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ABSTRACT

Politicians constantly strive to manipulate language in a way that communicates their intentions without upsetting their audience. The present study is a political discourse analysis of the inaugural speeches of political leaders- Presidents and Prime Ministers of four countries selected from three continents across the world. The selected countries are Nigeria, Liberia, United States of America, and United Kingdom, and the selected speeches are that of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria, Presidents Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and George Weah of Liberia, Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump of the United States of America, and Prime Ministers David Cameron and Theresa May of the United Kingdom.

The study is a qualitative and quantitative survey text analytical research. It utilizes inaugural speeches as primary data and literature in the field of political discourse as secondary data.

Meaning was analyzed using Fairclough's (2010) CDA approach as well as Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. Furthermore, analysis was done in the three dimensions of Description (text analysis), Interpretation (processing analysis), and Explanation (social analysis).

Research findings showed that the speeches communicated the messages of the leaders based on their sociocultural and sociopolitical reality. It however also reveals some general features of political discourse which cut across cultures, countries and continents. Although there were trends that were peculiar to each country, there were more features such as, context, personality, gender, state of the nation, etc. that served to individually distinguish speakers.

In conclusion, the research submits that the combination of different approaches to language analysis facilitated a wholesome interpretation of the considered speeches, including the discourse and sociocultural practices. In addition, context is of immense importance when analyzing content.

LANGUAGE DYNAMISM: A CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL
DISCOURSE

by

Adebimpe Adegbite

B.A., Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, 2014

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistics Studies

Syracuse University

May 2019

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Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially my fiancée, Opeyemi, with whose support I have been able to focus throughout my MA study and the drafting of this thesis. Their overwhelming love and evident support facilitated the timely completion of this project.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to **Omonike Blessing Oyedele** of blessed memory. Thanks for your amazing friendship while alive and your inspiring memory while gone beyond. Your legacy is preserved!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE

ABSTRACT

COPYRIGHT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... iv

DEDICATION..... iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS..... v

LIST OF TABLES..... xi

LIST OF CHARTS..... xiii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION..... 1

1.0.General Introduction..... 1

1.1. Background to the Study..... 5

1.2. Aim and Objectives..... 5

1.3. Research Assumptions..... 6

1.4. Significance of Study..... 7

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW..... 8

2.1. National Diversity..... 8

2.2. Discourse in the Society..... 9

2.3. Political Discourse..... 10

2.3.1. Political Speeches..... 11

2.4. Meaning in Texts..... 13

2.4.1. Ideational Meaning..... 13

2.4.1.1. Transitivity System..... 14

2.4.2. Interpersonal Meaning.....	15
2.5. Language and Gender.....	17
2.6. Previous Studies in the Field.....	17
2.7. Theoretical Framework.....	19
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	21
3.1. Research Subjects.....	21
3.1.1. Liberia.....	21
3.1.1.1. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.....	22
3.1.1.2. President George Oppong Weah.....	23
3.1.2. Nigeria.....	24
3.1.2.1. President Olusegun Obasanjo.....	25
3.1.2.2. President Muhammadu Buhari.....	26
3.1.3. United Kingdom.....	26
3.1.3.1. Prime Minister David Cameron.....	27
3.1.3.2. Prime Minister Theresa May.....	27
3.1.4. United States of America.....	28
3.1.4.1. President Barack Obama.....	29
3.1.4.2. President Donald Trump.....	30
3.2. Research Procedure.....	30
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS.....	32
4.0. General Introduction.....	32
4.1. Ideational meaning.....	32
4.1.1. Sentence Types: President Obasanjo and President Buhari.....	32

4.1.1.1. President Obasanjo.....	32
4.1.1.2. President Buhari.....	34
4.1.1.3. Sentence Types Comparison: President Obasanjo vs President Buhari...	36
4.1.2. Sentence Types: President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah.....	36
4.1.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf.....	36
4.1.2.2. President Weah.....	38
4.1.2.3. Sentence types Comparison: President J- Sirleaf vs President Weah.....	39
4.1.3. Sentence Types: President Obama and President Trump.....	40
4.1.3.1. President Obama.....	40
4.1.3.2. President Trump.....	41
4.1.3.3. Sentence Types Comparison: President Obama and President Trump...	42
4.1.4. Sentence Types: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May.....	43
4.1.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron.....	43
4.1.4.2. Prime Minister May.....	44
4.1.4.3. Sentence Types Comparison: PM Cameron vs PM May.....	44
4.1.5. Cross-Cultural Sentence Types Analysis.....	45
4.2. Ideational Meaning: Process Options.....	45
4.2.1. Process Options: President Obasanjo and President Buhari.....	45
4.2.1.1. President Obasanjo.....	45
4.2.1.2. President Buhari.....	48
4.2.1.3. Process Options Comparison: President Obasanjo & President Buhari...	50
4.2.2. Process Options: President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah.....	51
4.2.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf.....	51

4.2.2.2. President Weah.....	53
4.2.2.3. Process Options Comparison: President J-Sirleaf and President Weah...	55
4.2.3. Process Options: Nigeria versus Liberia.....	56
4.2.4. Process Options: President Obama and President Trump.....	59
4.2.4.1. President Obama.....	59
4.2.4.2. President Trump.....	61
4.2.4.3. Process Options Comparison: President Obama and President Trump...	63
4.2.5. Process Options: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May.....	63
4.2.5.1. Prime Minister Cameron.....	63
4.2.5.2. Prime Minister May.....	64
4.2.5.3. Process options Comparison: PM Cameron and PM May.....	65
4.2.6. Cross-Cultural Process options Realizations.....	66
4.3. Ideational Meaning: Circumstantial Options.....	67
4.3.1. President Obasanjo and President Buhari.....	67
4.3.1.1. President Obasanjo.....	67
4.3.1.2. President Buhari.....	69
4.3.1.3. Circumstantial Options: President Buhari versus President Obasanjo...	70
4.3.2. President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah.....	71
4.3.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf.....	71
4.3.2.2. President Weah.....	72
4.3.2.3. Circumstantial Options: President Johnson Sirleaf vs President Weah...	74
4.3.3. Circumstantial Options Comparison: Nigeria versus Liberia.....	74
4.3.4. Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May.....	75

4.3.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron.....	75
4.3.4.2. Prime Minister May.....	76
4.3.4.3. Circumstantial Options: PM Cameron versus PM May.....	77
4.3.5. President Obama and President Trump.....	78
4.3.5.1. President Obama.....	78
4.3.5.2. President Trump.....	79
4.3.5.3. Circumstantial Options: President Obama versus President Trump.....	80
4.3.6. Circumstantial Options: Cross Cultural Comparison.....	80
4.4. Interpersonal Meaning.....	82
4.4.1. Interpersonal Meaning: President Obasanjo and President Buhari.....	82
4.4.1.1. President Obasanjo.....	82
4.4.1.2. President Buhari.....	85
4.4.1.3. President Obasanjo versus President Buhari.....	88
4.4.2. Interpersonal Meaning: President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah.....	89
4.4.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf.....	89
4.4.2.2. President Weah.....	91
4.4.2.3. President Johnson Sirleaf versus President Weah.....	94
4.4.3. Cross-Cultural Interpersonal meaning: Nigeria versus Liberia.....	95
4.4.4. Interpersonal Meaning: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May.....	96
4.4.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron.....	96
4.4.4.2. Prime Minister May.....	98
4.4.4.3. Prime Minister Cameron versus Prime Minister May.....	100
4.4.5. Interpersonal Meaning: President Obama and President Trump.....	101

4.4.5.1. President Obama.....	101
4.4.5.2. President Trump.....	103
4.4.5.3. President Obama versus President Trump.....	106
4.4.6. Interpersonal Meaning: Cross-Cultural Comparison.....	107
4.5. Language and Gender.....	109
4.5.1. Language and Gender: President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah.....	109
4.5.2. Language and Gender: Prime Minister May and Prime Minister Cameron.....	112
4.5.3. Language and Gender: Liberia versus United Kingdom.....	114
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	115
5.1. Language Dynamism.....	115
5.2. Language Manipulation.....	122
5.3. Discourse, Context, and Meaning.....	126
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....	128
6.1. Conclusion.....	128
6.2. Limitations and Additional Implication for Future Studies.....	129
APPENDICES.....	131
REFERENCES.....	197
VITA.....	204

LIST OF TABLES

Sentence Types

Table 1: President Obasanjo's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 2: President Buhari's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 3: President Johnson-Sirleaf's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 4: President Weah's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 5: President Obama's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 6: President Trump's Sentence Types.....	131
Table 7: Prime Minister Cameron's Sentence Types.....	132
Table 8: Prime Minister May's Sentence Types.....	132

Circumstantial Options

Table 9: President Obasanjo's Circumstantial Options.....	132
Table 10: President Buhari's Circumstantial Options.....	133
Table 11: President Johnson-Sirleaf's Circumstantial Options.....	134
Table 12: President Weah's Circumstantial Options.....	135
Table 13: Prime Minister Cameron's Circumstantial Options.....	136
Table 14: Prime Minister May's Circumstantial Options.....	137
Table 15: President Obama's Circumstantial Options.....	138
Table 16: President Trump's Circumstantial Options.....	139

Modality Realizations

Table 17: President Obasanjo's Modality Realizations.....	140
Table 18: President Buhari's Modality Realizations.....	142
Table 19: President Johnson-Sirleaf's Modality Realizations.....	143

Table 20: President Weah’s Modality Realizations.....	144
Table 21: Prime Minister Cameron’s Modality Realizations.....	146
Table 22: Prime Minister May’s Modality Realizations.....	147
Table 23: President Obama’s Modality Realizations.....	148
Table 24: President Trump’s Modality Realizations.....	150

Pronouns Realization

Table 25: President Obasanjo’s Pronouns Realization.....	151
Table 26: President Buhari’s Pronouns Realization.....	152
Table 27: President Johnson-Sirleaf’s Pronouns Realization.....	153
Table 28: President Weah’s Pronouns Realization.....	154
Table 29: Prime Minister Cameron’s Pronouns Realization.....	155
Table 30: Prime Minister May’s Pronouns Realization.....	156
Table 31: President Obama’s Pronouns Realization.....	156
Table 32: President Trump’s Pronouns Realization.....	157

LIST OF CHARTS

Process Options

Chart 1: President Obasanjo’s Process Options.....	158
Chart 2: President Buhari’s Process Options.....	159
Chart 3: President Johnson-Sirleaf’s Process Options.....	159
Chart 4: President Weah’s Process Options.....	159
Chart 5: President Obama’s Process Options.....	160
Chart 6: President Trump’s Process Options.....	160
Chart 7: Prime Minister Cameron’s Process Options.....	160
Chart 8: Prime Minister May’s Process Options.....	161

CHAPTER ONE: INRODUCTION

1.0. General Introduction

Because of the globalization of the world through technology, one wonders if political discourse would as well become identical across cultures and countries. Two questions which I hope to answer in this research are: (1) Do political leaders construct speeches similarly irrespective of their sociocultural context? and (2) Do politicians of different gender construct their speeches differently? The present study is an analysis of the inaugural speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers of two African countries- Nigeria and Liberia, one European country- the United Kingdom, and one North American country- the United States of America. Two recent Presidents/Prime Ministers are selected from each country for a total of eight leaders. The countries were selected from different continents to ensure a balanced inter-cultural analysis. Liberia and the United Kingdom were specifically selected because of the presence of a female President and Prime Minister respectively.

I utilize Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and Fairclough's (2010) Critical Discourse Analysis theoretical frameworks in this research. SFG is used to analyze **ideational meaning** which is the grammar aspect of comparison while CDA aids the analyses of **interpersonal meaning**. The analyses of these features are conditioned upon the sociocultural and sociopolitical atmosphere of the speeches as well as gender. By comparing the discourse style of these eight leaders, I hope to discover the discourse variation of leaders within the same country based on the prevailing political and sociocultural context as well as leaders across cultures, countries, and continents. This way, the research examines intra- and inter- discourse comparisons based on individual qualities, background of the leaders, and the context of each speech.

An inaugural speech is a political speech which is by implication a typical instance of political discourse. A political speech can be viewed as a means of influencing others. To this end, oration is used to excite, persuade and establish genuineness or leadership (Klebanov et al., 2008; Niedrich 2011). Speakers can, therefore, based on their language expertise and cultural knowledge, disguise, manipulate, transform, or deepen a phenomenon or fact (Al-Majali, 2015). In political discourse, it is not uncommon to view, broadly, the language used in speeches as showcasing ideology and power (Fairclough, 2010). Ideology to Gramsci (1971) is tied to action, judged less on truth value and more in terms of effects on the society (Fairclough, 2010). In short, the analysis of a political discourse would include an assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text or spoken utterance (Massoud and Elahe, 2014). As with discourses all over the world, political discourse varies based on the interlocutors and the context of the discourse. Various factors contribute to the formation of a context for a political discourse, and these factors include culture, political system, education, etc. A comparative cross-cultural analysis of political discourse is relevant in the description of the evolution of language in political discourse. It throws some light into how stylistic variation intertwines with accepted norms within a society without neglecting the relevance of the resulting style to the period of the discourse.

So far, there is no study that posits a contrastive analysis of the inaugural speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers from countries across continents which is the gap that this research hopes to fill. The present study thus intends to demonstrate contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis by (a) analyzing and interpreting the content of the inaugural speeches and (b) exemplifying its connection to sociopolitical contexts.

To better understand how political discourse varies based on social factors such as political climate, time, gender, education, etc., this study employs two main strategies. The first is to do a comparison of political discourse between politicians at different periods within the same political climate. The second strategy is to compare discourse within a broader context of culture across countries and continents. This is to show that the dynamism in the use of language, and the manipulation of political discourse in a context by a speaker is encompassed and invariably limited to the overarching culture that guides the existence of that society.

Even though Hofstede (1980) conceptualized individualism and collectivism as opposing anchors on a scale, more recent studies have revealed that both are independent of each other and are influenced by social context (Bhawuk and Brislin, 1992; Gaines et al., 1997). Furthermore, Matsumoto et al. (1997) and Lay, Fairlie, et al. (1998) posit that for an individual, collectivism may be prevalent in some socio-cultural environments but not others. This study will evaluate this assertion in relation to political speeches across cultures, countries and continents.

The present chapter presents a general introduction to the study and a background to the study. I explore the reasons that give rise to the study and how these reasons justify the its viability. I also explore the statement of the research problem and the aim, objectives, and assumptions of the study. Subsequently, I delineate the scope of the study, and give an explicit description of the research's expected contribution to knowledge.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review which explicates previous research relevant to political discourse and the similarity and differences that exist in the manner which politicians use language to communicate their intentions to the populace. In this chapter, I explore various concepts relevant to the understanding of the topic and the importance of the study under consideration. I examine discourse within a society, paying attention to political discourse which

is foundational to this study. In addition, I discuss how linguistic clues reflect the meaning in a text including agency and gender, and how these clues show the personality and intention of the speaker being described.

In chapter 3, I outline the method employed in the study. This includes the design of the research, specifically the type of research conducted. I also outline the primary and secondary data. In addition, the background information of the speakers of the subject political leaders are explored to aid the analyses of data. Finally, I do a step-by-step description of the research including data gathering and analyses which provides an insight into the systematicity of the research, and the thoroughness of the process.

Chapter 4 presents the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data and the results. Initially, there is a description of the speeches under consideration after which I make comparisons to determine the peculiarity of each speech in addition to similarities and contrasts with other speeches. The findings of each subheading are further discussed in the subsequent chapter.

In chapters 5 and 6, there is a discussion of the findings of the study, a conclusion, and a brief discussion of the limitations to the study. Here, I put into more concise terms how the findings of the study apply to the broader perspective of discourse generation and maintenance in a society. Furthermore, I discuss how the findings justify or negate assumptions that were made in the beginning of the study about the outcome of the research. The conclusion in chapter 6 summarizes the research and defines how the theoretical framework and data collection method utilized have contributed to the viability of the research results.

1.1. Background to the Study

A focal point in all speech events is context. All the selected countries either have English as their native language or were colonized by English- speaking countries and had employed English as their official language. The UK and US have English as a native language. Nigeria was colonized by Great Britain and became independent in 1960 while Liberia was established by the American Colonization Society in 1822 and became independent in 1847. In both African countries, Nigeria and Liberia, English is increasingly becoming the first language of children especially in urban areas.

The UK and the US are categorized by the United Nations as developed countries while Nigeria and Liberia are regarded as ‘developing’ (United Nations, 2019). There are also considerable differences in the context of the election of each leader being considered and this makes their speech fundamentally or, at least, superficially different from that of the other within their political climate and those outside their cultural boundary. Sociocultural and political contexts are thus big players in terms of meaning making. This provides the background into the expectation that the use of political discourse by the politicians in each country will vary according to their system.

1.2. Aim and Objectives

The aim of the study is to do a contrastive cross-cultural analysis of the inaugural speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers of two African (Nigeria and Liberia), one North American (USA), and one European (UK) Country. This would be achieved through the description, interpretation, and explanation of the speeches and their context. The specific objectives are:

- (a) to identify and organize the thematic preoccupation in each speech,

- (b) to analyze the textual features (sentence types; grammar elements: subject, verb, adverbs and pronoun) that generate meaning in each text,
- (c) to interpret these textual features and their significance in and to the context of use, and
- (d) to observe the consequences of meaning generated in the speeches vis-à-vis the sincerity of the speakers and the feasibility of the content of the speeches being implemented.

1.3. Research Assumptions

The following assumptions were made prior to the analyses of the gathered data for the study:

- (i) All speeches will be devoid of complex clauses or words to be understandable to their targeted audience, the masses, and to showcase the sincerity of the leaders. In other words, language will be definite and devoid of intricate explanations or propositions.
- (ii) The ideology of change and non-conventionalism will be reflected in some of the speeches while the ideology of continuity and persistence would be reflected in others.
- (iii) The speeches of the African leaders will reflect perceived collective culture of African communities and countries while that of the North American leaders will reflect perceived individualism ideology of Americans.
- (iv) All speeches will be poised at assuring the people of the leaders' commitment to instant action towards continuity or change and will therefore have numerous instances of projects and policies to be implemented.
- (v) Speeches that explicate the need for continuity will include positive evaluation of previous administrations while those that explicate the necessity of change will

include numerous negative evaluations of the previous administrations to further project their sincerity in terms of solving the problems of their respective country.

- (vi) Speeches will vary based on the gender of the speaker

1.4. Significance of the Study

The need to understand the nature of human beings and their interaction with people is unending. In modern times, all sectors of societies have been infiltrated by politics. As countries strive to develop and struggle for power intensify, politics has continuously filtered into religion, tradition, and other sectors of economies. Understanding these complexities would aid successful navigation of systems where success is virtually impossible without the comprehension of political constructs. Furthermore, there is increasing international and intercontinental interactions of countries which, from a perspective, is a positive development in globalization. Understanding the intricacies of cross-cultural politics also facilitates a smoother relationship with others.

This study will aid better human relationships by giving a better comprehension of political discourse. The purpose of understanding political discourse especially as it pertains to politicians is to be able to delineate sincerity, and to better hold leaders accountable for their actions and inactions while in government. In addition, this study will serve as a stepping stone for further studies in the analyses and comparison of cultures and discourses in the world to better understand the diversity and dynamic nature of human beings and languages.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. National Diversity

In this study, I have formulated assumptions based on the diversity of the countries utilized in analyses. National diversity plays an important part in how politicians compose their speeches. This is to create room for maximum communication to the largest possible audience. For every society, there is at least an element of diversity among its various cultures and according to Hofstede (2001), national diversity and cultural difference can be captured by power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity. African countries are particularly notable when speaking of ethnic and national diversity. While it is established that African countries had been culturally diverse before colonialism, colonialists promoted ethnic diversity through ‘divide and rule’ system of governance (Blanton, Mason and Athow, 2001; Berman, 1998). A country like Nigeria which comprises 527 different languages and cultures (The Ethnologue, 2019) is nationally diverse and requires a complex structure in the navigation of her socio-political system. European countries like the UK are diverse, even though less subtly than African countries in terms of language variation. The United States comprises immigrant populations, so many ethnic groups exist under the national umbrella. Ethnic diversity in countries has positive and negative effects on the cultural unity of the country as well as economic prosperity (Levinson, 1998; Alesina et al. 1997). In summary, the diversity of each country will affect the composition of respective speeches which will play a huge role in comparison.

2.2. Discourse in the Society

This study puts so much importance in the interpretation of discourse based on its context. In other words, the meaning of discourse in a culture might greatly vary if the same discourse situated in another culture. Understanding how discourse varies per context will give an insight into how interpretation of similar speeches might vary because of difference in sociocultural context. Words live socially charged lives and every social interaction is mediated by language (Bakhtin 1981; Ahearn, 2017). Therefore, discourse is defined as a type or form of social practice which is used in creating hegemony, power and dominance (Fairclough, 1995a, 2001; Wodak, 2001). Every form of verbal and written communication ranging from the simplest such as family talk, peer gist, or newspaper reports to more complex ones such as political speeches and coded information can be regarded as discourse. In other words, discourse is utilized in every facet of life including daily discussions and occasional conversations. Language (visual, audible or perceived) is the bedrock of discourse. Brown and Yule (1985) posit that language is used not only to describe things, but also to do things i.e., action. It is thus considered a social act utilized in a social setup (Halliday 1978). In addition, discourse is directly connected to the society and serves all purposes in advancing culture and ideologies.

As discussed earlier, discourse is never neutral, it involves intricate factors that shape how it is perceived. The fact that a single statement can have different meanings across different contexts proves the fact that discourse is dynamic and heavily relies on factors surrounding its existence. Bonvillain (2003) explicates 4 key factors that shape the meaning of discourse: *Setting, Participants, Topics, and Goals.*

- (a) *Setting*: Setting in discourse has to do with the area for action which might be physical or social. Depending on the setting, discourse can be divided into various categories (Van

Dijk, 1997; Trappes-Lomax, 2008) as in religious discourse, political discourse, legal discourse, medical discourse, media discourse, educational discourse, etc.

(b) *Participants*: Participants in a discourse include the speakers, addressees, and audience.

In especially spoken discourse, it is the responsibility of the speaker to monitor linguistic and non-linguistic cues by the audience which show their approval or disapproval of the discourse form. Failure to take these into consideration leads to the breakdown of the discourse or inability to achieve desired outcome.

(c) *Topics*: Topics of conversation are chosen by speakers based on purpose that is to be achieved and sensitivity to the prevalent culture norms. Formal discourses such as events, lectures, and speeches can predetermine the topic of discourse, but informal discourses are less rigid and allow innovations. In political discourse, for instance, selected topic must appeal to the audience, and arouse their interest to listen to the speaker.

(d) *Goals*: Goal in discourse has to do with the intent of both the speaker and their interlocutor, or that of the initiator of the discourse. Goals of discourse can range from description and prescription to persuasion and coercion. The aim of each speaker is to achieve their intent in a discourse; failure to respect discourse norms results in a corresponding failure to achieve desired goals.

2.3. Political Discourse

Understanding the dynamics of political discourse is crucial to understanding the analyses and results in this study. Because discourse is generally categorized according to its participants, i.e., speakers or authors, political discourse can be described as the talk or text of politicians and political institutions such as Presidents, Prime Ministers, political parties or other government parastatals at local, national or international levels (Van Dijk, 1997). Political discourse is not a

genre, but a category of genres defined by a social domain, i.e., politics (Van Dijk, 1998b).

Participants in political discourse are not only political officials or government appointees, they include people who are citizens and voters. According to Van Dijk (2002), at least two ideologies are expressed in political discourse: (a) professional ideologies that underlie their functioning as politicians; (b) the socio-political ideologies they adhere to as members of political parties and social groups; hence the difference in ideology between a politician identified as conservative (Republican) or liberal (Democrat) in the United States.

Biria and Mohammadi (2012) posit that political discourse is characteristically peculiar among public speeches. This is the case because speakers must make an appeal to both the personal and emotional aspects of their audience. Politicians must appear not only sincere and committed to a cause, but also fair and reliable. In political discourse, therefore, speakers manipulate their oration in a way that it formulates their perception, beliefs and ideologies (Capone, 2010; Fairclough, 1989) without having an adverse effect on the confidence the people have in their sincerity. The modern focus on media and the populace leaves politicians with little room for errors or miscalculations in their speeches. Klebanov et al (2008) and Niedrich (2011) opine that political discourse is used to influence others in terms of persuasion, excitement and leadership. According to Seidel (1985) and Van Dijk (1993), political speeches as a genre includes the addressor (speaker), the addressee (audience), and the political speech itself. This study thus investigates political discourse for its dynamism across cultures by examining the above explained features in each considered speech.

2.3.1. Political Speeches

Political speeches, spoken or written, are instances of political discourse; they are not the result, but part of politics, and are historically and/or culturally determined (Bochman, 1986).

Typically meant for a wider public, they include topics on political activities, ideas, and relations (Schaffner, 1997). Whichever setting a political speech might have, similar topics are discussed, and similar goals are intended. Typical intentions of addressers in political speeches include coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, legitimization and delegitimization, etc. (Chilton and Shaffner, 1997).

According to Schaffner (1997), political speeches are not a homogenous genre, but include a range of subcategories depending on the communicative situation or context. This context includes the description of interlocutors or audience such as the *WH*-questions: *who is speaking to whom? Where? When? Why?* For this reason, analysis of political speech usually includes different levels of meaning generation in language i.e., phonetic/phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. These multiple layers are essential because a political speech reflect more than the ideals of the individual speaker, it also reflects their group, political party, government, or nation depending on the level of speech.

In this research, I utilize inaugural speeches because it is arguably the most widely observed speech of any President or Prime Minister. Speakers thus have to utilize their oratory skills to the maximum as such inaugural moment could, to an extent, make or mar the optimism of the citizens about the administration. Liu (2012) defines an inaugural ceremony as a ritual whereby an institutional role is called up and embodied by the person filling it. Furthermore, this ceremony is a confirmation of a leader's capacity to express power. Specifically, an inaugural speech in political discourse is the first public speech delivered by a politician after their being elected as an official in a government. Inaugural speeches are used to allay fears of the populace, facilitate a sense of togetherness, seek the confidence of the populace in the administration,

outline actions and policies to be carried out, and affirm principles and ideology. In most cases, the politician learns to navigate between these various purposes while placing one as priority.

2.4. Meaning in Texts

The nature of language is closely related to the demands that is made on it as well as the function it is to serve (Sharififar and Rahimi, 2014). In fact, as Halliday puts it: “The particular form as taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal need that language is required to serve” (Halliday, 1970:142). There is strong relationship between social and linguistic variables which is why Fairclough (1992) posits that interlocutors of a particular social context have different relational and expressive norms which is manifested in their speeches. Halliday in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1970, 1985, 1994 and 2004) identifies three types of meaning namely Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual.

2.4.1. Ideational Meaning

According to Halliday, Ideational meaning has to do with the speaker-hearer’s conception or experience of the world and is realized by the transitivity system (process, participants and circumstances). The ideational functions are those functions that are foundational to understanding human experience as a resource for knowing reality (Halliday, 1994). This function is divided into logical and experiential functions. Logical functions have to do with the combination of two or more grammatical units into a complex one. Experiential function on the other hand refers to grammatical options that allow individuals to make meaning about their world as well as language evolved in this process. Analyzing a text based on ideational function consists of *transitivity* and *voice*.

2.4.1.1. Transitivity System

The transitivity system (Halliday 1970, 1973, 1985, 2004) refers to options of grammar that realize meanings in terms of ‘process’, ‘participants’, and ‘circumstances’ (Santosa, 2003). These are the meanings about how we experience language because our use of language always includes our intents to refer to something, do something, or achieve something (Halliday, 2004; Alaei and Ahangari, 2016). *Process* refers to a semantic verb (doing, happening, feeling, sensing, saying, behaving, and existing) (Haratyan, 2011). It expresses conditions such as physical, event, emotion, mental, etc. Summarily from the lens of Halliday (1994 & 2004); Martin, et al. (1997); Eggins (2004); Sujatna (2012); and Alaei and Ahangari (2016), five types of processes can be outlined. (a) *Material*: processes of “doing” or about actions. (b) *Mental*: processes which encode meanings of thinking, feeling or perceiving. (c) *Verbal*: processes which typically include verbs of saying (d) *Relational*: this includes expression of identification, state, attribute, possession, or existence. (e) *Behavioral*: expression of behavior and attitude.

Participants are selected by the processes. Material process selects participants as actor, goal, and beneficiary. When an action is performed by an animate subject, it is called “material action”; and “material event” when performed by an inanimate actor. Mental process selects participants as senser and fact/phenomenon; Verbal process selects sayers, (receiver) and (verbiage); Behavioral process selects behavior and behavior. Relational process selects participants based on the expression namely: *identifying* (Token/ Identified and Value/Identifier), *attributive* (carrier and attribute), *possessive* (possessor and possessed), and *existential* (existant and existing).

Circumstantial options give more information about the processes, and are realized by words, phrases and subordinate clauses in the texts. These options are categorized as *Extent*

(distance, duration, and frequency); *Location* (place, and time); *Manner* (means, quality, comparison, and degree); *Cause* (reason, purpose, and behalf); *Contingency* (condition, default, and concession); *Extending* (accompaniment); *Elaborating* (role); and *Projection* (matter).

2.4.2. Interpersonal Meaning

“The interpersonal function embodies all uses of language to express social and personal relations” (Huzhunglin, 1988). Interpersonal meaning has to do with a text’s aspect of tenor or interactivity which comprises speaker/writer persona, social distance, and relative social status (O’ Halloran, 2006). The persona of the speaker or writer is related to the attitude, personalization, and place of the speaker or writer. Analysis involves investigating the neutrality of the speaker or writer through positive or negative language. Social distance measures the closeness of the speaker and the interlocutor(s); this can be measured using linguistics variables including nicknames, pronouns, etc. Relative social status is concerned about the equality of the speaker and the interlocutor(s) in terms of power and knowledge on the subject under consideration. Interpersonal functions are expressed through *modality* and *mood*. Analysis of these is done by explicating the use of verbs in a discourse as well as the use of personal pronouns or intensifiers. According to Huzhunglin (1988), *modality* navigates between extensive positive and extensive negative in social communication. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) propose four basic categories including Inclination (Desirability), Obligation (Appropriateness), Usuality, and Probability. Inclination deals with the degree to which a speaker indicates the proposal is desirable; Obligation implies the degree to which a speaker considers a process as proper, appropriate or normative; Usuality expresses the degree to which a speaker considers the stated process as expected or typical; Probability expresses the degree to which a speaker affirms the likelihood of the stated process (Kosko and Herbst, 2011). The table below from Kosko and

Herbst (2011:594) give a representation of the modality categories and their degrees of realization.

Modality Types and Degrees of Realization

MODALITY CLASSIFICATION	DEGREE	EXAMPLE
Inclination	High (conviction)	(+) Bob is determined to do his homework. (-) Bob is unwilling to do his homework.
	Median (attitude)	(+) Bob is keen to do his homework. (-) Bob dislikes doing his homework.
	Low (undertaking)	(+) Bob is willing to do his homework. (-) Bob wouldn't do his homework.
Obligation	High (directive)	(+) It is required that Bob do his homework (-) Bob must not do his homework
	Median (advice)	(+) Bob should do his homework (-) Bob is not supposed to do his homework
	Low (permission)	(+) Bob may do his homework (-) It's optional that Bob do his homework
Usuality	High	Bob always checks his answers
	Median	Bob usually checks his answers
	Low	Bob rarely checks his answers
	Zero	Bob never checks his answers
Probability	High (certain)	(+) Bob would definitely check his answers (-) Bob certainly wouldn't check his answers
	Median (probable)	(+) Bob would probably have checked his answers (-) Bob may have not checked his answers
	Low (possible)	(+) Bob might check his answers (-) Bob might not have checked his answers

In discourse analysis, Modality goes beyond being expressed by only modal auxiliaries such as may, can, will, shall, must, ought, need, and such forms; it can also be expressed by some types of main verbs such as permit, prove, etc.; adjectives such as necessary, unfortunate, certain, etc.; adverbs such as probably, certainly, regrettably, etc.; and nominalizations such as obligations, desirability, likelihood, etc. (Fowler, 1985). *Mood* involves the role that is selected by a speaker in a discourse versus the role allocated to the interlocutor(s) and is broadly

identified as declarative (as in statements of facts), imperative (as in commands), and interrogative (as in questions).

2.5. Language and Gender

This research also draws comparison based on gender. In fact, in the collection of data, gender is controlled for in that there is a female President in the African context and a female Prime Minister in the ‘Western’ context. This is to enable male versus female speech comparison in addition to female versus female comparison across cultures. Lakoff (1973) identifies two aspects of gender in ways of talking: (1) women and men talk in different ways, and (2) differences in women’s and men’s speech result from and support male dominance. Gender in its sense is not naturally configured, but constructed socially (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013). In other words, gender is not born with an individual the way we might think of *sex*, it is continually produced, reproduced, and changed through people’s performance of socially construed gendered acts. As active producers of gendered behavior, men and women may use their knowledge of gendered meanings attached to a way of speaking to achieve a peculiar effect (Cameron, 1997). Hence, men and women make strategic choices about which language to use in terms of who they want to be (Coates, 1998).

2.6. Previous Studies in the Field

There have been comments and analyses on the inaugural speeches and other speeches of Presidents, Prime Ministers, and leaders all around the world. For example, Javadi and Mohammadi (2017) explored a critical discourse analysis of Trump’s language use in his campaign speeches. In a transitivity analysis of Trump’s inaugural speech, Zhao and Zhang (2017) posited that Trump’s address communicated his intention to stabilize the whole of America and establish a good Presidential image to win support and trust in the world. Wang

(2010) analyzed Barack Obama's speeches through the lens of transitivity and modality. The study reveals that Obama speaks in a way that is simple and shortens the distance between his interlocutors and himself. Koutchade (2015) explored a systemic functional perspective to Buhari's inaugural speech, showing that linguistic features evident in the speech made it easy to highlight Buhari's experience of events which he mentioned as well as his ideology which includes his attitudes and judgements of issues. Wodak (2016) took a discourse-historical approach to the analysis of David Cameron's Bloomberg Speech on the European Union. This speech communicated a sense of urgency to the disputed issue of whether the UK should remain part of the European Union or not. It would further lead to a referendum on the same issue. This indeed reveals that political discourse does not only achieve an immediate effect on interlocutors, but might also lead to change in disposition, action, or perspective. Contrastive analysis would take into consideration the similarities of the leaders under consideration in age, ideology and populace support in addition to contrasts in political context, family background, and sociocultural environment to analyze their use of language in their inaugural speeches.

According to Halliday (1978), the form that the grammatical system a language takes is closely related to the personal and social need that language is required to serve, and the goal(s) that language is required to achieve. Also, Jost and Olmsted (2004) show in a study of rhetoric that a speaker conveys their intent by channeling their oration through the norms of their sociocultural environment to the aimed audience. CDA is thus a tool for interaction based on the idea that language forms are inevitably specified by the functions or uses that they provide (Hu Zuhunglin, 1988). It is expected that national leaders in different political and socio-cultural spheres will utilize language in their speech in a way that will be appropriate towards the goal of persuading their audience and assuring them of sincerity and integrity in governance.

Different kinds of analyses have been done on political discourse and speeches using various types of CDA frameworks (Sarcaceni, 2003; Ruud, 2003; Van Dijk, 1997, 2004). Van Dijk (2005) analyzed the speech in Spanish parliament by the Spanish Prime Minister, Jose Maria Aznar, in 2003 where he utilizes positive self-representation strategies to communicate his message. Adegbite and Adegbite (2016) investigated ideational meanings in the transformation agenda document of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Hashemi and Kazemian (2014) did a critical discourse analysis of Obama's speeches while Javadi and Mohammadi (2017) did a similar analysis of Donald Trump's language use in his 2016 campaign speeches. Amongst numerous others, Ademilokun (2016) considered discourse strategies in selected political rally campaigns of the 2011 elections in Nigeria. In a contrastive form, Masoud and Elahe (2014) studied Obama and Rouhani's speeches at the United Nations.

2.7. Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach which explores the union of language studies and social theory (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2010) and is rooted in critical linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979). It focuses on the elements of language, power and ideology in textual analysis. Critical discourse analysis is thus a valuable tool in evaluating meaning in a text. As Biria and Mohammadi (2012) put it, CDA focuses on sociocultural contexts and sheds light on the links between textual structures and their meaning-making functions.

Often correlated with CDA frameworks is Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1970, 1973, 1985, 2004). This framework is based on grammatical options and takes language as interlocking options or systems which combine to create meaning (Sharififar and Rahimi, 2014). In this study, I utilize Fairclough's (2010) CDA approach and Halliday's

Systemic Functional Grammar. I seek an all-encompassing interpretation of the text, including discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice of the speeches being analyzed.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Subjects

This research is quantitative and qualitative, relying on several forms of analysis in order to interpret and compare the eight inaugural speeches being examined. The subjects of this research are Liberia's Presidents Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and George Weah; Nigeria's Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari; UK's Prime Ministers David Cameron and Theresa May; and USA's Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Consequently, data utilized in this research are primarily the inaugural speeches of these eight leaders. The determination of the countries and leaders to be analyzed is done using purposive sampling. While there is an intent to compare leaders within the same country, the overall purpose of the research is to compare the discourse of the leaders across cultures, especially Africa vis-à-vis the 'Western' world. Therefore, four Presidents are selected from two different countries in Africa while four leaders are also selected from two different countries from the 'Western' world. Gender is well controlled for with each of the categories including a female leader. In addition, the fact that even leaders in the same continent were from different countries with peculiar cultures allows variation in sociopolitical contexts and, by implication, more diversity and valuable data to be analyzed.

3.1.1. Liberia

Liberia is the oldest republic in Africa. Liberia was founded in 1847 by freed African-American slaves. It has a population of about four million people with its capital located in Monrovia. Liberia has 20 recorded ethnic group languages with English as its official language and language of governance. Ending in 2003, there was a 15-year old conflict during which over

300,000 people were killed. Following democratic elections in 2005, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first female President in Africa, was elected and then re-elected in 2011. She was succeeded by President George Weah in 2017. Because of the long years of conflict, much of the country's infrastructure were destroyed. Efforts are continuously being made to rehabilitate it. Since the end of the conflict in 2003, Liberia has experienced significant growth: about 8-9% in 2012 and 2013, basically through the export of iron ore, timber and rubber. Recently, oil has been discovered off the coast and its quantity and availability are being assessed. As it stands, agriculture is still the major source of revenue to the economy and production and/or export of oil is unlikely to commence till the end of the decade. (SOMO Center for Research on Multinational Corporations, 2015).

3.1.1.1. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was born on October 29, 1938 in the capital city of Liberia-Monrovia (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). Johnson Sirleaf was a well-decorated politician and public servant prior to her election, serving as assistant Minister of finance (1972-73) and finance Minister (1980-85). She was popularly revered for her personal financial integrity and clashed with both heads of states during whose tenures she served. She was imprisoned twice and narrowly avoided execution during the military dictatorship of Samuel K. Doe between 1980-1990. She was arrested and sentenced to 10-years in prison in 1985 following her open criticism of the military government as she campaigned for a seat in the senate. She was released after a short time and then went into exile Kenya for 12 years. During this period, Johnson Sirleaf, she became an economist for World Bank, Citibank, and other international financial institutions. She was the director of the Regional Bureau for Africa of the United Nations Development Program.

Johnson Sirleaf ran for President in the 2005 elections after a failed attempt in 1997. The 2005 election went into runoff and Johnson Sirleaf defeated soccer legend George Weah who would later become President in 2017. Johnson Sirleaf's election was popular among the people due to her record and reputation. She faced serious challenges on coming to power, especially as a result of the long-time war: more than 15,000 UN peacemakers were still in the country; unemployment was at about 80%; Liberia had huge debt, etc. She sought debt amelioration for the country, and the debt of Liberia was erased by late 2010. Johnson Sirleaf's first term was very successful in national growth and anti-corruption wars and was crowned with her being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize shortly before the 2011 elections when she was re-elected as President. Sirleaf's second term battled with the recurring problem of corruption as well as nepotism. The Ebola virus disease in 2014 unfortunately contributed to an economic downturn in the country.

In January 2018, Johnson Sirleaf stepped down as President of Liberia, handing power to George Weah. This was the first transfer of power between democratically elected leaders in Liberia since 1944. In the same year, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, in recognition of her leadership in the transitioning period of Liberia after the brutal war, was awarded the 2017 Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership.

3.1.1.2. President George Opong Weah

George Weah was born on October 1, 1966 in Monrovia, the capital of Liberia (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). He was a renowned Liberian soccer player and played for clubs like AS Monaco, PSG, AC Milan, Chelsea, Marseille, and Manchester City and was named African, European, and World Player of the Year in 1995. His talent on the field of play was only matched by his activism on behalf of his country and his effort to bring an end to the long

civil war. He retired in 2002 and went into active politics. Weah was endeared to the people by his success as a soccer player as well as his activism. He contested for the presidency in 2005 and 2011, losing both times to Johnson Sirleaf. He ran for the position of senator in 2014 and easily defeated his nearest opponent, Robert Sirleaf (a son of the President). Weah was elected as President in December 2017 winning an easy victory with more than 60 percent votes of the runoff election.

3.1.2. Nigeria

Nigeria is the most populous country, the second biggest economy, the third largest military power and the biggest oil producer in Africa (10th in the world) (West Africa Gateway, 2016). Nigeria's current population is estimated to be about 180 million. Nigeria has 527 different languages (the highest in Africa, and third in the world), and more than 300 cultures. Nigeria became independent from Great Britain in 1960, and a republic in 1963. English is used as her official language, with French as second official language. There are three national languages- Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, based on the high number of speakers of these languages. Agriculture accounts for almost one third of GDP and about two-thirds of employment, but oil remains the key economic catalyst. Nigeria returned to a stable democratic rule in 1999, and has since enjoyed 19 years of uninterrupted democratic rule. The political terrain of Nigeria is highly diverse and sensitive with power constantly circulated among the six geopolitical zones in the country: North West, North East, North Central, South East, South South, and South West. Olusegun Obasanjo was democratically elected in 1999 and re-elected in 2003. He was succeeded by Umar Musa Yaradua in 2007; Yaradua died in office in 2009 and was succeeded by his vice President, Goodluck Jonathan, who would later be elected as President in 2011. Goodluck was succeeded after one term by Muhammadu Buhari in 2015. The successful political

transition from southern to northern leaders in 2007; northern to southern leaders in 2007 through 2011, and southern to northern leaders in 2015 proved that a Nigerian, irrespective of where they come from, has a good chance of winning the presidency in as much as they enjoy popularity among the people. This is more reason why politicians must be highly sensitive with speeches which must accommodate the numerous cultural norms in the country.

3.1.2.1. President Olusegun Obasanjo

Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo was born on the 5th of March 1937 in Abeokuta (a southwestern city in Nigeria) (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). His early occupation was teaching before he joined the army in 1958 having received officer training in England. He rose quickly through the ranks and was instrumental to the ending of the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970. He was the deputy of General Murtala Mohammed who became a military head of state in 1975. Obasanjo later became the head of state after Murtala Mohammed was assassinated in a failed coup attempt in 1976. He emerged as an important statesman and handed over power to civilian rule in 1979 making him the first military ruler in Africa to hand over power to civilian government. Obasanjo subsequently held various positions in the United Nations and other organizations.

Obasanjo was an active critic of General Sani Abacha, a military dictator who seized control of government in 1993 and was imprisoned in 1995. He was released from prison following the death of Abacha in 1998 and contested the 1999 general elections, winning with 63 percent of total votes cast, and was re-elected in 2003. He set in place policies to alleviate poverty and tackle corruption; he also worked towards the reformation of the police system and established Nigeria's democratic system. Religious and ethnic unrest was a major concern during his presidency, and his somewhat harsh and authoritative responses to matters of national

security came under serious scrutiny. Democratic governance has remained unbroken in Nigeria since 1999 when Obasanjo was elected.

3.1.2.2. President Muhammadu Buhari

President Muhammadu Buhari was born on the 17th of December 1942 which means he was 73 years old when he became the Nigeria President (Nigerian State House, 2018). He had been a military head of state from 1983 to 1985 after a coup that ended the regime of the previous military government. He was notable for fighting corruption. He also served as Executive Chairman of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) after he left office, and subsequently retired from the military. He joined politics again in 2003 and ran under different political parties without success till 2015. The perception of most Nigerians about the incorruptible character of Buhari facilitated the people embracing his “Change” slogan, resulting in his defeat of the incumbent President who was a member of the dominant political party which had ruled the country for 16 consecutive years. His poor background and humble lifestyle after having headed different lucrative political positions further endeared him to the populace as upright and sincere. He was sworn in as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the 29th of May 2015. After his win, and to further portray himself as a changed politician in terms of his military experience to a more democratic leader, he relinquished the title “General” and opted to be referred to simply as “President Muhammadu Buhari”.

3.1.3. United Kingdom

The UK is comprised of the areas of the island of Great Britain, and Northern Ireland and headed by constitutional monarchy with parliament handling matters that pertain to England or the whole UK (Ravenhill, 2018). The government of the UK is led by Prime Minister Theresa

May of the Conservative Party who is the second female Prime Minister of the UK after Margaret Thatcher, and the first female Prime Minister of the 21st century (Mix, 2018). She was elected Prime Minister in July 2016 following the resignation of David Cameron after the unsuccessful campaign for the UK to remain in the European Union. May remained Prime Minister after the UK election of June 2017 that resulted in a hung parliament where no single party won the majority of seats in the 650-seat House of Commons.

3.1.3.1. Prime Minister David Cameron

David William Cameron, a descendant of King William IV, was born on October 9, 1966 in London, the capital of England. He was young, moderate, and charismatic which were great qualities that influenced his election as Conservative leader in 2005. In 2010, he was elected as Prime Minister with Conservatives getting their biggest seat gain since 1931. Cameron's government was instrumental to many social innovations to the British system, including opening of "free schools", lifting of sex restriction to the British crown, and the marriage of a British monarch to a Roman Catholic. His tenure also witnessed a fall in unemployment in Britain. His administration approved British participation in the US-led air strikes against the Islamic State in Iraq. He won a re-election in May 2015 with the largest share of seats in Parliament. The decision of Cameron to step down was prompted by the referendum on Britain's presence in the EU, with some 52 percent of British voters choosing to leave the EU. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Home Secretary Theresa May. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018)

3.1.3.2. Prime Minister Theresa May

Theresa Mary May was born on October 1, 1956 in Eastbourne, Sussex, England. Both May and her husband undertook careers in banking. She began her political career in 1986 as a

Councilor in the London borough of Merton and held the same position till 1994. She was elected to represent Maidenhead in the House of Commons in 1997 after two failed attempts. She was Shadow Secretary of State for education and employment between 1999 and 2001; Shadow Secretary of State for transport, local government, and the regions from 2001 to 2002; Shadow Secretary of State for the family from 2004 to 2005; Shadow Secretary of State for culture, media, and sport in 2005; and Shadow Leader of the House of Commons between 2005 and 2009. May became the first woman to chair the conservative party in 2002 and strove, in that capacity, to increase female Tory MPs (Conservative Members of Parliament) and modernize the party. May was named as Secretary of State for the home department in 2010. She advocated limiting immigration and was critical of the British police. She became Prime Minister in July 2016 after the resignation of the previous Prime Minister, David Cameron.

3.1.4. The United States of America

The United States of America has been an experiment in democracy for more than 200 years. Although the expectations for American democracy have always been higher than the reality of the society, the nation continues to grow and prosper through continuous adaptation and compromise. The USA is arguably the greatest country in the world with enormous geographical landscape, economic strength, and military power. The Declaration of the Independence of the American colonies was on July 4, 1776. The actual unification of the 13 American colonies to form the USA came in 1783 following the end of the war for independence from Britain. The US is a nation of immigrants, and migrants from various countries find new life in the country while contributing to the development and advancement of the nation. Ideologies range from extreme Liberalism to extreme Conservatism. The country elected its first African-American President- Barack Obama in 2009 and re-elected him in 2013. Power was then

transferred from the liberal democratic party to the conservative party represented by Donald Trump who had no prior experience in politics or governance.

3.1.4.1. President Barack Obama

Barack Hussein Obama was born on the 4th of August 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. Obama's father was born in rural Kenya and won a scholarship as a teenager to study in the United States. His mother was a white woman from Kansas trained as an anthropologist. Obama was raised primarily by his maternal grandparents in Hawaii. He graduated from Columbia University in 1983 and Harvard University law school in 1991 where he was the first African American to serve as President of the Harvard Law Review. Obama subsequently moved to Chicago and became active in the Democratic Party. He taught constitutional law at the University of Chicago and worked as an attorney on civil rights issues. Obama was elected as a senator representing Illinois 2005 before becoming the first African American to be elected as the President of the United States of America in 2008. Subsequently which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

Obama's 2009 inauguration was packed with fanfare, and much hope all around the world in the for a drastic change to the American democratic system. Ascending office during an economic recession which was the worst since the 1930s, Obama made record investments in environmental research, industrial research, education, and health care reform, although his reorientation of American foreign policy was not wholly accepted by many experts. He was re-elected into office in 2012. Through his 8 years, there was a strengthening of the economy even though a number of his policies such as the banks bailout were widely criticized even by members of his own political party. He was succeeded by President Donald Trump in 2017.

3.1.4.2. President Donald Trump

President Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946 which means he was 70 years old when he became President. Donald Trump claims to be a billionaire real estate mogul and is a former reality television personality who was born into a rich family and had lived all his life prior to being elected as President as a business man. He had no prior political experience. His election into office was considered an affirmatory rejection of establishment politics by blue-collar working-class Americans. His campaign slogan “Make America Great Again” and his message to run an all-inclusive government endeared him especially to the white rural masses. His personal business successes also made people believe he could make America prosper and respected ‘once again’ across the world. His campaign was remarkable for his unconventional style, especially his use of twitter which geared up a unique ‘die-hard’ base for him. Trump won the electoral college vote, although losing the popular vote by more than 3 million, to win the 2016 US elections. He was sworn in on January 20, 2017. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

3.2. Research Procedure

The inaugural speeches of these eight leaders are analyzed, using the inaugural speech of the first tenure if that individual was reelected. I compared the biography of each leader across various internet sites before finally settling for Encyclopedia Britannica and State House websites for uniformity in the data, and because those had the most detailed information in comparison with other internet sources. Once the eight speeches were downloaded, I categorized the speeches into the various countries and continents they represent. Subsequently, I analyzed the speeches into their different layers of meaning using Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar and Fairclough’s (2010) Critical Discourse Analysis approach. SFG is used to analyze

ideational meaning which is the grammar aspect of comparison while CDA aids the analyses of **interpersonal meaning**.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0. General Introduction

In this chapter, I present the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the selected inaugural speeches and results. Segments in which I present these findings include Ideational Meaning, Interpersonal Meaning, and Language and Gender. Analysis for ideational meaning includes comparison of sentence types and clausal items such as subjects, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Analysis for interpersonal meaning is done by evaluating modal verbs and pronouns.

4.1. Ideational Meaning (Transitivity Analysis)

In terms of sentence types, analyzed sentences are categorized as major and minor sentences. Those categorized as major include simple, complex, compound, and compound-complex. Sentence fragments are categorized as minor sentences. The categorization of clausal structure as in simple, complex, compound or compound complex is based on the subject verb relationship, that is a simple sentence would have one subject-verb relationship; a complex sentence would contain a simple (independent) clause and at least one dependent clause joined by a subordinator; a compound sentence would contain at least two independent clauses joined by a coordinator; and a compound-complex sentence would contain at least two independent clauses joined by a coordinator and at least one dependent clause.

4.1.1. Sentence Types: President Obasanjo and President Buhari

4.1.1.1. President Obasanjo

There are 134 major sentences and 1 minor sentence in President Obasanjo's speech. Out of the 134 (100%) major sentences, 122(91%) are simple sentences; 8(6%) are compound while

4(3%) are complex. There are no compound-complex sentences in the speech. See Table 1 in Appendix 1 for detailed Sentence Types classification.

The table reveals the simplicity of the speech. The sentences are largely well composed in a way that is easily comprehensible to less educated individuals. The percentage of simple sentences shows that the speech is devoid of effort to bamboozle the populace or keep them in the dark as to the message communicated. In a lot of instances, in addition, the simple sentences are qualified with adverbial clauses that give more information about the message that is being passed:

“I am determined, with your full cooperation, to make significant changes within a year of my administration”

“The beneficiaries of corruption in all forms will fight back with all the foul means at their disposal”

“I will need good men and women of proven integrity and record of good performance to help me in my cabinet”

I am determined to stretch my hand of fellowship to all Nigerians regardless of their political affiliations”

In instances of compound and complex sentences, the sentences are devoid of unnecessary information and complex grammar structures. They are utilized for coherence within the speech and do not seem intended to stretch the comprehension ability of the audience:

*“I believe **that** this is what God Almighty has ordained for me and for my beloved country Nigeria and its people”.*

*“Good men were shunned and kept away from government **while** those who should be kept away were drawn near”*

*“His self-respect must be restored, **and** his work must be fairly rewarded through better pay...”*

*“I intend to reconcile all those who feel alienated... **and** I will endeavor to heal divisions...”*

Positive sentences are overwhelmingly more than negative ones- 94.6% to 5.4%.

Politicians often use negative sentences to portray the actions or policies of the previous

administration and their disagreement with it. In his speech, however, Obasanjo is more particular about communicating his message and less concerned with antagonizing actions and policies of the prior military administrations. This might be partly because transfer of power was initiated by the military before the general elections took place, and because he was previously a military official himself. When he uses negative sentences, it is usually to show his own limitations or modesty as well as what his administration will *not* do:

*“As I have said many times in my extensive travels in the country, I am **not** a miracle worker”*

*“Corruption is incipient in all human... activities. But it must **not** be condoned”*

In the comparison between active and passive sentences, even though the percentage of active sentences (77.5%) is more than that of passive sentences (22.5%), the number of passive sentences is still quite high in terms of accessibility to varying class of people:

“You have been asked many times in the past to make sacrifices and to be patient”

“Other regulations will be introduced to ensure transparency”

The implication of this is that the speech might require more effort in terms of comprehension for the uneducated, and those who have minimal education.

4.1.1.2. President Buhari

President Buhari’s sentence types analysis is relatively different from that of President Obasanjo because there are fewer sentences than in President Obasanjo’s. Buhari’s speech comprised 95 (100%) major sentences and no minor sentences. In a further breakdown, 76(80%) of the sentences are simple; 11(11.5%) are complex; 7(7.4%) are compound while 1(1.1%) are compound-complex. **Table 2 in Appendix 1** provides a more comprehensive sentence types a breakdown.

The overwhelming percentage of simple sentences reveals that the speech can be easily understood by the audience. Like Obasanjo's speech, Buhari utilizes a lot of circumstantial details which provide more information about his sentences:

"I thank all of you"

"I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media"

"The blood of those great ancestors flow in our veins"

Complex and compound sentences do not pose intelligibility problems and are simple to understand:

"I belong to everybody, and I belong to nobody"

"While the Federal Government cannot interfere..., it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked"

In the same way as Obasanjo, Buhari does not largely utilize negative sentences to characterize the previous administrations. A reason might be the fact that he also had once been a military head of the country. In addition, the election marked a change of leadership from the 'powerful' ruling party-PDP to the growing 'masses-backed' APC. Buhari largely uses negative sentences to spur the populace into action during his administration:

"Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done"

Unlike Obasanjo, however, only 6 passive clauses out of a total of 116 clauses are realized. This justifies the assumption that the speech is truly meant to be comprehensible to even the least educated. In the instances of passive sentences, unlike in Obasanjo's speech, the actors are largely realized:

*"Progress has been made in recent weeks **by our security forces**..."*

4.1.1.3. Sentence Types Comparison: Presidents Obasanjo vs Buhari

Both speeches are similar in sentence types and circumstantial details composition as well as their use of negative sentences for communicating and pushing their agenda rather than contradicting the policies and actions of previous administrations. However, President Buhari's speech, with less quantity of words, comprises active sentences, mostly, with the few passive sentences largely having realized agents. Contrastively, Obasanjo's speech has more passive sentences and unrealized agents which, in a way, questions the sincerity of the content of his speech.

4.1.2. Sentence Types: President Johnson-Sirleaf and President Weah

4.1.2.1. President Johnson-Sirleaf

The speech of President Johnson-Sirleaf consists of 2 minor sentences which are basically used as salutations and do not have particularly peculiar usage. However, there are 258 major sentences. Out of the 258 (100%) sentences, 224 (87%) are simple; 21 (8%) are complex; 13 (5%) are compound while there are no compound-complex sentences. **Table 3 in Appendix 1** breaks down the major sentences as well as the degree of positivity and activeness.

The overwhelming percentage of simple sentences in the speech makes it simple and easy to comprehend. Like the speech of Obasanjo and Buhari, there are a lot of circumstantial clauses which expand on the meaning of the clauses:

"Today, we wholeheartedly embrace this change"

"Ours has not been an easy journey to where we are today"

"We will seek a strong partnership between the public and private sector, with direct foreign investment and Liberia entrepreneurship at the core"

The complex and compound sentences are also devoid of exotic words and simple to comprehend:

“The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has an important role to play in this regard, and my Administration will support and strengthen the Commission to enable it carry out its mandate effectively”

“They want peace; they want to move on with their lives”

“We are aware that we have hundreds of doctors... who possess specialized skills currently living abroad”

At 96.6% to 3.4% of passive sentences, active clauses in this speech mostly reflect the identity of the speaker and are largely devoid of passive twists. In other words, the perceived intention of the President to communicate with ‘all’ Liberians is, to a large extent, justified. In cases where passive sentences are used, they are not critical to ascribing responsibility to an action that is crucial to the set-out goals of the government:

“...the inauguration is being held on the Capitol Grounds...”

“But we can neither flinch from the challenge, nor be overwhelmed by its complexities”

In the same manner as active sentences, positive sentences overwhelmingly stand out over negative ones at 96.6%. The President is unequivocally particular about reminding the people of the bitter history of the nation and encouraging them to work towards the improvement and development of the country. Negative sentences, like positive ones are used to further communicate the determination of the administration rather than negate the policies and actions of previous administrations:

“There will not be vindictiveness”

“There will not be policies of political, social, and economic exclusion”

“The Executive Mansion and Monrovia will no longer be the only centers of power and sources of development policy making”

4.1.2.2. President Weah

Weah's speech comprised 135 major sentences and 16 minor sentences. All the minor sentences are used at the beginning of the speech to recognize the dignitaries that are present at the occasion. Of all the speeches considered in this research, George Weah has a long salutation only surpassed by that of his predecessor- Johnson Sirleaf. However, while Johnson Sirleaf weaved the salutation into her speech, Weah set all greetings to be at the beginning:

"Her Excellency, Madam Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf"

"Ambassador Joseph Nyumah Boakai"

"His Honor, the Chief Justice, and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Liberia"

Of the 135 (100%) major sentences, 99 (73.3%) are simple; 22 (16.4%) are compound; 13 (9.6%) are complex; and 1 (0.7%) is compound-complex. **Table 4 in Appendix 1** breaks down these statistics.

The high number of compound sentences in this speech does not indicate complexity of the expression mode. In fact, because compound sentences are two or more simple sentences joined by a conjunction, they are as easy to understand as simple sentences. In a general sense, the speech is accessible to different categories of people irrespective of degree of education:

"We thank all member countries of the United Nations for your support, and I promise to continue to build on the success that we have achieved together"

"The Republic of Liberia has a strong historic relationship with the United States of America... and that relationship will even be stronger under my administration"

"I am overwhelmed with the crowd and the energy here today, and I guarantee you, when we finish, there will not be a winning or a losing side"

Active sentences are mostly utilized in the speech (96%). This portrays straightforward clauses that are not intended to hide the actors of actions. Too many passive sentences especially with hidden details indicate insincerity on the part of the speaker, especially when most of the

actors of the passive material or verbalized clauses are unrealized. However, on some occasions, he utilizes the passive sentence to bring to fore the deficiencies of the country as well as his aspired goals:

“But that vision of freedom, equality, and democracy has not yet been fully realized”
“We need men and women... foundation of trust that is required...”

There is a high number of negative sentences in the speech- 20%. This is relatively high and seemingly confusing since Weah was, at the initial part of his speech, full of praise for his predecessor- Johnson-Sirleaf. However, like other speeches, the negative sentences are used by Weah to make his own case and discourage bad habits during his administration rather than condemn the policies and actions of the previous administration:

“...so that corruption is not an excuse for taking what is not theirs”
“As we open our doors to all foreign direct investments, we will not permit Liberian-owned businesses to be marginalized”
“Let it never be so again”
“We cannot remain spectators in our own economy”
“We could not have arrived at this day without our voices been heard...”

What is quite interesting is that although few of the negative clauses, such as the second to the last above, indirectly described the status of the country under the previous administration, some others such as the last example above are used to praise the dexterity and good work of the same previous administration.

4.1.2.3. Sentence Types Comparison: Presidents Johnson-Sirleaf vs Weah

The number of sentences in Johnson-Sirleaf’s speech is more than that of Weah- 258 to 135. For this reason, the number and percentages of sentence types varied quantitatively. To a large extent, the structures are similar. However, there is an observable higher usage of compound sentences by President Weah- 16.4% compared to President Johnson-Sirleaf’s 5%.

Another point worthy of being noted is the number of negative sentences utilized by President Weah. Even though they are not for any reasons different from the uses of the negative sentences in Johnson-Sirleaf's speech, they still appear quite foregrounded in quantity- 11.4% compared to Johnson Sirleaf's 3.4%.

4.1.3. Sentence Types: President Obama and President Trump

4.1.3.1. President Obama

President Obama's speech contains 113 major sentences and no minor sentences. Out of the 113 (100%), 98 (86.7%) are simple sentences; 13 (11.5%) are compound sentences; 1 (0.9%) is a complex sentence; and 1 (0.9%) is a compound-complex sentence. Detailed outline can be seen in **Table 5 in Appendix 1**.

President Obama's speech is quite simple and easily comprehensible. In addition to the high number of simple sentences, the compound sentences are also very simple and devoid of irrelevant attachments. The number of compound sentences can as well be added to the simple sentences to result in a higher percentage of simple structures. Most of the compound sentences are short, shorter than even some simple sentences:

"So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans"

"But know this America; They will be met"

"We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense"

Active and positive sentences are about 91% each. This shows that actors are mostly realized. However, when some passive sentences are used, they show some form of shielding the actor from assuming a responsibility:

"Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms"

"But know this America: They will be met"

“Let it be told to the future world”

Even though there is an overwhelming use of active sentences, these few examples of passive sentences with actors unrealized signals some form of non-commitment to the goals which Obama lays forward in his speech. However, the low quantity of such sentences makes it impossible to make a generalization about the speech.

Obama’s use of negative sentences is basically to encourage the populace and emphasize his determination rather than condemn the actions and policies of the previous government even though there were many that he disagreed with:

“They will not be met easily or in a short span of time”

“It has not been the path for the faint-hearted...”

“Our minds are no less inventive...”

“We say we can no longer afford indifference...”

4.1.3.2. President Trump

President Trump’s speech consists of 90 major sentences and no minor sentences. Out of the 90 (100%) sentences, 55 (61.1%) are simple sentences; 18 (20%) are compound; 11 (12.2%) are complex; and 6 (6.7%) are compound-complex. See **Table 6** for detailed outline of sentence types.

The complex, compound and compound-complex sentences in Trump’s speech are devoid of irrelevant additions and merely describe the condition of the American government Trump was assuming. As a matter of fact, the sentences are employed as a means to simply showcase complex issues within the American society:

“But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities: rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash... stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential”

“It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget; that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedom, and we all salute the same great American flag”

Further, the non-simple sentences are well saturated with additional (circumstantial) details to make the information more poetic. Thus, I argue that the messages in the sentences are relatable, and thus easy to understand.

“Their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success.”

“There should be no fear- we are protected, and we will always be protected”

“Politicians prospered- but the jobs left, and the factories closed”

Active sentences constitute 87.3% of the speech while passive sentences constitute 12.7%. This might or might not necessarily imply insincerity on the part of the speaker. Considering the fact that the speech contains many actions to be, I argue that the use of passive sentences is more stylistic than representing a significant dent to the sincerity of Trump. This argument might be controversial; however, taking into account the context of the use of a passive sentence in addition to the perceived oratory experience of the speaker plays a huge part in presuming the sincerity of the speaker. Negative sentences are sometimes used to negate some existing policies or emphasize the resolution of the incoming government; they are rarely used to condemn the previous administration. In other words, it seems Trump is more particular about putting out his policies and framework than giving undue attention to his predecessors:

“Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done”

“We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone”

“...there is no room for prejudice”

“We will not fail”

4.1.3.3. Sentence Types Comparison: President Obama vs President Trump

Contrastively in terms of sentence types and negativity, there is no wide difference between the structure of the two speeches. Even though the two speeches have relatively

different themes in the communication of their message, the structure of each speeches is simple thus making the respective content well communicated to the populace.

4.1.4. Sentence Types: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May

4.1.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron

Both British Prime Ministers delivered relatively short speeches. Cameron's speech contains 31 major sentences. Out of the 31 (100%) sentences, 20 (64.5%) are simple; 8 (25.8%) are compound; 2 (6.5%) are complex; and 1 (3.2%) is compound-complex. The total number of clauses are 45. Details of sentence type can be seen in **Appendix 1, Table 7**.

The speech is not only brief but also simple and devoid of irrelevant details. All sentences are in fact similarly simple and communicate the message intended by the speaker with ease:

“I want us to build an economy that rewards work”

“Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values”

“I want us to build an economy that rewards work”

“Those are the things I care about”

There are no passive sentences in the speech. Similarly, negative sentences are not meant to condemn or oppose the previous administration. In fact, Cameron is full of praise for the previous administration and especially the Prime Minister “for his long record of dedicated public service”. Unequivocally, the speech is simple and straightforward, and the structure justifies this assertion.

4.1.4.2. Prime Minister May

Theresa May's speech consists of 34 major sentences. Out of the 34 (100%) sentences, 21 (61.8%) are simple; 9 (26.5%) are compound; 4 (11.8%) are compound-complex; but there are no complex sentences. **See Table 8 in Appendix 1** for detailed outline.

Like the speech of Cameron, May employs simple sentence structures to communicate her message. All sentences including the compound and compound-complex are relatively short and straight to the point. Other sentences are also as simple and articulated in a way that is not less informative, and also devoid of non-needed details:

"Because not everybody knows this, but the full title of my party... is very important to me"

"But David's true legacy is not about the economy but about social justice"

"If you're young, you'll find it harder than ever before to own your own home"

Active are overwhelmingly more than passive sentences, making the speech sincere.

Negative sentences are only 5 of the 55 sentences and are used to emphasize the goals and aspirations of the incoming government:

"If you suffer from mental health problems, there's not enough help to hand"

"When it comes to opportunity, we won't entrench the advantages of the fortunate few"

4.1.4.3. Sentence Types Comparison: PM Cameron and PM May

Both speeches are very similar following almost the same sentence patterns and structure. They are relatively short and communicate the speakers' idea with so much precision. On a general note, both speeches appear very simple and easily accessible to the populace. Both PMs are full of praise for the outgoing administration, so negative sentences were not used to speak against previous administrations. Structurally, both speeches presume leaders who are poised to action and definite about what their mandates are respectively.

4.1.5. Cross-Cultural Sentence Types Analysis

To a large extent, all the speeches employ simple sentence structures easy to understand and comprehend. In fact, simple sentences are overwhelmingly the highest sentence types in all the speeches. Furthermore, all the speeches have more active than passive sentences. This can be implied to mean that the speakers are generally direct and willing to ascribe actors to the goals they intend to accomplish.

Negative sentences are largely used to emphasize the goals of the leaders rather than negate the importance or values of the previous administration. However, President Trump of the United States did, on few occasions, play down or condemn the actions or policies of the previous government with negative sentences:

“Washington flourished- but the people did not share in its wealth”

“The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country”

Another point to note is in the admiration of the previous administration by the incoming. This was the case with the two UK speeches, President Weah of Liberia, and the two Nigerian speeches. While President Obama appreciates his predecessor- President Bush “for his service to our nation”, President Trump is more particular about “transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American people”. It thus seems Trump is intentionally reluctant to appreciate previous administrations.

4.2. Ideational Meaning: Process Options

4.2.1. Process Options: President Obasanjo and President Buhari

4.2.1.1. Process Options: President Obasanjo

In total, there are 146 clauses. Out of the 146, 81(55%) represent Material process; 28 (19.1%) represent Relational process; 28(19.1%) are for the Mental process; 10(6.8%) represent

Verbalized process while the Behavioral process is not reflected at all. See a graphic representation of the process options in **Appendix 1, Chart 1**.

The material process has the majority percentage of 55%. Material process options are realized by verbs of ‘doing’ or action. This means Obasanjo predominantly speaks about concrete goals that his administration will perform. Material process can furthermore be divided into *material action* and *material event*. Material action has to do with ‘actions’ that are performed by humans while Material event relates to ‘actions’ that are performed by non-human entities. Of the 81(100%) realizations, 73 (90.1%) are material action while 8 (9.9%) are material event. Obasanjo was elected as President after several years of military rule in Nigeria. Most of the populace voted for him expecting a rapid improvement in the country’s infrastructure and policies. To this end, Obasanjo emphasizes goals and actions that his administration would engage in. He personalized most of the actions ensuring himself and members of his cabinet as responsible.

“I can do little”

“I will give the forthright... honest and transparent leadership that the situation demands”

“Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels”

“We shall pursue a dynamic foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all nations...”

“As a retired officer, my heart bleeds to see the degradation in the proficiency...”

To an extent, the administration could be predicted to be one that is serious about achieving goals during its tenure. However, some doubts are raised pertaining to the sincerity of the speaker or the administration especially because there is a lot of passive sentences with unrealized agents.

Relational and Mental processes have 28 realizations each totaling 19.1% of the total process options respectively. Mental process encodes meanings of thinking, feeling or perceiving

while relational process includes expression of identification, state, attribute, possession, or existence. While the mental process options are used, by the President, together with the material process to assure the people of the determination of the government to fulfil its goals, the relational process options are used to describe the previous, the present, and the future state of the country. He also uses them to describe what the difference will be between the ‘Nigeria’ before his election and the ‘Nigeria’ he plans to establish. It is observed that out of the 28 (100%) of the relational process options, 22 (78.6%) are relational identifying; 3 (10.7%) are relational possession; 2 (7.1%) are relational existential; and 1 (3.6%) is relational attributive. As stated earlier, most of the options are used by the President to identify the state of Nigeria before his administration, his commitment, and what should be expected during and after his administration:

“The impact of official corruption is so rampant...”

“Fellow Nigerians, the entire Nigerian scene is very bleak indeed”

“It is a call to national service”

“To be appointed... is not a license to loot...”

“It is our firm resolve to restore Nigeria to her previous prestigious...”

“It is my resolve to work harmoniously with the legislature and the judiciary to ensure that Nigerians enjoy good and civilized governance”

Verbalized process is realized 10 (6.8%) times while behavioral process is not realized at all. Towards the end of his speech, Obasanjo uses the verbalized process to beckon on Nigerians to support him in the heinous task ahead of his administration. He says:

“I call on all Nigerians but particularly on our religious leaders to pray for moral and spiritual revival and regeneration in our nation”

To summarize, Obasanjo identifies the issues and problems within the Nigerian system and also acknowledges the importance of the support of the Nigerian community if his

administration is to succeed. However, he is more particular about the goals that his administration plans to achieve and utilizes material process options to outline these goals in a way that is tangible enough to satisfy initial expectation of the populace i.e., a government that outlines the specific projects they plan to accomplish.

4.2.1.2. Process Options: President Buhari

Out of a total of 116 (100%) clauses and process options in the speech, 40 (34.6) are realized as relational process options; 34 (29.3%) are realized as material and mental processes respectively; and 4 (3.4%) are realized as Behavioral and Verbalized processes respectively. This is graphically represented in **Appendix 1, Chart 2**.

The most realized option in Buhari's speech is the relational process. This is not surprising. The relational process achieves the President's intent of identifying what must be done to have a peaceful and united nation. His goal is to win the trust of the people and give Nigerians and Africans a sense of inclusion in his administration. Of the 40 (100%) relational process options realizations, an overwhelming 27 (67.5) are identifying; 8 (20%) are existential; 4 (10%) are possessive; and 1 (2.5%) is attributive. His speech is one which emphasizes unity within the country and the need for resources to be pooled together to overcome challenges facing the country. In his perspective, identifying the issues and challenging the populace towards solutions would give the audience more satisfaction than simply outlining goals to be achieved. This assumption is justifiable considering the fact that previous administrations that have been more particular about goals have failed to achieve most of the goals but rather divided the country in their quest to selfishly amass wealth for themselves. Examples of relational process options include:

“Daunting as the task may be, it is by no means insurmountable”

“There is now a national consensus that our chosen route to national development is democracy”

“What is now required is to build on these legacies, to modernize and uplift Nigeria”

“My appeal for unity is predicated on seriousness of the legacy we are getting into”

“Boko Haram is not only the security issue...”

“The messages I received from East and West, from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectations on us”

In addition to identifying issues and challenges, Buhari also outlines the goals that his administration plans to achieve. He was voted into office because of his integrity and perceived sincerity to stamp out corruption, and the numerous projects, especially the rescue of the Chibok secondary school girls abducted by the Islamic terrorist group- Boko Haram, which he outlined during his campaign. Therefore, the material process has the highest percentage after the relational process:

“This government will do all it can to rescue them alive”

“The law enforcing authorities will be charged to operate within the constitution”

“The command center will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued”

“...an opportunity. Let us take it”

The material process options are closely supported by the mental process options. This, to a large extent, is meant to reflect Buhari’s intention to build Nigeria and assure the populace of his sincerity in achieving his campaign promises. For this reason, the mental process option has a similar percentage amidst all process options as the material option:

“Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us”

“The judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past”

“We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals...”

Buhari, in one of the 4 (3.4%) occurrences of the behavioral process option, uses a metaphor which describes how government had been run in the past by some leaders compared to what the founding fathers of Nigeria laid down:

“Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house”

The breakdown of the process options of Buhari’s speech reveal his priorities on assuming office. The relational process options indicate his recognition of the situation of the country in addition to relating with the people. His second priority is to fulfil the promises he made during his campaign which include improving the economy and the living conditions of the people.

4.2.1.3. Process Options Comparison: Presidents Obasanjo and Buhari

The two speeches are fundamentally different in terms of the focus of the speakers. While Obasanjo is more concerned with communicating his goals and outlining the projects he plans to achieve, Buhari is more particular about associating with the plight of the people and stressing the need for national unity. To this end, Obasanjo utilizes the material process option more while Buhari utilizes the relational process option more. This observable difference can be explained by considering the sociopolitical atmosphere surrounding the election of the two Presidents. Obasanjo was elected at a time when the country was in dire need of a democratic leader to harness the yearnings of the people and develop the nation. Buhari, on the other hand, was elected at a time when the people had experienced about three administrations with numerous promises being made but not fulfilled. The nation seems to be divided along ethnic group lines. Buhari’s mandate was simple, yet complex: to unite the nation, fight corruption, and develop the country. His speech shows that he is under much more pressure than Obasanjo was at his inauguration. Unlike Obasanjo’s speech which is straightforward and relatively brief, Buhari

employs various literary techniques including lines from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* to navigate the fragile cultural and political lines of the country.

4.2.2. Process Options: President Johnson-Sirleaf and President Weah

4.2.2.1. President Johnson-Sirleaf

There are 295 clauses in President Johnson-Sirleaf's speech clauses out of all the analyzed speeches. Out of the 295 (100%) process options, 130 (44.1%) are realized as material; 69 (23.4%) are realized as relational and mental respectively; 27 (9.1%) are realized as verbalized, and there are no behavioral options. The breakdown is graphically presented in **Appendix 1, Chart 3.**

While the most crucial aim of the speech is to outline activities and projects that the administration would engage in, it is also very concerned with relating to the plight of people and bringing them together after the 15 long years of civil war. As observed, the material option does not occupy an overwhelming majority in terms of the realized process option. In fact, it is not up to 50% of the number of realized options. The clauses realized by the material process are used by Johnson-Sirleaf to identify the goals of her administration. In other words, the projects, policies and actions that she plans to implement to alleviate the suffering of the people. There are human actors for majority of the material processes which show the willingness to take responsibility. Statistically, out of the 130 (44.1%) material options, 121 (93.1%) are material action (actors are humans) while 9 (6.9%) are material event options. The clauses realized by material action processes include:

“With 12% of our population now affected by HIV/AIDS, my administration will tackle this national scourge by updating and reinvigorating...”

“Under my Administration, we will work to change that situation”

“We will confront it. We will fight it [corruption]”

“Anyone who desires to challenge us in this regard will do so at his or her personal disadvantage”

The clauses above speak to the purpose of the administration and things they hope to achieve, partly or totally, during their four-year tenure. Material event options mostly outlined the problems facing the economy and the country, and the non-human entities such as greed, corruption, hate, etc. that have contributed to the predicaments of the country:

“The tendencies of intolerance of each other’s opinion rooted in parochial and selfish considerations – and greed – have driven us into our descent into recent tragedies and paralysis as a nation and people”

“These negative national tendencies have, in the past, bred ethnic suspicion and hatred...”

Relational and Mental Process options are tied at 69 (23.4%) each. Out of the 69 (23.4%) realizations of relational process options, 52 (75.4%) are identifying; 12 (17.4%) are possessive; and 5 (7.2%) are existential. Being the case that Johnson-Sirleaf is playing the role of a comforter and also doubling as a unifying force within the nation, it is expected that there will be clauses that would identify the problems and plight of the populace and those that will identify and express the past, present, and future of the country:

“The individual sense of deprivation is immense”

“It is time for us, regardless of our political affiliations and persuasions, to come together to heal and rebuild our nation”

“Ours has certainly not been an easy journey to where we are today”

“Included in this process is a formulation of the policy framework and identification...”

“Yet, we have the potential to promote a healthy economy...”

The mental process similarly encodes meanings of thinking, feeling or perceiving within the speech. Clauses realized by these process options are intended to show the alignment of the government not only in terms of infrastructure and projects that are needed by the populace, but also in terms of emotions, feelings and thoughts:

“We have all suffered”

“...we believe that our democratic culture and our nation are best served when the opposition is strong...”

“We recognize and sympathize with your plight and will explore with our development partners...”

“...I recall the inhumanity of confinement, the terror of attempted rape, and the ostracism of exile...”

“Let us be proud that we were able to ultimately rise above our intense political...”

The realized verbalized process options are quite low at 9.1%. They are used in a similar manner as the mental option to relate with populace and encourage them to expect a better situation for the country:

“... I say to you, I love you very, very much”

“But I make this pledge to you: Under my Administration, we will work to change that situation”

“I pledge to bring the Government closer to the people”

4.2.2.2. President George Weah

There is a total of 175 clauses in the speech of President Weah. Out of the 175 (100%) realized process options, 76 (43.4%) are material; 48 (27.4%) are relational; 32 (18.3%) are mental; 16 (9.2%) are verbalized; and 3 (1.7%) verbalized. Chart 4 below shows the statistics:

The material process is most realized with a total of 43.4% of the 76 (43.4%) material process options, 66 (86.8%) are material action while 10 (13.2%) are material events. This means most of the identified actions to be performed have human actors. This is expected since the President and his cabinet should be mostly responsible for the actions and inactions of their administration. Unlike the use of the material process in previous analyzed speeches though, Weah is more particular about describing the state of things in Liberia that only few of the material process options actually convey goals and projects that would be achieved by the

government. Others simply described the situation of the country, the condition of the populace, and his degree of capability:

“I will do more than my fair share to meet your expectations”

“A love that will bring back home Liberians scattered far and wide across the globe...”

“My greatest contribution to this country as President may not lie in the eloquence of my speeches...”

“...time that we put away our political differences”

“...It also stands as a symbol of peace and reconciliation for the Liberian people”

Also high in quantity in the speech is the relational process options- 48 (27.4%). In this category, the relational identifying process option is realized 41 (85.4%) times. Just like most of the material process options, these clauses describe the situation of the country in addition to challenges and prospective solutions to problems. The speech of George Weah is not as much about projects and goals as it is about appreciation, describing the nation and her challenges, and assuring the audience of his ability to lead the nation effectively.

“In union strong, success is sure”

“United, we are certain to succeed as a nation”

“It is time to be honest with our people”

“This is a debt Liberians will never be able to repay”

Other relational options i.e., possessive, attributive, and existential also support the relational identifying in describing qualities of Liberia, and especially relationship with other countries:

“The Republic of Liberia has a strong historic relationship with the United State of America...”

“Europe will always have a special place in my heart...”

“Liberia has always had an historic relationship with the AU”

The mental process option is realized 32 (18.3%) times mostly to also assure Liberians of his capability to lead and the need for Liberians to work together with the administration to

realize the set goals and objective. It was also used to explicate things that are needed for there to be a conducive environment for good governance:

“We must learn the virtue of patience, and learn to lower our expectations...”

“The people expect better cooperation and more action from their government”

“We need men and women, boys and girls, whose integrity provides the foundation...”

The verbalized and behavioral process options are used by Weah identify with the people and relate with them on a personal basis. This of course is in a bid to establish the rapport which is intended with the other process options as well:

“And I say “my people, thank you, yaaaaaaaa” for entrusting me with the responsibility...”

“I say today that you will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law”

“To all of you, I want to say a heartfelt thank you”

“...will soon demonstrate their confidence in us, by transitioning its task from peacekeeping...”

“This demonstrates the maturity of our institutions and that we as a people...”

4.2.2.3. Process Options Comparison: Presidents J-Sirleaf and Weah

Both speeches are similar in the sense that they are more interested in describing the state of the country and reliving the populace of doubts in their capabilities. However, I argue that Johnson-Sirleaf had a cause to take this route since her administration is the first after about 15 years of war. Even at that, most of her material process options outlined specific projects and goals of the administration. However, it is quite surprising that Weah would deliver a speech that is geared towards appreciation, describing the country and his relationship with other countries and organizations, and emphasizing his capability to rule. It is unclear why he would feel he needs so much to affirm his capability. However, a reason that comes to mind is that he had contested twice and was defeated by Johnson-Sirleaf for her two tenures as President. Although some part of the material process options of Weah’s speech addressed goals to be accomplished

during the administration, most of it with other process options described the situation of Liberia, his appreciation on election, and the part of the populace in ensuring a successful administration.

Asides this difference noticeable in the content of the speech, the structure of the speech in terms of realized process options are almost the same. Both have the Material option as mostly realized followed by the relational and mental options, which are the same percentage in Johnson-Sirleaf's speech but slightly different in the speech of Weah, and then the verbalized and behavioral options. The speeches are similar in composition and this is what creates a point of surprise. Since there were no unrests prior to Weah's administration and he was, himself, full of praise for the previous administration, it is expected that he would simply focus on his objectives and tangible projects to be accomplished during his administration. It is also expected that his speech would reflect solidarity with the people, and recognition of the culture and tradition of the Liberian people; but not in a manner that overshadows the importance of the need to build on the work of the previous administration and move Liberia forward.

4.2.3. Process Options: Nigeria versus Liberia

The speeches of Buhari, Johnson-Sirleaf, and Weah are especially similar in their use of relational process options. Although, material process options are the mostly used in Johnson Sirleaf and Weah's speeches, the percentage of the material process options is not up to 50% of the total realized process options. The percentage of realized material process options are 44% and 43% in Johnson-Sirleaf and Weah's speeches respectively, and 29% in Buhari's speech. The fact that material process options do not constitute more than 50% of each speech shows that although the leaders are concerned with implementing policies and completing specific projects during their administration, they are more particular about describing the state of the country, encouraging the populace, and identifying with them in their plights and sufferings.

Contrastively, Obasanjo deviates from the above norm and has 55% realized material options. In addition, the relational process options which are realized in his speech stand at 19% which proves that Obasanjo is more interested in communicating the goals, policies, and projects to be achieved during his tenure and a little less concerned with describing the state of the country or identifying with the suffering of the people. Of course, he does identify with the challenges facing the country in his speech especially since he had been unfairly imprisoned himself; however, he does not dwell on such issues like the other leaders and focuses more on the concrete goals to be achieved. The reasons for this style can be presumed. First might be because he is an ex-General and is therefore used to the military style of being straight to content. Furthermore, he was once a military head of state and was subsequently unfairly imprisoned before he was released and elected as President; perhaps he feels that stressing the suffering and challenges of the country does not prove a special point since everyone is already aware of the fact that he has suffered and experienced hardship in a way sufficient for him to understand their plight. In fact, this was one of the reasons that majority of the electorate voted him into office. In addition, he might be responding to the overwhelming need of the electorate which is not to be pitied or identified with, but to actually have rapid and vibrant development in terms of infrastructures, economy, living condition, and other areas of their lives.

The realization of high relational options in Johnson-Sirleaf and Buhari's speeches respectively are also justifiable. President Johnson-Sirleaf was elected after about 15 years of civil unrest in Liberia. The people, at this time, are still nursing the pains of war and the destructions that comes with it. For this reason, it was expedient that Johnson-Sirleaf aligns with their plight and assure them of the bright future ahead. In any case, she also highlights a lot of goals to be achieved therefore maintaining a balance between identifying with the populace and

increasing their hopes. Similarly, President Buhari was elected after more than a decade of democratic rule within which little pre-election goals of Presidents had been accomplished, and the rate of corruption amongst government officials had increased. The people voted for Buhari because of his reputation in stamping out corruption especially from his days as a military head of state. The populace is not as particular about promises and presumptions as they were about sincerity, modesty and truthfulness. For this reason, Buhari focuses more on affirming the confidence of the populace in his administration and less on extracting emotions.

The surprising speech is that of George Weah which utilizes a higher than expected relational process options. In addition, a lot of its material process options perform roles of identification and description rather than outlining goals to be achieved. It is not clear why Weah employs this style since he does not seem to have a need for it. The people had enjoyed a hope-giving administration under President Johnson-Sirleaf who Weah, in fact, greatly commends in his speech. The people were recovering well from their griefs from the 15 years civil war and were then particular about projects, policies and actions to further improve their quality of life. It would then be expected that Weah outlines more actions and goals that would be achieved by his administration to complement the existing development plans. However, Weah preferred to dwell more on appreciation, salutation, identifying of issues, and encouraging the populace to be involved in the new administration. This might as well cast doubt on the readiness of the administration to facilitate infrastructure and economic development. Contrastively, it might only be a change in style from the expected norm which has no bearing on the sincerity of the government in developing the nation.

4.2.4. Process Options: President Obama and President Trump

4.2.4.1. President Barak Obama

Out of the 131 (100%) process options realized in Obama's speech, 56 (42.7%) are material; 45 (34.4%) are relational; 20 (15.3%) are mental; and 10 (7.6%) are verbalized. This data is better pictured in **Appendix 1, Chart 5**.

Of the 56 (100%) realizations of the material process option, 53 (94.6%) are material action while only 3 (5.4%) are material event. The implication of this is that most goals and actions outlined by Obama are those to be carried out by his administration officials. Coupled with the fact that a lot of these sentences are in the active sense and the actors realized, we can assume that there is a high level of sincerity associated with the speech:

"Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin the work of remaking America"

"Those ideas still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake"

"...but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist"

"We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce..."

However, the percentage of material process options is not up to 50% of the realized process options and is closely followed by the relational process option. Obama's election is historical in the USA. As the first elected African-American President, he is under a lot of pressure to not only associate with the plight of African-Americans in the USA and reflect same in his policies, but also to prove a lot of doubtful minds wrong that he can lead the country out of the economic crisis it was going through. It is observed that out of the 45 (100%) realized relational process options, 41 (91%) are identifying; 2 (4.3%) are existential while 1 (2.3%) is attributive and existential respectively. This reveals the overwhelming use of the relational

identifying process option to allude to historical details of the United States, describe the current situation of the country, and affirm the confidence of the populace in his administration:

“Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve...”

“And we are ready to lead once more”

“We are the keepers of this legacy”

“This is the price and the promise of citizenship”

“This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed”

“... there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task”

Also, fairly utilized in this speech is the mental process. Obama uses it 20 (15.3%) times majorly to encode and express his thoughts, feelings and perceptions to the people:

“In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given”

“Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward”

“They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions...”

“Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles...”

Lastly, the verbalized process option is also realized in the speech albeit the least of all the realized options. It is utilized 10 (7.6%) times by Obama to relate personally with the populace and further express his sincerity at fulfilling his promises:

“Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real”

“We will not apologize for our way of life...”

“...we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish...”

In sum, the percentages of the realized process options in Obama’s speech seem to be adequately balanced between engaging the emotions of the people as well as expressing his vision for the country. Obama is widely acknowledged to be an excellent orator and the expert

merge of the process options in this speech reveals his intent to communicate with every group within the American society and beyond.

4.2.4.2. President Donald Trump

Out of the 142 (100%) realized process options in President Trump's speech, 80 (56.3%) are material; 40 (28.2) are relational; 17 (12%) are mental; and 5 (3.5%) are verbalized options. There are no behavioral process options in the speech. The speech is sectionalized in **Chart 6 in Appendix 1.**

Trump's speech is clearly dominated by the material option. In fact, it is specifically dominated by the material action option which occurs 62 (77.5%) times. However, both material action and material event options are used to explicate the vision of Trump. Therefore, Trump's speech is characterized with a lot of sentences that relate the policies and goals of his administration:

"We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams"

"I will fight for you with every breath in my body"

"We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation"

"We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth..."

"A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions"

Next in the order of realizations is the relational process option. Of the 40 (100%) realizations of this process option, an overwhelming 33 (82.5%) are relational identifying. Most of the relational process options are used by Trump to describe the situation of the country, especially owing to the inaction and negligence of the previous administrations, affirm his

agreement with the demands of the populace, and identifying with the expectations of the people for a change in the way politicians ran government separate from the wishes of the people:

“Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumph...”

“And this, the United States of America, is your country”

“These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public”

“The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans”

“From this moment on, It’s going to be America First”

“The time for empty talk is over”

In addition, Trump uses the mental process option to express his thoughts, feeling and perceptions to the populace. To a large extent, they are also geared towards persuading the people to reject the actions and policies of the previous governments as a setback to the development of the country, and his own goals the way to restore the greatness of America:

“Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger”

“In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving”

“So to all Americans..., hear these words”

“Everyone is listening to you now”

“Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families...”

The verbalized option is minimally realized 5 (3.5%) in this speech. These verbs of saying are utilized by Trump to relate with the people and signal his alignment with their plight and yearnings for a change in governance:

“The Bible tells us, “how good and pleasant it is when God’s people live together in unity”

“Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done”

It appears Trump is mainly particular about affirming the confidence of the populace in him. To do this, he outlines his goals for the most part of the speech and discredits the actions and policies of previous administrations while doing so. The reason Trump got elected was to

cause a change in the US executive system, and free the country of unnecessary bureaucratic processes in Washington. It can be assumed that these expectations influence the choice of the style of Trump which entails focusing on promising a better future for the populace while simultaneously emphasizing the flaws and inconsistencies of the previous administrations. This, it is presumed, is a way for Trump to affirm his dominance and readiness to effect change.

4.2.4.3. Process Options Comparison: Presidents Obama and Trump

Both speeches are set in different socio-political contexts and this reflects in how each of the leaders utilize process options. Obama utilizes material and relational process options in an almost balanced way. He uses both to communicate his vision in terms of projects and policies for the country while at the same time describing the state of the nation and identifying himself as one who understands the plight of the people. Obama shuttles between asserting steps that must be taken to move the country forward and stabilizing the trust of the populace in his administration. Contrastively, President Trump overwhelmingly utilizes the material process options to communicate his intentions to the populace. He outlines several of the actions and projects that are previously being ‘inappropriately’ done and indicates the changes he plans to make in each case.

4.2.5. Process Options: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May

4.2.5.1. Prime Minister David Cameron

Out of the 45 (100%) realized process options, 18 (40%) are relational; 16 (35.6%) are mental; 7 (15.5%) are material; 4 (8.9%) are verbalized while there are no behavioral options. The speech is the shortest of all analyzed speeches in this research and the process options can be clearly pictured in **Chart 7 in Appendix 1**.

Cameron mostly describes the situation of the United Kingdom and explicates his thoughts, opinions, and feelings about how things ought to be. He also talks about things he would like to do to move the country forward. At his assumption of office, Cameron was not under an intense pressure to change anything about governance in the UK. There were challenges no doubt, but none that warranted Cameron going an extra mile to prove the projects and actions he will engage in while in office. The relational and mental process options are thus utilized to communicate the state of the country in addition to Cameron's feelings, thoughts, and desires on same. They also communicate strategies for change:

"Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences and work hard for common good and for the national interest"

"I believe that is the best way to get the strong government that we need, decisive government that we need today"

"It is about being honest about what government can achieve"

"Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values"

"This is going to be hard and difficult work"

"Those are the things I care about"

"And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges"

The material process option is realized 7 (15.5%). Its uses are similar to the relational and mental process option, that is it is used to describe the perceptions of Cameron on the present government and his desired one:

"...we must take everyone through with us..."

"A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges"

"...what am I just owed, but more what can I give"

4.2.5.2. Prime Minister Theresa May

Prime Minister May's speech is the second shortest of the speeches examined in this research. Out of the 55 realized process options, 20 (36.4%) are material; 17 (30.9%) are mental;

16 (29.1%) are relational; 2 (3.6%) are verbalized while there are no behavioral process options. The breakdown of the process options is explicated in **Chart 8 in Appendix 1**.

Prime Minister May assumed office after PM Cameron resigned owing to the vote of most UK citizens to leave the EU. As a result, her most important mandate was to successfully steer the UK through the exit process. Without doubt, most of the material process options in her speech speak to this mandate and also express the goals of May in her tenure as Prime Minister:

“In David Cameron, I follow in the footsteps of a great, modern Prime Minister”

“The government I lead will be driven not by the interests of the privileged few...”

“We will do everything we can to help anybody...”

“Following the referendum, we face a time of great national change”

“..., and together we will build a better Britain”

May, similar to Cameron, utilizes relational, mental and verbal process options to describe the country, express her perceptions, and communicate strategies for a change in governance:

“It means we believe in the Union...”

“If you’re one of those families, if you’re just managing, I want to address you directly”

“...we’ll think not of the powerful, but you”

“That will be the mission of the government I lead...”

4.2.5.3. Process Options Comparison: PM Cameron and PM May

Both speeches are largely similar. However, May uses more material process options than Cameron. This contrast is not surprising particularly because May assumed office with a specific mandate to fulfill which is greatly reflected in her use of material process options. The styles of both leaders are similar throughout their speeches albeit that May had a particular mandate to

refer to and particular goals and actions to outline in order to have the confidence of the people in terms of her functional capability.

4.2.6. Cross-Cultural Process Option Realizations

To a large extent, it can be assumed that most of the analyzed speeches conform in the realization of process options to the socio-political condition of their respective election. The speeches of Presidents Buhari, Johnson-Sirleaf, Weah, Obama, and Prime Ministers Cameron and May all had relatively high use of relational options to describe the state of their respective countries and relate with the populace in their plight and wants.

Of these realizations, it is surprising that President Weah's speech included a high realization of relational process options. He dedicated a large portion of his speech to salutation, thanksgiving and identifying the problems of the people. Liberia was beginning to recover from her economic crisis and the people were beginning to enjoy infrastructural development. Weah was thus elected to consolidate these actions and goals, and further enhance the economic position of Liberia in Africa and the world. Similarly, President Obasanjo and President Trump were in this sort of situation and they took the opportunity to outline several goals, actions and policies they have in plan for the country. Even the material process options realized in Weah's speech functioned similar to relational and mental process options in identifying the state of the country and describing the solutions needed to solve problems.

President Obasanjo and President Trump similarly focus on their aspirations and goals towards the development of their respective countries. For this reason, they utilize the material process options overwhelmingly. Both Presidents were precise in their respective speeches and focused on concrete actions, policies, and projects to fulfil their elections campaigns to the

people. Their speeches are devoid of overwhelming descriptions or allusions for the sole purpose of arousing emotions from the populace. Even when they utilize such literary styles, it is basically to make their views more asserted, and gear up the populace toward cooperating with the administration to fulfil the heinous task. The main difference, however, between the two is that Obasanjo utilizes more passive sentences and unrealized actors than Trump who majorly utilized the active sense and realized actors.

4.3. Ideational Meaning: Circumstantial Options

4.3.1. President Obasanjo and President Buhari

4.3.1.1 President Obasanjo

Out of the 227 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 68 (30%) show location; 59 (26%) show cause; 37 (16.3%) show manner; 21 (9.2%) are extending; 15 (6.6%) show contingency; 14 (6.2%) show projection; 8 (3.5%) show extent; and 5 (2.2%) are elaborating.

See Table 9 in Appendix 1

The circumstantial details are mostly realized by prepositional phrases. Obasanjo uses circumstantial details of place mostly to stress the condition and roles of Nigeria, and that he is determined to work towards the progress of the country. He also uses these details to stress the specific locations and sectors in the country that need reformation or reinvigoration:

“The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt ... will be stamped out”

“Nigeria has over the years played a very active role in ECOMOG for the restoration of peace”

“We call on the world, particularly... crushing and destructive to democracy in our land”

“This we must do to ensure progress...to rekindle confidence amongst our people”

Furthermore, Obasanjo uses circumstantial details of time to reveal the urgency of the issue at hand and give the people an insight into how ready he was to begin the heinous task of

rebuilding the country. In addition, he uses these details to describe the complexities of the current time:

“In our difficult and abnormal situation, great care and circumspection are called for...”

“A competent group will be set up immediately to prepare a comprehensive Development Plan...”

“Before any issues are introduced to the cabinet, the time tested procedure of inter-Ministerial consultations...”

“Today, we are taking a decisive step on the path of democracy”

Following the circumstantial details of Location are the circumstantial details of Cause which basically reveal the reason some actions have to be taken and the purpose of other steps or policies. He uses these details to justify the need for a lot of actions that he mentions within the speech:

“Regular meetings of Cabinet will be reinforced to enrich the quality of decisions of government...”

“...since all major contracts must go to council for open consideration.”

“...for a law providing for 13% derivation in Revenue Allocation to be used for ecological, rehabilitation, infrastructural and other...”

In addition to Location and Cause circumstantial details, Manner details are also important to President Obasanjo. These details show the way he wishes to carry out his plans, what the actions consist of, and the level to which he hopes to pursue the plans. He also uses these details to describe Nigeria, past and present issues, and compare issues in order to further justify his propositions:

“Nigeria is wonderfully endowed by the Almighty with human and other resources”

“Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless”

“With God as our guide, and with 120 million Nigerians working with me... we shall not fail”

“The issue of crime requires as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption”

Other circumstantial details are also used albeit in less quantity. It thus seems that Obasanjo is more particular about the reasons and purposes of his actions; the location as well as the manner in which they would be achieved.

4.3.1.2. President Buhari

Out of the 119 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 38 (32%) show location; 25 (21%) show manner; 23 (19.3%) show cause; 11 (9.2%) show contingency; 8 (6.7%) show projection; 5 (4.2%) show extent; 7 (5.9%) are elaborating; and 2 (1.7%) are extending. See **Table 10 in Appendix 1**

Details of place and time are used by the President to stress the location of the issues that are described in his speech. This, it is presumed, helps to put his propositions in context, and for the people to better relate with the situation of the country:

“The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions...”

“...I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all level of government in the country”

“Progress has been made in recent weeks by our security forces...”

“We are going to erect and maintain... security forces within an over-all security architecture”

Additionally, Buhari uses Cause circumstantial details to reveal the reasons and purposes of his actions. He also justifies his proposition that he is working on behalf of the people.

Overall, the need to understand the notions behind his actions would have prompted the high use of Cause circumstantial details in the speech:

“To achieve our objectives, we must consciously work the democratic system”

“The government will do all it can to rescue them alive”

“We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the armed forces”

Essentially, as expected, Buhari also explicates the manner in which his propositions would be carried out. Furthermore, he describes his election, the previous, present, and expected situation of Nigeria. By implication, Buhari desires to not only identify the cause and location of his proposed actions, but also be transparent about the manner of fulfilment:

“Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking...”

“As far as the constitution allows me, I will try to ensure that there is responsible...”

“...they cannot succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions...”

“An eccentric and unorthodox preacher with a tiny following was given posthumous fame and following...”

4.3.1.3. Circumstantial Options: President Buhari versus President Obasanjo

Both speeches are similar in their ordering of importance to the utilized circumstantial details. Both Presidents mostly utilized Location, Cause and Manner circumstantial details in contrast with other details such as Extending, Elaborating and Contingency which are scarcely used. I argue that the latter three would not be really important since the speeches are relatively simple and easy to comprehend.

Contrastively, the quantity of circumstantial details in the two speeches distinguish them. While Obasanjo’s speech is saturated with a lot of circumstantial details, Buhari has less occurrences. The reason for this might be presumed upon the fact that Obasanjo utilizes more of the Material process option in his speech while Buhari Utilized more of the Relational process option. Since, most of Buhari’s speech is already descriptive, it is understandable that circumstantial details would not be as needed as in Obasanjo’s speech where there are more identified concrete steps and actions.

4.3.2. President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah

4.3.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf

Considering the high number of clauses and Material Process options, the 378 realized circumstantial options are expected. Out of the 378 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 115 (30.4%) show location; 83 (22%) show cause; 74 (19.6%%) show manner; 38 (10.1%) are extending; 24 (6.3%) are elaborating; 15 (4%) show projection; 15 (4%) show extent; and 14 (3.6%) show contingency. **See Table 11 in Appendix 1.**

By far, Location circumstantial details dominate the speech. At 30.4%, Johnson Sirleaf uses these details to complement her description of Liberia and further align with the plight and suffering of the people. By highlighting key places and time of events and actions, Johnson-Sirleaf is able to wiggle herself into the heart of the people as someone who is specific about her plans, and who is pretty committed to a nationalistic change. Some realizations of the location details of place and time are:

“This occasion, held under the beautiful Liberian sunshine marks a celebration...”

“...we call upon our colleagues of all political persuasions now in the Diaspora to return home and join us...”

“And in the process of resolving the numerous contradictions that have underpinned this struggle, a high price has been paid by many Liberians...”

“...we are working with our partners to identify key objectives and deliverables in the first one hundred and fifty days of our administration”

“We will seek a strong partnership between the public and private sector, with direct foreign investment...”

Because Johnson Sirleaf traces the history of Liberia, indicating the different challenges the people have faced as well as the reasons for their present predicament, she utilizes a lot of

Cause circumstantial options. In addition to stating reasons, she also explicates the purpose of the actions that her administration must take towards the progress of Liberia:

“I know of this struggle because I have been a part of it”

“...rise above our intense political and other differences...to foster dialogue instead of violence, promote unity rather than disharmony...”

“...we will create the jobs for our mothers and fathers to be gainfully employed”

“I want you to know that I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through each day to make ends meet for yourselves and for your families”

Similar to previously examined speeches, Johnson Sirleaf also uses Manner circumstantial details to show the quality of her propositions, the means of achieving them, the degree to which these tasks would be done, and the quality of the actions. Through this, the details of her promises are clearer to the populace and they are able to understand their own roles in ensuring that the outlined plans work:

“Indeed, they voted with their hearts”

“In this respect, I will lead by example”

“Through the message of this story, I want you to know what I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through...”

“With this in mind, we are working with our partners to identify key objectives and deliverables...”

4.3.2.2. President Weah

Out of the 251 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 65 (25.9%) show location; 55 (21.9%) show cause; 51 (20.3%) show manner; 25 (10%) are extending; 13 (5.2%) show contingency; 18 (7.2%) show extent; 16 (6.4%) show projection; and 8 (3.1%) are elaborating. **See Table 12 in Appendix 1.**

Weah uses 25.9% Location circumstantial details to complement his description of Liberia and portray his knowledge and alignment with the challenges of the people. He

highlights the time and places of events and actions which further explicates his sincerity to his agenda. Weah largely pinpoints the location of events he describes and actions he plans to affirm his commitment to getting things done. Instances of Location circumstantial details in the speech include:

“Today, we Liberians have reached an important milestone in the never-ending journey for freedom, justice, and democracy...”

“...and often too violent, bloody, and deadly, as it was in the 14 years of civil conflict, when the absence of equality and unity led us down...”

“Today, we must remember the hundreds of thousands who died...”

“As we open our doors to all foreign direct investments, we will not permit Liberian-owned businesses to be marginalized”

“...and how national resources and responsibilities are going to shift from this capital to the countries”

“During my tenure as President of Liberia, the loudest cry that must ring... must be the cry of National Unity”

Furthermore, Weah uses the Cause circumstantial details to describe the past and present situation of Liberia in addition to the envisioned future. These details, as expected, reveal reasons and purposes of descriptions, actions, and the people on whose behalf Weah has the mandate to advance the development which his predecessor largely started:

“Your Excellency, I thank you for laying the foundation upon which we can now stand...”

“...that democracy exists in Liberia, and that, it is here to stay”

“...provides the foundation of the trust that is required for Liberian society to benefit her people”

“We will do all that is within our power to provide an environment that will be conducive...”

Lastly, of the major realized circumstantial options, Weah uses the Manner option to show the means, quality and degree of the proposed actions in addition to the quality of same. He does not use it for this reason alone, he also employs these circumstantial options to describe the state of the country Liberia. The quantity of Manner circumstantial options that are realized is

not surprising partly because Weah intends to endear the people to himself, especially since the previous administration had set a high bar for governance in the country. It is therefore essential to provide details that have to do with the manner his goals will be achieved lest he seems unserious about bringing them to fruition. Instances of realization include:

“I say today that you will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law”

“Let us all stand for a moment of silence to remember those who died on our soil, in our conflict, and by our own hands.”

“United, we are certain to succeed as a nation”

“This victory could not have been possible without the support... especially those who make their living by selling in the markets”

4.3.2.3. Circumstantial Options: Presidents Johnson Sirleaf vs Weah

Without surprise, both speeches utilize relatively similar allocation of circumstantial options. Although the quantity, in number, is higher in Johnson Sirleaf’s speech than Weah’s with a total of 378 to 251 respectively, the percentage allocation of each of the circumstantial details categories are very similar in the two. For example, the percentage of Location options is 26% in Weah’s speech and 30% in that of Johnson Sirleaf; percentage of Manner options is 19.6% in Johnson Sirleaf’s speech and 20.3% in that of Weah; percentage of Extending options is 10.1% in Johnson Sirleaf’s speech and 10% in Weah’s. It is expected that there would be more circumstantial options in Johnson-Sirleaf’s speech since her speech contains more clauses and words. However, because both speeches utilize the same style in communicating their message, the percentage allocations of each circumstantial details are similar.

4.3.3. Circumstantial Options Comparison: Nigeria versus Liberia

The quantity of circumstantial options in the speeches are determined by the longevity of the speeches respectively. Sirleaf speech was the longest followed by the speech of Weah, then

the speech of Obasanjo and finally, the speech of Buhari. Expectantly, the speeches had 378, 251, 227, and 119 circumstantial options realizations respectively. Furthermore, the percentage allocations of each of the circumstantial options is similar across all the speeches. In addition, Location, Cause, and Manner are the most utilized circumstantial options in all the speeches with Extent and Contingency being the least realized circumstantial options on average.

4.3.4. Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May

4.3.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron

The speech of Prime Minister Cameron is very brief hence a small quantity of circumstantial details. A total of 38 circumstantial details are realized for 45 clauses which is relatively high. Out of the 38 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 10 (26.3%) show location; 8 (21.1%) are extending; 7 (18.4%) show manner; 6 (15.8%) show cause; 4 (10.5%) show projection; 2 (5.3%) are elaborating; 1 (2.6%) show contingency; while Extent circumstantial details are not realized at all. **See Table 13 in Appendix 1:**

Cameron utilizes Location circumstantial details to put into context his descriptions and expositions as regards the present situation of the United Kingdom and expectations during his administration. This connects his ideas with phenomena that are obvious to the populace and which they could identify with. Realizations of Location circumstantial options include:

“And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges”

“And I want to help try and build a more responsible society here in Britain”

“Those are the things that this government will now start work on doing”

Next in quantity to Location circumstantial details is Extending circumstantial details. Because the speech is relatively short, there is need for Cameron to expand on some of the

details expressed, hence the use of Accompaniment circumstantial clauses. Instances of realization include:

“... to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly”

“And a guide for that society- that those that can should...”

“Those are the things that this government will now start work on doing”

“Those are the things I care about”

With an almost similar frequency, Cameron utilizes Manner and Cause circumstantial details to express the reasons and purposes of his descriptions as well as proposed actions. In addition, the details express the means, quality and degree to which his outlined goals will be achieved:

“For those reasons, I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats”

“I want us to build a society with stronger families and stronger communities”

“Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders... work hard for the common good and for the national interest”

“Above all, it will be a government that is built on some clear values”

4.3.4.2. Prime Minister May

Out of the 59 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 22 (37.3%) show manner; 16 (10.2%) show cause; 13 (22%) show location; 13 (22%) show contingency; 4 (6.8%) are extending; 1 (1.7%) show projection while Elaborating and Extent circumstantial details are not realized at all. **See Table 14 in Appendix 1.**

The most realized circumstance detail is Manner. May uses these details to qualify the content of her speech in terms of the means, quality, and degree of the actions in addition to comparison with other issues. Since May is straight to the point in her speech, it is essential to have details that prove that she is not only gliding over the propositions but also has the specifics

in terms of how to get it done. Furthermore, she uses details of location i.e., place and time to portray these actions as those that are particularly related to the UK populace and which are important in the present-day discourse. Instance of Manner and Location circumstantial details include:

“In David Cameron, I follow in the footsteps of a great...”

“Under David’s leadership, the government stabilized...”

“I know you are working around the clock...”

“When it comes to opportunity, we won’t entrench the advantages...”

“Following the referendum, we face a time of great national change”

On some occasions, similarly, she uses Cause circumstantial details to steer up the involvement and nationalistic commitment of the people e.g.,

“And I know because we’re Great Britain, that we will rise to the challenge”

On another note, May uses Contingency circumstantial details to express the living conditions and present reality of the UK. This makes her speech more specific and direct in terms of the audience she is addressing:

“If you’re black, you’re treated more harshly by the criminal justice system...”

“If you’re a white, working class boy, you’re less likely than anybody else in Britain to go to University”

“If you’re a woman, you will earn less than a man”

“If you suffer from mental health problems, there’s not enough help to hand”

4.3.4.3. Circumstantial Options: PM Cameron and PM May

To a large extent, both speeches are similar in terms of their distribution of circumstantial options. However, May’s speech has a higher use of circumstantial details when compared to the speech of Cameron at 59 to 38 respectively. Both speeches similarly contain details of location,

manner and cause and do not utilize Extent circumstantial details at all. However, while Cameron uses a fairly large number of Extending circumstantial details to explicate the meaning of his clauses, May utilizes a fairly large quantity of Contingency circumstantial details to relate with the populace, and be more specific as to a particular group she was addressing with a sentence.

4.3.5. President Obama and President Trump

4.3.5.1. President Obama

There are 154 realizations of circumstantial options. Out of the 154 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 55 (35.7%) show location; 33 (21.4%) show cause; 31 (20.1%) show manner; 14 (9.1%) are extending; 9 (5.8%) are elaborating; 6 (3.9%) show extent; 3 (2%) show contingency; and 3(2%) are projecting. **See Table 15 in Appendix 1.**

The most prominent circumstantial option is Location with 55 (35.7%) realization. With this, Obama specifies details of his propositions as relevant to the United States at that particular point in time. He also uses this to situate his allusions, descriptions, and goals within a context which the populace could relate with. Instances of Location circumstantial details include:

“I stand here today humbled by the task before us...”

“...other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born...”

“Instead they knew that... our security emanates from the justness of our cause...”

“...those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains”

In an almost equal quantity, Obama utilizes Manner and Cause circumstantial options to further create a vivid picture of the challenges that the US has overcome and has to overcome

and the need for all citizens to support the administration for the planned goals to be achieved.

Examples of the realizations of Manner and Cause circumstantial details include:

“They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions...”

“We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories”

“Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done...”

“...our founding fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man...”

“...we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow...”

4.3.5.2. President Trump

Out of the 77 (100%) details realized as circumstantial options, 45 (58.4%) show location; 18 (23.4%) show manner; 7 (9.1%) show extent; 5 (6.5%) show cause; 1 (1.3%) is projection; 1 (1.3%) shows contingency while Extending and Elaborating circumstantial details are not realized. **See Table 16 in Appendix 1.**

The most utilized circumstantial detail is Location. Similar to other speeches examined in this study, Trump uses these details to further stress his love for the United states as well as his desire to “Make America Great Again”. His goal is to start making a difference right from his first day in office; and his use of details that tell time further boost his appearance before the populace as one who is prompt to action, and who has his target perfectly mapped out.

Realizations of Location circumstantial options in the speech include:

“It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.

“... Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities rusted-out factories...”

“This American carnage stops right here and stops right now”

“We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power”

To support the Location circumstantial details, Trump utilizes Manner circumstantial options to stress the ways in which the actions he promises would be carried out, and the qualities of issues that are plaguing the country as well as solutions he plans to provide. Surprisingly, and contrary to the trend hitherto this speech, Trump utilizes Extent circumstantial details basically to sometimes state the duration of the actions or policies that would be engaged for Americans. Realizations of Manner and Extent circumstantial details include:

“...our factories scattered like tombstones across the landscapes of our nation...”

“One by one, the factories shuttered and left out shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind”

“America will start winning again, winning like never before”

“Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for years to come”

“In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving”

4.3.5.3. Circumstantial Options: President Obama and President Trump

A major area of contrast between the two speeches is in the quantity of circumstantial details. While President Obama utilizes 154 circumstantial details, President Trump utilizes 77. However, both speeches utilize a high quantity of Location circumstantial options to communicate their message. In addition, they both use fairly large number of Manner circumstantial details to further strengthen their perceived sincerity towards accomplishing their set goals. However, while Cause circumstantial options are the second largest circumstantial realizations in Obama’s speech, they are scarcely used in Trump speech. Contrastively, Trump utilizes Extent circumstantial details fairly higher than Obama does.

4.3.6. Circumstantial Options: Cross-Cultural Comparison

There are a number of similarities and differences in the ways the leaders utilized circumstantial options respectively. First, it is discovered that the quantity of circumstantial options is mostly determined by the number of clauses in the speech. For this reason, the speeches of President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah have the highest realizations of circumstantial details while the brief speeches of Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May have the lowest realizations of circumstantial details.

Furthermore, the average most realized circumstantial options in all the speeches are Location, Cause and Manner. The only exceptions to this generalization are the speech of Prime Minister May which utilizes more Contingency options than Cause, and the speech of Prime Minister Cameron which utilized more Extending options than Cause or Manner. Based on the focus of the speech, utilized circumstantial option seems to relate across cultures. For instance, Presidents Johnson Sirleaf, Buhari, and Obama who utilize a lot of relational process options rhyme in their realizations of Location, Cause, and Manner circumstantial options usually in that same order in terms of quantity.

In the comparison between Obasanjo and Buhari, it is realized that Obasanjo uses much more circumstantial options than Buhari. The assumption is expected because Obasanjo utilizes a lot of material process while Buhari rather utilizes a lot of relational process options. It is presumed that a lot of material process options would necessitate circumstantial options to further explain these concrete actions. This assumption is however disproved in the comparison between Trump and Obama. Trump has a high material process option while Obama has a high relational process option realization. Contrary to the observation in Obasanjo's speech, Trump's speech has less circumstantial options while Obama's speech has more. It turns out that the types

of process options might not necessarily determine the quantity of circumstantial information needed to make the speech easily accessible.

4.4. Interpersonal Meaning

Interpersonal meaning embodies all uses of language to express social and personal relations (Hu, 1988). In this study, it is analyzed in terms of modality and personal pronouns. The combination of these two features relate the sincerity of the speaker as regards what is being communicated.

4.4.1. Interpersonal Meaning: President Obasanjo and President Buhari

4.4.1.1. President Obasanjo

The four classifications of modality are realized in Obasanjo's speech albeit in varying degrees. Out of the 110 realizations, 59 (53.6%) show Probability; 30 (27.3%) show Obligation; 17 (15.5%) show Inclination (Desirability) while 4 (3.6%) show Usuality. **See Table 17 in**

Appendix 1

The most prominent modality type is Probability which expresses the degree to which a speaker affirms the likelihood of the stated process (Kosko and Herbst, 2012). Breaking the Probability modality type further, it is observed that the High (certain) category is predominantly realized with 93.2%. This implies that Obasanjo's speech consists of direct actions with high certainty to its feasibility. Examples of such statements include:

"Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels"

"Other regulations will be introduced to ensure transparency"

"There will be no sacred cows"

Furthermore, the Obligation (Appropriateness) modality category is highly realized in Obasanjo speech. The most realized in this category is the High (Directive) sub-category. This also implies that Obasanjo is very certain of the need to do most of the actions he is proposing. Examples of such realizations include:

“The public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays”

“I believe that this administration must deal with the following...”

“The issue of crime requires as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption”

Even in the realization of Inclination and Usuality Modality types, Obasanjo utilizes the High (Conviction) and High Inclination and Usuality divisions respectively. This implies that Obasanjo is not only sure of the need to implement the goals he is proposing but he also believes the rebranding of the country should be constant and thorough. The sentences below justify this claim:

“It is our firm resolve to restore Nigeria fully to her previous prestigious position...”

“I am also determined to build a broad consensus amongst all parties to enhance national harmony...”

“This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption...”

Analysis of Interpersonal meaning also reveals a dominant use of first-person personal and possessive pronouns in Obasanjo’s speech. **See Table 25 in Appendix 1** for the breakdown of his pronoun options.

It is not surprising that Obasanjo’s speech which is full of material process options has a lot of the first-person pronouns (personal and possessive). The pronouns are used to describe the ‘doers’ of the goals to be achieved during his tenure. In some instances, he identifies himself as the responsible performer while he identifies the whole populace as the performer in some other instances, especially things the government is incapable of fulfilling by itself. Obasanjo moves

between identifying himself as an important Actor in getting the ‘job’ done and relating to the public his expectation of their support all the way. In a specific instance, he says: “Alone, I can do little” which further materializes the confession that even though he holds the mandate of the people, he still relies on them for all the support he can get to achieve the stated goals. The use of personal pronouns by Obasanjo are exemplified in the sentences below:

“Together, we shall take steps to halt the decline in the human development indices as they apply to Nigeria”

“I shall immediately reintroduce “Civil Service Rules” and “Financial Instructions”...”

“I will need good men and women of proven integrity and record of good performance to help me in my cabinet”

“I intend to reconcile all those who feel alienated by past political events...”

Also notable in Obasanjo’s speech is the use of third person pronoun forms. He uses this form to refer to politicians who also have roles to play in the government. In addition, he uses the form to make reference to individuals and countries outside Nigeria who have either contributed to the success of his election or to the continual leadership position which Nigeria occupies in Africa. Examples of the usage of third person pronouns include:

“Politicians have a duty, in whatever capacity they may find themselves...”

“They must avoid damage to their own credibility and not vote for themselves special privileges”

“Our thanks go also to the friends of Nigeria in many lands for the commitment and unrelenting support they gave...”

“Nigerians living in foreign land... for making their voices heard persistently in defense...”

Notably low, however, is his use of the second person pronoun option. This is realized as 11% in the personal pronouns category and 5.3% in the possessive pronouns category. This implies that Obasanjo is more focused on the doers and actors of his proposed actions and policies and less particular about the receivers. Perhaps this is because it is assumed that Nigerians are all to benefit from whatever good is done for the country. This might speak a bit to

the sincerity of the administration since projects that are not tailored toward the populace might be non-beneficial in the long run. A counter-argument to this is that failure to direct each goal towards the populace might not be a flaw since there are several references to “Nigeria” and “Nigerians” within the speech. This, in a way, replaces a constant use of second person pronouns.

4.4.1.2. President Buhari

Similar to President Obasanjo, the four classifications of modality are realized in Buhari’s speech, also in varying degrees. Out of the 81 realizations, 30 (37%) show probability, 29 (35.8%) show Inclination/Desirability; 19 (23.5%) show Obligation while 3 (3.7%) show Usuality. **See Table 18 in Appendix 1** for breakdown.

Most utilized in Buhari’s speech is the Probability modality option with the High subcategory having 80% of the 30 realizations. This essentially means that Buhari attributed urgency to most of the goals he outlined and affirms the determination of the administration to achieve those goals. In other words, most of the proposed actions are proposed with great sense of certainty in the ability of the government to fulfil them. Some examples of High probability modality options are:

“We are going to tackle them head on”

“The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions...”

“...it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked”

“For now, the Armed Forces will be fully charged with prosecuting the fight...”

Contrastively, the Inclination and Obligation modality categories are worthy of being noted. This is because Buhari utilizes a high rate of Low and Median Inclination modal options. Also, he utilizes a high quantity of Obligation Inclination modal options. These options presume

that Buhari actually identifies some issues that do not seem like he is passionate about achieving. In some of the instances, he pushes the bulk of the actions to the people and puts himself in a position to easily shift blame should anything go wrong. On one of such occasions, he says: “I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians...”. Well, this does not necessarily mean he sees listening to grievances as something he must do. Rather, he portrays “grievances” as something that the populace should assume the responsibility of its expression. Another example is where he says: “The judicial system needs reform...” which does not in any way imply his assertion of his role in ensuring the reform. Other instances where President Buhari uses the Low Inclination or Median Obligation modality options include:

“I also wish to assure the wider international community...”

“...there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers...but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms...”

“My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into”

In President Buhari’s speech, there is an overwhelming use of first and third person pronouns. **See Table 26 in** Appendix 1 for breakdown.

In a similar manner to President Obasanjo, Buhari utilizes a lot of first person and third person pronouns in the personal and possessive pronouns category. First person pronouns are used to refer to the populace and himself as actors and participants in the Nigerian development project. Out of the 58 (100) realizations of first person personal pronouns, 34 (58.6%) are realized as plural while 24 (41.4%) are realized as singular. Likewise, in the possessive pronouns category; out of the 36 (100%) first pronouns, 28 (77.8%) are realized in the plural form while only 8 (22.2%) are realized in the singular form. The implication of this is that Buhari implies a joint effort in the fulfillment of most of his goals. This is not unexpected since the speech comprises a lot of relational process options. It is only logical that Buhari carries along the

populace in his justification of being sincere to alleviating their predicaments. He gives the populace a sense of involvement in his ‘transparent’ government. Examples of instances of the realizations of First person pronouns include the following:

“We will not allow this to go on”

“We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining...”

“Our situation somehow reminds one of a passage in Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar...”

“My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into”

“We have an opportunity. Let us take it”

The third person pronouns are used to refer to the Nigerian populace and also politicians and foreign leader who contributed to the success of his election or the progress of Nigeria. He also uses them to refer to corrupt officials and corruption itself with the Nigerian government.

Instances of third person pronoun usage include:

“Nigerians have shown their commitment to democracy and are determined to entrench its culture”

“...to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship...”

“...he has made it possible for us to show the world...”

“...if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and were counted”

It is notable that there are very few instances of second person persons either in the personal or possessive sense. Having a President refer to his people with third person pronouns does not seem a good sign that there is good rapport between the two parties. However, background knowledge of Buhari’s election reveals that he was a popular candidate and his election was almost landslide. This means there is rather another reason why Buhari has decided to utilize more third person than second person pronouns in addressing the populace. In any case, this could also be a strategy for him not to be confrontational by speaking directly to the people. He might have chosen to be rather indirect in subtly addressing the populace.

4.4.1.3. President Obasanjo versus President Buhari

In a similar form, both speeches utilize more first and third person pronouns and less second person pronouns. It is assumed that Obasanjo might have used less second person pronouns because of his frequent use of proper nouns while Buhari might have done the same to avoid being ‘confrontational’ with the populace. Whatever the reason might be, from an objective point of view, such imbalance reduces the perceived sincerity of the addresser in this case Obasanjo and Buhari respectively.

While Obasanjo utilizes mostly ‘High’ options in the four modality categories, Buhari utilizes more Low and Medium options in the Inclination and Obligation modality categories. This shows that Obasanjo is fully committed to his identified tasks and sure about achieving them. Buhari on the other hand leaves some margins of uncertainty in case things do not work out as planned. Again, from an objective point of view, the analysis presumes parallel assumptions about the two Presidents. One is that Obasanjo is sincere and determined to fulfil his promises while, on the other hand, Buhari is unsure of the feasibility of some of the promises and goals he has set.

Lastly, Obasanjo utilizes singular and plural First-person pronouns in a balanced form. Buhari however utilizes the plural form much more than the singular form. This likely shows that Obasanjo actively takes on responsibility of steering the affairs of the country and recognizes the fact that he also needs the support of the people to achieve success. Buhari on the other hand prefers to portray a notion of inclusiveness of the people in his administration. In any case, Obasanjo was elected to make things work and set goals into motion; Buhari was elected to reform the government and make governance transparent to the populace. These different tasks

might have inspired Obasanjo's decision to take charge of a lot of responsibilities, and Buhari's decision to share most of the burden of governance with the people.

4.4.2. Interpersonal Meaning: President Johnson Sirleaf and President Weah

4.4.2.1. President Johnson Sirleaf

The four classifications of modality are realized in Johnson Sirleaf's speech. Out of the 94 realizations, 42 (44.7%) show Probability; 26 (27.7%) show Inclination/Desirability; 15 (16%) show Obligation while 11 (14.3%) show Usuality. **See Table 19 in Appendix 1.**

The High probability option is quite high at 71.4% amidst the Probability modality options. This implies that Johnson Sirleaf expresses certainty in fulfilling the tasks that she had ahead of her. This, in a sense, shows her commitment to getting things done. The following sentences show her use of the High Probability option:

"...we will co-exist even if we consider our neighbor unfriendly..."

"...we will ensure broad geographic representation and participation..."

"...my administration will tackle this national scourge by updating and reinvigorating our HIV/AIDS policy..."

"Our administration will therefore embark on a process of rationalizing our agencies..."

Complementing her large usage of High Probability option is her overwhelming usage, also, of High Inclination, Obligation, and Usuality modality options. This further prove her commitment to the things she outlines in her speech, and in fact her readiness to get them done. She views her goals as important to the growth of Liberia, and that steps to make them happen should be embarked upon from that moment when she took the oath of office. The following sentences exemplify her use of High Inclination Obligation and Usuality modality options respectively:

"...we plan to collaborate closely with both the international and national NGOs..."

“But I make this pledge to you: Under my Administration, we will work to change...”

“We must redeploy some of our current public service employees to areas where they can perform successfully”

“...everyone appointed to high positions of public trust such as in the cabinet ...will be required to declare their assets...”

“Corruption erodes faith in government because of the mismanagement and misapplication of public resources”

“It stifles private investments which create jobs and assures support from our partners...”

President Johnson Sirleaf uses a lot of pronouns perhaps because of her long speech. The utilized pronouns in the speech total 606. This is broken down into Personal and Possessive categories **Table 27 in Appendix 1.**

One thing that is striking in the realization of pronouns in the speech of Johnson Sirleaf is her overwhelming use of first-person pronouns- 74.3% and 72.2% in the personal and possessive categories respectively. Even more striking is her use of the plural first-person pronouns (71.8%) much more than the singular counterpart (28.2%). As striking as this observation is, it is not surprising. In a communal culture as that of Liberia, considering the long years of war that preceded Johnson Sirleaf’s election, it is only appropriate that she gives the populace a sense of inclusion in her administration. She owes them that much. One for the fact that she is the first President being elected after about 15 years of war, and two for her election as the first female President in Africa. Because her feat was unprecedented, she required absolute cooperation of the populace. This is why she absolutely includes them as performers in her plans which is indisputably highlighted in her use of plural First-person pronouns. Such sentences that promote sense of inclusion of the people include:

“If we are to achieve our development and anti-corruption goals, we must welcome and embrace the Governance and Economic Management Program...”

“...we must take on forcibly and effectively the debilitating cancer of corruption”

“I assured my people that if elected, we would wage war against corruption...”

The emphasis on collective governance does not imply her non-acceptance of personal responsibility for actions. On some occasions, she takes full responsibility of the achievement of some goals:

“I therefore want to assure all of our people that neither I nor anyone serving in my Administration will pursue any vendetta”

“I am President for all of the people of this country”

“...I pledge to bring the government closer to the people”

President Sirleaf also uses Third person pronouns to refer to the populace, and individuals and governments outside Liberia who have contributed to the progress of Liberia thus far. However, what stands the speech out from the speeches of the two Nigerian Presidents is her observable utilization of Second-person pronoun forms. Johnson-Sirleaf intermittently personalizes her speech to the audience and addresses them directly. This shows alignment with plight and recognition of the suffering and predicaments of the people. Such direct communication is exemplified in the following sentences:

“Let me assure you that my presidency shall remain committed to serve all Liberians...”

“Through the message of this story, I want you to know that I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through each day to make ends meet for yourselves and for your families”

“But I make this pledge to you...”

“We express to you, our people, our deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the opportunity to serve you and our common Republic”

4.4.2.2. President Weah

Similar to the speech of President Johnson Sirleaf, the four classifications of modality are present in President Weah’s speech. Out of the 100 (100%) realizations, 52 (52%) show Probability; 20 (20%) show Inclination/Desirability; 20 (20%) show Obligation while 8 (8%) show Usuality. **See Table 20 in Appendix 1.**

The most realized modality option is the probability option, specifically High probability. This portrays certainty in terms of the projects and goals which Weah outlines to achieve. In other words, it gives an inclination into the seriousness of the incoming administration in achieving the objectives they have set forth before the populace. Such High probability sentences are exemplified below:

“But I cannot do it alone”

“...we can only reach a higher state of equality and freedom by treating each other...”

“It will be my task, my duty, and my honor, to lead this nation...”

“We will not permit Liberian owned businesses to be marginalized”

In an even distribution within the speech are the Inclination and Obligation modality options. Contrastively though, while majority of the Obligations options are High, most of the Inclination options are low. This might be interpreted as Weah being obliged to do a lot of things but being less convicted about doing them. To link this with the high use of Probability modality options, it might be presumed that Weah will certainly do a lot of things because he is obliged to them and not because he possesses the conviction and desire to. Some High Obligation clauses in the speech include:

“...the Liberian economy will require huge investments in agriculture, infrastructure...”

“Together, we owe our citizens clarity on fundamental issues such as the land beneath their feet...”

“...we must deliver the change that our people need...”

The following are some manifestations of Low Inclination modality within the speech:

“But this Inaugural Ceremony signals more than a peaceful transition from...”

“...where we intend to utilize the resources and expertise of the African Union...”

“I intend to construct the greatest machinery of pro-poor governance in the history of this country”

And mine is a further expectation that you will discover a new sense of fairness...”

President Weah utilizes a lot of pronouns, although not so much in terms of the quantity of his speech. In all, there are 271 realizations of pronouns in the speech. These pronouns are further broken down in **Table 28 in Appendix 1**.

President Weah's speech is mostly comprised of first-person and third-person pronoun realizations. Out of the 107 (100%) first-person personal pronouns, 58% are plural while 42% are singular. Furthermore, out of the 84 (100) possessive pronoun realizations, 39.3% are singular while 60.7% are plural. This confirms the fact that Weah style favored shared governance more than individualism and taking sole responsibility of all actions. In a lot of instances, Weah recognizes the role of the populace in nation building and invites them to join him in achieving his plans for the country. Little wonder he notes: "The sooner we all merge our energies toward cementing these new norms and values, the sooner we will transform our beloved country for the better". In any case, this seems to be the style predominant in Liberia and is evident in the speech of his predecessor. Even though Weah was not under any pressure to rally the people together as Johnson Sirleaf was after the war, he still sticks to the same 'trusted' method of trying as much as he can to include the people in responsibility bearing for the country. Other instances of the plural First-person pronouns usage include:

"We will over all prevail!"

"In union strong, success is sure. We cannot fail"

"United, we are certain to succeed as a nation. Divided, we are certain to fail"

The first-person singular pronoun forms are utilized, a lot of times, alongside the second-person pronoun forms. In such instances, Weah directly addresses the general populace or a specific category of people. He also utilizes this combination when he appreciates the people for the trust they have in him to have voted him into office. Again, this style is synonymous to that which was used by his predecessor. Familiarizing with the people and speaking directly to them

seem an effective style to affirm the confidence of Liberians. The sentences below exemplify this analysis:

“I will not let you down”

“...I want to admonish you, that the foundation of the New Liberia must be reinforced...”

“...I say to you that Liberia is open for business”

“I THANK YOU”

4.4.2.3. President Johnson Sirleaf versus President Weah

The speeches of Johnson Sirleaf and Weah are very similar in terms of interpersonal meaning. The realizations of modality options are 94 and 100 respectively. Similarly, both speeches have majority utilizations of first-person pronouns. In fact, they both have an overwhelming realization of plural first-person pronouns. This shows a constant trend in how governance is supposed to actively involve the populace. Furthermore, both speeches utilize second-person pronouns in addressing the people and specifying groups within the populace. It is a way of moving closer to the people and making them feel personally recognized and dignified.

However, Johnson Sirleaf’s speech utilized a lot of pronouns, 606 in all while Weah speech had only about 271 pronouns. This might not directly have bearing on the overall meaning of the two speeches, but it definitely symbolizes the proximity level of each of the Presidents to their populace. Johnson Sirleaf, as expected, definitely shows more compassion and alignment with the plight of the people. This is partly because she had once been imprisoned for advocating for justice and also sent on exile. She indeed understands what it means to be persecuted without doing anything wrong and can sincerely claim to be able to relate with the people.

Secondly, in contrast, Johnson Sirleaf's speech has a balanced use of High Inclination, Obligation, Usuality and Probability modality options, Weah however has a lot of High Obligation and Probability options in addition to Low and Medium Inclination and Usuality options. In simple terms, it can be assumed that President Johnson Sirleaf is sincere and desires to do all the things she outlines while President Weah is only committed to those things that he is obliged to do.

4.4.3. Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Meaning: Nigeria vs Liberia

A recurring fact across all the speeches is the high use of plural first-person pronouns. This is crucial because it attests to the communality of African cultures. The Presidents are concerned with ensuring that the people are involved in governance. Even though Obasanjo seems to do things differently in that he uses singular and plural first-person pronouns in an almost equal quantity; I argue that the high usage of plural first-person pronouns in his speech still reveal the tendency of African leaders to rely on, at least, portray their reliance on popular cooperation of the people to achieve success in governance.

Comparatively, while the speeches of Johnson Sirleaf and Weah have a fair representation of second-person pronouns whereby the Presidents speak directly to the people, Obasanjo and Buhari rather utilize third-person pronouns in referring to the people. This perhaps imply that the collectivist communality of Liberian culture is stronger than the Nigerian culture. It could also be a reflection of the fact that Nigeria has more cultures than Liberia, and it is thus difficult for Nigerian leaders to address a particular group without prompting problems from other groups. In addition, it could mean the Nigerian Presidents are more general-oriented as to a whole Nigeria and not concerned about individuals and specific communities like the Liberian

Presidents. Whatever the reason might be, an objective evaluation reveals that the Liberian speeches seem to be more oriented directly to the people than the Nigerian speeches.

A difference which is not general to either of the countries is the use of modality options. While Obasanjo and Johnson Sirleaf utilize all High modality options, Buhari and Weah both have more Low and Medium Inclination options. What this might mean is that Obasanjo and Johnson Sirleaf are really committed to their mandate and desire to get things done for the development of the country while Buhari and Weah are simply concerned about what they are obliged to do and have minimal strong desire in relation to commitments that are not obligatory. In simpler terms, Obasanjo and Johnson Sirleaf are willing to go above and beyond while Buhari and Weah are contented with only the 'required'.

4.4.4. Interpersonal Meaning: Prime Minister Cameron and Prime Minister May

4.4.4.1. Prime Minister Cameron

Prime Minister Cameron's speech has 25 realizations of modality options. Out of the 25 (100%) realizations, 9 (36%) show Inclination/Desirability; 7 (28%) show Usuality; 7 (28%) show Probability while 2 (8%) show Obligation. See **Table 21 in Appendix 1**.

The speech reveals a high use of High Probability modality options. This presumes certainty in terms of the accomplishment of the actions that Cameron proposes. Examples of realization of these realizations include:

"...and those who can't we will always help"

"A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges"

"Above all, it will be a government that is built on some clear values"

However, the realization of Low Inclination and Median Obligation modality options cast some doubt on the sincerity of the Prime Minister. Out of 9 (100%) realized Inclination options,

7 (88.9%) are Low. In addition, the 2 (100%) realizations of Obligation modality are Medium.

The quantity of these options presumes the tendency of the Prime Minister to feel less obliged to do the things he claims and thus low inclined to perform them. Instances of Low Inclination and Median Obligation realizations include:

“And I want to help try and build a more responsible society here in Britain”

“And a guide for that society- that those that can should...”

“Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences...”

The realization of pronouns is also low, but higher than that of modality options. In all, there are 63 realizations of pronouns in the speech. These pronouns are further broken down in **Table 29 of Appendix 1.**

A prompt observation in the realization of pronouns is the high use of first-person pronouns. There is however a balance between the singular and plural forms. This implies an administration which feels responsible for fulfilling a lot of its set goals, but also includes the populace as shared participants in this respect that is, the populace is also saddled with responsibilities. This is quite different from the case of most African countries where there is majorly a shared burden of participation. Example of first pronoun realizations include:

“I believe that is the best way to get the strong government that we need...”

“I want us to build an economy that rewards work”

“...real change is when everyone pulls together, comes together, works together, where we all exercise our responsibilities to ourselves, to our families, to our communities and to others”

Contrastively, the speech is relatively devoid of second person pronouns. The implication of this is that the Prime Minister does not directly address the populace or specify particular groups to speak to. This observation might be owing to the fact that Cameron does not feel any pressure to appease the people since there are no pressing issues in governance as it was the case

with a country like Liberia. In fact, he showers praise on his predecessor as having done a great job of governance. However, the observation might also be because the speech is so short, and he barely has space to outline his goals. In any case, the speech has majority relational options that is, it mostly describes and identifies issues. This limits the need to talk to groups within the populace or address the populace directly.

4.4.4.2. Prime Minister May

Similar to that of Cameron, May's speech has a low realization of modality options. Out of 28 (100%) realizations, 22 (78.6%) show Probability, 3 (10.7%) show Inclination/Desirability; 3 (10.7%) show Obligation, but none (0%) show Usuality while. **See Table 22 of Appendix 1.**

The most realized modality is the High Probability option. Out of the 22 (100%) realized Probability modality, 20 (90.9%) are High options. This presumes a high degree of certainty in terms of the sincerity of the Prime Minister in her goals being fulfilled. Examples of such High Probability realizations include:

"When we pass new laws, we'll listen not to the mighty but you"

"...we won't entrench the advantages of the fortunate few"

"We will do everything ... to help anybody"

Other modality options are realized so low, or unrealized which makes it difficult to make predictions as to the implication of such options on the overall intention or sincerity of the Prime Minister. If it is anything to predict by, the Obligation option is in the 3 (100%) instances of use realized as medium or low. This does not necessarily imply the Prime Minister feels not obliged to achieve goals she outlines since she uses this option only to describe the state of living of the people. On one occasion, she says:

"...and I know that sometimes life can be a struggle"

I argue that this does not necessarily have any link with her commitment to governance. However, since the speech is made up of more material than relational process options, one would expect to find more instances of High Inclination and Obligation modality options. An additional reason for this expectation is because May was elected majorly to steer Britain through the exit of the European Union. This is a set goal which she is obliged to achieve, and which she ought to show high inclination towards.

The realization of pronouns is expectedly low owing to the length of the speech; however, it is higher than that of Prime Minister Cameron- 82 to 63. As mentioned, there are 63 realizations of pronouns in the speech. These pronouns are further broken down in **Table 30 in Appendix 1.**

The realization of pronouns in May's speech is relatively different from that of Cameron. First-person pronouns are mostly realized, at 50%. What is particularly interesting is that plural first-person pronouns are realized more than singular counterparts. This shows a tradition common with the African speeches analyzed. In fact, May relies on her administration and the populace more as instrumental to the success of her goals than her personal self. This trend is observed consistently in the speech:

"It means we believe in the Union..."

"We are living through an important moment in our country's history"

"We face a time of great national change"

Also outstanding in May speech is her high use of second person pronouns. Realized at 44.4% in personal pronouns and 60% in possessive pronouns, May obviously places an importance on the feelings of the populace and desires to relate with them in a way as simple as possible. This can be related to the speech of President Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia. In a lot of

instances, May personally addresses the populace even, at a point, addressing different groups one after the other:

“If you’re black, you’re treated more harshly by the criminal justice system...”

“If you’re a woman, you will earn less than a man”

“If you’re young, you’ll find it harder than ever before to own your own home”

In the sentences above, May clearly shows that she understands the plight of each category of people and aligns with them on the need to provide a lasting solution to the issues plaguing them. Subsequently, she personally addresses the masses, placing them as more relevant than the “privileged few”:

“The government I will lead will be driven not by interests of the privileged few, but by yours”

“We will do everything we can to give you more control over your lives”

“...we’ll listen not to the mighty but to you”

“...we’ll prioritize not the wealthy, but you”

4.4.4.3. Prime Minister Cameron vs Prime Minister May

Both speeches are quite similar in terms of the quantity of realized modality and pronoun options. Similarly, they both have overwhelming realizations of High probability modality which presumes the certainty of most of the goals outlined in their speeches. Furthermore, both speeches have low realizations of Obligation, Inclination and Usuality options. Even in the few instances of realizations, they both have high realizations of Low Obligation and Inclination modality options; this casts doubt on their willingness to go ‘above and beyond’ to ensure that their election promises are fulfilled.

Realization of pronouns differentiates the speeches. In both cases though, there is a high realization of first-person pronouns. However, while Cameron realizes singular and plural first-person pronouns in a somewhat balanced quantity, May realizes Plural first person pronouns

overwhelmingly more than singular counterparts. This is complemented by the fact that while Cameron realizes a very low quantity of second-person pronouns, May realizes a very high quantity. By implication, May connects more personally with the populace and various aspects of her speech to different groups in the society. It can be inferred that May speech contains more emotional commitment than the speech of Cameron. A proposition is that gender might be a factor in this difference. This will be discussed later in the ‘Language and Gender’ section of this study.

4.4.5. Interpersonal Meaning: President Obama and President Trump

4.4.5.1. President Obama

President Obama’ speech has 67 realizations of modality options. Out of the 67 (100%) realizations, 41 (61.2%) show Probability; 16 (23.8%) show Obligation; 6 (9%) show Usuality while 4 (6%) show Inclination/Desirability. **See Table 23 in Appendix 1.**

The most realized modality option in President Obama’s speech is the Probability option, specifically the High Probability option. This gives an insight into the certainty Obama attaches to the goals he has set forward. He uses this option to show the populace his commitment towards ensuring that the actions toward advancing his agenda are enabled. Sentences that exemplify the above explained include:

“...that time has surely passed”

“And we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth”

“We will build the roads and bridges”

“All this we will do”

“Where the answer is no, programs will end”

Complementarily, the realization of High Obligation options is also high which presumes that Obama feels a lot obliged to get things done for the populace. In essence, there are basic

things that are mandatory for him or for the country as a whole to achieve. Using High Obligation options indicates a leader's great sense of awareness of things or duties expected of him. Sentence examples include:

"...and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace"

"...it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all"

"What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility"

Contrastively, the fact that the four realizations of Inclination modality are Low gives a clue to the willingness of the President to go beyond the call of duty. For example, he says "...we intend to move forward" which does not portray enough zeal as to actually move forward. However, when compared with the veracity of High Probability and High Obligation realizations in the speech, the realization of Low Inclination modality does not prove a credible avenue to explain the sincerity of the President. Pronouns are judiciously realized in President Obama's speech. There are 228 realizations of pronouns in the speech. **See Table 31 in Appendix 1** for breakdown.

Immediately noticeable is Obama's use of first-person plural pronouns. Out of 88 (100) realized first-person personal pronouns, 96.6% are plural while out of the 71 (100%) realized first-person possessive pronouns, 97.2% are plural. This without doubt indicates the reliance of President Obama on collective duty. It almost seems he is convinced he cannot be successful without the support of members of his administration and the populace. For this reason, he identifies with the people and promotes his agenda as a task everyone must engage in for success to be achieved. Examples of instances of collective identification include:

"This is the journey we continue today"

"All this we will do"

"We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories"

“And we are ready to lead once more”

“We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense”

However, Obama utilizes few second person pronouns which implies that he is more particular about promoting collective involvement that he does not directly address the people. This might be as a result of the vast divide in party alignment in the United States, and that Obama intends to stay neutral to be able to coordinate all into one. In place of the somewhat direct second-person pronouns, Obama rather utilizes third-person pronouns to refer to issues that plague the country and solutions being suggested rather than to the people. Instances of this reference include:

“...challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many”

“They will not be met easily or in a short span of time... They will be met”

“...is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works- whether it helps families...”

Rather than regard himself as separate and then directly address the people, Obama counts himself as part of the people and in turn addresses issues as if the success or failure of his plans is as consequential to him as it is to the people. It is presumed that the purpose of this style is to win the confidence of the generality of Americans in terms of his sincerity to run a transparent and all-inclusive government.

4.4.5.2. President Trump

President Trump's speech has a fairly higher quantity of modality options than President Obama's, 75 to 67. Out of the 75 (100%) realizations of Trump, 48 (64%) show Probability; 13 (17.3%) show Usuality; 8 (10.7%) show Inclination/Desirability while 6 (8%) show Obligation.

See Table 24 in Appendix 1.

Probability Modality option is the most realized in the speech. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that all the Probability options realized are High Probability modality options. This gives a high perception about the certainty of Trump on the actions he hopes to implement. Trump is known as a ‘tough’ talker, so it is in no way surprising that his speech will have a high quantity of Certainty modality options that show his assurance in terms of having his goals achieved. Instances of realization of High Probability options include:

“We will bring back our wealth”

“We will bring back our dreams”

“We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action...”

“No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America”

“America is totally unstoppable”

Trump seems very sure of what he is saying and totally convinced that all his campaign promises will be achieved. This is complemented by the realization of Obligation modality which is 100% between High and Median. Contrastively, the 62.5% realization of Low Inclination options out of the 8 (100%) instances of Inclination modality poses a question as to the desirability of the President to go the extra mile to have his goals fulfilled. It seems he is very convinced about those things he is obliged to do, but does not have a personal conviction to get involved in other things which might not be required but are advantageous to the development of the United States. On one occasion, he says: *“We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space...”*. For a ‘tough’ talker like Trump, one would expect such verb as ‘determined’ to show his inclination to ‘unlock the mysteries of space...’ would hold notwithstanding any challenges that might arise.

There is a high quantity of pronouns although not as much as that of President Obama's speech. There are 152 realizations of pronouns in the speech compared to Obama's 228. The breakdown of pronouns is outlined in **Appendix 1, Table 32**.

One particularly striking feature similar to the speech of President Obama is the high use of plural first-person pronouns. Out of the 54 (100%) first-person personal pronouns, 94.4% are plural. Also, out of the 46(100%) first-person possessive pronouns, 97.8% are plural. This seems to be a trend in the speeches of the two American Presidents. Trump seems to align himself with the people and share the burden of administration. This is very much expected since Trump ran for office on the promise of making 'Washington' more accessible to the people. In other words, Trump was identifying with the people to prove to them that the responsibility of making America great again is a joint one. Such statements justifying this analysis include:

"We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American"

"We will not fail"

"...whether we are black or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag"

"We Will Make America Strong Again"

"We Will Make America Great Again"

Trump utilizes second and third-person pronouns in moderate quantity also to refer to the people and relate with their plight. On few occasions, he directly speaks to the masses while on other occasions, he simply refers to everyone:

"This is your day. This is your celebration"

"...the United States of America, is your country"

"Everyone is listening to you now"

"...that a nation exists to serve its citizens"

"We are one nation- and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will be our success"

It seems Trump is able to maintain two personalities while delivering the speech; one was regarding himself as part of the people while the second was separating himself to directly address the concerns of the people in some other instances. Even though most who listened to the speech simply retained their previous bias in favor or against Trump, an objective analysis of his use of pronouns presumes he truly desires to associate with the people, especially the working class, as a man of the masses and the ‘savior’ they need.

4.4.5.3. President Obama versus President Trump

Asides the fact that President Obama uses more pronouns than President Trump, both speeches are very similar in the analysis of interpersonal meaning. In both speeches, High Probability modality option is the most realized which predicts the certainty of the Presidents in terms of what they are set to do towards fulfilling their campaign promises and election goals. Furthermore, both speeches have a high realization of High Obligation modality options which shows their commitment to things they are required to do as Presidents of the United States. However, both speeches reveal a high realization of Low or very few Inclination modality options which speaks to the fact that neither President might be willing to go beyond what is required of them in terms of achieving their goals.

President Obama uses more pronouns than President Trump. However, the distribution of the pronouns in percentages is very similar in the two speeches. Both speeches utilize overwhelming quantity of plural first-person pronouns. In addition, both speeches have fairly high use of third-person pronouns but low use of second-person pronouns. In summary, it seems similar interpersonal meaning can be analyzed from the two speeches.

4.4.6. Interpersonal Meaning: Cross-Cultural Comparison

The speeches are similar in some ways and different in others. Some of the differences cut across all countries and do not set a particular country apart from others. To start with, all the speeches have High Probability modality options which presumes the certainty of the leaders in being able to have their goals achieved. However, while the speeches of Obasanjo and Johnson Sirleaf have all modality realizations to be High; the speeches of Weah, Obama and Trump all have High Probability and Obligation options, but Low Inclination options. On the other hand, the speeches of Buhari, Cameron and May all have High Probability options but Low Inclination and Obligation options. What this connotes is that only Obasanjo and Johnson Sirleaf's speeches show an all-round determination and certainty in terms of ensuring their goals are achieved, at least, in terms of Interpersonal meaning (modality options). It seems the United States and Britain are consistent in their realization of Interpersonal meaning (modality options) in inaugural speeches while Nigeria and Liberia are rather Fluid.

In terms of the realization of pronouns, the Nigerian speeches have a dominant use of first- and third-person pronouns and less use of second-person pronouns. This implies that the two considered Nigerian leaders favor a general approach to communicating their ideas to the populace over a direct approach of sectionalizing and getting personal with the people. The Liberian speeches reflect an overwhelming desire for a collective governance. For this reason, there is greater realization of plural first-person pronouns in the two speeches. Liberians, unlike Nigerians, favor direct and personal conversations more which is reflected in the moderate realization of second-person pronouns in the two speeches. In other words, while the two countries portray a collectivist culture in terms of governance, the Liberians show more tendency to sympathize and solidarize with fellow citizens.

The use of pronouns in the speeches of the two British Prime Ministers does not take the same course. While Cameron uses more first-person singular pronouns, May uses more first-person plural pronouns. In fact, May also directly converses with the people with personal emotions while Cameron simply addresses the populace generally. In terms of the use of pronouns, Prime Minister May's speech seem to match the speeches of the Liberian Presidents rather than that of her predecessor- Cameron.

The speeches of Trump and Obama seem to match that of the Nigeria Presidents in terms of their use of pronouns. Trump and Obama utilize high first-person pronouns and moderate third-person pronouns; this is the case as well with the Nigerian Presidents. The quantity of realized second-person pronouns in Obama and Trump's speeches are low; so is the case with the Nigerian Presidents. It seems the two countries do not put so much value on personally and directly speaking to the populace; rather, they prefer, and stay true to, identifying with the populace and addressing everyone together as one. Surprisingly however, compared to realized first person singular pronouns, more first-person plural pronouns are realized in the speeches of the American Presidents than all other speeches. In other words, contrary to the erroneous belief that the United States is an individualistic culture, the Presidents manifest collectivist culture in speaking with the people in a way greater than African countries that are falsely assumed to be rooted in collectivist culture.

In summary the interpersonal meanings generated in the analyzed speeches are to an extent, but not totally, consistent along country lines. However, they are more defined by the personality and identity of the respective leader and the circumstance precluding their election and inauguration.

4.5. Language and Gender

4.5.1. Language and Gender: President Johnson Sirleaf vs President Weah (Liberia)

In terms of the structure of the two speeches, there is not much variation that could presume a difference in terms of the gender of the speakers. However, a closer look at the style of the speeches and topics of discourse gives an insight into features that might be because of the gender of the relative speakers. First, while Weah mostly refers to the people collectively as “Liberians” or “my fellow citizens” within his speech, Johnson Sirleaf goes the extra mile to distinguish men and women especially when referring to duties that are presumed to be traditionally for men. This is not a coincidence; Johnson Sirleaf, as a woman, understands the marginalization that exists for women and how women are not given due recognition even when they absolutely deserve it. Johnson Sirleaf thus uses her platform to foreground the role of women in the society as that which is equal to men:

“I thank and applaud our gallant men and women of the Armed Forces of Liberia who have rendered sacrificial service to our nation...”

“I also thank the leadership and gallant men and women on the United Nations Military Missions in Liberia...”

While appealing to Liberians abroad to come home, Johnson Sirleaf says:

“We are aware that we have hundreds of doctors, engineers, and economists, as well as thousands of teachers, nurses, professors, and other Liberians...” [emphasis added]

It is rare for leaders, especially in Africa to mention such profession as nursing which is usually seen as inferior to Medicine and predominantly seen as a job for females. However, Johnson Sirleaf lists it as part of the crucial professions where professionals are needed to rebuild the nation.

Furthermore, the two Presidents make series of allusions to the history of the country as well as factors responsible for the present state of Liberia. However, Johnson Sirleaf's speech is peculiar because she does not only make these allusions but also provides personal examples that are indeed emotional and enhance the imagination of her audience. On one occasion, she talks about her experience with children after the election:

"We will make the children smile again; the thousands of children who could not present their voting cards, but repeatedly told me whenever I met and shook their hands that they voted for me. Indeed, they voted with their hearts. To those children and to all other Liberian children across this nation, I say to you, I love you very, very much."

This sort of statement could only have come from the heart of a 'mother'. It is arguable that Johnson Sirleaf's gender and experience as a woman enables her to be able to use such personal examples to further raise the emotion of the people and their urge to be a part of her government.

In another instance, she says:

"...I want to speak directly to you. As you know, in our various communities and towns, our children have a way of greeting their fathers when they come home after a long, tiring day of trying to find the means to feed the family that night and send the children to school the next day. They say, "Papa na come"..."

"... well, too many times, for too many families, Papa comes home with nothing, having failed to find a job or to get the help to feed the hungry children. Imagine then the disappointment and the hurt in the mother and children; the frustration and the loss of self-confidence in the father"
[emphasis added]

This beautiful style of relating everyday issues at home to general societal problems is only available to Johnson Sirleaf because of her experience as a woman and mother. In fact, such soft heart she has for the home is one of the assumed qualities of a typical 'African woman'. She explains why she uses the touching story above in her speech:

"Through the message of this story, I want you to know that I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through each day to make ends meet for yourselves and for your families"

Compare the story above to how President Weah tries to link his personal experience to societal issues on one occasion:

“The Samuel Kanyan Doe Sports Complex, built by the Chinese, where this Inaugural Ceremony is being held, is where I gained my exposure to the football world. It does not only stand as a monument of Chinese friendship toward Liberians, but it also stands as a symbol of peace and reconciliation for the Liberian people”

Of course, Weah was formerly a professional football (soccer) player, so he uses the experience accessible to him to further emphasize his point. We do however see, by comparing the two speakers and stories they tell to make their case that their experiences play a great part. As a woman in an African context, Johnson Sirleaf is able to give examples related to the grassroots of every society which is the home.

More importantly, as one would expect, Johnson Sirleaf particularly addresses women in her speech. She addresses not only women in Liberia, but women in Africa and women in the world. Perhaps it could also be said that it is not surprising that of all the speeches, only the speech of Johnson Sirleaf and Theresa May specifically address problems females go through. It can be presumed that there is a gendered experience underlining this. In fact, Johnson Sirleaf dedicates a whole section- about three paragraphs of her speech to talk about the pain that women have endured and their resoluteness:

“And now I would like to talk to the women, the women of Liberia, the women of Africa – and the women of the world. Until few decades ago, Liberian women endured the injustice of being treated as second class citizens. During the years of civil war... They were conscripted into war, gang raped at will... Yet, it is the women, notably those who established themselves as the Mano River Women Network for Peace who labored and advocated for peace throughout the region”

As a woman herself, she had been subjected to some of these pains she identified for women, so she was more or less speaking from experience and as someone who truly understands the predicament of women in a male dominated society. Of her experience, she says:

“I know of this struggle because I have been a part of it. Without bitterness, anger, or vindictiveness, I recall the inhumanity of confinement, the terror of attempted rape, and the ostracism of exile”

She not only identifies issues facing women but proffers solutions:

“My Administration shall thus endeavor to give Liberian women prominence in all affairs of our country. My Administration shall empower Liberian women... enable women to assume their proper place in our economic revitalization process”

It is confounding the unprecedented importance that Johnson Sirleaf accords women and children. She addresses a lot of concerns within her speech, much more than Weah addresses, and concerns of children, women, and families are paramount on her list.

4.5.2. Language and Gender: Prime Minister May and Prime Minister Cameron

Both speeches are brief and talk precisely to the point without allusions and rhetoric like the other analyzed speeches. The first identifiable difference between the two speeches is the use of pronouns, particularly the second person pronoun. While Cameron had only 1 realization of second-person pronouns out of his 63 total realizations, May had 38 realizations out of her 82 total realizations. The pronouns in and of themselves do not portray much about gender difference; what portrays gender difference is the way in which they are used. Prime Minister May uses the second person pronouns to personally and directly address different groups within the society:

“If you’re black, you’re treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than if you’re white”

“If you’re a woman, you will earn less than a man. If you suffer from mental health problems, there’s not enough help to hand”

If you’re young, you find it harder than ever before to own your own home”

From the above sentences, we see a trend that was previously analyzed in Johnson Sirleaf speech which is a tendency to give a personal and generally relatable speech. May stands up for the ‘weak’ in the British society including, blacks, women, young people, and those with

disabilities. In a direct comparison with Johnson Sirleaf, May in fact addresses the basic unit of a society- family:

“...if you’re an ordinary working-class family, life is much harder than many people in Westminster realize. You have a job but you don’t always have job security. You have your own home, but worry about paying a mortgage. You can just about manage but you worry about the cost of living and getting your kids into a good school...”

“... If you’re one of those families, if you’re just managing, I want to address you directly”

In the same way as Johnson Sirleaf, May does not leave these issues hanging, she proffers solution to them:

“We will do everything we can to give you more control over your lives. When we take the big calls, we’ll think not of the powerful, but you... We will do everything we can to help anybody, whatever your background, to go as far as your talents will take you”

Despite the pressing demands of ideas on steering Britain out of the European Union, she still manages to fit such extensive detail into a one-page speech. The above could be compared to Cameron’s reference to the family in his speech:

“I want us to build an economy that rewards work. I want us to build a society with stronger families and stronger communities. And I want a political system that people can trust and look up to once again”

Both speeches seem to have similar ideas as to improving Britain. However, their modes of communication was greatly influenced by their experience in terms of gender within the society. May definitely does not have the same kind of ‘African woman’ experience Johnson Sirleaf has, so would not be expected to have so many stories about the family and pains of women in the Liberian society or in Africa. However, she uses the experience she has of the less privileged and families in Britain, and perhaps Europe, to create her own generally accessible story which greatly identifies her with the plight of the masses.

4.5.3. Language and Gender: Liberia versus United Kingdom

From the analyses above, it is observed there is a similar trend in the speeches of President Johnson Sirleaf and Prime Minister May. Even though their stories are conditioned by their personal experience and societal condition, they present issues in their speech in generally accessible ways which a ‘regular’ person can relate with. Even though Prime Minister May utilized far less space than President Johnson Sirleaf in presenting her speech, she still reserves a reasonable chunk of the whole speech to talk about personal and family issues. As stated earlier, only these two speeches specifically outlined issues being faced by women and solutions to them. Even though the two leaders do not originate from the same continent, the somewhat global generalizations, such as paying attention to details (Tannen, 2007), ascribed to women still reflects in their speech respectively.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1. Language Dynamism

Language dynamism implies the possibility of language to convey meaning based on the need of a speaker at each point in time. The present study further confirms this basic feature of language in the way that the analyzed speeches convey the intention of the respective leaders based on their sociopolitical reality.

In Nigeria, the two Presidents utilize language based on the cultural norms of the Nigerian society as well as the context preceding their election into office. President Olusegun Obasanjo was elected after years of military rule, so he was saddled with the responsibility to restore the constitution and get the nation running in terms of projects and policies. In fact, Obasanjo contested on the promise of making things better in Nigeria and fulfilling goals that would ease the suffering the populace endured in the hands of military Heads of State. Towards this purpose, Obasanjo utilizes more Material process options in relating his goals. This implies that his speech consists largely of concrete actions and steps to be taken to develop the country. Obasanjo also utilizes relational options in observing the cultural norms of Nigeria which generally involve respect, appreciation and collectivism. Furthermore, being an ex-military man, Obasanjo can fit the Nigerian cultural norms into his speech while still maintaining brevity and the quality of being straight to the point.

On the other hand, Buhari was elected after 16 years of straight democratic rule. The people had had good administrations that facilitated development and, recently, what they considered as passivity and corruption epidemic amongst government officials and politicians. Buhari being an ex-military head of state, and reputed for combating corruption and

disorderliness, was elected to sanitize the government. He ran on the promise to “CHANGE” the government, so the people were expecting transparency as his first project. Little wonder Buhari utilizes more relational than material or mental process options. He alludes to different stories in the history of Nigeria and delivers a strong message of unity, perseverance and government involvement to the people. While Obasanjo was brief and straight to the point in the delivery of his speech, Buhari was largely indirect and more concerned with rallying the people together and uniting the nation. In addition, Buhari observes the cultural norms of Nigeria by prioritizing thanksgiving, appreciation and collectivism in his speech. He makes several allusions to national history, and references to several heroes that the people respect across different ethnic groups. A point to be noted here is that Nigeria is a multi-cultural society, so it was important that Buhari uses examples and allusions that all, or majority, of the cultural groups can relate with. He also uses wise sayings and poems to explain his points on unity.

Although both leaders are ex-military men and former heads of states, the fact that they could employ different styles in communicating their messages to the people shows that language is indeed dynamic. Because they did not assume office within the same dispensation of time, each one had to utilize the linguistic tools at his disposal in relation to the context in which he was elected. Buhari would not have appealed to the people if he utilized Obasanjo’s style in his speech, and vice versa. The knowledge of the promises they made to the people, and the reason they enjoyed overwhelming support of the populace, especially the masses, kept them in check as to what to include in their speeches and how to deliver it. Also, very important is the fact that the speeches are simply composed, comprising largely of simple sentences and plenty circumstantial details. This is surely in a bid to ensure their message is communicated to the bulk of those who voted for them- the working class.

Liberia's Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and George Weah were largely similar in their delivery of linguistic features; however, they still varied in their style and delivery. Johnson Sirleaf was elected as the first female President in Liberia and Africa after 15 years of devastating war. A lot rested on her shoulder: she had to unite the nation, quickly harness the country's limited resources, improve the integrity of the nation in the global community to attract investors and aid, and shoulder the pressure of being a female President in a country and continent where females are largely treated as "second class citizens". Hence, her speech needed to include multiple things being expected by different group and people. For example, the women had to hear that she is ready to stand for them; politicians wanted to know she would carry them along in the government; African leaders wanted to know what her stand amongst other African countries would be; international leaders and investors wanted to know her plans for the international community; Liberians wanted to know if she related with their pain and was sincere in making a change. Johnson Sirleaf did not disappoint. She outstandingly relates all these afore listed issues and much more with a delivery that is very emotional and simple. Despite this emotional delivery, Johnson Sirleaf manages to utilize more Material than Relational process options in her speech which shows that she actually identifies a lot of concrete projects to achieve. She includes her experiences and personal stories in her speech to further communicate her sincerity and alignment with the plight of the people. Johnson Sirleaf's message is that of unity, rebuilding, restructuring, development, trade, and globalization all built into a cultural whole. She recognizes the norms of her people and makes huge references to the different groups and communities that exist in Nigeria.

George Weah was elected after two terms of outstanding work by Johnson Sirleaf on the promise of maintaining and consolidating her successes. There were still too many realized

relational process options despite the majority material process realizations. This is contrary to expectation that his speech would majorly be about projects and policies to be enacted and less on description and allusion to past events. Weah did not have as much pressure as Johnson Sirleaf but still related his views in a way that is culturally appropriate. Weah also utilized several circumstantial details to convey his messages and make it clearer to the populace. The disaster that was ravaging the country when Johnson Sirleaf was elected had been alleviated and all that Weah had to do was to keep the hope of the people high and encourage them to keep working with the government for an even more prosperous Liberia.

The delivery of both speeches varied based on what was expected of each of the leaders. Having in mind that their speech had to showcase respect for the culture and diversity of Liberia, they managed to do a good job in weaving all other issues they needed to communicate along that line. The flexibility of language allowed each one to customize their speech to improve their personality before the people while simultaneously improving their political credit. Underlying the speech of most leaders in countries where administration is in tenures is the desire to stand after the first tenure, worthy of being elected for a subsequent one.

Prime Minister David Cameron and Prime Minister Theresa May were quite brief in their speeches each occupying just about one page. Within this limited space, they are able to communicate their ideas and provide an insight into what their administration will focus on. David Cameron was under no pressure for a drastic change, so he simply outlined his plans while in office. The British culture is not as passionate about ‘storytelling’ as African societies, hence the possibility of the two leaders to deliver their speeches in such a brief fashion.

Theresa May was elected majorly to steer Britain out of the European Union. This was in fact the issue that led to the resignation of her predecessor- David Cameron as he did not

subscribe to the popular opinion of British voters that Britain should exit the EU. In a manner similar to Johnson Sirleaf, May thus has to prove her capability to deliver this mandate and at the same time relate personally with other plights of the people outside British Exit (Brexit). The analysis of May's speech shows her dexterity, indeed, in harnessing the different issues she intended to address towards delivery in a very personal and emotional way. She delivers specific statements to specific groups of people and reiterates her commitment to making the government work for everyone. She relates to the pain of the basic unit of the society- family and expresses a strong will to solve such problems.

Both speeches reflect the British monarchy system in that the Prime Ministers, at the beginning of their speeches, mention the queen as the one who requested them to be Prime Ministers. Despite the difference in their context of assuming office, and within the same quantity of space, the two Prime Ministers are able to tailor their speeches to discuss issues that are paramount to them, and also reflect the yearning and concerns of the people pertaining to their administration.

President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump have vastly different personalities and were elected in very different contexts in the United States. Obama was elected as the first African-American President of the United States at a time when the US was going through one of its worst economic conditions in history. This was coupled with wars that the US was involved in especially in the Middle East, and nuclear threats posed by countries such as Iran. More like Johnson Sirleaf, he was under pressure to not only prove that his race and color were not a barrier to being a good President, but also that he could steer the US out of recession and maintain peace in the world. Barack Obama's speech included all these concerns and many more. Despite the perception of the US as an individualistic society, Obama uses collectivism to

appeal to the people to unite towards developing the country. He uses historical allusions, metaphors and wise sayings also to further appeal to the emotions of the people. Obama's speech majorly comprised Material process options which shows that he outlines concrete actions and policies to be enacted, during his administration, toward the success of the country. At this time when the American electorate had come together to rewrite the records of history, it was left to Obama to build on the goodwill of the people and assure them of continual progress so far unity is constantly maintained. In any case, Obama is reputed to be a good orator in a way similar to African American heroes such as Martin Luther King Jnr. His content is captivating, and the style in which he delivers is one which cuts across all cultural, race, and skin boundaries to reach out to even the smallest of Americans towards uniting and rebuilding the country.

On the other hand, Donald Trump was elected based on his promise to "Make America Great Again". This entailed sanitizing 'Washington DC', reducing government bureaucracy, and improving the esteem of America around the world. He is reputed for his sincere 'human' remarks and his tough talks. Donald Trump speaks as things come to his mind, often times not censoring some talks which are not expected of a President. In addition, he had no experience in politics. While Trump retained his 'toughness' in his speech, he showed a more uniting aspect of himself much more than he did during his pre-election campaign. Trump's speech comprises mostly simple sentences with circumstantial details to make it more accessible to the majority of the people- working class who voted him into office. Trump's speech is devoid of extensive allusions and descriptions which characterize Obama's speech, and include more material options that relate his plans for Americans. As a way of appreciating his voters and 'base', Trump largely plays down his desires during his tenure and augments the wishes and desires of the people. Trump continually refers to the people as the reason he is in office, and that they

would be the reason for every decision he takes no matter how little. The idea in Trump's speech is to send a message of confidence to the people, and to make them rest assured that the United States President 'got their backs' at all times. Furthermore, the speech was intended to send a clear message to the global community that America would no longer be cheated in business deals or international relations. The United States would now have the interest of its citizens as priority over every other thing including the interest of the world. This of course is expressed in his speech through his expert selection of material and relational as well as circumstantial options.

Barack Obama and Donald Trump both utilize the predominant circumstance of their election in forming speeches that will affirm their commitment to fulfilling their campaign promises. In fact, both speeches are replete with information which the populace must have picked at a time or the other in their campaign rallies. The underlying fact however is that both Presidents choose different routes of delivery within the same physical and sociocultural but different socio-political context.

All analyzed speeches in this study show a common trend of simplicity and accessibility to the people. Perhaps it is a common trend that elected world leaders try to align with the challenges of their populace, at least at inauguration. Also common to all speeches is their organization. Even though the speeches have different content and style of delivery, each one has an organized style that logically communicates the message of the particular leader. Furthermore, the speeches can be classified along the lines of countries and cultures in terms of the content and composition of ideas. However, as examined, the structure and style of delivery are greatly dependent upon the individual leader and the predominant socio-political structure at their time of election. In other words, none of the speeches that are perfectly similar; although some vary

slightly, others vary on a greater scale. In any case, all the speeches varied based on the accepted norms, prevalent issues, speaker's personality as well as the socio-political context immediately preceding their inauguration.

5.2. Language Manipulation

The dynamic quality of language which allows speakers to be able to use language to convey different thoughts also enables them to convey different personalities. Politicians can therefore employ means most appealing to the people for the purpose of driving in their points. It also enables them to convey silent messages within their speech that are contrary to the proclaimed promises and ideas. In a lot of cases, politicians simply say what they think the people expect to hear and not what they genuinely think or hope to do. Examining the meanings of these speeches reveals some of the politicians as understanding the yearnings of the people and thus invoking personalized styles to appeal to them. Furthermore, it reveals politicians whose credibility in terms of their sincerity in achieving their promises is not ascertained.

Perhaps most widespread is the use of pronouns by the leaders in the analyzed speeches. They shuttle between the use of first-person singular and plural pronouns in identifying the issues in each country, respectively, also providing solutions to them. Besides the speech of David Cameron, all speeches have a majority realization of plural first-person pronouns over singular options albeit in varying degrees. It is interesting to see that even perceived Individualistic cultures such as the USA also employ plural first-person options to portray their government as inclusive and in need of the support of the populace. That being said, it is not so surprising that the leaders used a lot of plural first-person pronouns in their speeches as it is surprising the manner in which they use them. May and Johnson Sirleaf, for example, use the singular option when addressing specific groups of people directly; on the contrary, they use the plural option

when speaking about governance and the responsibility that have to be shared if progress is to happen. Obasanjo and Weah, in a way, utilize first-person plural options to mitigate the effect of taking responsibilities on themselves. In cases where there is a daunting task being identified, they simply switch to the use of plural pronouns which distributes the burden of accomplishment rather than place it entirely on them. Trump uses first-person plural pronouns as a sort of shield for backing up his ‘tough’ talks and policies which might trigger some uproar by some US citizens as well as international leaders. He identifies the populace as the reason for his proposed policies and actions but switches to first-person pronouns when talking about strong and harsh steps to take. It thus seems that the ‘glory’ of the success of any of his policies is designed to go to himself while the blame for the failure of any is designed to go to the populace who are the ‘reason’ why he is doing everything in the first place.

Johnson Sirleaf and Theresa May use a lot of second-person pronouns to relate with their populace and come down to the level of an ordinary person within the society with the aim of arousing their emotions, Obasanjo, Buhari, Cameron, Weah and Obama rather use more third-person pronouns which of course speak to the people but not in a way as emotional as Johnson Sirleaf and May. Perhaps the societal assumption that women should be emotional or ‘weak’ while men should be ‘strong’ plays a part in this. It is however interesting that each leader uses the linguistic tools they possess in a way that manipulates the populace into the various states of belief and emotions the leaders desired at different points in their speech.

President Obasanjo tactfully manipulates agency in communicating his message. He uses active sentences with realized actors, especially first-person singular pronoun- I, when appreciating God, the people, and appealing to their emotions on the need to get on board his development goals. However, when outlining the goals of the administration, he uses a lot of

passive sentences with unrealized subjects. This makes it difficult to ascribe responsibility to anyone in case the goals are not achieved. To an unsuspecting individual, Obasanjo is full of zeal and committed to solving all problems he has outlined; however, after analysis, it seems the sincerity of Obasanjo to achieve these goals is seriously questionable. After all, a project without an identified actor can easily be ignored since no one can be held accountable.

The style of President Weah can, in a way, be likened to that of President Obasanjo. Weah uses a lot of material process options but still has more than necessary relational process options. In fact, a lot of the material process options realized in Weah's speech perform the function of relational option such as describing or identifying. Weah makes a lot of allusion to his personal history and the history of Liberia and describes the condition of Liberia and the terrain ahead. However, the expectation was that Weah would make less descriptions and outline more concrete goals to consolidate the achievements of his predecessor- Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Using language of familiarity and encouragement can easily sway an average citizen in terms of the sincerity and commitment of Weah to outlined projects; however, looking through the lens of Discourse Analysis, there is a President who might be more concerned with ephemerals than with things that would actually have direct impact on the people.

The speeches of Johnson-Sirleaf and May confirm a part of Lakoff's affirmation that differences in women's and men's speech result from and support male dominance (Lakoff, 1973). This reflects in the way both dedicate portions of their speech to specifically talk about issues related to women empowerment. Theresa May and Johnson Sirleaf manipulate language using their experience as women and their closeness to the groups considered as 'weak' (e.g. children, women, disabled, etc.) to make their speeches easily relatable to the people. Johnson Sirleaf's speech was exceptionally detailed with her use of personal experiences and simple

family analogies to convey her messages. Like May, she focuses at points in her speech on different groups and speaks to them in a straightforward way. The style employed by the two leaders accords a lot of attention to their speeches especially by most of the audience who are working class. It is easy to subscribe to the ideas of the speech of a leader who recognizes the everyday problems faced by the people and personally addresses them with sincerity to alleviate such issues.

While some leaders such as Johnson Sirleaf and Obasanjo show a tendency to be committed to their speech in terms of Obligation, Inclination and Probability, others reveal little commitment in some of the modalities. For example, Prime Ministers Cameron and May's speeches show little realizations of High Inclination and Obligation modality options. This might be because of the length of the speech or to show that their determination to achieve their set goals or mandate is compromised. President Trump and President Obama show High Probability and Obligation modality options realizations as well as Low Inclination options realizations. This might be a pointer to the fact that both Presidents would be faithful to things that are required of them while being Presidents but might not be willing to go 'above and beyond' over things that are not mandatory for them to do.

Having said all these, it should be noted that it is unclear the involvement of the politicians in the drafting of the speeches. Some of the analyzed linguistic properties might reflect the expertise of their script writers rather than the manipulative skills of the respective leaders. This is especially true of President Trump whose rhetoric before and after the inauguration cast serious doubts on the tone and style of the inaugural speech. Overall, the speeches seem to mirror the style attributed to most of the leaders, so the identified manipulation of linguistic features can be said to reflect the language expertise of the leaders.

5.3. Discourse, Context and Meaning

Discourse is never devoid of meaning irrespective of the utilized linguistic items or features. In addition, there are various dimensions of meaning to discourse depending on the analyzed features. Linguistic items can reveal some meaning in a text, but such meaning is never complete until contextual clues are applied in its interpretation.

The context of the speeches considered in this study seem to provide a lot of useful background information to analyzing meaning in the text. For example, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and George Weah utilize the same style in terms of the realization of process options. Johnson Sirleaf uses a high quantity of relational options to describe the predicaments of the populace, and her proposed solutions to the issues plaguing the country. Similarly, Weah uses a high quantity of relational options to perform the same function. However, taking contextual clues into consideration presumes the style as being sincerely used by Johnson Sirleaf but quite questionably by Weah. This is because Liberia was just recuperating from 15 years of ravaging war when Johnson Sirleaf assumed office. She was saddled with the responsibility of re-grouping the people into one united force and encouraging them to have hope in the ‘new dawn’ which her administration brings. It is understandable that a lot of relational process options will aid her delivery of a speech that will cheer and gear up the people. Contrastively, Weah was elected when the people had begun to have respite from the plaguing issues of poverty and once again believed in their government to keep on working for them. He assumed office after 8 years of outstanding work by Johnson Sirleaf. This contextual clue would favor the use of overwhelming material process options and moderate relational process options by Weah to describe the issues in Liberia; he would be expected to outline more concrete actions. This is because the people were no longer in dire need of consolation, but rather in need of consolidatory actions to meet

their needs. Subsequently, the high use of relational process options by Weah, although mirrors that of the speech of Johnson Sirleaf, does not convey the same sincerity.

In another instance, the context of the election of Trump compared with that of Obama explains their different approaches in their speeches. This in fact can be compared with the speeches of Obasanjo and Buhari respectively. Obasanjo was elected at a time Nigeria was just recovering from military rule and was saddled with the responsibility of developing the country; also bringing it up to speed in terms of global infrastructures which the country had lacked during the military regimes. Buhari, on the other hand, was elected at a time when corruption was widespread in governance and the populace wanted a change in terms of transparency and accountability. Trump was elected to reduce the bureaucracy in US governance and “Make America Great Again” in terms of economy and standing around the world while Obama was elected to bring the country out of one of its worst economic situations; unite the division that was evident; end undue wars; and end global threats to the US. Thus, it is not surprising that Trump uses tough language and focuses on material options while Obama utilizes a high relational process options. The contexts of the speeches previously known aid the understanding of the reason for the use of respective ideational and interpersonal options by the leaders.

Across all the speeches, context proved to be very important. Even though the style and tone were largely reflections of the sociocultural norms of the society and the personality of the speaker, the content and structure of the speeches were largely owing to the context of their delivery. Hence, there are features that cut across all the speeches, while other features are peculiar to each speech based on its country or culture of delivery.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1. Conclusion

Most of the assumptions at the beginning of this study were confirmed. In terms of complexity of clauses, all speeches are mostly composed of simple sentences. Even those that had fair quantity of complex and compound sentences are very simple to understand and easy to break down. In addition, the realized sentences in the speeches are well complemented with circumstantial options. About the reflection of the ideology of change or continuity. The speeches of Presidents Sirleaf and Obasanjo, Buhari, Obama and Trump reflected an ideology of drastic change from the way things were done in previous administrations while the speeches of Prime Ministers Cameron and May, and President Weah reflected a lot of continuity with moderate change in the way things were done in the previous administration.

The assumption of the study in terms of the individualistic or collectivistic nature of the examined countries was negated. Current literature in fact supports this negation. According to Triandis (1995) and Gaines et al. (1997), collectivism and individualism are influenced by social context. In other words, individuals can be both highly individualist and highly collectivist. This implies that the content of a leader's speech as well as the context of delivery influences their speech rather than the perceived orientation of the wider culture. As to the content of the speeches; only the speeches of Presidents Obasanjo, Trump and Johnson Sirleaf focus rather unequivocally on the implementation of projects and policies. Other speeches, even though reflected projects and policies to be accomplished have a recognizably high use of relational process options. The assumption on the definiteness of language was confirmed. The language used in all the speeches are concise and easily relatable. Even though the leaders employed

different styles in communicating their ideas, they still pass their messages in a way that is free of undue adulations, additions, or complex interpretation.

In addition, the assumption that speeches will vary across gender line was not substantially proved. Even though Johnson-Sirleaf and May gave more attention to details concerning the family and women, the structure and content of all the speeches are generally the same. These shows that there are no inherent differences in the way men and women use language; however, their experiences may shape the details or examples they employ while communicating their message.

Lastly, the assumption on the evaluation of previous administrations was proved to be untrue. The speeches that expunged moderate need for change had positive statements of praise for their predecessors while those who explicated the strong need for change did not engage in negatively evaluating previous administrations. When negative evaluations were used, they were mainly to describe the actions or policies in place or state things which would be unacceptable to the administration of the speaker.

6.2. Limitations and Additional Implication for Future Studies

Analysis of political discourse requires the collection of a lot of data from different individuals to be able to generalize the pattern of discourse in a specific location or context. Although the data utilized in this study provides a lot of insight into the discourse practice of each leader and the discourse practice in their country, it is not sufficient to make generalizations about the style of the leader or the style of communication within their respective countries. One begins to wonder if the inaugural speeches are not deviations, for example, from the normal way of speech of the examined leaders. The inaugural speech of Trump, for example, is more

composed and organized than a regular speech which he would give by himself at any other occasion, especially informal ones. In cases where there is not much literature, there is need for analysis of more speeches of some of the leaders to confirm assumptions about their style as revealed in this study. Also, there might be a need for the analysis of more speeches by some other leaders of the examined countries to further affirm the common trends exemplified in this study.

Furthermore, intra-cultural analyses can be done on political discourse in each country to see if there is a minimal or vast difference in the way in which politicians use language, and if themes discussed on the national scale would still be relevant on the local scale such as ethnic groups within the country. In addition, more countries and continents can be brought into the discourse to discover more similarities and differences between cultures across continents.

Also, sense clues such as shape of the location where the speech is delivered, response of the audience in the delivery process, emphasis in voice and gesture by the leaders, etc. can add a lot of meaning to the delivery of the speech. For this reason, including an ethnographic study in future research would increase the accuracy of meaning that is derived from the discourse. Finally, investigations can be made as to the actual performance of the leaders during their tenures thereby indicating whether these inaugural speeches count in terms of what the leader subsequently does during their administration.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: TABLES AND CHARTS

Sentence Types

Table 1: President Obasanjo's Sentence Types

Simple	Complex	Compound	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Pass.	Total	+ve	-ve	Total
122	4	8	-	134	114	33	147	139	8	147
91%	3%	6%	-	100%	77.5%	22.5	100%	94.6	5.4	100%

Table 2: President Buhari's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Pass.	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
76	11	7	1	95	110	6	116	99	17	116
80%	11.5%	7.4%	1.1%	100%	94.8%	5.2%	100%	85.3%	12%	100%

Table 3: President Johnson-Sirleaf's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Pass.	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
224	21	13	-	258	285	10	295	285	10	295
87%	8%	5%	0%	100%	96.6%	3.4%	100%	96.6%	3.4%	100%

Table 4: President Weah's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Pass.	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
99	13	22	1	135	168	7	175	155	20	116
73.3%	9.6%	16.4%	0.7%	100%	96%	4%	100%	88.6%	11.4%	100%

Table 5: President Obama's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Pass.	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
98	1	13	1	113	118	13	131	118	13	131
86.7%	0.9%	11.5%	0.9%	100%	90.1%	9.9%	100%	90.1%	9.9%	100%

Table 6: President Trump's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Passive	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
55	11	18	6	90	124	18	142	125	17	142
61.1%	12.2%	20%	6.7%	100%	87.3%	12.7%	100%	88%	12%	100%

Table 7: Prime Minister Cameron's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Passive	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
20	2	8	1	31	45	-	45	42	3	45
64.5%	6.5%	25.8%	3.2%	100%	100%	0%	100%	93.3%	6.7%	100%

Table 8: Prime Minister May's Sentence Types

Simple	Cplx	Cmpd	Cpd-Cpx	Total	Active	Passive	Total	Pos.	Neg.	Total
21	-	9	4	34	53	2	55	50	7	57
61.8%	0%	26.5%	11.8%	100%	93%	7%	100%	87.7%	12.3%	100%

Circumstantial Options

Table 9: President Obasanjo's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NO</u>	3.5%
Distance	-	-
Duration	5	62.5%
Frequency	3	37.5%
Total	8	100%
LOCATION		30 %
Place	43	63.2%
Time	25	36.8%
Total	68	100%
MANNER		16.3%
Means	7	18.9%
Quality	20	54%
Comparison	6	16.2%
Degree	4	10.9%
Total	37	100%
CAUSE		26%
Reason	16	27.1%
Purpose	43	72.9%
Behalf	-	

Total	59	100%
CONTINGENCY		6.6%
Condition	2	13.3%
Default	8	53.3%
Concession	5	33.4%
Total	15	100%
EXTENDING		9.2%
Accompaniment	21	100%
ELABORATING		2.2%
Role	5	100%
PROJECTION		6.2%
Matter	14	100%
TOTAL	227	100%

Table 10: President Buhari's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NQ</u>	4.2%
Distance	-	-
Duration	5	100%
Frequency	-	-
Total	5	100%
LOCATION		32%
Place	22	57.9%
Time	16	42.1%
Total	38	100%
MANNER		21%
Means	11	44%
Quality	4	16%
Comparison	5	20%
Degree	5	20%
Total	25	100%
CAUSE		19.3%
Reason	8	34.8%

Purpose	13	56.5%
Behalf	2	8.7%
Total	23	100%
CONTINGENCY		9.2%
Condition	7	63.6%
Default	3	27.3%
Concession	1	9.1%
Total	11	100%
EXTENDING		1.7%
Accompaniment	11	100%
ELABORATING		5.9%
Role	7	100%
PROJECTION		6.7%
Matter	8	100%
TOTAL	119	100%

Table 11: President Johnson Sirleaf's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NO</u>	4%
Distance	4	26.7%
Duration	7	46.6%
Frequency	4	26.7%
Total	15	100%
LOCATION		30.4%
Place	62	54%
Time	53	46%
Total	115	100%
MANNER		19.6%
Means	19	25.7%
Quality	43	58.1%
Comparison	7	9.5%
Degree	5	6.7%
Total	74	100%
CAUSE		22%

Reason	39	47%
Purpose	44	53%
Behalf	-	-
Total	83	100%
CONTINGENCY		3.6%
Condition	6	42.9%
Default	7	50%
Concession	1	7.1%
Total	14	100%
EXTENDING		10.1%
Accompaniment	38	100%
ELABORATING		6.3%
Role	24	100%
PROJECTION		4%
Matter	15	100%
TOTAL	378	100%

Table 12: President Weah's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NQ</u>	7.2%
Distance	8	44.4%
Duration	8	44.4%
Frequency	2	11.2%
Total	18	100%
LOCATION		25.9%
Place	41	63.1%
Time	24	36.9%
Total	65	100%
MANNER		20.3%
Means	21	41.2%
Quality	21	41.2%
Comparison	4	7.8%
Degree	5	9.8%

Total	51	100%
CAUSE		21.9%
Reason	18	32.7%
Purpose	35	63.6%
Behalf	2	3.7
Total	55	100%
CONTINGENCY		5.2%
Condition	4	30.8%
Default	9	69.2%
Concession	-	-
Total	13	100%
EXTENDING		10%
Accompaniment	25	100%
ELABORATING		3.1%
Role	8	100%
PROJECTION		6.4%
Matter	16	100%
TOTAL	251	100%

Table 13: Prime Minister Cameron's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NQ</u>	0%
Distance	-	-
Duration	-	-
Frequency	-	-
Total	-	0%
LOCATION		26.3%
Place	8	80%
Time	2	20%
Total	10	100%
MANNER		18.4%
Means	1	14.3%
Quality	2	28.5%

Comparison	1	14.3%
Degree	3	42.9%
Total	7	100%
CAUSE		15.8%
Reason	3	50%
Purpose	2	33.3%
Behalf	1	16.7
Total	6	100%
CONTINGENCY		2.6%
Condition	-	-
Default	1	100%
Concession	-	-
Total	1	100%
EXTENDING		21.1%
Accompaniment	8	100%
ELABORATING		5.3%
Role	2	100%
PROJECTION		10.5%
Matter	4	100%
TOTAL	38	100%

Table 14: Prime Minister May's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NQ</u>	0%
Distance	-	-
Duration	-	-
Frequency	-	-
Total	-	0%
LOCATION		22%
Place	2	84.6%
Time	11	15.4%
Total	13	100%
MANNER		18.4%

Means	3	13.6%
Quality	1	4.6%
Comparison	6	27.3%
Degree	12	54.5%
Total	22	100%
CAUSE		10.2%
Reason	1	83.3%
Purpose	5	16.7%
Behalf	-	-
Total	6	100%
CONTINGENCY		22%
Condition	11	84.6%
Default	2	15.4%
Concession	-	-
Total	13	100%
EXTENDING		6.8%
Accompaniment	4	100%
ELABORATING		-
Role	-	100%
PROJECTION		1.7%
Matter	1	100%
TOTAL	59	100%

Table 15: President Obama's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NQ</u>	3.9%
Distance	1	16.7%
Duration	3	50%
Frequency	2	33.3%
Total	6	100%
LOCATION		35.7%
Place	27	49.1%
Time	28	50.9%

Total	55	100%
MANNER		20.1%
Means	6	19.4%
Quality	15	48.4%
Comparison	6	19.4%
Degree	4	12.8%
Total	31	100%
CAUSE		21.4%
Reason	11	33.3%
Purpose	20	60.6%
Behalf	2	6.1%
Total	33	100%
CONTINGENCY		2%
Condition	2	66.7%
Default	1	33.3%
Concession	-	-
Total	3	100%
EXTENDING		9.1%
Accompaniment	14	100%
ELABORATING		5.8%
Role	9	100%
PROJECTION		2%
Matter	3	100%
TOTAL	59	100%

Table 16: President Trump's Circumstantial Options

EXTENT	<u>NO</u>	9.1%
Distance	-	-
Duration	7	7
Frequency	-	-
Total	7	100%
LOCATION		58.4%

Place	32	71.1%
Time	13	28.9%
Total	45	100%
MANNER		23.4%
Means	4	22.2%
Quality	6	33.3%
Comparison	3	16.7%
Degree	5	27.8%
Total	18	100%
CAUSE		6.5%
Reason	1	20%
Purpose	1	20%
Behalf	3	60%
Total	5	100%
CONTINGENCY		1.3%
Condition	-	-
Default	-	-
Concession	1	100%
Total	1	100%
EXTENDING		-
Accompaniment	-	0%
ELABORATING		-
Role	-	0%
PROJECTION		1.3%
Matter	1	100%
TOTAL	77	100%

Modality Realizations

Table 17: President Obasanjo's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NO</u>	%
Inclination	High (conviction)	(14)	(82.4%)
(Desirability)	+	14	

	-	-	
	Median (attitude)		-
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(3)	(17.6%)
	+	3	
	-	-	
Total		17	100%
Modality Total		17	15.5%
Obligation	High (directive)	(25)	(83.3)
(Appropriateness)	+	23	
	-	2	
	Median (advice)	(5)	(16.7)
	+	4	
	-	1	
	Low (Permission)	-	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
Total		30	100%
Modality Total		30	27.3
Usuality	High	(4)	(100%)
	Median	-	
	Low	-	
	Zero	-	
Total		4	100%
Modality Total		4	3.6%
Probability	High (certain)	(55)	(93.2%)
	+	46	
	-	7	
	Median (probable)	(2)	(3.4%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (possible)	(2)	(3.4%)

	+	-	
	-	-	
Total		59	53.6%
Modality Total		59	100%
GRAND TOTAL		110	100%

Table 18: President Buhari's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NO</u>	%
Inclination (Desirability)	High (conviction)	(11)	(37.9%)
	+	11	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(7)	(24.1%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(11)	(38%)
	+	11	
	-	-	
	Total	29	100%
Modality Total		29	35.8%
Obligation (Appropriateness)	High (directive)	(11)	(57.9%)
	+	9	
	-	2	
	Median (advice)	(8)	(42.1%)
	+	5	
	-	3	
	Low (Permission)	-	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Total	19	100%
Modality Total		19	23.5
Usuality	High	3	(100%)
	Median	-	-

Total Modality Total	Low	-	-
	Zero	-	-
		3	100%
		3	3.7%
Probability	High (certain)	(24)	(80%)
	+	17	
	-	7	
	Median (probable)	(3)	(10%)
	+	2	
	-	1	
	Low (possible)	(3)	(10%)
	+	2	
	-	1	
	Total	30	100%
Modality Total		30	37%
GRAND TOTAL		81	100%

Table 19: President Johnson Sirleaf's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NO</u>	%
Inclination (Desirability)	High (conviction)	(11)	(42.3%)
	+	11	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(4)	(15.4%)
	+	3	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(11)	(42.3%)
	+	11	
	-	-	
	Total	26	100%
Modality Total		26	26%
Obligation (Appropriateness)	High (directive)	(14)	(93.3%)
	+	14	

	-	-	
	Median (advice)	(1)	(6.7%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Low (Permission)	-	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
Total		15	100%
Modality Total		15	16%
Usuality	High	(9)	(81.8%)
	Median	(2)	(18.2%)
	Low	-	-
	Zero	-	-
Total		11	100%
Modality Total		11	14.3%
Probability	High (certain)	(30)	(71.4%)
	+	21	
	-	9	
	Median (probable)	-	
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (possible)	(12)	(28.6%)
	+	12	
	-	-	
Total		42	100%
Modality Total		42	44.7%
GRAND TOTAL		94	100%

Table 20: President Weah's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NO</u>	%
Inclination	High (conviction)	(7)	(35%)
(Desirability)	+	7	

	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(2)	(10%)
	+	2	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(11)	(55%)
	+	11	100
	-	-	
Total		20	100%
Modality Total		20	20%
Obligation	High (directive)	(15)	(15%)
(Appropriateness)	+	13	
	-	2	
	Median (advice)	(5)	(25%)
	+	5	
	-	-	
	Low (Permission)	-	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
Total		20	100%
Modality Total		20	20%
Usuality	High	1	(12.5%)
	Median	3	(37.5%)
	Low	1	(12.5%)
	Zero	3	(37.5%)
Total		8	100%
Modality Total		8	8%
Probability	High (certain)	(44)	(84.6%)
	+	36	
	-	8	
	Median (probable)	(5)	(9.6%)
	+	1	
	-	4	
	Low (possible)	(3)	(5.8%)

	+	3	
	-	-	
Total		52	100%
Modality Total		52	52%
GRAND TOTAL		100	100%

Table 21: Prime Minister Cameron's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NQ</u>	%
Inclination (Desirability)	High (conviction)	(1)	(11.1%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(1)	(11.1%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(7)	(88.8%)
	+	7	
	-	-	
	Total	9	100%
Modality Total		9	36%
Obligation (Appropriateness)	High (directive)	(-)	-
	+		
	-		
	Median (advice)	(2)	(100%)
	+	2	
	-	-	
	Low (Permission)	(-)	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Total	2	100%
Modality Total		2	8%
Usuality	High	4	(57.1%)

Total Modality Total	Median	-	-
	Low	-	-
	Zero	3	42.9
		7	100%
		7	28%
Probability	High (certain)	(5)	(71.4%)
	+	4	
	-	1	
	Median (probable)	(1)	(14.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Low (possible)	(1)	(14.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
		7	100%
Total Modality Total		7	28%
GRAND TOTAL		125	100%

Table 22: Prime Minister May's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NQ</u>	%
Inclination (Desirability)	High (conviction)	(1)	(33.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(1)	(33.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(1)	(33.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
		3	100%
Total Modality Total		3	10.7%
Obligation	High (directive)	(-)	-

(Appropriateness)	+		
	-		
	Median (advice)	(1)	(33.3%)
	+	1	
	-	-	
	Low (Permission)	(2)	(66.7)
	+	2	
	-	-	
Total		3	100%
Modality Total		3	10.7%
Usuality	High	-	-
	Median	-	-
	Low	-	-
	Zero	-	-
Total		-	-
Modality Total		-	0%
Probability	High (certain)	(20)	(90.9%)
	+	18	
	-	2	
	Median (probable)	(-)	(-)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (possible)	(2)	(9.1%)
	+	2	
	-	-	
Total		22	100%
Modality Total		22	78.6%
GRAND TOTAL		125	100%

Table 23: President Obama's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NQ</u>	%
Inclination	High (conviction)	(-)	(11.1%)

(Desirability)	+	-	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(-)	(11.1%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(4)	(88.8%)
	+	4	
Total	-	-	
		4	100%
	Modality Total	4	36%
Obligation (Appropriateness)	High (directive)	(13)	-
	+		
	-		
	Median (advice)	(3)	(100%)
	+	3	
	-	-	
	Low (Permission)	(-)	-
Total	+	-	
	-	-	
		16	100%
Modality Total		16	8%
Usuality	High	1	(57.1%)
	Median	2	-
	Low	1	-
	Zero	2	42.9
		6	100%
	Total	6	100%
	Modality Total	6	28%
Probability	High (certain)	(28)	(71.4%)
	+	21	
	-	7	
	Median (probable)	(-)	(14.3%)
	+	-	
	-	-	

	Low (possible)	(13)	(14.3%)
	+	13	
	-	-	
Total		41	100%
Modality Total		41	28%
GRAND TOTAL		67	100%

Table 24: President Trump's Modality Realizations

MODALITY	DEGREE	<u>NO</u>	%
Inclination (Desirability)	High (conviction)	(3)	(11.1%)
	+	3	
	-	-	
	Median (attitude)	(-)	(11.1%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (undertaking)	(5)	(88.8%)
	+	4	
	-	1	
	Total	8	100%
Modality Total		8	36%
Obligation (Appropriateness)	High (directive)	(4)	-
	+	4	
	-	-	
	Median (advice)	(2)	(100%)
	+	1	
	-	1	
	Low (Permission)	(-)	-
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Total	6	100%
Modality Total		6	8%
Usuality	High	9	(57.1%)

Total Modality Total	Median	-	-
	Low	-	-
	Zero	4	42.9
		13	100%
		13	28%
Probability	High (certain)	(48)	(71.4%)
	+	43	
	-	45	
	Median (probable)	(-)	(14.3%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
	Low (possible)	(-)	(14.3%)
	+	-	
	-	-	
		48	100%
Total Modality Total		48	28%
GRAND TOTAL		75	100%

Pronoun Realizations

Table 25: President' Obasanjo's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(69)	(63.3%)
I(me)	34	49.3%
We (us)	35	50.7%
Second Person	(12)	(11%)
You (you)	12	100%
Third Person	(28)	(25.7%)
He (him)	-	-
She (her)	-	-
It (it)	18	64.3%
They (them)	10	35.7%

Total	109	66.1%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(30)	(53.6%)
My (mine)	8	26.7%
Our (ours)	22	73.3%
Second Person	(3)	(5.3%)
Your (yours)	3	100%
Third Person	(23)	(41.1%)
His (his)	3	13%
Her (hers)	1	4.4%
Its (its)	6	26.1%
Their (theirs)	13	56.5%
Total	56	33.9%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	165	100%

Table 26: President Buhari's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(58)	(69%)
I(me)	24	41.4%
We (us)	34	58.6%
Second Person	(2)	(2.4%)
You (you)	2	100%
Third Person	(24)	(28.6%)
He (him)	2	8.3
She (her)	2	8.3
It (it)	10	41.7%
They (them)	10	41.7%
Total	84	59.2%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(36)	(62.1%)

My (mine)	8	22.2%
Our (ours)	28	77.8%
Second Person	(1)	(1.7%)
Your (yours)	1	100%
Third Person	(21)	(36.2%)
His (his)	2	9.5%
Her (hers)	-	-
Its (its)	8	38.1%
Their (theirs)	11	52.4%
Total	58	40.8%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	142	100%

Table 27: President Johnson Sirleaf's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	NQ	%
First Person	(234)	(74.3%)
I(me)	66	28.2%
We (us)	168	71.8%
Second Person	(37)	(11.7%)
You (you)	37	100%
Third Person	(44)	(14%)
He (him)	2	-
She (her)	19	4.5
It (it)	23	43.2%
They (them)	10	52.3%
Total	315	52%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(210)	(72.2%)
My (mine)	39	18.6%
Our (ours)	171	81.4%
Second Person	(33)	(11.3%)
Your (yours)	33	100%

Third Person	(48)	(16.5%)
His (his)	19	39.6%
Her (hers)	3	6.2%
Its (its)	8	16.7%
Their (theirs)	18	37.5%
Total	291	48%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	606	100%

Table 28: President Weah's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(107)	(66.9%)
I(me)	45	42%
We (us)	62	58%
Second Person	(26)	(16.3%)
You (you)	26	100%
Third Person	(27)	(16.8%)
He (him)	1	3.7%
She (her)	12	7.4%
It (it)	20	74.1%
They (them)	4	14.8%
Total	160	66.9%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(84)	(75.7%)
My (mine)	33	39.3%
Our (ours)	51	60.7%
Second Person	(10)	(9%)
Your (yours)	10	100%
Third Person	(17)	(15.3%)
His (his)	-	-
Her (hers)	3	17.6
Its (its)	3	17.6

Their (theirs)	11	64.8%
Total	111	41%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	271	100%

Table 29: Prime Minister Cameron's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	NQ	%
First Person	(42)	(66.9%)
I(me)	25	42%
We (us)	17	58%
Second Person	(1)	(16.3%)
You (you)	1	100%
Third Person	(3)	(16.8%)
He (him)	-	3.7%
She (her)	-	7.4%
It (it)	3	74.1%
They (them)	-	14.8%
Total	46	66.9%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(13)	(75.7%)
My (mine)	3	39.3%
Our (ours)	10	60.7%
Second Person	(-)	(9%)
Your (yours)	-	100%
Third Person	(4)	(15.3%)
His (his)	1	-
Her (hers)	1	17.6
Its (its)	2	17.6
Their (theirs)	-	64.8%
Total	17	41%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	63	100%

Table 30: Prime Minister May's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(36)	(50%)
I(me)	12	33.3%
We (us)	24	66.7%
Second Person	(32)	(44.4%)
You (you)	32	100%
Third Person	(4)	(5.6%)
He (him)	-	-
She (her)	-	-
It (it)	4	100%
They (them)	-	-
Total	72	87.8%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(4)	(40%)
My (mine)	2	50%
Our (ours)	2	50%
Second Person	(6)	(60%)
Your (yours)	6	100%
Third Person	(-)	(-)
His (his)	-	-
Her (hers)	-	-
Its (its)	-	-
Their (theirs)	-	-
Total	10	12.2%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	82	100%

Table 31: President Obama's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(88)	(63.8%)
I(me)	3	3.4%
We (us)	85	96.6%

Second Person	(13)	(9.4%)
You (you)	13	100%
Third Person	(37)	(26.8%)
He (him)	1	2.7%
She (her)	-	-
It (it)	17	45.9%
They (them)	19	51.4%
Total	138	60.5%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(71)	(78.9%)
My (mine)	2	2.8%
Our (ours)	69	97.2%
Second Person	(2)	(2.2%)
Your (yours)	2	100%
Third Person	(17)	(18.9)
His (his)	1	5.8%
Her (hers)	-	-
Its (its)	8	47.1%
Their (theirs)	8	47.1%
Total	90	39.5%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	228	100%

Table 32: President Trump's Pronoun Realizations

PERSONAL PRONOUN	<u>NQ</u>	%
First Person	(54)	(66.7%)
I(me)	3	5.6%
We (us)	51	94.4%
Second Person	(12)	(14.8%)
You (you)	12	100%

Third Person	(15)	(18.5%)
He (him)	-	2.7%
She (her)	-	-
It (it)	10	66.7%
They (them)	5	33.3%
Total	81	53.3%
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
First Person	(46)	(64.8%)
My (mine)	1	2.2%
Our (ours)	45	97.8%
Second Person	(10)	(14.1%)
Your (yours)	10	100%
Third Person	(15)	(21.1)
His (his)	-	-
Her (hers)	-	-
Its (its)	3	20%
Their (theirs)	12	80%
Total	71	46.7%
PRONOUNS TOTAL	152	100%

CHARTS

Chart 1: President Obasanjo's Process Options

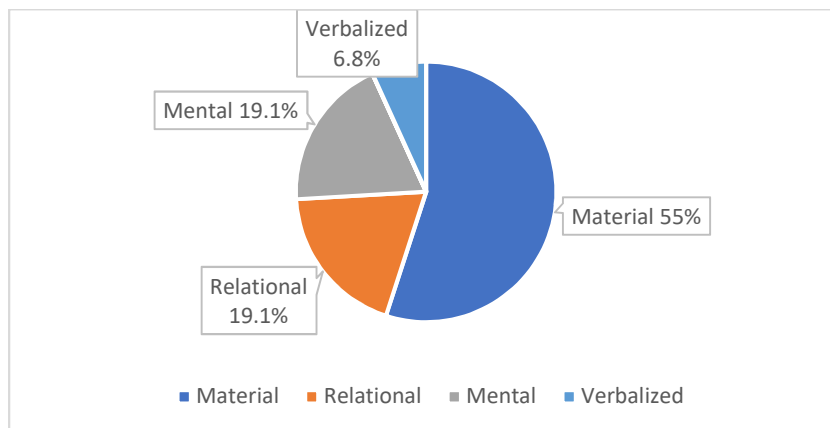


Chart 2: President Buhari's Process Options

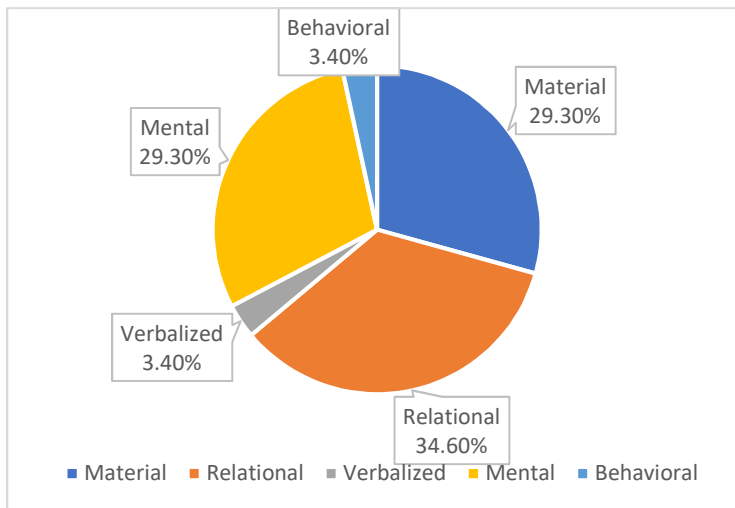


Chart 3: President Johnson-Sirleaf's Process Options

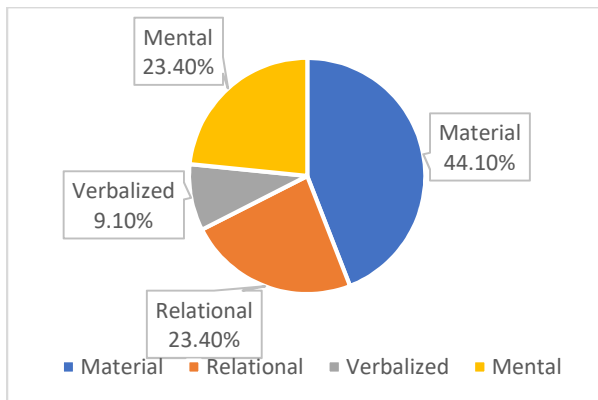


Chart 4: President Weah's Process Options

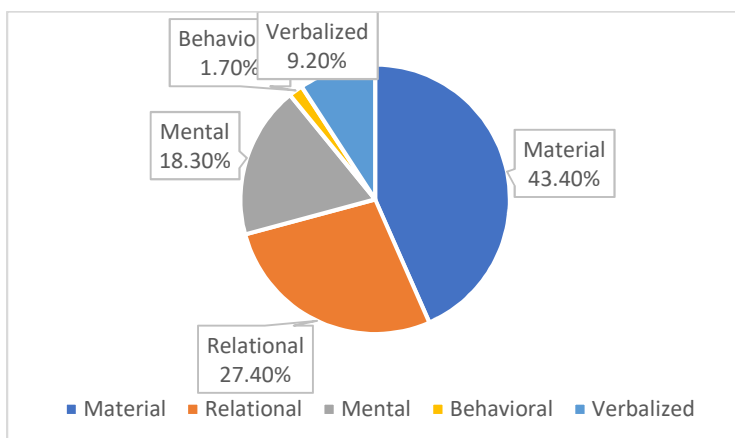


Chart 5: President Obama's Process Options

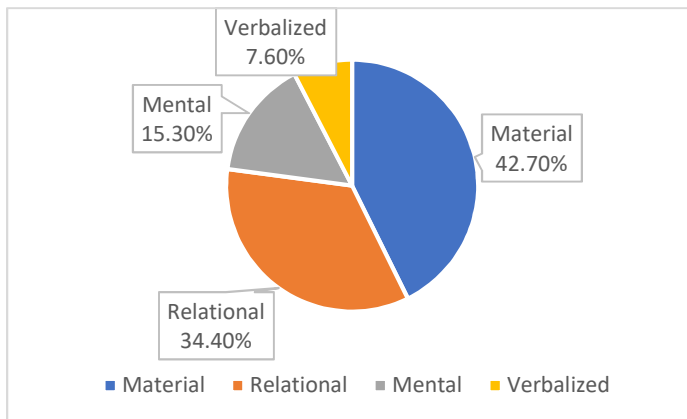


Chart 6: President Trump's Process Options

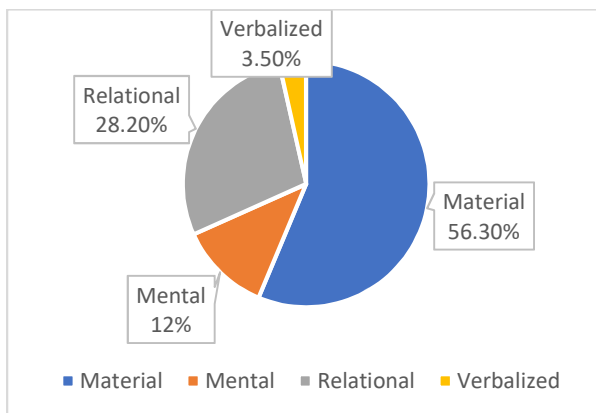


Chart 7: Prime Minister Cameron's Process Options

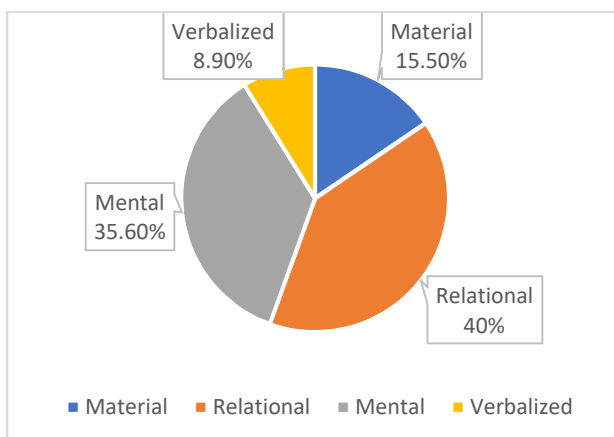
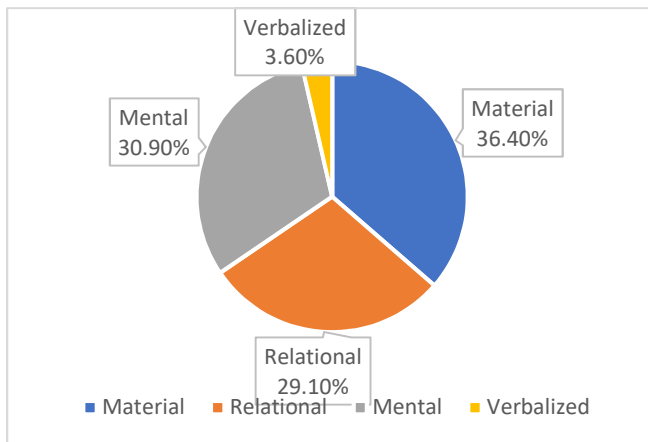


Chart 8: Prime Minister May Process Options



APPENDIX 2: SPEECHES

President Obasanjo's Inaugural address to the nation - May 29, 1999.

THE NEW DAWN

FELLOW Nigerians, we give praise and honour to God Almighty for this day specially appointed by God Himself. Everything created by God has its destiny and it is the destiny of all of us to see this day. Twelve months ago, no one could have predicted the series of stunning events that made it possible for democratic elections to be held at the Local Government level, the State level, and culminating in the National Assembly Elections. Thereafter, you the good people of Nigeria elected me, a man who had walked through the valley of the shadow of death, as your President, to head a democratic civilian administration. I believe that this is what God Almighty has ordained

for me and for my beloved country Nigeria and its people. I accept this destiny in all humility and with the full belief that with the backing of our people we shall not fail. I wish, at this point, to thank all you good Nigerians for the confidence reposed in me. I wish to pay tribute to the great and gallant Nigerians who lost their lives in the cause of the struggle for liberty, democracy and good governance. They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny. We thank God that their sacrifice has not been in vain. We will always remember them. Our thanks go also to the friends of Nigeria in many lands for the commitment and unrelenting support they gave throughout the dark, ominous days of the struggle. Nigerians living in foreign lands deserve special tribute for not forgetting their fatherland and for making their voices heard persistently in defence of freedom. And I must commend you my homebased fellow Nigerians for the way you bore unprecedented hardship, deprivation of every conceivable rights and privileges that were once taken for granted. I commend General Abdulsalami Abubakar and members of the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) for the leadership they gave the country in the last eleven months and for keeping meticulously to their announced timetable of handing over to a democratically elected government today. As officers and gentlemen, they have kept their word. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) also deserves the thanks of all of us. In the face of doubt and skepticism and great time constraints, the Chairman and his commissioners conducted elections right from Local Government level to the Presidential level. They acquitted themselves creditably and they deserve our gratitude.

Nigeria is wonderfully endowed by the Almighty with human and other resources. It does no credit either to us or the entire black race if we fail in managing our resources for quick improvement in the quality of life of our people. Instead of progress and development, which we are entitled to expect from those who governed us, we experienced in the last decade and a half, a particularly in the last regime but one, persistent deterioration in the quality of our governance, leading to instability and the weakening of all public institutions. Good men were shunned and kept away from government while those who should be kept away were drawn near. Relations between men and women who had been friends for many decades, and between communities that had lived together in peace for many generations became very bitter because of the actions or inaction of government. The citizens developed distrust in government, and because promises made for the improvement of the conditions of the people were not kept all statements by government met with cynicism. Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the

people and the public good. Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless. Members of the public had to bribe their way through in ministries and parastatals to get attention and one government agency had to bribe another government agency to obtain the release of their statutory allocation of funds.

The impact of official corruption is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a very bad image at home and abroad. Besides, it has distorted and retrogressed development. Our infrastructures - NEPA, NITEL, Roads, Railways, Education, Housing and other Social Services were allowed to decay and collapse. Our country has thus been through one of its darkest periods. All these have brought the nation to a situation of chaos and near despair. This is the challenge before us. Fellow Nigerians, let us rise as one, to face the tasks ahead and turn this daunting scene into opportunities in a New Dawn. Let us make this the beginning of a genuine Renaissance. Fellow Nigerians, the entire Nigerian scene is very bleak indeed. So bleak people ask me where do we begin? I know what great things you expect of me at this New Dawn. As I have said many times in my extensive travels in the country, I am not a miracle worker. It will be foolish to underrate the task ahead. Alone, I can do little.

You have been asked many times in the past to make sacrifices and to be patient. I am also going to ask you to make sacrifices, and to exercise patience. The difference will be that in the past sacrifices were made and patience exercised with little or no results. This time, however, the results of your sacrifice and patience will be clear and manifest for all to see. With God as our guide, and with 120 million Nigerians working with me, with commitment, sustained effort, and determination, we shall not fail. On my part, I will give the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest and transparent leadership that the situation demands. I am determined with your full cooperation, to make significant changes within a year of my administration. Together we shall take steps to halt the decline in the human development indices as they apply to Nigeria. All the impacts of bad governance on our people that are immediately removable will be removed, while working for medium and long term solutions.

Corruption:

Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels. Corruption is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities. But it must not be condoned. This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption, so that society would survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way. No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. One of the greatest tragedies of military rule in recent times, is that corruption was allowed to grow unchallenged, and unchecked, even when it was glaring for everybody to see. The rules and regulations for doing official business were deliberately ignored, set aside or by-passed to facilitate corrupt practices. The beneficiaries of corruption in all forms will fight back with all the foul means at their disposal. We shall be firm with them. There will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where, will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil. Under the administration, therefore, all the rules and regulations designed to help honesty and transparency in dealings with government will be restored and enforced. Specifically, I shall immediately reintroduce "Civil Service Rules", and "Financial Instructions" and enforce compliance. Other regulations will be introduced to ensure transparency. The rampant corruption in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every level of the bureaucracy will be stamped out. The

public officer must be encouraged to believe once again that integrity pays. His self-respect must be restored and his work must be fairly rewarded through better pay and benefits, both while in service and in retirement.

Restoration of Confidence in Government

I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. Where official pronouncements are repeatedly made and not matched by action, government forfeits the confidence of the people and their trust. One of the immediate acts of this administration will be to implement quickly and decisively, measures that would restore confidence in governance. These measures will help to create the auspicious atmosphere necessary for the reforms and the difficult decisions and the hard work required to put the country back on the path of development and growth. The issue of crime requires as much attention and seriousness as the issue of corruption. Although the Police are in the forefront of fighting crimes and ensuring our security, it is our responsibility to help the police to be able to help us. The police will be made to do their job. All Nigerian citizens and residents in our midst are entitled to the protection of life and property. A determined effort will be made to cut down significantly the incidence of violent crime.

Priority Issues

I believe that this administration must deal with the following issues even in these difficult times of near economic collapse:

- (I) The crisis in the Oil Producing Areas
- (ii) Food Supply, Food Security and Agriculture
- (iii) Law and order with particular reference to Armed Robbery, and to Cultism in our educational institutions
- (iv) Exploration and Production of Petroleum
- (v) Education
- (vi) Macro-economic policies - particularly, Exchange rate management, etc.
- (vii) Supply and Distribution of Petroleum Products
- (viii) The Debt Issue
- (ix) Corruption, Drugs, organised fraud called 419 activities, and crimes leading to loss of lives, properties and investment.
- (x) Infrastructure - Water Supply, Energy, Telecommunication, Ports, Airways, National Shipping, Nigerian Railways, etc.
- (xi) Resuscitation of the Manufacturing Industries
- (xii) Job creation, and creation of conducive environment for investment
- (xiii) Poverty alleviation÷
- (xiv) Housing - both
 - * Civilian Housing Programmes; and
 - * Barrack Refurbishment and New Construction for the Armed Forces and the Police
- (xv) ECOM OG
- (xvi) Health Services
- (xvii) Political and Constitutional Dialogue
- (xviii) Women and Youth Development

In pursuit of these priorities, I have worked out, measures which must be implemented within the first six months. Details of the focus and measures of this administration on these and other matters, will be announced from time to time. I shall quickly ascertain the true state of our

finances and the economy and shall let the nation know. In the light of resources available, I shall concentrate on those issues that can bring urgent beneficial relief to our people .

Cabinet

I will need good men and women of proven integrity and record of good performance to help me in my cabinet. I appreciate that the quality and calibre of the members of my cabinet and top appointments will send a positive or negative signal to Nigerians and the international community as to the seriousness of the administration to make salutary changes. In our difficult and abnormal situation, great care and circumspection are called for in appointments to the cabinet and high public positions. To be appointed a minister or to any other public office is not a licence to loot public funds. It is a call to national service. It is one of the best ways of rendering dedicated service to humanity. In this administration, being a minister or holding any other public office will not deprive you of what you have before you come into office but you will not be allowed to have conflict of interest, abuse of office or illicit acquisition. Service to the satisfying must entail sacrifice. Regular weekly meetings of Cabinet will be reinforced to enrich the quality of decisions of government through open discussions of memoranda in Council. Before any issues are introduced to the cabinet, the time-tested procedure of inter-ministerial consultations would have been made. The conclusions of Council, circulated to all ministers and permanent secretaries will, as used to be the practice in the past, be the authority for executive action and for incurring expenditure of public funds. This will help the cohesion of government, ensure discipline, and hinder corrupt intentions, since all major contracts must go to Council for open consideration. A code of conduct for ministers and other public offices will be introduced. Other measures for individual and collective self-control and self-discipline of ministers and other public officers will be introduced.

Public Reconciliation

I am determined to stretch my hand of fellowship to all Nigerians regardless of their political affiliations. I intend to reconcile all those who feel alienated by past political events and I will endeavour to heal divisions, and to restore the harmony we used to know in this country.

Crisis in the Niger Delta

A bill will be forwarded within weeks of the inception of the administration to the National Assembly, for a law providing for 13% derivation in Revenue Allocation to be used for ecological, rehabilitation, infrastructural and other developments. A competent group will be set up immediately to prepare a comprehensive Development Plan for the Niger-Delta Area. Dialogue will be held at all levels with the great representatives of all sections of the oil producing communities to improve communication and better mutual understanding. The responsibility and initiative for resolving the crisis rests with the Government.

ECOMOG

Nigeria has over the years played a very active role in ECOMOG for the restoration of peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Our national interest requires the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the West African sub-region. Specifically in the case of Sierra-Leone, we shall endeavour to ensure a quick resolution of the crisis by dialogue and diplomatic means by increasing activity on the second track of peace and reconciliation. This will enable us reduce our commitments in both theatres but particularly in Sierra-Leone.

External Relations

Nigeria, once a well-respected country and a key role player in international bodies, became a pariah nation. We shall pursue a dynamic foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all nations and will continue to play a constructive role in the United Nations and the Organisation

of African Unity, and other international bodies. We shall continue to honour existing agreements between Nigeria and other countries. It is our firm resolve to restore Nigeria fully to her previous prestigious position in the comity of nations. Let me, once again, thank our international friends who fought for democracy alongside with us. Today, we are taking a decisive step on the path of democracy. We will leave no stone unturned to ensure sustenance of democracy because it is good for us. It is good for Africa, and it is good for the world. We call on the world, particularly the Western World to help us sustain democracy by sharing with us the burden or debt which may be crushing and destructive to democracy in our land.

The Nigeria Armed Forces

The incursion of the military into government has been a disaster for our country and for the military over the last thirty years. The esprit-de-corps amongst military personnel has been destroyed; professionalism has been lost. Youths go into the military not to pursue a noble career but with the sole intention of taking part in coups and to be appointed as military administrators of states and chairmen of task forces. As a retired officer, my heart bleeds to see the degradation in the proficiency of the military. A great deal of reorientation has to be undertaken and a re-definition of roles, re-training and reeducation will have to be done to ensure that the military submits to civil authority and regains its pride, professionalism and traditions.

We shall restore military cooperation and exchanges with our traditional friends. And we will help the military to help itself. Harmony with the three arms of Government It is my resolve to work harmoniously with the legislature and the judiciary to ensure that Nigerians enjoy good and civilized governance. I am also determined to build a broad consensus amongst all parties to enhance national harmony and stability and thus ensure success in the long struggle ahead.

Politicians have a duty, in whatever capacity they may find themselves, whether as legislators or ministers, to be committed, and be seen to be committed to the public good. Politicians must carefully examine the budget to ensure that public funds are judiciously spent. They must avoid damage to their own credibility and not vote for themselves special privileges. They must join in the campaign against corruption and help re-establish integrity in the conduct of public affairs. I assure you all that it is the policy of this government to ensure fair remuneration in service and in retirement to public servants, which includes legislators, civil servants, the police and members of the armed forces, parastatals and public-owned educational institutions. I call on all Nigerians but particularly on our religious leaders to pray for moral and spiritual revival and regeneration in our nation.

Conclusion

I shall end this address by stressing again that we must change our ways of governance and of doing business on this eve of the coming millennium. This we must do to ensure progress, justice, harmony and unity and above all, to rekindle confidence amongst our people. Confidence that their conditions will rapidly improve and that Nigeria will be great and will become a major world player in the near future.

May the Almighty help us.

President Buhari's Inaugural Speech

Inaugural speech by His Excellency, President Muhammadu Buhari following his swearing-in as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015

I am immensely grateful to God Who Has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion. Today marks a triumph for Nigeria and an occasion to celebrate her freedom and cherish her democracy. Nigerians have shown their commitment to democracy and are determined to entrench its culture. Our journey has not been easy but thanks to the determination of our people and strong support from friends abroad we have today a truly democratically elected government in place.

I would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are. With the support and cooperation he has given to the transition process, he has made it possible for us to show the world that despite the perceived tension in the land we can be a united people capable of doing what is right for our nation. Together we co-operated to surprise the world that had come to expect only the worst from Nigeria. I hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the outgoing President will become the standard of political conduct in the country.

I would like to thank the millions of our supporters who believed in us even when the cause seemed hopeless. I salute their resolve in waiting long hours in rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and were counted. I thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media. At the same time, I thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive.

I thank all of you.

Having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all Nigerians.

I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody.

A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to office I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores. The past is prologue. Our neighbours in the Sub-region and our African brethren should rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play any leadership role that Africa expects of it. Here I would like to thank the governments and people of Cameroon, Chad and Niger for committing their armed forces to fight Boko Haram in Nigeria.

I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help to combat threats of cross-border terrorism, sea piracy, refugees and boat people, financial crime, cyber crime, climate change, the spread of communicable diseases and other challenges of the 21st century.

At home we face enormous challenges. Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. We can fix our problems.

In recent times Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr Herbert Macauley, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sarkin Mambour of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Malam Aminu Kano, Chief J.S. Tarka, Mr Eyo Ita, Chief Denis Osadeby, Chief Ladoke Akintola and their colleagues worked to establish certain standards of governance. They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house.

Furthermore, we as Nigerians must remind ourselves that we are heirs to great civilizations: Shehu Othman Dan Fodio's caliphate, the Kanem Borno Empire, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire and King Jaja's formidable domain. The blood of those great ancestors flows in our veins. What is now required is to build on these legacies, to modernize and uplift Nigeria.

Daunting as the task may be it is by no means insurmountable. There is now a national consensus that our chosen route to national development is democracy. To achieve our objectives we must consciously work the democratic system. The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government. The law enforcing authorities will be charged to operate within the Constitution. We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system. For their part the legislative arm must keep to their brief of making laws, carrying out oversight functions and doing so expeditiously. The judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past. The country now expects the judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on corruption, serious financial crimes or abuse of office. It is only when the three arms act constitutionally that government will be enabled to serve the country optimally and avoid the confusion all too often bedeviling governance today.

Elsewhere relations between Abuja and the States have to be clarified if we are to serve the country better. Constitutionally there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the states and local governments. Not least the operations of the Local Government Joint Account. While the Federal Government cannot interfere in the details of its operations it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked. As far as the constitution allows me I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country. For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch.

However, no matter how well organized the governments of the federation are they can not succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions, organized private sector, the press and civil society organizations. I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite

in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increased prosperity. The Nigerian press is the most vibrant in Africa. My appeal to the media today – and this includes the social media – is to exercise its considerable powers with responsibility and patriotism.

My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into. With depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; Boko Haram, the Niger Delta situation, the power shortages and unemployment especially among young people. For the longer term we have to improve the standards of our education. We have to look at the whole field of medicare. We have to upgrade our dilapidated physical infrastructure.

The most immediate is Boko Haram's insurgency. Progress has been made in recent weeks by our security forces but victory can not be achieved by basing the Command and Control Centre in Abuja. The command centre will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued. But we can not claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents. This government will do all it can to rescue them alive. Boko Haram is a typical example of small fires causing large fires. An eccentric and unorthodox preacher with a tiny following was given posthumous fame and following by his extra judicial murder at the hands of the police. Since then through official bungling, negligence, complacency or collusion Boko Haram became a terrifying force taking tens of thousands of lives and capturing several towns and villages covering swathes of Nigerian sovereign territory. Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who are as far away from Islam as one can think of. At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government intends to commission a sociological study to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connections to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil. For now, the Armed Forces will be fully charged with prosecuting the fight against Boko Haram. We shall overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violations in operations. We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the Armed Forces. Boko Haram is not only the security issue bedeviling our country. The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmers clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land. We are going to erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined people – friendly and well – compensated security forces within an over – all security architecture.

The amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is due to end in December, but the Government intends to invest heavily in the projects, and programmes in place. I call on the leadership and people in these areas to cooperate with the State and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programmes which will be streamlined and made more effective. As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians. I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people. No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation. It is a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000MW, and distributes even less. Continuous tinkering with the structures of power supply and distribution and close on \$20b expanded since 1999 have only brought darkness, frustration, misery, and resignation among

Nigerians. We will not allow this to go on. Careful studies are under way during this transition to identify the quickest, safest and most cost-effective way to bring light and relief to Nigerians. Unemployment, notably youth un-employment features strongly in our Party's Manifesto. We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size businesses to kick – start these enterprises. We shall quickly examine the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure.

Your Excellencies, My fellow Nigerians I cannot recall when Nigeria enjoyed so much goodwill abroad as now. The messages I received from East and West, from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectations on us. At home the newly elected government is basking in a reservoir of goodwill and high expectations. Nigeria therefore has a window of opportunity to fulfill our long – standing potential of pulling ourselves together and realizing our mission as a great nation.

Our situation somehow reminds one of a passage in Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar
There is a tide in the affairs of men which,
taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life,
Is bound in shallows and miseries.
We have an opportunity. Let us take it.
Thank you

Muhammadu Buhari
President, Federal Republic of NIGERIA
and
Commander in-chief-of the Armed forces

President Johnson-Sirleaf's Inaugural Speech

Inaugural Address Of H.E. ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF January 16, 2006

Excellencies, Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentleman

Let us first praise Almighty God, the Arbiter of all affairs of humankind whose omnipotent Hand guides and steers our nation.

Before I begin this address, which signifies the high-noon of this historic occasion, I ask that we bow our heads for a moment of silent prayer in memory of the thousands of our compatriots who have died as a result of years of conflict.

Thank you!

I also ask your indulgence as I reflect on the memory of my two rural illiterate grandmothers and my mother and father who taught me to be what I am today, and the families who took them in and gave them the opportunity of a better life.

Let us also remember in prayers during his affliction, His Grace Archbishop Michael K. Francis, the conscience of our nation.

Vice President Joseph N. Boakai and I have just participated in the time-honored constitutional ritual of oath-taking as we embark on our responsibilities to lead this Republic. This ritual is symbolically and politically significant and substantive. It reflects the enduring character of a democratic tradition of the peaceful and orderly transfer of political power and authority. It also affirms the culmination of a commitment to our nation's collective search for a purposeful and responsive national leadership. We applaud the resilience of our people who, weighed down and dehumanized by poverty and rendered immobile by the shackles of fourteen years of civil war, courageously went to the polls, not once but twice, to vote and to elect Vice President Joseph Boakai and me to serve them. We express to you, our people, our deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the opportunity to serve you and our common Republic.

We pledge to live up to your expectations of creating a government that is attentive and responsive to your needs, your concerns, and the development and progress of our country. We know that your vote was a vote for change; a vote for peace, security and stability; a vote for individual and national prosperity; a vote for healing and leadership. We have heard you loudly, and we humbly accept your vote of confidence and your mandate. This occasion, held under the beautiful Liberian sunshine, marks a celebration of change – and a dedication to our agenda for a socio-economic and political reordering; indeed, a national renewal.

Today, we wholeheartedly embrace this change. We recognize that this change is not just for the sake of change, but a fundamental break with the past, thereby requiring that we take bold and decisive steps to address the problems that for decades have stunted our progress, undermined national unity, and kept old and new cleavages in ferment. As we embrace this new commitment to change, it is befitting that for the first time in our country's 158-year history, the inauguration is being held on the Capitol Grounds, one of the three seats of Government. We pledge anew our

commitment to transparency, open government, and participatory democracy for all of our citizens.

Yet, we are humbled and awed by the enormity of the challenges that lie ahead – to heal our nation's wounds, redefine and strengthen its purpose, make democracy a living and effective experiment, promote economic growth, create jobs, revitalize our health and educational facilities and services, and quicken the pace of social progress and individual prosperity in this country.

My Fellow Liberians:

Today, as I speak to you, I wish to state that I am most gratified by the caliber of the delegations of Foreign Governments and our international and local partners who have come to join us to celebrate this triumph of democracy in our country. I am particularly touched by the presence of the African Union Women Parliamentarians and others of my sisters, who are participating here with us today in solidarity.

I wish to pay special recognition to several African Presidents who are here today. His Excellency Mamadou Tandja, President of the Republic of Niger; His Excellency Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; His Excellency John Kufuor, President of the Republic of Ghana; His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa; His Excellency Tejan Kabbah, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; His Excellency Blaise Compaore, President of the Republic of Burkina Faso; His Excellency Amadou Toumani Toure, President of the Republic of Mali, and His Excellency Faure Gnassingbe, President of the Republic of Togo. All of you, especially the Leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have spent invaluable time, energy, and the resources of your respective countries to help guide and support the process of restoring peace, security, and stability to Liberia.

To General Abdu Salam Abubakar and his Team, we thank you. We adore and respect you for your persistence and commitment in the successful implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement which gives closure to 14 years of civil conflict with my taking the Oath of Office today.

My dear Brothers and Sisters of West Africa:

You have died for us; you have given refuge to thousands of our citizens; you have denied yourselves by utilizing your scarce resources to assist us; you have agonized for us, and you have prayed for us. We thank you, and may God bless you for your support to Liberia as well as for your continuing commitment to promote peace, security, stability, and bilateral cooperation within our. We thank you, and may God bless you for your support to Liberia as well as for your continuing commitment to promote peace, security, stability, and bilateral cooperation within our sub-region – and beyond. Permit me to take special note of the presence of Her Excellency Mrs. Laura Bush, wife of the President of the United States of America, Her Excellency Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State of the United States, and other members of the American delegation.

Mrs. Bush and I share a common passion and commitment to gender equity and the education of the girl child. I salute her for her work in Africa and in the Persian Gulf Region. I also thank her and Secretary of State Rice for their presence – and support. For us, this manifests a renewal and strengthening of the long standing historic special relations which bind our two countries and

peoples. It also reflects a new partnership with the United States based on shared values. We are confident that we can continue to count on the assistance of the United States and on our other development partners in the urgent task of rebuilding of our nation.

We, note with satisfaction, the presence of Ms. Louise Frechette, the Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations; His Excellency Cellou Diallo, Prime Minister of the sisterly Republic of Guinea; His Excellency Li Zhaoxing, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China; His Excellency Hans Dahlgren, Special Representative of the European Union to the Mano River Union; His Excellency Louis Michel, Commissioner of the European Union for Development and Humanitarian Aid; His Excellency Alan Doss, Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations in Liberia; His Excellency Dr. Ali Abdu Salam Tiki, Special Representative of the President of Libya and Minister of for the African Union; and all other distinguished delegates to this inaugural ceremony.

In acknowledging your presence, permit me to express through you to your respective Governments our deep appreciation for your moral and financial support and contribution that have enhanced the process of restoring peace, security, and stability to Liberia. I wish to acknowledge the stewardship of the National Transitional Government under the leadership of its former Chairman, Mr. Gyude Bryant, for their contribution to peace and to the successful electoral process. I also recognize and thank the former National Transitional Legislative Assembly for their service to the nation. And I welcome the members of the 52nd Legislature who were sworn in a few moments ago, and are here resolved in Joint Assembly. Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, I congratulate you as you assume your individual responsibilities of representing our people. I look forward to working with each of you as we strive to build a better nation.

I thank and applaud our gallant men and women of the Armed Forces of Liberia who have rendered sacrificial service to our nation and are now being willingly retired to facilitate the training and restructuring of the new Armed Forces of Liberia. I also thank the leadership and gallant men and women of the United Nations Military Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) who daily labor with us to keep the peace that we enjoy.

Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

No one who has lived in or visited this country in the past fifteen years will deny the physical destruction and the moral decadence that the civil war has left in its wake here in Monrovia and in other cities, towns, and villages across the nation. We have all suffered. The individual sense of deprivation is immense. It is therefore understandable that our people will have high expectations and will demand aggressive solutions to the socioeconomic and societal difficulties that we face. Our record and experience show clearly that we are a strong and resilient people, able to survive; able to rise from the ashes of civil strife and to start anew; able to forge a new beginning, forgiving if not forgetting the past. We are a good and friendly people, braced for hope even as we wipe away the tears of past suffering and despair. Our challenge, therefore, is to transform adversity into opportunity, to renew the promises upon which our nation was founded: freedom, equality, unity and individual progress.

In the history of nations, each generation is summoned to define its nation's purpose and character. Now, it is our time to state clearly and unequivocally who we are, as Liberians, – and where we plan to take this country in the next six years.

Political Renewal

First, let me declare in our pursuit of political renewal, that the political campaign is over. It is time for us, regardless of our political affiliations and persuasions, to come together to heal and rebuild our nation. For my part, as President of the Republic of Liberia, my Government extends a hand of friendship and solidarity to the leadership and members of all political parties which participated in our recent presidential and legislative elections. I call upon those who have been long in the struggle – those who recently earned their stripes – to play important roles in the rebuilding of our nation.

Committed to advance the spirit of inclusion, I assure all Liberians and our international partners and friends that our Government will recognize and support a strong democratic and loyal opposition in Liberia. This is important because we believe that our democratic culture and our nation are best served when the opposition is strong and actively engaged in the process of nation building.

Moreover, we call upon our colleagues of all political persuasions now in the Diaspora to return home and join us in meeting this exciting challenge of national renewal. We are aware that we have hundreds of doctors, engineers, and economists, as well as thousands of teachers, nurses, professors, and other Liberians who possess specialized skills currently living abroad. I re-echo my appeal to all of you to please come home!!

Please make the sacrifice, for your country needs you and needs you now!!!

We make a similar appeal to the thousands of our citizens who continue to live in refugee camps throughout the sub-region and beyond. We recognize and sympathize with your plight and will explore with our development partners ways and means to facilitate your early return home as a national imperative for our renewal and development.

To those who are still internally displaced, we pledge to work with our partners to get you back to your communities to enable you to start the process of rebuilding your lives. We must have a new understanding. Your job, as citizens, is to work for your family and your country. Your country's only job is to work for you. This is the compact that I offer you today.

A New Era of Democracy

My Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Ours has certainly not been an easy journey to where we are today. Indeed, the road has been tortuous and checkered. From the establishment of our National Politics 158 years ago through the period of integration which helped to shape our society several decades ago, to the long running political fight for the forging and fostering of a viable and cohesive society in the decades that followed, the struggle of many has centered on five core values: peace, liberty, equality, opportunity, and justice for all.

The tendencies of intolerance of each other's opinion rooted in parochial and selfish considerations - and greed - have driven us into our descent into recent tragedies and paralysis as a nation and people. These negative national tendencies have, in the past, bred ethnic suspicion and hatred, led to injustice, social and political exclusion. They have also weakened our capacity to peacefully co-exist as a people with diverse sociocultural, economic, and political

backgrounds and differences. Consequently, we have witnessed needless generalized conflicts that have profoundly affected the Liberian family, the foundation of our society.

And in the process of resolving the numerous contradictions that have underpinned this struggle, a high price has been paid by many Liberians of diverse backgrounds and social status. I know of this struggle because I have been a part of it. Without bitterness, anger, or vindictiveness, I recall the inhumanity of confinement, the terror of attempted rape, and the ostracism of exile. I also recall the goodness and the kindness of the many who defied orders and instruction to save my life, and give food to the hungry and to give water to the thirsty. I recall their humanity – and thank them.

And so, my Fellow Liberians let us acknowledge and honor the sacrifices and contributions of all as we put the past behind us. Let us rejoice that our recent democratic exercise has been a redemptive act of faith and an expression of renewed confidence in ourselves. Let us be proud that we were able to ultimately rise above our intense political and other differences in a renewed determination as a people to foster dialogue instead of violence, promote unity rather than disharmony, and engender hope rather than disillusionment and despair.

Today, I urge all of us to commit ourselves to a new era of democracy in Liberia. In our new democracy, we will tolerate even if we disagree; we will co-exist even if we consider our neighbor unfriendly – and we will find common ground on the many vexing issues that face our nation. This is because our shared national values are more important than our individual interests. We must therefore abandon the temptation and inclination to court and engage in violence. Our recent history teaches us that violence diminishes our nation and ourselves, not just within our borders, but more importantly in our dealings with other nations and peoples.

My Administration therefore commits itself to the creation of a democracy in which the constitutional and civil liberties and rights of all our people will be advanced – and safeguarded. While ensuring the security of our nation and people, we will work tirelessly to ensure that the writ of democracy is expanded, not constricted in our land.

Economic Renewal

In a similar quest for economic renewal, we start on the premise that we are a wealthy people. Our nation is blessed with an endowment rich in natural and human resources. Yet, our economy has collapsed due to the several civil conflicts and economic mismanagement by successive governments. The task of reconstructing our devastated economy is awesome, for which there will be no quick fix.

Yet, we have the potential to promote a healthy economy in which Liberians and international investors can prosper. We can create an investment climate that gives confidence to Liberian and foreign investors. We can promote those activities that add value in the exploitation of our natural resources. We can recognize and give support to our small farmers and our marketers who, through their own efforts over the years, have provided buoyancy and self-sufficiency in economic activity, even during the difficult years of conflict. We can revisit our land tenure system to promote more ownership and free holding for communities. We can expand ongoing programs of economic and social infrastructure rehabilitation.

This will call for the translation of our economic vision into economic goals that are consistent with our national endowment and regional and global dynamics. Included in this process is a

formulation of the policy framework and identification of the sequential measures of structural change that need to be taken to achieve the overarching goals of sustainable growth and development. We will ensure that allocation of our own resources reflects these priorities. We will call upon our development partners to likewise recognize that although they have made significant investment to bring peace to our country; this peace can only be consolidated and sustained if we bring development to our people. With this in mind, we are working with our partners to identify key objectives and deliverables in the first one hundred and fifty days of our Administration which coincides with the remaining budgetary period of the former government. We must meet our commitment to restore some measure of electricity to our capital city. We must put Liberians back to work again. And we must put our economic and financial house in order. Most of all, we must revive our mindset of courage, hard work, and a can do spirit. Our strategy is to achieve quick and visible progress that reaches significant number of our people, to gain momentum, consolidate support, and establish the foundation for sustained economic development. This will encompass five major pillars: Security, Economic Revitalization, Basic Services, Infrastructure, and Good Governance. In implementing the programs consistent with this strategy, we will ensure broad geographic representation and participation, placing emphasis on those areas that have received less in the distribution of economic benefits. In this regard, we thank the European Union for supporting activities in the power sector, in community development, as well as providing technical assistance in economic management. We thank the United States for supporting the restructuring and training of our security forces, for activities in community development, and for commencing the construction of the Barclayville Bridge in the neglected area of the Southeast. We thank our sisterly countries of Nigeria and Ghana for providing training for our security forces. We thank the United Nations System for supporting community development, technical assistance for economic management, reintegration, and good governance. We thank them also for the strong peace keeping effort, in conjunction with ECOWAS, which has enabled us to have an environment that led us to free and fair elections. We thank the World Bank for support of activities in community development, infrastructure, and technical assistance in economic management. We thank the many foreign and domestic non-governmental organizations for their support for community development, and for peace and capacity building.

As we look ahead, we plan to collaborate closely with both the international and national NGO's and the civil society community in order to formulate an appropriate strategy and approach for their engagement with our Government in order to maximize their contributions. For the long term, more will be required from us and our partners. We will formulate a multi-year economic reconstruction plan tied to a Poverty Reduction Strategy Program that relieves our country from a staggering US\$3.5 billion external debt and paves the way for acceleration in our national effort to make more progress in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

We will seek a strong partnership between the public and private sector, with direct foreign investment and Liberia entrepreneurship at the core. We envision a multi-year commitment in the order of US\$1 billion for this purpose with details to be presented at a partnership meeting planned for May or June of this year.

As we seek to engage our youth in our enterprise of nation building, we must recognize the threat that HIV/AIDS pose to our human capital and to our growth and prosperity. With 12% of our population now affected by HIV/AIDS, my administration will tackle this national scourge by updating and reinvigorating our HIV/AIDS policy within our first 150 days. We will also

reconstitute and empower, along with our development partners, the National Commission on HIV/AIDS.

Governance

We know that our desire for an environment for private sector driven sustainable growth and development cannot be achieved without the political will and a civil service that is efficient, effective and honest. The workforce in our ministries and agencies is seriously bloated. Moreover, many of the ministries and agencies lack clarity in mandate and have little or no linkages to our national priorities, policies, and goals.

Our Administration will therefore embark on a process of rationalizing our agencies of government to make them lean, efficient, and responsive to public service delivery. This will require the creation of a meritocracy that places premium on qualification, professionalism, and performance. As a major component of our Civil Service Reform Agenda, we will review our public service wage system with the view to ensuring that those who work in our Civil Service are paid commensurate with their qualifications and performance – and that they are paid on time. It may take us some time to achieve this objective given our inheritance of a bloated and poorly paid civil service for which there are currently salary and benefit arrears totaling some US\$20 million.

Our present unemployment situation is a national crisis. We must redeploy some of our current public service employees to areas where they can perform successfully. We will start the process to train and retrain others who lack requisite professional skills. We will empower them through our proposed alternative employment initiatives. We will also provide additional support through our proposed micro-loan program.

Bonding

My Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Across this country, from Cape Mount in the West to Cape Palmas in the East, from Mount Nimba in the North to Cape Monsterrado in the South, from Mount Wologizi in North central to Mount Gedeh in the Southeast, our citizens at this very moment are listening to my voice by radio – and some are watching by television. I want to speak directly to you. As you know, in our various communities and towns, our children have a way of greeting their fathers when they come home after a long, tiring day of trying to find the means to feed the family that night and send the children to school the next day. They say, “Papa na come.” Well, too many times, for too many families, Papa comes home with nothing, having failed to find a job or to get the help to feed the hungry children. Imagine then the disappointment and the hurt in the mother and children; the frustration and the loss of self-confidence in the father.

Through the message of this story, I want you to know that I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through each day to make ends meet for yourselves and for your families. Times were hard before. Times are even harder today. But I make this pledge to you:

Under my Administration, we will work to change that situation. We will work to ensure that when our children say “papa na come”, papa will come home joyfully with something, no matter how meager, to sustain his family. In other words, we will create the jobs for our mothers and

fathers to be gainfully employed. We will create the social and economic opportunities that will restore our people's dignity and self-worth.

We will make the children smile again; the thousands of children who could not present their voting cards, but repeatedly told me whenever I met and shook their hands that they voted for me. Indeed, they voted with their hearts. To those children and to all other Liberian children across this nation, I say to you, I love you very, very much. I shall work, beginning today, to give you hope and a better future.

Now, I would like to speak in particular to our youth. You can believe my word that my Administration will do its utmost to respond to your needs. We will build your capacity and empower you to enable you meaningfully participate in the reconstruction of our country. We shall actively pursue the Kakata Declaration resulting from the National Youth Conference held in 2005 and the implementation of a National Youth Policy and Program.

Corruption

Fellow Liberians, we know that if we are to achieve our economic and income distribution goals, we must take on forcibly and effectively the debilitating cancer of corruption. Corruption erodes faith in government because of the mismanagement and misapplication of public resources. It weakens accountability, transparency and justice. Corruption short changes and undermines key decision and policy making processes. It stifles private investments which create jobs and assures support from our partners. Corruption is a national cancer that creates hostility, distrust, and anger. Throughout the campaign, I assured our people that, if elected, we would wage war against corruption regardless of where it exists, or by whom it is practiced. Today, I renew this pledge. Corruption, under my Administration, will be the major public enemy. We will confront it. We will fight it. Any member of my Administration who sees this affirmation as mere posturing, or yet another attempt by yet another Liberian leader to play to the gallery on this grave issue should think twice. Anyone who desires to challenge us in this regard will do so at his or her personal disadvantage.

In this respect, I will lead by example. I will expect and demand that everyone serving in my Administration leads by example. The first testament of how my Administration will tackle public service corruption will be that everyone appointed to high positions of public trust such as in the Cabinet and heads of public corporations will be required to declare their assets, not as part of a confirmation requirement, but as a matter of policy. I will be the first to comply by declaring my assets. My Administration will also accord high priority to the formulation and passage into law of a National Code of Conduct, to which all public servants will be subjected.

My Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

If we are to achieve our development and anti-corruption goals, we must welcome and embrace the Governance and Economic Management Program (GEMAP) which the National Transitional Government of Liberia, working with our international partners, has formulated to deal with the serious economic and financial management deficiencies in our country.

We accept and will enforce the terms of GEMAP, recognizing the important assistance which it is expected to provide during the early years of our Government. More importantly, we will ensure competence and integrity in the management of our own resources and insist on an

integrated capacity building initiative so as to render GEMAP non-applicable in a reasonable period of time.

Foreign Policy

My Fellow Liberians:

Our nation's foreign policy has historically been rooted in our core values as a nation and people in the practices of good neighborliness, non-interference in the affairs of other nations and peoples, peaceful co-existence, regional cooperation and integration, and international bilateral and multilateral partnership. These core values will continue to guide the conduct of our foreign policy under my Administration. Our foreign policy will take due cognizance of the sacrifices and contributions that have been made to restore peace, security, and stability to our country. We will therefore work to be a responsible member of sub-regional, regional, and international organizations, including the Mano River Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union, and the United Nations. We will do all that we can to honor our obligations, past and current, and enforce all international treaties to which our country has subscribed. To our sister Republics West, East, and North of our borders, we make this pledge: under my Administration, no inch of Liberian soil will be used to conspire to perpetrate aggression against your countries. In making this commitment, we will work for a new regional security that is based upon economic partnership aimed at enhancing the prospects for regional cooperation and integration. In this regard, we propose to tap into the successful Southeast Asian experiences regarding the promotion of regional integration with a heavy private sector component.

I also want to speak specifically to the countries which, from the onset of our civil conflict, have been in the vanguard of peace-making in Liberia. Some have made material and financial contributions. Some have provided moral support. Others have contributed troops that paid the supreme price for peace in our country. To our war-dead, our brother soldiers from West Africa and other regions – as well as to our own, we remember and honor you today. This occasion is owed to your fortitude and to your sacrifices. To every other nation and partner, we thank you for standing by us.

Reconciliation

Today, as we usher in a new era of responsibility, accountability, and transparency, we must strive to reawaken our people's faith in their Government. We must also recognize the urgency and imperative of meeting the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction. Yet, no single issue or factor will define our success or failure in this endeavor more than our willingness and ability to come together as a nation and people. Consequently, no task will be more urgent and more compelling; no cause will require my personal attention and engagement than national reconciliation.

As in the case of the overall challenge of economic reconstruction, there will be no quick fix to national reconciliation and healing. But we can neither flinch from the challenge, nor be overwhelmed by its complexities. After all, some of the underlying factors of our current problems are as deep and old as the history of our country. So, we must begin today to reconcile and heal our nation with deliberate and purposeful commitment, recognizing that we are first and

last Liberians - and that our nation's strength, progress, and development are directly impacted by our unity, peace, security, and stability as a people.

Therefore, I today pledge my personal involvement in the work of reconciling and healing our country. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has an important role to play in this regard and my Administration will support and strengthen the Commission to enable it to carry out its mandate effectively.

My Fellow Citizens:

Let me assure you that my presidency shall remain committed to serve all Liberians without fear or favor. I am President for all of the people of this country. I therefore want to assure all of our people that neither I nor any person serving in my Administration will pursue any vendetta. There will be no vindictiveness. There will be no policies of political, social, and economic exclusion. We will be an inclusive and tolerant Government, ever sensitive to the anxieties, fears, hopes, and aspirations of all of our people irrespective of ethnic, political, religious affiliations, and social status. Let us be clear, however, that we will insist on specified standards of law abiding behavior in the exercise of this tolerance.

My Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

By their votes, the Liberian people have sent a clear message! They want peace; they want to move on with their lives. My charge as President is to work to assure the wishes of our people. We will therefore encourage our citizens to utilize our system of due process for settling differences whether those differences are within or between ethnic groups, or whether they are within or between religious groups. However, we will forcefully, swiftly and decisively respond to any acts of lawlessness, threats to our hard earned peace, or destabilizing actions that could return us to conflict. As we today savor the new dawn of hope and expectation, I pledge to bring the Government closer to the people. The days of the imperial presidency, of an intrusive leadership, and of a domineering and threatening Chief Executive are over in Liberia. This was my campaign promise which I intend to keep. Yet, my Government will be unflinching and bold in influencing and defending those measures that ensure that our national goals are achieved.

In pursuing this policy, our Constitution will remain our source of strength. Its edifying phrase, WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and its equally ennobling proclamation that ALL POWER IS INHERENT IN THE PEOPLE, will be given concrete meaning and expression in all of our national life and conduct. The Executive Mansion and Monrovia will no longer be the only centers of power and sources of development policy making. The people and their interests, as defined by them, will be at the very heart of our new dispensation of decentralization and the devolution of power.

And now I would like to talk to the women, the women of Liberia, the women of Africa – and the women of the world. Until a few decades ago, Liberian women endured the injustice of being treated as second class citizens. During the years of our civil war, they bore the brunt of inhumanity and terror. They were conscripted into war, gang raped at will, force into domestic slavery. Yet, it is the women, notably those who established themselves as the Mano River Women Network for Peace who labored and advocated for peace throughout our region.

It is therefore not surprising that during the period of our elections, Liberian women were galvanized – and demonstrated unmatched passion, enthusiasm, and support for my candidacy.

They stood with me; they defended me; they prayed for me. The same can be said for the women throughout Africa. I want to here and now, gratefully acknowledge the powerful voice of women of all walks of life whose votes significantly contributed to my victory.

My Administration shall thus endeavor to give Liberian women prominence in all affairs of our country. My Administration shall empower Liberian women in all areas of our national life. We will support and increase the writ of laws that restore their dignities and deal drastically with crimes that dehumanize them. We will enforce without fear or favor the law against rape recently passed by the National Transitional Legislature. We shall encourage families to educate all children, particularly the girl child. We shall also try to provide economic programs that enable Liberian women to assume their proper place in our economic revitalization process.

My Fellow Liberians:

We are moving forward. Our best days are coming. The future belongs to us because we have taken charge of it. We have the resources. We have the resourcefulness. Now, we have the right Government. And we have good friends who want to work with us. Our people are already building our roads, cleaning up our environment, creating jobs, rebuilding schools, bringing back water and electricity.

My Government will ensure that the creativity and industry of Liberians is unleashed in this incredible moment of history. We are making our beloved Liberia home once again. We are a good people; we are a kind people. We are a forgiving people – and a Godfearing people.

So, let us begin anew, moving forward into a future that is filled with hope and promise!

“... In Union Strong, Success is Sure! We cannot fail ...”

God bless us all – and save the Republic.

I thank you!

President Weah's Inaugural Speech

Liberia: President George Weah's inauguration speech, 24 January 2018

Her Excellency, Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Excellency Head of States

Ambassador Joseph Nyumah Boakai

Hon. Jewel Howard-Taylor, Vice President of the Republic of Liberia

The Governing Council of the Tripartite

Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC)

Madam Clar M. Weah, First Lady of the Republic of Liberia

His Honor, the Chief Justice, and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Liberia

Speaker and Members of the House of Representative

The Honorable Pro-Tempore and Members of the Liberian Senate

The Dean and Members of the Cabinet

The Special Representative of the UN Secretary General and other Representatives of the United Nations

The Doyen and Members of the Diplomatic Corps

International Partners and Political Stakeholders

Our Religious Community and Traditional Council, Market Women, the Student Body, the fourth Estate

Special Guests

Distinguish Ladies and Gentlemen

My fellow citizens, I am humbled and thankful for the trust and hope you have put in me. I am filled with joy and pride to see so many friends from across the world join us in celebrating what is truly an historic moment for our country. To all our citizens and international guests, we thank you for coming.

I have spent many years of my life in stadiums, but today is a feeling like no other. I am overwhelmed with the crowd and the energy here today, and I guarantee you, when we finish, there will not be a winning or a losing side. Today, we all wear the jersey of Liberia, and the victory belongs to the people, to peace, and to democracy.

The tens of thousands of Liberians here today, and many more in our communities across the country who are listening gathered together around radios in the palava hut, it is to you we are

responsible to deliver the change you deserve. Indeed, we must deliver the change that our people need, in order to transform their lives for the better.

I promise to do everything in my power to be the agent of positive change. But I cannot do it alone. First, I call upon the revered institution that host us today and from which the Vice President and I come— The Legislative – our co-equal branch of government, to work with me to create and pass essential laws that are needed to complete the foundation of this nation.

Together, we owe our citizens clarity on fundamental issues such as the land beneath their feet, freedom of speech, and how national resources and responsibilities are going to shift from this capital to the counties. The people expect better cooperation and more action from their government. We can do better, together.

Today, we Liberians have reached an important milestone in the never-ending journey for freedom, justice, and democracy; a search that has remained central to our history as a nation.

Many of those who founded this country left the pain and shame of slavery to establish a society where all would be free and equal. But that vision of freedom, equality, and democracy has not yet been fully realized. That human longing for true and lasting freedom has revealed itself in many ways since Liberia's founding. Sometimes the drive has been divisive and confrontational; and too often violent, bloody, and deadly, as it was in the 14 years of civil conflict, when the absence of equality and unity led us down the path of destroying our own country.

Notwithstanding the harshness and immeasurable cost of the lesson, we have learned that equality and freedom are never just a final destination that a people or a nation reaches. These are fundamental human rights that our people deserve and that must be held up and measured against our actions, our policies, our laws, and our purpose as those elected to serve the people.

Almost 15 years ago, Liberians laid down their arms and renewed their hope for a better and more equal society. With the help of regional partners and the United Nations, we chose democracy as our path, and elected the first post-war Government, which was led by Her Excellency, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Your Excellency, I thank you for laying the foundation upon which we can now stand, in peace and to advance progress for our country.

But this Inaugural Ceremony signals more than a peaceful transition from one democratic administration to another. It is also a transition from one generation of Liberian leadership to a new generation. It is indeed a confirmation that democracy exists in Liberia, and that, it is here to stay!

We have arrived at this transition neither by violence, nor by force of arms. Not a single life was lost in the process. Blood should never be the price tag for democracy. Rather, this transition was achieved by the free and democratic will of the Liberian people, guaranteed by the rule of law.

This Inaugural gathering also celebrates an important precedent: that we Liberians can, and will, rely on established institutions and the rule of law to resolve our political disagreements. This demonstrates the maturity of our institutions and that we as a people have learned valuable lessons from our brutal history.

My fellow Liberians, let not the splendor of these ceremonies, nor the celebration of electoral victory, make us forget how we arrived at this moment. We have arrived here on the blood,

sweat, tears, and suffering of so many of our citizens, too many of whom died, longing for real freedom and equality.

Today, we must remember the hundreds of thousands who died, and many more whose lives were up ended and families displaced, because we lost sight of the fact that we can only reach a higher state of equality and freedom by treating each other with love and respect – not tearing each other down. Truly taking this lesson to heart will bring the dawn of a new Liberia.

So that their deaths would not be in vain, I solemnly pledge today, with the help of all of you, my fellow citizens, to build a Liberia of equality, freedom, dignity, and respect for one another.

Let us all stand for a moment of silence to remember those who died on our soil, in our conflict, and by our own hands. Let it never be so again.

THANK YOU. PLEASE BE SEATED.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

On this day of inauguration, as we begin to build upon the foundation of this New Liberia, I, George forky klon jlaleh gbah ku gbeh Tarpeh Manneh Weah, your new President, must first give thanks and praises to the Almighty God for the blessings he has bestowed on our country. And I say “my people, thank you, yaaaaaaaaa” for entrusting me with the responsibility of leading the effort to build this New and better Liberia.

It will be my task, my duty, and my honor, to lead this nation from division to National Unity, and toward a future of hope and prosperity. I have here taken an oath before you, and before the Almighty God, to uphold our constitution and to preside over this Government and this country to the best of my abilities.

REST ASSURED, I WILL NOT LET YOU DOWN!!

And so, My Fellow Citizens, I want to admonish you, that the foundation of the New Liberia must be reinforced by the steel of integrity. We need men and women, boys and girls, whose integrity provides the foundation of the trust that is required for Liberian society to benefit her people.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

During my tenure as President of Liberia, the loudest battle cry that must ring from the mountains of Wologisi to the peak of Yekepa; from the ranges of Putu to the hills of Bomi; and from the coast of Harper to the shores of Monrovia, must be the cry of National Unity! We should all strive to put aside our differences and join hands in the task of nation building. We must learn how to celebrate our diversity without drawing lines of divisions in our new Liberia. We belong to Liberia first before we belong to our inherited tribes, or chosen counties.

We must not allow political loyalties prevent us from collaborating in the national interest. We must respect each other and act as neighbors, regardless of religious, social and economic differences.

In the words of our National Anthem:

[Quote] “In union strong, success is sure. We cannot fail.” [Unquote]

United, we are certain to succeed as a Nation. Divided, we are certain to fail.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is my belief that the most effective way to directly impact the poor, and to narrow the gap between rich and poor, is to ensure that public resources do not end up in the pockets of Government officials.

I further believe that the overwhelming mandate I received from the Liberian people is a mandate to end corruption in public service. I promise to deliver on this mandate.

As officials of Government, It is time to put the interest of our people above our own selfish interests. It is time to be honest with our people. Though corruption is a habit amongst our people, we must end it. We must pay civil servants a living wage, so that corruption is not an excuse for taking what is not theirs. Those who do not refrain from enriching themselves at the expense of the people – the law will take its course. I say today that you will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

To the private sector, I say to you that Liberia is open for business. We want to be known as a business-friendly government. We will do all that is within our power to provide an environment that will be conducive for the conduct of honest and transparent business. We will remove unnecessary regulatory constraints that tend to impede the establishment and operation of business in a profitable and predictable manner. As we open our doors to all foreign direct investments, we will not permit Liberian owned businesses to be marginalized. We cannot remain spectators in our own economy. My government will prioritize the interests of Liberian-owned businesses and offer programs to help them become more competitive and offer services that international investors seek as partners.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

This victory could not have been possible without the support of the youth of this country, the women of this country, especially those who make their living by selling in the markets. To all of you, I want to say a heartfelt thank you. This is your government!!!

In the famous words of President Abraham Lincoln of the United States of America
“...government of the people; by the people, and for the people.”

We could not have arrived at this day without our voices been heard loudly, and all our views, no matter how critical, being freely expressed in an atmosphere void of intimidation and arrest. This was only made possible by the tolerance of my predecessor, Her Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who protected the right to Freedom of Speech as enshrined in our Constitution.

Now, in my turn, I will go further to encourage and reinforce not only freedom of speech, but also freedom of political assembly.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

To change the structure of the Liberian economy will require huge investments in agriculture, infrastructure, in human capital, and in technology. We hope our international development partners will assist us in this transformation.

Meanwhile, on behalf of all Liberians, I would like to thank the international community for the invaluable contributions they have made to our peace and economic development.

I thank the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES, (ECOWAS), for standing with Liberia throughout these years. Many of our West African brothers and sisters shed their blood for Liberians during our conflict. This is a debt Liberians will never be able to repay.

We count these fallen West African soldiers among the martyrs of our history. Without their supreme sacrifices, this day would not have been possible. ECOWAS will continue to play a very meaningful role during my presidency.

I also thank the UNITED NATIONS for the important role it has played in Liberia. We stood with the United Nations at its founding when it was just an idea driven by ideals. Then, in our darkest days, the UN stood by us. UN peacekeeping missions have ensured unbroken peace within our borders for more than a decade, and will soon demonstrate their confidence in us, by transitioning its task from peacekeeping programs of UN organizations which will continue in key sectors such as education, health, and agriculture. Ending a peacekeeping mission successfully is something in which all Liberians and her partners should take great pride. We thank all member countries of the United Nations for your support and I promise to continue to build on the success that we have achieved together.

To the Government and People of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, we thank you for your strong support over the years. The Republic of Liberia has a strong historic relationship with the United States of America, which has manifested itself and that relationship will even be stronger under my administration.

To the EUROPEAN UNION, I say thanks to you for your strong partnership with Liberia. European aid has provided critical support for Liberia's recovery from war, and this continuous support will be important as we forge a new path of transformation.

Without Europe, George Manneh Weah would not be standing here delivering this inaugural address as the 24th President of the Republic of Liberia. It was my success in European football that enabled me to give back to my beloved country. Europe will always have a special place in my heart, and, as President, I intend to strengthen my relationship with the European community for the benefit of all Liberians.

To the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, I say "XIEXIE". Our administration will continue to support the "One-China Policy". China has emerged as one of Liberia's most dependable allies. It is my hope that Chinese-Liberian relationships will grow stronger during my tenure as President. The Samuel Kanyan Doe Sports Complex, built by the Chinese, where this Inaugural Ceremony is being held, is where I gained my exposure to the football world. It does not only stand as a monument of Chinese friendship toward Liberians, but It also stands as a symbol of peace and reconciliation for the Liberian people. During our civil conflict, this was a venue that brought opposing factions together during national matches, effectively reconciling them to a single national purpose, Liberia. And once again today, we stand at this same venue united for one purpose: Liberia.

This is time that we put away our political differences to work together in forging a New Liberia, where the affordability of all goods and services will no longer be a luxury to the privileged, but rather a right for all Liberians.

To the AFRICAN UNION, I also say thank you for standing with Liberia over the past several years. Liberia has always had an historic relationship with the AU. As a founding member of the African Union, I look forward to participating with my colleagues at forthcoming summits, where we intend to utilize the resources and expertise of the African Union for the benefit of our country.

To other bi-lateral and multi-lateral partners, I say a sincere thank you! The World Bank, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Norway, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, to name too few, have also played important roles in Liberia's emergence from conflict and will remain critical for the transformation we seek.

MY FELLOW LIBERIANS:

My greatest contribution to this country as President may not lie in the eloquence of my speeches, but will definitely lie in the quality of the decisions that I will make over the next six years to advance the lives of poor Liberians. I intend to construct the greatest machinery of pro-poor governance in the history of this country. I will do more than my fair share to meet your expectations. I ask you to meet mine, for I cannot do it alone.

Mine is an expectation that you, fellow citizens, will rise up and take control and responsibility for your destiny. That you will look away from the things that divide us, and draw strength and energy from the things that unite us. Mine is an expectation that you will push yourselves to achieve the possibilities that are within your reach. That you will aim to do more for yourselves and expect other to do less.

And mine is a further expectation that you will discover a new sense of fairness and integrity; a new love for country and for each other. A love that will turn public servants and government officials into national champions for change. A love that will bring back home Liberians scattered far and wide across the globe – many of them highly skilled, talented, and experienced – to join us in building a New Liberia.

The sooner we all merge our energies toward cementing these new norms and values, the sooner we will transform our beloved country for the better. In doing so, we must also learn the virtue of patience, and learn to lower our expectations, for I do not promise you quick fixes or miracles. Instead, my pledge to you today is that my administration, with your help, will make steady and deliberate progress towards achieving the hopes and aspirations that you cherish in your heart for Mama Liberia.

Let me close with these re-assuring words from our National Anthem:

“With God above, our rights to prove,
We will over all prevail!!
Long live Liberia, happy land!
A home of glorious liberty, by God's command.”
May God Almighty bless the works of our hands, and save the State.

I THANK YOU.

President Obama's Inaugural Speech

Inaugural Address By President Barack Hussein Obama, JANUARY 21, 2009

My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.

I thank President Bush for his service to our nation -- (applause) -- as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents. So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans. That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights.

Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met. (Applause.)

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics. We remain a young nation. But in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness. (Applause.)

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those that prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame.

Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops, and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sahn. Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week, or last month, or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions -- that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. (Applause.)

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift. And we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We'll restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage. What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Applause.)

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers -- (applause) -- our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man -- a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake. (Applause.)

And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more. (Applause.)

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. (Applause.)

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. (Applause.)

To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist. (Applause.)

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages.

We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service -- a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all. For as much as government can do, and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends -- honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism -- these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task. This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence -- the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (Applause.)

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words to be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it]."

America: In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

President Trump's Inaugural Speech

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP – AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

INAUGURAL ADDRESS FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 2017. WASHINGTON, D.C.

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and to restore its promise for all of our people.

Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done. Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People. For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.

Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes – starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it belongs to you.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.

This is your day. This is your celebration.

And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.

January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before.

At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation – and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry; subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military; We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own; And spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind.

The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the entire world. But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future. We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this moment on, it's going to be America First. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body – and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American.

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world – but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones – and unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. The Bible tells us, “how good and pleasant it is when God’s people live together in unity.” We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.

When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear – we are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action – constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words:

You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Wealthy Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again. Thank you, God Bless You, And God Bless America.

Prime Minister Cameron's Inaugural Speech

Transcript of the Prime Minister's speech at Downing Street on 11 May 2010.

Her Majesty the Queen has asked me to form a new government and I have accepted. Before I talk about that new government, let me say something about the one that has just passed. Compared with a decade ago, this country is more open at home and more compassionate abroad and that is something we should all be grateful for and on behalf of the whole country I'd like to pay tribute to the outgoing prime minister for his long record of dedicated public service.

In terms of the future, our country has a hung parliament where no party has an overall majority and we have some deep and pressing problems - a huge deficit, deep social problems, a political system in need of reform. For those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats.

I believe that is the right way to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly. Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences and work hard for the common good and for the national interest. I believe that is the best way to get the strong government that we need, decisive government that we need today. I came into politics because I love this country. I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service. And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions, so that together we can reach better times ahead.

One of the tasks that we clearly have is to rebuild trust in our political system. Yes that's about cleaning up expenses, yes that is about reforming parliament, and yes it is about making sure people are in control - and that the politicians are always their servant and never their masters. But I believe it is also something else. It is about being honest about what government can achieve. Real change is not what government can do on its own - real change is when everyone pulls together, comes together, works together, where we all exercise our responsibilities to ourselves, to our families, to our communities and to others. And I want to help try and build a more responsible society here in Britain. One where we don't just ask what are my entitlements, but what are my responsibilities. One where we don't ask what am I just owed, but more what can I give. And a guide for that society - that those that can should, and those who can't we will always help. I want to make sure that my government always looks after the elderly, the frail the poorest in our country. We must take everyone through with us on some of the difficult decisions we have ahead.

Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values. Values of freedom, values of fairness, and values of responsibility. I want us to build an economy that rewards work. I want us to build a society with stronger families and stronger communities. And I want a political system that people can trust and look up to once again. This is going to be hard and difficult work. A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges. But I believe together we can provide that strong and stable government that our country needs based on those values - rebuilding family, rebuilding community, above all, rebuilding responsibility in our country. Those are the things I care about. Those are the things that this government will now start work on doing.

Thank you very much.

Prime Minister May's Inaugural Speech

Statement from the new Prime Minister Theresa May Published 13 July 2016

I have just been to Buckingham Palace, where Her Majesty The Queen has asked me to form a new government, and I accepted.

In David Cameron, I follow in the footsteps of a great, modern Prime Minister. Under David's leadership, the government stabilised the economy, reduced the budget deficit, and helped more people into work than ever before. But David's true legacy is not about the economy but about social justice. From the introduction of same-sex marriage, to taking people on low wages out of income tax altogether; David Cameron has led a one-nation government, and it is in that spirit that I also plan to lead.

Because not everybody knows this, but the full title of my party is the Conservative and Unionist Party, and that word 'unionist' is very important to me. It means we believe in the Union: the precious, precious bond between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. But it means something else that is just as important; it means we believe in a union not just between the nations of the United Kingdom but between all of our citizens, every one of us, whoever we are and wherever we're from. That means fighting against the burning injustice that, if you're born poor, you will die on average 9 years earlier than others. If you're black, you're treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than if you're white. If you're a white, working-class boy, you're less likely than anybody else in Britain to go to university. If you're at a state school, you're less likely to reach the top professions than if you're educated privately. If you're a woman, you will earn less than a man. If you suffer from mental health problems, there's not enough help to hand. If you're young, you'll find it harder than ever before to own your own home.

But the mission to make Britain a country that works for everyone means more than fighting these injustices. If you're from an ordinary working class family, life is much harder than many people in Westminster realise. You have a job but you don't always have job security. You have your own home, but you worry about paying a mortgage. You can just about manage but you worry about the cost of living and getting your kids into a good school. If you're one of those families, if you're just managing, I want to address you directly. I know you're working around the clock, I know you're doing your best, and I know that sometimes life can be a struggle. The government I lead will be driven not by the interests of the privileged few, but by yours.

We will do everything we can to give you more control over your lives. When we take the big calls, we'll think not of the powerful, but you. When we pass new laws, we'll listen not to the mighty but to you. When it comes to taxes, we'll prioritise not the wealthy, but you. When it comes to opportunity, we won't entrench the advantages of the fortunate few. We will do everything we can to help anybody, whatever your background, to go as far as your talents will take you. We are living through an important moment in our country's history. Following the referendum, we face a time of great national change. And I know because we're Great Britain, that we will rise to the challenge. As we leave the European Union, we will forge a bold new positive role for ourselves in the world, and we will make Britain a country that works not for

a privileged few, but for every one of us. That will be the mission of the government I lead, and together we will build a better Britain.

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