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Mandela in the Arabic Media: A Transitivity Analysis of *Aljazeera* Arabic Website

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ABSTRACT

The paper uses an eclectic approach combining systemic functional linguistics (SFL), critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics to reveal how Mandela is presented in the Arab Media. SFL and CDA enable the researchers to explore the ideological and attitudinal bases underlying the selection of particular discourse structures for the realization of transitivity, that is, the ideational meaning in the texts/corpus. Specifically, the paper unravels process types, that is, material, relational, mental and verbal processes in data from Aljazeera's Arabic website to account for the manner Mandela as a participant is presented compared to other participants, and the kinds of participant roles ascribed to him. The paper shows that material processes covering actions and events in which Mandela is the main agent and actor are by far the most frequently used type of processes in the corpus. Additionally, the discourse structures appear deliberately selected not only for sentimental reasons, but also to evoke readers' sympathy regarding his wife's infidelities and his hospitalisation, and also to induce appreciation for the man who endured 27 years for the freedom of his people and yet held no grudges against those incarcerated him. We conclude that Mandela is constructed in such a way that he is the focal point on which the Arab world could look for moral inspiration, reformation and reconciliation in the face of adversities resulting from religious, political and socioeconomic turmoil.

1. Introduction

Arabs, like people throughout the world, were thrilled by the news of Mandela's release and they celebrated the day of his freedom as if he was one of them. It is widely believed that Mandela has always been supporting the Arab issues in Palestine, Iraq and Libya. Arabs, therefore, feel morally obliged to Mandela and thus they have attempted to reward him for his brave stances. It is no wonder then that his books attract millions of Arab readers. The first collection of his speeches has been published through the UNESCO project Kitāb fi jarīdah "A book in a newspaper" in 2007. More than two million copies of this collection have been disseminated throughout the Arab World. In addition, his masterpiece autobiography The Long Walk to Freedom has attracted special attention in the Arab World and it has two different Arabic versions. The translation of the autobiography has introduced the summary of Mandela's long journey to freedom to the Arab-speaking community.

It may be argued that without the role of media Mandela would not have attained such popularity throughout the world. Mandela has not also been presented without prejudices in some other world media. Thus, media can contribute widely to bring fame to somebody or to distort his image according to the ideology the media follows. In other words, media can reshape the minds of audience and can help in the construction of social reality. Ideologies are closely associated with power and domination, and they are reflected in language. Everything that is said or written is hardly free of ideological motivations. It is ideology that makes reporters opt for particular words rather than others. As Fowler (1991:4) rightly puts it:

... there are always different ways of saying the same thing and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions and thus differences in representation.

In this paper, we attempt to find out how Mandela is presented in *Aljazeera*'s coverage and how the ideology of the channel can

affect the presentation of events related to him. The focus will be on just one salient aspect of the realisation of ideational meaning in texts, which is transitivity. The ideational metafunction is concerned with meanings that represent our experience of the world. Thus, the paper will deal with the set of grammatical resources that represent Mandela's "experience of various types of processes such as acting, speaking and even... simply existing – or not, as the case may be" (Haig 2011: 20). In particular, the study attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1. How Mandela has been projected in the Arab Media?
- 2. What are the roles carried out by Mandela in texts of the corpus? And how is Halliday's ideational metafunction represented in the corpus?

The transitivity analysis will be supplemented by an eclectic approach of CDA with a view to investigating some aspects such as lexical choices, collocational restrictions, etc. In particular, the paper is based on the approaches adopted by some prominent figures in the field of CDA and PDA such as (Fairclough 1995, 2003), (Van Dijk 1997) among others. The critical approaches to CDA adopted by them intersect with SFG in that the textual analysis is "the *sine qua non* of ideological critique" (Haig 2011: 20).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of studies have used Systemic Functional Linguistics as a tool for critical discourse analysis. Adampa (1999) has investigated how the two main participants of a physical assault, the female victim and the male perpetrator, and their actions are represented in three newspaper articles. The study has in particular focused on the use of passivization and nominalization in the three newspapers. The study has concluded that the particular linguistic choices in the three articles are ideologically significant in that they reproduce the existing asymmetrical relations between the two sexes in the context of this specific social practice. The male victimizer has not been projected in a

focal position in the texts. His violent act is presented as an individual incident that has nothing to do with acts of control and masculine domination.

Manan (2001) has investigated how language is used by the *New Straits Times* (NST) to portray the former Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim and the Reformasi Movement.

The study has concluded that NST tends to favor certain linguistic options over others. Anwar and the Reformasi Movement have been given powerful, agentive or focal roles. As Manan (2001: 49) points out,

By consistently ascribing them such roles, one is inclined to perceive them as particular types of participants only. Such participants can only accompany a limited range of predicates or verbs. Since little attempts are made to cast these participants in a variety of roles, I find that NST is inclined to project a monologic view of the world, one which perceives these participants as "victimizers" and as "perpetrators" of crimes.

Caffarel & Rechniewski (2009) have tackled ideology in two French editorials. In particular, the study has attempted an analysis of appraisal resources and transitivity in two editorials taken from Le Figaro and Libération. The study has concluded that they construe ideology through the foregrounding of particular patterns of linguistic choices. Although the editorials revolve around the kidnapping of two French journalists and on the action that should be taken, different linguistic choices have been employed by the two newspapers to convey the ideology of each newspaper and to persuade the reader to adopt its perspective on the event.

Rahmani (2011) has studied the representation of Iran in the *New York Times* before and after Barack Obama's adjuration on January 21, 2009. The study has used CDA and the grammar of transitivity of SFG to unravel the ideology of the *New York Times* towards Iran. It has concluded that Iran has been introduced as a dangerous powerful enemy in the articles and headlines released before the coming of Obama into power. However, the presented image of Iran is partly moderate in the

articles after Obama's adjuration. Thus, the change in the policy of government has brought about change in the approach of the newspaper toward Iran.

Haig (2011) has tackled the influence of ideologies relating to youth and crime on the BBC's radio news broadcasts. An excerpt from a radio news bulletin broadcast by the BBC has been analyzed. The lead story in the bulletin is concerned with a particularly tragic youth crime incident in which an eleven-year-old boy was killed by a teenage gang member in Liverpool. The study claims that all socially situated texts are, to a greater or lesser degree, ideological. Haig (2011: 38) has added that,

the identifiable ideological aspects of the text's transitivity process type patterns relate not so much to capitalist or even more generally political ideologies but to the professional journalistic ideology of the BBC as a public service broadcasting organization.

Liao (2012) has investigated newspaper reports published in Australia, the United States, and Japan, which include articles written in English and Japanese. The reports were written about a specific issue (i.e., anti-whaling) on the assumption that the three countries would maintain different stances. The study has concluded that certain linguistic strategies may influence the news reports to reflect the writers' perspectives on the events even though they are hidden to the readers. While the Australian reports depicted Japanese actors in negative material processes and showed positive inclinations to their anti-whaling stance, the US news reports have presented the anti- whaling groups as actors and goals, and these choices also seemed to imply their anti-whaling stance. In contrast, the Japanese reports featured the Japanese government as actors and the Japanese officials as sayers and favored their pro-whaling stance.

Yaghoobi (2013) has compared an Iranian newspaper and an American magazine with opposing ideologies with an aim to reveal how these ideologies are represented differently in these printed media with regard to Hizbullah-Israel war in 2006. The study has concluded that passivization and nominalization have been used to manipulate the realizations of agency and power in

the representation of action to produce particular meanings, which are likely to be implicit for all readers.

Unlike the above-surveyed studies, our study is a corpusbased study that includes more data and thus it provides more insight into the use of transitivity to express ideology. Secondly, the study focuses on a more wider audience and the attitude of this audience towards a person who comes from a different country and continent and a person who embraces a different religion. It also tackles the transitivity aspects with relation to a channel of a universal reputation and the ideology that this channel tries to indoctrinate.

3. HALLIDAY'S MODEL OF LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a social approach to language that views language as a meaning resource that enables people to interact with each other in particular situational and cultural contexts. Halliday (1994: 15) observes that SFG

is a theory of grammar that is oriented towards the discourse semantics. In other words, if we say we are interpreting the grammar functionally, it means that we are foregrounding its role as a resource for construing meaning.

According to Halliday (1994: 35), a distinctive meaning is construed through three strands of meaning or metafunctions: ideational; interpersonal; and textual. They represent different aspects of the world and different modes of meaning of clauses. The ideational metafunction is about the natural world and is concerned with clauses as representations. The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with clauses as exchanges. In other words, it deals with the social world, the relationship between text producer and text receiver. The textual metafunction, however, deals with the verbal world and it is concerned with the clauses as messages. The three metafunctions comprise the discourse semantics of a text and they are realized by the lexicogrammar. Each metafunction is realized through a

particular system and they are associated with the situational aspects of register (Halliday 1978, 1994).

SFG, according to Matthiessen (1995), views language as resource of several levels, namely, context, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology. Phonology/graphology represents the expression stratum, which is regarded to be the physical "realization" of the lexicogrammar stratum and this, in turn, realizes the third stratum, that of the discourse semantics. These three strata correspond to three hierarchically arranged strata of context: the context of situation (i.e., what is going on in the specific situation in which the text occurs) and it can be analyzed through register analysis of field, tenor, and mode); the context of culture (i.e., the wider context of the text); and ideology.

Using SFL in CDA can be implemented in two different ways. We can have a macro-analysis in which a particular ideology such as discrimination, religious intolerance, xenophobia, sectarianism or the like is analyzed and then the realization of such ideological issues are traced and investigated through the various strata. On the other hand, a text/corpus can be the point of departure and then a down-top analysis of the various strata can be conducted "to make inferences about the ideology which influenced its production" (Heig 2011: 21).

The first approach looks more subjective and too judgmental and thus we opt for the latter approach in our paper.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is the grammar of experience (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). It offers a system to express the experiences and internal world's ongoing happenings and thought by categorizing them into a set of process types. It is therefore different and more complicated from the diacotomy of traditional grammar of transitivity vs. intransitivity.

In other words, it is a system of lexicogrammar that contributes to the realization of ideation whether experiential (concerned with the representation of experience) or logical (concerned with the ways in which clauses are linked into

sentences and paragraphs). The components of the transitivity system can be approached in SFL through the analysis of the "processes" in a text, "participants" and "circumstances."

Processes are divided into six types: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal and existential processes. Material processes include verbs of doing or actions and events, and doing to. "Mental processes," on the other hand, are processes of sensing which entail verbs of feelings, perceptions, cognition and consideration. "Verbal processes," however, are processes of saying and they encompass verbs of saying, telling, reporting, etc. Other processes are "relational processes" of being that entail intensive verbs, and verbs indicating possessive or circumstantial relations; "behavioural processes," which are processes of psychological and physiological behavior and "existential processes" that entail verbs indicating existence.

5. METHODOLOGY

The paper attempts a CDA of the image of Nelson Mandela in the Arab media through the description of ideational metafunctional characteristics in a corpus of news/reports derived from Aljazeera with a view to finding out the ideologies that they help to realise. The data selected for this study has been taken from the website of Aljazeera Arabic (www.aljazeera.net). It is a corpus based study of all the reports, news and discussions about Mandela within the period of his 2013 illness (March to April 2013). All of the news reports related to Mandela during this period were downloaded. Opinion articles, blogs and commentaries have been excluded because they do not necessarily represent the channel's official viewpoints and ideology. The selection of Aljazeera as a source of the data is based on its astounding success and coverage throughout the Middle East and the world. According to (Barkho 2006: 2), Aljazeera "still grabs more than half of the television market share in the Arab world."

Sketchengine is then used to compile the corpus which consists of 21149 token. This corpus tool helps us to find out some quantitative data such as the frequencies of words,

collocations and concordances that can shed some light on the ideology of *Aljazeera*. A snapshot of our corpus is given below.



Figure 1. A snapshot of the concordance of the word Māndila in the corpus

To show what kinds of approaches *Aljazeera* has used to present Nelson Mandela to its wide audience and what ideology such a presentation is based on, a transitivity analysis of the clauses that specifically deal with Mandela or one of his references in the corpus is attempted. In other words, all clauses that feature Mandela as one of the participants are identified with a view to finding out how Mandela as a participant is presented in the clauses vis-a-vis other participants and what participant roles are ascribed to him (i.e., the roles of Actors, Sensers, Sayers, etc). To avoid errors in the process of annotation, we have used the UAM corpus tool to annotate all the clauses related to Mandela in the corpus. First, an annotation scheme or layer is devised as is clear in Figure 2.

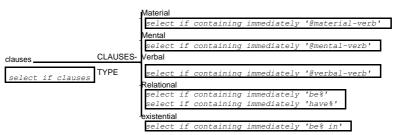


Figure 2. An annotation scheme for clauses types

Secondly, all clauses related to Mandela have been annotated and captured in the corpus. This helps the researchers not only to find more accurate results but also to obtain further descriptive statistics data. An example of an annotated file from our corpus is given in Figure 3 below:

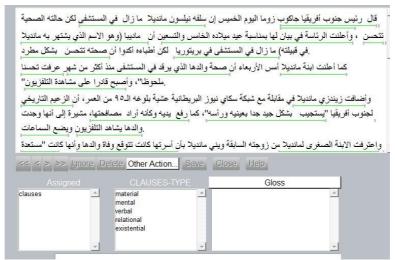


Figure 3. An example of the annotation process in the UAM corpus

6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This analysis explores how the system of transitivity choices functions in the Mandela-related stories covered by *Aljazeera*. The data shows that all types processes have been used to suit

different ideological contexts. Table (1) presents a summary of those processes.

Table 1. Process types and their frequencies in the Arabic corpus process

Process	Frequency	Percentage
Material	205	46.49%
Relational	91	20.63%
Verbal	74	16.78%
Mental	61	13.83%
Existential	10	2.27%
	441	

In what follows we will investigate the ideological aspects of ideational meaning in the three most frequently used process types in the corpus (i.e., material, relational and verbal processes).

6.1. Material processes

As Table (1) shows, material processes are by far the most frequently used type of processes in the corpus. This shows clearly that *Aljazeera*, in an endeavour to impart information about Mandela to an audience that is not quite familiar with the man and his struggle history, paid more attention to cover actions and events and the participants involved in them. Although the selected corpus deals with the coverage of Mandela's illness right from the day he was admitted to hospital till the end of July, 2013, almost all the stories in the corpus go beyond the coverage of Mandela's illness to his political and struggle history.

In various clauses of the corpus, *Aljazeera* tends to present Mandela as an actor who assumes the most powerful participant role in a clause. Foregrounding Mandela by putting him in such a focal position aims to depict him as a powerful character whose actions can directly affect others. Mandela has also been introduced as an influential actor of material processes in stories that are neither associated with him nor with the coverage of his illness. For instance, Mandela has been presented in news stories related to the economical reformation in Egypt, the reconciliation

in some Arab countries, film industry, Arab spring and others. Mandela has also been presented as an icon that must be followed to find a way out of the accumulated problems of the Middle East. Consider, for instance, the analysis of the following report taken from our corpus. The report, on the surface, covers Mandela's illness and his treatment at a heart hospital in Pretoria. Mandela has been, more often than not, accorded an actor's position in all the material processes in the report. On different occasions, he has been presented as a victim who responds properly to treatment. That is normal to describe the illness of Mandela. However, a cursory look at other processes in the report under investigation as well as other news stories in the corpus shows that Aljazeera went far behind the illness of Mandela to give very subtle details about the man and his gestures on illness bed and to talk about his history and contributions.

The report starts with a verbal clause by Zuma, the president of South Africa and another material clause about the health of Mnadela is embedded in it, as is clear in (1).

1. ... Ḥalatahu al-ṣiḥiyah [Actor] Tataḥasan[Pm]. Mandela's health state improves

The same material process is embedded in another verbal process by the president office as in (2).

2. ana şihatahu (Madiba) [Actor] tataḥasan [Pm] bi-shaklin muṭarid [CM].

Verily Madiba's health improves dramatically.

In the subsequent clauses, the same material process has been frequently repeated, albeit in different expressions. For instance, in (2), Mandela's health status has been presented as an actor with the repetition of the same process *tataḥasan* "improve" followed by the circumstance of manner *bi-shaklin muṭarid* "dramatically." A third material clause follows in the report in the tongue of Mandela's daughter as in (3).

3. Ana şiḥat walidiha [Actor] 'arafat [Pm] taḥsunan malhūẓan [CM].

Verily the health of her father witnessed an observable improvement.

In (3) an embedded material clause is used as a part of a verbal clause uttered by Mandela's daughter. In this embedded clause, Mandela's health status is once again presented in a focal position and the same material process verb *tataḥasan* is used. However, some more details were given by using the circumstance of manner *bi-shaklin malhud* "in an observable manner."

Zindzi Mandela has also commented on her father's health using a material process and more circumstantial details, as is obvious in the clause complex given in (4).

4. Al-zaʿī m al-tārīkhī li-janūb Āfriqyā [Actor] yastajīb [Pm]bi-shaklin jayid jidan [CM] bi-ʿīnīh wa rasihi [CA] kamā rafaʿa [Actor + Pm] yadahū [Range] wa kāʾnahū arād muṣāfaḥtiha.

The historical leader of South Africa responds with his eyes and head in a very good manner. He also rose his hand to shake her [hand].

Thus, some more details were given through the use of two circumstances, the first is a circumstance of manner bi- shaklin jayid jidan "in a very good manner" and the second is the accompanying circumstance bi-' \bar{i} $n\bar{i}h$ wa rasihi "with his eyes and head." In (4), $kam\bar{a}$ is used as an "additive marker in a paratactic nexus as indicated by the fact that a secondary clause marked by an extending $kam\bar{a}$ can stand as an independent or paragraph initial clause" (Fattah 2010: 116 -117). Thus, the material clause rafa "a "to raise" and the range yadahu "his hand," can stand on its own as an independent clause and it gives the audience a beam of hope about Mandela's recovery.

Another material process is used by *Zindzi Mandela* to describe the actions of the sickbed Mandela is given in (5), in which Mandela is presented as an actor who puts on headphones.

Wālidaha [Actor] yūshahid [Pm] al-tilifiziyūn [Range] wa ya aʿu [Pm] al-samāʿāt [Range].
 Her father watches TV and puts on headphone.

The youngest daughter of Mandela has also commented on the last bout of her father's illness, using the material process in (6).

6. ina baṭal īsqāt niẓām al-tamyīz al-ʿ unṣrī [Actor] yūwāṣil [Pm] mufājātina [Range] yauman baʿd yaum [CL].

The hero of the fall of the Apartheid continues to surprise us day after day.

In (6), Mandela is also introduced as an actor and anti-partied hero. The material process $y\bar{u}w\bar{a}$ \sin "continues" is followed by the range muf \sin "surprise" and the affected "us" which refers to the entire South African nation and the location circumstance yauman \sin "day after day." The use of the above material process underscores that Mandela is a man of action who continues to surprise his nation in thrives and hardships. Irrespective of the vicissitudes of his life, he remains a hero.

Therefore, the gist of the news story is that Mandela's health witnesses some kind of improvement. The use of different expressions to describe the same event is not random and it passes ideological implications. In the light of the ongoing bad news about the current Arab presidents, the audience of the *Aljazeera* Arabic are desperate for good news about a leader like Mandela. The media can, therefore, play an important role to console them and keep them informed about the improvement his health witnesses. It is true that *Aljazeera* has kept its website and television bulletins buzzing with round -the-clock updates concerning Mandela's health, it has never reported the early demise of Mandela. Thus, *Aljazeera* was waiting for good news about the recovery of Mandela and it was not a vulture, "waiting when a lion has devoured the buffalo, waiting there ... for the last carcasses," as described by Makaziwe Mandela.

Then, the report uses more material processes in (7), (8) and (9) to describe that Mandela turns 95; he was admitted to hospital a month ago and he was diagnosed to have a lung infection.

- 7. wayukmil [Pm] Māndila [Actor] al-yaum[CL] al-khamīs [CL] 'āmahu al-khāmis wa al-tis 'īn [Cx]. This Thursday Mandela completes his 95th years.
- 8. Āudkhila [Pm+ Goal] Al-mustashfa [CL] fī al-thāmin min yūnyū ḥuzayrān [CL] li-iṣābatihi bi-ʿadwa fī al-riʾah [CC]. He was admitted to hospital due to a lung infection.
- 9. Nuqila [Pm+ Goal] 'la īthriha [CC] īla al-mustashfa [CL] arba' marāt [Cx] khilāl al-'ashhur al-sitah al-māḍiyah [Cx].

 Afterward, he has been taken to hospital four times during the past six months.

The ideology of *Aljazeera* to present Mandela as a hero in a heated region that witnessed and still witnesses uprisings against regimes and where people aspire to have great leaders that can bring about a radical change in the Arab World is clear in each report. Each news story in the corpus ends with the use of a number of material processes to describe significant events in the life of Mandela and his struggle history. In (10), Mandela is the actor who $q\bar{a}da$ "led" his nation in its struggle against the Apartheid.

10. Wa qāda [Pm] Māndila [Actor] bilādahu [Range] fī kifāḥihā ḍida al-tamyīz al ʿunṣirī [CC].

Mandela has led his country in its struggle against the Apartheid.

In a similar vein, in (11), Mandela is the victim who *qada* "spent" 27 years in jail.

11. wa qaḍa [Pm+ Actor] 27 ʿāman [Cx] fī alsjn [CL]. And he spent 27 years in prison.

The use of the extent circumstance 27 'āman "27 years' heightens both the idea of "criminality" (Fowler 1991: 138) of the Apartheid regime and intensifies our perception of Mandela as a patient freedom fighter. This becomes clearer in (12), in which Mandela is the actor whose imprisonment period hawalathu "turns him to" an icon and a legendary figure in Africa and the world.

12. mimā ḥawalahu [Pm+ Actor] li-ramz wa ausṭūrah [Goal] fī afrīqīyā wa al-ʿālam [CL].

This has turned him to an icon in Africa and the world.

The use of material processes continues to dominate the scene and Mandela is presented as an actor who reaps the fruit of his struggle, as is clear in (13) and (14).

- 13. wa 'ufrija [Pm] 'anhu [Goal] 'ām 1990 [CL]. He was released in 1990.
- 14. wa ḥaṣala [Pm+ Actor] 'ala jā'izat Nūbil li-al-salām [Goal] 'ām 1993 [CL].

He won the Noble Prize for peace in 1993.

In (13), Mandela is a victorious goal who *ufrija 'anhu* "was released" in 1990 and in (14), he is presented as an actor who deserves the reward and thus the material process verb h aşala "obtained" is used and followed by the goal $j\bar{a}$ 'izat $N\bar{u}bil$ li-alsalām "Noble Peace Prize."

The remaining material clauses in the report continue to bring out the stark contrast between "us" or the Arab World and "them" or the South Africans, although in away different from the "we" vs. "them" of Van Dijk (1997). A clear instance of this is given in (15).

 Wa bāta ya ʿīsh [Pm+ Actor] fī ʿuzlah tāmah [CM] ba ʿīdan ʿan alḥayāh al-siyāsiyah [Cposition].
 He distanced himself from the political life.

In (15), Mandela is not only the sincere actor of a clause complex who left power but *lam ya 'ud lahu 'ayat ḥudūr 'alani* "he no longer appears in public and distances himself from political life" in contrast to a lot of Arab leaders who continue to destabilize their countries even after they step down.

The news report ends with a clause complex of two material processes, as given in (16).

16. mā zāla yaḥza [Pm+ Actor] bi-iḥtrām [Goal] min kāfat al-sha'b li-'anahu najaha [Pm+Actor] fī tafādī tafjīr al-'unf al-'unṣirī athnā' al-intiqāl min nizām al-faṣl al-'unṣirī 'īla al-dimuqrātiyāh. He still receives the respect of his people because he succeeded to avoid the outbreak of racial violence during the transition period from apartheid to democracy.

Thus, Mandela is an agent who mā zāla yaḥz a bi- iḥtrām "still receives respect" from all people of his country even though he is no longer in power. The clause is enhanced through the logico-semantic causal enhancement relation li-'anahu najaha fī tafādī tafjīr al-'unf al-'unṣirī athnā' al-intiqāl min nizām al-faṣl al-'unṣirī 'īla al-dimuqrātiyāh "because he succeeded to avoid the outbreak of racial violence during the transition period from apartheid to democracy."

Aljazeera prides itself as the Arab channel that supports all the uprisings of the Arab Spring. It uses this material process to show the sharp contrast between Mandela who is still widely respected by his people and that of the Arab presidents who left power forcefully and they no longer have the respect of their people. While Mandela is the actor who has been successful to avoid violence in his country, there are leaders in the Arab world who tries their best to drag their countries into violence. Thus, linguistic choices are used to manipulate the realizations of ideology and power in the representation of action and to produce particular meanings the majority of readers are not likely familiar with.

Comparing the above report with the coverage of *Aljazeera English* of the same event shows that *Aljazeera* adopts different ideologies for different audiences. Like the Arabic report, the English one includes similar material processes concerning Mandela's health status. However, after the description of Mandela's health, the report abounds in the use of material processes that deal with the celebration of his birthday, charitable services for 67 minutes to match with the 67 years that Mandela served his community, etc. However, not even a single material process has been used to refer to Mandela's history, his presidential term, his isolation from the political life, the respect

he still receives from people or the awards he got. The English speaking audience targeted by *Aljazeera English* is more concerned with charitable services than the political concern and the crisis of leadership that preoccupies the Arabic audience. This is also clear in the space of coverage of Mandela's birthday in the Arabic report. There is only a single clause about his 95th anniversary and a multimodal text showing Mandela and some prayers and messages of hope written by well-wishers.

It is worth mentioning that material processes are realized by a verb expressing an action, either concrete or abstract. Although the majority of verbs in the corpus are concrete, there are a few examples that illustrate that Material processes may be represented at greater or lesser levels of abstraction. Consider, for instance, (17).

17. *Māndila* [Actor] *al-ḍhī yu āri* [Pm] *al-maut* [Goal]. Mandela who fights death...

The expression yuṣā riʿ al-maut "fight death" looks far more abstract. Apparently, it does not imply that Mandela is carrying his gun to fight death. The nature of the struggle would most probably involve patience and tolerance. Similarly, when Obama was asked about his heroes outside America he said, "Among them are Mandela and Gandhi" and he used the material process in (18).

18. ...man yughayirūn [Pm+Actor] 'ukūl al-nās wa qulūbahum [Goal]. Those who change the mindset of people and their hearts.

Hence, Mandela has not changed the minds and hearts of people physically but he has greatly influenced them and set himself as an example of tolerance and forgiveness.

As for voice, the use of active voice is higher than passive voice. This kind of preference indicates that *Aljazeera* tends to foreground the actors either positively in the case of Mandela or negatively in the case of his opponents. Thus, the avoidance of passivization in processes where Mandela is a victim emphasizes *Aljazeera*'s ideology that the actors of negative actions should

not be concealed and they should not be shielded from accusations (Seymour 2007). Interestingly enough, the identity of the actors has sometimes been made clearer through the use of circumstantial adjuncts as is clear in (19).

19. Wa kāna Māndila — al-fā'iz bi-jāizat Nubil li-al-salām 'ām 1993qad amḍā 27 'āman min ḥayātih dakhil sujūn niḍām al-faṣl al-'unṣiri fī bi-lādihi.

Mandela, who has obtained the Noble Prize for peace in 1993, spent 27 years of his life inside the jails of the Apartheid regime in his country.

The previous text can be rephrased as qaḍā Māndila 27 'aman fī al-sijn "Mandela spent 27 years in prison." However, Aljazeera has opted for the revelation of the identity of the actor (i.e., niḍām al-faṣ l al-'unṣiri) as part of the circumstantial adjunct dakhil sujūn niḍām al-faṣl al-'unṣiri fī bi-lādihi "inside the jails of the apartheid."

5.2. Relational processes

A relational process is a process of being and it either describes an attributive or an identifying relation. The use of relational processes is widely used in the description of people and objects. In our corpus, relational processes occupy the second category of processes with a percentage of 20.63%. This means that a great deal of the news covered by *Aljazeera* is devoted to the description of Mandela's attributes or to the identification of entities. It can be argued that the relatively high frequency of attributive and identifying relative processes in the corpus is commensurate with the nature of news texts/coverage whose sole aim is to provide facts about people, things and actions.

In the corpus, relational processes are used to describe the situation of the ailing Mandela as is clear in the following text. In fact, the health situation of Mandela has been described over again and again using intensive attributive relational processes, as is clear in (20).

20. ḥalat al-ra'is al-asbaq Nilsun Māndila [Carrier] Mā tazāl [Pr] ḥarijah [Attribute].

The health condition of the former president, Nelson Mandela is still critical.

In (20), the relational process is used to relate the participant to its description. In other words, Mandela's health is the carrier and *harijah* "critical" is the attribute.

The same description of his health is repeated by the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon in (21).

21. Mandela [Carrier] alaḍhī [Pr] tadahurat Ṣiḥatahu [Attribute] muakharan

Mandela whose health has been critical recently...

In this case, even if the verb *tadahurat* "deteriorated" in Arabic can be interpreted as a material process verb, it is also typical of relational processes because the verb can be interpreted as one of *be* (Eggins 2004: 249-50). Then, the same news is repeated in a statement by the Minister of Foreign affairs in (22), where Mandela is presented as a carrier and *fī ḥālah ṣiḥiya ḥarijah* "in a critical health situation" is the attribute.

22. Māndila [Carrier] (94) fī [Pr] ḥalah ṣiḥiyah ḥarijah [Attribute] lakin mustiqirah.

Mandela (94)'s health state is critical but stable.

Intensive identifying relational processes which aim to "set up an identity, role or meaning" (Butt et al. 2001: 59) are also repeatedly used in the corpus, as is clear in (23).

23. Māndila [Identified (IFD)] aḥad 'amaliqat al-qarn al-'ishrīn [Identifier (IFR)]

Mandela is one of the giants of the twentieth century.

In (23), Mandela has been presented as an identified and the new identity attributed to him is that he is one of the giants of the twentieth century.

Likewise, in (24), another relational identifying process is used to describe the secret behind Mandela's fame.

24. Mā zāla Māndila [Token] yumathil [Pr] li-Janūb Afriqyah Muhandis al-taḥawul al-silmī 'ila al-dimuqrāṭiyah [Value].

To South Africa, Mandela is the engineer of the peaceful transition to democracy.

In (24), Mandela has been presented as a token and the value attributed to him is the entity that he is *Muhandis al-taḥawul al-silmī 'ila al-dimuqrāṭiyah fī 'ām 1994* "the engineer of the peaceful change in 1994."

The corpus does not only feature a considerable number of intensive relational processes but also circumstantial as well as possessive relational ones. Consider, for instance, the relational process in (25).

25. wa baqa [Pr + Token] fi hadh al-manşib [CL] ḥata 1999 [Value (Circumstance)].

He remained in his position as president until 1999.

Thus, baqa "remained" is followed by the temporal circumstances ft hatha al-manşib "in this post" and hata 1999 "till 1999." Here, ideological implications are obvious. Aljazeera hints that Mandela is unlike the Arab presidents who are hankering after leadership and once they cling to power, they try their best to remain presidents for life. (25) shows that the Arab audience is made to perceive Mandela "their president" as being different from "our presidents" for he broke the president-for-life rule in the Middle East and Africa.

Similarly, in (26) Mandela is presented as a token for whom the whole world prays. Mandela is a person who deserves to be thought of and to be prayed for.

26. *tafkīrana wa Şalwātina* [Token] *hiya* [Pr] *min 'ajl Nilsun Māndila* [Value (circumstance)].

Our thoughts and prayers are for the sake of Nelson Mandela.

This kind of process is repeated in the corpus with a view to encouraging the Arab audience, who are mostly Muslims, to pray for Mandela. It seems that such ideological message has reached a lot of Muslim who pay tribute to Mandela despite the fact that praying for non-Muslims is a matter of controversy among Muslim scholars.

Although it is a very common tradition that media supports their coverage with opinions, statements and comments of external sources, it can be argued that the excessive use of such external sources is not without ideological implications. In our corpus, intensive relational processes are not only used by *Aljazeera*'s personnel or external reliable sources, but also by the common people and fellow citizens. In a region that is afflicted with the corruption of its leaders and where love of the people to their leader is decisive to judge the reputation of a leader, *Aljazeera* resorted to the common South Africans to emphasize that Mandela is a rarity. Consider, for example, the use of intensive relational processes in (27).

27. taqūl "lundrā" Al-Janūb Afrīqiyah "huwa [Token] ramz hādhā al-sha'ab wa fakhrih, huwa tārīkhahu wa ḥāḍirah wa mustaqbalah" [Value]

Lundra, the South African says: "He is the symbol of this people, its history, its present and future."

Therefore, Mandela in the eyes of the speaker who was identified as "Lundra, the South African," is the token and the value attributed to him is that he is "the symbol of this people, its history, its present and future." In another extreme, *Aljazeera* tends to present the opinions of the Whites on Nelson Mandela, as is clear in (28).

28. 'mā Youhan Alas,... fa-yaqūl wa huwa yudāri al-dumū' ... Laqad kāna Māndila ramzan li-al-qiyādah wa al-riyādah wa al-tajāwuz wa hiya mabād' atmana 'an yarithahā jīlana al-shāb.

The relational clause in the text above can be represented as follows.

Māndila [Token] ramzan li-al-qiyādah wa al-riyādah wa al-tajāwuz [Value].

Mandela is a symbol for leadership, pioneering and forgiveness.

Therefore, Mandela is again the token and the value attributed to him is that he is "the symbol of leadership, pioneering and forgiveness." The text, however, includes some kind of Overcompletness (Van Dijk 1991) that can unravel the ideology of Aljazeera. While, in (27), "Loundera, the South African" has been used to refer to the interviewee, in (28), Yuhan Alison has been identified as a person who descends from the Afrikaner minority which is responsible for the apartheid system between 1948 and 1994. Then, a verbal and a behavioral process are used to create an emotional scene by the use of the expression yaqūl wa huwa yudāri al-dumū' "He says while shedding tears" followed by the relational process Māndila ...ramzan li- alqiyādah wa al-riyādah wa al-tajāwuz "Mandela is a symbol of leadership, forgiveness and pioneering," in which Mandela is identified as a symbol of leadership, forgiveness and pioneering. In a similar vein, some relational processes are used by another White interviewee called Frank, as in (29).

29. Māndila [Token] huwa [Pr] 'ab kul muwāṭiny janūb Afriqyā bi-mukhtalaf alwānahim wa 'tyāfihim wa 'a 'rāqihim wa 'adyānihim [Value].

Mandela is the father of all South Africans, irrespective of their colours, ethnic groups and religions.

Once again, *Aljazeera* has opted for the strategy of overcompletness (Van Dijk, 1991) for ideological reasons. Frank was identified as a *Janūb 'afrīqī min judhūr hulandiyah au man yusamūn hunā "ālbuar" au "āl-'frikānz"* "A South African who descends from Dutch roots or what are called Boers or Afrikaner." This kind of overcompletness shows that *Aljazeera* is looking for the testimony of people who were part of the old regime with a view to presenting Mandela as a person of consensus among all people and minorities. Besides, the overcompletness in the text is supplemented by the use of

multimodality that includes both the photo of the interviewee and an identifying relational clause *Māndila huwa ab kuli muwāṭinī Janūb ʾafrikiyā* "Mandela is the father of all South Africans," where Mandela is the carrier of the attribute "father of all South Africans."



6.3. Verbal processes

Our corpus shows that the verbal processes are 74 in number. This implies that much news is about what Mandela said about past, present and, perhaps the future. Mandela as a sayer, whose words greatly inspire others and touch their hearts, is clear in different contexts in the corpus.

One distinctive feature of verbal processes is that, unlike other processes, they can act as projected clauses in which one clause projects a second clause, either paratactically or hypotactically as reported speech (Haig 2011). In general, Arab media has paid a lot of attention to Mandela's speeches as we have said earlier. The Arab world holds in high esteem the words of famous leaders. A cursory look at the slogans of the Arab Spring shows clearly that the words of famous leaders like Che Guevara, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and others were reverberated in the tongues of protesters in different Arab countries.

In our corpus, Mandela has been presented as a sayer in different contexts, which can shed some light on how *Aljazeera* employs the use of those verbal processes to meet ideological

needs. The majority of the verbal processes in the corpus are direct quotations of Mandela on different issues. An example of these verbal processes is given in the following text.

30. Yaqūl [Pv] al-za'īm al-'afrīqī [Sayer] fī kitābihi al-shahīr "riḥlatī al-ṭawyīlah fī ṭarīq al-ḥuriyah [CL] "'indmā kharajt min al-sajn kānat muhimatī tatamathal fī taḥrīr al-zālim wā al-mazlūm m'an. Wa lakinahu y'tarif 'inanī artakabt ba'd al-akhṭā'.. lakinī iktashaft siran mafāduh 'nna al-mar' mā an yantahi min tasluq tal shāmikh 'ilā wa yatabyan lahu 'nna hunāk al-'adīd min al-tilāl al-ukhrā biintizāruh [verbiage].

The African leader says in his well-known book *The Long Walk to Freedom*: "When I was released from jail, my mission was to free both the oppressor and the oppressed. But he admits, Although I committed some errors, I have discovered a secret the gist of which is that when a man climbs a lofty mountain, he realizes that there are still so many mountains he will have to climb."

The above text is a translation of an extract taken from Mandela's Long Walk to Freedom. It includes two verbal processes and Mandela is the sayer, in both. In the first clause, Mandela, who has been described as the "African Leader" is the sayer and the verbiage, here, is the mission that Mandela was trying to fulfill. It is ta hrīr al-zālim wā al-mazlūm m'an "to free both the oppressor and the oppressed." This shows how Mandela is a tolerant and caring leader. Then, the text runs into another verbal process in which Mandela is again the sayer and the verbiage is his confession that he has also committed some errors and the moral lesson he learns from such errors is that once you climb a lofty mountain, several other lofty mountains still await you. So Mandela is presented as a great leader who is vulnerable to err and he has no problem in admitting his errors in striking contrast to Arab leaders who have committed great blunders in the right of their nations, and yet they are not willing to confess.

In another text, Mandela is presented as a sayer who narrates the moment of his release from jail saying,

31. Yaqūl [Pv] Māndila [Sayer] fī mudhikrātih "riḥlatī al-ṭawyīlah naḥwa al-ḥuriyah [CL] wāṢifn tilka al-laḥaẓhah [Target] "raghma

'nī kuntu 'ablugh min al-'umr 71 'āman waqt khurūjī min al-sajn fa'inī sha' rt bi'ni wulidt min jadīd" [Verbiage]. lam yulad Māndila min jadīd waḥdah bal wulidt ma'ahu janūb 'afriqiyāh jadīdah.

Describing the moment of his release, Mandela says in his autobiography *The Long Walk to Freedom*, "Although I was 71 years old when I was released, I felt as if I was born again." It was not only Mandela who was born again; A new South Africa was also born with him.

Here, Mandela is the sayer and the quotation was once again extracted from his book Long Walk to Freedom and the verbiage is "Although I was 71 years old when I was released, I felt as if I was born again." The verbiage of Mandela is followed by a kind of explicitation or what we might call another verbiage or an expansion by Aljazeera. This verbiage is the judgmental statement that follows Mandela's words lam yulad Māndila min jad īd wa hdah bal wulidt ma'ahu janūb 'afrigivāh jadīdah "It was not only Mandela who was born again; A new South Africa was also born with him." This does not only emphasize the interrelatedness between Mandela and his nation but it also shows the stark contrast between South Africa "them" and the Arab World "us." After all, the Arab uprisings that broke out in different countries of the Middle East were triggered by the absence of true leaderships. All Muslim Arabs who represent the majority of *Aljazeera* audience are desperate for good leadership and they are patiently waiting for a leader who can revive their nation the way Mandela did. The belief of the coming of such a leader is deeply rooted in Islamic culture and is obvious in the prophetic Hadith "Allah shall raise for this Ummah at the head of every century a man who shall renew (or revive) for it its religion."

While quoting great leaders of the world is a predominant characteristic of the media, the quotations are selected carefully and employed to convey ideological presuppositions. *Aljazeera* is not an exception. While Mandela has been extensively quoted by *Aljazeera*, there are occasions when it belittles some important quotations of him despite the fact that they are directly related to the Arab world's current situation simply because they include

verbal processes that are not in line with *Aljazeera*'s ideology. Evidence of this is the mostly quoted letter of Mandela, namely "Mandela's address to the Arabs." Ironically enough, the Arab newspapers and channels attributed the address to Ahmed Fal Wild Aldeen, *Aljazeera*'s correspondent in South Africa. In fact, the address calls on Arabs in the countries that witnessed uprisings not to think of the revenge upon the old regimes and to think of the future. The speech reminds the Arab of the famous saying of the Prophet Mohammed "Go, You are free."

Aljazeera, however, was the first Arab channel to support the uprisings and it presented extensive coverage of the corruption and violence of the Arab ex-presidents and thus it supported the stance that those leaders should not be forgiven. That can be a plausible interpretation for *Aljazeera*'s inattention to this message of Mandela.

7. LEXICAL CHOICES

Hasan (1987) argues that lexis is the "most delicate grammar." Lexical choices can emphasize "the powerful position of the speaker" in Van Dijk (2006a: 376) words. In our corpus, the participants of the clauses (mostly Mandela or the apartheid regime) have been accorded different epithets and representations. The lexical choices do not only present Mandela as an actor, a sensor, a sayer or a goal but they can also realize interpersonal meanings. A proliferation of lexical items, a case of over-lexicalisation, (Fowler et al. 1979) often emotive is used to characterise Mandela. He has been presented as salaf "predecessor," za'īm tarikhī "historic leader," baṭal iṣaaṭ al-tamyīz al-'unṣ irī "an anti -apartheid icon," za'ī m janūb 'afrikah al-sābiq "the ex-leader of South Africa," ramz "symbol,"

'ustarh "legend," 'imlāq "a giant," baṭal shakhṣī and baṭal 'alami "personal and global hero," muhandis al-taḥawul al-silmī "the engineer of the peaceful transformation towards democracy," etc. These lexical choices among others are widely circulated by the Arab media while talking about Mandela.

The Apartheid regime has also presented as a participant of powerful position and lexical items with different negative connotations have been attributed to it. The word sketch of *niḍām* "regime" in the corpus shows that the word collocates with *alfaṣl* "segregation" 18 times, *diktātori* "dictator" once, *al-ʿunṣirī* "racist" 24 times, *al-tamyī z* "discrimination" 4 times, *and al-aparathied* "the Apartheid" 4 times. All in all, al-ʿunṣeri "racist" has been repeated 55 times in the corpus as we can see in the following snapshot.



Figure 4. A concordance of the word al unsrī in the corpus

As Van Dijk (2013: 75) rightly puts it "The boundaries of topics and of possible lexical variance are set in advance, even when there is personal and newspaper variation in the description of the same things." There is an avoidance of markedly pejorative and depreciatory lexis that refer to Mandela, his movement and his family. The only report that perhaps deals with an

uncomplimentary incident related to Mandela's family is the one about his ex-wife Winnie Mandela. However, the report tends to preserve the reverence Mandela deserves through lexical choices. The material process that concludes the report foregrounds Mandela as an actor who tarada "sacked" her from the government during his tenure and the actor who talagaha "divorced her" later due to those charges. The ideological use of those techniques in this report is in line with the mindset of the Arab people, who are conservative and religious-minded people, when it comes to matters of marriage and faithfulness to a husband and it is hard for them to imagine that a great icon such as Mandela should have a wife that was guilty of heinous crimes such as murder of a young boy. In other words, the image of Mandela should not be tarnished with the criminal behavior of his wife. Therefore, it was a wise move on the part of Mandela as a leader to distance himself from the criminal actions of his wife by divorcing her. Also from the viewpoint of the conservative cultural mindset of the Arab reader, the divorce is also fitting because of her relationship with another man while Mandela was in prison.

Despite those pitfalls, *Aljazeera* has attempted to better the image of Winnie Mandela in the eyes of the Arab audience by bringing out her contribution as a pillar of support to Mandela during his struggle and also her continuous struggle against apartheid as the wife of Mandela. Those are factors which may diminish her blameworthiness in the eyes of the Arab people.

CONCLUSION

The paper has concluded that material processes covering actions and events in which Mandela is the main agent and actor are by far the most frequently used type of processes in the corpus. Besides, a great deal of the news covered by *Aljazeera* is devoted to the description of Nelson Mandela's attributes (attributive) or to the identification of entities. This relatively high frequency of attributive and identifying relative processes in the corpus is commensurate with the nature of coverage whose sole aim is to describe participants.

Mandela as a sayer, whose words greatly inspire others and touch their hearts, is also obvious in different contexts in the corpus.

Additionally, the discourse structures appear deliberately selected not only for sentimental reasons, but also to evoke readers' sympathy regarding his wife's infidelities and his hospitalisation, and also to induce appreciation for the man who endured 27 years for the freedom of his people and yet held no grudges against those incarcerated him. The corpus showed that Mandela is constructed in such a way that he is the focal point on which the Arab world could look for moral inspiration, reformation and reconciliation in the face of adversities resulting from religious, political and socio-economic turmoil.

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ABBREVIATIONS

P = Process; Pm = material process; Pme = mental process; Pv = verbal process; Pr = Relational processes C= Circumstance; Ca = accompaniment; Cc = cause; Cl = location; Cm = manner; Cx = extent.

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