تحليل خطاب نقدي لهوية الشعب السوداني

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Identity of Sudanese People

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Abstract

The present study aims to investigate the way Sudanese's people identity is presented in the CNN news article *"They tried to use rape to silence women protesters. It didn't work".* To achieve the aim of the study, Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse−Historical Approach is adopted to study how the referential, predicational and argumentative strategies are used to represent Sudanese people after the falling of Al Bashir's regime. The analysis of the article in question reveals that strategies like *collectivization*, *product for cause, and time for person living during that time, singular for plural, Plural for singular strategy…. etc.* are used to show people's unity as freedom seekers and fighters for democracy. The predicational strategy demonstrates that Sudanese people are portrayed positively through the use

of metaphors and similes that reflect their bravery and struggle for democracy, while the previous president and his regime are portrayed negatively. Furthermore, the topoi of the argumentative strategy prove that language is used to show the lack of justice, the threats and the constant abuse that Sudanese people have always faced. All of these abuses have led them to rebel against the previous regime.

Key Words: CDA, identity, referential strategy, predicational strategy and argumentative strategy

الخلاصة

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى التحقق من الطريقة التي تم قدمت بها هوية الشعب السوداني في مقالة إخبارية نشرتها شبكة سي إن إن بعنوان "لقد حاولوا استخدام الاغتصاب لإسكات المتظاهرات. ولم ينجح الأمر".. ومن اجل تحقيق هدف الدراسة ، تم تبني طريقة الخطاب التأريخي لرايزيجل و وداك (٢٠٠١) لدراسة كيفية استخدام الاستراتيجيات المرجعية والتنبؤية و استراتيجية الجدل لتمثيل الشعب السوداني بعد سقوط نظام البشير. يكشف تحليل المقال المعني أن استراتيجيات مثل التجميع، والمنتج للاشارة للقضية، والوقت للاشارة للشخص الذي عاش خلال ذلك الوقت، واستخدام المفرد للاشارة للجمع والجمع للاشارة للمفرد... إلخ. تُستخدم لإظهار وحدة الشعب السوداني كاشخاص يسعون إلى الحرية ويقاتلون من أجل الديمقراطية. وتُظهر الاستراتيجية التنبؤية أن الشعب السوداني يُصوَّر بشكل إيجابي من خلال استخدام الاستعارات والتشبيهات التي تعكس شجاعته ونضاله من أجل الديمقراطية، بينما يُصوَّر الرئيس السابق ونظامه بشكل سلبي. علاوة على ذلك، فإن موضوعات استراتيجية الجدل تثبت أن اللغة تُستخدم لإظهار الافتقار إلى العدالة والتهديدات والانتهاكات المستمرة التي واجهها الشعب السوداني على الدوام. كل هذه الانتهاكات دفعته إلى التمرد على النظام السابق.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الهوية، الاستراتيجية المرجعية، الاستراتيجية التنبؤية استراتيجية الجدل

1. Introduction

1.1 What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

(Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 1) begin their book *Discourse in Late Modernity* by making reference to CDA as a multidisciplinary field that draws on other fields such as social sciences and humanities. They (ibid.) state that:

> Critical discourse analysis…has established itself internationally over the past twenty years or so as a field of cross disciplinary teaching and research which has been widely drawn upon in the social sciences and the humanities, and has inspired critical language teaching at various levels and in various domains.

(Wodak, 1995, p. 204) puts forward a definition of CDA that summarizes its main concerns. She maintains that CDA can be defined as " fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language".

In another research (Wodak, 2001, p. 2) argues that CDA may be defined as "fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted and legitimized by language use (or in discourse).

(Gee, 1999, p. 204) states that critical discourse analysis refers to "any form of discourse analysis that seeks to engage with politics. Critical discourse analysis deals with whose "interests" are represented, helped, or harmed as people speak and write".

(Van Dijk, 2003, p. 352) avers that through CDA one can have a glimpse on how issues like power, dominance and inequality are reflected in a specific text. He (ibid.) states that "CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the

way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social political context".

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) cited in Van Dijk (2003:352) believe that the following points are the main tents of CDA:

1. *"CDA addresses social problems."*
2. *"Power relations are discursive."*
3. *"Discourse constitutes society and culture."*
4. *"Discourse does ideological work."*
5. *"Discourse is historical."*
6. *"The link between text and society is mediated."*
7. *"Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory."*
8. *"Discourse is a form of social action."*

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 2) maintain that with CDA there is an interest in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and how such a use affects social maintenance and change. CDA shares methods and interests with other fields that study social groups and social structures, such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography, human cognition and behaviour. (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, pp. 12-13) believe that the following are the objectives of CDA:

1. *"To analyze discourse practices that reflect or constructs social problem."*
2. *"To investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice."*
3. *"To increase awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice and misuse of power."*
4. *"To demonstrate the significance of language in the social relations of power."*
5. *"To investigate how meaning is created in context."*

6. *"To investigate the role of speaker/writer purpose and authorial stance in the construction of discourse.*

١.٢ Identity

(Bloor & Bloor, 2007, pp. 85–86) define identity as "how individuals come to be defined as members of a group or other social category". The two authors point out that individuals play different roles in different social domains. It is through such roles that they can identify themselves and others as having a specific identity such as national identity, racial identity, or gender identity. (Johnstone, 2008, p. 151) indicates that people orient to specific ways in order to categorize themselves and the ways they are categorized by others, individuals also focus on how others categorize themselves and are categorized by others. Accordingly, identity concerns itself with "the outcome of processes, i.e. identifications, by which people index their similarity to, and difference from others, sometimes self-consciously and strategically and sometimes as a matter of habit".

١.٢.1 National Identity

National identity is usually determined by the place of birth or naturalization. How people from different countries and cultures are stereotyped and represented. For example, Italians are stereotyped as noisy while German people are stereotyped as humourless…. etc. a nation is identified by its boundaries, laws, and government even though none of these is fixed. Accordingly, many individuals like to locate themselves as members of certain nations and participate in nationhood by having identity cards, passports and birth certificates as an indication of their identities. Nationality is not fixed, it is viable to change since some individuals decide to live in other countries, not of their birth, and become eligible for naturalization i.e. acquiring a new identity in an attempt to erase the newcomer's former identity (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, pp. 86–87).

National identity plays a vital role in the features that define a person's identity – particularly when an individual is a part of to a group that has suffered a national catastrophe. This central role becomes so dominant that it is frequently associated with the 'essence' of the collective identity of a group (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 160).

1.2.2 Racial and Ethnic Identity

Racial identity refers to what is "inherent in bodily structure and recognizable from the colour of the skin, shape of the body or facial features". Racial identity is not only presented physically but discoursaly in classifying human beings certain confusion and unacceptable stereotyping results from merging race with nationality. Such stereotyping leads to inequality, slavery and genocide (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 87).

(Joseph, 2004, pp. 162−163) purports that ethnic identity is occasionally used synonymously with national identity but he (ibid.) prefers to keep the distinction between them and defines each one of them in terms of its orientation whether it is culturally or politically oriented:

> *Ethnic identity is focused more on common descent and on a cultural heritage shared because of common descent, than on political aspirations for autonomy. National identity is focused on political borders and autonomy, often justified by arguments centred on shared cultural heritage, but where the ethnic element is inevitably multiple.*

1.2.3 Gender Identity

Gender identity refers to "gender discrimination in terms of educational opportunity, job equality, income, home ownership, work distribution, and child care provision". Gender identity is not socially constructed rather it is a biological construct from birth. In spite of the biological construction of identity from birth, institutions play

a vital role in establishing gender identity (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, pp. 94–95). While some individuals might lack national or ethnic identity, no one lacks a gender identity since every human is born with one. However, even if someone feels no gender identity, others will impose one on him or her. Gender identity is very important in our daily life to the extent that it is at the top of the list of a person's identity repertoire. It is because of this identity some people have or have not gone to war for example or some people are considered to be more successful and dominant than others (Joseph, 2004, p. 63).

2. <u>Reisigl and Wodak (2001) Discourse–Historical Approach</u>

In the Discourse– Historical Approach (henceforth DHA), Reisigl and Wodak (2001) describes some discourse-analytical tools that can be employed in the analysis of discourses about racial, national and ethnic issues. (Wodak, 2001, pp. 72–73) lists five discursive elements and strategies which should be given special attention since they show how people are discriminated against in an ethnicist or racist manner. These five types of discursive strategies, i.e. plan of practices, are influential in the positive self-representation and negative other-presentation since they focus on the discursive construction of `us' and `them' as the basis of discourses of identity. Below is a table that summarizes the five strategies, their objectives and devices:

Table (1) The (DHA) from Wodak (2001:73)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/ nomination	Construction of ingroups and out-	• membership categorization •biological, naturalizing and

	groups	depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies • synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits • implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	• topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	• reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	• intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

All the five types discursive strategies are related to the positive-self and negative-other presentation, and this needs to be emphasized through the discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' which is considered as the basic fundaments of discourse of identity (Wodak, 2001, p. 74). The term strategy is used to mean more

or less intentional plans of practices (e.g., discursive practices) that are used to achieve a particular social, psychological or linguistic aim.

3. Methodology

The model of analysis that is followed in this analysis is the Discourse-Historical approach by Reisigl and Wodak, (2001). This model can be used to show the way language is used in the representation of Sudanese people who strive for freedom and democracy. The text is analyzed in terms of three strategies i.e. the referential, predicational and argumentative. Due to space limitation the last two strategies of the (DHA) namely, perspectivization and mitigation vs intensification are not going to be analyszed. As far as the referential strategy is concerned the text is analyzed according to the metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches and the membership categorization devices it holds. Analysis of the text with respect to the predicational strategy concerns itself with pointing to the stereotypical evaluative attributes associated with Sudanese people i.e. the ingroup and the stereotypical attributes associated with Al-Bashir's regime i.e. the outgroup. Lastly, the text is analyzed by making reference to the topoi of argumentation it displays, the claims associated with the topoi along with some extracts form the text.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion
4.1 Referential Strategy

The referential strategy refers to how different social actors are named and referred to. (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 32) defines the referential strategy as "the ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse". This strategy is enacted through membership categorizing devices, metonymies and synecdoches. Collectivisation (a membership categorization device) refers to social actors as groups

without quantifying them. One way in which collectivisation is realised is through the use of collective nouns such as people, nation, community, etc. or deictic expressions that denote groups such as we, us, them, etc. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 48). A number of collective nouns appear in the selected article to refer to the ingroup i.e. Sudanese people and the outgroup i.e. Al-Bashir's regime members. The collective nouns that refer to the ingroup are *women* (20) occurrences and a percentage of (16.12%), *protesters* (8) occurrences and a percentage of (6.45%), *demonstrators* (3) occurrences and a percentage of (2.41%), *prisoners* (1) occurrence and a percentage of (0.8%), *people* (2) occurrences and a percentage of (1.61%) *men* (2) occurrences and a percentage of (1.61%) *activists* (4) occurrences and a percentage of (3.22%) *girls* (5) occurrences and a percentage of (4.03%). Some deictic expressions such as *we* and *us* are also used in the selected article to refer to Sudanese people as members of the same ingroup as in example 5. The deictic expression we and us have (9) occurrences and a percentage of (7.25%). The membership categorization devices that describe the ingroup (examples 1-5) are used to show that Sudanese people are all participating as members of the same group to rebel against the constant abuses they are subject to in an attempt to make a positive change to the current situation.

1. "The bravery of the **female protesters** took their male counterparts by surprise. During one rally in Khartoum, the **men** attempted to surround the **women** to protect them from the police truncheons and tear gas".

2. "Although Bashir has resigned, the roots of his regime are still in place. The old regime, the old government, the old system of violence, of beating **people** and provocation, is still in place," Rifga Abdelrahman said".

3. "While their fearlessness and sheer numbers -- by some estimates women accounted for up to 70% of **demonstrators** -- made them a target, they were beaten, but not broken".

4. "In the early days of the protests in Khartoum, **security forces** attempted to intimidate **female activists** by threatening to ruin their reputations".

5. "**We** are oppressed at home, oppressed on the street, at university, at work, on public transport," she said. "All of these things made the **girls** go out to demonstrate on the street".

As regards the outgroup, collective nouns are used in examples (6−10) to depict the outgroup, i.e. members of Al−Bashir's regime as *security forces* (4) occurrences and a percentage of (3.22%), *generals* (1) occurrence and a percentage of (0.8%), *soldiers* (4) occurrences and a percentage of (3.22%), *officials* (1) occurrence and a percentage of (0.8%), *officers* (4) occurrences and a percentage of (3.22%). Some deictic expressions such as *they* and t*hem* are also used in the selected article with (19) occurrences that make up the percentage of (7.25%). The deictic expressions *they* and *them* refer to Al−Bashir regime's members as the outgroup that is negatively portrayed as in example (10). Al−Bashir regime members are portrayed as abusive, tyrannic members who would do tyrannic actions to stop protesters from protesting and making a change. Examples (6−10) depict the negative other−presentation of the outgroup whose officials and officers kept threatening Sudanese people in order to prevent them from protesting and expressing their demands.

6. "***Officers*** warned them that their whole neighborhood would know they were "loose" when they were being dropped off in police cars late at night, according to protester Wifaq Quraishi".

7. "What followed, several ***officials*** told CNN, was a systematic attempt to target the women at the heart of the biggest anti−government protests in decades".

8. "In early April, when security forces attempted to break up a sit−in outside the presidential compound in Khartoum, some soldiers stepped in to defend them. It was a sign that Bashir's days were numbered. 4 times forces and soldiers".

9. "Bashir was deposed by his own generals on April 11 and has since been charged over the deaths of protesters, dozens of whom were killed during the uprising".

10.   "As soon as I could gain my strength and stand, they beat me on my backside and said 'run!' This happened to all the girls –– they hit them and told them to run," she said. "This was a very painful thing".

The referential strategy is also expressed through metonymies. The word metonymy has a Greek origin which means to 'name change'. With a metonymy "the name of a referent is replaced with the name of an entity that is strictly related to it in abstract or concrete terms" (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 2009, p. 43). Metonymies are used to "conceal responsible agents or move them to the background: this serves primarily to relativise". Analysis of metonymies shows that product for cause strategy has the highest occurrence with (8) instances amounting to the percentage of (%6.45). *Product for cause* strategy demonstrates that the bad circumstances that Sudanese people have been living such as the high cost of living and the bad practices of Al– Bashir's regime like holding political prisoners led Sudanese people to revolt and rebel against the current situation of the country.

11.   "Anti–government demonstrations in Sudan began late last year over the rising cost of living, but quickly escalated into nationwide calls for Bashir's removal"

Time for person living during that time strategy has (7) instances constituting the percentage of (%5.64). As far as *time for person living during that time* strategy is concerned, it reflects the continuous attempts and suffering of Sudanese people have gone through in order to get rid of Al– Bashir'e regime throughout thirty years.

12.   "Notorious for holding political prisoners **during his 30–year dictatorship**"

Place for event and *institution for representative of the institution* come next in frequency with (3) occurrences each amounting to the percentage of (%2.41%) of the total number of occurrences. Examples of *Place for event* strategy show that the capital of Sudan has become the scene where the events of the revolution took place. *Institution for representative of the institution* strategy reflects the bad practices that the government and the military forces have committed against people. *Pars pro toto* (part for whole) strategy indicates the strong identity of the Sudanese woman who has become a symbol of power and a fighter who seeks freedom.

13.   "Khartoum became the epicenter of the protests".

14.   "The military, which dissolved the government after Bashir's removal, has said it will remain in power"

Place for person and *person for country* strategies come last in frequency. *Person for country* has two instances amounting to the percentage of (%1.61) while person for country has only one occurrence that makes up the percentage of (%0.8). The use of such strategies reflects the unity of Sudanese people who fight for their own rights and identity as one group.

15.   "Officers warned them that their whole *neighborhood* would know they were loose".

16.   "But we stood firmly in the square, so that they had to as well."

The referential strategy is also enacted through the strategy of synecdoches. Synecdoche as described by (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 2009, p. 44) is employed to "substitute the name of a specific referent with the name of another referent that is of the same field of meaning but it is semantically wider or narrower". Synecdoches can be classified into two types namely, generalising synecdoches, with which "a semantically wider expression is used instead of a semantically narrower

one" and Particularising synecdoches in which "a semantically narrower term substitutes a semantically wider term". *Singular for plural* synecdoche has (7) occurrence constituting the percentage of (5.64%). The use of the (particularising synecdoche) *singular for plural* synecdoche reflects that people have shared aims and needs. It also indicates that people have become aware of what they need so that they can represent themselves and other people since they all refuse the current situation and suffer from the same circumstances.

17.   "The oppression is what moves <u>you</u>, meaning that it motivates <u>you</u>"

Plural for singular synecdoche (generalising synecdoche) has (5) occurrences and a percentage of (4.03%). It is used to prove that Sudanese people have become unified in terms of refusing the bad practices of the previous regime and in terms of their goal which is seeking a democratic government that will achieve equality, stop abuse against women and stop holding people as political prisoners

18.   "**We** want a system that belongs to us".

a. <u>**The Predicational Strategy**</u>

The predicational strategy is used to associate stereotypical and evaluative attributes to people through explicit or implicit reference. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 45) state that the objective of predication is to describe the "discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)". Such discursive qualification is carried out through the following devices: "stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits collocations, explicit predicates, similes, metaphors, allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.".

In the selected article the previous president of the country is explicitly referred to by the use of the word *dictator* and *Sudan's dictator*. The word *dictator* has become a symbol that is associated with Al- Bashir's regime and his government. Al-Bashir's control over the country has been referred to by the use of the expression *grip on power* to refer to the bad practices followed by his government for 30 years. In CDA this negative description of people constitutes what is known as 'negative other-representation' of the outgroup.

19.   "Weeks into the protests that would eventually topple **Sudan's dictator**".

20.   "women who played a key role in the **dictator's downfall** have already paid a heavy price for their bravery".

21.   "But as Omar al-Bashir's 30-year **grip on power** began to slip, soldiers began to make good on their threats".

On the contrary, people of Sudan, specifically women, have been portrayed positively as brave, powerful and fearless. Women have played an essential role in the revolution against the previous regime. The description of women has been associated with a historical figure, *Kandaka*, the Nubian queen, that has become a symbol of power empowering all Sudanese women. In CDA this positive description of people constitutes what is known as 'positive self-representation' of the ingroup.

22.   "**The protests** haven't stopped and the fight for **democracy** is far from over, but the women who played a key role in the **dictator's downfall** have already paid a heavy price for their bravery".

23.   "The **bravery of the female protesters** took their male counterparts by surprise".

24.   "People across the country began referring to female protesters **as** "Kandaka" -- the title given to the Nubian queens of ancient Sudan, whose gift to their descendants is a legacy of empowered women who fight hard for their country and their rights".

25. "In their minds they thought that **women didn't run**, and it wasn't a very good thing".

26. "Images of the scene quickly came to symbolize **the energy of the protests, and women's role in them**"

5.3. The Argumentation Strategy

The argumentative strategy is studied through a list of topoi which are used to argue for and against the inclusion and exclusion of social actors. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 75) state that topoi are explicit or inferential premises i.e., they are content related warrants or 'conclusion rules', they are used to connect arguments to each other or to connect arguments with conclusions. Wodak (2001: 75) lists the following fifteen topoi namely, usefulness or advantage, uselessness or disadvantage, definition or interpretation, danger or threat, humanitarianism, justice, responsibility, burdening, or weighing, finance, reality, numbers, law or right, history, culture, and abuse. Table (2) below shows the argumentative schemes, the claims used in the news article in question along with extracts from the texts.

Table (2) The Argumentative Strategy

Argumentation Scheme and Percentage	Claim	Examples
Topos of Abuse "If a right or an offer	Claim one: A lot of women are being abused and	(27) "Quraishi said during body searches she was made to strip naked in front of a camera.

for help is abused, the right should be changed, or the help should be withdrawn, or measures against the abuse should be taken". *(36.84%)*	mistreated and this has led them to protest and rebel against the bad treatment	"**Photographs were taken of me when I was getting undressed -- I was told that it was a search over which I had no authority,**" the 27-year-old added."
	Claim two: Some protesters were physically abused and tortured and this is why they were trying to change the current situation	(28) "As the protests escalated, so did the violence. One day, Quraishi said she was attacked by a security official at Khartoum University, her alma mater and a place she'd previously considered safe. The man hit her with the butt of his rifle so hard that he "**dislocated my jaw, and my eye was full of blood.**"
	Claim three: Violence is practiced against demonstrators in an attempt to prevent them from expressing their opinions	(29) "They **hit her with batons and sticks** as they attempted to take her camera, which captured the incident".
	Claim four: Protesters are constantly abused by the police so as to prevent them from protesting	(30) "As soon as I could gain my strength and stand, **they beat me on my backside and said 'run**!' This happened to all the girls -- they hit them and told them to run," she said. "This was a very painful thing."

	Claim five: One of the practices of the regime is committing sexual abuses against women protesters to prevent them from protesting.	(31) "Some of the assaults involved "raping the victim anally or vaginally," and some of them took place in the "presence of more than one person," Jabrallah said. Given the stigma associated with **sexual abuse** in Sudan, the true number is likely to be much higher".
	Claim six: Sudanese protesters were threatened and abused during detention	(32) "A detention could involve "**blackmail,**" "taking photographs of you naked," or "**the threat of rape,**" she said."
	Claim seven: Sudanese people were blackmailed and abused during detention	(33) "In reality these pictures may not even exist," she said. "**But that is blackmail**."
Topos of Number "if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed or not be carried out".	Claim one: Lots of people are protesting against Al-Bashir's regime to signal their refusal of its abusive practices	(34) "Weeks into the protests that would eventually topple Sudan's dictator, the government realized it had an unprecedented problem on its hands: **the number of women in the streets calling for change far outnumbered the men**."

	Claim two: A large number of women protesters are sexually abused and this is a reflection of the unhumanitarian conditions in Sudan	(35) "**At least 15 women** have reported being raped during the uprising, according to Nahed Jabrallah, one of the demonstrators and the founder of SEEMA, a charity tackling violence against women and child marriage."
(21.05%)	Claim three: The number of women who protested against Al-Bashir's regime and who were sexually assaulted is very high	(36) "Some of the assaults involved "raping the victim anally or vaginally," and some of them took place in the "presence of more than one person," Jabrallah said. Given the stigma associated with sexual abuse in Sudan, **the true number is likely to be much higher.**"
	Claim four: One of the protesters was arrested five times which proves that there was no freedom of protesting in Sudan	(37) "Abdelrahman was arrested **five times**, managing to escape detention each time so that she could "go back on the street again and throw back tear gas grenades."
Topos of Culture "Specific culture of a group of people has its own features that	Claim one: One of the effects of Sudanese culture is preventing women from protesting	(38) "The assaults set off a ripple-effect of abuse -- husbands began to **divorce their wives out of shame**, and fathers beat their daughters into submission, in an

arise specific problems in specific cultures" (10.52%)		attempt to keep them at home."
	Claim two: Women who were sexually abused could not even tell their families of the abuses they have experienced because they were afraid of their families' reactions in such a conservative society	(39) "Quraishi **didn't see or tell her family about the incident at the university for a month for fear of repercussions "worse than being beaten up by police**." And despite her family's attempts to prevent her from protesting, she was back on the streets within days."
Topos of Justice "If persons/ actions/ situations are equal in specific respects, they should be treated/ dealt with in the same way." (10.52%)	Claim one: All human beings are equal and no person should be treated in an abusive way	(40) "Another protester, Rifga Abdelrahman, said her friends were "beaten up, their hair shaved off, insulted, treated in a way that **no Sudanese girl should be treated**."
	Claim two: Sudanese women believe that they are equal to men and insisted on taking a part in all protests	(41) "The bravery of the female protesters took their male counterparts by surprise. During one rally in Khartoum, the men attempted to surround the women to protect them from the police truncheons and tear gas. **But the women broke free and insisted on standing on the front line**, Quraishi said."
Topos of History	Claim one:	(42) "Salah's outfit was a nod to the

"History can teach that specific actions have a number of consequences." (10.52%)	Sudanese history has always proved that women are brave and play an active role in society	proud history of female activists in Sudan, long before Islamists took power. **The thobe, as it is called in Sudan, is a throwback to "the clothing worn by our mothers and grandmothers in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s" while demonstrating against previous military dictatorships,** said Sudanese social commentator Hind Makki."
	Claim two: One of the influences of Sudanses history on people is empowering women to take their part in society	(43) "People across the country began referring to female protesters as "Kandaka" –– the title given to the "**Nubian queens of ancient Sudan, whose gift to their descendants is a legacy of empowered women who fight hard for their country and their rights,**" Makki said."
Topos of Burdening "if a person, or a country is burdened by specific problems one should perform some actions to get rid of it". (5.26%)	The country is still burdened with the old regime and its system of violence. This is why the remaining roots of the old regime should be removed	(44) "Although Bashir has resigned, **the roots of his regime are still in place. The old regime, the old government, the old system of violence, of beating people and provocation, is still in place,**" Rifga Abdelrahman said."

Topos of Finance "If a specific situation or action costs too much money or causes a loss of revenue, one should perform actions which diminish the costs or help to avoid the loss." **(5.26%)**	Claim: Sudanese people are facing financial problems due to the increase in the cost of living	(45) "The recent wave of anti-government demonstrations in Sudan began late last year over the rising **cost of living**, but quickly escalated into nationwide calls for Bashir's removal."

Topos of abuse comes has the highest occurrences and percentages in the selected article. It has (7) instances that make up the percentage of (36.84%). It is presented in the article to show the violations of human rights that Sudanese people in general and women in particular go through in the journey of seeking their freedom from the old regime, namely, Al-Bashir's regime. It also used to present the identity of women as strong individuals who stand against the violence. It is used to show the political actions performed by the military forces against protestors, as in the use of blackmailing and threatening to suppress woman's identity, and more generally, Sudanese' identity as in example (33).

Topos of number has (4) instances that constitute the percentage of (21.05%). Topos of numbers shows the significance of the numbers mentioned in examples (34-37.) the above-mentioned examples in table (2) are indications of the constant abuses being committed against Sudanese people as demonstrated by the number of

people detained and bused. Thus, topos of number is an indication of the unhumanitarian conditions in Sudan.

Topos of culture has (3) occurrences that make up the percentage of (10.52%). It is used to identify some of the impacts of the cultural heritage on people's identity and actions. It is represented in the article by showing how the culture of a group of people has serious consequences in the actions being performed as in example (39).

Topos of history and topos of justice come next in frequency with (2) occurrences that make up the percentage of (10.52%). Topos of history is used as remarkable evidence in the article by relating the Sudanese strong identity with the historical impact of their history. As in the case of their Nubian queen "Kandaka" as a strong leader as in example (34). Topos of Justice is used in the article to show that Sudanese people are equal and there is no difference between men and women in fighting and protesting to gain their civil rights and presenting a different image of Sudanese identity as fighters and freedom seekers against dictators as in example (41).

Topos of burdening and topos of finance come last in frequency with one occurrence only that amounts to the percentage of (5.26%). Topos of finance is used to show how certain financial problems lead to bigger political problems. These financial problems have led Sudanese to protest and to demand better living conditions as in example (45). Topos of burdening is used to show how Sudan is burdened with problems, particularly, Al-Bashir's regime, that burdens the country and people both financially and politically. This burden has led people of Sudan to protest in order to gain their suppressed identity back as in example (44).

Conclusions

The analysis and discussion of the news article in question lead to the following conclusions:

1. A number of referential strategies such as *collectivization, product for cause, and time for person living during that time, singular for plural, Plural for singular strategy…. etc.* are used to show that Sudanese people have united as freedom seekers and fighters for democracy.

2. The Sudanese people are portrayed positively through the use of the referential and predicational strategies that reflect their bravery and struggle for democracy.

3. The referential and predicational strategies demonstrate that the previous president and his regime are portrayed negatively through using collectivization devices and negative stereotypical attributes.

4. Through the topoi of the argumentative strategy, language is used to show the lack of justice, the threats and abuse towards people that have led them to rebel against the previous regime.

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Appendix One: The News Article

They tried to use rape to silence women protesters. It didn't work

By Nima Elbagir, Sheena McKenzie, Abdulgader Bashir, Salah Nasir and Salma Abdalaziz

Khartoum, Sudan — Weeks into the protests that would eventually topple Sudan's dictator, the government realized it had an unprecedented problem on its hands: the number of women in the streets calling for change far outnumbered the men.

So, the regime's top brass sent a chilling message down to its officers on the ground: "Break the girls, because if you break the girls, you break the men."

What followed, several officials told CNN, was a systematic attempt to target the women at the heart of the biggest anti-government protests in decades.

In the early months of the uprising, soldiers began to arrest women on the front lines in the capital Khartoum and, activists say, take them to secret detention sites, where they were photographed naked and threatened with sexual violence.

But as Omar al-Bashir's 30-year grip on power began to slip, soldiers began to make good on their threats. Some women were beaten senseless by police in public. Others were dragged into the vehicles of security forces and raped, the activists said.

The orders from the regime were clear, according to one intelligence officer. "We all know what it means to break a girl," he told CNN.

The assaults set off a ripple-effect of abuse -- husbands began to divorce their wives out of shame, and fathers beat their daughters into submission, in an attempt to keep them at home.

But time and time again, the women returned to the streets, throwing tear gas canisters back at the military, climbing atop car roofs to urge the protesters on, and manning food and drink stalls to help in any way they could.

A woman paints an image of a female fighter near a protest site in Khartoum on May 2.

While their fearlessness and sheer numbers -- by some estimates women accounted for up to 70% of demonstrators -- made them a target, they were beaten, but not broken.

Bashir was finally forced out last month, but the military-led transitional council that replaced him is refusing to hand over power to civilians. The protests haven't stopped

and the fight for democracy is far from over, but the women who played a key role in the dictator's downfall have already paid a heavy price for their bravery.

The Sudanese government has not responded to multiple requests for comment.

The recent wave of anti-government demonstrations in Sudan began late last year over the rising cost of living, but quickly escalated into nationwide calls for Bashir's removal.

In the early days of the protests in Khartoum, security forces attempted to intimidate female activists by threatening to ruin their reputations.

Officers warned them that their whole neighborhood would know they were "loose" when they were being dropped off in police cars late at night, according to protester Wifaq Quraishi.

Before long, the verbal insults turned into psychological abuse, with officers forcing women into compromising positions and then documenting it. Quraishi told CNN she was "subjected to many detentions" during her three-month involvement in the uprising, each of them different.

A detention could involve "blackmail," "taking photographs of you naked," or "the threat of rape," she said.

Quraishi said during body searches she was made to strip naked in front of a camera. "Photographs were taken of me when I was getting undressed -- I was told that it was a search over which I had no authority," the 27-year-old added.

Quraishi had "no idea" where the photos would end up, but said she heard stories of women being threatened by the compromising images.

"In reality these pictures may not even exist," she said. "But that is blackmail."

As the protests escalated, so did the violence. One day, Quraishi said she was attacked by a security official at Khartoum University, her alma mater and a place she'd previously considered safe. The man hit her with the butt of his rifle so hard that he "dislocated my jaw, and my eye was full of blood."

Another protester, Rifga Abdelrahman, said her friends were "beaten up, their hair shaved off, insulted, treated in a way that no Sudanese girl should be treated."

This week, during a resurgence of violence in the capital, activist Nidal Ahmed was filming security forces firing on protesters when she was set upon by a group of soldiers. They hit her with batons and sticks as they attempted to take her camera, which captured the incident.

"As soon as I could gain my strength and stand, they beat me on my backside and said 'run!' This happened to all the girls -- they hit them and told them to run," she said. "This was a very painful thing."

The last scene of Ahmed's footage shows a soldier leaning over her body on the ground, his outstretched palm covering the camera lens.

Nahed Jabrallah, founder of SEEMA, a Sudanese charity tackling child marriage and violence against women.

In some cases, the abuse went even further. At least 15 women have reported being raped during the uprising, according to Nahed Jabrallah, one of the demonstrators and the founder of SEEMA, a charity tackling violence against women and child marriage.

Some of the assaults involved "raping the victim anally or vaginally," and some of them took place in the "presence of more than one person," Jabrallah said. Given the stigma associated with sexual abuse in Sudan, the true number is likely to be much higher.

Quraishi didn't see or tell her family about the incident at the university for a month for fear of repercussions "worse than being beaten up by police." And despite her family's attempts to prevent her from protesting, she was back on the streets within days.

"We have a saying," Quraishi said. "The oppression is what moves you, meaning that it motivates you.

"We are oppressed at home, oppressed on the street, at university, at work, on public transport," she said. "All of these things made the girls go out to demonstrate on the street."

Khartoum became the epicenter of the protests, and by the spring, mass rallies and sit-ins outside the presidential compound and army headquarters were held almost daily.

Abdelrahman was arrested five times, managing to escape detention each time so that she could "go back on the street again and throw back tear gas grenades."

"I wasn't intimidated by their threats or by the way they treated us," said the 18-year-old.

The bravery of the female protesters took their male counterparts by surprise. During one rally in Khartoum, the men attempted to surround the women to protect them

from the police truncheons and tear gas. But the women broke free and insisted on standing on the front line, Quraishi said.

"In their minds they thought that women didn't run, and it wasn't a very good thing," she explained. But "we stood firmly in the square, so that they had to as well."

In rally after rally, demonstrators sang "rise up, the revolution is a woman." During one sit-in in April, a young woman clad in a white robe and wearing gold earrings clambered up onto the roof of a car to address the crowd. Images of the scene quickly came to symbolize the energy of the protests, and women's role in them.

The woman, 22-year-old journalist and activist Alaa Salah, told CNN that she "wanted to speak on behalf of the youth ... I wanted to come out and say that Sudan is for all."

Images of Alaa Salah at an April protest quickly went viral.

Salah's outfit was a nod to the proud history of female activists in Sudan, long before Islamists took power. The thobe, as it is called in Sudan, is a throwback to "the clothing worn by our mothers and grandmothers in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s" while demonstrating against previous military dictatorships, said Sudanese social commentator Hind Makki.

People across the country began referring to female protesters as "Kandaka" -- the title given to the "Nubian queens of ancient Sudan, whose gift to their descendants is a legacy of empowered women who fight hard for their country and their rights," Makki said.

In early April, when security forces attempted to break up a sit-in outside the presidential compound in Khartoum, some soldiers stepped in to defend them. It was a sign that Bashir's days were numbered.

Several army officers told CNN that the abuse of women protesters was what ultimately changed their minds about defending the regime. Some stayed home to avoid following orders, while others sided with the protesters.

"I didn't join the army to become that kind of man," said one.

Another former regime officer expressed shame over the conduct of the military during the uprising. "You have to understand we were told to make it stop," he said. "These girls were out there every day, provoking us, chanting that they weren't afraid."

Bashir was deposed by his own generals on April 11 and has since been charged over the deaths of protesters, dozens of whom were killed during the uprising. He is now being held in the maximum-security Kober prison, notorious for holding political prisoners during his 30-year dictatorship.

But the fight is far from over. The military, which dissolved the government after Bashir's removal, has said it will remain in power for up to two years, despite continuing protests against their rule.

"Although Bashir has resigned, the roots of his regime are still in place. The old regime, the old government, the old system of violence, of beating **people** and provocation, is still in place," Rifga Abdelrahman said.

"We want a system that belongs to us," she added.