

**ON THE CHOICE ADDRESS FORMS:
INTIMATE ADDRESS FORMS AS IN-GROUP
IDENTITY MARKERS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS
IN ‘*Invictus*’ MOVIE**

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Abstract: *Invictus* is a movie which is adapted from a true story of how the South African President, Nelson Mandela, tried to unite South Africa by supporting the national rugby team, Springbok, which used to be the symbol of Apartheid. His relation with other characters in this movie is reflected from the address forms and the choice is influenced by many aspects like social distance among the participants, age difference, formality scale etc. This paper focuses on the choice of address forms used among the participants. Besides the variety and progressive use of address forms, the finding also shows that the choice of address forms used by ‘black’ and ‘white’ South Africans are quite different, especially those addressed to Mandela. I observed that some in-group identity markers among the blacks are realized by intimate address forms like Mandela’s nickname *Madiba*, or companion address *Comrade*. In the past, these address forms are known as the devices to struggle against the Apartheid system.

Key words: address forms, apartheid, power, solidarity.

Below is an exchange of conversation between a ‘(B)lack’ and a ‘(W)hite’ presidential guards in the office as shown in *Invictus* movie.

(B) : Madiba does not like it if you don’t smile when you push people away.

(W) : *Madiba?* (bizarre look).

(B) : That’s the president’s clan name. That’s what we call him.

- (Silence for a while)
- (W) : We'll call him *Mr. President*.
- (B) : Can we go through the schedule now? (Agitated)

Apartheid system can simply be defined as legal racial discrimination of 'white' and 'black' (where white minority group used to rule) that used to be adopted by South African government (McDonald, 2009). Back in 1894-1994, for 50 years, this complexion-based racial segregation has set a dividing wall among the inhabitants of South Africa. For years, there have also been some attempts to disengage this system. The inauguration of Nelson Mandela as South African President in 1994 is the culmination point, but even after he was formally elected, Mandela still encountered the residue of the Apartheid system; which was the extreme dislike from black South African over the whites and also vice-versa. The wound caused by the system is hard to heal quickly.

One of Mandela's attempts to disengage the impression of apartheid is by supporting Springbok, the national rugby team of South Africa. At first, many people did not like this because in the past, this team was considered to represent apartheid: The black had never been appointed as team member. For this reason, black Africans would cheer for any Springbok's opponents. Mandela took initiative to change this. His attempt was finally highly appreciated and adapted into a movie, *Invictus*. In that movie, address forms is presented as one of the language devices used to symbolize opposition against apartheid system.

This paper aims at describing the use of pronouns and address forms used by the characters in *Invictus*. The first section of this chapter presents the background of the research including previous studies. The second section presents research method and the third section presents patterns of address forms used by the characters in this movie. Fourth section discusses the choice of the address forms by the characters in the context where they are spoken: note that the discussion is thematic. Fifth section concludes the paper with a summary and it also contains some suggestions for further research.

There are some reasons why this movie is worth an analysis. First, the usage of address forms in this movie is quite dynamic and varied. One can be addressed by several address forms depending on particular aspects, like solidarity scale, power relation, degree of formality and etc. Second, some of the

address forms are unique: address forms like *Sir*, *Mr*, and *Dear* are quite familiar in English. However some other address forms in this movie require shared knowledge like *Mandiga*, *Baba*, which seems to be the native terms unique in South Africa. Third, the choice of address forms is not without purpose. The analysis presented in the discussion section of this paper will show that the choice of some address forms still reflects the heritage of Apartheid system in South Africa. It also shows a particular social bond or group exclusiveness among the participants engaged in the discourse.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The basic concept adopted in this paper is power and solidarity relation that was studied by Brown and Gilman (1961) in French. They have observed that the use of pronouns might reflect power and solidarity scale among the participants engaged in the interaction. The study performed by Brown and Gilman about how *tu* and *vous* pronoun covers this issue, which is later known as T-V distinction of power and solidarity. Although the term ‘T-V’ distinction originated from French, this term has been widely used in sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies.

In some languages like French, Spanish, Dutch (Helmbrecht, 2005) or some other languages that have low-high form pronouns, T-V distinction can be seen clearly from the pronoun for there are some form distinctions with regard to participants relationship. However in English, for instance, *You* is the only second person pronoun that is addressed regardless of the power and solidarity among the participants. Hence, we can still observe the power and solidarity among the participants by observing the use of another linguistic device.

Power and solidarity in the language where the pronouns are quite ‘neutral’, are represented by the choice of address forms like *Sir*, *Dear*, *Mr* etc. As a foreground, Power and solidarity scale is observed in Brown and Ford (1961), Brown (1965) and Ervin-Tripp (1972, 2001) who studied the formula for addressing. In a more generic sense, Brown and Levinson (1987) included the choice of address forms as one of the positive politeness strategy. This strategy implies on taking hearer’s need into account, caring about his/her interest. The choice of address forms, one of them, is employed as an in-group marker as an attempt to reduce FTA (Face Threatening Act). The effect is quite strong since

it establishes one common ground shared between addressor and the addressee. But one must be careful since the inappropriate choice of address form might increase FTA weight, damaging the hearer. That is why this strategy is commonly employed by those who are solidary or who know each other fairly well.

Many of the research concerning address forms have been performed over individual languages like English (Dickey, 1997; Yang, 2010), Indonesian (Kridalaksana, 1974, Prihantoro, 2005; Djenar, 2011), Polish (Jaworsky & Galzinski, 2000), Korean (Choo, 2006; Prihantoro, 2011) and some other languages.

This study observes the use of English address terms in South Africa used by the characters in the movie. Although the scenario of the movie is considered an artificial one, this study is considered important as the choice of the address forms in this is carefully selected to convey the effect of Apartheid system in South Africa.

METHOD

The data in this movie is obtained from a direct observation on the movie. It began with the identification of address terms used by the characters in the movie. The conversations in the some carefully selected scenes were transcribed to represents the contexts where the address forms are used. Besides, dialogue among the participants, some situational aspects that support the choice of address forms were also added on the transcripts as well as the setting, channel (direct conversation, phone, letter etc.), degree of informality and other required aspects to support analysis in the discussion section. The address forms were then listed and classified into different categories in the findings section. Note that in the list, the categorization is form based, while the functions are elaborated in discussion section.

Discussion section is divided into four sub sub-sections. Each section is organized thematically based on the functions of the address forms. Thus, in the thematic classification readers might find address forms from different categories in the findings mixed up.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

The story of *Invictus* movie revolves around Nelson Mandela, the newly elected president of South Africa, and Francois Pienaar, the captain of Springbok Rugby Team. Address forms in this movie are identified mostly in Mandela's dialogue with other characters in terms of frequency and variation. But, not many dialogues performed by Pienaar, the second leading character. The scenes involving Pienaar depicts more physical action in the rugby field than dialogues. The roles of other characters are also taken into account as addressors instead of addressees. This section discusses findings, which are the types, patterns and lists of address forms used by the characters in the movie.

Title and Name

Address forms with title and name is dominant in this movie. As it is widely known in English (Brown & Ford, 1961; Dickey, 1997; Yang, 2010), they might be used separately or combined together. The pattern also follows the common patterns of address forms found in English. For instance, Nelson Mandela can be addressed by his first and last name (FN+LN). He is sometimes addressed also by *Mandela* (LN), almost never by *Nelson* (FN). There is only one scene in the end where Nelson Mandela is addressed by FN by the sport fans in the rugby stadium. Address forms with FN are frequently used to address other characters like *Francois* for Springbok captain, *Jason* for the head of presidential guard, *Brenda* for Mandela's secretary, *Eunice* for the servant and some other supporting characters. The address form that includes middle name is not found in this movie.

Table 1. Titles and Names as Address Forms

No	Patterns	Examples
1	FN	<i>Nelson, Brenda, Chester, Mary, Hendrick, Francois, Sindzi</i>
2	LN	<i>Mandela</i>

Table continued

3	FN+LN	<i>Nelson Mandela</i>
4	Honorific Title	<i>Sir</i>
5	Rank Title	<i>Captain</i>
6	Honorific Title + LN	<i>Mr. Pienaar, Mrs. Brits</i>
7	Rank Title+LN	<i>Captain Feyder , President Mandela</i>
8	Honorific Title+FN+LN	<i>Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Jason Tshabalala</i>
9	Honorific Title+ Rank Title	<i>Mr.President</i>

Honorific address like *Sir* is also frequently used. None of this address form in the movie goes with name. An honorific title *Mr* is also frequently found and usually combined with name. The patterns are Mr+FN+LN (*Mr. Jason Tshabalala*) or MR+LN (*Mr. Mandela*), but never Mr+FN (*Mr. Nelson). This complies to the patterns of addresses for English where *Mr* does not usually go with first name.

The use of *Mr* is sometimes followed by official rank in the government like *Mr. President* and *Mr. Minister*. Table 1 above presents the title and name address forms used in this movie:

Kinship

Title and name are not the only types of address form used in the movie. Kinship terms are also used as address terms, but they can sometimes be used as references. Note that they are two distinct phenomena. The word *Son*, for example, has two meaning: referential meaning and address meaning. Referential meaning is used in non address context (Dickey, 1997). *Son* as in ‘I have a *son*’ is an instance of kinship term in referential sense, as opposed to *Son* in ‘good luck, *Son*’ which has address meaning.

Based on the kinship relations, the address forms in this movie can be classified into two: parent-child (e.g. *son, boy*) and sibling (e.g. *brother, sister*). They are presented in table 2.

Table 2. Kinship Terms as Address Forms

No	Patterns	Examples
1	Parent-child	<i>Son, Boy, Ma</i>
2	Sibling	<i>Brother, Sister</i>

These forms allow addresses to be used among those that do not even have family ties. For instance, *Son* is used by Nelson Mandela to address Francois Pienaar. They are not related as a family at all, but the use of this kind of address forms may reduce social distance among the speakers

Intimate Addresses

Intimate addresses are used to reflect a particular relationship among the speakers, which is friendly and close as studied in English (Brown and Ford, 1961), Persian (Aliakbari and Tomi, 2010). Given that formality and rank are taken into account, there are some situations where the participants can address colleagues in more amiable tone.

In this movie, there are several intimate address forms that are quite unique. The first type is the personal nickname used to address Nelson Mandela, *Madiba*. this address forms is originated from his clan name, as it is described in the excerpt shown in the beginning of this paper. Beside *Madiba*, Nelson Mandela can also be addressed with another intimate address *Dada*.

The second type is group nickname *Okes*. This nickname originates from the nickname of Springbok rugby team. This national rugby team is nicknamed *Bokke*, and to address the members of the group as a whole, it is shortened to *Okes*.

The third type is in-group address like *Comrade*. This address form is widely known to be used among the socialist or communist especially in the meeting. In this movie, *Comrade* is also used in the meeting where the agenda is to boycott Springbok. Nelson Mandela is addressed with *Comrade* or *Comrade President* a combination of in group address and rank title. In depth discussion is presented in the discussion section, but the list of intimate address is presented in table 3.

The address forms found in this movie are quite dynamic in terms of patterns or addressor-addressee relation, since one can be addressed by different address forms. It reflects the addressors attitude toward the addressees. Next section discusses some essential function of address forms that are organized thematically.

Table 3. Intimate Address Forms

No	Patterns	Examples
1	Personal Nickname	<i>Madiba, Dada</i>
2	Group Nickname	<i>Okes</i>
3	In-Group Address	<i>Comrade(s)</i>
4	In Group Address + Rank Title	<i>Comrade President</i>

Discussion

Social Distance, Formality and Age

Social distance among the participants can be observed from the address terms especially from the use of title and name (Brown and Ford, 1961; Ervin-Tripp 1972, 2001). The honorific address forms such as *Mr, Sir, Mrs* are used to address a person of superior power or of higher rank, as presented in example 1. The dialogue is between the white coach and his team member (white Africans). They are talking about Mandela:

Example (1)

Team member : Who is that, *Sir*?

Coach : It's that terrorist, Mandela. They let him out.

The dialogue took place in the training ground for junior rugby team. All participants are white. We focus on the forms addressed to the coach by team members, *Sir*, which reflect rank difference. *Sir* is also used among black and white participants even if the addressee is white, as illustrated in example 2.

Example (2)

Feyder : Captain Feyder and team reporting for duty, *Sir!*
Jason : What duty?
Feyder : With the presidential bodyguard. We've been assigned to this office.
Here are our orders.

The dialogue takes place in the presidential office among presidential guards. Jason (black) is the head of the guard. He is the man that Mandela trusts the most to protect him. Jason once requested for more men to protect President Nelson Mandela. He was surprised as there were four special branch cops in his office. He was surprised not because of the special branch cops were well known for they expertise, but he was more surprised that the cops are all white instead of black like all his team personnel.

Here we can see that *Sir* is used by Feyder (white) as Jason has officially higher rank than him. They are also engaged in the conversation for the first time and had not known each other before. The racial difference did not affect the choice of address forms in formal situation. This happens most of the time in the movie. Now, let us have a look at example (3), where names are also used:

Example (3)

President (C)lerk : *Mr. Pienaar*. Right this way, please.
(F)rancois : Yeah. Thank you.
(C) : Go on in.
[Francois was greeted by (M)andela in his presidential office.]
(M) : *Francois*. What an honor. I am so excited.
Thank you for coming all this way to see me.
(F) : Yes, *Sir*. Thank you for inviting me, *Mr. President*.
(M) : Do tell me, *Francois*. How is your ankle?

Francois Pienaar, the captain of Springbok was waiting to see the president. He was invited for a tea. The president's clerk addressed him with *Mr. Pienaar*, which is a combination of title and last name. Here we can see that she tries to maintain formality with Pienaar who is totally the opposite of Mandela. In example (3) we can see that Mandela keeps addressing him using just *Pienaar*.

The president addresses Pienaar with just his first name *Francois* to reduce social distance and formality. But the captain tried to maintain formality and social distance by addressing Mandela with *Sir* and *Mr. President*. This complies with the proposal of Brown and Ford (1961) that people of socially lower in rank tend to use high form to address ones of higher rank, which does not necessary apply for higher (H) rank to lower rank (L); also known as non-reciprocity. Consider the summary in table (4):

Table 4. Non Reciprocal Address Forms: Nelson Mandela and Francois Pienaar

Participants		Address
From	To	
Mandela	Pienaar	L: <i>Francois</i>
Pienaar	Mandela	H: <i>Sir, Mr.President</i>
Mandela	Pienaar	L: <i>Francois</i>

Nelson Mandela and Francois Pienaar have just met for the first time. If we refer to the situation in example (2) with Jason and Feyder, they should have addressed each other with title since the situation is formal. However, Mandela chose to use high form (title), or low (first name). In example (3) we see that he just addressed the captain with first name. In the same scene, Mandela addresses his presidential servant with title + LN. Consider example (4):

Example (4)

[Mrs. Britz, the presidential office servant came with the tea. The president welcomed her.]

Mandela (to Mrs. Brits) : You are a shining light in my day.

Mrs. Brits : Yes, Sir.
(M) : *Mrs. Britz*, this is Francois Pienaar,
captain of the Springbok.

[Mrs.Brits and Francois spoke in African Dialect for a while]

Mrs. Brits (to Mandela) : Shall I pour, Sir?
(M) : No. No. I would prefer to do it myself. Thank you very much, *Mrs. Brits*. How do you like your tea. Francois?

Despite his higher rank, Mandela still addressed his presidential servant with *Mrs.* This might possibly be caused by the age difference. The servant is already old, approximately as old as Mandela, while Francois is much younger than Mandela. All the people that Mandela addressed with first name were much younger than him.

Since Mandela is the highest in official rank, it is quite difficult to observe scenes where he is addressed with only first name. But, by the end of the movie, all the audience in national stadium regardless their skin color called him with just first name *Nelson* repeatedly. In this informal situation, we can see that the social distance has been reduced. The first name addressed to Mandela in this movie has broken down the border between black and white South African, which is also represented by the support of all South Africans to Springbok team.

Besides FN, another address form that can also reduce social distance is nickname. In this movie, there is a scene when Mandela is addressed by a nickname *Dada*.

Example (5)

(S)ervant : Here's your *Muti, Madiba*. I warmed the milk tonight.
(M)andela : Ah. You are too good to me, *Mary*.
(S) : Your daughter called to cancel her visit this weekend.
(M) : Did she say why?

- (S) : No. she didn't. She said to tell you she was sorry.
(M) : I see.
(S) : Do you need anything else tonight?
(M) : No, *Mary*. Thank you. I will go to bed.
(S) : Good evening, *Dada*.

Mary is the servant of Mandela in his house. Besides serving *Muti* (African dish) she was informing Mandela about the cancellation of his daughter's visit. She is the only one that addresses Mandela with *Dada* in this movie. Mandela himself did not show any rejection of this address.

To reduce social distance among the participants, one can also use kinship terms. Kinship terms are terms that refer to family members, but not exclusively used for genealogically related members only. For example, the use of *Bu* or *Pak* in Indonesian language, which refers to mother and father, are used as a respectful address even though the participants do not have family relation at all. In this movie, some of the kinship terms are also used as address forms to reduce social distance. In the greeting session before the rugby match begins, Mandela addressed each team member with *Son*, wishing them good luck for the game.

In another situation, Mandela used kinship terms *Brother* and *Sister* (example 8) to address members of a group. But the intimate address terms also serve as in-group identity markers, which will be discussed in the next section.

In-Group Identity Marking

In this movie, I identified some of the address forms that are used only among black South Africans. Most of them are classified to intimate address forms type.

The use of address forms as in-group identity markers is presented in example (6).

Example (6)

President's Clerk : *Madiba?* The cabinet ministers are here to brief you on the trip to Taiwan.

Mandela : Oh yes, I'll be right out

Here, the president's clerk was giving a friendly reminder to Mandela about the meeting with the ministers. She addressed *Mandela* with just *Madiba* and it is just normal address that all black South Africans use. *Madiba* is the president's clan name, and that become an address form for him. Although the situation is formal, we see that this address is preserved. Mandela himself always addresses his presidential clerk with just first name *Brenda* as she is black. Whoever the addressor is, as long as he or she is black, he or she can address Mandela using *Madiba* (no whites addressed Mandela this way).

Besides *Madiba*, another address form that is used as an in-group marker is *Comrade*, as presented in example (7).

Example (7)

Jason : *Comrade President*, not long ago, these guys tried to kill us. Maybe even these four guys in my office tried and often succeeded.

Mandela : Yes. I know.... Forgiveness starts here too. Forgiveness liberates the soul. It removes fear. That is why it is such a powerful weapon. Please, Jason. Try...

Jason, the head of presidential bodyguard, came to the office of the president to confirm the letter signed by Mandela. He is questioning why there are white cops to help him. Mandela explains that this is his method of reconciliation, to unite the black and white.

We see that the address form used by Jason is *Comrade President*. *Comrade* is a term that is used by the socialists or communists to address friends in a meeting. In this movie, this address form reflects the bond of Jason and Mandela as fellow freedom fighters to oppose apartheid system.

Brown and Gilman (1987) categorize the use of address terms under positive politeness strategy as a strategy to establish a common ground. We might see that the terms *Comrade* and *Madiba* are used to establish a common ground among the participants as black South Africans who used to be oppressed. No whites can use these two addresses to Mandela.

Let us consider another situation where the combination of comrade with rank, *Comrade President*, is used. In this situation, *Comrade President* is addressed in a meeting (Example 8)

Example (8)

[South African anthem was stopped]

(L)eader of the meeting : *Comrades, Comrades*, members of the choir. We would only interrupt such beautiful music for something truly important. Please welcome, *President Mandela*.
(welcoming the president)

[The president is walking to the front, greeted by everyone]

(M)andela : Thank you. (smiling)

Woman: *Madiba*.

Man 1 : Welcome. *Madiba*.

(M) : Thank you.

Man 2 : *Mandela*.

[Short pause. Mandela took position on the microphone and spoke.]

(M) : *Brothers.....Sisters.....Comrades*. I am here because I believe you have made a decision... ..with insufficient information and foresight.

The meeting was attended by many people, most of them were not known by Mandela. He could only see that all of them were black. In this way, the use of address terms *Comrade* among the participants is still acceptable. The dialogue excerpt above has shown that intimate address forms can also be used for strangers as long as they have a common ground.

We can see here that Mandela addressed the participants, all of whom are black, with various addresses *Brothers*, *Sisters*, and *Comrades*. Mandela used these addresses to indicate a special bond of family and fellow freedom fighters. By indicating the common grounds, he hoped that people will listen to his explanation and finally understand their mistake.

The previous two sub-sections have discussed some thematic situation where address forms are used. However, some situations allow the dropping of address forms. This issue is further discussed in the following sub-section.

The Use of Zero Address Forms

There are some situations when address forms are optional. It means, in some contexts, the address form can be dropped. This phenomenon is referred as Zero Address Form (Tripp, 2001; Wardaugh, 2006).

When Mandela meets all the staff of the presidential office for the first time, he does not know what to call his staff; he greeted them all with *good morning*, without using any address form. This is because at that point of time, he was still a newly elected president, and did not know well all the officers.

Some of the staff (mostly white) did not even reply the greeting back. Some replied but drop the address form. We know that the proper address should be *Mr. President*. However, this refusal is probably caused by their discomfort of being lead by a black president, which can be considered as a denial.

The use of zero address form is also presented in different scene (example 8).

Example (9)

[Telephone ringing. The secretary then picked up the phone]

Secretary : Good morning, office of the president. (Short pause, listening to the caller). Yes *Sir*, yes...we'll have that ready for you.

It can be seen that when the president's secretary was receiving phone call she did not use any address form. She just said *good morning* since she did not know who called. But as soon as she understood with whom she was speaking, she used *Sir*. Ervin-Tripp (2001), Wardaugh (2006) and Yang (2010) confirm that one of the reasons of using zero address form is because the proper address form to the addressee is still unknown.

The Progress of Address Forms

The progress of address forms was explained by Brown and Ford (1961). They stated that the use of address forms to a person might change over time. They gave an instance of a prospective graduate student who met his faculty member who was relatively still young. He addressed the prospective graduate student with FN to extend the hands of friendship. Even though the faculty member is young, the prospective graduate student could not directly address him with FN for it was still too early. Hence, Title+LN was used. But after four year in the university, the student might advance to mutual FN address.

In this movie, the progress was conveyed when Jason Tshabalala, the head of presidential guard came to the office to see President Nelson Mandela. He needed to confirm the order of assigning four white cops as additional presidential guards. The order was signed by Mandela.

Example (10)

- (J)ason : Sorry to disturb you, *Sir*. (Opening the door, approaching Mandela)
- (M)andela : You look agitated, *Jason*.
- J : That's because there are four Special Branch cops in my office.
- G : Oh. What did you do?
- J : Nothing. They say they are presidential bodyguards and they have orders signed by you.
- M : Ah yes. Ah yes. Well, these men are special trained by SAS. They have lots of experience. They protected de Klerk.
- J : Yes. but it doesn't mean that they have to— (Mandela interrupted)
- M : You asked for more men. Didn't you?
- J : Yes. *Sir*. I asked—(Mandela interrupted again)
- M : When people see me in public.....they see my bodyguards. You represent me directly. The rainbow nation starts here. Reconciliation starts here.

- J : Reconciliation, *Sir*?
- M : Yes. Reconciliation, *Jason*.
[Jason inhaled and replied]
- J : *Comrade President*, not long ago, these guys tried to kill us. Maybe even these four guys in my office tried and often succeeded.
- M : Yes, I know. Forgiveness starts here too. Forgiveness liberates the soul. It removes fear. That is why it is such a powerful weapon. Please, *Jason*. Try.
- J : Sorry to disturb you, *Sir*.

A little bit different from the previous case, here the progression happened very fast (just in seconds) and in two directions. At first, Jason tried to maintain formality by using *Sir* to address Mandela. But as he argued more, he used an in-group identity marker (IGM) *Comrade President*. As he did not manage to change the decision, he returned to using *Sir*.

There a lot of aspects that affect the choice of address forms. For instance, title + LN like *Mrs.Brits* is used by Mandela even to address a servant, his subordinate, who is older than him. Even at the end of the movie, Mandela was addressed by just his first name, *Nelson*, by the audience in the Ellis Park, the national rugby stadium.

However, some address forms are absolute like *Madiba* and *Comrade President* that are used exclusively among black South Africans to show common ground as freedom fighters and share the feeling of having been oppressed by apartheid system. None of the in-group identity marker is used by or among white South Africans.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This present study has shown that there are three categories of address forms used by the characters in the movie *Invictus*: Titles and Names, Kinship Terms and Intimate Addresses. The finding shows some patterns in the address forms. Some of the findings are in accordance with the previous findings in

previous studies but some of the unique address forms (intimate addresses) are also found.

The address forms is used based on their functions. The choice might be used to show power over the subordinates and to reduce or maintain social distance among the participants. Some intimate address forms are used to establish a common ground as an exclusive member of a group. Address forms like *Madiba* and *Comrade* are used to share the sense of freedom fighter and oppose apartheid system. These address forms are the products of Apartheid system. In *Invictus*, the dropping of address forms might also be used when the identity of the participants is not known, or as a denial of one's superordination. In this case the denial of Nelson Mandela's presidency. It is also possible that the address might change as time progresses.

The writer believes that there are more language devices that were used to oppose the Apartheid system. Future studies might be performed over other types of discourses (newspapers, books, magazines, radiobroadcast etc) in the native languages used in South Africa.

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