'approche en trois étapes de l'analyse critique du discours de Fairclough (1989) a été adoptée pour décrire, interpréter et expliquer ces deux discours afin de vérifier si les promesses politiques faites sont tenues ou non. Une analyse axée sur la transitivité a permis de cerner les relations de pouvoir et l'idéologie dominante exprimées à travers ces discours. Dans cette perspective, les résultats des analyses ont révélé une prédominance des procès de projection dans le discours inaugural et un superflu de procès d'actions dans le discours sur l'état de la nation. Les pratiques discursives ont révélé l'idéologie du «renouveau». Au regard de la prépondérance des procès d'actions dans le discours sur l'état de la nation et de la réélection du président Jacob Zuma pour un second mandat, on peut déduire que la majorité des promesses sont tenues bien que 'la fin justifie les moyens'.
Mots-clés: discours, idéologie, inaugural, transitivité.

Introduction

In operative and adequate democratic regimes, at the end of each term, thousands of potential electors welcome the glorious moment of going to the polls to elect a new president. Leaders of political parties and political figures canvass for their favorite candidates so that electors cast their votes for them. And each candidate applies their rich language expressions, their impassioned speeches and their heartfelt attitudes to attempt to win the largest votes. After universal polling, the winner of the votes delivers an Inaugural Address (henceforth IA). Inaugural Addresses form a typical political discourse in which a president-elect usually expresses his/her standpoint, charm, ambition, hope,

courage, desire of change and term's main program. Also, as highly recommended by the constitutional laws of such democratic countries as South Africa, Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, etc., the incumbent president and the outgoing candidates must deliver messages on the state of the nation in fulfilment of some provisions of their topical constitution. To corroborate the above-mentioned assertion, the former Ghanaian President John Dramani Mahama said the following on January 5th, 2017: "I deliver this message on the State of the Nation in fulfilment of Article 67 of the 1992 constitution". So, while the Inaugural Address restates the campaign promises or the key aspects of the governmental action plan; the State-of-the-Nation Address (henceforth SNA) lets the people know where the country stands in terms of the political commitments and their fulfilments, how the country is faring when compared to other nations on the continent and in the world. The electorate and all the political opponents are expecting President Jacob Zuma on these very issues. The deep thought, conscientious demonstration, refined language and rich linguistic materials of political addresses are at the heart of this work. So, this study emphasizes Inaugural and State-of-the-Nation addresses as enacted in the political sphere. It is translucent that politicians use language to produce political power, the power of which is expressed through political projects and achievements. As such, language is a mechanism by which politicians fight to win power through elections in modern days. In this breath, the intentions, action plans and performances of any government or administration are communicated through language. Therefore, there is a strong link between language and politics because political action plans and ideological assumptions underlying any political regime are implemented through language. This view resonates best with Chilton (2004, p.30) as he argues that:

> only in and through language can one issue commands and threats, ask questions, make offers and promises—provided one has convinced their interlocutors that they have the requisite resources to make the speech act credible. And only through language tied into social and political institutions can one declare war, declare guilty or not guilty, prorogue parliaments or raise or lower taxes.

It is inferable that politics cannot do without language in that the 'doing' of politics is largely the 'doing' of language (Chilton, 2004). The virtue of language in uploading political ideologies and carrying out political actions makes it a precious massive mobilizing weapon in the hands of politicians. In this respect, this work explores how the systems of ideology and power are imparted through the selected addresses on the textual depiction base of Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG) from the critical perspective of Fairclough's (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis

(henceforth CDA), which is built on the description, interpretation and explanation of the addresses. In other words, the political speeches have been approached by adopting the Faircloughian CDA theory that basically draws on the Hallidayian model of descriptive analysis (SFG). This study aims at describing the formal linguistic properties (process-types), interpreting the findings to uncover the experiential function and explaining these findings with the ultimate view to unearthing the power relation and ideological assumption embedded therein. In this perspective the following research question is worded: How does the description of process types help to uncover the experiential function, unearth power and ideology and assess the political commitments and their fulfilments? Setting this purpose, it is imperative to overview the theoretical underpinning and research methodology before dwelling upon the descriptive, interpretative and explanatory analyses.

1. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This section endeavors to give some insight into the CDA theory and the methodological approach.

1.1. Theoretical Framework: Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis

The CDA theory deals with the social use of language and it is focused on social concerns as language is viewed as "a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 2001, p.18). The CDA theory can be traced to the 1970s in the work by Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979) on *Language and Control* under the banner of Critical Linguistics. Their work is grounded in how language works in the social context and how it is related to power and ideology. In the words of Fowler et al. (1979, p.90), "Critical Linguistics (CL) simply means an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings, and the social and historical conditions which govern the semantic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis". This suggests that CDA draws much from critical linguistics to construct its social and historical backgrounds.

As a theory of social practices analysis, CDA provides methods and tools by means of which empirical social-oriented studies of the relation between discourse, power and ideology can be carried out to unveil the inequalities and dominations of some subjects over others. It is one of the most widely acclaimed theoretical models (CDA), which is highly influenced by Marx's critique of the process of exploitation of the working class by the ruling on the philosophical axis. On the linguistic axis, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which views language use as meaning potential, is the operating grammar pattern of CDA. The aim of this innovative approach is to explore the relationship among discourse, ideology and power through texts' description, interpretation and explanation.

The number of scholars who have been contributing to the evolution and expansion of the CDA theory are numerous and quoting them all will be mind-numbing. Nonetheless, Fairclough's (1989) definition is worth quoting the study draws on his three-stage approach (description, interpretation and explanation). In Fairclough's (1995, p.132) words, CDA is the study of:

> often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Going further, Wodak and Meyer (2001, p.2) argue that: "CDA is fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language".

Carrying out a CDA research means describing the incorporated linguistic properties of the texts or talks and interpreting the results obtained based on discursive practices as well as explaining aspects and facts that motivate discourse participants to convey power and ideology. The description of the formal properties is leaned on the transitivity patterns in this paper. It is deemed necessary to give some details about the experiential function. "The experiential meaning serves to express our experience of the world that is around us and within us" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p.27). Transitivity is the representation encoding the experiential meaning. Following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Eggins (1994; 2004) and Amoussou (2017), the main process types are displayed in the table below:

Table 1: Process classification keys

Process types & labels		Clarification of labels
Material	TMP	Transitive Material Process
	MMP	Middle Material Process
Relational	ARP	Attributive Relational Process
	IRP	Identifying Relational Process
	CRP	Circumstantial Relational Process
	PRP	Possessive Relational Process
Mental	MeP	Mental Process
Verbal	VeP	Verbal Process
Behavioral	BeP	Behavioral Process

Existential	EP	Existential Process

As a matter of fact, "material, mental and relational [processes] are the main types of processes in the English transitivity system" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.170; Fairclough, 2003, p.141). To make it plainer, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.38) have thrown some illuminating light on the concepts by maintaining that "the names of processes are (a) doing and happening, (b) sensing and saying and (c) being and having".

First, "material clauses are clauses of doing-&-happening: a 'material' clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.179; Fairclough, 2003, p.141). Going into fine points, "happening [is] represented by an 'intransitive' material clause and (b) doing [is] represented by a 'transitive' material clause" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.180). In short, "(….) material processes are 'doing' processes, which can be probed, and substituted, by the verb *do*" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.207; Eggins, 1994, p. 215). These processes are highly concerned with the tangible, physical and concrete performance or execution of things by a performer or doer. In the words of Eggins (2004, p.217), "these are processes of doing, and so we classify them as material processes". So, "it is strictly about experiential notion of the one doing the deed" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.179).

Besides, "mental processes (…) are processes of feeling, wanting, thinking and seeing" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.207; Eggins, 1994, p. 225). They are generally related to the inner workings of social agents. Finally, "the grammar recognizes processes of a third type, those of identifying and classifying; we call these relational process clauses" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.170). In other words, they are termed being processes. Emphasizing their subcategories, "there are two main types of these being processes: 1. existential processes where things are simply stated; and 2. relational processes, where things are stated to exist in relation to other things (are assigned attributes or identities)" (Eggins, 1994, pp. 237-238).

Apart from the three major classes of processes in the English transitivity system, there are also behavioral and verbal processes. For Eggins (1994, p. 233), "verbal processes are processes of verbal actions: *saying* and all its many synonyms". They are simply communication or expression verbs. These types of processes quote or report (Halliday, 1985) facts and acts in projected clauses. As for behavioral processes, they are considered semantically as a 'half-way house' between mental and material processes (Halliday, 1985). For the sake of clarity, "behavioral [processes] are typically processes of physiological and psychological behavior" (Eggins, 1994, p.233). Their focus dimension is a bit

beyond mental or inner workings. Having dealt with the CDA theory and the transitivity system, it is worth elucidating the methodological perspective.

1.2. *Methodology and Data Processing Procedure*

Fairclough's (1989) three-stage configuration –description, interpretation and explanation– is adopted in this study. The descriptive stage delineates the linguistic properties, and the interpretative dimension dwells upon the scrutiny of the discursive practices. The explanation phase focuses on the societal, institutional and situational levels in order to uncloak the ideological assumption and power relation embedded in the speeches. These addresses have been purposively selected in order to check what is promised and what is kept at the end of the mandate. So, the speeches have been subdivided into constituent clauses, which are numbered and labelled (Amoussou and Koba, 2018) with a view to identifying, qualifying and quantifying process types. The statistics are tabulated and stand for references in this analysis. In order to abide by publishing standards, the analysed addresses have not been displayed in the current paper owing to their density. As the first section has got to do with the theoretical underpinning and the methodological perspective, the next one has focused on the practical analysis of the linguistic features in the addresses.

2. Descriptive Analysis of Processes in the Addresses

The table below is generated out of the identification of processes in the Inaugural and State-of-the-Nation Addresses. Hence, the therein keys are used to distinguish processes.

Table 2: Distribution of Process Types in the Inaugural and State-of-the-Nation Addresses

Process types		IA		SNA	
		Freq.	Perc.	Freq.	Perc.
Doing processes	**TMP**	38	20.87	150	35.79
	MMP	06	03.29	30	07.15
Being processes	**ARP**	22	12.08	25	05.96
	IRP	07	03.84	21	05.01
	CRP	32	17.58	84	20.04
	PRP	02	01.09	10	02.38
Projecting processes	**MEP**	37	20.32	78	18.61
	VEP	20	10.98	16	03.81
EP		11	06.04	03	00.71
BEP		07	03.84	02	00.47

Total	182	100	419	100

As the table above shows, 182 processes are identified in President Zuma's IA. Split into a number of categories, projecting processes' rate [57/182: 31.31%] indicates that the president is more preoccupied with declaring his intents for being elected as president of the rainbow nation. These projecting processes (verbal and mental) have helped to find out the programs in view for the economic renewal of South Africa. In this perspective, the "relationship of projection between clauses is particular to only two types of processes: mental and (…) verbal processes" (Eggins, 1994, p.232).

The low rate of projecting processes (22.42%) in the SNA can be accounted for by the fact that the president is much less involved in stating, declaring, planning or devising. But, he is much more expected to take stock of all his performances from his accession to power up to the delivery of this very speech. While projecting processes in the IA can be distinguished in clauses [5.1], [7], [8], [10], [15], [19] and [20], those in the SNA can be so through clauses [4], [6], [8], [13], [14], [29.2] and [30].

The IA is much less endowed with the material processes [44/182: 24.17%] while the SNA is much more dominated by doing processes [180/419: 42.95%]. The low rate of material processes in the IA can be explained by the fact that the speech is not inundated by processes of actions, performances, transformations and creations since on the president's rise to power, there were truthfully very few actions he took which can be mentioned in this IA. On account of this, more priority is given to planning, stating and thinking about the ways and means to recover South Africa. In short, the addresser is perceptually, cognitively, emotively, affectively, desiratively, and verbally more committed than materially devoted (Amoussou, 2017). This commitment simply reveals the mental and verbal dimensions of human-led immaterial activities. On the contrary, the high rate of material processes in the SNA is oriented towards tangible, concrete, palpable actions and activities (Koussouhon and Dossoumou, 2015). To be more enlightening, some action verbs (to embark on, to push back, to put in place, etc.) have been more detected in this speech simply because the address gives an account of the achievements of the president at the end of his term. In the words of Wang (2010), material processes attempt to show the audience what the government has achieved, what leaders are doing and what they will do. Such a speech (SNA) is known to lay more emphasis on touchable things which the populace can benefit from in the short and long runs. Whereas doing processes in the IA can be checked in clauses [5.1], [5.2], [7.1], [12] and [13], those in the SNA can be so in such clauses as [18], [18.1], [20], [23] and [24]. As acknowledged and confirmed subsequently by Eggins (1994, p. 215), "processes of doing are what

we call material processes". The identification of these processes in the addresses has materialized the activity of the president during his first term.

Moving forward, the speaker has used four categories of relational processes (attributive, identifying, circumstantial and possessive) to play descriptive and shaping roles in some settings both in the IA [63/182: 34.61%] and in the SNA [140/419: 33.41%]. In light of the trivial and even ignorable differential superiority of being processes in the IA compared to those in the SNA [34.61% - 33.4% = *1.20*%], it can be inferred that the depiction stance of the IA is nearly equal to that of the SNA since the addresser adopted and maintained the same picturization of the country and its components both at the start and at the end of his first term. These being processes have mainly been exploited to objectively give a clear synopsis (characterization) of the country's infrastructural and socioeconomic state at the start of President Zuma's term and to take stock of what he globally did to revive the country as he took full and solemn responsibility for doing so. In other words, these relational processes have characterized where the country stood socio-economically on President Zuma's accession to power and in so far as nation-building how the president has furthered South Africa after a-five-year term. To go into some minutiae, the relational attributive processes in the IA [22/182: 12.08%] and in the SNA [25/419: 05.96%] show that one entity has been the attribute of another one and through these, the president paints his achievements. The identifying relational processes in the IA [07/182: 03.84%] and in the SNA [21/419: 05.01%], which are used to give an identity to beings, indicate that one entity represents the identity of another one. The circumstantial relational processes in the IA [32/182: 17.58%] and in the SNA [84/419: 20.04%], which encode meanings about extent, location, manner (means, quality, comparison), cause (purpose, reason, behalf), accompaniment, role, etc. (Alvi and Basser, 2011: 2) are of great significance in that they have contributed to especially tracking down the reasons, conditions, places and time period in which some actions were performed.

The possessive relational processes in the IA [02/182: 01.09%] and in the SNA [10/419: 02.38%], which evoke the notion of proprietorship, have indicated that South Africans have benefited from a large number of things which are henceforward part of their patrimony owing to the activities of President Zuma's administration. To be clearer, the country owned much less when President Zuma acceded to power but after a five-year term, it has acquired much more in light of the statistics [IA = 02/182: 01.09% versus SNA = 10/419: 02.38%]. These statistics pinpoint that President Zuma's five-year term left unforgettable remembrances in South Africans' collective memory. To access being processes in the IA, clauses [2], [5.3], [9], [10.1], [17] [18], [20.1], [21], [26], [27], and [53.1] can be looked up. As for relational processes in the

SNA, clauses [10], [10.1], [11], [15], [22], [22.1], [33], [29], [29.3], [153.1], [155], [168] and [186.1] are better indicated. At this junction of being processes' analysis, it should be summed up that while attributive and identifying processes respectively give a quality and an identity to beings, circumstantial and possessive processes correspondingly elaborate on circumstances and ownerships (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 2004; Fontaine, 2013).

Existential processes' statistics disclose that very few things existed on his coming to office [03/182: 00.71%] and that President Zuma can boast of having done his best when ending his first mandate [11/419: 06.04%]. By analogy, it can be deduced that the Zuma's administration has furthered the socioeconomic state by moving from 00.71% to 06.04%, which indicates a tremendous increase in achievements. These statistics buttress the fact that President Zuma's five-year term left indelible stains or traces in South Africa. For exemplification's sake, existential processes can be deciphered in the IA through clauses [65; 115; 142] and in the SNA through the following ones [50], [51], [52], [53] [54] and [75].

The substandard socioeconomic state of the nation has propelled President Zuma to use a considerable proportion of behavioral processes in the IA [07/419: 00.47%] to especially voice his psychological disappointment. Notwithstanding the thereafter satisfactory upturns, he has not made use of more processes of the same kind in the SNA [02/182: 03.84%] as he wanted South Africans themselves to be the judges of his performances and to sanction him during the 2014 elections. This humble stratagem showcases that the speaker has gathered more laughing stocks through which South Africans can speak out their minds. This contentment serves as outer manifestations of the inner workings through some physiological, psychological or expressive facts/ideas (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 2004; Alvi and Basser, 2011). The availability of behavioral processes can be checked in the IA through clauses [5] and [8.1] and in the SNA through clauses [11], [91.1] and [97.3]. At all events, the predominance of projecting processes in the IA can lead to the conclusion that it is more plan-based, and the numerousness of doing processes in the SNA uncloaks that it is more action-oriented. Reasoning from the particular to the general, the data from this study can be held to state that IAs are more dedicated to planning or shaping while SNAs are committed to restating performed actions or executed programs and that being processes are concerned with picturing the policies converted into actions. Having identified and described the process types in the addresses, it is then worth leaning on their interpretative analysis.

3. Interpretative Analysis of Processes

The findings reveal a great deal of projecting processes in the IA [57/182: 31.31%] as opposed to the low rate of doing processes in the same speech [44/182: 24.17%]. These data prove that on his accession to power, President Zuma cannot bear the responsibility for doing anything but he can be interested in planning, announcing or communicating on his action plan. It is deducible that this address is sheer revelation of policies but not a persuasive speech (Sharndama, 2015). Additionally, before the president externalizes his future activities through verbal processes, he has planned them through mental activities in the cerebral world. So, actions are first and foremost prone to mental activities before being voiced through articulatory organs. This fact is justified by the high proportion of mental and verbal processes in the IA. As the first speech is highly absorbed by projecting verbal operators, these have helped the president to know where to go from and what to prioritize. But after having got the power and control of the country's compass, he can begin converting his policies into actions by executing whatever he announced on his inauguration. This view is substantiated by the dominance of doing processes [180/419: 42.95%] in the SNA whereas projecting processes [94/419: 22.43%] come far behind them. Thus, the SNA has unveiled almost all features of the deeds of the president and his government. On this premise, it can be deduced that President Zuma has dedicated his term to concretize most of the things he promised or announced in the IA. More specifically, this speech is a junction between his very first term end and the new start of his second term in power. In it, he did not only take stock of his achievements, but he also used this opportunity to project some future actions as he was the victor of the then presidential election (2014). On this ground, it can be concluded that President Zuma has planned and done things which aim at reviving the individual lives of South Africans, despite the fact that all is not done perfectly well.

To leave indelible and long-lasting signs and symbolize his performances, President Zuma has resorted to the use of "*there + be*" or other similar forms/meanings to mark the existence of palpable and convincing facts and acts that he and his administration as well as his collaborators can claim. Put another way, these are processes through which every kind of phenomenon is considered to 'be', 'to exist', or 'to happen' (Alvi and Basser, 2011:2). More significantly and peculiarly, the increase of possessive processes from 01.09% in the IA to 02.38% in the SNA is symbolic of the availability of tangible and perceivable things, which testify an activity-oriented mandate.

Relational processes (whose rates, 34.61% and 33.41%, are nearly similar in both addresses) evidence the multifarious properties of state verbs and other processes which are classified under the banner of being processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Al-Sa'ati and Khalaf, 2013). In both addresses, the statistical coverage of doing processes [224/601: 37.27%] and projecting ones [151/601:

25.12%] has downsized that of being verbal operators [203/601: 33.77%]. This, however, means that identities/definitions, attributes/qualities, possessive features and circumstantial properties have been linked with relational verbs (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 2004). Despite their negligible percentage coverage, it must equally be stated that the presence of behavioral processes in both addresses (01.49%) reveals the psychological, physiological or expressive reactions which the president has got as decoded in his utterances.

As can be inferred, these speeches have helped to uncover the activity dimension of President Zuma's term, which has been made successful by means of a robust mental work which paved the way for such performances. So, it is deducible that maiden addresses are much more dominated by projecting verbal operators whereas end-term ones are more doing-process-inclined. It can be concluded that President Zuma has early started his tangible tasks right after his inauguration so that his policies can take shape and fulfill his electoral promises by the end of his term as attested to through the then state of the nation. Having got through with the interpretation stage, the explanation of findings has become a matter of great import.

4. Explanation of Findings

Drawing on Fairclough's (1989) approach, the explanatory stage takes into consideration the societal, institutional and situational levels/dimensions in order to uncloak the ideological assumption and power relation embedded in the addresses. South Africa's political history is particularly marked by two major politics: the white and black politics. Dealing with some of the white parties, the South African Party (SAP) emerged as the majority party in the very first Parliament of the country. In addition, the National Party (NP) was the apartheid-era party (1948). Lastly, the Democratic Alliance (DA) came in and is currently the official opposition party in South Africa. These three main white parties (SAP, NP and DA) were those which enlivened the pre-1994 era of national discrimination and racial political franchise. During the course of their segregationist posture and exclusion-based management, these white parties created two diametrically opposed societies: the Afrikaans and the white. Discriminatory laws spawned a racial party, the South African Native National Congress (known today as the African National Congress) in 1912 to mobilize against the 1913 Land Act which assuredly dispossessed black landlords from their properties. After a long-run fight against the apartheid regime, the black resistance paid off in 1994 when Nelson Mandela won the democratic presidential election against his contender Frederick De Clerk. So, with the democratization of South Africa in 1994 and the coming into office of the African National Congress, successive governments tried to dissolve the roots of the apartheid regime and create a more equal society where everyone feels at

home. After President Nelson Mandela, President Tabo Nbeki took over and advocated new decisions suggesting that the positions of the ANC president and state president should be separated. This breakaway of this cumulative role did not meet the expectations of some of the party's leaders and this created two factions within the party: the cliques of Nbeki and Zuma. The disagreement over this initiative sparked intense resistance and climaxed at the Polokwame Conference, where President Nbeki was defeated by Mr. Jacob Zuma (Duvenhage & Venter, 2008). Having lost the presidency of the ANC, President Nbeki was left in a vulnerable position as a state president and resigned. The transition period was led by President Kgalema Motlanthe. After the elections, Candidate Jacob Zuma came to office as the fourth President of a democratic South Africa.

President Zuma actually came to office after President Mandela had healed "South African's wounds from the apartheid and established the rainbow nation very firmly" (IA), though there are some signs indicating that some racial fault lines still need remedies. He inherited a country which was already in a stabilized democratization process. He was expected to impulse a new dynamism to the country's management under his leadership. In his IA, President Zuma said: "I commit myself to the service of our nation with dedication, commitment, discipline, integrity, hard work and passion". He took office in a country where the economic standard was not that critical, but the social aspect left much to be desired. In fact, during his first tenure of office, there were people, who could die from preventable diseases, suffer from starvation, live without clean water and decent shelters or proper sanitation (IA). Some people were prone to discrimination, exploitation or abuse and did not have the opportunity to receive a decent education or have a good job. Relying on the strong economic resources of the country, President Zuma took full responsibility for keeping on building on the foundations of their economy. He believed in the common desire for a better life and a peaceful cohabitation between South Africans (black, white, Asian and colored), which will pave the way for a partnership for socioeconomic reconstruction, development and progress. He baptized his tenure of office as an era of rebirth when he said: "Fellow South Africans, this is indeed a moment of renewal" (IA).

In light of what has been developed so far, it can be revealed that all statesmen are endowed with the craftsmanship of rhetorically rallying electors to their political cause, which seems to be legitimate rightly because that which they bring to the fore reflects the true realities of people's living conditions. Words of hope and optimism are skillfully selected to tame people, who are undoubtedly hooked by politicians' powerful concepts, which are used as vehicles for ideology conveyance. In fact, "ideologies are representations of aspects of the world, which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations

of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2003, p.218). President Zuma came up with the ideology of "Renewal". It is certainly the social and politico-economic renewal as he puts forth the rebirth or revival of the nation in that any bottleneck of poverty should be replaced by prosperity.

The implementation of his manifesto should impact South Africans. President Zuma gives much hope when he says: "The dreams and hopes of all the people of our country must be fulfilled. Everything we do must contribute in a direct and meaningful way to the improvement of the lives of our people (IA)." Actually, the president and his administration are entrusted with the task of downsizing hunger and poverty, reducing unemployment and jettisoning social inequalities. As can be noticed, President Zuma said what follows: "Over the last twenty years we have worked together to change the face of our country. We have worked hard to improve people's lives, especially the poor" (SNA). Looking at the achievements of President Zuma, the verdict is clear and neat. There is an improvement of the populations' living standards since the goal is not forcibly the eradication of poverty but the reduction of extreme impoverishment. According to the data released by Stats SA, the 'Poverty Trends in South Africa's report shows that there was a general decline in poverty between 2006 and 2011 (http://www.statssa.gov.). According to the World Bank, the population of South Africa in 2011 was about 52.26% million people of diverse origins, cultures, languages, and religions. Grounding on this demographic, the drop in poverty in the country

> translates to roughly 10.2-million South Africans living in extreme poverty (below the food line) in 2011, compared to 12.6-million in 2006; and 23-million living in moderate poverty (below the upper line), compared to 27.1-million in 2006. In terms of the lower poverty line – higher than the food line but lower than the upper line – 32.3% of the population, or roughly 16.3-million people, were living in poverty in 2011, down from 42.2% or 20-million people in 2006. It is this line that the country's National Development Plan (NDP) uses in setting its ambitious target of eliminating poverty by 2030 (http://www.statssa.gov.).

The above-mentioned report corroborates the development strives made by the Zuma's administration, although there are a lot more things to do for the country's welfare.

The poorest people percentage has decreased even though there is still a bipolarization of the South African society (the rich and poor). Although poverty has been reduced, the inequality between social classes is still a serious issue. According to the Poverty Trends report, which measures inequality in terms of the *Gini coefficient* – a number between 0 and 1, where 0 indicates total equality and 1 indicates total inequality, South Africa's Gini figure was approximately 0.65 based on expenditure data (per capita excluding taxes) and

0.69 based on income data (per capita including salaries, wages and social grants) in 2011. This disparity uncloaks the immense power of the minority over the majority starting with President Zuma and his closest collaborators. And as a result of this, there is an unequal power relationship that is established between these two social classes. In keeping with the above assumption, "the share of national consumption between the richest and poorest remains stubbornly stagnant. The richest 20% of the population account for over 61% of consumption in 2011 (down from a high of 64% in 2006). Meanwhile, the bottom 20% see their share remaining fairly constant at below 4.5%" (http://www.statssa.gov.).

But, the heavy price to pay when political promises are not kept is the incapability or even the impossibility of being reelected. In this connection, the debacles of Presidents Jonathan (Nigeria) and Mahama (Ghana) respectively in the presidential election of 2015 and 2016 showed that electors sanction/admonish candidates through universal balloting when their results/achievements are not satisfactory. The withdrawal of François Hollande (France) from the 2017 presidential was relatively due to the fact that his chances for reelection were very minimal and as an experiment statistician-statesman, he decided not to compete in that election. On account of his relatively positive results and despite all the serious issues of poverty and inequality, President Zuma succeeded in being reelected at the end of his first term during the general election of 2014. The sovereign people have judged him appropriate and have granted him a second term. It should then be abnormal not to recognize that the government made some developmental strives. On balance, this explanation section has highly partaken in the discussion of the social, political, economic practices in the country and has helped to uncover the ideological dimension and unequal power relation existing among the social agents. At this juncture of the current linguistic exploration, it is of paramount significance to end the analysis carried out so far on a concluding note.

Conclusion

Drawing on Fairclough's (1989) CDA model, this study has aimed at describing the formal linguistic properties (processes), interpreting the findings to uncover the experiential function and explaining these with the ultimate view to unearthing the ideological assumption and power relation which are embedded in the IA and SNA. Having set this purpose, Fairclough's (1989) descriptive, interpretative and explanatory approach has been exploited to conduct the three-stage analysis. In fact, "critical discourse analysts are generally concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of discourse in the construction and representation of this social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain such

relationships" (Rogers, 2004, p.3). The descriptive analysis has unveiled a high rate of projecting verbal operators in the IA and a significant proportion of doing processes in the SNA. Conversely, doing processes have been of a lower rate in the IA while projecting ones have been so in the SNA. In both addresses, the rates of being processes have nearly been similar numerically in their characterization and definition stances. The interpretative analysis has disclosed that the predominance of projecting processes in the IA is symptomatic of more planning or organization. It has equally shown that the high proportion of doing processes in the SNA uncloaks more actions or performances and that being processes are concerned with depicting the policies and actions of the government. The explanation of findings has contributed to unveiling the ideology of "renewal" in the addresses and the inequality of power relation between two major categories of people who are completely dissociated by their power purchase. This factual reality has not hindered President Zuma from being granted a second term by the sovereign electors insofar as his achievements have convinced the populace of South Africa, who once again believe in his developmental policies and leadership. Has he been able to finish off that term? This unanswered question serves as the pending one for a soon coming study.

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