

An analysis of power relations, affiliation and  
individuation in selected coup, secession, and inaugural  
speeches of Nigerian leaders, 1960-2015

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Dedicated to the glory of God who made this possible; and to the memory of my late parents, Rev. Canon Lawrence Ibegbulam Unegbu and Mrs. Sophia Onyewuonyeoma Unegbu for not giving up on my education, despite the odds.

## Abstract

The focus of this study is the analysis of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in selected coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of Nigerian leaders. The data comprises 16 speeches, which represent the total population of Nigerian presidential coup, secession, and inaugural speeches made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015. The written text of these speeches was collected from Internet sources. Corpus Linguistics (CL), and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) were used to do a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data. Specifically, SFL's Appraisal framework was used to analyse how the speakers coupled Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, in the Appraisal sub-systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation, to realize unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. CL and SFL were combined using Bednarek's three-pronged approach to discourse analysis to carry out macro-, meso- and micro-analysis of the speeches. This allowed for a perspective on the development of discourses over time (phylogenesis) and the way meaning-making resources were employed in the unfolding of individual speeches (logogenesis). Bednarek's three-pronged approach was readapted into a four-pronged approach to allow for two levels of meso-analysis, one comparing speeches before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War and another comparing three genres of speeches: coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. Keywords, collocates and concordance results were used to compare the different and similar features of the linguistic resources used in the pre-and post-war speeches, and the three genres of speeches. Key findings show that the inaugural speeches used civil-oriented words and expressions to reproduce unequal power relations covertly and affiliate with all Nigerians, such as: "we will create greater access to quality education". The coup speakers used mainly militaristic words and expressions to reproduce binary power asymmetry overtly, to create in-group and out-group affiliation and individuation, using expressions such as: "You are hereby warned". The secession speaker affiliated with Biafrans and individuated away from Nigeria with overt power asymmetry in a militaristic fashion, using expressions such as: "totally dissolved". This study contributes to the understanding of Nigerian political discourses by unravelling the interconnectedness of the couplings of linguistic resources in coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, and Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences over time. The study can guide political speech writers and other contributors to political discourse in choosing appropriate lexemes and clause complexes for communicating citizens during different sociopolitical periods.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

This study is situated in the field of Applied Linguistics, which has been described as an “interdisciplinary field that identifies, investigates, and offers solutions to language-related real-life problems” (Peniro & Cyntas, 2019, p. 1). The focus of this study is the analysis of selected speeches made by Nigerian leaders. The analysis in this study revolves around the linguistic resources that Nigerian political leaders such as Chukwuma Nzeogwu, Chukwuemeka Ojukwu and Goodluck Jonathan, utilized to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings to reproduce unequal power relations and enact affiliation and individuation in their speeches. The study draws on the quantitative analytics methods from Corpus Linguistics (henceforth, CL), and the qualitative methods from Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth, SFL), using the Appraisal framework to compare the coup, secession and inaugural genres of Nigerian political speeches focusing on areas of congruence and divergence. The combination of CL methods and SFL theory in this study provides a detailed analytics means for studying the Nigerian political discourse from the perspective of their social contexts (Hunston, 2013).

The focus of this first chapter is to lay a salience of background information that guides the entire study. To lay a good background knowledge of the study, this chapter incorporates important empirical, explanatory, and even personal information that enhances the understanding of the study. Accordingly, the chapter starts with an introduction in 1.1, which gives a layout of the rest of the chapters of this thesis. The candidate then explains some of the factors that motivated him to undertake this study, in 1.2. Further explanations of the candidate’s motivation for this study continue in 1.3, where this candidate draws from some of the personal experiences that encouraged and positioned him to undertake the study. A general background salience of information concerning the context of Nigeria's sociopolitical history that has relevance to the study is given in 1.4. A review of previous studies on Nigeria's political speeches regarding what other scholars have done and the points of divergence and convergence with this present study is given in 1.5. A further explanation of some key concepts that guide this study is given in 1.6. Subsequently, the concept of power relations is explained in 1.6.2, while the concepts of affiliation and individuation are explained in 1.6.3. The theoretical approach to this study is given in 1.7. There are discussions

on the methods of CL in 1.7.1, while explanations of the theory of SFL can be found in 1.7.2. The research questions that guide this study can be found in 1.8. Finally, a general overview of the thesis is given in 1.9, while the conclusion of this chapter is given in 1.10.

## 1.2 Motivation for the study (Statement of the problem)

The desire to use linguistic methods to explore the connections in Nigeria's sociopolitical history from the perspective of political speeches of Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015, is the main factor that motivated this candidate to undertake this study. This study is, therefore premised on the interest to contribute to the enrichment of Interpersonal political discourse by exploring the connections in Nigeria's sociopolitical history and the resources and linguistic strategies that the Nigerian leaders such as Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan used to enact affiliation, individuation and reproduce unequal power relations in the Nigerian political speeches.

The area known as Nigeria is made up of several hundreds of nations that were colonized by Britain in the 19th century. Several nations and ethnic groups that were colonized by Britain existed independently but cooperated in commerce and trade, based on some cultural affiliations and hegemonies (Buhari, 2019; Muyideen, 2013). Eventually, the area that came under British rule after the partition of Africa (Koponen, 1993) at the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 (Uzoigwe, 1985), contains several nations as mentioned earlier, and ethnicities that fall within the present northern and southern Nigeria. The far north is made up of mainly the Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups, who are mostly Muslims, with a conservative cultural orientation, and practiced a feudal political system (Ukiwo, 2005). Conversely, the south is further divided into two major parts, comprising the western region which has a monolithic, closely knit ethnic nation of the Oduduwas, with an established monarchical system of government, a mix of Christianity and moderate Islamic religion, and a vibrant culture (Bolajoko, 2014; Salami, 2006). The Eastern region, which comprises the Biafrans, is predominantly Christian, culturally vibrant with entrenched republicanism as a way of life and governance (Adegbulu, 2011; Regina & Okoye, 2016; Ugbeda & Egwemi, 2017). In between these three major ethnic groups are hundreds of nations, ethnic groups, and chiefdoms, with their unique systems of governance and culture. However, the British colonial masters amalgamated these diametrically opposite southern and northern regions in 1924

(Okereka, 2020) and named them Nigeria. Therefore, the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria, brought about a clash of three opposed civilizations of the feudal north, versus the monarchical west, and the republican east (see 1.4 for more details of the sociopolitical context of Nigeria). Consequently, one can rightly argue that the root of Nigeria's sociopolitical problems is due to the amalgamation of unrelated nations as one country.

There have been several political speeches made by Nigerian leaders which are aimed at uniting the country's different ethnic nations, but the country continues to experience ethnic tensions and drift into disintegration. The sociopolitical differences among Nigerians have continued to widen, and separatist activities are on the increase (Eme-uche & Okonkwo, 2020; Salawu & Hassan, 2011). Given the lack of cohesion in Nigeria's sociopolitical history, this study is motivated by a desire to investigate how Nigerian leaders have utilized the resources of language to contribute to the present sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria. The impactful experience of the clash of civilizations brought about by the amalgamation of unrelated nations was the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (Julius-Adeoye, 2017). It is, however, a setback to Nigerian political discourse, that there has been a deliberate and systematic stifling of an open and free discussion of Nigeria's sociopolitical problems. This is coupled with the deep-seated ethno-religious divide among Nigerians that maligns such political discourse as biased, either on the side of the discourse participants or listeners. In general, these factors have made it difficult to have a rich linguistic input into Nigerian political discourse, especially at a higher level of research such as this present study. The motivation behind this study is a desire to contribute to enriching the Nigerian political discourse, and Interpersonal discourse. This motivation is purely from a linguistic perspective and has no political undertone. In other words, the motivating factor is to explore the strategies that Nigerian leaders used to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations, in Nigerian political discourse.

Continuing the motivation behind this study, this candidate is interested in exploring the linguistic strategies used in those speeches that have a direct bearing on the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. This is because the Nigeria-Biafra War is a watershed in the sociopolitical history of Nigeria (Achebe, 2012). Given the sociopolitical history of Nigeria, Nigerian political discourse presents

a rich source of linguistic study. The student researcher is, therefore, motivated to examine the linguistic resources Nigerian leaders used in the selected speeches to realize their objectives, and to explore the connections in Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences linguistically, because of the present rise in agitation to separate from Nigeria from groups such as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (Agbu, 2004; Nwofe & Goodall, 2017; Onuoha, 2018).

Finally, the candidate is motivated to unravel how the concepts of affiliation and individuation are enacted in the speeches using SFLs Appraisal. According to Martin, "Individuation is the least developed hierarchy in SFL" (2010, p. 25). Therefore, my study contributes to knowledge about this concept. The mixed methods of research which is adopted in this study by combining quantitative and qualitative analytics approaches, have also proved very useful in research (Almalki, 2016; Hoang Dang, 2015; Kelle, 2006; Yauch & Steudel, 2003). The Quantitative analysis informs and complements the qualitative analysis, by elucidating key patterns of usage and allowing for a clearer comparison between the different sub-corpora of speeches involved in this study, while the qualitative method has an intrinsic interest in unearthing a more in-depth understanding of the analysis by addressing the questions of causality (Guest, 2013). More explanations on the combination of SFL and CL methods are found in section 4.2.3. In the following sub-section, this candidate gives further insight into some personal experiences that positioned me to undertake this study.

### 1.3 Positioning of the student researcher

In this section, the student researcher explains some of the significant personal experiences that positioned him to undertake this study. This student researcher was born during the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. War crimes were committed in a monumental proportion, by bombing civilian targets like churches, schools, hospitals, and markets during the Nigeria-Biafra War (Effiong, 1970; Heerten & Moses, 2014; Njoku, 2013; Nwaka, 2015). The war ended in 1970 in favour of Nigeria and the defeat of Biafra, and the then military government of General Yakubu Gowon proposed a 3R post-war policy of: "Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation" (Audu &

Uzoma, 2015; Ukaogo, 2010) to unite Nigeria. As a growing child, this student researcher observed a more united Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s, than in the last decade.

After this student researcher graduated from the university in 1995 and participated in the compulsory National Youth Service between 1995 and 1996, he was employed in the northern part of Nigeria where he has worked as a teacher in the far northern states of Nigeria since 1997. Since then, this candidate has had the opportunity to experience the uniqueness of Nigeria with its diverse ethnicities, religions, and socio-cultural history. Subsequently, the student researcher has also experienced the post-war efforts to unite the diverse country and the resurgence of separatist centrifugal activities in Nigeria, from early 2000 to the time of this study. These separatist activities have been exacerbated since civilian rule was restored in Nigeria in 1999. For instance, the agitation for the restoration of the Biafra nation was rekindled with the launch of the “Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra” (MASOB) in 1999 (Abada et al., 2020 p. 10), and the “Indigenous People of Biafra in 2012” (Abada & Omeh., 2020, p. 10). Boko Haram is another separatist group in the northern part of Nigeria that is fighting to carve out some states to be governed as a Caliphate under Islamic laws (Loimeier, 2012; Walker, 2012). There are other groups such as the Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) in the southwest (Adegboyega, 2016 p. 42) and The Niger Delta Militants (NDM) in the coastal regions of southern Nigeria. Presently, there is an alarming rise in terrorist activities and general insecurity in Nigeria (Dickson & Ezirim, 2017; Okoye, 2018; Udama, 2013). Instability has also hindered Nigeria’s sociopolitical and economic development. Nigeria ranked number 157 out of 189 countries in 2018 on the United Nations Human Development Index (Omodero, 2019, p. 53).

Consequently, as this student researcher observed the challenges of Nigeria’s sociopolitical history, a strong desire was developed to explore the role of language in Nigeria’s sociopolitical history, by investigating how Nigerian leaders have used language to form alignments and disalignments and reproduce unequal power relations with some groups, individuals, or sections of the country, and its sociopolitical implications on Nigeria (Andrea, 2008; Areni & Sparks, 2005). In essence, my position as a student researcher is purely academic and my personal views or political opinions do not influence this study. This position also informed my choice of CL

methods, SFL theory, and the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005b) to analyse the semiotic resources used in the speeches. Finally, my position in this study is that of a concerned student researcher in search of answers to the evaluative patterns and linguistic resources used by speakers in Nigerian political speeches.

#### 1.4 Context of the study: Nigeria's political history

In this study, selected political speeches made by Nigerian leaders, are analysed. The speeches were made at significant moments in Nigeria's history, and the medium used to make the speeches is English, which is the official language in Nigeria. To gain a good salience of Nigerian political discourse, sixteen speeches that cut across the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015 have been selected. These speeches constitute the entire population of Nigerian presidential political discourse, within the period of this study. In the following paragraphs, the sociopolitical background of the sixteen speeches is described, drawing largely from Yakubu and Ntim (2014) and Siollun (2009).

Nigeria was colonized by Britain and was initially governed separately as the southern and northern protectorates. These protectorates were made up of different nations and ethnic groups (Adegboyega, 2016). As stated earlier, the southern protectorate comprises the Yoruba and Igbo as the major nations while the northern protectorate has the Hausa and the Fulani as the major nations with large populations. In between these nations, there are other smaller nations according to the size of their population and landmass. The British colonialists further divided these protectorates geographically into north (Hausa/Fulani), west (Yoruba) and east (Igbo) (Ohajiriogu, 2009), for administrative convenience. These nations are fundamentally different, especially in governance, religion, education, and culture. However, the British colonialists amalgamated "the Northern Protectorate and the Southern Protectorate of the British holdings together as a unified entity in 1914" (Eric, 2016, p. 67) and northern protectorate in 1914 for administrative and economic convenience, without considering the fundamental differences existing among the amalgamated nations (Adeyemi, Oluwatobi, 2018; Igboanusi, 2008; Igboanusi & Peter, 2004). In addition, Siollun states that the fundamental linguistic, ethnic, and religious differences among the amalgamated nations made many people doubt whether Nigeria could stand as a country. For

instance, some of the early prominent politicians in Nigeria, such as Ahmadu Bello, referred to the amalgamation as “the mistake of 1914” (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani and Isiani, 2016, p. 27), while Awolowo, referred to Nigeria as “a mere geographical expression” (Eric, 2016, p. 67).

The following section explains the historical background of the sixteen speeches that are analysed in this study. Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960 (Ohajiriogun, 2009) and elected a civilian government, headed by Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister. However, this government was accused of corruption, weakness, sectionalism, and nepotism (Ogbeidi, 2010; Osinakachukwu et al., 2013). The civilian government was overthrown in a bloody military coup on 15 January 1966, led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu (Siollun, 2009). The Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa and some high-profile civilian and military officers, were killed in the coup (Achebe, 2012). The most senior military officer General Aguiyi Ironsi, rallied the army and arrested the coup plotters and took control of the country as the Head of State (Aremu, 2016), with a promise to return Nigeria to civilian governance after restoring normalcy. Ironsi abolished the federal system of government (Aremu & Buhari, 2017; Ogbeide et al., 2016) and introduced a unitary government (Aremu, 2016). However, the 1966 coup was perceived to have an ethnic motivation since most of the coup actors were from the Igbo ethnic group of Eastern Nigeria. This perception led to another successful, bloody, and retaliatory coup on 29 July 1966, leading to the death of Ironsi and several civilians and military personnel. Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon became the Military Head of State (Julius-Adeoye, 2017). The spate of killings resulted in genocide against the Igbo ethnic group, which was accused of masterminding the 1966 coup (Achebe, 2012, pp. 63–65; Korieh, 2013). Gowon’s legitimacy to assume the mantle of leadership was vehemently challenged by Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu (the military governor of the Eastern region) (Shittu, 2016).

In a bid to prevent an imminent war in Nigeria, the Chairman of the Ghana Liberation Council, Lt. Gen. Joseph Ankrah, convened a meeting between Gowon and Ojukwu at Aburi, Ghana (Agwu, 2001; Aremu, 2014). Far-reaching agreements on how to prevent a war in Nigeria were reached at the meeting in Aburi. Consequently, the agreements were termed the Aburi Accord (Aremu, 2014). However, the failure to implement this accord and the insecurity felt by the people of the Eastern region led to the declaration of the secession of the Eastern region as the Republic of Biafra on 30 May 1967 (Achebe, 2012) by Ojukwu. Nigerian forces’ attempt to force the seceding region



back into Nigeria and the expected resistance resulted in a war between Nigeria and Biafra, which lasted from July 1967 to January 1970. There were also foreign influences such as Britain, France, Egypt and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) that exacerbated the war due to their interest in the oil which is located in the erstwhile Republic of Biafra (Akinbi, 2015a; Chibuiké., 2008). Since the end of the war, and the subsequent surrendering of Biafra, Nigeria has been ruled as one country. Military rule continued until 1979 when civil governance was restored, and Shehu Shagari was elected the civilian President. However, this civilian government lasted only four years before the military intervention ousted it through a coup in 1983.

The power dominance that the Nigerian military had assumed over the political landscape, enabled General Ibrahim Babangida to annul a presidential election that was held on 12 June 1993, midway into the announcement of the results (Bamgboye, 2014). The election was nationally and internationally acclaimed to be free and fair (Binuomoyo, 2018; Obadare & Obadare, 1999; Obi-ani, 1993). Before the annulment, one of the presidential candidates, Moshood Abiola, had won over 50% of the votes announced (Binuomoyo, 2018, pp. 297–298). Due to pressure, Babangida set up an Interim National Government (ING) (Binuomoyo, 2018) and abdicated power on 27 August 1993. The ING was overthrown through a coup on 17 November 1993 by General Sani Abacha (Amao, 2018, p. 8). The presumed winner of the 1993 presidential election (Obadare, 2017), Abiola, attempted to reclaim his mandate by declaring himself president in a publicized speech on 11 June 1994. Abiola's declaration became the first civilian coup speech in Nigeria that impacted the entire country (Abaya, 2008; Bello, 2019), see some explanations on the criteria used to categorize Abiola's Epetedo's declaration as a coup speech on 2.4.5.4 p. 47. Consequently, Abacha's military junta promptly arrested Abiola. Abacha suddenly died on 8 June 1998 of an apparent cardiac arrest (Enweremadu, 2013; Ojo, 2007), while Abiola died on 7 July 1998, of heart attack, according to the autopsy report (Chiluwa, 2007, pp. 63–71; Ojo E. O., 2014), which was doubtful, since there were other accounts of a conspiracy theory that Abiola was poisoned through a cup of tea he was served during a meeting with some United States Diplomats and Nigerian military personnel. The restoration of civilian rule in 1999 in Nigeria, was facilitated by the unrelenting opposition to military rule by individuals, civil society groups, and the media (Ngara, 2012).

The above sociopolitical history of Nigeria produced the speeches that have been selected for this study. Consequently, the following speeches, which constitute the entire population of Nigeria's presidential political discourse that cut across three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, have been purposively selected for analysis. A chronological order of the speeches selected for analysis is given in Table 1.1. After the name of each speaker, cross-references are given to the sections of the thesis where this speech is discussed.

S/N	Date	Type of speech/event	Genre	Speaker
1	01/10/1960	1st independence speech	inaugural	Tafawa Balewa (see 5.2, 6.2, & 7.4)
2	15/01/1966	the overthrow of Balewa	coup	Chukwuma Nzeogwu (see 5.2, 6.2, 7.2 & 8.2)
3	01/08/1966	the overthrow of Ironsi	coup	Yakubu Gowon (see 5.2, 6.2, & 7.2)
4	30/05/1967	the secession of the Eastern region	secession	Chukwemeka Ojukwu (see 9.2, 6.2, & 7.3)
5	29/07/1975	the overthrow of Gowon's govt.	coup	Murtala Mohammed (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
6	13/02/1976	the overthrow of Murtala's govt.	coup	Burka Dimka (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.3)
7	01/10/1979	the second civilian government	inaugural	Shehu Shagari (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.4)
8	01/01/1984	the overthrow of Shagari's govt.	coup	Muhammadu Buhari (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
9	27/08/1985	the overthrow of Buhari	coup	Ibrahim Babangida (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
10	22/04/1990	attempted overthrow of Babangida	coup	Gideon Orkar (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
11	17/11/1993	the overthrow of the Interim National Government (ING)	coup	Sani Abacha (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
12	11/06/1994	attempted overthrow of Abacha	coup (civilian)	Moshood Abiola (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.2)
13	29/05/1999	the third civilian government	inaugural	Aremu Obasanjo (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.4)
14	29/05/2007	the fourth civilian government	inaugural	Musa Yar'Adua (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.4)
15	29/05/2011	the fifth civilian government	inaugural	Goodluck Jonathan (see 5.2, 6.3, 7.4 & 10.2)
16	29/05/2015	the sixth civilian government	inaugural	Muhammadu Buhari (see 5.2, 6.3, & 7.4)

Table 1.1: A chronological representation of the selected speeches

More information on the sociopolitical contexts of the speeches can be found in 2.4.

### 1.5 Previous studies of Nigeria's political speeches to show the scope and significance of this study

Various studies have been done on Nigerian leaders' political speeches. The studies have been arranged to give some saliences to the context of Nigerian political discourse (Agbo & Kadiri, 2018). A more detailed review of the three genres of speech selected for this study can be found in 2.4.

David (2019) studied the politics of un/belonging in Biafra during the Nigeria-Biafra War. The author analysed nine fictional narratives and two memoirs from the perspectives of secessionist discourse and historicity. The study also adopted a situated intersectionality methodology and concludes that the Biafran forces used violence to coerce some people into accepting the Biafran identity by punishing those that refused to accept this identity. The researcher concludes that to get people to belong to an identity freely, the people should be extensively engaged and not forced to understand the reason why they should change their identity.

Iretunde (2015) investigated selected first speeches of the following ex-military heads of state of Nigeria: Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Mohammed, Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida, Sani Abacha, and Abdulsalam Abubakar. This study also used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and focused on ideology. Iretunde's study identified a reliance on forceful words and expressions by the military, such as: 'attacked' and 'arrested'. The study concludes that this way of expression is characteristic of military language. He found that the military leaders used militaristic language and subtle ways to exert power by sounding accommodating, conciliatory, and condemnatory.

The victory and inaugural speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua were analysed by Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere (2012), from a pragmatic perspective, using Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory and SFL. Yar' Adua was a civilian president of Nigeria from 2007 to 2010. The researchers found that 60% of his speeches consisted of assertive acts. The fact that Yar' Adua had to struggle to assert his authority in the speeches reflects the political disunity

and contestations over his victory in the election. Nigeria's 2007 presidential election through which Yar' Adua became the president, was marred by irregularities (Osiki, 2010).

Nnamdi-Eruchalu (2017) analysed the pronouns in President Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speeches. Buhari ruled Nigeria from 1984 to 1985 as a military head of state, and in 2015 he returned as the civilian president of Nigeria. Nnamdi-Eruchalu's study was done using the theoretical framework of (CDA), and the finding shows that Buhari used only 40 personal pronouns in his 1984 coup speech, unlike his 2015 inaugural speech as a civilian president, where he used 101 personal pronouns (2017, p. 160). According to Nnamdi-eruchalu, Buhari's different uses of pronouns in his speech as a military head of state and as a civilian president shows his military and civilian dispositions. The author asserts that Buhari used only 40 personal pronouns to enact the identity of his military background, head of the Supreme Military and Federal Executive Council. Buhari's use of a fewer number of personal pronouns shows that he did not feel compelled to convince the audience to accept his military government. This is supported by Nnamdi-eruchalu's assertion that: "The role relationship involved in that speech introduced constriction, terseness, and remoteness, with a heavy dependence on the passive language" (Nnamdi-eruchalu, 2017, p. 159). Buhari's use of fewer personal pronouns as a military head of state is at variance with his 2015 inaugural speech as a civilian president, where he used 101 personal pronouns. The researcher claims that Buhari used more personal pronouns as a civilian president because he felt he was accountable to the people who gave him the mandate to become president through an election. In this case, he felt compelled to convince his audience of his readiness to be their president.

In the same vein, Sharndama (2015) analysed the inaugural speeches of Buhari, using the CDA framework. The researcher also found out that Buhari used personal pronouns extensively, to construe an identity of a commonly shared value with his audience, which corroborated Nnamdi-eruchalu's findings concerning Buhari's use of different personal pronouns in his military coup speech in 1984, and as a civilian President in 2015.

Ogunmuyiwa (2019) used the SFL theory and CDA approach to investigate the discourse on corruption in Nigeria's presidential speeches, from 1957 to 2015. The analyst used SFL's Transitivity framework, Chilton's (2004), and van Dijk's (2006) theory of Identity Representation. The finding reveals that Nigerian leaders created a deliberate double standard and ambiguous representation of corruption in their choice of language. Nigerian leaders created an in-group of fellow politicians and an out-group of other citizens. The leaders presented an image of being soft by using soothing accommodating words and clause complexes to be more acceptable to their in-group while sounding tough by being condemnatory and forceful to the out-group. According to Ogunmuyiwa, the Nigerian leaders achieved this ambivalent approach to corruption in their speeches, by using evaluative language to address the same topic of corruption for both groups (in-group and out-group) in different ways, thereby contradicting themselves.

Agbo et al. (2018), studied the political speeches of selected Nigerian leaders using the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) approach. The Nigerian leaders' speeches studied, and the genres of their speeches are as follows: Abacha's 1984 and 1993 (maiden coup speeches), Babangida's 1985 (maiden coup speech and 1993 valedictory speech), Abiola's 1993 (acceptance of nomination speech and 1994 Epetedo declaration (see 2.4.5.5), and Jonathan's 2013 (reply to Obasanjo's letter). Their study cuts across two military regimes (Abacha and Babangida) and one civilian regime (Jonathan) and some speeches by Abiola. The researchers "adopted the framework of Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which derived from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)" (2018 p 95) to analyse the speeches. According to their findings, Nigerian leaders used metaphors to achieve various objectives to suit their interests. Some of these objectives are to reproduce power asymmetry, promote the ideology of self-identity, and propose bonds with their audience. The researchers used metaphors to create different images of Nigeria's election as a battle, contest, or journey (Agbo & Kadiri, 2018, pp. 98–101).

From the above survey of some previous studies on Nigerian leaders' speeches, not much has been done on the combination of the genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, to a comparison of features of congruence and convergence in the Nigerian political discourse. In the macro-analysis of the whole corpus in 5.2, this student researcher describes some specific

linguistic features of Nigerian political speeches by comparing the features of the three genres of inaugural and coup speeches. This study adds to CL methods by comparing what lexical patterns can be revealed in Nigerian political speeches over time. For instance, this study compares Nigerian Presidential political speeches diachronically, by doing a meso-analysis of pre-, Nigeria-Biafra War corpus in 6.2, and a meso-analysis of post-, Nigeria-Biafra War corpus in 6.3. In addition, this study contributes to SFL's Appraisal, by examining how Interpersonal meanings in a language are used to influence the listeners' political beliefs by enacting affiliation, individuation, and reproducing unequal power relations in the speeches. Lastly, this study adopts the mixed methods analytics approach of quantitative CL, and qualitative SFL, to unearth the linguistic resources that speakers can use in Interpersonal discourse to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings and propose bonds of alignments and disalignments to their audience.

## 1.6 Key Concepts

Subsequently, there are discussions on the concepts upon which this study is based. These concepts are power, affiliation, and individuation. Although these concepts have been explained in various theories, in this study, the concepts are applied through the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory. SFL is a language theory that incorporates several concepts that are working as interconnected and complementary systems to perform the various semiotic functions of language. The above three concepts are explained concerning the selected speeches and how the speakers used these concepts to achieve certain Interpersonal objectives in their speeches.

### 1.6.1 Power

Power is an immanent force that is not seen physically but manifests everywhere and at every time (Caldwell, 2007; Jackson, 2015). In every human interaction, power is exerted in one way or the other. In this study, the aim of discussing the concept of power is to unearth how speakers apply relations of power to their advantage in political speeches. Political speeches are rich in persuasive and controlling strategies that are aimed at making the listeners align with the speaker's views (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008). Most political speeches are non-interactive, which give the speakers the advantage of adopting strategies that align the listeners' views with those of the speaker. This situation encourages unequal power relations between the speaker and the listeners (Andrea, 2008;

Rachar, 2016). Some of the power relations strategies that this study is interested in are affiliation and individuation, in terms of how the speakers co-articulate meanings to position themselves with, or away from certain ideas, people, sections of the country, and political movements.

Several scholars have taken an interest in the study of how power is exerted and enacted between the speakers and the listeners. Some of these scholars are Gramsci, Bourdieu and Foucault. More detailed explanations of the contributions of these scholars to the concept of power in discourse can be found in 2.6.

### 1.6.2 Affiliation

Knight describes Affiliation as “a theory of communal identity as discursively negotiated in the text” (2010, p. 42). Affiliation has also been described as how text senders identify themselves with a larger community of users (Martin, 2010; Martin et al., 2013). Speakers use the concept of affiliation to bond with their in-group to achieve certain commonly shared purposes. The speakers use strategies to create in-groups and out-groups, which they either align with or disalign with based on shared values. In essence, Knight says that affiliation “accounts for the communal identification of participants into communities of bonds” (2010, p. 35). Affiliation is generally allied with bonding with communities of shared values (Almutairi, 2014; Mahboob & Knight, 2008). Further explanations of the concepts of affiliation show that it is the semiotic process of how users utilize the resources of language to express their communal identity (Bednarek, 2010; Martin et al., 2013) According to Knight, affiliation “captures the logogenetic patterning of Interpersonal + Ideational couplings (across Metafunctions) in text, which are presented to share as social *bonds* between interactants” (2010, p. 42). Knight (2010) further describes the process of affiliation through the shared bonds that exist in laughter among participants. She surmises that participants engaged in laughter have things in common through their mutual shared experiences which also encourage a shared attitude towards something. The attitudes of shared values can be either positive or negative through which participants discursively construe their different social identities. Humour has been identified as “the lens through which the elements of identity can be negotiated” (Knight, 2010 p. 42). The logogenesis of a text can provide evidence of how discourse participants share common values. The analysis of a text reveals those common values that can be used to negotiate communities of bonds.

### 1.6.3 Individuation

Individuation is the inverse of affiliation, which is concerned with the choices a language user makes from the repertoire of cultural and linguistic options available to him/her (Knight, 2010; Martin, 2010). These available linguistic options enable the language user to create different individual identities from among a communally shared value system (Knight, 2010; Martin, 2010). The concept of individuation was influenced by Bernstein. Martin describes it thus: “focusing on the ends of the cline, individuation has to do with the relationship between the reservoir of meanings in a culture and the repertoire a given individual can mobilize” (Martin, 2010, p. 23). Individuation was also influenced by the study of semantic variation which proposes that semiotic resources are assigned to users differently (Alaei & Ahangari, 2016; Martin et al., 2013). In addition, individuation has been more specifically explained from the perspective of its complementary relationship of a reservoir to the repertoire, thus: “We can think of individuation along two trajectories, basically asking whether we are classifying identities or negotiating them” (Martin, 2010, p. 24). More explanations on affiliation and individuation are given in 2.9.

## 1.7 An overview of the theoretical approaches

In this section, there are insights into the methods of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which underpin this study. The study adopts an interdisciplinary approach, by using the CL, SFL, and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) perspectives in the analysis of data. The CL and SFL theory are discussed in this chapter to show how CL and SFL are used in this research as a mixed method study (Guest and Fleming, 2017) combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (Mulligan, 2016).

### 1.7.1 Corpus Linguistic & Systemic Functional Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is situated in Applied Linguistics, and this analytic method uses computer-aided methods to analyse language data (Baker et al., 2008). CL has been defined as “the analysis of naturally occurring language on the basis of computerized corpora” (Nesselhauf, 2011). The improvement in the use of personal computers has greatly enhanced the use of CL in language research. Corpus linguistics has had a long historical development, starting from the 13th century when scholars carried out manual indexing of the Bible (Kytö, 2011; McEnery and Hardie,



2012). In this present information age, CL methods are being used in several aspects of language study (Baker et al., 2008; Zanettin, 2013).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a field of linguistics that approaches language as an interconnected network of systems that function together to make meanings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin, 2016a). SFL takes a functional perspective on language, focusing on how language users utilize its resources to solve real-life problems. It is described as “a new approach to the study of grammar that is radically different from the traditional view in which language is a set of rules for specifying grammatical structures” (Bavali and Sadighi, 2008 p. 14). More information on CL can be found in 3.2, and on the complementary relationship between CL and SFL in 3.6.

### 1.8 Research questions

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the patterns of evaluative language used in the selected Nigerian political speeches?
2. How have Nigerian leaders used language to maintain power asymmetry in their speeches?
3. How have the speakers positioned themselves in relation to other individuals and political movements in Nigeria, in these speeches?
4. What are the contributions of such CL and SFL analyses of these speeches to the following:
  - a. Sociopolitical knowledge about the country Nigeria and its history?
  - b. Theoretical knowledge about power, affiliation, and individuation?

### 1.9 Overview of the study

This thesis is organized into eleven chapters, as outlined in the research design in section 4.2. Chapter one gives the general background information upon which other chapters proceed, and chapter two reviews related literature that enriches the concepts and perspectives of the study. In chapter three, there are discussions about the theoretical foundations of the study in terms of the methods of corpus linguistics (CL), and the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory, while

this student researcher discusses the methods, techniques, and procedures of the study used to analyse its data in chapter four. Also in chapter four, there are discussions about the implications of using the mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative analyses and explain the adoption of Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, and the re-adaptation of this framework to a four-pronged approach, to fully account for the different sub-corpora in the meso layer of the prongs. Chapter five proceeds with a quantitative macro-analysis analysis of the whole data, while chapter six is about the meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches, and chapter seven is about the meso-analysis of the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches in chapter seven. In chapter eight, this student researcher commences the qualitative micro-analysis of one coup speech of Nzeogwu, proceeds with the micro-analysis of the secession speech of Ojukwu in chapter nine and completes the micro-analysis of one inaugural speech of Jonathan in chapter ten. Finally, there are discussions about the findings of the research in chapter eleven.

#### 1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, the background information on this study has been given. The factors that motivated and positioned the student researcher to undertake this study on Nigerian leaders' speeches have been discussed. The context of the research, and previous studies on Nigerian leaders' speeches, have also been discussed in this chapter. The student researcher has given a good salience of the factors that motivated him to undertake the study, especially for international readers of this thesis to appreciate the context upon which the research is based. Consequently, there are discussions about some key concepts such as Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory, within the domain of the Appraisal framework, which guide this study. The research questions have also been introduced in this chapter as a roadmap for the rest of the study. Finally, a table of the selected speeches for analysis, and some figures were given to illustrate the concepts of CL and SFL and affiliation and individuation in this chapter.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the review of some extant literature that is relevant to the sociopolitical, theoretical, and analytics contexts of this study. Thus, the historical contexts of the selected speeches and previous research activities that aid in supplying the theoretical context for this analysis, are described in this chapter. In essence, this literature review takes a diachronic approach to explicate the events surrounding the selected speeches to properly situate them within the research context (Alyousef & Alyahya, 2018; Ingold, 2017; Siebörger, 2018). The diachronic explication of this study enables readers, especially international readers, to come to terms with those issues and events that shaped and reshaped Nigeria's sociopolitical history and gave rise to the speeches that are being analysed in the study. In following the need for clarity and simplicity, the speeches are contextualized from the perspective of the history of Nigerian political discourse. This candidate then describes the different sociopolitical and historical periods of Nigeria's history in Table 2.1, to aid the understanding of the layout of this study.

S/N0	Date/Period	Event(s)	Actor(s)
1	1500-1800	Established nations and kingdoms existed for thousands of years before the economic explorations of foreign nations.	foreign merchants/ traditional kings
2	1800-1960	The Scramble for Africa and British colonization	colonial agents
3	1914	The amalgamation of different nations to form Nigeria	Lord Lugard,
4	1960	Nigeria's independence from Britain	Nigerian Leaders
5	1960-1966	The first civilian government in Nigeria and the first inaugural speech	Tafawa Balewa
6	15 January 1966	The first military coup in Nigeria and the first coup speech	Chukwuma Nzeogwu
7	29 July 1966	The second coup in Nigeria and the second coup speech	Yakubu Gowon
8	30 May 1967	The secession of the Eastern Region from Nigeria and the first secession speech	Odumegwu Ojukwu
9	1967-1970	Nigeria-Biafra War	Gowon & Ojukwu
10	1 October 1979	The second civilian government and the second inaugural speech	Shehu Shagari
11	12 June 1993	A presidential election and the subsequent annulment of the election	Ibrahim Babangida & Moshood Abiola
12	11 June 1994	The <i>Epetedo declaration</i> and the first civilian coup speech in Nigeria	Moshood Abiola
13	1999-date	The third-sixth civilian governments	Nigerian leaders

Table 2.1: Political milestones in Nigeria

Subsequently, the student researcher describes an overview of the history that is elaborated in the following sections of the chapter. The candidate first reviews some literature in 2.2, on the sociopolitical periods of Nigeria's historical developments, particularly, on the periods between 1500-1800 which gave the sociopolitical history of the major different nations that were later amalgamated to form Nigeria. The description of the period of 1800-1960, when the British had contact with the geographical part of West Africa where Nigeria is located, through economic explorations and colonization can be found in 2.3. The British colonial masters amalgamated the different nations existing in the colonized region as one country, which they named Nigeria. Nigeria became independent from British colonial rule in 1960. The candidate also reviews some literature that describes the events that happened in the postcolonial period of Nigeria, in 2.4. In this review, Nigeria's various civilian political periods are labelled as the first, second, and third civilian governments, respectively. This naming convention is a paradigm shift in the previous designations of Nigeria's various postcolonial governments. In several studies such as Aluko and

Ajani (2009); Egbe (2014); Ekenade (2012) and Jackson (2020), Nigeria's various political experiments have been designated as republics. That is why some scholars refer to the period of 1960 to 1966 as Nigeria's First Republic and subsequent ones as Second, Third, and Fourth Republics respectively. However, in keeping with the desire for simplicity in this study and to properly situate the various speeches that were made during these periods, this student researcher prefers to use the term 'civilian government' to differentiate between the military and civilian governments in Nigeria.

The student researcher then describes the first civilian government which lasted from 1960 to 1966, in 2.4.1. This period is commonly referred to as Nigeria's First Republic, during which Nigeria gained independence from Britain and elected her first civilian government, which was eventually overthrown through a military coup on 15 January 1966. Likewise, in 2.4.2, this candidate described the first military rule in Nigeria, which lasted from 1966 to 1979. The description of the period of the Nigeria-Biafra War which lasted from 1967 to 1970, is given in 2.4.3. The Nigeria-Biafra War is a watershed in Nigeria's sociopolitical history and still casts its shadow on Nigeria's economic and political development till the time of completing this study in 2023 (Achebe, 2012; Heerten L. & Moses A. D., 2014).

Subsequently, the candidate describes in 2.4.4, the second civilian government in Nigeria which started when the military handed over governance back to the civilians in 1979. This second civilian government lasted for a brief period of four years, from 1 October 1979 to 31 December 1983 when the military overthrew this second civilian government again through a coup. There are descriptions in 2.4.5, of the second military rule in Nigeria, which lasted from 1983-1999. The candidate equally describes in 2.4.6, the political crisis that Nigeria experienced from 1993 to 1994, which culminated in the military returning governance to the civilians in 1999. The political crisis of 1993 started from the annulment of a presidential election which made Nigeria to have three different governments within the same year as follows: Babangida's military government, which handed over to an Interim National Government (ING) in August 1993; and Abacha's military government, which overthrew the ING in November 1993 (Ojo, 2014). The 1993 political

crisis led to the 1994 civilian coup speech in Nigeria made by the presumed winner of the 1993 annulled presidential election.

Subsequently, the student researcher describes in 2.5, the period from 1999 to the present day when the military was forced through a series of oppositions by some Nigerians, human rights groups, and the media, to return governance to the civilians. This period marks the third civilian government in Nigeria. This third civilian government from 1999 to the present day, is the longest period that the civilians have ruled Nigeria without interruption from the military. This study analyses selected speeches made by Nigerian leaders at these significant moments in the country's history. The analysis makes a comparison of the keywords and genres of speeches in the macro- and meso-analysis layers, to ascertain the correlation between the present and the previous sociopolitical periods of crisis. This review aims to explore what language makes the speeches effective at achieving the speaker's goals.

Further, some theoretical concepts are reviewed in 2.6, by looking at some literature on various political discourses that have relevance to this present study. Consequently, there are reviews of some literature on inaugural speeches in 2.6.1, while in 2.6.2 and 2.6.3, the literature on the coup, and secession speeches, are reviewed with a focus on Nigeria. This candidate further reviews some literature on the concepts of power and power relations in 2.7, focusing on how the speakers reproduced or transformed unequal power relations in the speeches. There is also a review of some literature on the concepts of affiliation and individuation in 2.8, focusing on how these concepts are theorized in SFL. The candidate also reviews some literature on the concepts of identity in 2.9. and agency on discourse, in 2.10. Lastly, explanations on the concluding section of this chapter are given in 2.11, where this study is situated and summarized within the sociopolitical contexts of this review. The above sections of this chapter are designed as a build-up to the study that is used in later chapters to respond to the research questions.

## 2.2 The pre-British period: 1500-1800

The country known as Nigeria is a combination of nations, kingdoms, and emirates that were amalgamated in 1914 as mentioned previously. Some of these nations date back thousands of years, as far as archaeological findings can prove (Kay & Kaplan, 2015). Since Nigeria is a colonial creation, this account is about the state of the various nations and kingdoms that were amalgamated together to form Nigeria, starting from 1500-1800 before colonization. My reason for giving this account is to foreground the historical perspectives, which seem to indicate that this period was marked by many economic and exploratory activities in the region that define these pre-colonial nations (Ezeogidi, 2020). Some of these nations, empires, and kingdoms that existed before 1500 in Sub-Saharan Africa, which later became Nigeria are Nri, Arochukwu, Igbo Ukwu, Benin, Oyo, Nok, Kanem Bornu and Gobir (Falola & Heaton, 2008). There is evidence of a civilization that existed in that era, like the Nok terracotta sculptures (Shaw 1972; Rupp & Breunig, 2016; Sutton, 1991). Most of these nations were very different in culture, religion, and tradition. The pre-colonial period was also characterized by the slave trade, and the slave merchants from Europe and America participated actively in these economic activities, (Babacar, 2007). Most of the pre-colonial nations also already had advanced systems of government, like the Oyo empire, which had a monarchical system of government, the Benin kingdom, which was a totalitarian government, and the Nri kingdom, which had a republican system of government (Audu & Uzoma, 2015).

The European explorers engaged in the Trans-Atlantic trade with most of the above-mentioned kingdoms that inhabited the region that later became Nigeria. Economic activities continued in these regions until the “Partition of Africa” in 1884-1885 (Koponen, 1993), where Britain was granted the right to colonize the area which fell under her economic activities. The next section of this review discusses the British colonization of the nations and kingdoms that later became Nigeria and the independence of Nigeria in 1960.

## 2.3 The colonial period: 1800-1960

Britain participated actively in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and economic exploration-cum-exploitation of Africa between the 14th-17th centuries (Ojo, 2015). These economic activities culminated in the abolition of the slave trade by Britain in 1807 (Dalrymple-Smith, 2017; Riddick,

1966). The kingdoms that later became West Africa where Nigeria was created, had active trading ports. After the abolition of the slave trade, British and other European interests in West Africa turned to political domination which led to the “Scramble for Africa” (Nwachukwu & Ogundiwin, 2020) among the competing Western nations (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2016). By 1851, Britain had already subdued most of the kingdoms in the geo-political area that they controlled and were able to present a convincing argument at the Berlin conference of 1884-1885, for the colonization of the nations that they later amalgamated as Nigeria. British argument for the control of these nations at the Berlin conference where Africa was partitioned by various European countries, was backed by documents of treaties between her and the subdued kingdoms (Ezeogidi, 2020; Koponen, 1993). Britain initially governed its newly acquired territories in the area covering the present-day Nigeria, as Southern and Northern Protectorates (Adeyemi and Oluwatobi, 2018; Ajayi, 2022; Jae Y. H. & Ntim, 2014). However, for reasons of administrative and economic convenience, the British colonialists amalgamated the Southern Protectorate with the Northern Protectorate in 1914 and named the amalgamated protectorates, Nigeria (Mohammed, 2013; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Ojo, 2017).

Several studies have been done, examining the circumstances and implications of Nigeria’s unstable sociopolitical experiences. For instance, Hassan (2013) considers the circumstances that surround the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria. The study identifies some internal and external factors that are responsible for Nigeria's underdevelopment, such as the complicity of the traditional rulers in signing treaties with the colonial officers for personal gains, the interventions of Nigeria's military in politics, and the British amalgamation of incompatible nations (Hasan, 2013).

However, Ojo (2017) has a different view on the sociopolitical and economic problems that have affected Nigeria since its independence. Although he acknowledges the negative impact of the British amalgamation policy and concludes that Nigerian leaders’ engagement in a negative political rivalry, endemic corruption, and leadership ineptitude led to these problems. Several scholars agree with Ojo’s views that despite the amalgamation, Nigerian leaders are largely responsible for Nigeria's sociopolitical instability. For instance, (Ogbeidi, 2012) blames Nigerian



leaders for the country's political and economic backwardness, especially in corruption and lack of political focus. The researcher calls on Nigerian leaders to look inwards to be able to solve the country's numerous problems, especially on the inequitable distribution of the country's resources.

Riddick (1966) says that the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates was meant to merge two dissimilar areas. Riddick's claim could be substantiated by the cultural, religious, educational and social differences that exist among the over 250 ethnic groups that were merged (Siollun, 2009). Since the foundation for unity was not properly laid from the beginning, coupled with other factors such as the failure of leadership, the political disunity that Nigeria has been experiencing even before independence in 1960, reached its climax between 1966-1970. Siollun describes this incompatible relationship among the ethnic groups that were amalgamated to form Nigeria, thus: "Most of these groups have nothing in common with each other outside of their mutual suspicion and hostilities" (Siollun, 2009, p. 12).

Given these sociopolitical instabilities in Nigeria, this study analyses some selected speeches that were made at very significant moments in the history of Nigeria. The focus of the analysis is to elucidate how language can be used to negotiate affiliation and individuation with some people, groups, or sections of the country.

#### 2.4 The postcolonial period

The postcolonial period of Nigeria's political history is very intriguing and full of crisis. Expectedly, during this period, many political speeches have been made by Nigerian leaders, most of which have made a significant impact on the sociopolitical structure of the country. Some of the speeches are: Nzeogwu's 1966 coup speech, Yakubu Gowon's 1966 coup speech and Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech. One of the major factors that affected Nigeria's postcolonial experience was the intervention of Nigeria's military in politics which led to the Nigeria-Biafra War. This literature review, however, lays a foundation for the readers to be able to follow the factors that gave rise to those speeches that are selected for analysis in this study and their effects

on the sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria. This review concentrates on the different stages of Nigeria's postcolonial history that have relevance to the selected speeches in this study.

#### 2.4.1 The first civilian government: 1960-1966

One could state that Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960 and began her first civilian government with the election and inauguration of a government, headed by Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister. Consequently, the first inaugural speech of Nigeria as an independent country was made by Tafawa Balewa on 1st October 1960. Nigeria's first civilian government was overthrown by the military through a coup on 15th January 1966. Several scholars have taken an interest in the study of the factors that led to the collapse of the first civilian government of Nigeria. Jackson (2020) opines that many of the problems that affected the newly independent African countries were the lack of cohesion in a national government. In the case of Nigeria, Jackson argues that there was no central figure on which the country relied for a united front against colonialism. Jackson points out that instead of a united leader, Nigeria had different ethnic leaders who pursued the path of unity from different ethnic perspectives. According to him, the reason for this ethnic-oriented leadership was that Nigeria was formed by merging different ethnic groups and nations with divergent sociopolitical orientations. Jackson also identifies more reasons for Nigeria's disunity, such as the social, economic, and educational gaps between the northern and southern parts of the country, (Jackson, 2020).

Ogbeidi (2012) examines some factors responsible for Nigeria's political instability, economic backwardness, corruption, and lack of purposeful leadership since independence. The study is in agreement with several others and even the first coup speech of Nzeogwu identified corruption and inept leadership as the main reason why the military overthrew the first civilian government (Siollun, 2009). Given these reasons for the fall of the first civilian government in Nigeria, this candidate agrees that the combination of external and internal factors of colonialism, ethnicity, corruption, leadership ineptitude, and military impatience, have led to the collapse of the first civilian government. The above views are some of the factors that informed my interest in analysing the entire population of Nigeria's presidential political speeches. The aim is to identify the links between the sociopolitical history of Nigeria from independence to the present time, and

how the linguistic resources used by the Nigerian leaders in the speeches have contributed to Nigeria's present sociopolitical experiences.

Examining Nigeria's presidential political speeches, especially the first inaugural speech of Tafawa Balewa, occupies a significant position in Nigeria's political history. This speech, as expected, must have reflected the euphoria, hopes, and aspirations of the people about the newly independent country. That makes it a rich source for linguistic analysis, especially in Nigeria's political discourse genre. This analysis sheds light on the link between the inaugural speeches and other genres of speeches that are selected for analysis in this study. Examining this first inaugural speech in Nigeria's political history also provides a general survey of the country's disposition at the inception of its nationhood. Moreover, Balewa's 1st inaugural speech serves as a basis for comparison with other sub-genres of coup and secession speeches under analysis in this study.

#### 2.4.2 The first military rule: 1966-1979

Nigeria's first civilian government was terminated through a military coup on 15 January 1966. The coup actors accused Nigeria's first civilian government of corruption, weakness, sectionalism, and nepotism (Ogbeidi, 2012; Osinakachukwu et al., 2013). Consequently, the first civilian government was overthrown six years after, on 15 January 1966 through a military coup, which was masterminded by Nzeogwu in the northern region, while the other couple leaders operated in the south. The coup resulted in the death of the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and some high-profile civilians and military officers such as Brigadier Maimalari, Sir Festus Okotie Eboh etc (Achebe, 2012). The most senior military officer, General J.T.U. Aguiyi Ironsi, rallied the army to arrest the coup plotters and took control of the country as the Head of State, with a promise to return Nigeria to civilian governance, after restoring normalcy. Ironsi abolished the federal system of government and introduced a unitary government (Aremu & Buhari, 2017).

However, the 1966 coup was perceived to have an ethnic motivation since most of the coup actors were from the Igbo ethnic group of south-Eastern Nigeria (Achebe, 2012). This perception led to another successful, bloody, retaliatory coup on 29 July 1966, which resulted in the death of Ironsi

and many civilians and military personnel mainly from Eastern Nigeria, and Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon became the Military Head of State (Julius-Adeoye, 2017). The coup of 15 January 1966 has some immediate and long-term implications for Nigeria's political history. The coup was directly responsible for the second, coup of 29 July 1966, which triggered a series of actions and reactions that culminated in the Nigeria-Biafra War. The speeches of the 15 January 1966 and 1 August 1966 coups, as well as the 30 May 1967 Secession speech, are some of those being analysed in this study. This review is therefore interested in highlighting those factors that led to the two coups that happened within a space of six months, and how other studies have approached Nigeria's 1966 coups (Aremu, 2016). The aim is to lay a good salience of the circumstances that culminated in these bloody coups barely six years after Nigeria's independence, for readers to fully grasp the analysis of these coup speeches that are made in subsequent chapters. Further analyses of these speeches can be found in 7.2 & 8.2 respectively.

Ojo, Sunday & Oluyemi (2014) investigate some of the factors that led to military interventions in Nigeria's politics. Their study identifies ethnic differences and lack of ethnic hegemony among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria, for being responsible for military interventions in Nigeria's politics. They opine that most military interventions in Nigeria's politics are because of the quest of the military to change what they perceive to be lacking in the civilian government. The researchers cited the 15 January 1966 coup speech of Nzeogwu as an example of this changing phenomenon in military interventions. According to the researchers, the coup speech of 15 January 1966 reflects the power and forceful statements, accusations, and condemnations of the civilian government. The ethnic disharmony, especially between the northern and southern regions of Nigeria, identified by Oluyemi's study resonated very clearly in Nzeogwu's coup speech.

The overbearing intrusion of Nigeria's military into Nigeria's politics is best described by Nzeogwu's statement, cited as follows:

Neither myself nor any of the other lads was in the least interested in governing the country. We are soldiers and not politicians....We are going to make civilians of proven honesty and efficiency who will be thoroughly handpicked to do all the governing....We would stand behind them with our fingers on the trigger (Maj. Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu leader of Nigeria's first military coup) (Agbese, 1992b, p. 220).

The above quotation reveals an overbearing, all-knowing, and self-appointed messianic attitude of the Nigerian military in the political structure of Nigeria, with a reproduction of binary unequal power relations with the civilians. In essence, the military, and their language, as well as their political ideology are parts of Nigeria's national consciousness and part of the repertoire of Nigeria's political discourse. The first segment of military rule in Nigeria, 1966-1979 was very significant in the history of the country. The climax of the crisis of this period was the Nigeria-Biafra War from 1967 to 1970. This study analyses three speeches from this period, which are: the 15 January 1966 coup speech, the 1 August 1966 coup speech, and the 30 May 1967 secession speech. The aim is to unearth the linguistic strategies that the military officers used to control the people by exerting power asymmetry and enacting affiliation and individuation, while creating special identities, to realize their objectives. A micro-analysis of Nzeogwu's coup speech can be found in 9.2.

Sklar (1967) describes Nigeria's second military coup of 29 July 1966. This coup resulted in the emergence of Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon as Nigeria's Head of State. The second coup of 29 July was bloodier than the first one because it was carried out in retaliation by northern Nigerian soldiers who felt aggrieved with the first coup. The retaliation was directed mainly against soldiers and civilians of the Eastern region, especially the Igbo ethnic group. They were accused of carrying out the first coup of 15 January 1966 and executed it with bias against the other sections of the country. This second coup degenerated into a genocide directed mainly against the Igbo ethnic group (Achebe, 2012, pp. 63–65; Korieh, 2013).

The two main antagonists in the 1966 political crisis in Nigeria were Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon, who became the Head of State, and Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, the military governor of the Eastern Region. Ojukwu protested the genocide that was carried out against the people of the Eastern Region, mainly the Igbo ethnic group, and refused to recognize Gowon's regime (Julius-Adeoye, 2017; Obi-ani & Obi-ani, 2016). In a bid to prevent an imminent war in Nigeria, the chairman of the Ghana Liberation Council, Lt. Gen. Joseph Ankrah, convened a meeting between Gowon and Ojukwu at Aburi, Ghana (Agwu, 2001; Aremu, 2014; Chidiebere & Onuoha, 2016). Far-reaching agreements on how to prevent a war in Nigeria were reached at that meeting and the agreements

were termed the 'Aburi Accord'. However, the failure to implement this accord and the insecurity of the people of the Eastern Region, led to the declaration of the secession of the Eastern Region by Ojukwu as the Republic of Biafra on 30 May 1967 (Achebe, 2012). The Nigerian Armed Forces' attempt to force the seceding region back into Nigeria, and the expected resistance, resulted in a war between Nigeria and Biafra, which lasted from July 1967 to January 1970. Because of these political intrigues, the speeches of the first and the second coups, as well as the secession speech, are full of linguistic resources the speakers used to reproduce or transform unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation with their audience. More information on the report of the analysis of the coup and secession speeches can be found in 9.2 and 10.2.

The lexical aspects of military language have been studied by (Majali, 2015). This study looks at those peculiar linguistic features some ousted Arab presidents used in their speeches, during the Arab Spring Revolution of 2010-2012. The study focuses on the analysis of those lexical linguistic features that distinguished the Arab Spring study from the previous studies that were made from 1960 to 1970.

#### 2.4.3 The Nigeria-Biafra War: 1967-1970

The Nigeria-Biafra War made the most impact on Nigeria's sociopolitical and economic experiences since the amalgamation of different nations in 1914. This review, therefore, highlights some of the critical events that led to the secession speech and the war to enable readers to have a clearer view of this monumental event in the history of Nigeria and better appreciate the analysis of the secession speech.

The human and material loss during the Nigeria-Biafra War was monumental and of catastrophic dimension (Aremu & Buhari, 2017). Further aggregating the political significance and the impact of the war on Nigeria, the war changed the structure of Nigerian politics from federal to unitary government, the former regional governments were abolished and states were created instead, thereby concentrating more powers at the center (Onuoha C., 2016). One of the most versatile and clear personal reports of the events that surrounded the Nigeria-Biafra War was given in Achebe's

autobiography. In this book, the literary icon chronicled his memoir on the Nigeria-Biafra War and entitled: “There Was a Country” (Achebe, 2012). He narrates the state of euphoria and high expectations that preceded the independence of Nigeria in 1960. He also gave details of the sociopolitical and economic intrigues that prevailed before, after independent, and post-independent Nigeria, especially among the three major ethnic nations, Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba, as well as other hundreds of ethnic nations which were designated as minorities (Achebe, 2012).

Nwazuluahu uses an analytic research method to investigate the psychological behavioural implications of the Nigeria-Biafra War on the people of the Eastern region of Nigeria. She examines the genocidal nature of the war and concludes that the way the war was waged, has made the people of the Eastern region of Nigeria “more resolute than before to restore the Biafran nation” (2021, p. 1). Consequently, the researcher recommends that a referendum should be conducted for the people of the Eastern region of Nigeria, to determine whether they deserve a separate country from Nigeria.

Similarly, Heerten & Moses (2014) observe that the nature of the Nigeria-Biafra War was genocidal, but there is a dearth of research on the Nigeria-Biafra War in genocide studies. The researchers argue that “the conflict should be considered by students of genocide since its implications challenge some of the field’s founding assumptions and premises” because “the Nigeria-Biafra War evinces the importance of conceptual history for the study of genocide” (2014, p. 1).

Another author that discusses the Nigeria-Biafra War in a multifaceted and humanistic way is Chimamanda Adichie. Her novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* (Adichie, 2007) which is about the Nigeria-Biafra War, has won several prizes. Adichie portrays a nuanced account of the Nigeria-Biafra War using the story form. She humanizes her characters to depict different imageries of love, violence, resilience, and determination, of the Nigeria-Biafra War. Her style of humanizing the horrors of Nigeria-Biafra War stories enables her to avoid what she refers to as: “the dangers of a single story” Adichie, (2006), cited in (Mallet et al., 2016, pp. 233–235). However, she does not lose

sight of the dangers that the war posed as she describes the “conspiracy of silence” (Adichie, 2007) of the outside world to the sufferings of Biafrans, especially the numerous war crimes committed against Biafrans, the using of the weapon of starvation and blockade of humanitarian relief aids to defeat them in the war (Heerten L. & Moses A. D., 2014; Luepke, 2020; Richard Akresh, Marinella Leoine, 2017; Smith, 2014).

Achebe’s (2012) and Adichie’s (2006) accounts of the war differ in terms of style and disposition. This difference is expected considering the circumstances under which the two authors wrote. While Achebe had a first-hand eyewitness account of the war as one who was already an adult and a journalist even before Nigeria’s independence, Adichie was born a decade after the Nigeria-Biafra War and had spent much of her adult life outside Nigeria (Ojinmah, 2012). Therefore, this background may not be unconnected with Adichie’s (2006) more optimistic disposition toward Nigeria as a united country. However, Achebe’s (2012) stand on the Nigeria-Biafra War was that of hopelessness regarding the continuous marriage of strange bedfellows (ethnic groups) that were amalgamated to form one country. These different viewpoints of the two authors are depicted in the titles of their books: *Half of a Yellow Sun* (Adichie, 2007) and *There was a Country* (Achebe, 2012). By choosing to depict the war as *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Adichie shows her lack of conviction in the emergence of Biafra as an independent nation, since the symbol of the Biafran flag is a rising sun (Akpome, 2013; Anyaduba, 2019). On the contrary, Achebe’s title, *There was a Country* is more emphatic on the sociopolitical situation in Nigeria. It indicates that Nigeria was once hopeful of becoming a great country, but the hopes were shattered by the war after which there is no hope for a united Nigeria. However, Adichie and Achebe agree on the themes of betrayal, horrors of war, problems of colonialism, ethnicity, conspiracy, and greed, especially concerning the role played by some foreign countries in committing war crimes in the war through *blockade and starvation policy* (Ayatse & Iorhen, 2013; Brucker, 2019; Korieh, 2013). In reviewing the Nigeria-Biafra War, the critical role played by Ojukwu’s secession speech on 30 May 1967 needs to be properly contextualized.



#### 2.4.4 The second civilian government: 1979-1983

After the Nigerian military ruled for a period of 13 years from 1966 to 1979, during which the Nigeria-Biafra War occurred, Nigeria once again returned to civilian rule when the military decided to take their hands off “the trigger” (Agbese, 1992a, p. 220). General Olusegun Obasanjo handed over power to the civilians, and the government was led by Shehu Shagari who was elected the President in 1979. The inauguration of Shagari’s government was followed by an inaugural speech. This inaugural speech is one of those analysed in this study and a report on the analysis of it can be found in 7.3. Shagari’s inaugural speech was made at a significant moment in Nigeria’s history when Nigeria returned to civilian rule after a war and a long period of military rule. Shagari expectedly used the inaugural speech to set the vision of the second civilian government and chart a new course for the country. This second civilian government was also significant because Nigeria changed from the Parliamentary System to the Presidential System of government (Kifordu, 2013) at the inauguration of Shagari’s government. However, the usual problems of corruption, ethnic politics, and political strife were common in the second civilian government (Dibua, 2020). It was not therefore a surprise that Nigeria’s second civilian government was short-lived as the military proved that they were not tired of meddling in the political affairs of Nigeria. On 31 December 1983, barely four years after inaugurating the second civilian government, the military removed this second civilian government through a coup and General Mohammed Buhari became the Head of State.

#### 2.4.5 Nigeria’s political crisis of 1993-1994

After the removal of the second civilian government on 31 December 1983, the military ruled Nigeria for a period of 16 years, from 1983 to 1999. This period equally witnessed coups and attempted coups. The years 1993-1994 can be described as Nigeria’s political watershed, second only to the 1966-1970 crisis. In 1993, Nigeria witnessed an annulment of a presidential election that was adjudged nationally and internationally, as the freest and fairest to be conducted in Nigeria then (Folarin, 2013; Obi-ani, 1993; Ogbeidi, 2010) and which was won by Abiola. The 1993-1994 political crisis resulted in Nigeria experiencing three different governments in the same year. However, for clarity and ease of understanding, this part of the review dwells mainly on the factors and individuals that played critical roles that led to the first and only civilian coup speech in

Nigeria, which was given by Chief M.K.O. Abiola. This speech is one of those that are included in the meso-analysis in 7.2.1. I, therefore, proceed with this review in this order:

- ❖ General Ibrahim Babangida: 1985-1993
- ❖ The Political Crisis of the 12 June 1993
- ❖ The Interim National Government of 1993
- ❖ General Sani Abacha: 1993-1998
- ❖ Abiola's Epetedo Declaration of 1994

#### 2.4.5.1 General Ibrahim Babangida: 1985-1993

General Ibrahim Babangida was a Nigerian military officer who overthrew Buhari in a coup in 1985. Babangida ruled Nigeria for eight years, from 1985 to 1993. He was reputed to have conducted the longest transition to civilian rule, which lasted throughout his eight years of administration (Mahmud, 2020; Omagu, 2013b). During this period, Babangida's transition produced elected parliamentarians, state governors, and local government chairmen but he remained the military president, with a quasi-military-civilian government, where Babangida experimented with a diarchic form of government. Obiora (2016), describes Babangida's quasi-military democratic experiment thus: "This led to the apogee of political administration in Nigeria being *diarchic*, with a military Head of State presiding over a country with democratically constituted national and state assemblies" (2016, p. 258). His transition finally ended in a presidential election in 1993, which was nationally and internationally acclaimed to be free and fair. Chief Moshood Abiola who was from the Southwestern region, and Bashir Tofa who was from the Northwestern region of Nigeria, contested the presidential election. However, Babangida annulled the results of the presidential election midway into its announcement. Before the annulment, Abiola had already won an overwhelming majority in over 50% of the results announced (Binuomoyo, 2018). There was national and international pressure on Babangida to reverse the annulment but instead, he inaugurated an Interim National Government (ING) (Diamond, 1991; Omotoso & Oyeranmi, 2014) and appointed Chief Ernest Shonekan to lead the ING, and stepped down.

#### 2.4.5.2 The political crisis of the 12 June 1993

The annulment of the presidential election of 1993 by Babangida has continued to elicit scholarly interest. Adegoju (2014) carried out a stylistic study of some speeches of major actors in the crisis that affected Nigeria from 1993 to 1998, due to the Presidential election that was conducted on 12 June 1993, and was subsequently annulled. The three major actors who are the focus of Adegoju's study are Babangida, who annulled the 1993 presidential election; Sani Abacha: who arrested and detained Abiola in 1994; and Moshood Abiola, the presumed winner of the annulled Presidential election (Folarin, 2013; Ogbeidi, 2010). Adegoju's study explored some selected politicians' speeches from the crisis published in Nigeria's *Vanguard* newspaper. Adegoju "uses the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine person deixis as a discursive strategy appropriated for ideological purposes in the power play" (2014, p. 45). The study found that the politicians tried to reproduce power dominance over the audience through their use of personal deixis in their speeches.

Ojo (2015) examined the role the Nigerian press played in opposing the long military dictatorship in Nigeria and their contributions to restoring democracy. Of particular concern for Ojo's study, was the encomium given to the Nigerian press by Wole Soyinka, in their struggles against the military, as "magnificent and heroic" Soyinka, (1998), cited in (Ojo 2015, p. 4). Ojo examined four military regimes in Nigeria, by "analysing headlines, news reports, editorials, photographs, political cartoons and articles across seven national newspapers and two weekly magazines" (2015, p. 4), to determine whether the appellation of "magnificent and heroic" should be attached to the Nigerian press in their effort to oppose military rule. Against the backdrop of press endorsement of some military regimes, condemnation of civilian governments overthrown by the military, military high-handedness, and the long military rule, Ojo concludes that the Nigerian press was neither "magnificent" nor "heroic" in discharging their duties during military regimes. The researcher sums up the findings by saying "that much of the press was complicit with these regimes and contributed to delaying the realization of a democratic rule" (Ojo., 2015, p. 4).

#### 2.4.5.3 The Interim National Government (ING)

There was widespread condemnation of the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential election which compelled the military government headed by Ibrahim Babangida to inaugurate an Interim National Government (ING) (Omagu, 2013) and step down. Babangida appointed Ernest Shonekan as head of the ING but retained some members of the Armed Forces Service Chiefs in the ING, most of whom were complicit in the annulment of the 12 June presidential election. Consequently, there were many questions of legitimacy concerning the formation of the ING (Akeem, 2014). It was not surprising, therefore, that the ING only lasted for less than three months before it was removed by General Sani Abacha through a coup on 17 November 1993. The circumstances that brought the ING must have informed Shonekan, the head of the ING, to entitle his inaugural address as “A Child of Circumstance” (Akeem, 2014).

#### 2.4.5.4 General Sani Abacha

Abacha’s five years rule was associated with ruthlessness, corruption, and an attempt to stay in power by manipulating the political process (Kraxberger, 2004). Abacha's actions and inactions at that critical time in the political history of Nigeria contributed to galvanizing forces against anti-democratic activities in Nigeria, and coup speech became an important part of Nigeria's political discourse (Folarin, 2013). Adamu et al. (2016) conducted a research that “employs the concept of national interest to discern [Nigeria’s] foreign policy direction under the most ‘despotic regime’ in Nigeria history, General Abacha, between 1993 and 1998” (2016, p. 346). The researchers concluded that Nigeria’s national interest was compromised under Abacha’s regime, and Nigeria became a pariah in her international relations.

#### 2.4.5.5 Abiola’s Epetedo Declaration

One of the most remarkable of Abacha's actions was the arrest and extrajudicial detention of Abiola, the presumed winner of the 12 June 1993 Presidential election, which was annulled. In a bid to reclaim his mandate, Abiola made what could be considered a desperate political move. On 11 June 1994, Abiola made the famous Epetedo Declaration speech, where he declared himself the president and called for the reconstitution of the National Assembly and other democratic institutions that had been suspended by Abacha's military junta. Abiola equally enjoined the

Nigerian armed forces to cooperate with him to actualize his orders. Abiola was promptly arrested and detained by Abacha until his eventual death on 7 July 1998. The Epetedo Declaration which Abiola made on 11 June 1994 at Epetedo, a suburb of Lagos, is unique. Abiola's Epetedo Declaration was the first civilian coup speech directed against the military, unlike the usual military coups against civilian governments. This reverse order in the focus of Nigerian military coup speeches makes Abiola's coup speech unique for linguistic analysis. However, this speech was not accompanied by the usual military weapons and machinery to enforce its performative acts, but it was accompanied by powerful rhetoric intended to unseat the military from power. In considering the explanation of what constitutes a coup, Abaya (2008) explained a coup in terms of removing a government by persuading the public to support a regime change. The student researcher supports the above definition of a coup speech since the emphasis in this analysis is unearthing the linguistic resources the speakers used to align or disalign with their audience, and not on the way the coup was executed.

In further studies of Nigerian military coups, Bello (2019) categorized Nigerian coups based on military takeovers of government from civilians. Bello's categorization of coups in Nigeria to include successful coups, attempted coups and colonial proclamations (2019, pp. 27–29), shows that a coup has a wider application. Because of its wide applications, and for analytic expediency, I have categorized Abiola's Epetedo Declaration as a civilian coup speech. Considering the very limited literature from a linguistic perspective on Abiola's 11 June 1994 speech, this study analyses it using Systemic Functional Linguistics theory, and Appraisal framework, with emphasis on how the speaker reinforced unequal power relations, negotiated affiliation and individuation, and identity constructions in the speech.

## 2.5 The third civilian government: 1999-present

The third civilian government in Nigeria started in 1999 after the death of Abacha and Abiola in 1998, both under suspicious circumstances. Another senior military officer, General Abdulsalami Abubakar became the head of state following the death of Abacha and completed the restoration of civilian rule, through an election. Ironically, the first civilian president under the present dispensation was Olusegun Obasanjo who had ruled Nigeria between 1976 and 1979 as a military

Head of State. This third civilian government is the longest period civilians have been in power for 24 years without interruption from the military. However, this third civilian government is still suffering from past experiences of military rule and civilian misrule (Aderonke, 2015; Egbe, 2014).

The effects of the 1966-1967 political crisis are still very clearly felt in this third civilian government in Nigeria. For instance, several separatist groups have formed along regional or religious lines. Some of these separatist groups are demanding either a restructuring of the country to pre-1966 conditions, a total dissolution of the country to pre-1914 amalgamation, or the total implementation of the Islamic Sharia Law in Nigeria. Some of the splintered separatist groups are the Oodua Peoples' Congress, Niger Delta Militants, Boko Haram, and the Indigenous People of Biafra (Azom, 2018; Foyou, Ngwafu, 2018). There is equally a rise in terrorist activities and insecurity in Nigeria at present, despite the plethora of political speeches aimed at uniting Nigerians (Chukwuemeka & Fidelia, 2014; Dickson & Ezirim, 2017). Instability in this third civilian dispensation in Nigeria has hindered development. Nigeria ranked number 157 out of 189 countries on the United Nations “human development index” (Omodero, 2019) in 2018. The country also is recovering from the economic recession of 2017 (Dickson & Ezirim, 2017), and the Covid-19 pandemic has had a toll on Nigeria's economy, which depends mainly on oil revenue. The political setbacks that Nigeria's third civilian government is experiencing with its bleak history of coups, countercoups, secession, war, and general political instability, have cast doubt on Nigeria's unity.

This study contributes to knowledge in political discourse using the approach of CL and Appraisal framework to unearth the linguistic resources that the speakers used to achieve both personal and group objectives in the speeches. Using the applications of CL analysis reveals the patterns of the evaluative language of Nigerian military versus civilian leaders, and patterns of Nigeria's political discourse on the pre-, and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches. Lastly, there is a lack of in-debt linguistic research on some of the selected speeches at this level of study. This study is therefore a contribution to existing literature and is unique in comparing the genres of coup, secession and inaugural speeches made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015.

## 2.6 Political Discourse

This review focuses on some literature on political discourse, genres of coup, secession and inaugural speeches, and power relations, related to the analytics concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. Chilton (2003) explains the link between politics and language. He says that political thoughts and actions must be conveyed through human language. Chilton equally asserts that the way words and sentences are organized can give different meanings and that language is integral to political discourse. The researcher looks at political discourse mainly from the perspective of dominance and control. The concern of his study is the connection between what language can do and what we can achieve through our political activities (Chilton, 2003). In this regard, he adopts a cognitive approach to investigating the interconnections between language and politics (Chilton, 2003). He relates political discourse with Aristotle's depiction of humans as having the predisposition to be politically oriented, or as he puts it, to be a “political animal”, Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1253a7, (Chilton, 2003, p. 5). Although some scholars like Abbate (2016), Bougher (2012) and Verlag (2013) 1974) have criticized Aristotle’s depiction of human as “a political animal”, claiming that other animals like the bees are also political, this study restates Aristotle's statement to mean that only humans have an advanced and organized political structure. Chilton explains the political nature of humans by describing humans’ tendency to use language to achieve political ends and he is not particularly concerned with the structure or lexicon of the language. He further identifies human beings' perception of political discourse as one's ability to discriminate among ideologies, means, and manner of communication.

For instance, Chilton (2003) explains that there is a way and manner that one may communicate, and it may sound offensive to another person or group. Chilton terms this discriminatory ability of humans in political discourse as indexical as well as interactive (Chilton, 2003). The researcher identifies presuppositions, assumptions, and implications as part of political discourse. The above views also align with Chilton's (2003) opinion that political discourse is cognitively based, which implies that without being in the right frame of mind, one finds it difficult to engage in political discourse or what he refers to as “Meta-representation” (Chilton, 2003), which means humans’ ability to decode sentence structures. Chilton’s study tries to establish the connection between language ability and political ability.

Musolff (2016) investigates the communicative message that metaphors convey in a text. This study relies on “Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)” (2016, p 2). The study explores the different effects of metaphoric use of language and their various pragmatic effects on a text. Another framework that Musolff uses to discuss the various effects of the metaphoric use of language is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008, 2017; Wodak, 2011) which is an approach used in (CDA). According to the analyst, DHA’s main interest lies in a context-driven analysis of intertextual or interactional meanings rather than in the discovery of “ideologies as biased collective knowledge structures” (2016). Musolff uses Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister’s metaphorical application of ‘war’ and ‘battle’ in a speech to illustrate this claim. CMT’s main approach is to use rhetorical literary effects such as mapping the part unto the whole and representing a whole with its part (Musolff, 2016).

Musolff further explicates the varied uses of metaphor in discourse and concludes that metaphorical personifications have made a recognizable impact on CMT and CDA research approaches respectively. The study concludes that conceptual metaphors become more politically effective when they are integrated into plausible scenarios without much emphasis on the narrative of the structure, argumentative or evaluative basis (Musolff, 2016). Musolff claims that non-dependency on evaluative or structural narratives makes political discourse more fluid if the discourse solves the problem it intends to solve contextually. The main argument of CMT, therefore, is for a new methodological approach in the analysis of political conceptual metaphors. Musolff argues that scenario analysis of conceptual metaphor is best suited to serve political interests by changing political orientations and ways of doing politics. The advantage of this new methodology in political discourse is that the concept can map scenarios and frame such scenarios without deviating from the discourse. Musolff’s (2016) view of political discourse is much more rooted in its various metaphorical uses.

On the other hand, Fairclough & Fairclough (2013) integrate the argumentation framework with Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). According to the researchers, argumentation is necessary in political discourse because, people always have reasons to either support or disagree with other people’s opinions or actions (2013, p. 29). According to the researchers, the argumentation



framework is related to PDA in terms of how regulatory authorities exercise these deontic (institutional) powers on individuals (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013).

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2013) view about PDA align with van Dijk's (1997), which emphasizes the relevancy of a political speech to the situation at hand, and the topic of discussion. These views of Fairclough & Fairclough's and van Dijk are also in line with Aristotle's linking of politics and language as interwoven. However, the above views and approach of Fairclough and Fairclough, and van Dijk to PDA differ from Chilton's (2003) views, whose focus is mainly on the cognitive approach to political discourse.

Van Dijk adopts a more nuanced approach to political discourse analysis by linking political discourse to politicians or political activities (1997). In a more encompassing sense, van Dijk expands political discourse to include anybody who is involved in political activities directly or indirectly. This categorization includes interest groups, citizens, and even dissidents (van Dijk, 1997). According to van Dijk, we can properly understand the full meaning of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) if we expand the scope to include "*all participants in the political process*" (1997, p. 13), and "by focusing on the nature of the *activities or practices* being accomplished by political text and talk rather than only on the nature of its participants" (1997, p. 14). The author locates political discourse contextually and concludes that everything that is involved in the making of context like time, circumstances, people, and situations come together to form political discourse (van Dijk, 1997). This candidate considers van Dijk's approach to political discourse suitable to the kind of analysis in this study, in the sense that my study is analysing selected speeches based on their relevance to Nigerian political discourse.

Van Dijk (2008) also emphasizes the critical relevance of the context of the situation in understanding discourse. He adopts a socio-cognitive approach in explaining his point on context and uses former British Prime Minister Tony Blair's 2003 speech on Iraq War to point out how relevant factors and background knowledge combine to enhance the understanding of the context in which a speech is made. Van Dijk's point is that a participant's shared background information

about a speech makes its understanding more explicit. He emphasizes the critical role that the theory of context plays for one to have a proper understanding of various notions of appropriateness in discourse, (van Dijk, 2008, p. 5). Van Dijk (2008) gives more detailed explanations of the effects of micro- and macro-situations on context. According to him, context models may oscillate between macro- and micro-levels of discourse under the same situations. The author uses Tony Blair's speech on Iraq War in the British Parliament to demonstrate how a speech can be on the micro-level when it is ongoing and face-to-face, but the same speech can still be on the macro-level as in the policies and decisions that emanate from that same speech (van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk separates context from text and states that even though some properties of text such as “implied knowledge” may constitute part of the context, contexts are independent variables on their parameters for gauging a text, such as presuppositions.

Van Dijk (2008) adopts a socio-cognitive approach to discourse study. According to him, a socio-cognitive approach to discourse means that one should possess the “various cognitive components like knowledge, ideology, norms, values and unique mental models of social members” (van Dijk, 2008, p. 39). This means that a discourse participant should acquaint him/herself with the knowledge of the shared common values that discussants have, and the context of the discourse, to be able to participate meaningfully. Van Dijk (2008) also claims that SFL has a limited approach to the study of context due to its link to Firth and Malinowski. According to him, Malinowski had a low perception of some languages and proposed “that such ‘low’ languages should be studied against the backdrop of the context in which they are used” (van Dijk, 2008, pp. 46–47). In addition, the author criticizes Firth for “combining pragmatic and referential semantic aspects of language in his study of context” (van Dijk, 2008, p. 48). However, van Dijk acknowledges that despite his criticisms of the SFL’s approach to context, SFL’s contributions to the study of language and discourse, cannot be overlooked. Van Dijk also acknowledges the shortcomings he pointed out about SFL’s approach to the study of context manifested during the formative years of the theory.

From the above views of van Dijk, one could surmise that context is not the same as text and talk. Although it cooperates in bringing out the intrinsic qualities of text and talk, the context has different parameters that it uses to gauge a text, such as presuppositions, assumptions, and general knowledge of the world, (van Dijk, 2008). In this regard, this student researcher agrees with van Dijk that SFL has contributed immensely to the overall study of language and adds that SFL has contributed richly to the conceptualization of language in context. SFL's theory has developed an elaborate approach to the study of both context of culture and the context of situation, and has developed a sustainable three-pronged approach of field, tenor and mode to the study of the context of a situation, as postulated by some authors (Alyousef & Alyahya, 2018; Hu, 2010; Song, 2010). Further discussion on SFL and its approach to the context in discourse, is given in 3.3.

This student researcher reviewed some literature that foregrounds the nature of political discourse, and the background and contextual knowledge discourse participants need to have to participate actively in the political discourse process. In this study, the contextual and other background knowledge of Nigeria's political discourse is taken into consideration, especially, the linguistic resources that the speakers utilize to create shared common values, negotiate alignments and disalignments and reproduce unequal power relations with their audience. The following section focuses on the review of some literature on genre theory and the different sub-genres of political speeches that are analysed in subsequent chapters.

## 2.7 Genre theory

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), uses a stratificational approach to categorize genres at the highest strata (Martin and White, 2005b). Najih (2010) defines genre as "an intuitively attractive concept that helps to organize common sense labels we use to categorize texts and the situations in which they occur" (2010, p. 86). The researcher then categorizes genre as a generic word that can be used to mean different types of numbers, functions, contexts, and structures. It can also be categorized into different sub-types, like speech genres, literary genres, educational genres, and religious genres (2010).

Liu (2012) did a genre analysis of thirty-five inaugural speeches made by American presidents, using the move analysis framework. The researcher concluded that genre analysis foregrounds the inter-relationship between the form and the function of a text, and the language learners' understanding of a text can be enhanced.

Alyousef and Alyahya say that “Genre constitutes the rhetorical features of a text and the semiotic communicative purpose(s) it serves” (2018, p. 91). The researchers examined the different conceptualizations of genres in SFL by Halliday and Martin. According to them, “Whereas Halliday associates genre with mode, Martin coordinates the three register variables of field, tenor, and mode in relation to social purpose” (2018, p. 91). Moreover, the researchers describe the contributions of Halliday and Martin to the study of genre, thus: “In SFL, on one hand, Halliday treats genre as a single-stratum model and assigns it a mode, while Martin adds a stratum of culture (i.e genre) that is higher than Halliday’s context of situation stratum” (2018, p. 97). The scholars conclude that genre application should be based on its usefulness to express language functions.

In this study, the three sub-genres of the coup, secession and inaugural speeches of Nigerian political discourse have been analysed. The aim is to compare the sub-genres in terms of differences, and patterns in how the speakers deployed linguistic resources to enact the analytic concepts of affiliation, and individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations. in coup, secession, and inaugural speeches

#### 2.7.1 The coup speech

Coup speeches are classified as part of political speeches because they have the political purpose of informing a listening audience of a change of government, the reasons for the change, and the direction of the new government (Alo and Igwebuikie, 2009). The major difference between inaugural and coup speeches is that the inaugural speech is backed by certain levels of legitimacy through the constitution, while a military coup speech has no legitimacy to the people because it is unconstitutional, but is made after a successful overthrow of a legitimate civilian government by the military or whoever that has the control of power at that time (Clutterbuck, 1980). In this section, I review coup speeches generally, irrespective of the setting, intending to have a broader

insight into the nature of coup speeches and their sociopolitical impacts on discourse. The emphasis of this review is to have generalized background knowledge of coup speeches in discourse analysis. This generalized background knowledge is necessary for my study because it enhances an understanding of the Nigerian coup speeches, which constitute the main corpus of data that are analysed.

Several studies have been done on Nigerian coup speeches from a linguistic perspective. Bello (2019) analyses nine Nigerian coup speeches from the perspective of CDA. This scholar used Corpus Linguistics methods, and a combination of “representation, argumentation, interpellation, and constitutive intertextuality” (2019 p i), approaches to investigate Nigerian military coup speeches. Bello found that the Nigerian military uses rhetorical persuasive arguments and military coercive tactics to gain legitimacy and hold on to power, as well as force the people into submission. The study reveals an opaque use of language by the Nigerian military to achieve power dominance (Bello, 2019).

This study differs from Bello’s because this research combines the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of Nigerian political discourse. Secondly, this candidate used different analytics tools of SFL’s Appraisal and the three-pronged approach to discourse analysis” (Bednarek 2010 p. 249), and the Corpus Linguistics approach, to unearth the linguistic resources Nigerian leaders used to reproduce power asymmetry and negotiate affiliation and individuation in the speeches. This study also focuses on comparing the three genres of speeches, to discover different patterns the speakers used to realize the analytics concepts by coupling Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the three Appraisal systems, while Bello’s study used the CDA approach to interrogate the interpellation of Nigerian citizens in the coup speeches. In essence, this present study builds on Bello’s genre analysis, by combining the entire population of Nigeria’s presidential political speeches in the analyses. Moreover, Bello’s work concentrates on military power dominance, while mine builds on it by analysing the processes of reproducing unequal power relations and negotiating affiliation and individuation in Nigerian political speeches.

Abaya (2008) studied Nigerian military coup announcements from a pragmatic perspective. He used the speech act theory as developed by Austin (1962) and revised by Adegbija (1982) and (1999), see (2008 p. 6). Abaya did a textual analysis of the coup speeches, using the “pragmasociolinguistic” (2008 p. 6) analytic tool. He also used the instruments of “questionnaire, sampled opinions from newspapers, and oral interviews” (2008, p. 6) to elicit data by sampling people’s opinion. The researcher found that the speech acts at the pragmatics level of analysis, were influenced by the context in the way the speakers foreground or background agency, to gain control of the audience. Similarly, he found that the coup speakers used different approaches to power dominance to realize unequal and equal power relationships, depending on which audience they are addressing at a particular time (2008, p. 7). Further at the linguistic level of analysis, the researcher found that the coup speakers used diction in a way to “enforce or attenuate illocutionary” act (2008, p. 7). The researcher found that the coup speeches relied mainly on passive sentences to background agency, so they do not appear arrogant to their audience, and also used some active voice to foreground agency, to indicate that they were ready to “apply brute force if need be” (2008, p. 7). Abaya concludes that despite their military orientation, Nigerian military coup announcements made ample use of political language resources to achieve their objectives (Abaya, 2008, pp. 298, 352–353).

Clutterbuck (1980) traced the history of coups to the rise of modern states with their professional bureaucracy and standing armed forces (1980, p. 27). The thrust of Clutterbuck’s study is very clear because, without a modern state and its organized army, there would not have been an organized overthrow of governments. Coups are followed by well-scripted speeches which fit into the categorization of political speeches since they are given to explain, convince, cajole, or threaten the citizens into submission to the coup actors’ agenda. Although inaugural and coup speeches are given to herald a new government, there is a difference in legitimacy between the two as mentioned earlier. This difference in legitimacy brings about a difference in style and approach between inaugural and coup speeches. These differences make inaugural and coup speeches different genres of political speeches. This study uses linguistic approaches and strategies to describe the differences between Nigerian civilian inaugural speeches and military coup speeches, intending to enrich the field of Nigerian political discourse.

Ayeomoni (2011) studied military coup speeches lexically, by examining the speeches of three Nigerian military leaders, namely: Ironsi 1966, Gowon 1966, and Murtala 1975, and focused on the link between lexemes and political ideology in Nigerian coup discourse. He used Gutwinsky's Mode and Lexical Connective items, and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), to do Relative Frequency Percentages of content items in the three speeches. Ayeomoni did a Frequency Percentage analysis of the collocation, hyponymy, antonymy, synonymy, and repetition in the speeches, and concludes that the speakers used the above sense relations to achieve their political ideological orientations, particularly, collocations which they used to enhance directness, military authority, and orientation in the speeches. The emphasis of the research was to show the connectivity between "lexemes" (Ayeomoni, 2011, p. 1) and the political ideology in military coup speeches.

Daramola (2008) did an exploratory functional-semiotic discourse analysis of the resignation speech of Shonekan, and Abacha's coup speeches respectively. His focus was to unearth the link between the two speeches in terms of the expressions: "child of circumstance" used by Shonekan, and "child of necessity" used by Abacha, respectively (Daramola, 2008). The study was based on a Schematic Structural (SS) approach to analyse the above speeches. He says that the SS analytic approach follows a participants-events-networks structure (Daramola, 2008, pp. 368–369). His emphasis was on "the text sequential organization of Field, Tenor, and Mode" (Daramola, 2008, p. 362). His focus is on unearthing the process of sharing dialogic information through an instantiable network of events that led to the speeches. The study also shows how Shonekan and Abacha were able to model the relationship between the meanings of their speeches, the sequential instances of participants and events, and how they reflect Nigeria's sociopolitical situation, at that time. Daramola concludes that both speakers used the expressions "child of circumstance" and "child of necessity", to foreground or background information about Nigeria's political discourse, especially, military interference in politics and its implications for a democratic set-up (2008, p. 378). Daramola's schematic structural analysis of the expressions "child of circumstance" and "child of necessity" was very useful in revealing a very important political experience of Nigeria. This approach could be used to unearth more semiotic resources that reveal the speaker's

intentions, dispositions, and people's sociopolitical experiences, if it combines more genres of speech and uses more data.

### 2.7.2 The secession speech

One might suggest that secession speeches are grounded in political discourse, despite not being given as frequently as the inaugural or coup speeches. The circumstances that result in a secession speech make it a distinct type of political discourse that is filled with the language of persuasion (Austin, 2007). The two major aims of a secession speech are: to notify an out-group of the resolve of a people to separate from a union and be an independent nation, and to persuade the in-group to take this very weighty, but dangerous step that can reshape their destiny. In other words, a secession speech must either align with some people or disalign with another group of people. It is clear from the above explanation that a secession speech is a very serious one that uses affiliation and individuation strategies to realize certain goals. In other words, the speaker must be well grounded in oratorical rhetorical skills that can move people to action. Lt. Col. Ojukwu's secession speech of 30 May 1967 was not an exception. Ojukwu was reputed to have great oratorical skills (Eke, 2020). A brief biography of Ojukwu can be found in 9.2.

Secession speeches do not appear as common as coup speeches, and the reason may be because of the difficulties involved in secession, which usually lead to failure and bloodshed. This may have informed the very little literature on Nigerian secession speeches. However, secession speeches are very rich in political discourse strategies because of the circumstances that usually bring about secession, which expectedly make the speech to be rich with strategies to convince, condemn, galvanize, and encourage (Meadwell and Anderson, 2008). Nigeria's difficult political history has produced one secession speech, which forms part of the data for this study. Secession agitation against the amalgamation of different nations in Nigeria started as far back as 1914, although some of the agitations were mere statements of displeasure with the forced amalgamation and not backed by any action for actualization. For instance, one of Nigeria's foremost political leaders, Ahmadu Bello, referred to the amalgamation of different nations to form Nigeria as "the mistake of 1914" (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani and Isiani, 2016, p. 27), while another leader, Awolowo, referred to Nigeria as "a mere geographical expression" (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani and Isiani, 2016, p. 27). Other political



factors such as the 1962 crisis in the Western Region, which led to the declaration of emergency rule in the region (Ogbeidi, 2012), made some federating units in Nigeria threaten to secede. Moreover, the 1964 elections, which were marred with irregularities, and the 1965 Western Region crisis (Anglin, 1965; Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018; Fadakinte, 2014; Ojo, 2012), made some federating units in Nigeria threaten secession, although the threat was not backed by any serious action. There was also an attempt to secede the coastal part of the Eastern Region from Nigeria in 1966, by Isaac Adaka Boro. This attempt was crushed by Nigerian armed forces within twelve days (Ikporukpo, 2018). However, Boro's previous attempts at secession did not produce a secession speech that had a wide impact, compared to the one under analysis.

Analysing Ojukwu's secession speech foregrounds opaque power relations strategies that the speaker used to achieve group inclusiveness and exclusiveness, and strategies for individuation and affiliation that galvanized Eastern Nigerians to secede from Nigeria. The few studies on the Nigerian secession speech or secession speech in general, are done by (Brucker, 2019; Omaka, 2014; Siroky, 2009), and they were not from a linguistic perspective.

Omaka studied the role of international humanitarian organizations with a focus on the "Joint Church Aid" relief materials to Biafra during the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970 (2014). The researcher used a historiographic approach to explain the humanitarian crisis of providing humanitarian aid to Biafra. The focus was to unearth the intrigues and challenges of providing "humanitarian aid in political conflicts" (2014, p. 4). She concludes that humanitarian aid to Biafra was misunderstood by Nigeria, as a covert way aid agencies indirectly assisted their enemies.

Subsequently, Brucker (2019) examined the challenges involved in winning international support in a secession attempt, with a focus on Biafra. According to Brucker (2019), there are some criteria a people should fulfil to gain legitimate grounds upon which the international community may support the effort of a people. Brucker used inductive and deductive research techniques to analyse some documents from Biafra and concluded that a seceding state must rely on some internationally accepted criteria to attract external support to achieve its aim. In the case of Biafra, the researcher

summed up the intrigues that negatively affected the secession effort in the following statement: “The Biafran independence conflict was rooted in a complex combination of colonial heritage, state weakness, identity politics, and communal violence” (2019, p. 5). Brucker concludes that the failure of Biafra to win the war after seceding from Nigeria was due to nonsupport from the international community.

Similarly, Siroky (2009) used the probability theory and qualitative interview method to examine the implications of secession for all parties involved. He concluded that “secession is rarely a solution to ethnic conflict, does not assure the protection of remaining minorities, and produces new forms of violence” (2009, p. iv).

Ojukwu’s secession speech is rich in strategies for achieving alignments and disalignments and transforming unequal power relations that can provide a rich source of linguistic analysis. Therefore, an analysis of Ojukwu's secession speech at this level of study fills a linguistic gap in Nigeria's political discourse. The analysis of this speech is more pertinent, considering the renewed agitation for the self-determination of Biafra, and the level of insecurity in Nigeria at present (Dickson & Ezirim, 2017; Okoye, 2018;, 2013) .

Aremu and Buhari (2017) summarized the significance of the Nigeria-Biafra War, thus: “Arguably, a significant benefit of the outcome of the Nigerian civil war was that the unity of Nigeria was restored, and its territorial integrity was sustained” (2017 p. 66). Looking at the above reviews, the few available studies on secession speeches have not focused on Ojukwu’s speech. For example, Siroky (2009), looked at the implications of secession from a general perspective, while (Omaka, 2014), studied the genre of secession from the humanitarian perspective in the war and its postcolonial implications.

This study enriches the Biafran secession speech by exploring how language was used to achieve personal objectives, considering the circumstances that gave rise to the speech. In subsequent chapters 5, 6, 7, and 10, These are descriptions of specific linguistic features of Nigerian secession speech by comparing it with two similar speech registers: inaugural and coup speeches. This study equally contributes to CL by demonstrating what lexical patterns can reveal about changes in Nigerian political speeches over time, by comparing speeches made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War. Similarly, the study contributes to SFL by comparing the sixteen speeches and looking at how Interpersonal meanings in a language are used to influence the listeners' political beliefs. Lastly, there has not been a study known to the researcher that combines the entire population of Nigerian presidential political speeches, to examine the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation, from a linguistic perspective. This study enriches Nigeria's political discourse by combining three major genres of Nigerian leaders' speeches of inaugural, coup, and secession. The study also used the mixed methods analytical approach of quantitative CL and qualitative SFL to explore the linguistic resources which speakers can use to achieve certain objectives in Interpersonal discourse. The present study also builds on the Nigerian political discourse by unearthing the linguistic resources the speakers used to couple their ideas in the three systems and sub-systems of Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement (Martin and White, 2005b) of the Appraisal framework, to discover how the speaker proposed different kinds of bonds in the three genres of speeches, and align or disalign with certain people, individuals, sections of the country, or political ideas. This combination contributes to making the outcome of the analysis more in-depth and reliable.

### 2.7.3 The inaugural speech

Inaugural speeches belong to the type of political discourse that is made by elected political leaders at the beginning of their tenure in political office (Bani-Khalid and Azzam 2021). This makes inaugural speeches a very interesting and rich area of research in political discourse. Since inaugural speeches can be used to project the policy thrust of incoming governments, people must be properly guided on how to unearth the opaque use of language and strategies that speakers use to realize their different objectives in inaugural speeches (Dickerson, 2019). Inaugural speeches are fruitful data for research because they are full of strategies to achieve personal or group interests since the main aim of politics is to control the apparatus of governance. To further

highlight the nature of presidential inaugural speeches, Campbell & Jamieson say that “The qualities making the presidential inaugural address a distinct rhetorical type are derived from its character as epideictic discourse and the nature of the inauguration ceremony as a rite of investiture” (1985, p. 394).

The researchers assert that presidential inaugural speeches are epideictic because they are timeless in the minds and consciousness of the people (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985). In essence, presidential inaugural speeches are used to re-enact the shared communal values of a people, and they remain present in the minds of the audience. Campbell & Jamieson further explained this timeless quality of inaugural speeches in the following statement: “Inaugurals manifest their locus in the eternal present in their dignified, literary style which heightens the experience, prompts contemplation, and speaks to “the people” through all time” (1985, p. 396). Campbell & Jamieson acknowledge how misunderstood inaugural speeches have become, despite their captivating effects on the listeners. They opine that inaugural speeches are a distinct genre of discourse worthy to be studied, because inaugural speeches “unify a faith, and ratifies a people’s covenant with their leaders” (1985, p. 408).

Ezeifeka (2016) analyses the thematic structure of two inaugural speeches of Nigerian past leaders (2016 p. 20). The research was conducted from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. She used the inaugural speeches of two past presidents of Nigeria: Olusegun Obasanjo 1999 and Shehu Shagari 1979, to do the analysis. The study uses Systemic Functional Linguistics’ Mood system of the clause framework to analyse the speeches, and she found that the presidents used the 1st person singular and plural pronouns *I* and *we* respectively to either align or disalign with some individuals or the entire country.

Ezeifeka’s finding is significant for my study, in terms of the analytics concepts of how Nigerian leaders enacted affiliation and individuation with some people or sections. The study is in line with my idea of comparing the three genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, to unearth

the differences that distinguish each genre, in terms of patterns of analysis and how the speakers utilized linguistic resources in each genre.

Another study that focuses on inaugural speeches is that of Nnamdi-eruchalu (2017), which examines the pronouns in two inaugural speeches made by President Muhammadu Buhari. Muhammadu Buhari was a military ruler of Nigeria between 1983 and 1985 and the civilian President of Nigeria from 2015 to the time of writing this thesis in 2023. The researcher found that Buhari used personal pronouns to project different ideologies and identities both as a military and civilian president, respectively. The researcher further found that Buhari, as a military ruler, did not have to persuade his listeners in his maiden coup speech which he made on 1 January 1984, while in his 2015 inaugural speech, Buhari made efforts to persuade the listeners to believe in him and his government. Concerning the sociopolitical history of Nigeria, which shows the long years of military involvement in Nigeria's politics, Buhari may not feel compelled to persuade his listeners as a military ruler, because he did not become the Head of the State through their mandate. This finding exposes an aspect of the coup speeches, which I will explore in further analysis to unearth different patterns of Nigerian coup speeches to respond to my research questions in 1.8.

Further investigating the nature and Interpersonal effects of inaugural speeches, Koussouhon & Dossoumou (2015) combined the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics with the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse Nigeria's President Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech. The focus of their analysis is on the Interpersonal level of commitment in a text, with emphasis on the pronoun (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015, p. 1). This study is very critical in elucidating how the above analytical paradigms can be used to unearth a speaker's level of commitment, direction, and focus, especially in an inaugural speech. For instance, the researchers did a Mood analysis of the 1909 words in Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech, and found 115 (97.45%) declarative moods in the speech (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015, pp. 27–28). According to them, the high percentage of declarative indicates that the speaker assumed the privilege of an all-knowing President about the country which he displayed in his speech. The researchers attributed this all-knowing disposition to Buhari's past as a former military ruler of Nigeria. On the other hand, they discovered that a low percentage of imperative mood "02.54% of the speech was composed of

imperative clauses and no other moods were found. They also found a “00 interrogative mood, 00 modulated interrogative mood, and 00 modulated imperative mood in Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech” (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015, p. 28). The researchers analysed the above low interrogative and imperative mood in the speech as an indication of a lack of political will and direction in the speech and a noticeable gap in cohesion between the President and the people, (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015, p. 8).

The above mood analysis of Buhari's inaugural speech is very revealing about Buhari who was Nigeria's military ruler from 1983 to 1985, and is the civilian President of Nigeria, from 2015 to the time of writing this thesis in 2023. Although one can say that Koussouhon and Dossoumou's (2015) findings about Buhari's speeches are true considering his poor performance in office as a civilian President for eight years, I do not agree that a mood analysis of pronouns in a speech is enough to determine the commitment of a leader to his people. I believe that a combination of analysis of Appraisal resources, in terms of co-articulation of meanings, and the use of clause complexes and patterns of alignments and disalignments can yield a better result in determining a leader's commitment to his people in a speech. This present study, which uses SFL's Appraisal and corpus linguistics (CL), seeks to unearth more findings that can enrich the field of political discourse, from the perspective of the patterns of evaluative language Nigerian leaders used to reproduce unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation and individuation in the selected speeches.

Aremu examined the pragmatics of conceptual mappings in the inaugural speeches of selected Nigeria's Presidents from 1979 to 2015 (2017, p. 32). He used Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Chartens-Black's (2004) critical metaphor theory, and a modified model of Mey's (2001) Pragmeme (2017 p. 32) to analyse the maiden speeches of General Sani Abacha and General Abdulsalami Abubakar. He found that Nigerian presidents deployed metaphorical mappings that characterized elections as battles and journeys in their inaugural speeches. His findings also reveal that some Nigerian leaders used mappings in their inaugural speeches to either appeal, warn, remember, thank or promise (Aremu, 2017, p. 1). He concludes

by suggesting that to understand the concept of conceptual mapping in a speech, the analyst should have a contextual knowledge of the participant's shared cultural worldviews.

From the above findings, the candidate could deduce that inaugural speeches are a critical part of the discourse that significantly affects peoples' lives. Inaugural speeches are used to set the tone and pace of an incoming government in a bid to carry the people along. The analysis of inaugural speeches contributes to making a comparative analysis with other genres of speeches that can enrich the genres of political discourse. Moreover, this study combines the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, which can give good data for a comparative analysis of political speeches. Lastly, this study focuses on the analytics concepts of how speakers utilize the resources of SFL, Appraisal framework, and Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation in political speeches. In Nigeria where the citizens have experienced about three decades of civilian and military rule equally, analysing the inaugural speeches of Nigerian leaders, both military and civilian, provides a rich corpus of research in this genre and a paradigm for further comparative analysis of military and civilian inaugural speeches. In essence, this study enriches an Interpersonal understanding of language use, from the military and civilian perspectives.

## 2.8 Power relations

This review of literature continues with the concepts of power relations, and how it has been theorized by various scholars. Specifically, the review focuses on the concept of unequal power relations that is immanent in Interpersonal discourse. Particularly, the review focuses on the various ways discourse participants apply the perspectives of these concepts to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation with their audience. This candidate, therefore, reviews some literature on power relations from the following scholars' perspectives: Marxism (Jessop, 2014), Gramsci (Bohm, 2018), Foucault (Sergiu, 2010), Bourdieu (Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017; Weininger, 2005), and Fairclough (Negm, 2015).

The concept of power is very broad indeed since power can mean anything to anybody at any given time or situation. However, in every situation of Interpersonal relationship, power can be used to influence another person or group. This influence could be on individual, Interpersonal, organizational, and societal levels or in other human activities. According to Jessop, “Marxist approaches to power focus on its relation to class domination in capitalist societies” (2014, p. 1). He also opines that the state is central in determining class domination. Marxists are also interested in the class relationship between those that dominate and those dominated “so they address issues of resistance and strategies to bring about radical change” (Jessop, 2014, p. 1). In addition, Essien & Okon say that Marxism is concerned with how the society is structured in terms of class dominance and the factors that lead to “change in society through three phases: Thesis (affirmation), Antithesis (negation) and synthesis (reconciliation)” (2020, p. 338).

Essien & Okon also assert that “Neo-Marxism refers to a variety of twentieth-century theoretical approaches that expand, amend and extend Marxism and Marxian theory by actually incorporating elements of other intellectual traditions into mainstream Marxism” (2020, p. 339). On the contrary, “Post-Marxist theory” (Essien & Okon, 2020, p. 339) is at variance with Neo-Marxism. Neo-Marxist’s nuanced approach to power is more suitable for this review since the insight encourages the approach to the study of power from several perspectives.

Gramsci (Daldal, 2014) believes strongly in the Neo-Marxists’ and Machiavelli’s views of binary relations of power between the ruler and the ruled (Daldal, 2014, p. 150). Gramsci subscribes to Machiavellian’s idea that “Power resides in the complex relations of force within society” (Daldal, 2014 p. 150). However, Gramsci’s idea of force is a modified one that believes in the voluntary use of willpower by humans to achieve meaningful things for the collective good of all. The scholar believes in a hierarchical power relation of force in society but does not believe in subjective conformism. This scholar however, believes in a more liberal exercise of power to “liberate the civil society from the hegemonic dominance of the bourgeois” (Daldal, 2014, p. 157).



Foucault (Daldal, 2014) has a universal ubiquitous view of power (Daldal, 2014). Foucault sees power as something intangible that one cannot acquire and keep for oneself without using it. Foucault describes power as being omnipresent in everything and everywhere (Daldal, 2014, p. 18). In addition, Foucault illustrates power as something that can only become useful when it is used. The scholar further explains that putting power to use triggers off other power relational reactions. For instance, an order from an employer to an employee can trigger lots of power play in the process of giving and carrying out this order. If not properly given or executed, there may be another chain reaction that can lead to regrettable consequences, such as loss of job or loss of power either on the side of the employee or employer, or both (Daldal, 2014; Sayer, 2017, p. 4). That is why both Foucault and Fairclough conclude that power is everywhere, and it creates constant friction. Foucault further asserts that both knowledge and power are inextricably intertwined. Therefore, one cannot apply power without knowledge and vice versa.

Daldal (2014) compared Foucault's and Gramsci's views of power relations. According to him, both Foucault and Gramsci are influenced in their ideology on power, by Machiavelli's philosophy of politics and power. Machiavelli's philosophy of power holds that power should not be distributed but should be in the hands of the ruler (Daldal, 2014). Gramsci viewed power relations as existing in a binary relationship between the ruler and the ruled (Daldal, 2014). In other words, Gramsci's approach to power relations is based on the perspective of force, as in the relation of social, political, and military force (Daldal, 2014). Gramsci describes ideology as an arena of struggle and believes that power should be diffused into the hegemony of the people through common sense (Daldal, 2014, p. 10).

A further comparison of Gramsci's and Foucault's conceptions of power by Tarascio (2018), reveals that Gramsci focuses on the macro-level of interaction, the political activities of humans, and power relations, while Foucault bases his focus on power on the micro-level of human activities, like individuals' body parts, sexuality, and relationships (Besley, 2015; Pearson, 2010). Another point of departure between Gramsci and Foucault in their approach to power relations is that Gramsci is of Marxist orientation that believes that power should be concentrated with the rulers, while Foucault is of Nietzsche's school of thought that believes in power diffusion instead

of concentrating it in a hierarchical form (Daldal, 2014, p. 164). Foucault's preoccupation with power relations is not to explain the reason there are unequal power relations in society, but how power is being used to dominate others. This desire to study power domination is why Foucault inquired into the relationships among the subjects, power, and knowledge (Daldal, 2014). In Foucault's summation, the attempt by humans to find answers to free themselves from these established objectification gives rise to social struggles between one person and another. He separates these struggles of humans into three: "struggle against exploitation, subjection, and domination" (Daldal, 2014, p. 14). Foucault singles out subjection as the most recurring factor in power relations. This is the main point of departure between Foucault's and Gramsci's views of the deployment of power relations. While Foucault believes that power should be diffused everywhere in society and should not be concentrated on the state apparatuses, Gramsci believes that power should be domiciled in state apparatuses where it can be given to the subjects according to the dictates of those who wield the power. This concentration of power which is immanent in society is the reason for the continuous power struggles among humans.

In a further analysis of power relations, this review examines Foucault's concepts of power against the backdrop of Bourdieu's notions of power relations. According to Bang (2014), the main point of departure between Foucault's and Bourdieu's views on power relations is Bourdieu's concepts of fields. Bourdieu's concepts of fields create varied power relations in the different sub-fields of habitus, capital, and field, which lead to practice when combined (Bang, 2014). For instance, Sayer (2017) says that Bourdieu is particularly interested in the salient, hidden forms of power that are used to dominate or oppress others without it easily being noticeable. This is because Bourdieu believes that aside from communication, language is also used to perform other intrinsic functions like dominance (Sayer, 2017). Therefore, Bourdieu is interested in the hidden forms of power domination, and he developed the theories of habitus, capital, and field to investigate these hidden forms of power relations and domination in Interpersonal communications. For one to have and exercise power, one should have control of what Bourdieu refers to as 'capital' (Sayer, 2017). That means that one must have access to limited resources to be in control of people and situations.

Bourdieu uses his triad theories of “habitus, field, and capital” (Sayer, 2017, p. 2) to elucidate his concepts of power relations and opaque power dominance. According to Sayer, habitus “refers to the set of durable dispositions that individuals acquire through socialization, particularly in early life, and which orient them towards the social and physical world around them” (2017 p. 2). Bourdieu's fields have been explained as the interrelationship between individuals, organizations, and practices, which becomes more perceptible by reverting to the same fields where all these individuals, objects, and practices are located (Sayer, 2017). In this regard, what a person says or does not say depends on his/her “position within the social field relative to others” (Sayer, 2017, p. 4). Bourdieu uses the example of given commands to illustrate this relationship of fields, where one may be disposed to accept or reject a command, depending on the social relationship between the discourse participants (Sayer, 2017, p. 4).

The last of Bourdieu’s triad of theories relating to power is capital. Bourdieu divides the concept of capital into three, namely: economic, social, and cultural capital (Sayer, 2017). He explains capital in terms of one having an advantage over others, whether in material possession, social connections, or cultural affinity with the right social class that is dominating in power at the time (Huang, 2019; Sayer, 2017). Bourdieu perceives power largely in symbolic terms. This symbolic power leads to what Bourdieu refers to as “symbolic violence” (Sayer, 2017, pp. 7–8), which he says is the type that is practiced in and through ignorance. The ignorance lies in the fact that those who are practicing it may not even realize that they are doing so, while those experiencing the violence may be unaware of it (Wiegmann, 2017). Bourdieu gives an example of this symbolic violence using the social relations that exists between a man and a woman to demonstrate how their respective habitus can give rise to their different predispositions to either dominate or comply. This explanation is in line with the constant class struggle between humans of different genders (Sayer, 2017 p. 8). Bourdieu asserts that the ways these powers are exerted vary within the context and are determined by the dispositions of the two people (man and woman) within the same social field.

The reason behind symbolic violence has also been explained based on the exercise of complexes, consciously or unconsciously, for instance, when the dominated have an inferiority complex and

when the person dominating feels a superiority complex (Sayer, 2017). In light of the above submissions, the sources of soft power in discourse have been explained based on the misrecognition of how control or dominance operates in society (Sayer, 2017, p. 11). In essence, soft powers are those hidden forms of dominance that are not easily perceptible and hardly acknowledged but have incisive impacts (Odurowaz-coates, 2018). In this regard, Bourdieu believes that control by the dominant class leads to constant friction and power struggle in society. Therefore, the main focal points of Bourdieu's power relations are those subtle and covert ways that people in social action either dominate or are dominated.

Although Bourdieu's assertion that having access to capital confers power on the individual, is true to a large extent, this candidate believes that habitus and field are major determinants of power dominance, especially as it relates to the military coup speeches that are analysed in this study. The dispositions of Nigeria military officers towards the progress of the country were the main factor that motivated them to interfere in the country's democratic process against the civilian leaders, which led to power dominance of the military. The subsequent analysis of the genres of speeches in 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 gives further insights into civil-military relations in Nigeria.

Fairclough (1995) also draws from a neo-Marxist view of power relations and states that power is not static or stationary with a particular person or group. Therefore, those who have control of power always try to maintain themselves in power, while those not in control of power are always aiming to get power. This constant desire for power creates a social class of unequal status that is always embroiled in the power struggle at Interpersonal or group levels (Negm, 2015). This view of power from the perspective of struggle is a Marxist idea, and other groups such as genders, ethnic groups, age groups, or any type of grouping in society could be involved in the power struggles. It is, therefore, pertinent to state that since language is at the heart of human activity, this constant power struggle is intertwined with how language is manipulated. Human beings always manipulate language in such a way as to control others and gain certain advantages over others implicitly or explicitly. In other words, one can say that the concept of power is manifest in all aspects of language use.

Still, on the universality and versatility of power, Fairclough (1995) identifies the inevitability and critical position of social struggles in power relations. According to him, power is transient and cannot be permanently held, since there are always contending social forces that are struggling to retain power. Fairclough opines that it is only through this constant power struggle that power can be retained or lost at any given time (Partington, 2012). In essence, Fairclough considers power as something that cannot be controlled permanently by a person or a group and something very elusive, which humans are constantly in pursuit of. This view supports the inequalities and struggles inherent in society for the control of scarce resources.

Considering the above views and opinions of scholars such as Gramsci, Foucault, Bourdieu and Fairclough on power relations, the present study adopts Fairclough's (1995) views on power as something universal and inherent in human activities, in terms of human's desire to control others. In this regard, this study is interested in unequal power relations, from the perspective of how the speakers used it to form alignments and disalignments and achieve their objectives in the speeches. However, this study makes a little paradigm shift from the ideological issue of power dominance to focus on the linguistic resources that speakers use to gain power for themselves while excluding others (Foucault, 1982; Mills, 2002; Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008). This study is concerned with how speakers couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the Appraisal systems, to reproduce unequal power relations and enact affiliation and individuation in Nigerian political speeches. This makes the approach adopted on power relations very practice oriented. Given this position, the concepts of individuation and affiliation in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), are significant analytic concepts in this study. Since the emphasis of SFL is on the practical use of language, the perspective of analysis in this study is, therefore, a synthesis of the nuanced positions of several scholars' views on power relations as something that can be exerted in multiple directions in discourse.

## 2.9 Affiliation and Individuation

In this section, some literature on how individuation and affiliation are theorized in SFL studies, and how the concept of identity in discourse is linked to individuation and affiliation has been

reviewed. Finally, the student researcher has explained why the concepts of individuation and affiliation are necessary for this study that analyses Nigerian political discourse.

Affiliation explains how language users are able to negotiate communities among themselves, based on commonly shared values (Knight, 2010). Knight identifies three strategies that can be used to negotiate affiliation, which are: “communing affiliation, laughing affiliation and condemning affiliation” (2010, p. 49). According to Knight, in communing affiliation, participants in a discourse either bond around an icon to form networks of interpersonal relationships, establish their membership in a community, or reject those “wrinkles” (2010, pp. 49–50) that create tension in the shared conversation or interaction. Secondly, in condemning affiliation, discourse participants reject a bond that interferes with the one they commune around. This interference could be in the form of a negative statement, criticism, or gossip. Discourse participants reject these negative interferences in favour of the positive ones to continue their convivial shared interaction (Knight, 2010).

Zappavigna (2019, p. 2) examines “ambient affiliations”. By ambient affiliations, she refers to those kinds of affiliations that happen around interactants. She conducted this study by analysing how social media hashtags, blogs, and microblogs can be used to create a community of shared feelings, shared ideas, and shared values. According to the researcher, people commune together by making blogs/comments, thereby creating different identities on social media. She equally identifies “profile information” (2019, p. 5) as one of the main ways people share their identity, by listing information on their personality and interests. She reinforces the concept of identity by showing how identity is enacted in individuation in texts among language users.

Zappavigna (2019) uses the social media selfie to describe how the focus of discourse can be shifted from the Ideational to the Interpersonal Metafunction and create different identities. She argues that the criticism of selfies for being self-centred can be changed to a more positive understanding by linking the concept of identity created by selfies to affiliation. Zappavigna says that the self-centred perception created by selfie users as “look at me” can be changed, such as by

blogging selfies taken by mothers to project a positive identity of motherhood. In essence, instead of seeing the blog from a self-centred perspective, one can read “selfies taken by mothers as look, it is my perspective on motherhood” or “let’s look at motherhood through my perspective” (Zappavigna, 2019, p. 11). In essence, this positive perspective on motherhood through selfies can create a community of shared feelings, thereby enacting affiliation and identity in texts, and shifting the negative self-centered Ideational attitude towards selfies to a positive, Interpersonal perspective of a community of commonly shared values of motherhood. Invariably, selfies can be used to enact an individuation cline of the personal and the affiliation cline of the community of users.

In addition, Zappavigna (2019) describes how the coupling of experiential Ideational meaning with a negative judgment like: “she is such a hypocrite” (2019, p. 13). According to Zappavigna, discourse participants “are always proposing and reacting to bonds as we negotiate couplings in discourse” (2019, p. 13). The scholar concludes that by coupling the experiential and attitude meanings, discourse participants can enact affiliation by proposing different kinds of bonds concerning the couplings.

In this study, the concepts of affiliation and individuation are critical in the analysis of Nigerian political discourse. The student researcher describes the semiotic resources the speakers used to co-articulate Ideational and Interpersonal meanings “in the three main semantic systems or domains: ENGAGEMENT, ATTITUDE and GRADUATION” (Oteíza, 2017, p. 460) of Appraisal, to negotiate affiliation and individuation by proposing different bonds. The results obtained from the macro-, meso-, and micro-analyses of the speeches are used to discuss the research questions in 1.8.

Chen (2018) “explores how discursive and language resources were appropriated by bilingual lexicographers to establish solidarity with the powerful linguistic community and to create affiliation with members of their community” (2018, p. 484). Chen describes how the Cultural Revolution in China in the 1970s caused a rebellion against British lexicographers who tried to

introduce their dictionaries in China. The researcher examined how the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and identity, are theorized in SFL, by describing how opposition to the development of the English dictionary proposes a communal affiliative bond of resistance, and individuation away from the British lexicographers, thereby creating a Chinese identity of lexicographers. A very important aspect of Chen's (2018) study describes how a combination of Ideational, Textual, and Interpersonal meanings can be used to enact affiliation and propose a bond (2018). The researcher explained that the Chinese lexicographers achieved these couplings of the three metafunctions by specifically "Foregrounding and highlighting revolutionary themes by placing them in an unusual position" (2018, p. 488), to engender a communal revolutionary sense in their readers. In conclusion, Chen's study shows how the Chinese lexicographers utilized the resources of language to "construct their social identities to suit the social context which was characterized by political struggle" (2018, p. 513).

Chen's perspective on the coupling of meanings in the three metafunctions of SFL complements this study which focuses on analysing the semiotic resources in the Nigerian discourse, utilized by the speakers to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the Appraisal systems, to affiliate or individuate away from certain people, sections of the country, and political ideas.

Further review shows that Liu (2018) examined how affiliation is theorized in SFL, by exploring the ways lexical metaphors can be used to create affiliative bonds in newspaper editorials. She used data from "11 editorials from *The Australian*" (2018, p. 1) newspaper to investigate how lexical metaphors can be used to invoke or inscribe attitude meanings, and polarity of positive or negative meanings, and affiliate the reading audience with the positions being advanced in the editorials. Liu identifies how the editors used lexical metaphor to position readers close to, or away from the Australian Liberal or Labour party's political ideas and values. The study reveals that the editor was able "to affiliate the putative readers with positive evaluation of experiential entities" (2018, p. 12) with the Liberal Party, and "negative evaluation of experiential entities" (2018, p. 12) in the Labour Party, thereby highlighting the implicit and explicit values he/she wants to advance, and proposing a bond of a community of readers.



Konnelly (2015) examined how gender-based activists used hashtags from Twitter to create identity, affiliation, and context in social media. The researcher draws data from a corpus of tweets featuring the hashtag “#YesAllWomen” or “#HeForShe” to “examine what motivates the use of hashtags in the activist context and how this usage connects to broader discourses and ideologies” (2015, p. 1). The researcher sampled 370 tokens of “#YesAllWomen” and 240 tokens of “#HeForShe” over 24 hours of tweets, to investigate gender identity and affiliation, using the Appraisal resources of Engagement and Attitude” (2015, p. 14). The data were interpreted quantitatively, using the approach of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Konnelly, 2015, p. 1). The findings reveal “that hashtags have an unambiguous interpersonal function wherein users affiliate with values related to each hashtag which are themselves linguistic devices that mark the topic of evaluation in different ways” (Konnelly, 2015, p. 14).

The complementary trajectories of the individuation and affiliation cline can be used to negotiate identities in a continuous and complementary stream of alignments and disalignments from the reservoir to the repertoire of language. Martin explains this complementary relationship more succinctly as follows: “Along the reservoir to repertoire trajectory, we can conceive of a culture dividing into smaller and smaller communities as we move from the community as a whole, through master identities (generation, gender class, ethnicity, dis/ability) and sub-cultures to the personas that compose individual members” (Martin, 2010, p. 24). Martin describes the culture of a community of users as contained in the reservoir of the language, it is at the top of the cline. It streams down through hegemonies like gender, friendship, ethnicity, age, etc. to master identities, through individuals' abilities and disabilities into sub-cultures. At this stage, individuals can express themselves more personally, up to the persona where their abilities become more pronounced in a repertoire that can express their different identities (2010, p. 24).

Similarly, Martin explains the affiliation trajectory as follows: “Reversing direction, we can conceive of persona aligning themselves into sub-cultures, configuring master identities and constituting a culture” (2010, p. 24). Here, the stream instantiates again and affiliates through alignments of the persona into sub-culture to culture, which is the reservoir of a community of users. This continuous trajectory of the reservoir to repertoire and from repertoire back to the

reservoir among a community of users of a language is achieved through some interpersonal strategies like negotiations, alignments, and disalignments. This is the individuation and affiliation trajectory which shows that while affiliation tends towards commonly shared values, individuation emphasizes individual differences and the enactment of different identities (Martin, 2010).

The above reviews on affiliation and individuation focus on how these two concepts are theorized in SFL, in different ways. This study focuses on how the speakers couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the Appraisal systems of Graduation, Attitude, and Engagement, to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations in Nigerian political discourse, considering the speakers Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan as good illustrations. More information on affiliation and individuation can be found in 1.6, and 3.5.

#### 2.10 Identity

Several scholars have taken an interest in the connections between the concepts of identity, individuation, and affiliation. I, therefore, review literature that shows the links between the concept of identity in discourse with individuation and affiliation. Identity is a social phenomenon that constructionists see in a particular way, as constructed through discourse. The focus of this section is on how identities are construed in discourse, and how people identify themselves as distinct from others and identify with other groups. Identity has therefore been explained in terms of people's behaviour and affiliations on critical issues. In this regard, a people or a person shows his/her preferences, likes and dislikes, loyalties, and attitudes when an issue of general serious concern is involved (Bamberg, 2011).

Bamberg & Fina (2011) have explained the concept of identity in discourse by linking humans' communication with the tendency to assert the 'self'. The scholars also explained it through the perspective of the human's tendency to identify ourselves with what we see as 'the good'; this differs for everyone. This tendency to identify with the good and not the bad influences humans to always discriminate among certain people, ideas, movements, and situations, thereby aligning themselves with those that they feel are favourable to their views. Identity is therefore a continuous

activity in discourse because we are always faced with the prospect of making choices about where to belong and who to associate with. Bamberg & Fina (2011) further assert that it is not easy to have one approach to the concept of identity, hence researchers have adopted a nuanced approach to this concept in discourse. However, they agree on two concepts of self, and others in the study of the theory of identity.

Andreouli (2015a) approaches the study of identity from the concept of representations. The emphasis is to unearth how discourse participants position themselves to construe the identity of “self and other” in social relationship (2015, p. 2). She explains the concept of identity in terms of one possessing a clear perception of who he/she is on critical issues that require taking a position, and also being recognized by others as such (Andreouli, 2015b). Andreouli's concept of identity implies that the persons involved in identity relations also have a task to be able to identify themselves in terms of being conscious of their views, beliefs, and stances, and to be identified as such by others (Andreouli, 2015). The quality of being able to identify and be identified is what makes identity to be regarded as a social activity (2015). Given this social relationship in identity, Andreouli asserts that the concept of positioning is interwoven with the concept of identity (2015). To integrate the concepts of positioning and identity, she proposes that they should be approached from the two perspectives of "social representations and the dynamics of positioning” (Andreouli, 2015, p. 1) The combination of the concepts of positioning and identity projects the strategies of ‘self and other’ and in-group and out-group more clearly, which is crucial in understanding how language can be used to express power relations, positioning oneself for or away from others, and creating special identities for people.

Closely related to this is Bhatia's (2015) study which looks at personal identity construction from a multiple identity construction perspective. Bhatia makes a case for a multiple macro-approach to the study of identity, to achieve a more generalized result. I agree that Bhatia's macro approach may have a more generalized focus on the study of identity. However, this approach does not negate the need for micro-levels of studies of identity as construed in discourse. The focus of this study is mainly on unravelling the linguistic strategies the speakers used to achieve inclusion and exclusion of self and others in the texts.

In other words, the main question is the approach to analysis one may use to study identity. This candidate believes that a more nuanced socio-historical and discursive approach is suitable for the analysis of Nigerian political speeches in this study. The student researcher's background knowledge of the events and the sociopolitical history of Nigeria is applied in the analyses of the speeches. In essence, this review and the analysis in this study are guided by Dijk's categorizations of the factors that are crucial in political discourse to include "*all participants in the political process*" (van Dijk, 1997 pp. 3-4) and my background knowledge of Nigeria's sociopolitical history (Fairclough, 1989).

In addition, to analyse the selected texts for this study, the candidate applies the concepts of affiliation and individuation, as have been theorized in Systemic Functional Linguistics to demonstrate how the speakers can align themselves with or away from some people, ideas, and political movements. To reiterate, affiliation refers to the ways text senders signal their belonging to a larger community of users Martin (2010), while Individuation is the inverse of affiliation which results from the choices the language user makes from the repertoire of cultural and linguistic options available to him/her, to create uniqueness and construe their identities (Boucher & Maslach, 2009; Knight, 2010; Mahboob & Knight, 2008; Martin, 2012).

### 2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has provided explanations of the sociopolitical history of Nigeria to enable readers to become abreast with the events that gave rise to the speeches. It is therefore pertinent that the candidate takes into cognizance the past and present of Nigeria's sociopolitical developments in this study, to describe how language has been used to shape the developments of the sociopolitical experiences in Nigeria. The sociopolitical history of Nigeria has been explicated in this review in 2.7. These historical developments inform the direction of this review. In addition, some literature on Foucault's theory of diffusion of power (Daldal, 2014), Gramsci's theory of binary power relations (Daldal, 2014), Bourdieu's theory of power as a social field (Sayer, 2017), and Fairclough's (1995) power struggle, have been reviewed. The candidate has adopted Fairclough's view of power as something immanent in society, which leads to the constant struggle for its control between those that hold power and those that do not have it. The analysis of coup,

secession, and inaugural speeches, from the perspective of the resources the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations with their audience, and negotiate affiliation and individuation, are in line with Fairclough's (1995) view of power.

The student researcher reviewed some literature related to the concepts of political discourse, and genres studies, specifically, on the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. Moreover, the student researcher has discussed some literature concerning the concepts of affiliation and individuation. The literature reviewed in this section, gives a general phylogenetic perspective of the Nigerian political discourse which are analysed in this study.

## Chapter Three: Theoretical Considerations

### 3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to explain the Corpus Linguistics approach (CL), Systemic Functional Linguistics theory (SFL), and the Appraisal framework that were briefly mentioned in this study in 1.7. The aim is to describe the methods, theories, and frameworks that guide this study. Given this, the student researcher introduces the different stages of this chapter in 3.1 and prepares the background upon which subsequent sections follow. The candidate also provides background information in 3.2 on CL, in terms of its historical developments and explains types of corpora, principles of CL applications, collocations, keywords, and lastly, AntConc software and how it is applied to the quantitative analysis in this thesis. In the next section 3.3, there are explanations of SFL, and in 3.3.1, there are discussions about SFL's three Metafunctions, stratification, social contexts, and realisations in SFL are discussed in 3.3.2. The appraisal framework is discussed in 3.4 and the candidate discusses the sub-systems of Attitude in 3.4.1, Judgement in 3.4.2, and Appreciation, in 3.4.3. Further discussions of the Appraisal's Engagement system can be found in 3.4.4, while discussions on Graduation can be found in 3.4.5. The concepts of affiliation and individuation and how they are theorized in SFL, are discussed in 3.5. The relationship between CL and SFL is discussed in 3.6. Lastly, in 3.7, this chapter is concluded by discussing how the theories interrelate to show the mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative (Dang, 2015) analysis, the analytic methods of power relations and affiliation and individuation. The reader is also positioned for chapter four, which discusses the methodological approach of this thesis.

### 3.2 Corpus Linguistics

This section includes a definition of CL, a historical overview of the development of corpus linguistics, a discussion of principles for assembling a corpus, and an explanation of the corpus linguistics tools for the analyses of data in this thesis. The candidate draws from the view of CL as a set of procedures and methods which can be used to study language (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). This categorization of CL as procedures and methods makes it different from other branches of language like phonology, stylistics, psycholinguistics, or applied linguistics, which are mainly made up of theories and structures. Corpus has also been referred to as a collection of data about a natural language, which can be stored electronically and retrieved for the study of language (Atkins and Harvey, 2015). Drawing from the above explanations, one can equally say that corpus

linguistics is a distinct analytics paradigm for the study of language (Atkins & Harvey, 2015). Corpus Linguistics does not rely on intuitively formulated theories of language, but on either written or spoken authentic data for its analytic procedures (Atkins and Harvey, 2015).

The historical development of CL has been traced to the efforts made by some earlier scholars, who tried to index the Bible manually (Atkins & Harvey, 2015). This early development of CL equally includes the efforts of literary compilations of the works of Shakespeare (Atkins & Harvey, 2015, p. 5). Structuralists also contributed to the early development of corpus linguistics through their efforts in putting natural language together as corpora for linguistic study (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). In addition, librarians' interest in arranging Key Works in Context (KWIC) and concordances helped in the development of early corpus study (Atkins & Harvey, 2015). However, the developments of the modern electronic machine-readable corpora have been credited to "Roberto Busa, who built the first machine-readable corpora and undertook the first automated concordances in 1951" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 37). Busa's efforts gave rise to the 1st generation of concordancers, while greater use of personal computers (PCs), especially, the "IBM-compatible PCs" in the late 1980s to 1990s, enabled the second generation of concordancers, which made it easier for linguists to use the corpora independently (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 39). According to McEnery and Hardie, "The third generation of concordance software includes such well-known systems as WordSmith (Scott 1996), MonoConc (Barlow 2000), AntConc (Anthony, 2005), and Xiara" (2012, p. 40). The researchers further assert that these third generation concordancers can handle large datasets on the PC with more enhanced packages and "effectively supported a range of writing systems" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 40). McEnery and Hardie further explain that the 4th generation of concordancers did not "extend the range of available analysis" (2012, p. 43), but addressed "three entirely different issues: the limited power of desktop PCs, problems arising from non-compatible PC operating systems and legal restrictions on the distribution of corpora" (2012, p. 43). The fourth generation of concordancers also paid attention to ethical considerations and extended the use of corpora to collect texts from the web, thereby allowing faster speed and more accessibility to many users (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). These efforts made it possible for us to have different corpora in different disciplines. Corpus Linguistics is being used today in virtually all areas of language study such as lexis, grammar,

discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and stylistics (Atkins & Harvey, 2015). Given the above developmental milestones, the main functions of CL have been described thus: “it provides the means for the empirical analysis of language and in so doing, adds to its definition and description” (Atkins & Harvey, 2015, p. 7).

This study regards CL as a methodologically driven procedural approach that analysts can apply in different areas of language study for analytic expediency (Taylor, 2008). Thus, CL follows some recognized principled paradigms in collecting and analysing its data. For instance, in corpus analysis, texts are not selected arbitrarily but through a careful pattern determined by the purpose of the research. What this implies is that texts must be purposefully selected based on the extent they can be used to discuss research questions. Secondly, the implication is that the selection of texts or data is based on certain paradigms like representativeness, similarity, and purposefulness (Saldanha, 2009).

Representativeness here means that the selected texts should be large in number to be able to generate enough quantitative data. Texts can be representative, if such texts cover a good period of the study, which can assist in generating enough data that satisfies his/her research purpose. In terms of similarity, the texts selected should be from related corpus, depending on the research perspective. Lastly, the texts should not be selected randomly and should be related to the purpose of the research to realize the first two principles (Saldanha, 2009). It is this same principled approach that informed the selection of texts for analysis across three genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches in this study, to have a good representation of Nigerian presidential political speeches under the period covered by this study.

Other integral tools which are used in CL are concordances, keyword collocations, and n-grams. In this study, concordances, keywords, and collocations in the AntConc software are used to do a quantitative analysis of the texts. Concordances are a display of search results in alphabetical order, with further information on the part of a text or passage that gives the entire results. Regarding this study, the application of the concordance in search of keywords indicates the names of the speakers



and the years the speeches were made, with further information on the entire quotation regarding the search.

Another important tool used in CL is the keyword which gives directions on the concepts used in a text or corpus (Pojanapunya & Lieungnapar, 2017). Keywords are words that are prominent in a text and are identified either manually or with software for accuracy. Keywords indicate relatedness and differences of ideas used in a text or corpora and give more contextual information about the texts or corpora. Keywords are used to show how a text is composed in character and tendencies when compared with a reference corpus. In essence, by comparing different texts, corpora, or genres, one can unravel several concepts and differences used in both texts, corpora, or genres, especially from their contextual perspectives (Pojanapunya & Lieungnapar, 2017).

In addition, a keyword is always compared with a reference corpus, to realize the necessary information from the keywords. Leech (2002) says that “a reference corpus is designed to provide comprehensive information about the language” (2002, p. 1). He further describes a reference corpus as comprising a general knowledge about a language that can become a standard for a language, most especially, as a yardstick for communication in comparison with other languages. A reference corpus, therefore, should provide balanced general information about a language such that it can serve as a reference for purposes within and outside the language community.

This study employs the use of the British National Corpus (BNC) (Gebrelators & Baker, 2008) as the reference corpus (Leech, 2002) which is used to analyse data of the whole corpus in chapter five. The BNC is a generalized reference corpus that comprises enough words that cut across different fields and genres of language. This student researcher, therefore, considers the BNC a very suitable reference corpus for this study. The reasoning for choosing the BNC is that it is very rich with English language resources, since it “is a collection of over 4000 samples of modern British English, both spoken and written, stored in electronic form and selected to reflect the widest possible variety of users and uses of the language” (Aston & Burnard, 1997, p. iii).

Collocation is another important tool used in Corpus Linguistics. The most enduring quote on collocation is linked with Firth (cited in Evert, 2009), who says that “You shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Evert, 2009, p. 2). Although the concept of collocation has been explained by various scholars, Firth’s explanation sees collocations as words that are normal or naturally attracted to each other. This explanation of the meaning of collocation is in line with the above Firthian definition as words that co-occur based on their similarity (Bartsch et al., 2014; Evert, 2009). Some examples such as day and night, boy and girl, good and bad right and wrong, handsome and man, may suffice. These examples confirm that collocations only occur in words that have related meanings. The similarities could have opposite meanings, or qualifying meanings, as in ‘handsome and man’. Evert opines that “collocation is a combination of two words that tend to occur near each other in natural language” (Evert, 2009, p. 3).

This candidate agrees with Firthian’s idea of collocation as words that naturally co-occur (Hashemi et al., 2012; Laybutt, 2009). The present study focuses on the analysis of the linguistic resources which speakers used to express unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation, by looking at the keyness of words, collocations, and concordance analysis of the selected texts.

### 3.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a language theory that emphasizes the functional, practical use of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Liu, 2014; Ryshina-Pankova, 2018). SFL approaches the study of language from its social semiotic context (Martin, 2010). In addition, SFL views language as a resource for making meanings in a social, practical, and functional way (Halliday, 2014; Martin, 2016). The functionality of language has been explained through the kind of questions SFL asks. According to Eggins (2004), “language is semiotic because it can describe other meaning-making resources and SFL asks functional questions like “how language is structured, analyzed and interpreted” (2004 pp. 3-17).

Eggins' (2004) views of SFL are significant to my study which makes use of Appraisal resources to analyse how the text senders affiliate, or disaffiliate themselves with certain individuals, sections, and ideas, thereby reproducing unequal power relations between communicators and their listeners. In the same vein (Hu, 2016) substantiates Eggins' (2004) claim on language functionality, by saying that language is studied as hierarchically organized semiotic data.

The theory of SFL was first developed in the 1960s by M.A.K Halliday, as a departure from the theoretically and structurally based language study of that time, spearheaded by Noam Chomsky, and Bloomfield. Halliday & Matthiessen later expanded the theory of SFL to different dimensions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The ideas of emphasizing the functional aspect of language, over structure, was developed by Halliday out of the previous works of Firth and Malinowski on contexts Almurashi (2016) and Matthiessen (2012). So, the central focus of SFL is the function that language performs in use. SFL's theory emphasizes a functional approach to language study to solve linguistic problems, contrary to Chomsky's and Bloomfield's reliance on the structure of language based on the innate intuition of native speakers. Therefore, SFL does not generate language data intuitively and is not concerned about how language representations are processed in the human brain, but the theory examines discourses from the written or spoken perspectives and what the data that is produced contains (Almurashi, 2016). In essence, SFL approaches language as interconnected systems that work together to perform its social functions in use (Abdulrahman Almurashi, 2016; Alyousef & Alyahya, 2018; Trevisan & García, 2019).

Fundamentally, SFL identifies language as operating in three Metafunctions of meanings. These Metafunctions are Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual. In addition, SFL views these Metafunctions as complementary in their functions, and believes "that language is a resource for mapping Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual meaning unto one another in virtually every act of communication' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 7). These Metafunctions are the major dimensions of SFL which demonstrate the interrelatedness of meanings in communication and how the meaning potentials are organized. These Metafunctions, their organization, and the interconnectedness of meanings in SFL are explained further in the subsequent sections.

### 3.3.1 The Metafunctions: Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual

The three Metafunctions (Martin and White, 2005), have been described as the basis upon which meanings are realized in a stratified way in communicative acts (Dalamu, 2017; Liu, 2014; Martin, 2016; Martin and White, 2005). Martin and White, have explained the three Metafunctions of SFL thus: “Ideational resources are concerned with construing experience: what’s going on, including who is doing what to whom, where, when, why, and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another” (2005c, p. 20). This Ideational Metafunction focuses on how the resources of language are used to construe and disseminate one’s experiences among participants in an interactive act (Alaei & Ahangari, 2016). Language provides the platform upon which users express their ideas about the world. This expression of ideas includes spoken or written words, signs, and gestures as well as the conception of our inner thought processes. “The Ideational Metafunction is divided into the experiential and logical functions” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The experiential refers to our experiences of how things are in the real world, and the logical refers to how these experiences are interconnected in a logical order, (Liu, 2017) and (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Similarly, Martin and White (2005) assert that “Interpersonal resources are concerned with negotiating social relations: how people are interacting, including the feelings they try to share” (2005c, p. 20). Interpersonal Metafunction is concerned with how social roles are negotiated and enacted among participants in a discursive act (Gül et al., 2016). The Interpersonal Metafunction can be recognized in communicative acts in the manner we show our actions and reactions towards one another. Halliday and Matthiessen further say that Interpersonal Metafunction has both qualities of interaction and being personal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This links with the concepts of affiliation and individuation which I have discussed in 1.6.2 and 1.6.3.

In the same vein, Martin and White, assert that “Textual resources are concerned with information flow: how Ideational and Interpersonal meanings are distributed in waves of semiosis, including interconnections among waves and between language and attendant modalities (action, image, music etc.)” (2005c, p. 20). The Textual Metafunction organizes the sequential unfolding of discourses (Butt, 2019; Liu, 2017; Martin and White, 2005) and distributes information flow in a text in such a way that it makes meaningful reading (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and (Martin,

2010). These three Metafunctions of meanings have a complementary relationship and the concern of SFL is how language can be used to coordinate these interwoven complementarities of meanings in the three Metafunctions, in discursive acts, (Liu, 2017; Martin and White., 2005). A diagram that gives a comprehensive view of the SFLs stratified model along the different strata of meanings, the three Metafunctions, register, and genre, is presented in Figure 3.1.

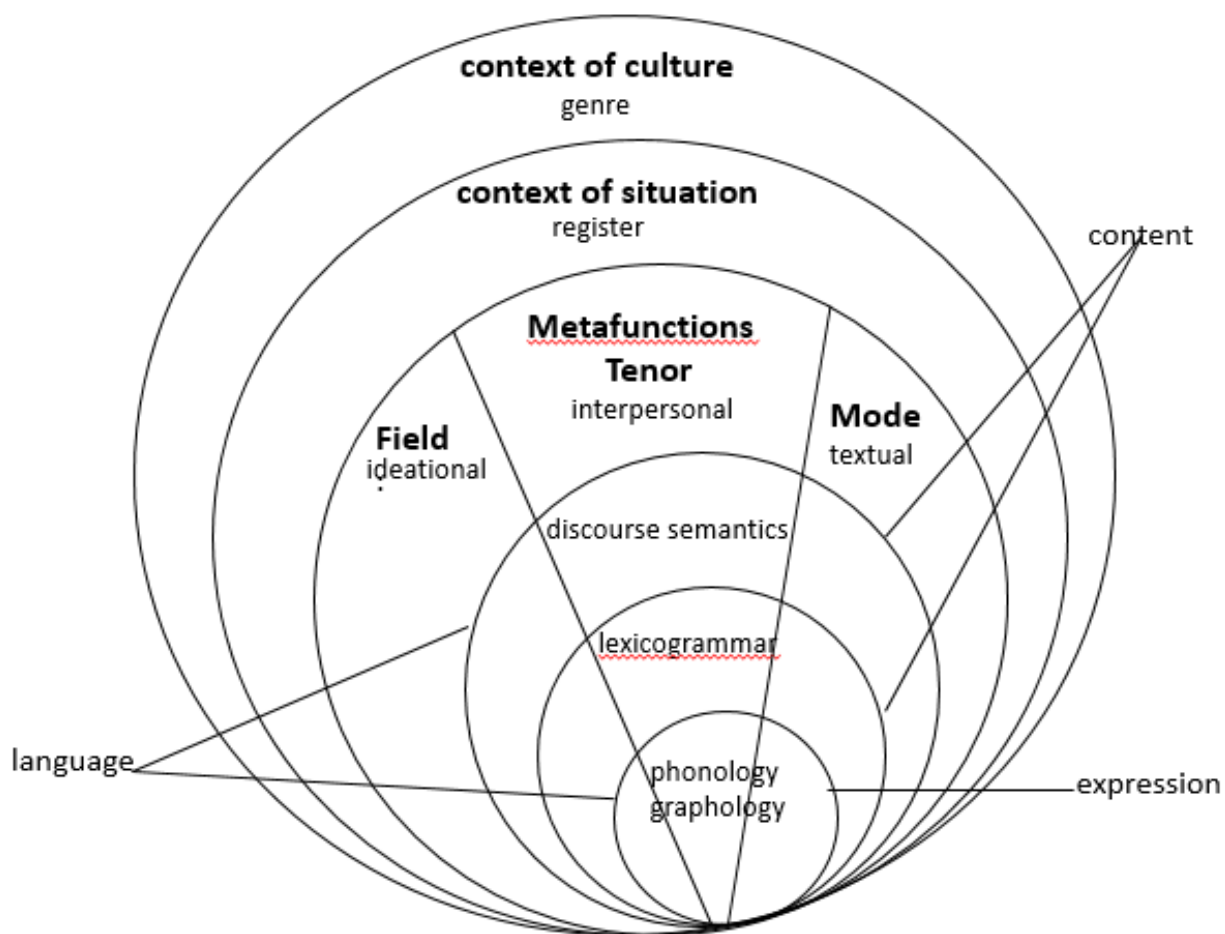


Figure 3.1: A comprehensive model of SFL, showing the stratification, the metafunctions and contexts. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 32)

Subsequently, the “Interpersonal Metafunction” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014 p. 30), is the dimension of SFL’s meaning-making resource that I have adopted in the analysis of the selected texts. First, the adoption of the stratum of Interpersonal Metafunction, is more suitable in unravelling the linguistic resources that speakers use to achieve power asymmetry, affiliation, and individuation in terms of aligning themselves with certain ideas, people, and political movements, as well as construing identities in their speeches. Second, the Appraisal framework is a sub-system of the Interpersonal Metafunction, which describes how text senders use language to evaluate and align themselves with certain groups or positions, and disalign from others. Further discussions on Appraisal can be found in section 3.6.

### 3.3.2 Stratification, Social Contexts, and Realisation

The interconnectedness of meanings in SFL has been explained through stratification (Taverniers, 2011). Expectedly, SFL’s stratification is in line with its “view of language as a network of systems” (Okafor & Issife, 2017 p. 28) that work together to realize meanings in use. According to Martin, “In Systemic Functional Linguistics, these levels of language are commonly modelled as metaredundant strata” (2010 p. 5). The three strata in the above diagram are further sub-categorized as the expression and content layers. The expression layer is made up of the phonology/graphology stratum through which we express ourselves in speech and writing. These expressions could be in the form of morphemes, alphabets, letters, syllables, phonemes, and mechanics of writing, like punctuation. The diagram in Figure 3.1 shows the content and expression layers.

Martin and White (2005) have described the different kinds of meanings in SFL as the Ideational Metafunction, which are those resources humans use to construe their experiences of the world in terms of what is happening, the people involved, and the interconnections between these experiences. The researchers also describe the Interpersonal Metafunction as those resources used to negotiate social relations among people, while the Textual Metafunction refers to the resources used to organize the “information flow: the ways ideational and interpersonal meanings are distributed in waves of semiosis” (2005, p. 7).

Secondly, the content layer which combines the lexicogrammar and semantic strata is abstracted outside the circle of phonology/graphology. The relationship between the content and the expression levels of strata has been described as “arbitrary” by Eggins (2004, p. 17). This arbitrariness implies that there is no correlation between the meaning of words and how they are uttered. Martin describes realisation as the “relationship across levels of abstraction from phonic substance” (Martin, 2010 p. 5).

Liu (2017) describes the three Metafunctions as the internal realisations of SFL, while Contexts are the external realisations of SFL in discourse. Song explains the position of context in discourse, from the perspectives of linguistic, situational, and cultural contexts. According to Song, “linguistic context refers to the context within discourse, that is the relationship between the words, sentences and even paragraphs” (Song, 2010, p. 876). Song asserts that “Situational context, or context of situation, refers to the environment, time and place, etc. in which the discourse occurs, and also the relationship between the participants” (2010, p. 877), and summarizes the situational context as “the triad of field, tenor and mode” (2010 p. 877). Field refers to discursive activities among participants and the topic of the discursive activity, i.e., the focus of the discourse, while tenor means the kind of social stratification that exists among discussants in a discourse act, and mode is the relationship between the language user and his/her medium of expression, spoken, written, visual or multimodal (Hu, 2016; Menéndez, 2006; Song, 2010). This is the standard SFL description of context of situation. In addition, Song explains the important role culture plays in discourse and says that “a language community influences participants in discourse through its cultures” (2010, p. 877). “Context of the situation and context of culture” (2010 p. 877) are the lenses through which language expresses itself functionally. Halliday views register “as a semantic configuration” (Lukin et al., 2011, p. 190). According to Figueiredo, “register corresponds to the context of situation, and genre to the context of culture” (2010 p 128). In addition, Martin & Rose say that genre refers “to different types of texts that enact various types of social contexts” (2007, p. 8). According to Alyousef & Alyahya, “genre constitutes the rhetorical features of a text and the semiotic communicative purpose(s) it serves” (2018, p. 1). More information on the concepts of register and genre can be found in Figure 3.1.

The context of culture belongs to a stratum beyond the context of the situation. This means that internal and external factors like people’s experiences, relationships, and modes of expression combine with other social factors like culture, class, and gender, to enact discourses. The Metafunctions are interwoven in the realisation cline by “cross-classifying the three variables of register” (Liu, 2017, p. 35). The diagram of the Metafunctions can be found in Figure 3.1.

Realisation has been described as: “the relationship of meanings from the phonological level, across the lexico-grammar, to discourse semantics” (Martin, 2010 p. 5). In a more elaborate sense, realisation has been explained by Halliday & Matthiessen as: “the interstratal relationship between the semantics and the lexicogrammar: the lexicogrammar ‘realizes’ the semantics, the semantics, ‘is realized’ by the grammar” (1999 pp. 25-26). In other words, realisation can be described as a hierarchical, mutually, and interrelated relationship among different strata of language. The realisation cline shows this logical sequence of relationships from the phonology/graphology stratum, up to the strata of contexts. This sequence of relationships implies that in social discourse, all strata are involved. The diagram in Figure 3.2 explains the realisation cline among all strata of language and contexts.

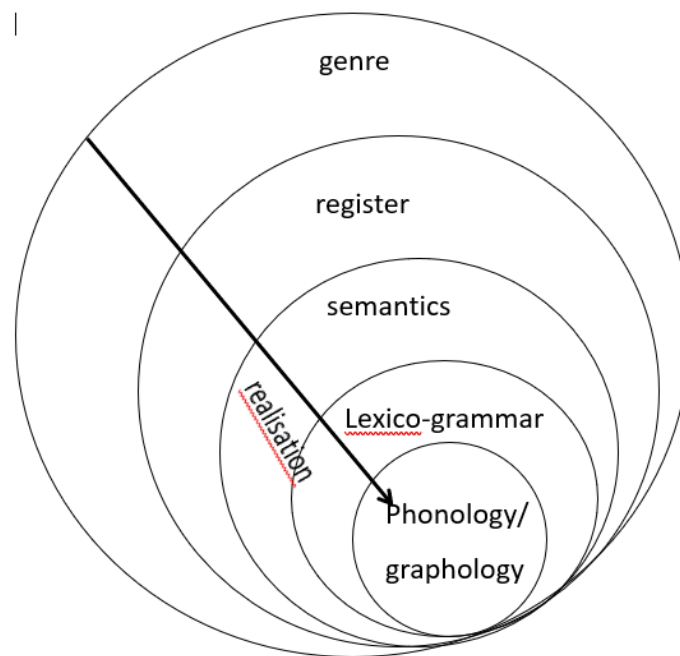


Figure 3.2: The realisation cline, stratification, and contexts. Source: Liu (2017, p. 35)



Subsequently, there is an examination of the ways the layers of register and genre influence the Nigerian political discourse, to unravel the resources the speakers used to enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations in the speeches. The student investigator applies the Appraisal framework of SFL to unearth how unequal power relations, individuation, and affiliation are realized in Nigeria's political speeches between the speakers and other individuals, groups, sections/regions of the country, and political ideas.

### 3.4 Appraisal

The Appraisal framework belongs to the Interpersonal Metafunction meaning-making semiotic resources of SFL. Appraisal is situated in SFL through the "Interpersonal metafunction" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 7) which focuses on how participants interact in a discursive act. Interpersonal Metafunction is used to negotiate discursive roles among discourse participants (Martin and White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007; Matthiessen, 2015). Appraisal has three major systems that enable a fine-grained analysis of evaluative language (Martin and White, 2005).

As part of SFL's framework, Appraisal systems are based on their social contextual and situational perspectives (Martin and White, 2005). Therefore, the sociopolitical contexts of the selected speeches play very important roles in this analysis. The three systems and sub-systems of Appraisal are also used in the analysis of speeches. These three systems of Appraisal are "Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 38). Each of these systems also has its sub-systems. This study is concerned with discovering the rhetorical strategies used by Nigerian leaders to negotiate semiotic meanings between them and their listeners. The methods that I use to analyse the speeches are discussed in 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, & 4.7. A diagram of the Appraisal systems and sub-systems is represented in Figure 3.3.

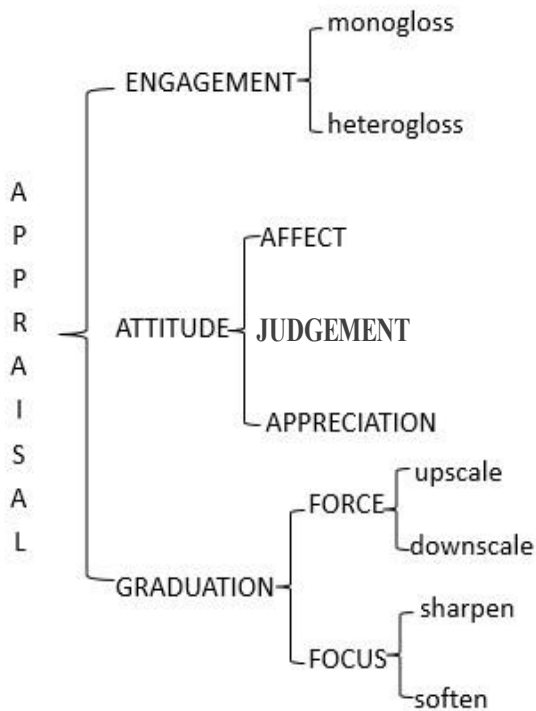


Figure 3.3: An overview of Appraisal resources. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 38)

### 3.4.1 Attitude

This refers to the system through which participants' emotional dispositions are evaluated. Attitude has three sub-systems, namely: “Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation” (2005, pp. 35–36). The Affect sub-system of Attitude shows how discourse participants display their emotions towards one another. Feelings and emotions have been described as “an expressive resource” (Martin and White., 2005, p. 42) that is inherent and natural to us. They also describe Affect as the way we feel towards something, either positively or negatively. A diagram of the sub-system of Affect is shown in Figure 3.4.

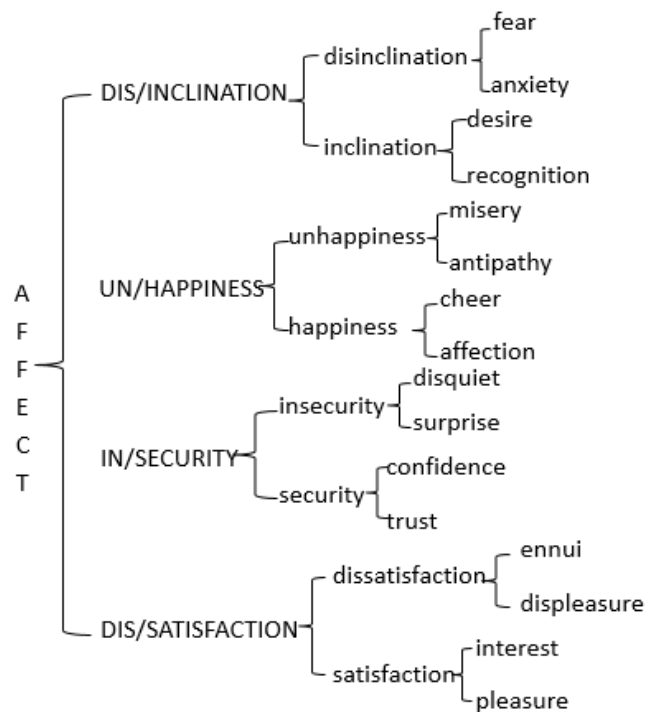


Figure 3.4: The sub-system of Affect. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 51)

### 3.4.2 Judgement

Judgement is used to evaluate the way discourse participants display their attitudes towards something, either praising or condemning it. According to Martin and White, “Judgement deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticize, praise or condemn” (2005c, p. 42). In essence, Judgement is an evaluative locution “of meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 52). Martin and White also say that Judgement is “divided into those dealing with ‘social esteem’ and those oriented to ‘social sanction’” (2005c, p. 52). They equally assert that the “Judgements of esteem have to do with ‘normality’ (how unusual someone is), ‘capacity’ (how capable they are) and ‘tenacity’ (how resolute they are); judgements of sanction have to do with ‘veracity’ (how truthful someone is) and ‘propriety’ (how ethical someone is)” (Martin. and White., 2005, p. 52). A diagram showing the sub-system of Judgement and its lexical instantiations is presented in Figure 3.5.

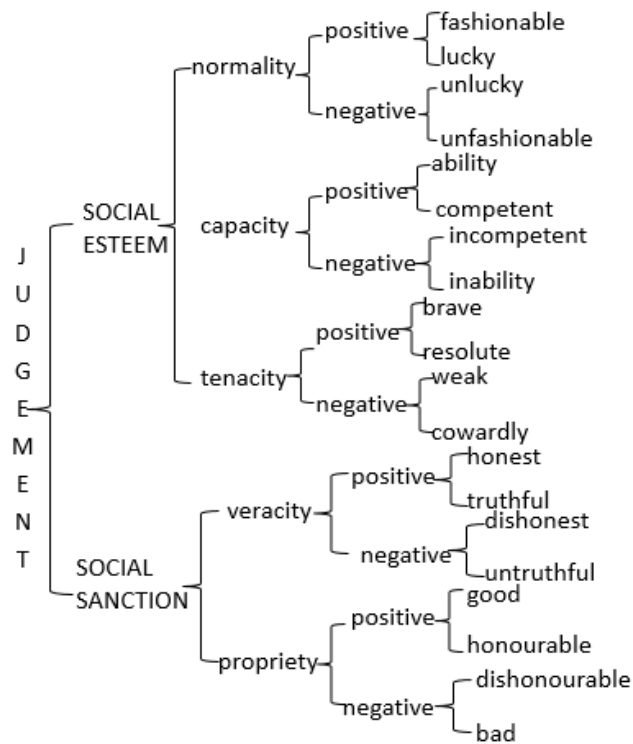


Figure 3.5: The sub-system of Judgement. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 53)

### 3.4.3 Appreciation

Lastly, Appreciation is used to evaluate of the aesthetics of non-humans and other natural activities (Moloi & Bojabotseha, 2014; Oteiza, 2017; Wang Ruo-mei, 2016). A diagram of the sub-system of Appreciation is presented in figure 3.6.

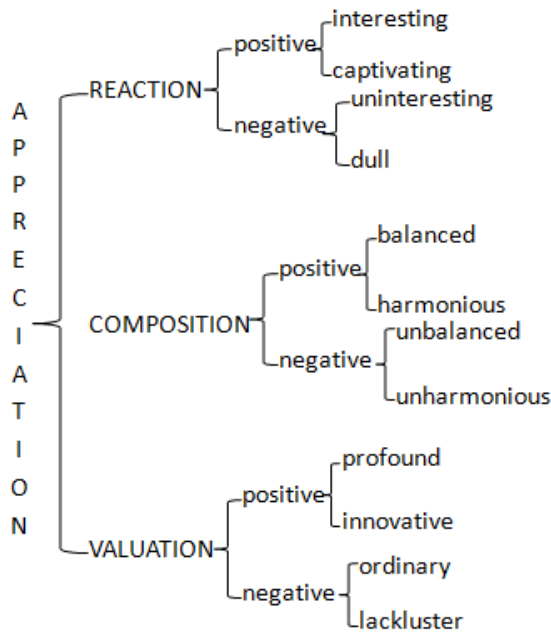
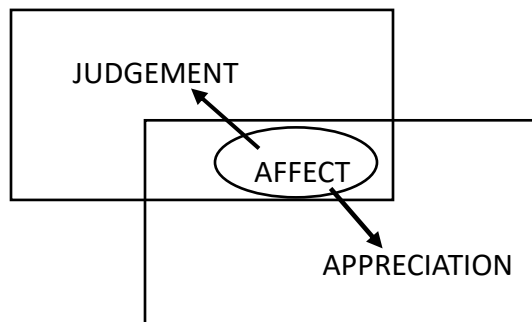


Figure 3.6: The sub-system of Appreciation. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 53)

Given the significant effects of Attitude on discourse, some scholars opine that the way people express their feelings or emotions is institutionalized in our community of shared values. These scholars (Macken-Horarik & Isaac, 2014; Martin and White., 2005; Painter, 2003) also claim that social institutions like the church, the state, and the society, play active roles in institutionalizing the ways we express our feelings. Martin and White assert “that social esteem tends to be policed in the oral culture, through chat, gossip, jokes, and stories of various kinds with humour often having a critical role to play” (2005c, p. 52). Similarly, the researchers assert that “social sanction on the other hand is more often codified in writing by edicts, decrees, rules, regulations, and laws about how to behave as surveilled by church and state with penalties and punishments as levers against those not complying with code” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 52). The institutionalization of feelings is expressed in Figure 3.7.

ethics/morality (rules and regulations)

feeling institutionalized as proposals



feeling institutionalized as propositions

aesthetics/values (criteria and assessment)

Figure 3.7: Judgement and Appreciation as institutionalized Affect. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 45)

Painter explains this institutionalization process more practically, with the word “boring” (2003 p. 189). Affect is the nucleus of the display of emotions as in how we feel about something like a speech which “could bore or enliven somebody (Affect), or the speaker who could either be boring or not (Judgment) and the same speech could be valued as boring or otherwise (Appreciation)” (Painter, 2003, p. 189). It is the social institutions like the church and state that decide the parameters of how people express these feelings.

The system of Attitude is further expressed through Inscribed and Invoked evaluative resources. An inscribed Attitude occurs when a statement is expressed explicitly. Secondly, Inscribed Appraisal is always associated with specific lexical items in a text and is used by speakers to align listeners to themselves by using certain words that evoke emotional bonding between the speaker and the listeners (Mahdavi-rad, 2015; Oteíza, 2017). Some examples of Inscribed Appraisal could be: “unfortunately”, “unintentionally”, or “surprisingly”.

Conversely, Invoked Appraisal occurs when the meaning of a statement is implicitly expressed in a text or speech. As a result of the implicitness of Invoked Appraisal, it can only be fully deciphered through its association with other words, as in co-text or through some speech acts such as (pre)suppositions, implications, implicatures, and other lexical words. For instance, the use of certain words or phrases like: “diplomatic immunity”, and “bilateral relationship”, cannot be fully understood without putting into consideration their contextual background knowledge in the text or speech (Mahdavi-rad, 2015; Oteíza, 2017). In the case of “diplomatic immunity”, the discourse participants need to be aware of the kind and level of relationship existing between the countries involved, the status and mission of the country’s representatives, including the international laws that are binding on both countries in any diplomatic relationship. This background knowledge can be used to invoke the Affect-(Dis)Inclination-(In)Security Attitude. Similarly, on “bilateral relations”, the discourse participants should be aware of the kind, and level of cultural, political, and economic relations existing between the two countries involved in this relationship, before any meaningful action can be initiated. This background knowledge can also be used to invoke the Affect-(Dis)Inclination-(Un)Happiness Attitude in a discourse.

#### 3.4.4 Engagement

Engagement is a system of Appraisal that examines “all those locutions which provide the means for the authorial voice to position itself with respect to, and hence to ‘engage’ with, the other voices and alternative positions construed as being in play in the current communicative context” (Martin and White., 2005, p. 94). Succinctly, Engagement can be described as how speakers position themselves with other voices in a discourse act.

Martin and White drew on Bakhtin/Voloshinov’s<sup>1</sup> views on dialogicality, to describe the system of Engagement about the involvement of other voices (2005c). By this, Bakhtin/Voloshinov asserts that human verbal or written communication is dialogic because it involves other seen and unseen participants. Bakhtin/Voloshinov elucidate their claim with the following expression: “to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or take up in some way, what has been said or

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<sup>1</sup> The student researcher is unsure what work belongs to each of these authors.

written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual potential or imagined readers/listeners” (Martin and White., 2005, p. 92). The involvement of alternative or previous voices in a dialogic act is in line with Martin and White’s view of the Engagement system where speakers or discourse participants show their attitude towards others, by controlling the authorial voice in a way that opens or closes the space for alternative voices so that only the voice of the speaker is heard. Through the control of alternative voices, a discourse participant can affiliate with, or individuate away from real or putative readers or listeners. Through the regulation of other voices, discourse participants also reproduce unequal power relations in Interpersonal discourse. Engagement uses two sub-systems of Monogloss and Heterogloss to describe the above discourse acts. Monogloss refers to locutions that do not acknowledge the existence of any other participants’ voices, while Heterogloss refers to any locution that shows recognition of the existence of alternative voices or perspectives. Wang uses the following examples to explain the above-mentioned locutions: “The young man has been selfish” Monogloss. “There is different view point though the young man has been described as being selfish”-Heterogloss (2016, p. 870). A diagram of the Engagement system and lexical instantiations is represented in Figure 3.8.

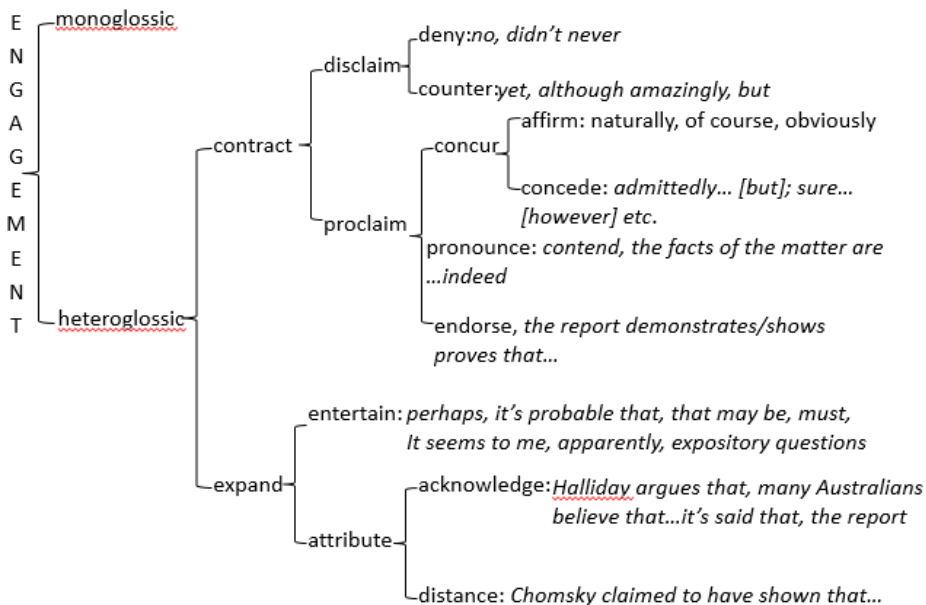


Figure 3.8: The Engagement System. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 134)



### 3.4.5 Graduation

Graduation is a scaling technique used to either sharpen or soften values in discourse or tone them up and down. This concept uses the sub-systems of Force, to either upscale or downscale the volume of discourse and Focus, to either soften or sharpen the values of a discourse. The upscaling Force can be used to intensify the meaning of the Attitude and Engagement, such as totally absent, while downscaling Force can be used to reduce the intensity of the meaning of the Attitude and Engagement, like slightly noticeable, to align or disalign, and reproduce unequal power relations with discourse participants. According to Martin and White (2005), upscale/downscale Force, and sharpening/softening Focus are semantic categories used by discourse participants to either grade the impact of their clause complex according to intensity or “according to prototypicality (Martin and White., 2005, p. 137). In addition, “attitude and engagement are domains of graduation which differ according to the nature of the meanings being scaled” (Martin and White., 2005, p. 136). Graduation can be described as the locution the discourse participants use to regulate the discourse by either sharpening or blurring the meaning of their Attitude (Martin and White, 2005).

Concerning scalability, Martin and White argue that “Graduation operates across two axes of scalability -that of grading according to intensity or amount, and that of grading according to prototypicality and the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn” (2005c, p. 137). Subsequently, they describe how the two lexicogrammatical class-isolating and infusing can be used to control dialogic activity (Martin and White, 2005). In their view, “the distinction turns on whether the up-scaling/down-scaling is realized by an isolated, individual item which solely, or at least primarily, performs the function of setting the level of intensity, or whether the sense of up/down-scaling is fused with a meaning which serves other semantic function” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 141). A diagram of the Graduation system and its lexical instantiations is presented in Figure 3.9.

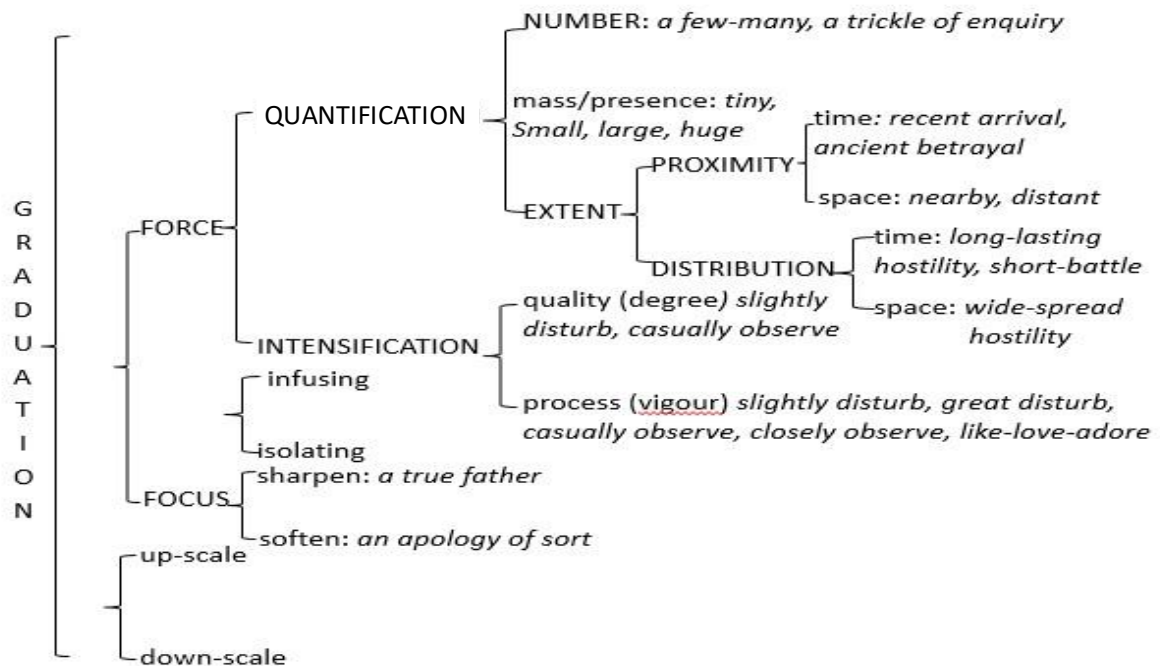


Figure 3.9: The Graduation system. Source: Martin and White (2005c, p. 154)

### 3.5 Affiliation and Individuation

The candidate further describes how a text analyst can combine the theories of affiliation and Appraisal in SFL to construe different identities, by coupling Ideational and Interpersonal meanings to propose bonds in a text. The candidate also draws from Martin (2008) and Liu (2017), to explain why the concepts of affiliation and individuation are necessary for my study. In this study, the concepts of affiliation and individuation in the analysis of the selected speeches are applied to unravel the linguistic resources used by the speakers to achieve unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation and individuation with some persons, groups, sections of the country, or political ideas. These analytic goals are realized by identifying those words, phrases, and clause complexes the speakers used to express shared common values and propose bonds with their audience; and those they used to create individual identities in the speeches.

The way that users of language utilize the resources of language to align or disalign with others, and to construct identities in discourse is theorized in SFL partly using the concepts of affiliation and individuation (Martin, 2010). Knight describes affiliation as “the coupling of Interpersonal interactions to align with a community of shared values” (Knight, 2010 p. 41). Affiliation in a text could be identified by examining the logogenesis of the text to discover how discourse participants couple instances of communing ideas to propose bonds with real or putative readers (Martin, 2010).

Individuation has equally been described as how an individual may utilize the reservoir of a language to show his/her differences from others (Knight, 2010). In essence, individuation is the inverse of affiliation that results from the choices that the language user makes from the repertoire of cultural and linguistic options available to him/her, thereby construing identity that sets the user apart, from a communally shared value system (Knight, 2010). Individuation allows one to distinguish oneself from a community of shared values, hence some individuals are either more closely or loosely bound to their ethnic and cultural norms and practices (Almutairi, 2014; Boucher & Maslach, 2009; Knight, 2010; Liu, 2018; Mahboob & Knight, 2008, 2010). Figure 3.10 illustrates the relationship between the individual and the individuation and affiliation clines.

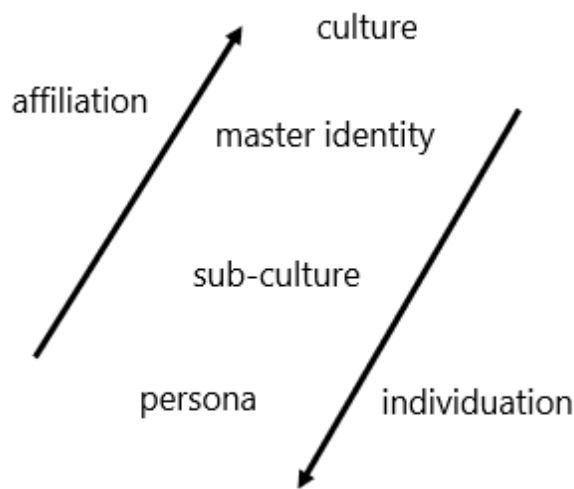


Figure 3.10: The individuation and affiliation cline. Source: Martin (2010, p. 24)

The cline of individuation indicates how an individual negotiates a choice from the general system of language reservoir to create his/her unique individual personality, to utilize the repertoire of language in his/her way, to tend away from the communally shared values of a community of users (Knight, 2010). Concerning my study, the individuation cline is applied in the analysis of the speeches to show how the speakers negotiate their disalignment from certain individuals, groups, sections of the country, or political ideas to assert their identities by expressing personal, group or sectional opinions.

Martin uses two texts, “Tears of the Giraffe” and “Morality for Beautiful Girls” (Martin J. R., 2008) to describe how Appraisal resources can be used to enact the concept of individuation and realize different identities in a text. According to Martin, although the two texts have similar structures, the patterns of the storytelling are different. Martin opines that though texts can have a specific pattern of realisation, each text must conform to different styles and meanings, depending on how the individual text senders instantiate their identities on the texts (Martin, 2008). Martin advises that more studies should be done on individuation to unravel the strategies and resources people use to achieve different realisations of meanings, in complementary texts (2008, p. 41). In essence, the study of individuation complements the understanding of affiliation and identity.

Martin (2008) links the study of individuation to how text senders enact identity, by describing the similar contextual experiences of the storytellers in the two texts (mentioned above), and the different ways they told their stories to realize different meanings and identities. He describes the realization rules of the two people that told the stories in the texts, deployed to realize different discourses in their story. Firstly, the researcher uses the Appraisal framework to show how the concepts of individuation and identity are enacted in the texts. Subsequently, he instantiates the two stories on an Appraisal table to describe how the storytellers deployed evaluative resources to reveal their contextual orientations and identities in the stories. Martin’s analysis reveals that one of the storytellers enacted a more positive attitude in the texts than the other, which indicates that she has a more positive orientation to things around her than her counterpart. Martin further describes how the storytellers in the two texts enacted the Engagement system and sub-systems to control the authorial voice, and what it says about their personalities and contextual orientations

towards their environment. To achieve this, the author further describes how the storytellers instantiated the resources of the Graduation systems of Appraisal in the texts differently, in terms of intensification/quantification of some words and clause complexes, to reveal individual patterns and construe different identities. Martin's findings reveal that while one of the storytellers has a more positive attitude towards others, the other displayed a negative attitude towards other people. He links these different approaches to the concept of individuation and the different contextual backgrounds and orientations of the storytellers.

In addition, Martin (2008) shows the usefulness of combining the concepts of affiliation and individuation with the Appraisal framework, to reveal the different attitudes, orientations, objectives, contextual perspectives, and identities of discourse participants. He explains how a text analyst can combine the concepts of affiliation and individuation with the Appraisal framework, to unravel the connections between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis of a text. Martin emphasizes the usefulness of combining the concepts of individuation and affiliation in text analysis, thus: "There is of course no way to construe identities other than by instantiating them in a text; and there is no way to form text other than by drawing on the realisational resources members of a culture share" (2008, p. 57).

Subsequently, Martin (2008) explains how the concept of individuation can be explored with Appraisal to analyse the connection between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis of a text by exploring semantic variations in Interpersonal discourse. Consequently, he used the two texts (mentioned above) to suggest "ways in which individuation can be explored, focusing on the Appraisal systems and the distinctive ways they can be used to express feelings and align readers" (2008, p. 57). He advised text analysts thus: "We must, in other words, keep all three hierarchies, realization, instantiation and individuation in mind when exploring semantic variation, since all systems proposed for a given language and culture along the realization hierarchy instantiate, and all individuate as well" (2008, p. 57). More information on realization, instantiation, individuation, and genesis can be found in 1.6.

In addition, Liu (2018) used selected media editorials to study how lexical metaphors can be used to enact Interpersonal meanings in discourse. The researcher focuses on how lexical metaphors can be coupled with Appraisal Attitudinal meaning, to produce some rhetorical effects in Interpersonal discourse. Liu proposes bonds of affiliation and individuation with real and putative readers, by either aligning or distancing readers from certain people or political ideas. Liu concludes that lexical metaphors can function with the Attitude system to propose positive or negative attitudes that construct communities of readers according to the evaluative stance. The researcher adds that lexical metaphors can be used to advance a particular value position over another (2018).

Liu's study aligns with this study in terms of unearthing how speakers utilize linguistic resources to couple their Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, to either affiliate with, or individuate away from certain individuals, groups, sections, or political ideas. Similarly, this candidate has described how the speakers used metaphors to propose different bonds of affiliation and individuation with their real and putative readers.

The analytic concepts of affiliation and individuation are very important in this study because they enable me to unravel the linguistic resources Nigerian leaders used to create communities of shared values among their audience by strategically aligning with certain people, sections of the country, or political movements while positioning themselves away from others. The speakers realized their objectives by instantiating couplings using the Appraisal framework to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations in the speeches. In addition, using affiliation and individuation analytics concepts in this study of the entire population of Nigerian presidential speeches shows how Nigeria's sociopolitical history has influenced Nigerian political discourse, to create different identities of the speakers and different individuals, groups, or sections of Nigeria as the country. Moreover, the affiliation and individuation analytic concepts are necessary for unravelling how the speakers used linguistic resources to co-articulate different meanings and propose different bonds with their listeners. Therefore, analysing the concepts of affiliation and individuation is necessary for this study since these concepts provide the data that are used to answer my research questions in 1.8, especially, on the patterns of evaluative language used by the

speakers in the speeches. Lastly, this study adds to the theorization of affiliation and individuation, and the Nigerian political discourse, by combining the entire population of Nigerian presidential political speeches, to unravel the different patterns of alignments and disalignments the speakers used. More information on affiliation and individuation can be found in 1.6 and 2.7.

### 3.6 The complementary relationship between CL and SFL

Several scholars have taken interest in the complementary relationship between CL and SFL. The improvement in research on lexis, identity, and bonding in interpersonal discourse has been studied by Bawarshi & Reiff (2010) and Hunston (2013). However, Bednarek's (2010) contributions to the complementary relationship between CL and SFL are more elaborate and applicable (Mahboob & Knight, 2010), especially her three-pronged approach to discourse analysis which has been adopted to properly account for the mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis in this study. More information on Bednarek's three-pronged framework can be found in 4.2. This section draws from Bednarek's contributions to the complementary relationship between CL and SFL's dimensions of "system/structure, stratification, instantiation, individuation, and genesis"(Bednarek, 2010, p. 237). This complementary combination between CL and SFL is a recent innovation in computer-aided linguistic study and is to be explained further in this study in chapter four.

One of the areas in which the study of CL complements SFL is the ordering of structure (syntagmatic) and system (paradigmatic) relationships. This combination between structure and system has been described thus: "structure is the syntagmatic ordering in language: patterns or regularities, in *what goes together with* what. System, by contrast, is ordering on the other axis: patterns in what *could go instead of* what" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 238). The above explanation refers to a strict ordering at the syntagmatic level of language, while the paradigmatic level allows for choice to be made. Similarly, Bednarek further says that "while SFL can be said to favour the paradigm (choice) over syntagm (structure), CL tries to work on the assumption that meaning is created on both axes;... we may assume that they contain equal meaning potential" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 239). This is also the position of the student researcher in this study since this analysis makes use of AntConc software which can search for words following patterns of structure like

keywords, collocates and concordances to show the unique features of these texts and the different choices the speakers make in utilizing the semiotic resources to enact affiliation and individuation in their speeches (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Corpus Linguistics helps SFL linguists to observe how language users draw on the system of language to make linguistic choices, thereby instantiating particular meanings. This is illustrated in figure 3.11.

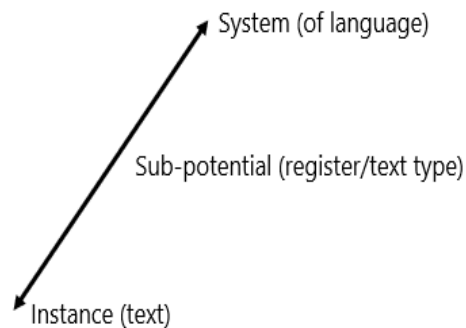


Figure 3.11: The cline of instantiation. Source: (Bednarek, 2010, p. 242)

The above instantiation cline indicates the development of language (phylogenesis) up to different genres, sub-genres, and text types, and the unfolding of meaning (logogenesis) to show how text senders utilize the resources of language to achieve their various objectives. Consequently, the instantiation cline shows that phylogenesis happens at the level of text type, while logogenesis happens at the level of text. The emphasis of this analysis is to show the relationship between the development of Nigerian presidential political discourse (phylogenesis) and the unfolding of individual speeches (logogenesis) by unearthing the resources Nigerian leaders used to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations with their audience. The



instantiation of different text corpora along the trajectory of the text system and text instance is shown in Figure 3.12.

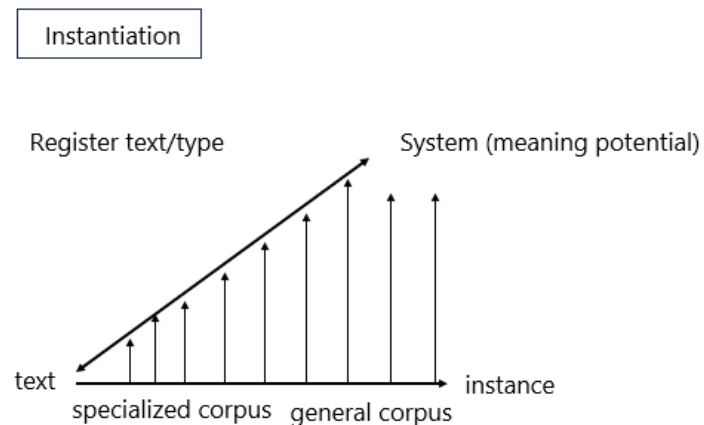


Figure 3.12: Corpora and the cline of instantiation. Source Bednarek (2010, p. 242)

The above figure confirms Halliday and Matthiessen’s assertion that: “corpora are always located at the instance pole; and that different kinds of corpora allow us to infer meaning potentials located at different points on the cline of inatantiation” (1999, cited in Bednarek 2010, p. 242).

Following this paradigm of the inter-relationship between corpora and instantiation, the presidential speeches of Nigerian leaders made from 1960 to 2015, which constitute the whole corpus for this study, will be analysed using CL and SFL. The three different genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches represent the register/text types, while the unfolding of these speeches in the language (system) shows how the various speakers used semiotic resources to co-articulate different meaning potentials, to enact affiliation and individuation with their audience. The meaning potentials of the data become much clearer through the macro-analysis of the whole corpus in chapter five, the meso-analysis of the pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus in chapter

six, the meso-analysis of the genres of speeches in chapter seven, and the fine-grained micro-analysis of individual speeches in chapters eight, nine and ten.

Bednarek draws on the concept of individuation to explain the difference between a general corpus and a specialized corpus. She suggests that a corpus should be compared with another reference corpus to determine its genre, because a “text instantiates and individuates both reservoir (the system) and repertoire” (2007, cited in Bednarek 2010 p. 244).

In this study, the corpora of Nigerian political speeches are compared with the British National Corpus (BNC), which is a very rich reference corpus that is suitable for the data used in this study. The candidate also compared the three genres of speech investigated in this study with each other by using the other two genres as a reference corpus to generate keyword lists for each genre. More information on the reference corpora that is used for comparison can be found in 4.4 & 4.5. The candidate now gives some explanations on the different time frames that show “how meaning is created in language” which is technically termed as “genesis” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, pp. 17–18, cited in Bednarek, 2010, p. 246).

Language semiotics is an ever-changing process, and how we perceive these changes over a time frame has been described as genesis (Martin and White, 2005a). Halliday and Matthiessen categorized the different geneses as logogenesis, ontogenesis, and phylogenesis (1999, p. 17). “Logogenesis is concerned with the relatively short time-frame associated with the unfolding of text; ontogenesis considers the development of semiotic repertoires in the individual; and phylogenesis deals with the evolution of the reservoir of meanings which give identity to a culture” (Martin and White, 2005a). Martin describes this unfolding of our culture, individuals, and text through time more succinctly, thus: “from the perspective of time, our culture always already evolves (phylogenesis) as we develop as individuals (ontogenesis) as the text unfolds (logogenesis)” (2010, p. 31). The above explanations show that there is an interconnection between the three geneses. The SFL’s hierarchies of individuation, instantiation, and realization interweave

with the three geneses as a system that can be realized in a corpus as texts. This relationship can be seen in the diagram in figure 3.13.

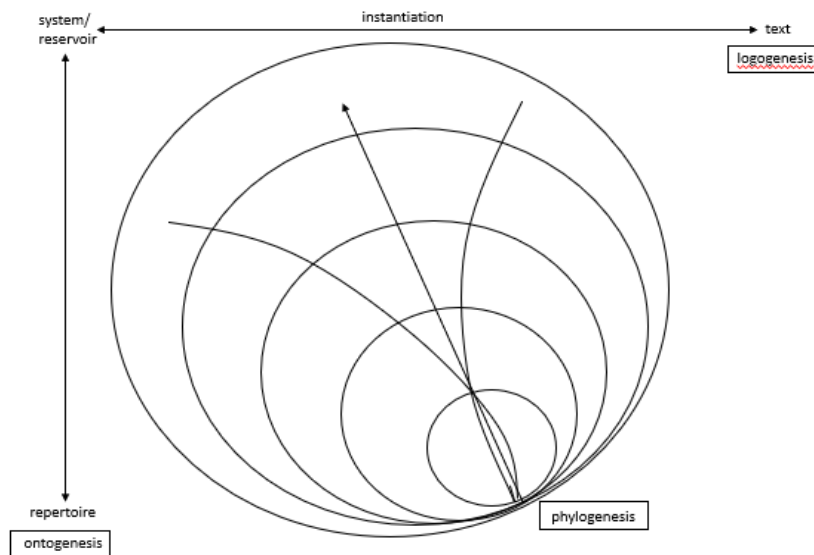


Figure 3.13: Realisation, instantiation, and individuation in relation to genesis. Source: Bednarek (2010, p. 244)

The focus of this study is to unravel the linguistic resources the speakers used to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations at all the strata of the Nigerian political discourse, with a focus on the discourse semantics and the Interpersonal Metafunction. The significance of the interconnectedness of realization, instantiation, and individuation in this study is such that the various contextual sociopolitical perspectives of the Nigerian political discourse show its development (phylogenesis). On the other hand, the different uses the speakers could mobilize along the system reservoir to the individual repertoire are realized and instantiated in the different genres of speeches and different ways the speakers coupled their ideational and interpersonal meanings, which further shows how these individual meaning potentials unfold (logogenesis), through the analysis in this study, to enact affiliation and individuation in the speeches. More information on the interweaving relationships of the speeches is clearer in the macro-, meso-, and micro-analyses of the speeches in chapters five to ten.

This study analyses some selected speeches made by Nigerian leaders, focusing on the resources and strategies the speakers used to reproduce power asymmetry and enact affiliation and individuation in the speeches. In essence, the study is interested in investigating those linguistic resources the speakers used to negotiate their relationship with their listeners by either aligning with, or disaligning from some person(s), groups, sections of the country, or political ideas, thereby proposing bonds with their listeners to create different identities. This study, therefore, uses SFL's Appraisal framework to analyse how the speakers couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in Nigerian political speeches to realize their objectives.

### 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, salient background information has been presented as a guide to the analysis of the selected speeches in subsequent chapters. Halliday's Interpersonal Metafunction is key in the subsequent analysis as Martin & White's (2005c) Appraisal framework is used to do the qualitative analysis, while CL is also used to do the quantitative analysis of data. A schematic representation of the interrelatedness of the different theories that are used in this study is presented in Figure 3.14.

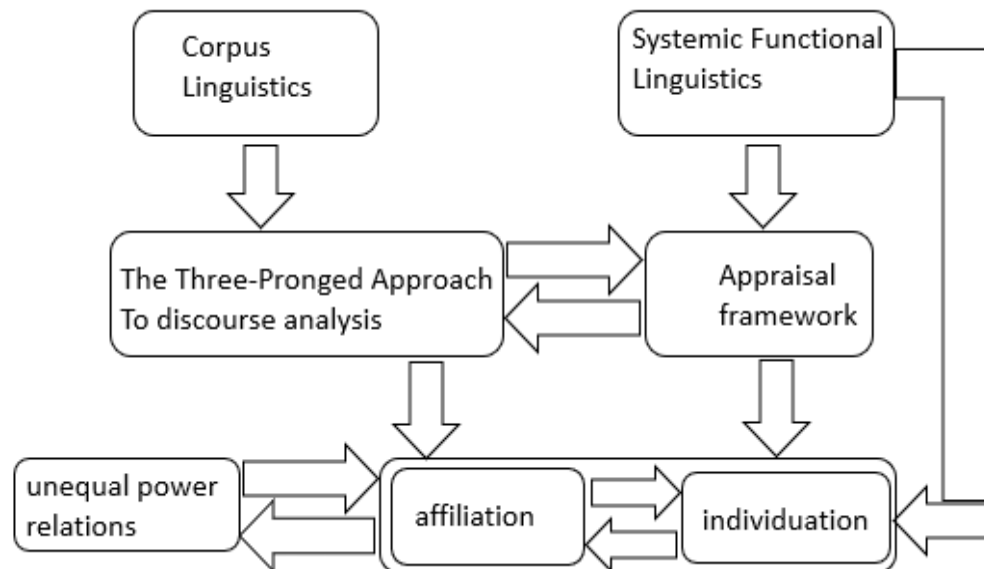


Figure 3.14: The interrelatedness of the research theories

The above diagram indicates that SFL and CL are the theories that guide this study. Corpus Linguistics methods account for the quantitative analysis of data, while SFL's Appraisal resources account for the fine-grained qualitative analysis of data. Also, Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis was used to show the mixed methods approach that is applied in this study. The three-pronged approach framework and the Appraisal framework interconnect with the analytic concepts of affiliation and individuation which are SFL dimensions. These two SFL dimensions are also interrelated with the analytic concepts of unequal power relations, in terms of unravelling how the speakers enacted affiliation and individuation and reproduced unequal power relations with their listeners in the speeches. The corpus analysis of words and phrases reveals peculiar patterns of usage between the Nigerian civilian and military leaders, especially, in the pre- and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches, and in the genres of speeches. Finally, SFL theory interconnects with affiliation and individuation directly, because these SFL dimensions (affiliation and individuation), do not only rely on Appraisal couplings, but also rely on SFL's Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, to express alignments and disalignments. The two arrows indicate that individuation is the inverse of affiliation, and vice versa. Further explanations will be given in chapter four, to show the methodology that is applied with these theories to do the analysis. Subsequent chapters five to ten are used to report on these analyses. One of the proposed contributions of this thesis to Nigerian political discourse could be the combination of the three genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches to compare areas of congruence and convergence and unravel the resources used to achieve power asymmetry, affiliation, and individuation in the three genres of speeches.

The importance of context has been discussed in this chapter, about the analytic concepts. The salience of the contextual perspectives has also been explained in chapter two. The recognition of the sociopolitical contexts makes the speeches easier to analyse the selected texts of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, taking into consideration, the circumstances that gave rise to them. It makes such analysis become what some linguists refer to as "Applicable Linguistics" (Hu, 2016; Mahboob & Knight, 2010; Matthiessen, 2012; Trevisan & García, 2019). In this way, SFL has also been proven to be an effective theory that is used to research patterns of participation in discourse. The CL quantitative method and Appraisal qualitative framework are applied in the

subsequent analyses, to unearth the linguistic resources the speakers used to enact affiliation and individuation and reproduce unequal power relations in the speeches.

## Chapter Four: Methods, procedures, and techniques

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is organized in a way that explains the methods, procedures, and techniques that have been adopted to facilitate the analysis. The candidate then reports on the analysis in chapters 5-10. Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, which combines the approach of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as complementary frameworks of analysis, is the framework that this study adopts to analyse the speeches. The student researcher then presents the layout of the research design in 4.2 and describe Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis and outline the different foci of the three-pronged approach as they apply to this analysis in 4.2.1. The student researcher then explains the re-adaptation of Bednarek's three-pronged approach into a four-pronged approach, in 4.2.2. This study also discusses the mixed method analytic approach and its relevance to this study in 4.2.3. There is also an explanation of the procedure used to collect data in 4.3, and this explanation continues with an introduction to the large-scale macro-analysis of the entire corpus in 4.4. Also, explanations about the methods that are used to do the meso-analysis of the pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra-war corpus in 4.5. Likewise, this study presents the analytic steps that are used to do the meso-analysis of genres of speeches in 4.6 and the steps that are used to do the micro-fine-grained analysis of individual speeches in 4.7. Finally, the student researcher discusses how the findings are interpreted in 4.8. and discuss the conclusion of sections presented in this chapter in 4.9.

### 4.2 The research design

This section demonstrates the conceptual outline within which this research is carried out. The outline is displayed schematically in Figure 4.1, in a way that shows the stages and steps the remaining thesis follows to answer the research questions listed in 1.8. The entire research design is laid out in Figure 4.1, in a structural schematic form, as a map that guides the reader for the rest of the research.

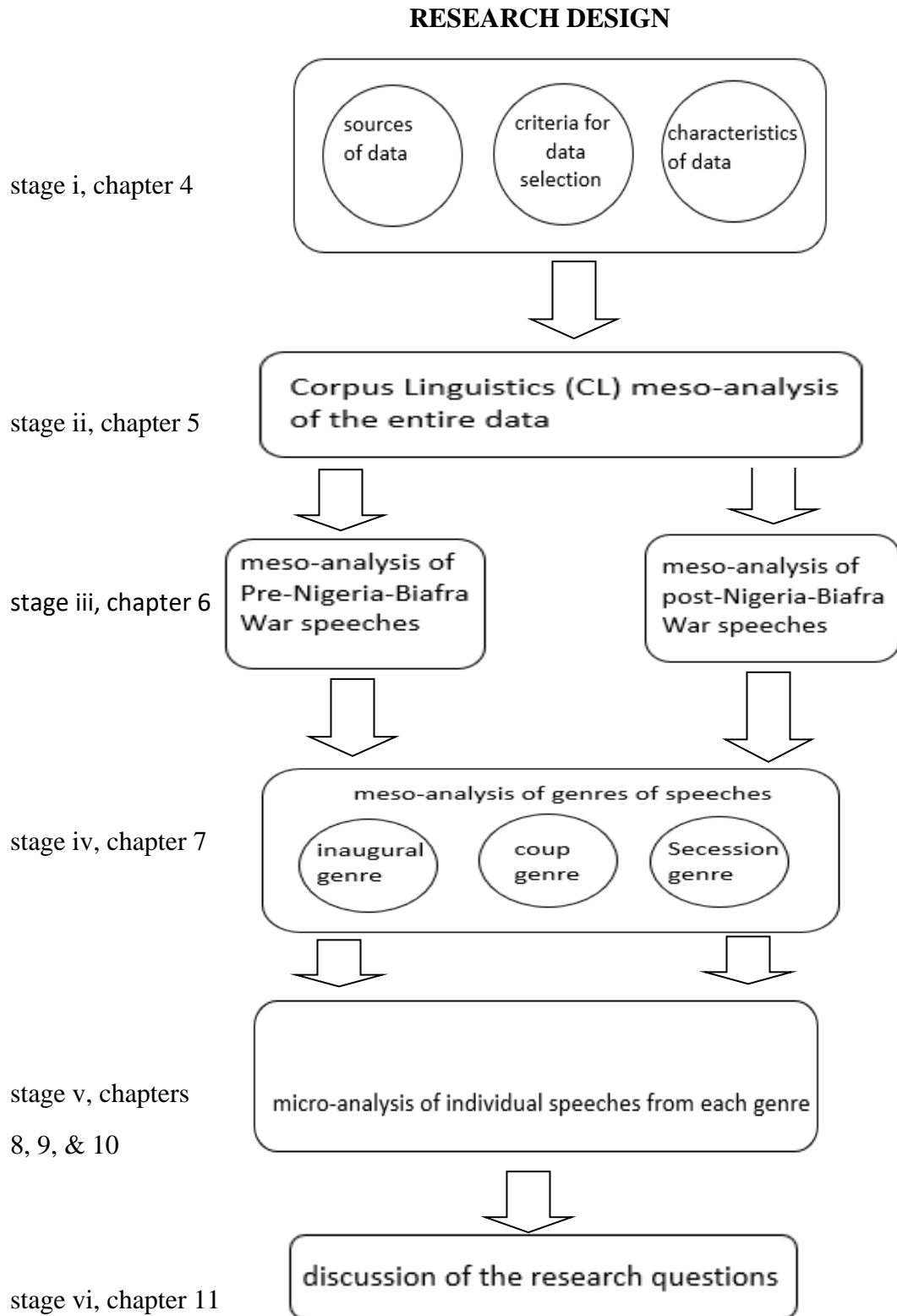


Figure 4.1: A schematic representation of the research design



In subsequent sections, there are discussions on Bednarek's three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, which has been adopted as the framework that guides this analysis. The candidate also discusses the re-adaptation of the three-pronged approach into a four-pronged approach and the ways that the CL and Appraisal frameworks are used in a complementary way for analysis in the various stages of the research design.

#### 4.2.1 The three-pronged approach to discourse analysis

Key to the understanding of this research design is Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, which gives a virtual layout of the different stages of the analysis and where these stages are located in the various strata of language. The three-pronged approach is a mixed method framework that combines the approaches of CL and the theory of SFL as complementary frameworks for analysis (Bednarek, 2010). This approach is very relevant for the kind of analysis required in this study. Consequently, the research design is modelled after Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis. However, to properly account for the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, and those speeches made before, and after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (Achebe, 2012), The student researcher has re-adapted Bednarek's three-pronged framework, to a four-pronged framework. Bednarek's three-pronged framework refers to how discourse can be analysed in a more representative way to incorporate the phylogenesis and logogenesis that the user can deploy within the different strata of language (Bednarek, 2010). More information on the genesis can be found in 1.7.1, and language stratification in 3.5, respectively. In the following outline of the three-pronged approach, the student researcher draws on how it was described in (Bednarek, 2010).

The Three-pronged framework solves a linguistic problem of how to combine a large-scale analysis of a large amount of data, and a fine-grained analysis of a small quantity of data. For instance, it is impossible to do a full-scale fine-grained analysis on a large volume of linguistic data, and equally not possible for the analysis of a small quantity of data to be representative of a large dataset. Bednarek, thus, proposes the following stages for the three-pronged framework for discourse analysis: (1) A "large-scale computerized corpus analysis, (2) semi-automated small-scale corpus analysis, (3) manual case studies" (2010, p. 249). In this instance, in the macro layer

of analysis, the corpus should have a wide representation of the discourse type, and the analysis should be done with software that can give an accurate interpretation of the data and should involve less detailed analysis. The meso layer of the Three-pronged framework also involves a more detailed explanation than in the macro-analysis, but the corpus should not be as representative as in the macro layer. Lastly, the micro-analysis layer should have the most detailed manual analysis and should be the least representative of the data. Bednarek (2010) further explains the three-pronged approach, especially its relationship with the concepts of stratification, and genesis, thus: “While large-scale corpus analysis has to focus on formally defined graphological items as realizing lexico-grammar, small-scale corpus analysis can additionally incorporate discourse semantics and case studies can look at contexts in more detail” (2010, p. 249). Bednarek further says, “In terms of genesis, large-scale analyses probably tell us more about phylogenesis than about logogenesis, whereas case studies are more concerned with logogenesis than with phylogenesis” (2010, p. 249). Finally, Bednarek discusses the relationship of the three-pronged framework to representativeness and intuition, thus: “In terms of representativeness and intuition (two key issues in epistemology), large-scale corpus analysis offers an (sic) analyses that rely less on intuition and are more representative than small-scale and case studies” (2010, p. 249). The three-pronged framework is further presented in Figure 4.2 to show how this framework is incorporated into the research design.

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Large-scale</b>	<b>Small-scale</b>	<b>Case studies</b>
<i>Data</i>	<i>Political corpus</i>	<i>Political sub-corpus</i>	<i>Speeches</i>
Stratum	phonology/graphology; +discourse semantics Lexicogrammar		+context
Genesis	+phylø		+logø
Representativeness			
Intuition			

Figure 4.2: The three-pronged approach to discourse analysis. Source: Bednarek (2010, p. 249).

In addition, Mahboob (2008) describes the different categories of Bednarek’s three-pronged framework in a way that further buttresses its analytic foci. Subsequent analyses in this study are guided by these analytic foci of the three-pronged framework, as listed in Table 4.1.

<b>Large-scale corpus analysis</b>	<b>Small-scale corpus analysis</b>	<b>Qualitative discourse analysis</b>
frequency, distribution patterns, hypothesized general functions	key, stance, functions of emotion terms, patterns with respect to co-articulated meanings	logogenesis socio-cultural analysis, co-articulated meanings
<b>Most representative</b>	<b>Less representative</b>	<b>Least representative</b>
less detailed description, more descriptive	more detailed description, more interpretive	most detailed description, most interpretive

Table 4.1: The foci of Bednarek's three-pronged approach. Source: Mahboob (2008, p. 99)

Bednarek says that since no single level of discourse can provide a comprehensive approach to discourse analysis, it is reasonable to use a mixed method approach in discourse analysis. According to her, "triangulation allows researchers to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research tool and the validity of data collected" (Bednarek, 2009, p. 23).

Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged framework is very important and central to the kind of analyses that are done in this study. It is most suited for the mixed method of quantitative and qualitative analyses that are used in this study, and suitable for unravelling the linguistic strategies used by speakers to enact the concepts of unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation, and individuation. In essence, the three-pronged framework is well suited to unearthing how the Nigerian political discourse unfolded over time (phylogenesis), and how each speech unfolded (logogenesis) in terms of how the speakers utilized various linguistic resources to realize the analytics concepts. However, considering the combination of three genres of inaugural, coup and secession speeches for analyses in this study, the student researcher re-adapts Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged framework to a four-pronged framework, to adequately account for these different genres of speeches. This re-adaptation is explained further in 4.2.2.

#### 4.2.2 A re-adaptation of the three-pronged approach to a four-pronged approach

Figure 4.3 illustrates my re-adaptation of Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach, into a four-pronged approach for discourse analysis.

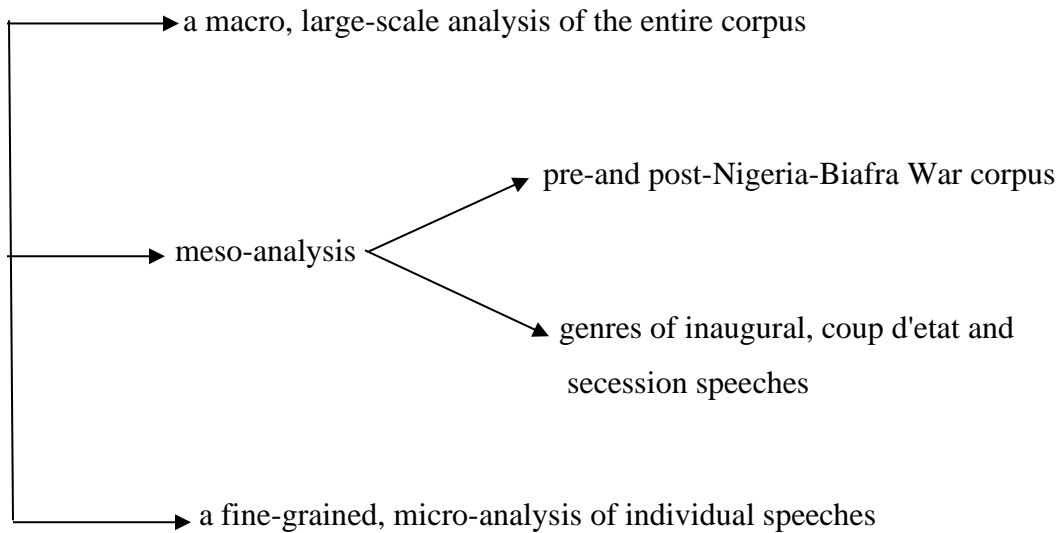


Figure 4.3: A re-adaptation of Bednarek's three-pronged approach into a four-pronged approach for discourse analysis

The reason for re-adapting the three-pronged approach into a four-pronged approach is to fully account for other small-scale corpora that are not large enough to be analysed under the macro layer and are not small enough to account for individual case studies for a micro-, fine-grained analysis. The student researcher re-adapted Bednarek's three-pronged approach, into a four-pronged Approach, to account for the more than one small-scale corpus in Nigeria's political discourse as follows: (1) to compare the speeches made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970, and (2) to compare the genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches that I analyse in this study. For instance, the Nigeria-Biafra War was very impactful in the sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria (Achebe, 2012; Korieh, 2013). The same applies to the genres of speeches which are sub-corpora that deserve special attention in the analysis. Therefore, comparing the pre-war and post-war speeches, and the genres of speeches, can generate enough data that can be used to unravel how the speakers enacted affiliation, and individuation, and reproduced unequal power relations in their speeches.

Consequently, I find it necessary to compare the pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War, and genres of speeches sub-corpora, to discover those lexical instantiations that are peculiar to the texts, and the different patterns of affiliation and individuation used by the speakers. These comparisons are most suited in this analysis to answer some research questions in 1.8, which border on the patterns of evaluative language, and how the speakers realized the analytic concepts of power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the speeches. More information on how the student researcher applied the four-pronged approach in my analysis of the pre-, and post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus, can be found in 6.3, and 6.4, respectively, and the genres of the coup, inaugural, and secession speeches in 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5 respectively.

#### 4.2.3 The mixed methods analysis

In the mixed method research analysis, the student researcher combines qualitative and quantitative analyses to produce more accurate and reliable results. The mixed method approach arose due to a need to strike a balance between the quantitative and qualitative methods to achieve a holistic analysis. For instance, figure 4.2 shows that it is obvious that the qualitative method can be less representative but more fine-grained. On the contrary, the quantitative method is more

representative but yields less detailed insights into linguistic phenomena (Bang, 2018). The student researcher adopts a mixed method approach in this analysis in recognition of the complementarity between, and usefulness of the quantitative and qualitative research paradigms to my study (He, 2017, p. 116). In addition, the reasons for triangulating the data in these analyses are explained in 4.8 to ensure a high level of reliability of the results. The triangulation approach to data analysis promotes interdisciplinary synergy and produces more reliable results (Hoang Dang, 2015; Pardede, 2019; Wodak & Meyer, 2011). The aim of adopting the mixed method in this study is to ensure that the CL and SFL analyses are inter-subjective, by explaining them carefully and offering a rational argument for the analysis. Thus, combining both kinds of methods enhances more reliable, balanced, generalized, and synthesized findings (Almalki, 2016).

### 4.3 Data Collection

In this section, there are explanations of the steps and procedures that guided me in collecting and managing data for the analyses in subsequent chapters. These steps align with my aim to unearth the strategies the Nigerian political leaders used to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation in selected Nigerian political speeches. Following the research design in 4.2, this section addresses the sources of data, criteria, and characteristics for data selection for the study.

#### 4.3.1 Sources of data and data cleaning

The primary sources of the data for this study are the selected speeches. The student researcher used as data every presidential inaugural, coup, and secession speech made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015. I sourced the transcripts of these speeches from the internet and appropriate credit has been given to the sources of the speeches by citing the URL and references in this order:

1. 1 October 1960 inaugural speech: [www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/1960-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-independence-day/](http://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/1960-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-independence-day/) (Balewa, 1960)
2. 15 January 1966 coup speech: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2010/09/radio-broadcast-by-major-chukwuma-kaduna-nzeogwu-announcing-nigeria's-first-military-coup-on-radio-nigeria-kaduna-on-january-15-1966/> (Nzeogwu, 1966)
3. 1 August 1966 coup speech: [omoakala.blogspot.com/2012/07/august-1st-1966-coup-speech-of-general.html](http://omoakala.blogspot.com/2012/07/august-1st-1966-coup-speech-of-general.html) (Gowon, 1966)
4. 30 May 1967 secession speech: <https://www.legit.ng/1107505-read-ojukwus-1967-speech-announcing-sovereign-state-biafra.html> (Ojukwu, 1967)
5. 29 July 1975 coup speech: <https://nigeria1960.wordpress.com/2013/06/06/general-gowon-is-overthrown- maiden-speech-of-brigadier-murtala-ramat-muhammed-july-29-1975/> (Murtala, 1975)
6. 13 February 1976 coup speech: <http://www.earlyface.com.ng/political-issues/lt-col-bukar-dimka-speech-in-the-1976-coup/> (Dimka, 1976).
7. 1 October 1979 inaugural speech: [dawodu.com/shag/.htm](http://dawodu.com/shag/.htm) (Shagari, 1979)
8. 1 January 1984 coup speech: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/features-and-interviews/183847-from-the-archive-buharis-first-speech-as-nigerias-military-head-of-state-in-december-1983.html> (Buhari, 1984).
9. 27 August 1985 coup speech: <https://www.nairaland.com/432356/text-general-ibrahim-babangidas-coup> (Babangida, 1985).
10. 22 April 1990 coup speech: <https://www.nairaland.com/1272330/major-gideon-orkar-coup-speech> (Orkar, 1990).
11. 17 November 1993 coup speech: <https://nairametrics.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/General-Sanni-Abacha-Inaugural-Speech.pdf> (Abacha, 1993).
12. 11 June 1994 (civilian) coup speech: <https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/june-12-the-epetedo-declaration-that-killed-mko-abiola/> (Abiola, 1994)
13. 29 May 1999 inaugural speech: <https://www.dawodu.com/obas1.htm> (Obasanjo, 1999).
14. 29 May 2007 inaugural speech: <https://nairametrics.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Inaugural-Address-of-Umaru-Musa-Yar>' (Adua, 2007)
15. 29 May 2011 inaugural speech: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/05/over-40-heads-of-state-witness-jonathans-inauguration-amid-tight-security/> (Jonathan, 2011).

16. 29 May 2015 inaugural speech: <https://guardian.ng/features/president-muhammadu-buharis-inaugural-speech/> (Buhari, 2015).

The student researcher cleaned the data manually by deleting all metadata such as advertisements, dates, links to other articles, pictures, speakers' biodata, hashtags, and other extraneous materials that might impair the understanding of the speeches.

#### 4.4 Macro-analysis of the whole corpus

Bednarek (2010) says that the three-pronged approach for discourse analysis should first start with a large-scale macro, computer analysis of the texts. At this layer, lexical patterns which reveal the key characteristics of the data are observed. The macro layer is more concerned with the phylogenesis of the speeches. Phylogenesis refers to how a language has developed over time “in terms of the uses and users” of the language (Bednarek, 2010, p. 246). Most particularly, phylogenesis refers to how meaning-making resources develop over time in specific genres. In essence, the macro layer of Bednarek's three-pronged proposal is interested in establishing the relationship between the language reservoir and the individual repertoire through a quantitative analysis of texts. Moreover, the macro-analysis reveals lexical patterns highlighting important trends to be investigated further in the meso-, and micro-analyses. In the analysis, the student researcher describes some keywords and clause complexes as militaristic, because they are used in a way to enhance military dominance over other people, sections, or groups, while some words are described as civil-oriented because they are used to promote harmony and cooperation with the audience. This macro-analysis is in line with my research design in 4.2.

In the macro-analysis, the focus is on describing the keywords and their concordance results. In addition, there are analyses of the concordance results to show how speakers enacted unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the speeches. The student researcher also analysed the collocations of one keyword, our, which is a particularly interesting grammatical word. The emphasis is to identify patterns of usage that can further be used to answer the research questions in 1.8. The macro, quantitative analyses are infused with Appraisal analysis of the quoted examples



of the texts, to assist me in showing how the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation are enacted by the speakers. The following are the replicable steps that were used to do the macro-analysis with the AntConc software of (Anthony, 2005). AntConc is a corpus software that was developed by Lawrence Anthony, initially for the teaching of writing skills. However, this software and its features had undergone several improvements and its concordance tools are now used widely for various linguistic research, especially discourse analysis (Xu et al., 2018). AntConc can now be used to generate a KWIC (Keywords in Context) search of keywords, and collocations of words that can enhance the analytic efficiency of a text. The student researcher therefore, find the AntConc software of Anthony (2005) suitable for my data analysis in the selected speeches. The version of the AntConc software that has been adopted for this analysis is 2014 version 3.5.8. This version can be found at: <https://www.lawrenceanthony.net/software>.

In the CL quantitative analysis, the AntConc software is used to sort the texts in terms of Key Words in Context (KWIC). In addition, KWIC was used to compare different sub-corpora and make comparisons between sub-corpora based on the following three distinctions: military vs. civilian leaders; before vs. after Nigeria-Biafra War, and inaugural vs. secession vs. coup speeches. This approach permitted the investigation of salient lexical changes within the period of investigation and across different genres of speeches and the distribution of keywords. Corpus analysis also provided the necessary balance between quantitative and qualitative analyses of speeches. The reason for using a corpus approach for this study is that the approach makes it easy to draw from the accuracy of data analysis to answer the research questions. The CL quantitative analysis complements the qualitative analysis by adding objective and empirical data to the qualitative Appraisal framework.

To obtain the keywords for the whole corpus, the student researcher used the British National Corpus (BNC) (Chen, 2014) wordlist as a reference corpus (Anthony, 2014) to generate the keywords. Further, the BNC reference corpus was also used to identify those words in the target corpus containing the entire Nigerian political speeches from 1960 to 2015. Lastly, the BNC was used to identify those keywords that are represented in the target corpus much more frequently than the reference corpus.

The student researcher also used the concordance toolkit to do further concordance analysis of the first ten keywords, to determine how the speakers reproduced unequal power relations and negotiated the concepts of affiliation and individuation in the speeches. In addition, the concordance toolkit was used to navigate to the main texts of a particular corpus, when necessary, to get more information that facilitates my analysis. The student researcher selected concordance lines by clicking on the search word, and then further clicked on the concordance line that contains the keyword, to obtain the full explanation from the main text.

In addition, an Appraisal analysis was conducted on the clause complexes in which examples of the keywords occurred. The student researcher used the Appraisal systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation (Martin and White, 2005) in my analysis, to demonstrate how the speakers co-articulated linguistic resources, to couple their Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, to enact affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations in Nigerian political discourse. In addition, the collocate toolkit was used to identify collocates in one case, that of the grammatical word “our” which appeared as a keyword. More information on the search results of the concordance and collocate “our” is given in chapter five.

This is the first layer of Bednarek’s three-pronged approach to discourse analysis. Bednarek prescribes a “most representative, less detailed description, more descriptive analysis” (2010, p. 249) of data. More information on the three-pronged framework can be found in 4.2.1. The macro layer, therefore, comprises 16 speeches, which is the entire population of the Nigerian presidential political discourse from 1960 to 2015. The focus in this macro layer is to unravel lexical differences in the inaugural, coup, and secession genres, in patterns of keywords occurrences. Consequently, the student researcher did a further concordance search on the keywords to unravel how the speakers used them to enact the concepts of affiliation, and individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations. Further an analysis of the first ten keywords of the corpus was done, to have a more in-depth analysis of the data. The student researcher also analysed the first ten collocates of the keyword “our”, because it contains many of the grammatical words that reveal the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations in the speeches. Finally, I infused some SFL Appraisal analysis in the quoted examples of the texts of the macro-analysis, to

further explain how the speakers enacted the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the speeches.

The BNC wordlists were adopted as the reference corpus for the macro layer of the whole corpus. The BNC reference corpus is most suited in comparison with the large corpus of the macro layer of 16 speeches, with the keyword Tokens of 8124. The student researcher also used a keyword statistic threshold of  $p < 0.05$  (Bonferroni) to generate the keywords for the macro layer of analysis with the Use wordlist(s) button.

Further, the Mutual Information (MI) statistic was used to measure the collocate strength of the keyword “our”, and the number of collocate Tokens for the Keyword “our” is 1549. The window span is: From 5L to 5R. This window span allows me to observe collocates at a moderate distance from the search term, not only those which are very close. However, potential collocates more than five words away from the search term are excluded. The keyword of the whole corpus is attached in 5.2, while the collocate statistics of the keyword “our” is attached in 5.4.

#### 4.5 Meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus

This is the second layer of Bednarek's three-pronged framework for discourse analysis. The meso layer is in-between the macro and micro layers of the framework and acts as an interface between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis of the texts, and it involves a “semi-automated small-scale corpus analysis” (2010, p. 249) of data. The analysis in the meso layer should, therefore, focus on revealing some patterns that may not be easily analysed along lexical lines of texts. In addition, the meso layer of analysis forms a link between the macro quantitative, and the micro qualitative data analysis (Liu, 2017, pp. 46–48). To further explain the reason for splitting the meso analyses into two, the student researcher draws from Bednarek's statement that: “the corpora that are used in the study of small-scale corpus analysis should be small enough to allow manual, context-sensitive analysis, but large enough to show at least some patterns, exhibit a certain degree of representativeness and enable some generalizability” (2009, pp. 221–222). Following Bednarek's propositions for the meso layer of analysis, the student researcher compares the pre- and post-war speeches in chapter six, and the three genres of speeches in chapter seven. More information on

my re-adaptation of Bednarek's three-pronged approach into a four-pronged Approach can be found in 4.2.2.

The pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War sub-corpus provides diachronic information on the lexical changes that occurred before, and after the Nigeria-Biafra War (Achebe, 2012) in Nigerian political discourse. The following are the steps that this student researcher has adopted to analyse the data of pre- and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches, and the genres of speeches at the meso-layer of analysis.

The BNC wordlists were used as the reference corpus of the post-war sub-corpus, which comprises a large corpus of 12 speeches. The student researcher also used the post-war wordlists as a reference corpus for the pre-war sub-corpus which comprises four speeches, to examine what distinguished the pre-war speeches from the post-war speeches lexically. Further, the keywords of the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus in the texts were selected by using the keyword toolkit of the AntConc software. Further the student researcher selected keywords of the post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches, through the keyword toolkit of the AntConc software. Also, the concordance toolkit was used to generate more search results on the pre-, and post-Nigeria-Biafra War keywords. The student researcher also used the concordance toolkit to navigate the main texts of a particular corpus to gain more information that aids the analysis.

Subsequently, the post-war wordlists were used as the reference corpus for the pre-war sub-corpus to generate the pre-war keywords and used the BNC wordlists as the reference corpus for the post-war sub-corpus to generate the post-war keywords because it is a large corpus. The choice of wordlists for the pre-, and post-war corpora, established lexical differences between the two sub-corpora that are used for comparison in the analysis.

The post-war sub-corpus comprises twelve speeches, amounting to a total of 6699 Keyword Tokens, while the pre-war sub-corpus comprises four speeches, amounting to a total of 809 Keyword Tokens. The student researcher used a Keyword Statistic Threshold of  $p < 0.05$

(+Bonferroni) to generate keywords of the post-war sub-corpus as the target corpus. I also used the Keyword Statistic Threshold of  $p < 0.05$  (3.84), and the Use word lists(s) button to generate keywords for the pre-war sub-corpus as the target corpus. The above settings were adopted to enable the student researcher to generate enough keywords since there is an imbalance in the pre- and post-war sub-corpus in terms of size. To avoid repetition, the analyses focus on the post-war keywords that are not present in the whole corpus, and cross-reference to the whole corpus, where necessary. More information on the keywords and concordance search results of pre- and post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus can be found in 6.2 and 6.3 respectively.

#### 4.6 Meso-analysis of genres of speeches

This investigation has adapted Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, into a four-pronged approach in order to suit the nature of this study, which comprises three different genres of speeches. The student researcher, therefore, creates another layer of meso-analysis to cater for the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of Jonathan, Nzeogwu and Ojukwu. The analysis in this second layer of meso-analysis takes place in chapter 7 (see 4.2). The emphasis in this second layer of meso-analysis is to get the variance of data by comparing the results of the analyses of the three genres of speeches involved in this study. Consequently, for each genre, the wordlists of the speeches of the other two genres were used as a reference corpus, to obtain the lexical differences in the three genres. Subsequently, the following steps were taken to do the meso-analysis of genres of inaugural, coup d'état, and secession speeches.

The loading of the coup corpus in the AntConc software commenced first to generate the keywords of the coup genre using the inaugural and secession wordlists as the reference corpus. This resulted in gaining enough lexical variance of keywords in the coup corpus of Nzeogwu. My concordance search for the keywords also extends to the main texts, where necessary, to gain additional information that aids in my analysis. Also, the student researcher infused some SFL Appraisal analysis in the quoted examples of the texts, which I used to highlight how the speakers reproduced unequal power relations, and enacted affiliation, and individuation in their speeches.

Lastly, the loading of the secession corpus in the AntConc software led to the generation of the keywords of the secession corpus of Ojukwu using the coup and inaugural wordlists as the reference corpus. This resulted in gaining enough lexical variance between the genres, about the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. The student researcher then analysed the first ten keywords through the concordance Toolkit. The concordance search extends to the main text of the secession speech, to obtain more information for my analysis.

There is an imbalance in the sizes between the three sub-corpora. The inaugural sub-corpus comprises six speeches and Keyword Tokens of 3254, while the coup sub-corpus comprises nine speeches with Keyword Tokens of 3015, and the secession sub-corpus comprises one speech, with Keyword Tokens of 310. The difference in the keyword Tokens of the inaugural and coup genres, when compared with the sizes of the corpus, is because the same keywords Statistic Threshold settings were used in the AntConc software to generate the keywords of the inaugural, coup, and secession genres, despite the imbalance in the sizes of the corpus. This setting enabled the student researcher to generate rich keywords that reflect the coup speeches and can give much richer data. Another reason for the differences in the keyword Tokens of the inaugural and coup genres is that the size of the coup genre of speeches is bigger than the inaugural and secession genres, which I used to generate the wordlists for the reference corpus of the coup genre. A higher number of Tokens and different keywords would have been generated for the coup genre if a bigger reference corpus for the wordlists was used, but these keywords would not have reflected the typicality of the Nigerian coup speeches, given Nigeria's sociopolitical history (see 1.4 and 2.4). In essence, the combination of these inaugural and secession wordlists made it possible to generate keywords that are very peculiar to coup speeches, for a much richer analysis, than I would have generated using the BNC wordlists. Here are the steps taken to generate a balanced keyword list in the three genres of speech that reflect the different genres of speech.

The student researcher used the same keyword statistic Threshold of  $p < 0.05$  (3.84) to generate keywords for the inaugural genre, the coup genre, and the secession genre of speeches. The results of the inaugural, coup, and secession genres of speeches are attached in 7.2, 7.3, & 7.4 respectively.

#### 4.7 Micro-analysis of individual speeches

The micro-layer of the three-pronged framework involves “manual case studies” (Bednarek, 2010, p. 249) that involve a fine-grained analysis of a small amount of data. The analysis in this layer takes into consideration evaluative resources used by text senders to realize their objectives in the unfolding (logogenesis) of the text. The student researcher used SFL's Appraisal framework to unravel how the speakers realized various objectives in the logogenesis of the texts. The micro-analysis of small amount of data (texts) is the last layer of Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis. I separated the micro-analysis into three chapters, according to the genres of speeches I used in this macro-layer, to be able to compare the analysis of different genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, in answering the research questions. The student researcher analysed the coup speech in chapter eight, the secession speech in chapter nine and the inaugural speech in chapter ten and responded to the research questions and concluded the study in chapter eleven.

##### 4.7.1 Reading positions

Before the procedures that are used to do the micro-analysis are explained, it is pertinent to describe the “three reading positions” (Martin and White, 2005a, pp. 62–63, 206–207) proposed for the analysis of texts, and adopt a reading position that is suitable for the kind of analysis that is done in this study. Martin and White (2005) proposed that a text's analyst may assume any of the following three reading positions: “compliant reading, tactical reading, and resistant reading” (2005c, pp. 62–63, 206–207). Martin and White's three reading positions recognize the fact that human beings respond to the contents of a text differently, according to their different dispositions, hence there are always divergent positions taken towards a text, insofar as human beings are different in orientation and disposition. According to Martin and White's (2005) categorizations, in the compliant reading position, the analyst takes an empathetic stance towards the opinions an author expresses in a text. This stance is neither judgmental nor biased against the opinions expressed in the text. The compliant reading position enables a text analyst to align the reading with the authors perspective, by not allowing his/her own opinion to interfere with the ones expressed in the text. On the contrary, the tactical reading position is the type that makes the text analyst take a personal/biased, or partial stance toward the opinions expressed in the text irrespective of the position of the author. Martin and White (2005) suggest that “tactical readings

are readings which take some aspect of the evaluation a text affords and respond to it in an interested way that neither accepts nor rejects communion with the text as a whole” (2005c, p. 206). In the third reading position, which is the ‘resistant reading’, the reader or text analyst takes a position of his/her own, by taking sides with any group or viewpoint expressed in the text, irrespective of the opinion the writer expresses in his/her text. In a resistant reading position, the text analyst resists the author's point of view, by aligning with any other view that is contrary to that of the author.

Concerning the above three reading positions, this student researcher adopts the ‘compliant reading position’ for the analysis that is done in this study. A compliant reading position is best suited for this study because it allows an analyst to observe how the text sender positions his/her audience and channels them toward acceptance of viewpoints and assumptions. Another reason for adopting the compliant reading position, is that the audiences that a text is addressed to, may have different political stances that colour their interpretation of the texts. This describes how the texts would align and affiliate with audiences willing to be persuaded into such an affiliation. Consequently, this student researcher considers the compliant reading more suitable for such politically motivated texts that are analysed in this study.

#### 4.7.2 Appraisal coding of data for micro-analysis, with UAM CorpusTool

This study makes use of UAM CorpusTool 3.2j, to code the Appraisal systems before the manual analysis (O’Donnell, 2012). The UAM CorpusTool is free software that can be used to code the Appraisal framework systematically. The mechanism allows consistent Appraisal coding using its built-in coding schemes and compiles statistics on the prevalence of different Appraisal sub-systems in the data. O’Donnell (2012) supports the use of the UAM CorpusTool by saying that “in order to avoid the problems of an anecdotal approach, one must be more systematic in the identification of the attitudinal token. All tokens which fall within the scope of your study should be identified, classified, and counted. Only based on such an approach can meaningful findings be reported” (2012, p. 115). Subsequently, the student researcher proceeds to explain the steps that are taken to code the data in the UAM CorpusTool.



The text files were uploaded to the corpus tool to create layers of Appraisal systems of “Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation” (Martin and White, 2005a, p. 38). The three selected speeches for micro-analysis were loaded in the UAM CorpusTool, version 3.2j. The speeches are coded in the UAM CorpusTool, as Layer\_1, Layer\_2, & Layer\_3 of the Appraisal systems, respectively. Layer\_1 is the Attitude system, with its sub-systems of “*Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation*” (Martin and White, 2005c, pp. 42–43). Layer\_2 is the Engagement system, with its sub-systems of *Monogloss* and *Heterogloss*, while Layer\_3 is the Graduation system, with its sub-systems of *force* and *focus*. This way of coding the speeches enables me to annotate each speech according to its layer, for the micro-analysis. The three coded speeches are attached to the UAM CorpusTool, as appendix B. The speeches are then coded intuitively, in the UAM CorpusTool as follows:

(a) In the Attitude Layer, the Gloss features of the UAM CorpusTool are used as a guide for the description of each of the coding features by listing the criteria for selecting each coding feature. The student researcher coded/double-coded words/phrases, or sentences and all instantiations of Attitude that indicate the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation.

In the micro-analysis in chapters 8-10, the double-coding of some words, phrases, or clause complexes in the UAM corpus tool under the Attitude system, is to indicate that these words instantiate more than one meaning resource. The Appraisal framework of SFL has the quality of describing several meaning resources by allowing multiple coding of the same word, phrase, or sentence. Thompson & Alba-Juez, describe this peculiar feature of the Appraisal framework of having other appraising meanings embedded inside another, as the ‘Russian doll’ problem, which they identify as “the most difficult facing anyone exploring attitude in a text” (2014, p. 59). Consequently, Thompson & Alba-Juez explain that the problem arises from how to instantiate any of the appraising resources, without downplaying the appraisal of the resources embedded in each other. The student researcher has decided to code those words and expressions to instantiate two Attitude resources. This may in addition instantiate Graduation and Engagement, and if they do instantiate all three of these major systems, that deserves noting. This approach makes it easier for me to focus on identifying coupling patterns, avoid excessive multiple coding that may affect the focus of my analysis, and hamper more effective communication with the readers of this thesis.

(b) In the Engagement Layer, all instances of Monoglossic and Heteroglossic Engagement are coded, using the Gloss feature as a guide.

(c) In the Graduation Layer, all the instances of Graduation are coded, using the Gloss feature as a guide.

The student researcher created an Appraisal table that allows me to instantiate the three Appraisal systems and sub-systems and map the words/phrases, and sentences onto the Appraisal table, according to how these resources are annotated in UAM CorpusTool. The Appraisal table has been designed in a way that the three systems and sub-systems of Appraisal: Attitude, Engagement, Graduation, and other appraising terms, are accommodated in the coding. This table of Appraisal analysis is designed in a way that enables me to map words, phrases, or sentences from the text that indicate each of the Appraisal systems and sub-systems. The table was designed in a way that facilitates the analysis of the resources the speakers used in the speeches to reproduce unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. The table of analysis was adapted from Martin and White's (2005c, pp. 80–81) model and Siebörger (2018). The Appraisal tables are attached in Appendixes C, D, and E. The annotation of the Appraising items in the table also gives directions to the analytics concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. For instance, Appraising items show the valency of positive and negative Attitudes, the explicitness of inscribed and invoked Attitude, the appraiser and the appraised, and how these are intensified or otherwise, in the Graduation and Engagement systems, by the speakers, to align or disalign their ideas, and reproduce power asymmetry with their audience. The annotation of the linguistic resources in the Appraisal table was done bearing in mind the implications of the authorial voice, the construed reader, co-articulation of meanings, coupling of meanings in the Appraisal systems, and the compliant reading position stance (Martin and White, 2005). For instance, the table showed how the speakers control the dialogic space with the resources of Monogloss and Heterogloss, and the Intensifications, Quantifications, upscaling/downscaling, and infusing or isolating of positive/negative and inscribed/invoked meanings in the Attitude system to couple with the resources used to produce authorial voice in the Engagement system, to reproduce unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation and individuation with the audience.

There are also some explanations from a contextual perspective, about some words/phrases and clause complexes, that enhance the understanding of the analysis. This informed my decision to adopt the “compliant reading position” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 62) in my analysis, to enable me to take an impartial stance in my reporting on my analysis of the texts and unravel the linguistic resources the speakers used to align and disalign with their audience. Lastly, in the analysis, the focus was on how the speakers co-articulated ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the three Appraisal systems, to negotiate alignments/disalignments with the real and putative audience of “socially-constituted communities of shared attitude and belief associated with those positions” of the speakers (Martin and White, 2005), and reproduce/transform unequal power relations in the texts. In addition, the strategies the speakers used to propose bonds with their audience, like the use of inclusive and exclusive personal and possessive pronouns, commonality, in-group, and out-group strategies (Machin & Mayr, 2012), which they used to propose several kinds of bonds of affiliation and individuation in the texts were identified and highlighted.

In addition, in the fine-grained micro-analysis of individual speeches, the focus was on the situational and cultural context strata that influenced the logogenesis of the texts. Specifically, those attitude resources used by the speakers to elicit emotions from the listeners, pass value judgments and express aesthetic appreciation of non-human phenomena in the speeches (Martin and White, 2005) were identified. The words, phrases, and clause complexes that indicate the above evaluative markers are then mapped onto the respective categories of the Attitude system in the Appraisal table. The words that were explicitly expressed in the texts were mapped onto the category of inscribed while those that were implicitly expressed were mapped onto the box of invoked Attitudes. The categorization of the words and expressions that indicate who/what is Appraised in their columns, followed. The analysis of the resources in each text, paragraph-by-paragraph, according to the mapped words or clause complexes also followed. The speeches were divided into sections according to the units of ideas of the speeches, and how they are mapped on the Appraisal table. The division of the speeches into sections is done for analytics convenience, to make it easier to follow the ideas presented in the speeches logically and sequentially.

Subsequently, in the Graduation system of Appraisal, the texts are analysed by establishing the resources the speakers used to graduate the meanings they portray towards their listeners and putative readers. The linguistic resources the speakers used to either intensify or quantify the force of the utterance by either upscaling or downscaling the meanings the speakers construct in the texts (Martin and White, 2005) are identified. Those linguistic resources the speakers used to either sharpen/blur other voices or sharpen/blur the meanings that the speakers want to put forward in the texts (Oteíza, 2017; Wang Ruo-mei, 2016) are identified. This analysis focuses on how the speakers co-articulated meanings in the Appraisal systems, and how the speakers couple their ideas, to realize the analytics concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the speeches. Precisely, micro-analysis aims to identify how the speakers utilized linguistic resources to reproduce or transform unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation with their audience. Since the speakers are always the appraisers, the column for the appraiser is deliberately omitted in the Appraisal table and the concentration is on identifying the strategies the speakers used to enact other concepts. The words, phrases and clause complexes used to realize these objectives are then mapped onto the boxes provided for them in the Appraisal table (Chatterjee-Padmanabhan, 2014; Martin and White, 2005).

To further aid in the fine-grained micro-analysis of data, the linguistic resources the speakers used to propose bonds of alignments and disalignments with their communities and couplings of meanings are identified. Also identified are the repeated patterns of these couplings as syndromes that aided in the logogenesis of the texts. In addition, the statistical results were used to do a fine-grained micro-analysis with specific emphasis on the co-articulation of meanings, syndromes of coupling of ideas, and bonding strategies, used by the speakers to achieve specific evaluative patterns.

Similarly, the analysis of the Engagement system of Appraisal resources in terms of how the speakers regulate other voices in the texts, either by closing all dialogic spaces, or leaving some or (all) dialogic spaces open (Martin and White, 2005) was done. Here, in applying the Engagement resources in the analysis, the student researcher is guided by the yardsticks recommended by Martin & White to take into consideration the “value positions” (2005c, p. 93) of other voices.

Consequently, those instances of words, phrases, or clause complexes the speakers used to build shared values with their listeners in the Appraisal system of Engagement are identified. In this case, the student researcher specifically pinpoints those expressions that the speakers made explicitly, without giving room for alternative voices (monogloss), and instances where the speakers allowed alternative voices (heterogloss), thereby affiliating towards, or individuating away from their listeners and other voices in the texts. The Engagement resources in each text were analysed paragraph by paragraph, according to the mapped words and clause complexes. The systems and sub-systems of Appraisal on which this analysis is based can be found in 3.6.

The counts of each Appraisal sub-system were used to compile tables showing the prevalence of different syndromes in the data. The format of these tables was adapted from (Siebörger, 2018). Consequently, the coupling results were generated by grouping the data, under the four appraisal resources: “upscaling force, downscaling force, expansive Engagement, and contractive Engagement” (Sieborger, 2018 p. 334). Other Appraisal resources are contained in these four Appraisal resources. Therefore, limiting my Appraising resources to the above four makes it easier for me to do a precise analysis. A sample of the table of couplings is attached in table 4.2. More information on the coupling resources in each speech can be found on 8.2, 9.2, & 10.2.

Coupling Resources	Nigerians & + Happiness	Self & + Satisfaction	Nigerians & + Tenacity	Self & + Capacity
Total instances				
Upscaling force				
Downscaling force				
Expansive Engagement				
Contractive Engagement				

Table 4.2: A sample table of the coupling resources, adapted from Siebörger (2018)

#### 4.8 Interpreting findings from my analyses to answer the research questions

The student researcher takes the following steps to report on the findings of the macro-, meso- and micro-analysis to discuss the research questions in 1.8. Research question one addresses patterns

of evaluative language in the texts, while research question two addresses the strategies the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations. Research question three addresses the strategies the speakers used to achieve individuation and affiliation strategies, while research questions four(a) & (b) address the sociopolitical and theoretical contributions of my study.

The statistics results that were generated in 8.3.1, and the different strategies used by the speakers were used to discuss the different patterns of evaluative language used in the three speeches, to answer the research question one. In each speech, the student researcher identified the different patterns the speakers used to realize the analytic foci of reproducing unequal power relations, and enacting affiliation and individuation. The findings of the micro-analysis of the speeches were used to explain the logogenesis of the texts concerning the different patterns used by the speakers in each of the genres of coup, secession and inaugural speeches used in the micro-analysis.

To discuss research question two on how Nigerian leaders reproduced or transformed unequal power relations in their speeches, the results of the macro, meso, and micro-analyses that are related to how unequal power relations were transformed in the speeches, were triangulated. The student researcher first draws from the findings of the macro-analysis to describe the keywords, collocates, and concordance analysis of the keywords, concerning the resources used by the speakers to reproduce unequal power relations in all the speeches. The student researcher then, draws from the meso analysis, by comparing the keywords used by the speakers of pre-, and post-Nigeria-Biafra War and the genres of speeches, to identify the features of the keywords that are peculiar to different sub-corpora, as used by the speakers.

To answer research question three on how the speakers positioned themselves with other speakers and political movements to achieve alignments and disalignments in the speeches. The results of the macro, meso, and micro-analyses are triangulated. In this process, the results of the keywords of the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, and the Appraisal coding, couplings, and syndromes that reveal the strategies the speakers used to achieve their objectives were used to answer this research question.

In answering research question four (a) on the contributions of my research to the sociopolitical knowledge about Nigeria, the results are discussed in terms of their implications on the sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria. The sociopolitical contributions of the CL analysis are explained with the results of the keywords, concordance search, and collocates, concerning Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences. The student researcher then triangulates these macro-, and meso-analyses with my findings in the micro-analysis, concerning the implications of the different stages of Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences. The analyses are done paragraph by paragraph, to unearth the strategies employed in the texts.

Following this, there are responses to research question 4(b) on the theoretical contributions of this study. The contributions that this study makes to the three-pronged approach framework, which has been re-adapted to a four-pronged approach, are also explained. Also discussed are the contributions of the study to the SFL dimensions of affiliation and individuation and the Appraisal framework. Finally, the discussion highlights the contributions of this study to the Nigerian political discourse. Finally, the study synthesizes these results and discusses how these resources are co-articulated to contribute to the overall analytics concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. The responses to the research questions are discussed in chapter eleven.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the methods, procedures, and techniques which have been used to select and analyse the speeches of Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan. The design of these analytic methods is presented in a hierarchical, schematic order in Figure 4.1. This chapter has been designed as a road map showing how the research questions in 1.8 are answered in subsequent chapters. The research design is modelled after Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis. The three-pronged approach is most suited for the type of mixed methods analysis to fulfil the research aim of unravelling the resources and strategies that the speakers Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan used to reproduce or transform unequal power relations and enact affiliation and individuation in Nigerian political speeches. The discussion also included how the three-pronged approach was re-adapted into a four-pronged approach to adequately account for

speeches that were made before and after the war of 1967 to 1970 in Nigeria, and the three different genres of coup, secession and inaugural speeches that are analysed in this study.

The research design is structured in a simple and easy-to-implement way, that is suitable for the aims of this study. Therefore, the Appraisal tables which show all the Appraisal coding in the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, are designed in such a way that they include the systems and sub-systems of Appraisal, positive and negative Appraisal, inscribed and invoked, the appraiser and the appraised, and the theoretical concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation. The explanations also included the triangulation of CL and SFL's Appraisal findings in the analysis in chapters eight, nine, and ten, to arrive at a more balanced and valid result. Likewise, this chapter has demonstrated how the findings from the CL and SFL analyses are interpreted. The following six chapters (5-10) are reports on the analysis of Nzeogwu's, Ojukwu's and Jonathan's speeches which have been described in this chapter. Chapter 11 reports on the contributions that this thesis makes to sociopolitical and theoretical knowledge, as well as the limitation of this study, and directions for future studies.



## Chapter Five: Macro-analysis of the whole corpus of Nigerian presidential speeches from 1960 to 2015

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, there is a report on the macro-analysis of all the Nigerian leaders' coup, secession, and inaugural speeches made from 1960 to 2015. This macro-analysis is in line with Bednarek's first layer of the three-pronged approach for discourse analysis (Bednarek, 2010) which involves a "large-scale computerized corpus analysis" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 249) of texts. More information on the three-pronged approach is available in 4.2.1. These data contain 16 speeches for the macro-analysis, being the entire population of political speeches made by Nigerian civilian Presidents, coup leaders, and a secession leader, within the time frame of 1960-2015. These coup, secession and inaugural speeches form the whole corpus for the macro-analysis. The AntConc search for the whole corpus focuses on the keywords concordance results of the keywords and collocate results of the keyword our. The student researcher used the British National Corpus (BNC) wordlists, which combines both spoken and written data, as the reference corpus for the whole corpus. The BNC wordlists are suitable as a reference corpus, considering the large size of data of sixteen speeches that I analyse in this macro-analysis. It contains enough wordlists that can guarantee the correct AntConc settings like the minimum collocate frequency that complement the wordlists of the political speeches of Nigerian leaders that are analysed in this layer. More information on Nigeria's presidential speeches which constitutes the data for the whole corpus can be found in 1.4.

This chapter proceeds with explanations of the keywords for the macro-analysis of the whole corpus in 5.2. In keeping with Bednarek's three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, the AntConc freeware software was used to do the analysis. More information on the AntConc settings that are used for the analysis can be found in 4.4.2. In this analysis, the focus is on the top ten keywords of the whole corpus and their concordance search results, which give more explanations on the keywords. In addition, the collocate analysis of the keyword our was done because the collocate *our* is the lexical item that shows several of what the speakers are referring to in their speeches. The student researcher uses underlining for the keywords while quotation marks were used to distinguish the words or clause complexes that instantiate other Appraisal resources, to

make them more easily identifiable. Similarly, some Appraisal resources have been included in this macro-analysis, to make the explanations clearer. The application italics is to mark out the words or clause complexes that instantiate the Appraisal resources, for easy identification. Subsequently, to describe the full meaning of the keywords and collocates as they were used to realize the analytics concepts of power relations, affiliation, and individuation, the student investigator conducts a further concordance search of some keywords and collocates also was done. These searches reveal more contextual information about the keywords and collocates as they are used in the main speeches. The figures of the analysis to the respective sections are also attached. The explanation of the order in which the analysis proceeds in terms of keywords, concordance and collocate analysis is provided in 5.3. The student researcher analyses the concordance of the first keyword nigeria in 5.3.1, while in 5.3.2, and describes the concordance and collocate analysis of the keyword our. The analysis of the keyword nigerians is in 5.3.3, while the concordance of the keyword nigerian are analysed in 5.3.4. In addition, the analyses of the concordance of the keyword nation was done in 5.3.5, while the analyses of the keyword, we in 5.3.6. Continuing, the analyses of the keyword government is done in 5.3.7 and analyse the keyword will in 5.3.8. The analysis of the keyword country is done in 5.3.9, while the analyses of number ten keyword shall, is in 5.3.10, and the conclusion of the chapter is in 5.4.

## 5.2 Macro-Analysis of the whole corpus

The student investigator conducted a macro-analysis of the whole corpus of sixteen speeches, which are the entire population of coup, secession and inaugural speeches made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015. The speeches are made of nine coup speeches (pre-and-post-Nigeria-Biafra War), six inaugural speeches (pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War) and one secession speech (pre-Nigeria-Biafra War), which constitute a good representation of Nigerian political discourse. The AntConc version 3.5.8 (Anthony, 2014a) was used to do keywords, collocates and concordance search. In addition, the keyword results were sorted by keyness and to conduct a more in-depth analysis, further concordance search of the first ten keywords was done. The results of the keywords of the whole corpus are shown in Figure 5.1.

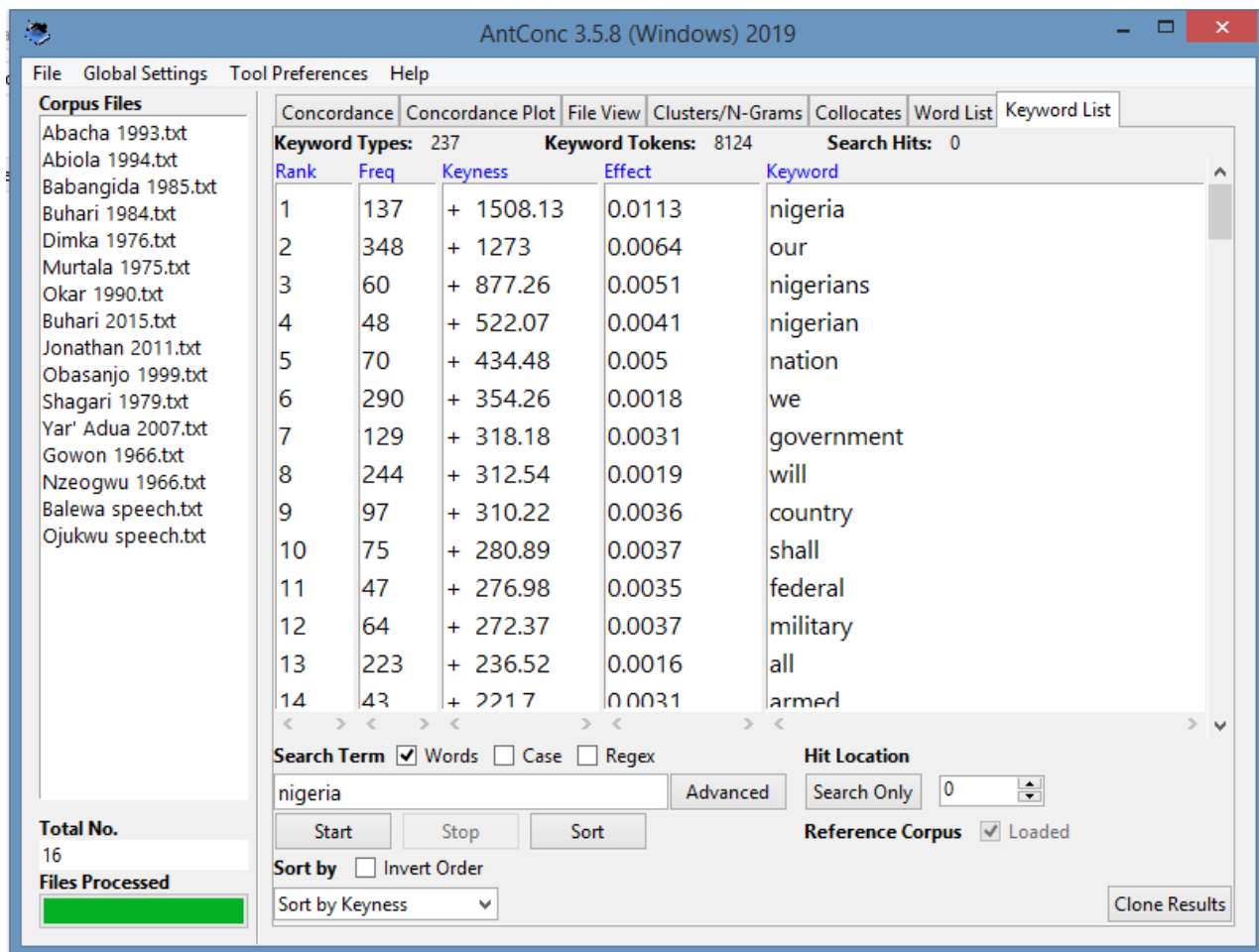


Figure 5.1: Keywords results of the whole corpus

The fact that the word nigeria ranked as the number one keyword is expected because the speeches being analysed are political speeches made by Nigerian leaders. The first ten words on the keywords are either referring to “nigeria”, “nigerian” or something that belongs to Nigerians. More information on Nigeria’s political history can be found in 1.4 and 2.4. Further analysis of the keyword ‘nigeria’ shows that Nigerian leaders used the noun “Nigeria” to create a shared common value between them and the Nigerian people to whom the speeches were addressed, thereby bonding with Nigerians. This conscious attempt by Nigerian leaders to emphasize the word ‘Nigeria’ reflects how committed Nigerian leaders are to things that concern Nigeria.

### 5.3 Keywords, concordance and collocate analysis

The results are attached as Tables and as Appendixes. The student researcher further did a concordance search on each keyword and analysed the first ten concordance results. For the keyword our, an analysis the first ten concordance results, and the first ten collocates of the keyword was done, because the collocates of the keyword our contain many of the lexical items the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations and enact affiliation and individuation in their speeches.

#### 5.3.1 Concordance analysis of the keyword nigeria

I attach the concordance results of the keyword nigeria in figure 5.2.

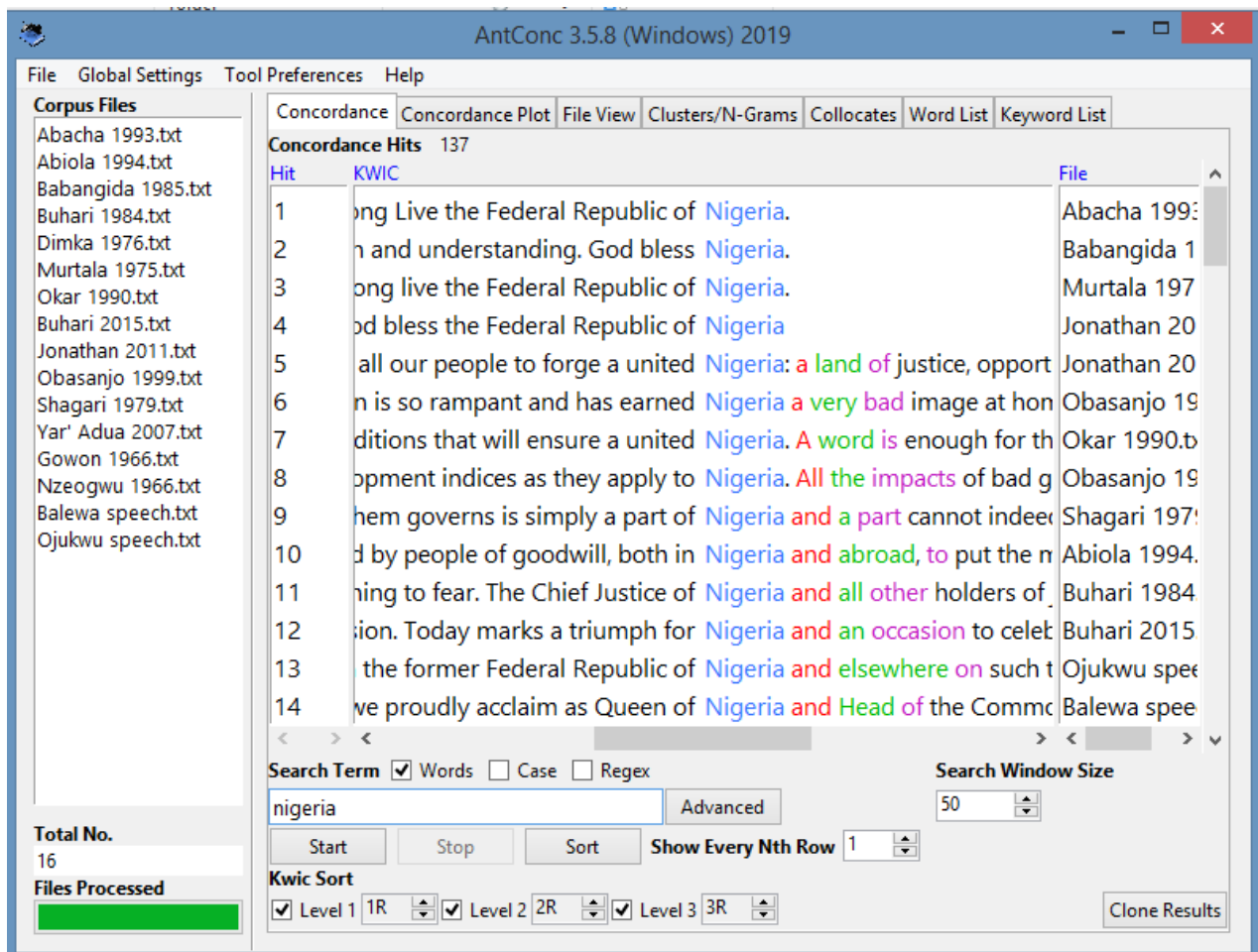


Figure 5.2: Concordance results of the keyword nigeria

An examination of concordance line 5 from the text, reveals that Jonathan, in his inaugural speech of 2011, enacts the concept of affiliation, and transforms unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, using the keyword nigeria, in the following clause complex: “I am mindful *that I represent* [Contract: Pronounce] the shared aspiration of all our people to *forge* a united Nigeria [+Capacity]: a land of *justice* [+Propriety], *opportunity and plenty*” [+Happiness]. The speaker hereby enacts affiliation with the people of Nigeria, through the commonly shared value of nation-building. He also transforms unequal power relations between himself and other Nigerians in his opening statement: “I am mindful that I represent”, using the 1st person pronoun twice, to intensify the Force of the positive Attitude of his capacity to represent these aspirations. Jonathan further affiliates with all Nigerians with the phrase “all our people”, which creates a bond between him and Nigerians.

Before proceeding with the analysis of Concordance line 7, it is pertinent to give some background explanations on its context for the analysis to be well understood. Major Orkar was a military officer, from the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. Although this region is part of the north, they identify more closely with southern Nigeria in social, cultural, and religious orientations. In 1990, Orkar and his colleagues in the army, who were mainly from the Middle Belt, carried out an unsuccessful coup to overthrow the military government of Babangida, who is also from another part of the Middle Belt, but identified more closely in religious orientation with the core-northern part than the Middle Belt. Before the coup was stopped, Orkar made a broadcast where he made the pronouncement of the removal of some core-northern states from Nigeria, namely: Sokoto, Borno, Katsina, Kano, and Bauchi, pending when they fulfil certain conditions before they would be readmitted into the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The following statements, taken from paragraph 37 of his main speech give a clearer picture of concordance line 7: “In the same vein, *all* citizens of the Middle Belt and the south are *required* [Quantification: Number, Intensification: Vigour] to come back to their various states pending when the so-called all-in-all Nigerians meet the conditions that will ensure a united Nigeria [+Security]. A word is enough for the wise”. Orkar, uses the word “all” to show the seriousness of his speech, and foreground the sociopolitical differences that exist among the different nations that were amalgamated to form Nigeria (see 1.4). He further uses the word “required” to intensify the process of making the citizens from the Middle

belt and Southern Nigeria to move back to their respective states, thereby graduating the Force of the insecurity and unhappiness that prevailed in the country at that time. He equally enacts affiliation with the people of the Middle Belt and Southern Nigeria as the in-group to create a bond of oneness with them, while he individuated away from those core northern states that he removed from Nigeria as the out-group, by ordering the citizens from the Middle belt and Southern Nigeria to move away from there. Orkar then reproduces unequal power relations between himself and those he accused of misruling the country with the following warning: “A word is enough for the wise”. This warning serves as a reminder that he and his colleagues had seized power and were in control, and so would not tolerate disobedience of their orders. More information on the context of Orkar's coup speech can be found in 1.4.

Further analysis of the concordance line 10 of the keyword nigeria came from Abiola's coup speech of 1994. Abiola was the civilian presidential candidate whose election was cancelled in 1993. More information on the 1993 Presidential election can be found in 1.4, 2.4.5 & 2.4.6. To describe the full meaning of the concordance line 10, there was a further concordance search of the keyword nigeria and the statement of Abiola in paragraph 3 of his main speech, to reveal how he enacted affiliation and individuation, thus: “Since that *abominable act* [-Propriety] of naked political armed robbery [-Propriety] occurred, I have been constantly urged by people of goodwill [+inclination], both in Nigeria and abroad to put the matter back into the people's hand and actualize the mandate they gave me at the polls”. Abiola referred to the cancelation of the 1993 election by the military, as an “abominable act” and “naked political armed robbery” and used these words to individuate away from the military who he accused of committing this “abominable act” The speaker used the phrase “abominable act” to intensify the negative Attitude the military exhibit concerning civil governance. He also used the following words “people of goodwill” to affiliate with his in-group of Nigerians and show his positive inclination towards certain group of people in Nigeria at that time.

### 5.3.1 Concordance and collocate analysis of the keyword our

The second keyword, our is a possessive pronoun. As a possessive pronoun, our has an inherent quality to display affiliation. The speakers in the whole corpus exploited this possessive quality of our to affiliate with all Nigerians towards the shared common value of togetherness. This affiliation strategy used by Nigerian leaders is revealed further in the concordance search results of our, which are shown in Figure 5.3.

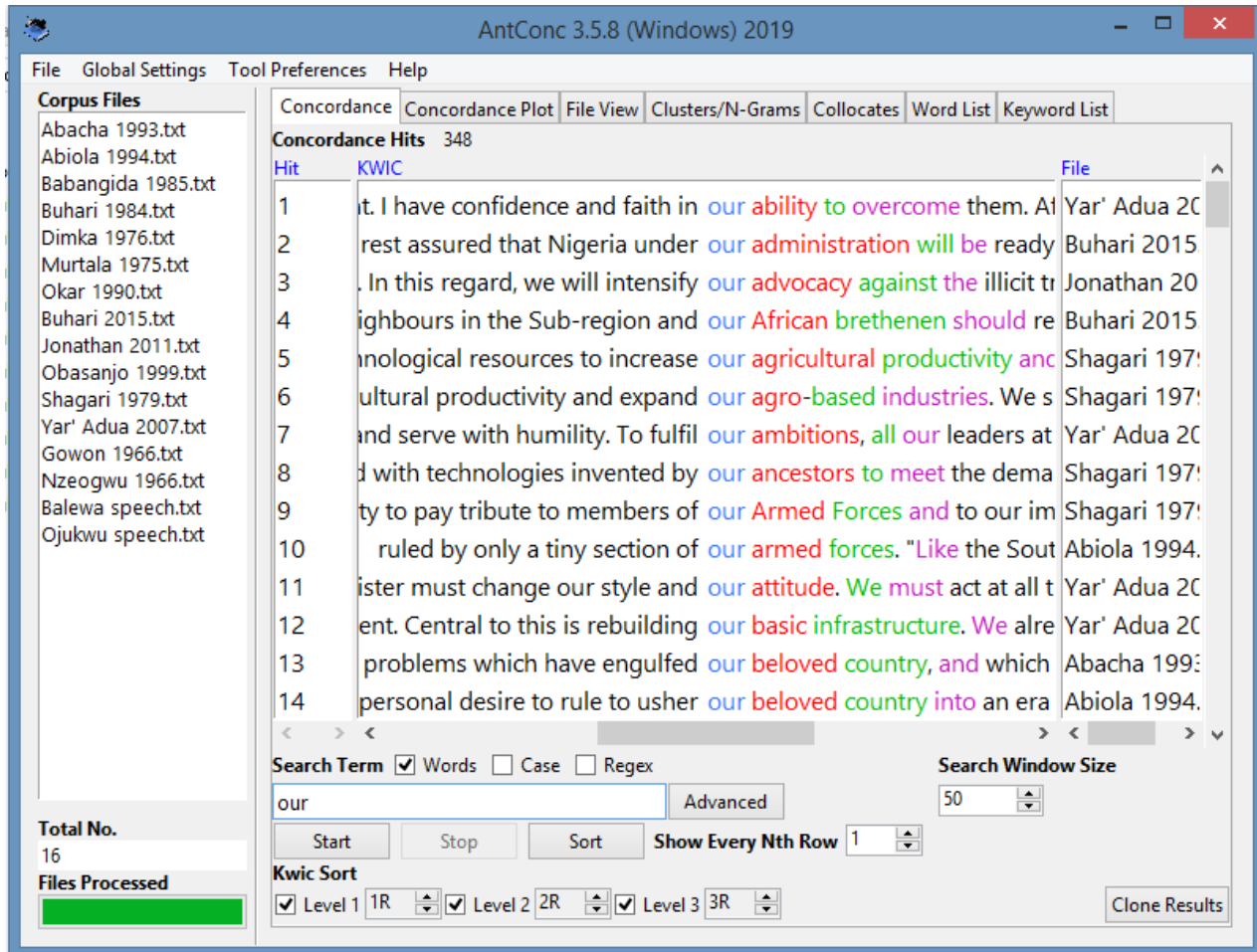


Figure 5.3 Concordance results of the keyword our

In all the sixteen speeches that cut across the inaugural, coup, and secession genres in the whole corpus, almost all the speakers used the keyword our to either reproduce unequal power relations, or enact affiliation, and individuation. An examination of the context of the keyword our in concordance line 1, shows the following statement: “I have *confidence* and *faith* [Sharpen: Focus]

in our ability to *overcome*” [ +Tenacity]. Yar' Adua, uses the words “to sharpen the focus of his positive Attitude” towards Nigerians’ resoluteness, thereby affiliating with all Nigerians.

Further in line 2 of the concordance result, Buhari, in his 2015 inaugural speech, uses the keyword our, to enact affiliation with other African countries, in the following clause complex: “Our neighbours in the sub-region and our African brethren [+Inclination] should be rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to *play* [Intensification: Vigour] any *leadership role* [+Capacity] that Africa expects of it”. In the above statement, the speaker uses the keyword our, to align with those he referred to as: “our neighbours in the sub-region, and our African brethren”. He uses the word “play” to intensify the capacity and capability, of Nigeria to carry out her leadership obligations, in the African sub-region.

Also in concordance line 10, Abiola individuates away from the military using the following clause complex: “We in Nigeria are also *fighting* [+Tenacity] to replace minority rule, for we are ruled by only a *tiny* [Upscaling Quantification: Number] section of our armed Forces” [-inclination]. Abiola individuates away from those he referred to as “a tiny section of our armed Forces”. To enact this individuation, the speaker uses the word “fighting”, to intensify the process of the political imbroglio that happened at that time in Nigeria and highlight the negative Attitude of insecurity which prevailed in Nigeria then. He also uses the word “tiny”, to graduate his negative Attitude of disinclining from the few members of the armed forces, who he accused of causing the problems.

As mentioned earlier, there is an analysis of the collocate results of the keyword our, because this keyword is a grammatical word that collocates with most of the lexical items that I am referring to concerning how the speakers achieved the analytics concepts in the speeches. There is a use of single quotation marks on the collocates, to differentiate them from the keywords. The collocate results of the keyword our, are shown in Figure 5.4.1.



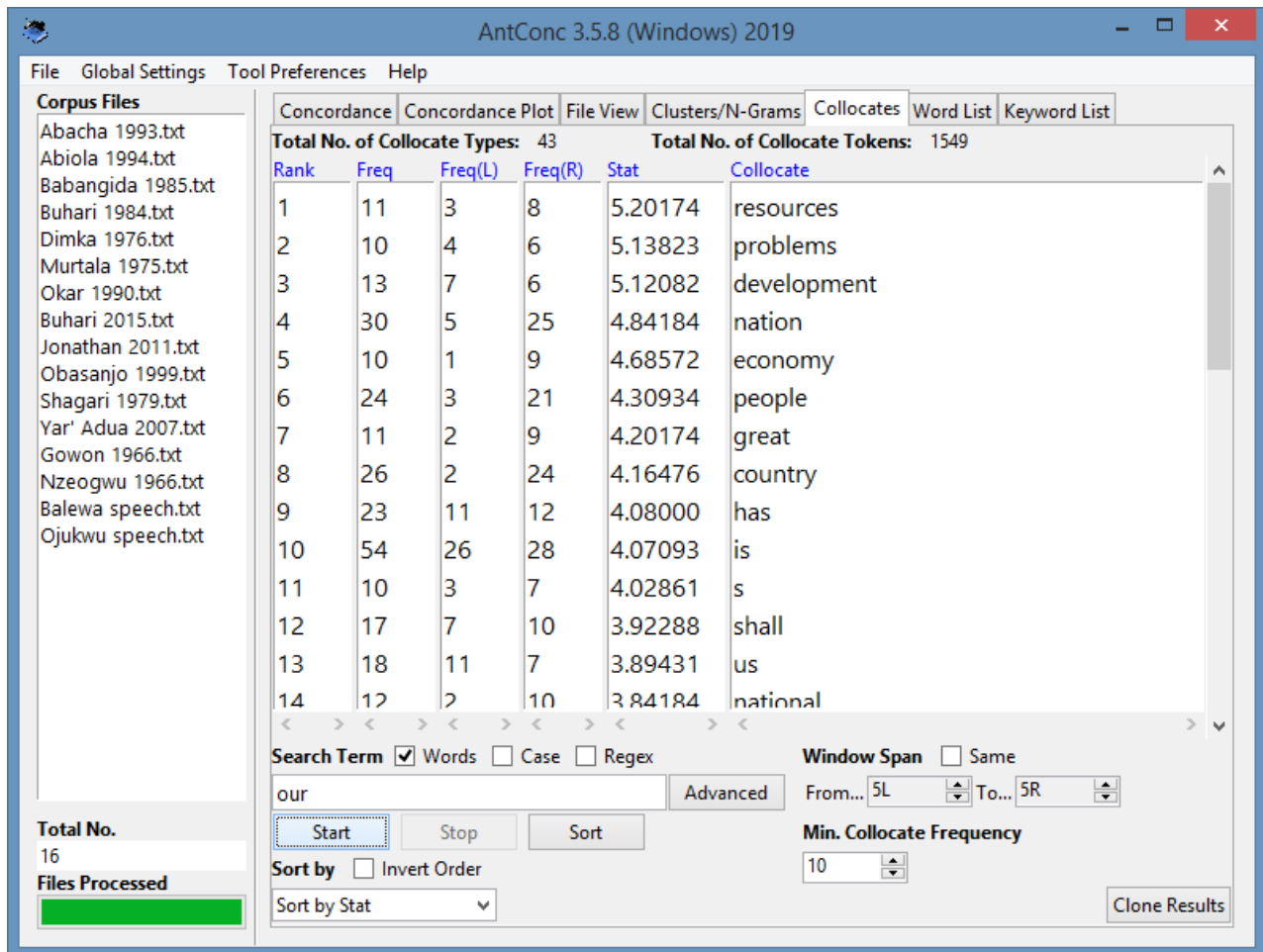


Figure 5.4.1: Collocate results of the keyword our

The first word that collocates with the keyword our is ‘resources’. Most of the speakers as displayed in Figure 5.4.2, used the collocate resources from the perspective of Nigeria's natural resources, to enact either affiliation, or individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations between them and some Nigerians, or the previous government. For instance, further concordance search results on the collocate ‘resources’, reveal how Babangida used it in a general sense, to individuate away from past Nigerian governments, particularly, the immediate past military government of Buhari (who he overthrew in a coup). The concordance results of the collocate ‘resources’ are shown in Figure 5.4.2.

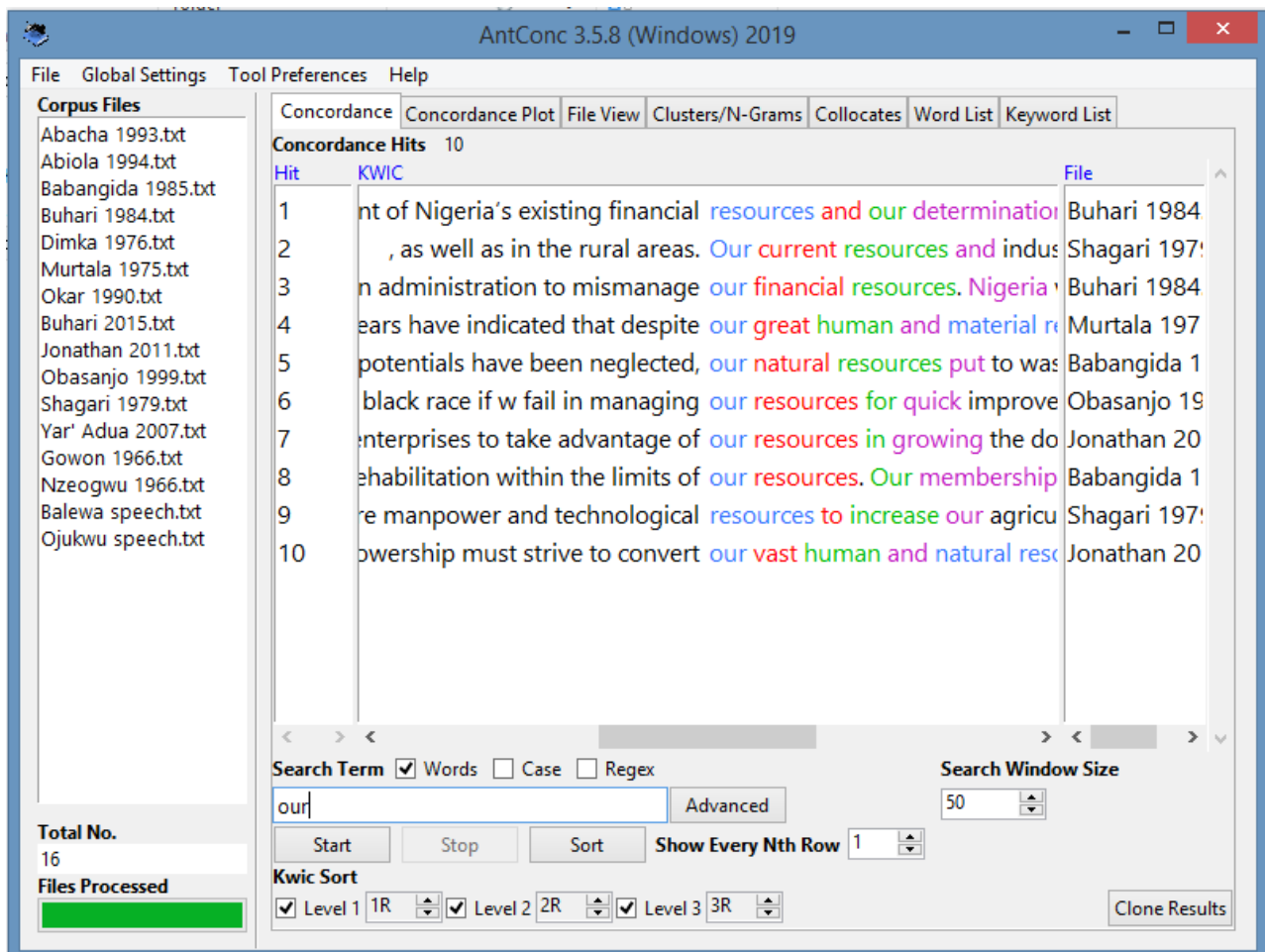


Figure 5.4.2: Concordance results of the collocate ‘resources’

Line 5 of the concordance result has the following clause complex from the main text: “Our human *potentials* [Sharpen] have been *neglected* [-Happiness], our natural resources *put* [Intensification: Vigour] to waste”. In this instance, Babangida uses the keyword our and its collocate ‘resources’ to enact affiliation with Nigerians, and individuate away from the military government of Buhari, whom he accused of wasting Nigeria's resources. Babangida enacts these negative evaluations of Buhari’s government, with the words: “human potentials”, which sharpened the focus of the negative Happiness Attitude in “neglected”, and "put" which he uses to intensify the incapability, and incapacity of Buhari's government in managing Nigeria's resources.

Ironically, Buhari had earlier assured Nigerians of his managerial prudence in the following clause complex in line 1 of the concordance results: “*We* [+Inclination] are confident and we *assure* [Intensification: Vigour] you that even in the face of the global recession, and the seemingly *gloomy* [-Happiness] financial future, given prudent management of Nigeria’s existing financial resources and our *determination* [+Tenacity] to substantially reduce and eventually nail down rises in budgetary deficits and weak balance of payments position”. The speaker uses the resource of +inclination, to first affiliate with military in-group, using the personal pronoun “we”. He also uses the word “assure” to intensify the process of his affiliation with Nigerians, with the referent “you”, describing the capability of his government to maintain financial prudence of Nigeria's resources,

Lastly, in concordance line 6, Obasanjo uses the following clause complex: “It does no credit either to us or the entire black race if we fail [-Capacity] in managing our resources for quick *improvement* [Upscaling Vigour] in the quality of life of our people”, to affiliate with Nigerians and the entire black race. Here, the speaker uses the inclusive pronoun “us”, the phrase “the entire black race” and the possessive pronoun “our” to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians and the black race. He also uses the word “fail” to show the consequences that may follow if they do not manage Nigeria's resources well and uses the word “improvement” to upscale the process of the positive change that will happen if they manage the resources with prudence.

The next collocate of our is the word ‘problems’. Further concordance search of collocate ‘problems’ shows how some of the speakers used it to reproduce unequal power relations and enact the concept of affiliation, and individuation, in their speeches. The concordance results of the collocate *problems* are presented in Figure 5.4.3.

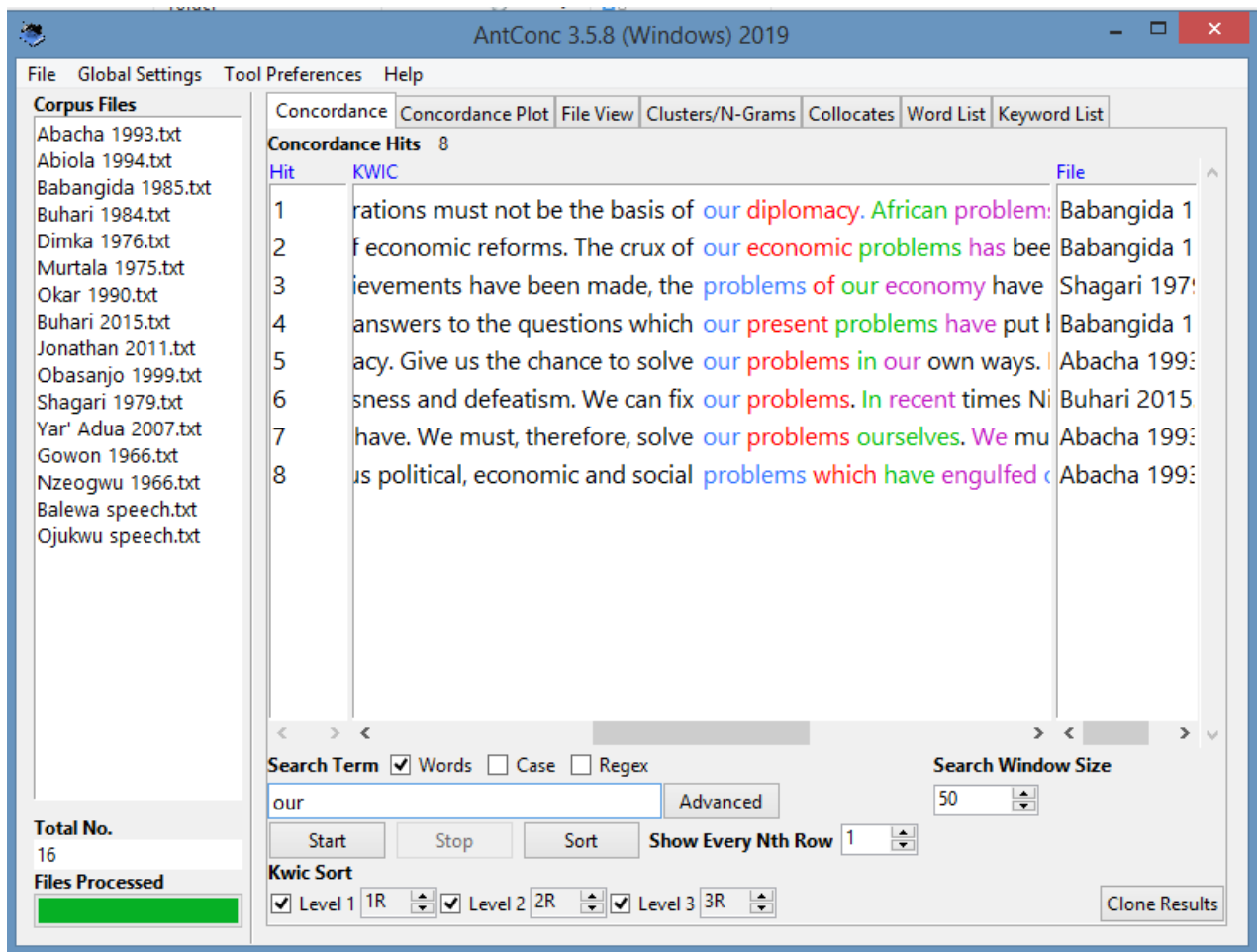


Figure 5.4.3: Concordance result of the collocate 'problems'

Abacha uses the collocate 'problems' in his speech to enact affiliation with all Nigerians and reproduce unequal power relations between himself, the military, and the civilians, in line 8 of the concordance, using the following clause complex: "Fellow Nigerians, sequel to the *resignation* [-Capacity] of the former Head of the Interim National Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Chief Ernest Shonekan and my subsequent *appointment* [Intensification: Vigour] as Head of State and *Commander-in-Chief* [+Capacity], I have had extensive consultations within the armed Forces hierarchy and other *well-meaning* [+Inclination] Nigerians in a bid to find solutions to the various political, economic and *social problems* [-Happiness] which have *engulfed* [Intensification: Vigour] our beloved country, and which have made life *most difficult* [-Happiness] to the ordinary citizen of this nation". The speaker first uses a positive Attitude to enact

affiliation and incline towards all Nigerians, with his opening phrase: “Fellow Nigerians”. He further uses the word: “resignation”, to intensify his individuation from Chief Ernest Shonekan, who the speaker announced his removal in this coup speech by referring to him as “former”. He continues to reproduce unequal power relations, by using the word “appointment” to intensify his honorifics as the Commander-in-Chief and enacts more positive Attitude of affiliation with the “armed Forces, and well-meaning Nigerians”, by intensifying the word “consultations”, “find solutions”, and “engulfed”. He also uses the phrase “social problems” and “most difficult”, to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians by painting a picture of suffering and chaos, which he had come to rectify.

Further examination of the collocate ‘problems’ in concordance line 6, shows the following clause complex: “Nigerians will not regret that they have *entrusted* [upscaling Vigour] national [Extent: Distribution; Space] responsibility to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism [-Satisfaction]. We can fix [+Capacity] our problems”. Here, the speaker uses the inclusive first-person possessive pronoun “us”, “our”, and the plural pronoun "We" to affiliate with Nigerians, by further using the word “entrusted” to assure Nigerians of their level of capability and determination, to solve national problems. The speaker further uses the verb-phrase “can fix”, to instantiate the positive Attitude and capability of his government to fix Nigeria's problems.

The next collocate result of the keyword our is ‘development’. This result shows that most Nigerian leaders used it to align with all Nigerians. The concordance results of the collocate ‘development’, are represented in Figure 5.4.4.

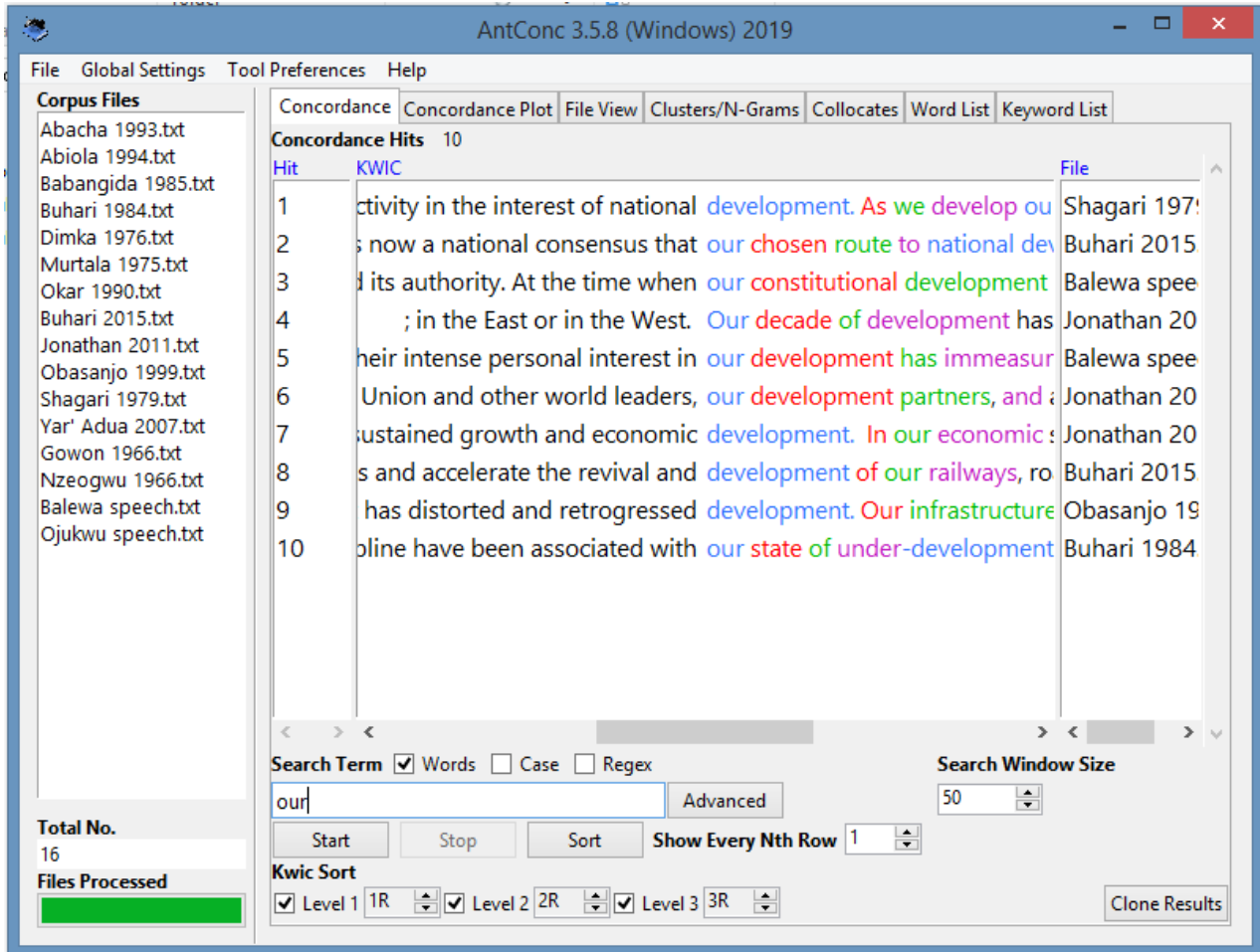


Figure 5.4.4: Concordance result of the collocate ‘development’

Shagari uses the collocate ‘development’ in line 1 of the concordance results, to enact affiliation with all Nigerians in the following statement: “However, we must *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] be *determined* [+Tenacity] to see that higher wages and better conditions of service are matched by higher productivity in the interest of *national* [Extent: Distribution: Space] *development* [+Happiness]”. Shagari uses “national” to show the extent of the development he envisaged for Nigeria. He enacts affiliation with the entire citizens of Nigeria, with the collocate ‘development’, by emphasizing their determination to make all Nigerians happy by achieving “national development”.

Similarly, an examination of concordance line 9, shows that Obasanjo uses the collocate ‘development’ to individuate away from official corruption in the following clause complex: "The *impact* [Intensification: Degree] of official *corruption* [-Propriety] is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a *very bad* [-Propriety] image at home and abroad. Besides, it has distorted and retrogressed [-Happiness] development". Obasanjo individuates away from “official corruption”, by intensifying the degree of the adverse effects of corruption, with the words "impact", and “very bad” which graduates the negative Attitude of corruption with a negative Propriety resource, with the words “distorted and retrogressed” to express the negative effect of corruption on the development of Nigeria.

Lastly, in Jonathan’s inaugural speech of 2011, he uses the collocate ‘development’ to affiliate with all Nigerians thus: “Our *decade* [Proximity: Extent] of development [+Happiness] has begun”. Here, the speaker uses the word “decade” to show the extent of the happiness he envisages for Nigerians through national development.

The next collocate of the keyword our is the word ‘nation’. The concordance results of the collocate ‘nation’, are presented in Figure 5.4.5.

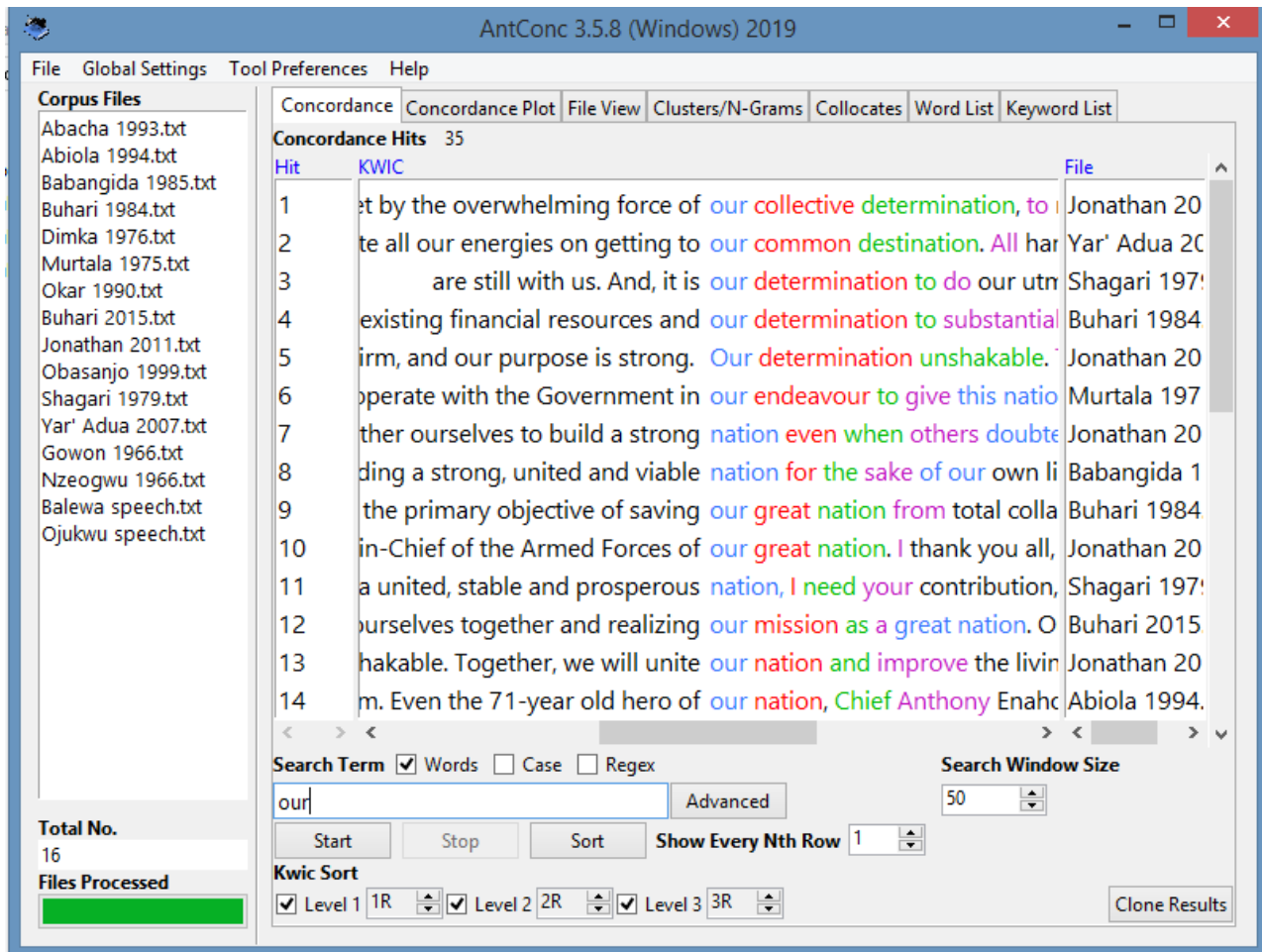


Figure 5.4.5 Concordance results of the collocate ‘nation’

The data for the collocate ‘nation’ reveals that several Nigerian leaders used it to affiliate with all Nigerians. For instance, in line 7 of the concordance result, Jonathan enacts affiliation with Nigerians by creating a bond of nationhood between himself and all Nigerians, by using the metaphor “the Nigerian spirit of resilience” in the following clause complex taken from the main text: “Such *determination* [+Tenacity] derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience in the face of the *greatest* [upscaling Degree] of odds. That spirit has, over the years, stirred our *hopes*, [+Happiness] doused our *fears*, [+Security] and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a *strong*



[Intensification: Degree] nation even when others *doubted* [Contract: Deny] our capacity". Jonathan used the word "strong" to intensify the degree of the resilience which Nigerians have shown in nation-building. This resource also graduates the positive Attitude of hope and shows the previous insecurity which Nigerians had overcome through their "spirit of resilience". Jonathan finally denies the other voices who did not believe that Nigerians could achieve their goals, thereby affiliating with Nigerians.

Further in line 8, Babangida affiliates with all Nigerians and proposes a bond of nationhood with them, using the following clause complex: "Let us *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, [Intensification: Degree] united and viable nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefits of posterity" [Extent: Proximity: Time]. To negotiate his affiliation with all Nigerians, Babangida uses the quantifier "all" to show that his government aligns with all Nigerians, and he uses these resources to graduate his positive Attitude of determination towards all Nigerians, to build a nation that will stand the test of time.

Lastly, in line 10, Jonathan uses the following clause complex: "My Dear *Compatriots* [+Inclination], I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just *sworn* [Intensification: Vigour] to the oath of the office as President, *Commander-in-Chief* [+Capacity] of the Armed Forces of our *great* [Intensification: Degree] nation" to reproduce unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation between himself and Nigerians. He uses the word "sworn" to graduate the meaning of the positive Attitude of his capacity, which he emphasizes with the honorifics of "Commander-in-Chief". He also uses the word "great" to intensify the degree of his affiliation with Nigeria.

The next collocate of the keyword our is the word ‘economy’. The concordance results show that most of the speakers combined the keyword our with the collocate ‘economy’ to affiliate with the people of Nigeria. The concordance results of the collocate ‘economy’ are shown in Figure 5.4.6.

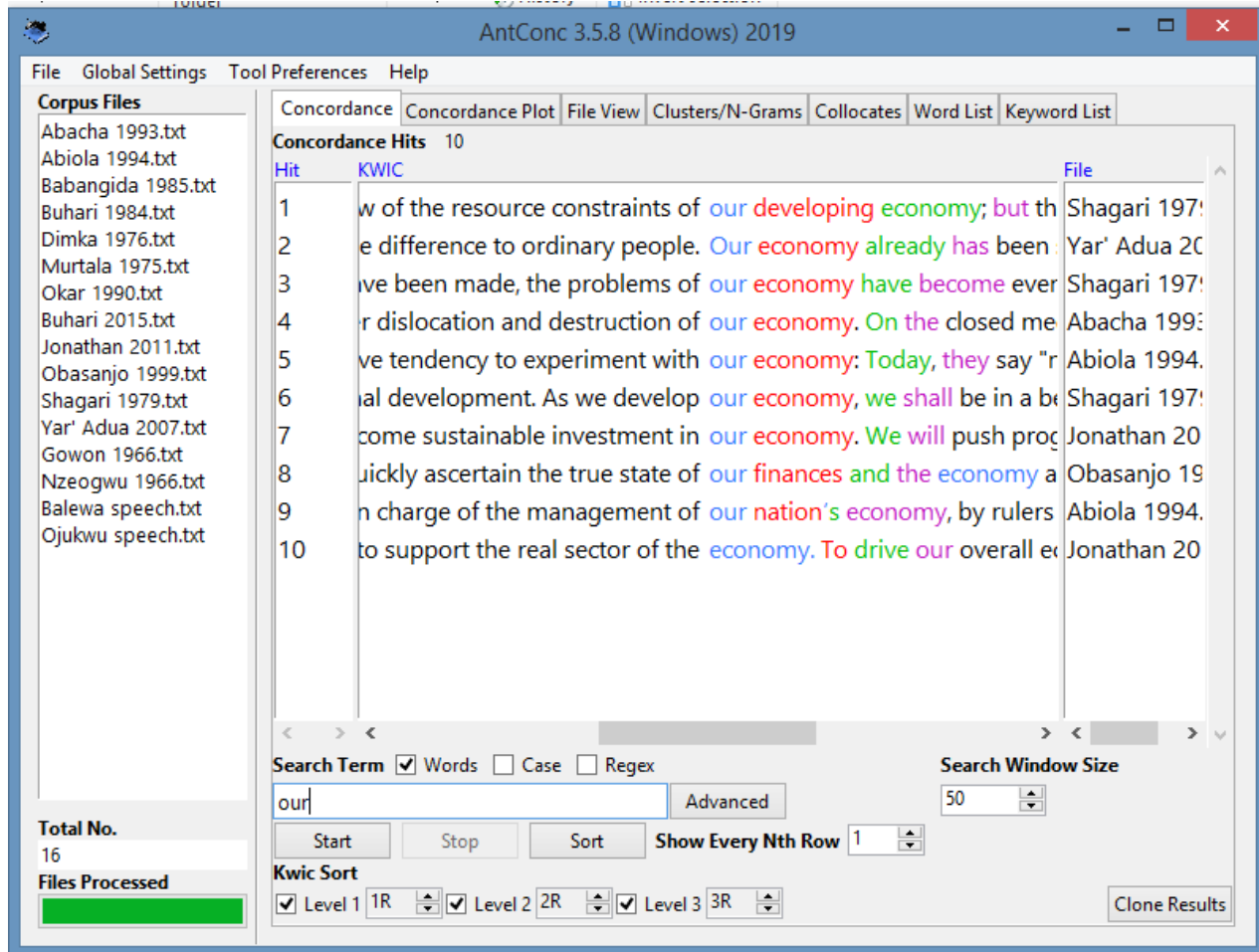


Figure 5.4.6: Concordance results of the collocate ‘economy’

Lines 1-8 of the concordance results show that all the speakers in the whole corpus used the phrase “our economy” to show a sense of commonly shared value and affiliate with all Nigerians. A wider examination of the contextual use of the collocate ‘economy’ in the main texts, gives the following example in line 1 of the concordance: “The wage freeze in an era of *biting inflation* [-Happiness] has had to be maintained given the resource constraints of our *developing* [+Satisfaction] economy; but there are certain limits beyond which no democratic government will wish to demand sacrifices from workers”. Here, the speaker, enacts affiliation with Nigerian workers, by using the phrase:

“biting inflation” to align with them on the sufferings brought about by the state of the economy, and using the word “developing” to give them hope with the positive Attitude of his satisfaction with the state of the economy. In addition, Jonathan uses the following clause complex: “We will continue to welcome *sustainable* [+Tenacity] *investment* [+Happiness} in our economy”, to enact affiliation between his government, and all Nigerians, using the personal and possessive pronouns “we”, and “our” to show how determined his government is in sustaining the people’s well- being.

Number six collocate of the keyword our is the word ‘people’. I did a further concordance search of *people*, to describe the full meaning of it, and how they used it to achieve the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations, in the main speeches. The concordance results of the collocate ‘people’ are presented in Figure 5.4.7.

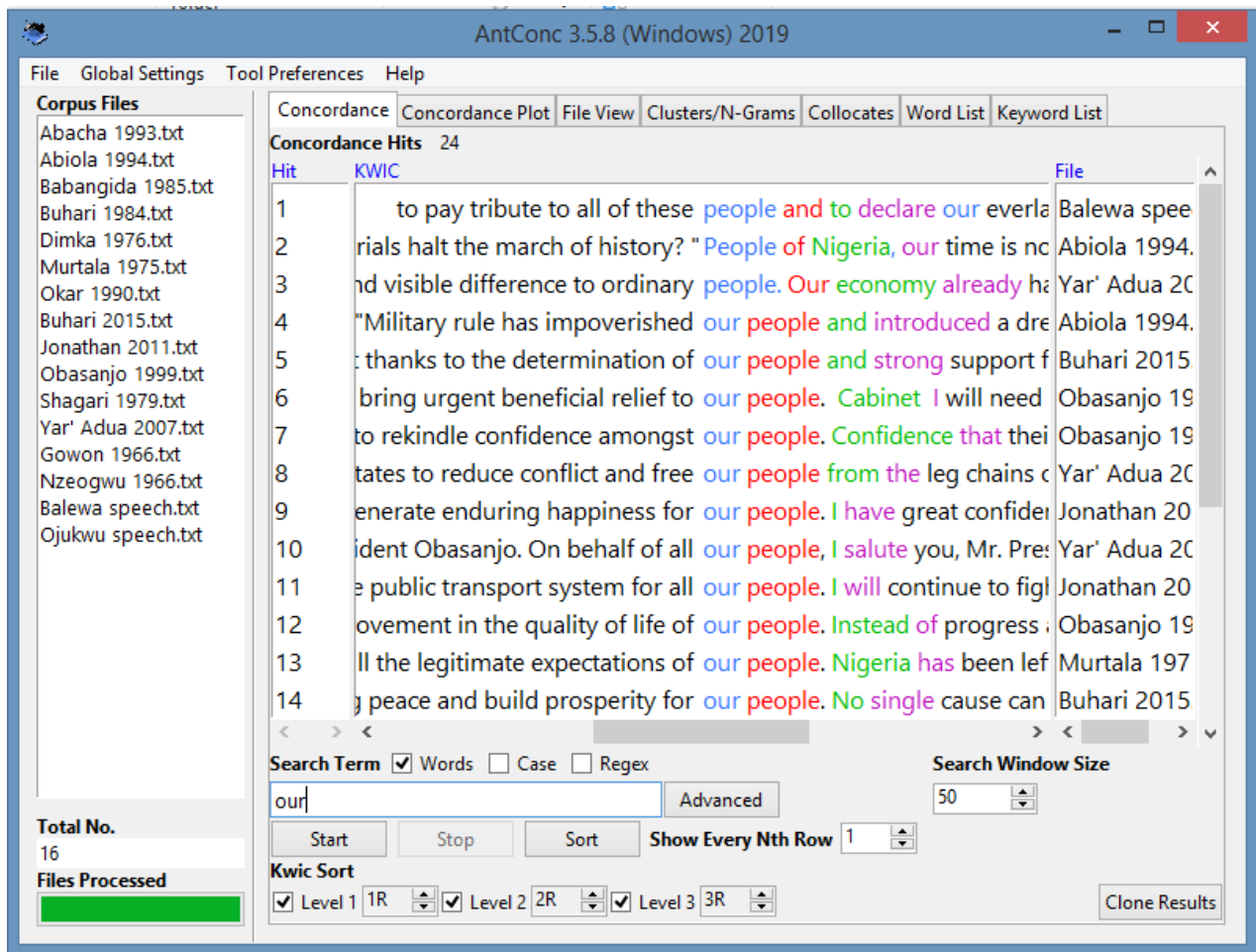


Figure 5.4.7: Concordance result of the collocate ‘people’

The collocate ‘people’, was used to make very interesting statements that show how almost all the sixteen speakers in the whole corpus affiliate with the people of Nigeria. For instance, in line 5 of the concordance result, Buhari, enacts affiliation with Nigerians, thus: “Our journey has not been easy but thanks to the *determination* [+Tenacity] of our people and *strong* [Intensification: Degree] support from friends abroad, we have today a truly democratically elected government in place”. Buhari enacts this affiliation by using the word “journey” to describe the positive Attitude of Nigerians in being resolute and determined towards the realization of democracy. Also, in line 4 of the concordance results, Abiola uses the collocate ‘people’ in the following clause complex: “Military rule has *impoverished* [-Happiness] our people and introduced a dreadful trade in drugs which has made our country's name an *anathema* [-Propriety] in many parts of the world”, to individuate away from military rule. He uses the metaphor “anathema” to equate the damage military rule has done to Nigeria.

The seventh collocate of the keyword our is the word ‘great’. The concordance results of ‘great’ show that almost all the sixteen speakers from the three genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, used the word ‘great’ to collocate with the keyword our to affiliate with the people of Nigeria. The concordance results of the collocate ‘great’ are presented in Figure 5.4.8.

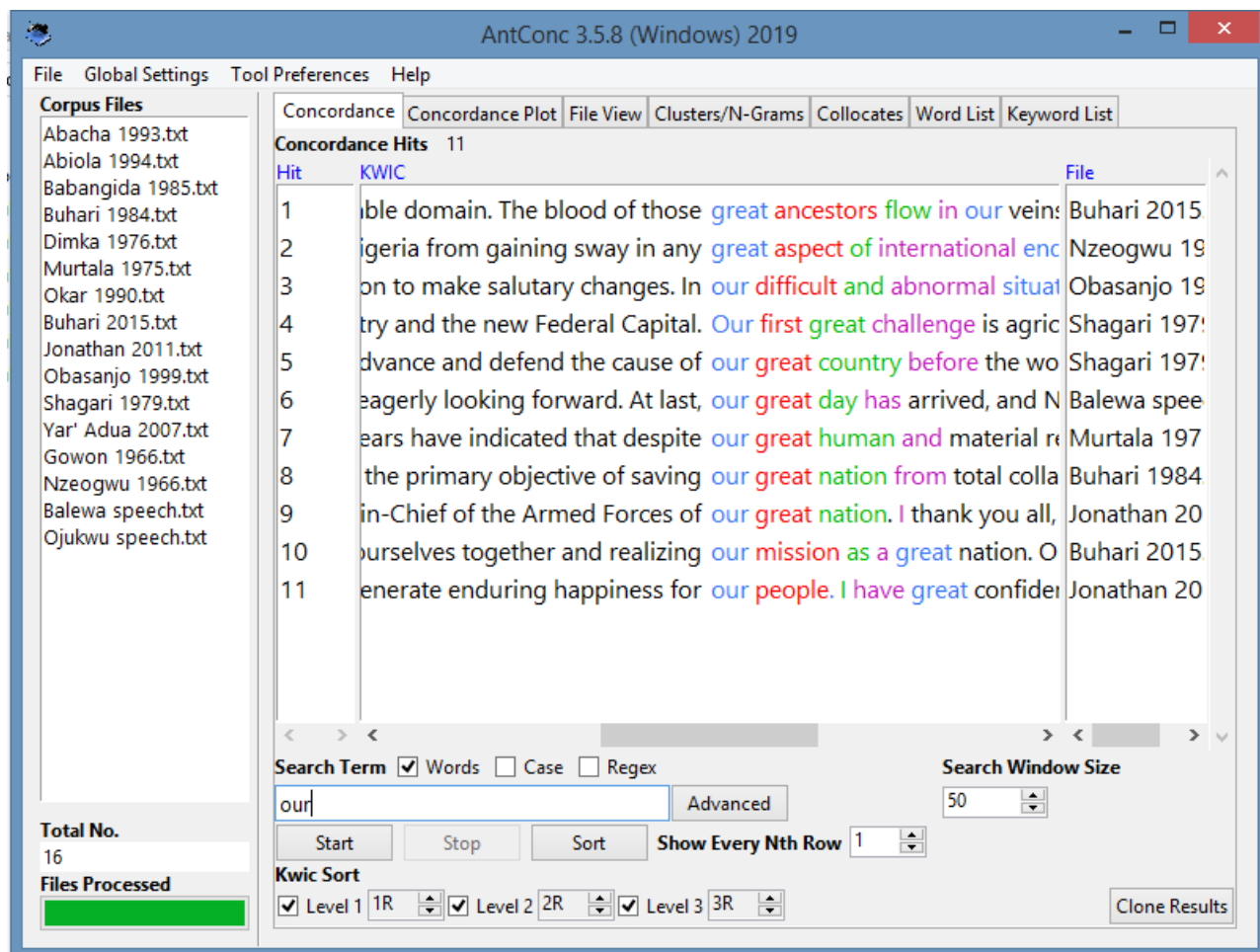


Figure 5.4.8: Concordance result of the collocate ‘great’

The Keyword and collocate resources used by some coup speakers helped to defuse the tension that arose from several coups, by creating a feeling of patriotism and a sense of commonality among the listeners. A coup is an unconstitutional act of removing a government that derives its existence from the constitution. Nevertheless, the Nigerian coup speakers tried to use linguistic resources in a way that defused the tension that arose from the frequent coups, by affiliating with the citizens. The following clause complex from line 2 of the concordance, elucidates this point: “I leave you with a message of good wishes and ask for your support at all times, so that our land,

*watered by the Niger and Benue, between the sandy wastes and Gulf of Guinea, washed in salt by the mighty Atlantic*, [+Valuation] shall not detract Nigeria from gaining sway in any *great* [Intensification: Degree] aspect of international endeavour”. This statement was used by Nzeogwu to enact affiliation with the people of Nigeria, by creating a bond of great nationhood with Nigerians, after he had issued his “ten proclamations” (see 9.2). He uses the collocate ‘great’ to intensify the degree of his positive valuation of Nigeria's potential.

Similarly, in line 8 of the concordance search for the collocate ‘great’, Buhari reproduced unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, using the following clause complex: “In pursuance of the primary objective of saving our *great* [Intensification: Degree] nation from total collapse, I, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Nigerian army have, after due consultation amongst the services of the armed forces, been formally *invested* [Upscaling Vigour] with the *authority* [+Capacity] of the Head of the Federal Republic of Nigeria”. Here, Buhari uses honorifics of his new military title, to enact unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians. The words “great” intensifies the degree of the greatness of the nation, while “invested” upscales the process of his new status, as the “Head” of the country.

The number eight collocate with the keyword our is the word ‘country’. These concordance results show several uses of the collocate ‘country’ to create commonly shared values between the speakers and their listeners. The concordance results of the collocate ‘country’ are shown in Figure 5.4.9.

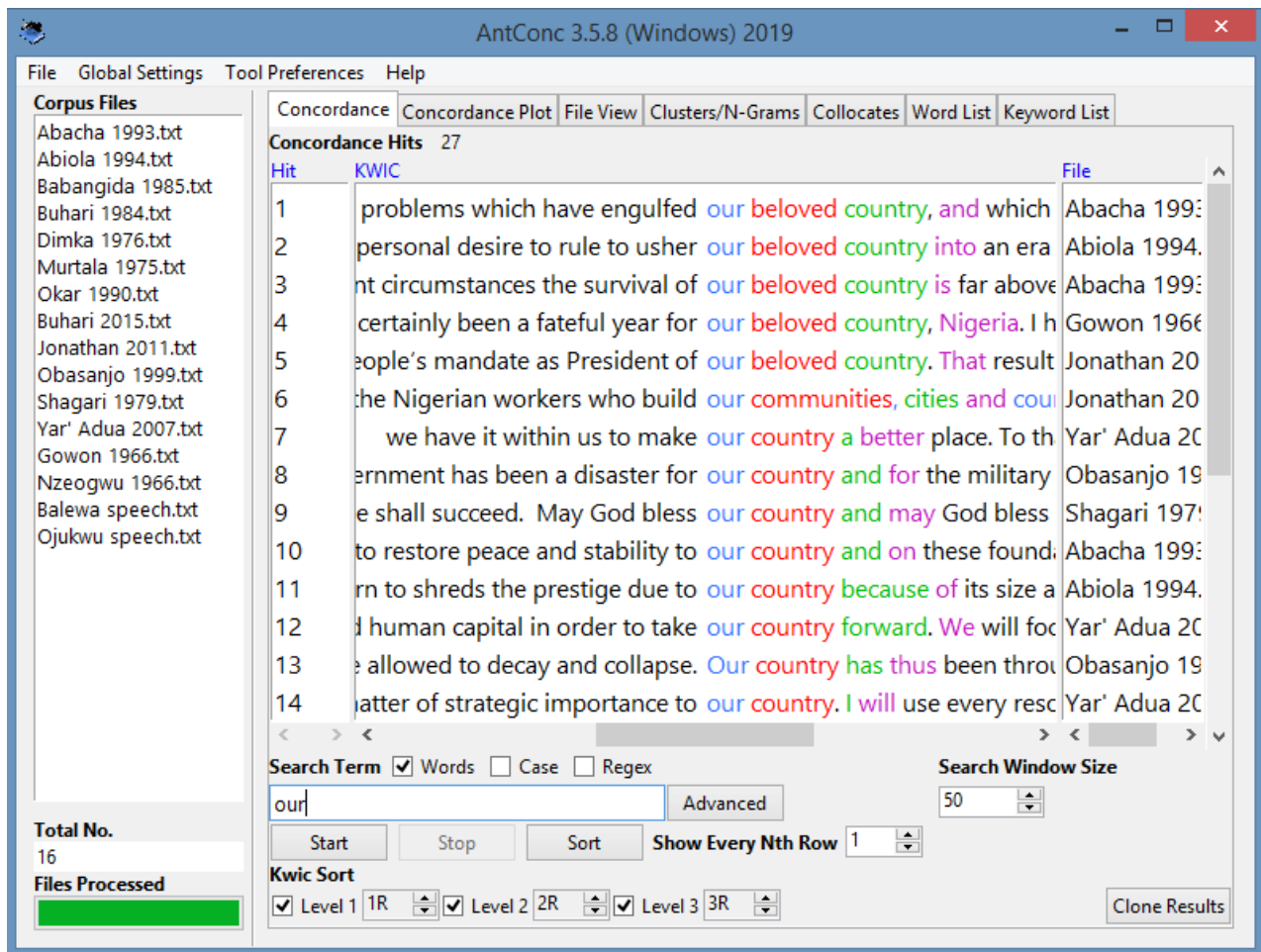


Figure 5.4.9: Concordance result of the collocate ‘country’

Some of the Nigerian political speakers used phrases such as “our beloved country” and “our country” to affiliate with Nigerians. More specifically, in concordance line 4, Gowon uses the following clause complex: “My fellow countrymen, the year 1966 has certainly been a fateful year for our *beloved* [+Inclination] country, Nigeria”, to affiliate with Nigerians. He uses the word “beloved” to inscribe a positive Attitude with “country”, to create a bond on the commonly shared value of nationhood.

Secondly, in concordance line 9, Shagari enacts affiliation with the country Nigeria, and all Nigerian citizens with the following clause complex: “May God *ble*ss [Intensification: Vigour] our country and may God bless you *all*” [Quantification: Number]. He uses the word “bless” to intensify the process of his affiliation with the country Nigeria and graduate his positive Attitude towards all Nigerians by invoking God’s blessing on them.

The number nine collocate of the keyword *our* is the auxiliary verb ‘has’. The concordance results of the collocate ‘has’ are shown in Figure 5.4.10.

The screenshot displays the AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019 interface. The search term is 'our'. The concordance results are as follows:

Hit	KWIC	File
1	ity and overbearing uncertainty has become characteristic of our	Babangida 1
2	of the military into government has been a disaster for our coun	Obasanjo 19
3	e annals of history. Each step of our constitutional advance has b	Balewa spee
4	e allowed to decay and collapse. Our country has thus been thro	Obasanjo 19
5	; in the East or in the West. Our decade of development has	Jonathan 20
6	civil war with itself. Military rule has destabilized our nation toda	Abiola 1994.
7	their intense personal interest in our development has immeasur	Balewa spee
8	at home and abroad. Besides, it has distorted and retrogressed c	Obasanjo 19
9	f economic reforms. The crux of our economic problems has bee	Babangida 1
10	e difference to ordinary people. Our economy already has been	Yar' Adua 20
11	eagerly looking forward. At last, our great day has arrived, and N	Balewa spee
12	efore in its history. "Military rule has impoverished our people an	Abiola 1994.
13	ermined to entrench its culture. Our journey has not been easy k	Buhari 2015
14	of independence. "Military rule has led to our nation fighting a c	Abiola 1994.

Figure 5.4.10: Concordance result of the collocate ‘has’



Abiola uses his civilian coup speech to individuate away from the military, in line 2 of the concordance results as follows: “The *incursion* [-Happiness] of the military into government has been a *disaster* [-Happiness] for our country”. Abiola uses the word “incursion” to show his negative Attitude towards Nigerian military coups. Similarly, in line 6 of the concordance results, Abiola uses the collocate ‘has’ to individuate himself and other Nigerians away from the military in the following example: “Military rule has *destabilized* [-Security] our nation today as not before”. Abiola uses the collocate ‘has’ to give a negative Judgement of military rule.

The tenth word that collocates with the keyword our is the verb ‘is’. This word ranked the lowest out of the first ten words that collocate with the keyword ‘our’. The concordance results of the collocate ‘is’ are shown in Figure 5.4.11.

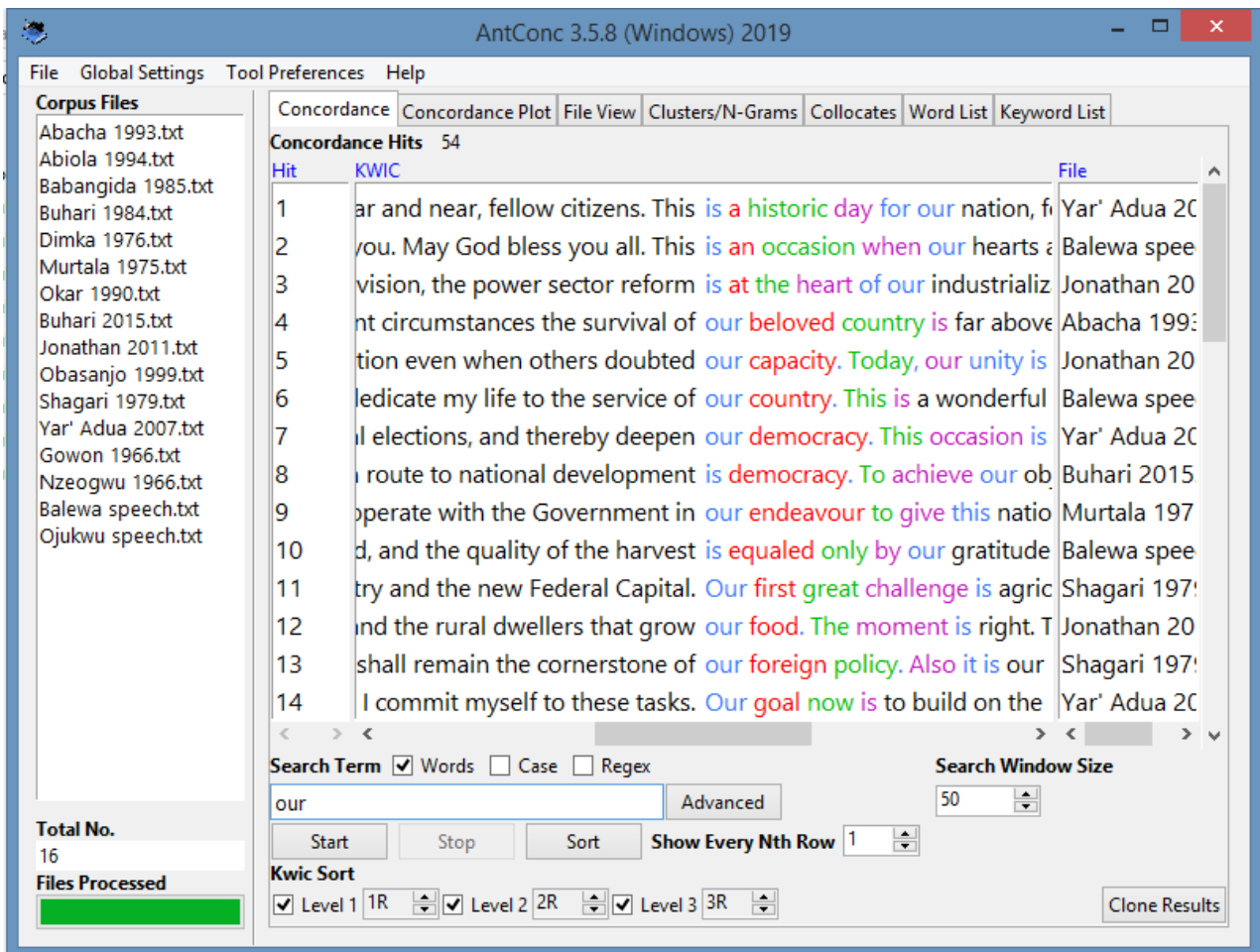


Figure 5.4.11 Concordance result of the collocate ‘is’

A further concordance search of the collocate 'is' reveals how some of the speakers used it to realize the concept of affiliation in the whole corpus. For instance, Balewa, and Yar' Adua used the collocate 'is' in lines 1 and 2 of the concordance results to affiliate with the people of Nigeria in the following clause complex: "This is *a historic* [Sharpen: Focus] day for our nation, for it marks an important milestone in our *march* [+Tenacity] towards a maturing democracy". Balewa uses the word 'is' to focus on the importance of Independence Day for Nigeria, which he describes as "a historic day". He also describes the process of Nigeria's efforts toward democratization with a "march", thereby affiliating with Nigerians on their determination for independence.

Further in line 2, Yar' Adua said: "This is *an occasion* [sharpen focus] when our hearts are filled with conflicting emotions: we are, indeed, proud to have *achieved* [+Capacity] our independence, and proud that our efforts should have contributed to this happy event" The speaker uses the phrase "an occasion" to sharpen the focus of his speech and graduate his positive Attitude towards Nigerians' achievement of independence. I now continue with the analysis of the keywords.

### 5.3.3 Concordance analysis of the keyword nigerians

The third keyword from the search result of the Nigerian political corpus is nigerians. This keyword, nigerians, was used by the speakers to align with the citizens of Nigeria in their speeches. The concordance results of the keyword nigerians are presented in Figure 5.5.

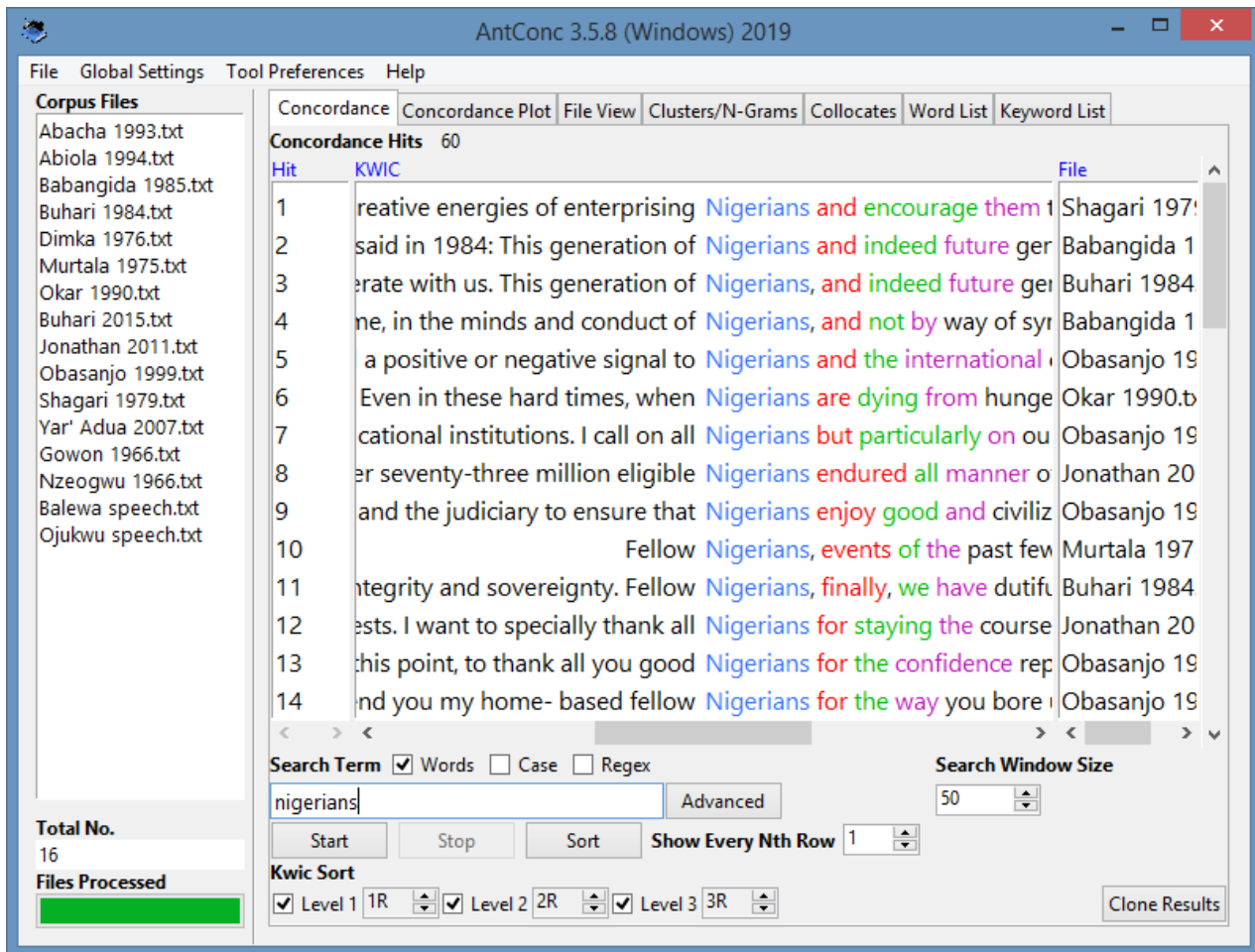


Figure 5.5: Concordance result of the keyword nigerians

Since the speeches in the whole corpus of Nigerian political discourse were made by Nigerian leaders, it is not surprising that the keywords are mainly around words that refer to Nigeria. To further investigate this keyword in its wider context, I did a concordance search of the keyword nigerians with a particular focus on the first 10 lines of the concordance.

Most of the speakers used the keyword nigerians to enact affiliation and individuation with Nigerians and reproduce unequal power relations, between themselves and other Nigerians. For instance, in Shagari's inaugural speech of 1979, he said in line 1 of the concordance: "Our government is *determined* [+Tenacity] to release the creative energies of *enterprising* [Intensification: vigour] Nigerians and encourage them to help *develop* [+Capacity] the economy for the good of all". Shagari uses the word "enterprising" to intensify his positive Attitude to encourage those Nigerians that are determined and are capable to develop the country, thereby negotiating affiliation with them.

Further concordance examination of the context of the keyword nigerians, shows that in concordance line 6, Orkar, the speaker of the 1990 coup speech, uses the following clause complex: "Even in these hard times, when Nigerians are *dying from hunger, trekking many miles to work for lack of transportation*, [-Happiness] a few other Nigerians with complete impunity [-Propriety] are living in *unbelievable* [upscaling degree] affluence both inside and outside the country", to affiliate with Nigerians, and individuate away from Babangida. Orkar made this statement about the military government of Babangida which he announced its overthrow in his coup speech. The statement was used by Orkar to affiliate with the ordinary Nigerians, using their suffering as a commonly shared value to create a bond of solidarity between himself and the citizens of Nigerians. He equally individuates away from those he refers to as "a few other Nigerians" by describing them as living a corrupt and flamboyant lifestyle that is detrimental to ordinary Nigerians. He uses the word "unbelievable" to show the degree of Babangida's profligacy.

Lastly, in Murtala's 1975 coup speech, he affiliates with all Nigerians which is shown in line 10 of the concordance results as follows: "*Fellow* Nigerians [+Inclination], events of the past few years have indicated that despite our great [upscaling Degree] human and material resources, the government has not been able [-Capacity] to fulfill the legitimate expectations of our people". The speaker first uses the word "fellow" to align with Nigerians and the word "great" to describe the magnitude of the potentials which he accused the previous military government of Gowon, of not

putting to proper use. He thereby individuates away from the military government of Gowon, and affiliates with all Nigerians with the phrase “Fellow Nigerians”.

### 5.3.4 Concordance analysis of the keyword nigerian

The concordance results of the keyword nigerian are shown in Figure 5.6.

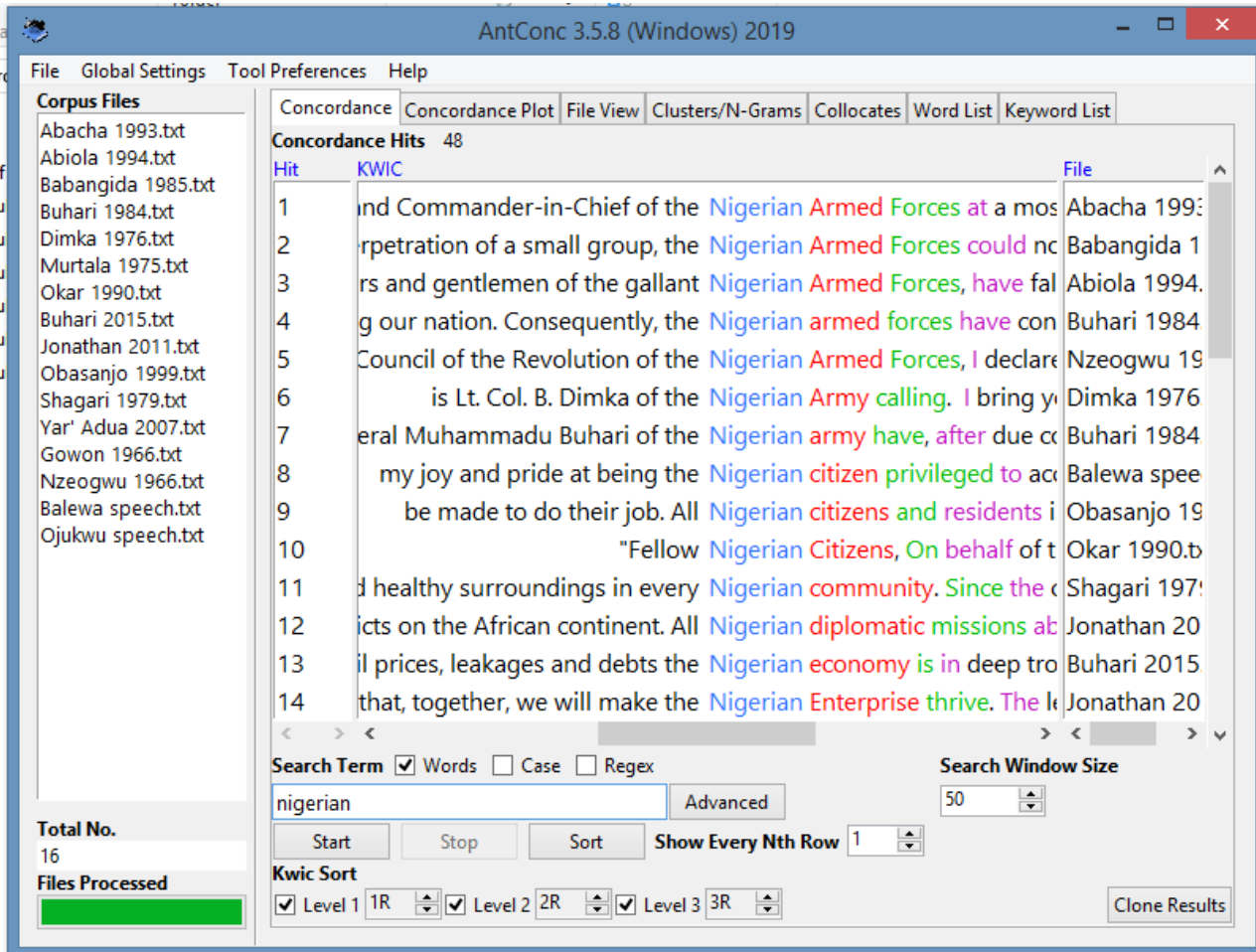


Figure 5.6: Concordance results of the keyword nigerian

In line 2 of the concordance results, Babangida uses the keyword nigerian as an adjective, to individuate away from the previous government of Buhari in the following clause complex: “Because the present state of *uncertainty*, *suppression* and *stagnation* [-Happiness] resulted from the perpetration of *a small group*, [Quantification: Number] the Nigerian Armed Forces could not

as a part of that government be unfairly *committed* [Intensification: Vigour] to take responsibility for failure”. Babangida made this statement about Buhari’s military government after he overthrew Buhari through a coup. In his view, the “small group” became stubborn and intransigent to the “bigger group” in the armed forces, so he had to distance himself away from them. Here, Babangida uses the word “committed” to upscale the process of his negative Attitude towards Buhari and his “small group”, using the evaluation resources to produce in-group, and out-group in his speech.

Further in line 3 of the concordance results, Abiola uses the following clause complex to individuate away from the Nigerian armed Forces: “Appeals to their honour as officers and gentlemen of the *gallant* [+Capacity] Nigerian Armed Forces, have fallen on *deaf ears* [-Satisfaction]”. Abiola individuates away from the Nigerian Armed Forces, by emphasizing the military’s negative Attitude to his appeals, using the metaphor of “deaf ears”. More information on the 1993 presidential election can be found in 2.4.5.

Lastly, in line 4 of the concordance results, Buhari reproduces unequal power relations between himself, the Nigerian military, and the civilians, in the following clause complex: “Consequently, the Nigerian Armed Forces have *constituted* [+Capacity] themselves into a Federal Military Government comprising of (sic) a Supreme Military Council, a National Council of States, a Federal Executive Council at the centre and state Executive Councils to be *presided* [+Capacity] over by military governors in each of the states of the federation”. Buhari uses the words “constituted” and “presided” to intensify the process of reproducing power relations between the “Armed Forces” and other Nigerians.

### 5.3.5 Concordance analysis of the keyword nation

The number 5 keyword of the whole corpus is nation. The concordance results of the keyword nation are shown in Figure 5.7.

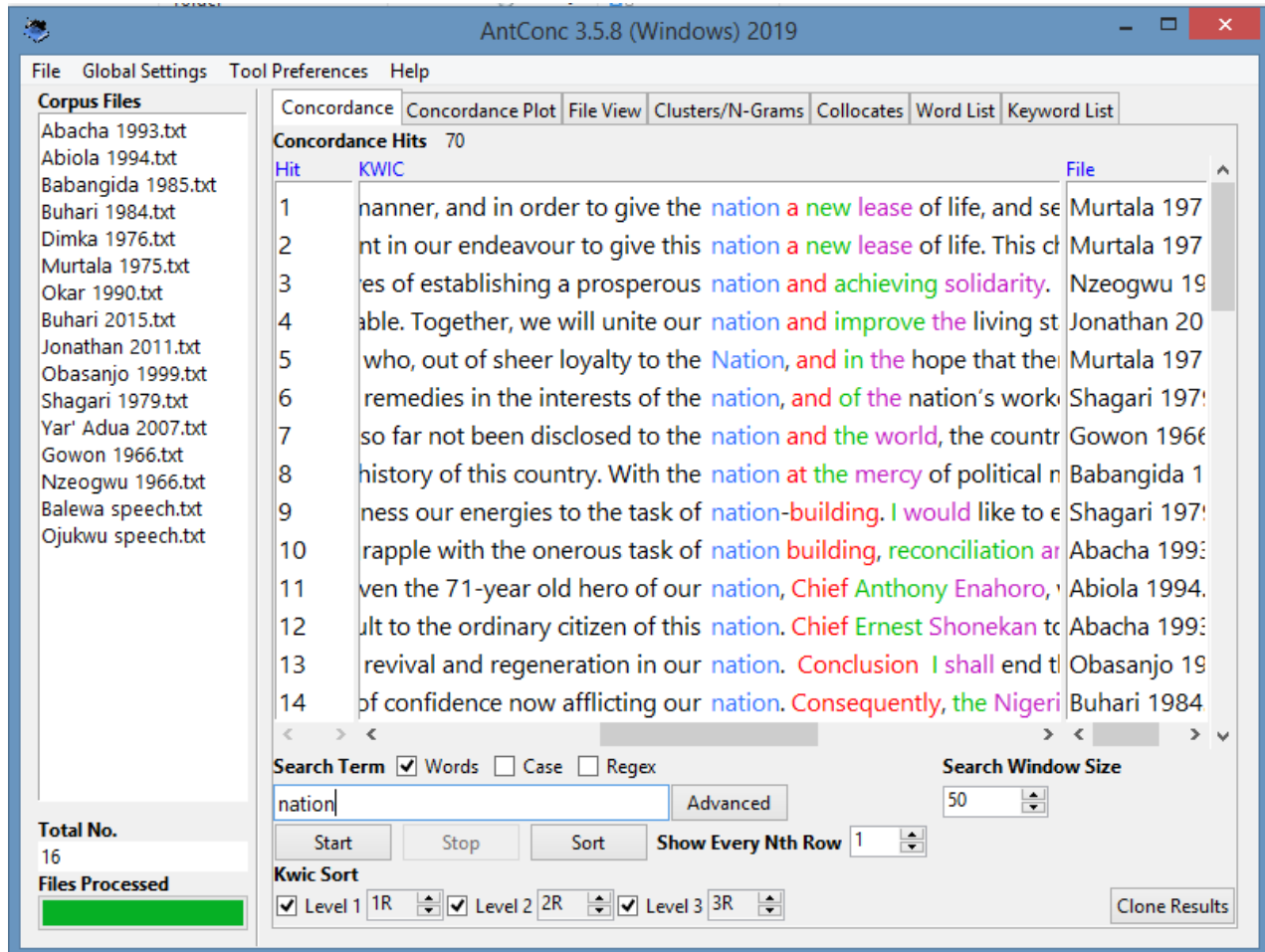


Figure 5.7: Concordance result of the keyword nation

Nigeria is a country that was formed by amalgamating different nations of unrelated cultural, social, and religious ideologies (see 2.3). Most of the speakers in the whole corpus used the keyword nation to enact the concepts of affiliation, and individuation in their speeches to try to engender a sense of unity among the different nations of Nigeria or express the differences among the nations. The following results from line 7 of the concordance show how the keyword nation was used to enact individuation by Gowon in the following clause complex: “According to the certain well-known facts, which have so far not been disclosed to the nation and the world, the

country was plunged into a *national* [Quantification: Extent] disaster by the *grave and unfortunate* [-Happiness] action taken by a section of the Army against the public”. Gowon uses the word "national" to quantify the extent of the negative action taken by those he refers to as “a section of the Army” who carried out an action against the Nigerian nation and invariably individuates himself and the public away from them.

Further, in line 4 of the concordance results of the keyword nation, Jonathan uses it to create a sense of commonly shared values among his listeners, thus: “Together, we will unite our nation and *improve* [Intensification: Vigour] the living standard of *all*” [Quantification: Number]. Jonathan uses the word “improve” to intensify the process of uniting Nigerians by graduating the meaning of his inscribed positive Attitude to all Nigerians, with the personal and possessive pronouns “we” & “our”.

Lastly, in line 11, Abiola individuates away from the Nigerian military, by accusing them of high-handedness, using the following clause complex: “They *arrest* [Intensification: Vigour] anyone who disagrees with them. Even the 71 years old *hero* [+Propriety] of our nation, Chief Anthony Enahoro, was not spared”. Through this statement, Abiola individuates Nigerians away from the military by highlighting their high-handedness and brutality toward the people. He uses the word “arrest” to intensify the process of the negative Attitude that the military in Nigeria exhibits, and “hero” to qualify the phrase “our nation”.



### 5.3.6 Concordance analysis of the keyword we

The keyword we has a sense of inclusiveness which the speakers utilized to affiliate with Nigerians. The concordance results of the keyword we are shown in Figure 5.8.

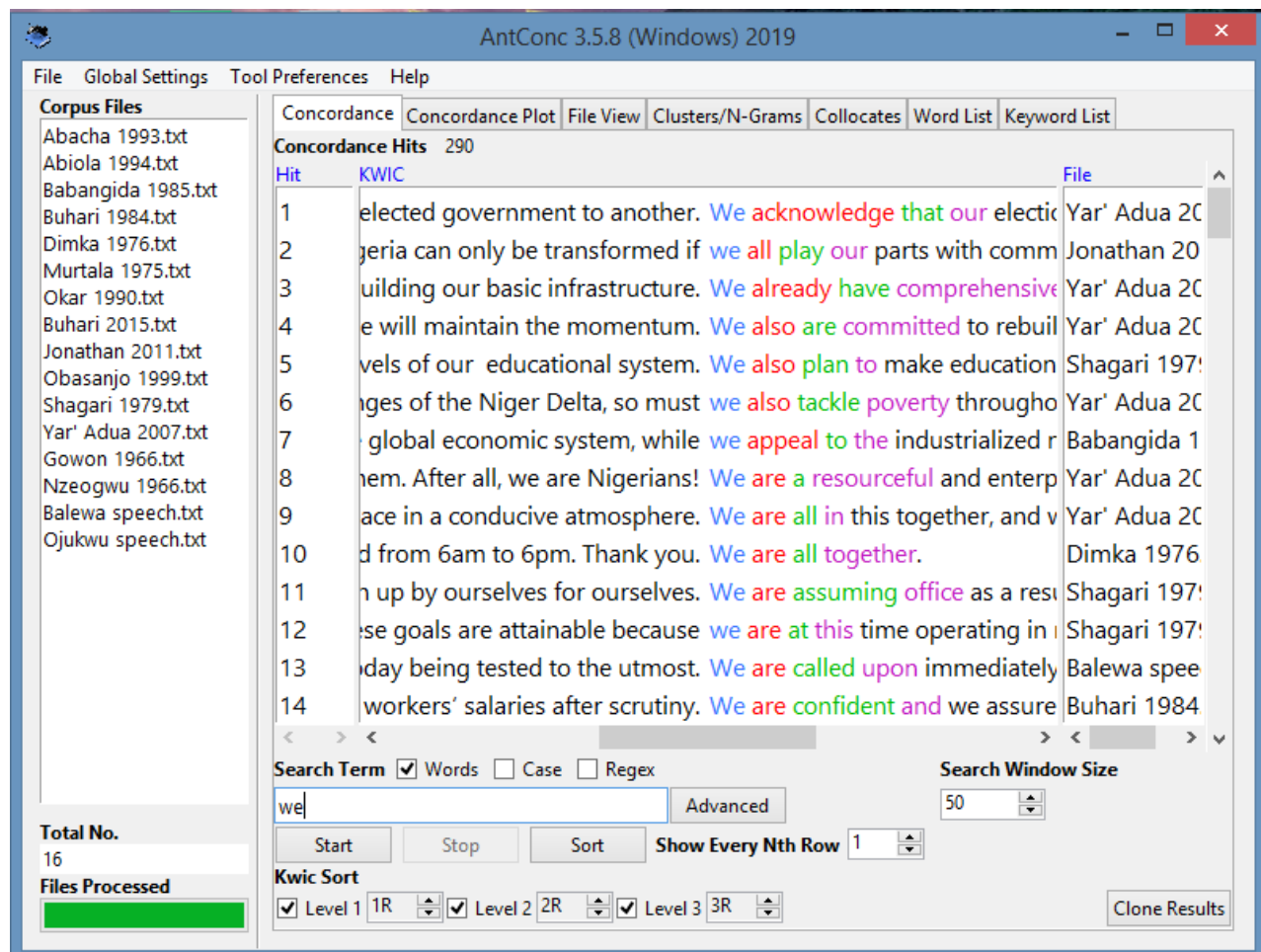


Figure 5.8: Concordance results of the keyword we

The concordance result shows that most of the speakers made ample use of the keyword we to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation with their listeners. A wider examination of the context of the above concordance result of the keyword we, shows how Yar'Adua enacts affiliation in line 1: “We acknowledge that our elections had some *shortcomings*” [-Satisfaction]. Yar'Adua uses “shortcomings” to show the unsatisfactory standard of the elections in Nigeria, and the inclusive pronoun “we” and the possessive pronoun “our” to affiliate with Nigerians on elections.

In addition, in line 5 of the concordance results, Shagari enacts affiliation between his government and Nigerians in the following clause complex: “We also plan to make education *more* [upscaling Degree] qualitative and functional with a sound moral content”. He uses the word “more” to upscale the degree of the type of education he intends to give Nigerians, thereby affiliating with Nigerians on the values of the quality of education.

Lastly, a more interesting use of the keyword we is in line 10 of the concordance. The 1976 coup speaker, Dimka, after he had assassinated Murtala, uses *we* to negotiate alignment with Nigerians in the following clause complex: “We are *all* [Quantification: number] together”. Dimka uses the word “all” to positively quantify the inclusive pronoun “we”, to affiliate with all Nigerians and possibly gain their support for his coup.

### 5.3.7 Concordance analysis of the keyword government

This seventh keyword is government. The concordance results of *government* are shown in Figure 5.9.

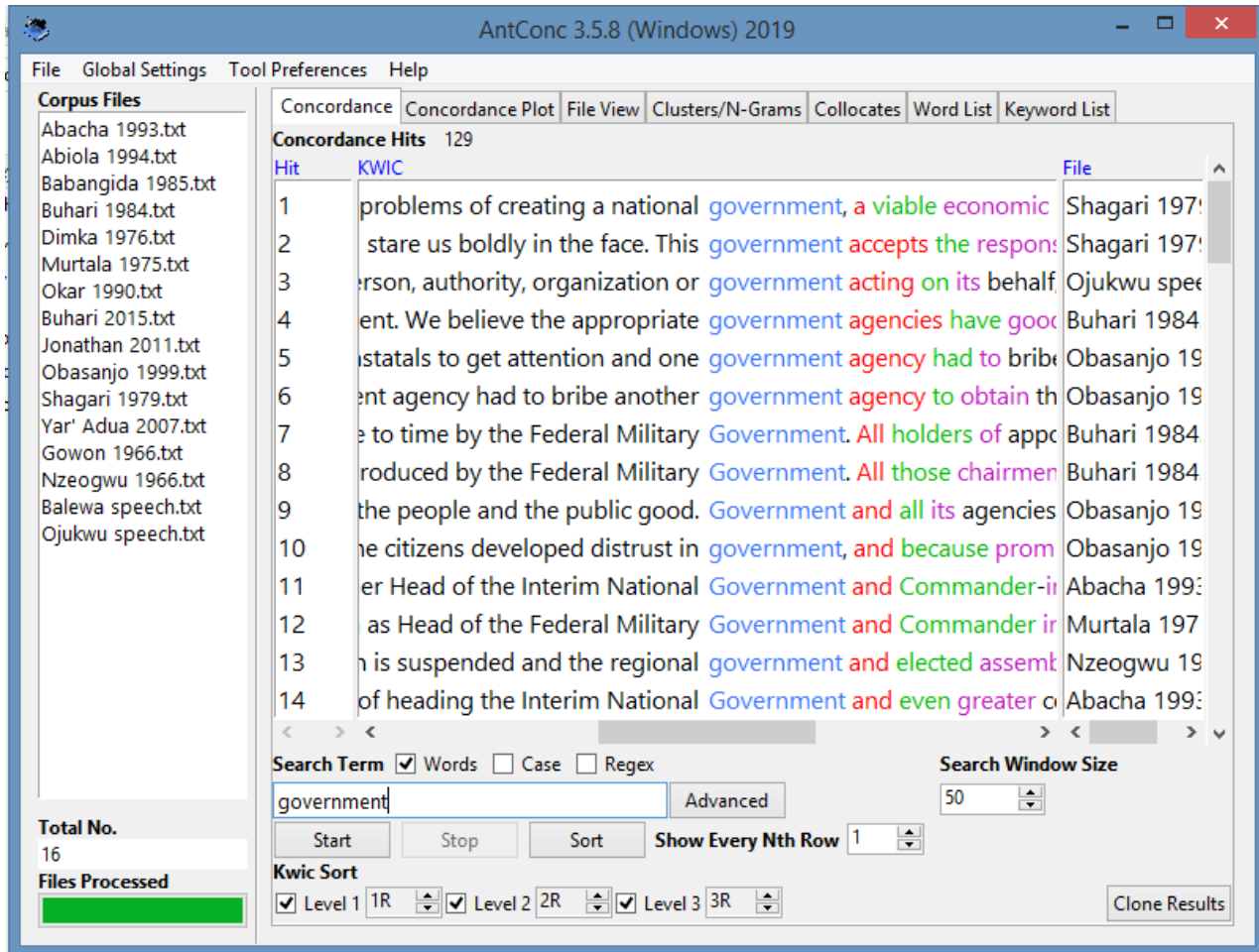


Figure 5.9: Concordance results of the keyword government

The above concordance results of the keyword government show that the speakers used it to reproduce unequal power relations (Hulsse, 2013) and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation with Nigerians in their speeches. For instance, in line 2 of the concordance, Shagari reproduces unequal power relations as follows: “This government *accepts* [Intensification: Vigour] the responsibility of free education at *all* [Quantification: Number] levels as has been provided in the constitution”. He uses this statement to show that his government was in power and had the capability of providing what the citizens need. Ironically, in line 4 of the concordance

result, Buhari uses the keyword government, to individuate away from Shagari’s government, which he overthrew in a military coup, as follows: “We believe the appropriate *government* [Sharpen: focus] agencies have good advice, but the leadership disregarded their advice”. Buhari ironically affiliates with the government agencies under Shagari but individuates away from Shagari’s leadership.

### 5.3.8 Concordance analysis of the keyword will

The number eight keyword of the whole corpus is the auxiliary verb will. Most of the speakers used this keyword to make emphatic statements, reproduce unequal power relations (Hulsse, 2013), and negotiate affiliation, and individuation with Nigerians. The concordance results of the keyword will are presented in Figure 5.9.

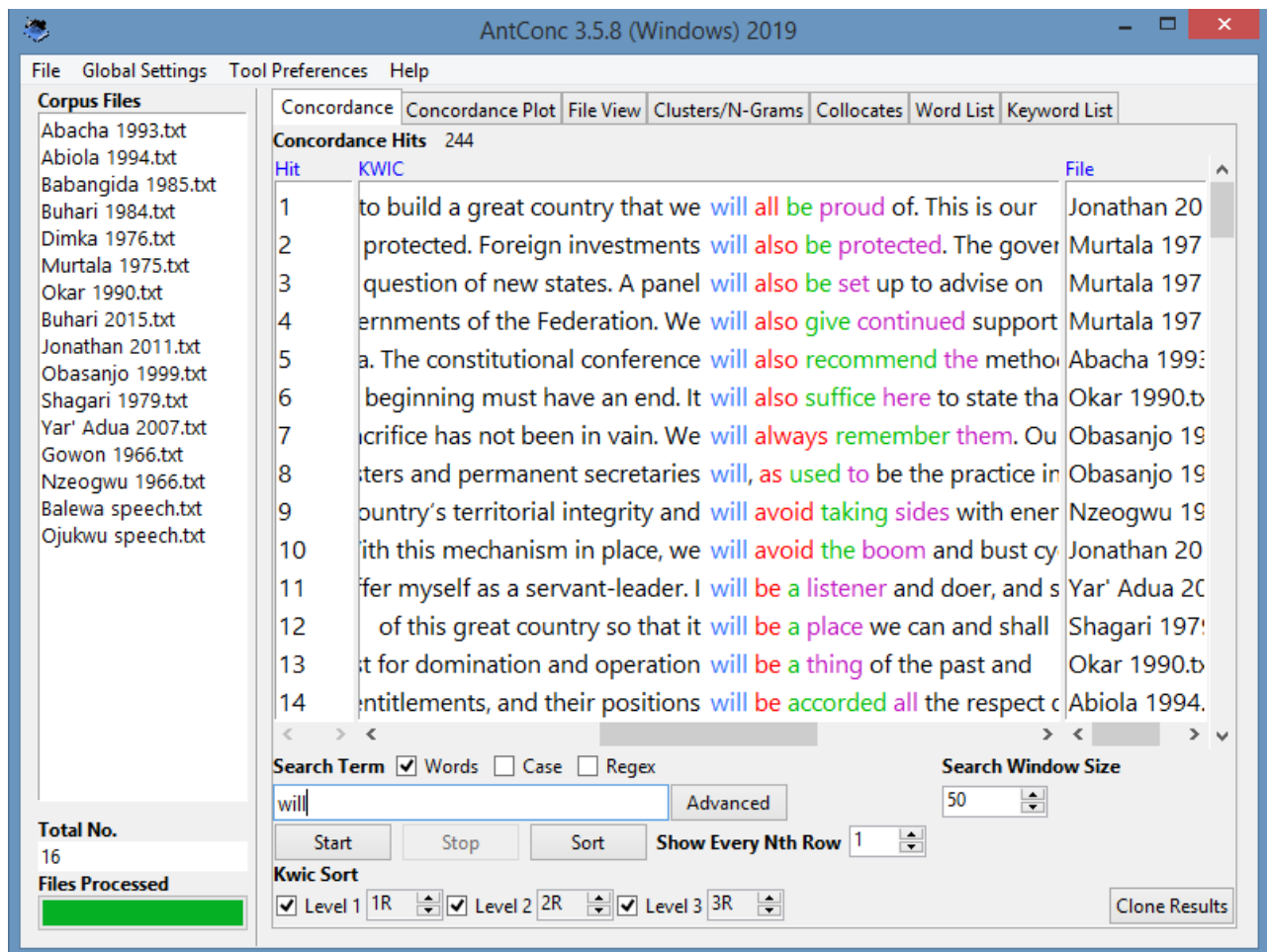


Figure 5.10: Concordance results of the keyword will

In line 1 of the concordance, Jonathan uses the keyword will to affiliate with all Nigerians in the following clause complex: “Let us work together to build a *great* [upscaling: Degree] country that we *will* [Contract: Entertain] *all* [Quantification: Number] be proud of”. He uses the keyword will, to upscale the degree of his resoluteness in building “a great country”, thereby bonding with Nigerians on the commonly shared value of nationhood.

Further, in line 2 of the concordance, Murtala reproduces unequal power relations with his listeners in the following clause complex: “*Foreign* [Extent: Space] investment will also be *protected*” [+Capacity]. Here, Murtala uses the word “protected” to show the extent of his capability to rule Nigeria.

Lastly, in line 6, Orkar enacts affiliation with Nigerians as follows: “It will also suffice here to state that *all* [Quantification: Number] Nigerians without skeleton in their cupboards need not be afraid of this change”. The speaker uses the keyword will, to align with a certain category of Nigerians as an in-group.

### 5.3.9 Concordance analysis of the keyword country

This number nine keyword is country, and it was also used by most of the speakers to reproduce unequal power relations and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation with Nigerians.

Concordance results of the keyword country are shown in Figure 5.11.

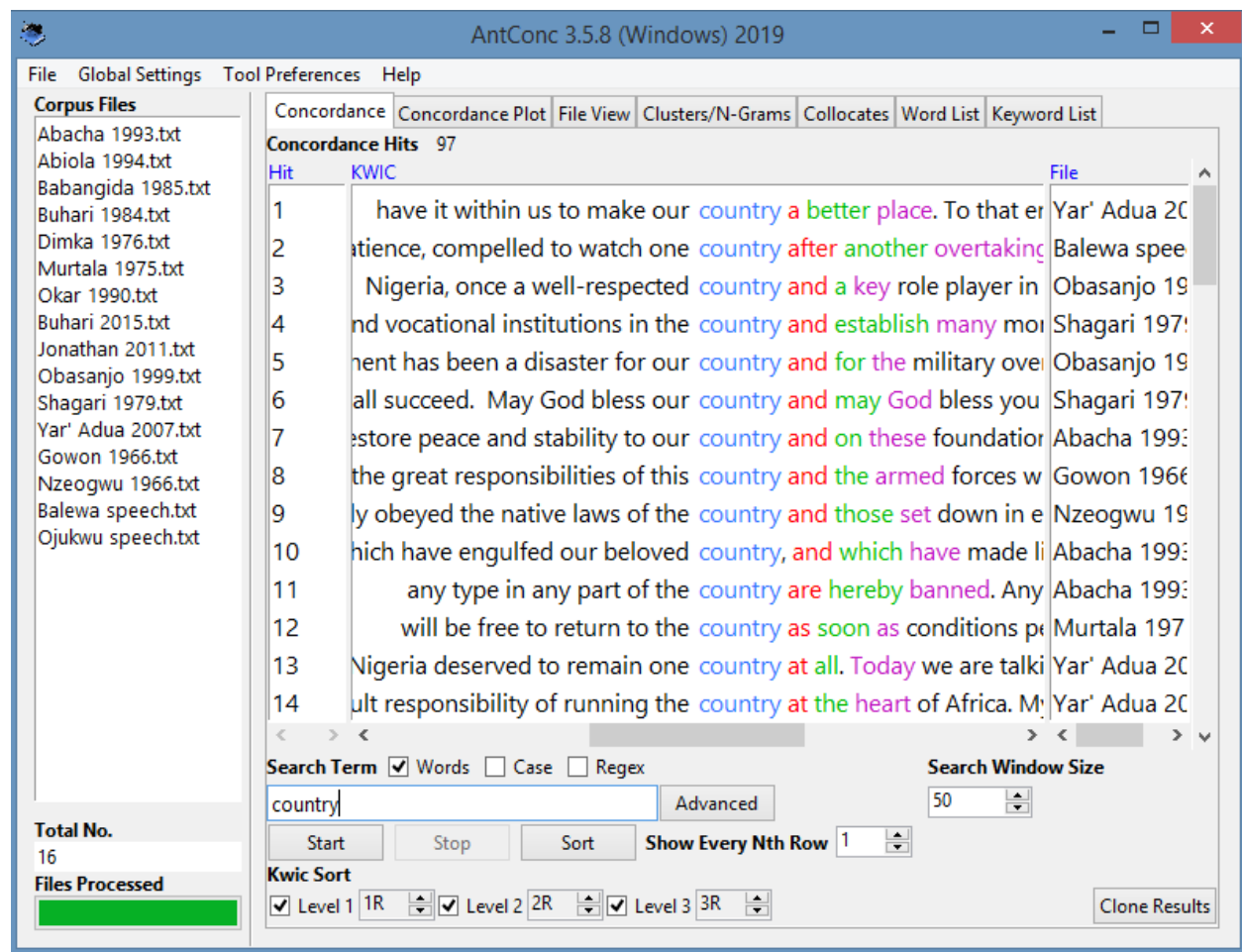


Figure 5.11: Concordance results of the keyword country

In line 1 of the concordance, Yar' Adua uses the following clause complex: “After all, we are Nigerians! We are a *resourceful and enterprising* [+Tenacity] people, and we have it within us to *make* [+Capacity] our country a better place”, to enact affiliation with all Nigerians. He realizes this by using the keyword country to instantiate an inscribed positive Attitude with Nigerians, thereby creating a bond of nationhood with the citizens.

Similarly, in line 6 of the concordance, Shagari uses the following clause complex: “May God bless our *country* [+Inclination] and may God bless you *all*” [Quantification: Number], to enact affiliation with all Nigerians. The speaker uses the phrase “our country” to express his positive affiliation with the country Nigeria, and all Nigerians.

Further, in line 8 of the concordance search, Gowon uses the keyword country, to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, and affiliate with the military as follows: “I have been brought to the position today of having to shoulder the *great* [Intensification: Degree] responsibilities of this country and the armed forces with the consent of the majority of the members of the *Supreme* [Intensification: Degree] Military Council as a result of the *unfortunate* [-Happiness] incident that occurred on the early morning of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966”. Here, Gowon uses the words “great” and “Supreme” to show the degree of the enormity of powers he, and the military had over Nigerians. Gowon equally affiliates with the military as an in-group by describing how the members of the “Supreme Military Council” approved his elevation to be the head of State of the country due to the prevailing insecurity of 1966 (see 1.4 & 2.4).

### 5.3.10 Concordance and collocate analysis of the keyword shall

The number ten keyword is the auxiliary verb shall. This keyword was used by almost all the speakers to reproduce unequal power relations by making emphatic statements, and negotiating affiliation between them, their governments, and Nigerians. The concordance results of the keyword shall, are shown in Figure 5.12.

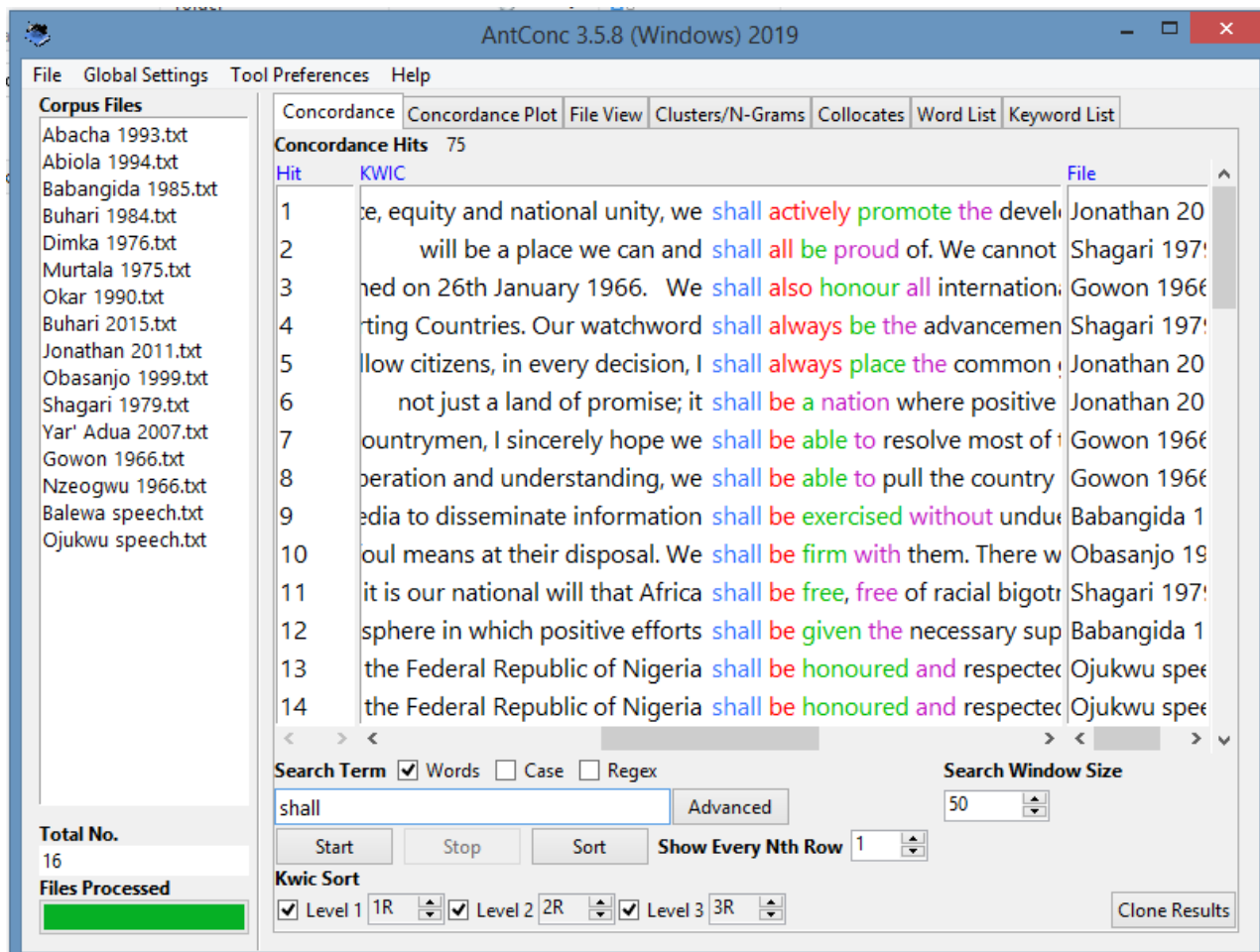


Figure 5.12: Concordance results of the keyword shall

In line 1 of the concordance, Jonathan uses the following clause complex: “In the interest of justice, equity, and national unity, we *shall* [Contract: Entertain] actively *promote* [Intensification: Vigour] the development of the region”, to reproduce unequal power relations, between his government and his listeners, by being emphatic on his plans concerning the oil-rich Niger Delta region of



Nigeria. Jonathan uses the verb phrase “shall actively promote”, to express what he intends to do in future, by contracting other voices.

Further analysis shows that Shagari uses the keyword shall, to reproduce unequal power relations with his listeners, as follows: “Our watchword *shall* [Contract: Entertain] always be the advancement of mankind and the enhancement of the cause of peace, prosperity and progress [+Happiness] through mutual respect and co-operation between nations”. Shagari uses the possessive pronoun “our” to refer to his in-group and their capabilities. Shagari then intensifies the process through which he intends to achieve his positive plans for Nigerian and other nations and contracts other voices with the keyword shall, to make emphatic statements by admonishing Nigerian on what to do.

Lastly, in line 10 of the concordance results, Obasanjo, transforms unequal power relations, and individuates away from corrupt government officials, as follows: “We *shall* [Contract: Entertain] be firm with them”. Obasanjo refers to corrupt Nigerians as “them”, thereby, reproducing unequal power relations between his in-group of “we” and the out-group of “them”. Obasanjo uses the words “we shall be” to intensify the process of his positive alignment with his in-group, and disalignment with the corrupt out-group of corrupt government officials.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

I started the analysis of data with a macro-analysis of the entire population of the presidential political speeches made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 2015. The speeches cut across the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. This macro-analysis is in line with Bednarek’s (2010) first layer of the three-pronged approach to discourse analysis, which proposes a “large-scale computerized corpus analysis” of data. The student investigator analysed the data with the AntConc freeware software of (Anthony, 2014a), which displays accurately the search results of keywords and collocates of the keywords. The analysis was further done by searching for the concordance results of the keywords and collocates of the keyword ‘our’.

The macro-analysis reveals very interesting keywords the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations, enacted affiliation, and individuation with Nigerians. Most of the keywords are content or grammatical words. The keywords of this macro-analysis give a generalized overview of the statements Nigerian political leaders used to realize certain objectives in their speeches. The keywords also show the development (phylogenesis) of Nigeria's political discourse, within the time frame it covers.

## Chapter Six: Meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches

### 6.1 Introduction

The student researcher compared the speeches that were made before the Nigeria-Biafra War, with those that were made after the war. The meso-analysis was divided into two, by first comparing the pre-war speeches with the post-war speeches, while the different genres of speeches are compared in the next chapter. This chapter focuses on the speeches made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War (Achebe, 2012) because the war was a watershed in Nigeria's sociopolitical history (Korieh, 2018). More information on the Nigeria-Biafra War can be found in 1.4, 2.4.2, and 2.4.3.

Subsequently, the analyses of the pre-war sub-corpus were followed by the analyses of post-war sub-corpus. The emphasis of this chapter is to analyse how the Nigeria-Biafra War influenced Nigeria's political discourse because the Nigeria-Biafra War was a turning point in Nigeria's political discourse. In this meso-analysis of pre- & post-war sub-corpus, the focus is on unearthing the strategies used by the speakers to reflect the pre- & post-war sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria. The focus of this chapter is on the pattern of language used by the speakers in terms of the phylogenesis of the texts. The macro-analysis gives a broad impression of the corpus of speeches, while this meso-analysis allows me to analyse the phylogenetic dimension of the corpus by comparing speeches from an earlier period with a later one. The meso-analysis now gives enough details of the resources and linguistic strategies used by the speakers and acts as the interface between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis of the speeches (Mahboob & Knight, 2008; Martin, 2010). The student researcher, therefore, finds it expedient to divide the meso-analysis into pre- & post-war sub-corpus, for more in-depth analysis.

To realize this objective, The student investigator first divided the speeches into the pre-war sub-corpus, and the post-war sub-corpus, and calculate the keywords for each sub-corpus. The post-war wordlist was used as the reference corpus for the pre-war analysis and the pre-war wordlists as the reference corpus for the post-war analysis. More information on the settings that are used for the meso-analysis can be found in 4.5.1 and 4.5.2. In addition, the pre-and post-war sub-corpus are tabulated in terms of dates and events that led to the speeches, the genre of the speech, and the

speaker in Table 6.2, to give further background information on the speeches, and report on the meso-analysis of the pre-war speeches in 6.2. Also, the meso-analysis of the post-war speeches was done in 6.3 and the conclusion of the chapter in 6.4. The first part of the meso-analysis focuses on those keywords that are exclusive features of the pre-war sub-corpus but are not part of the post-war sub-corpus and vice versa. The student investigator used the findings from this chapter to respond to the research questions in 1.8, specifically, research question two, which is on how Nigerian leaders used language to maintain power asymmetry in their speeches.

## 6.2 Meso-analysis of the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches

The table below lists the speeches that make up the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	01/10/1960	Nigeria's independence speech	inaugural	Balewa
2	15/01/1966	Nigeria's first coup	coup	Nzeogwu
3	01/08/1966	Nigeria's second (retaliatory) coup	coup	Gowon
4	30/05/1967	The secession of Biafra from Nigeria	secession	Ojukwu

Table 6.1: Pre-Nigeria-Biafra War sub-corpus

The pre-war speeches were made by Nigerian leaders from 1960 to 1967. As it has been mentioned earlier, the pre-war coup and secession speeches, intensified the political crisis that finally led to the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (Achebe, 2012). The distinctive features of these speeches show the strategies the speakers used to enact affiliation with, and individuation away, from certain groups, persons, or sections of the country. In addition, the coup and secession speeches are characterized using military language, which the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations between them and other Nigerians. More information on the features of pre-war speeches can be found in 2.4.1, 2.4.2, & 4.3.3.

The emphasis in this meso-analysis is to compare the features of the keywords of the pre-war sub-corpus with the keywords of the post-war sub-corpus, to discover areas of congruence and convergence, about the resources and strategies used by the speakers to reproduce unequal power relations between them and their listeners, affiliate with their listeners, certain ideas, or political movements, and individuate away from others. In addition, this stage of the meso-analysis looks at how the speakers used certain words before and after the war that reflect certain patterns peculiar to the pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War periods. In this chapter, the keywords of the pre-war sub-corpus are shown in Figure 6.1.

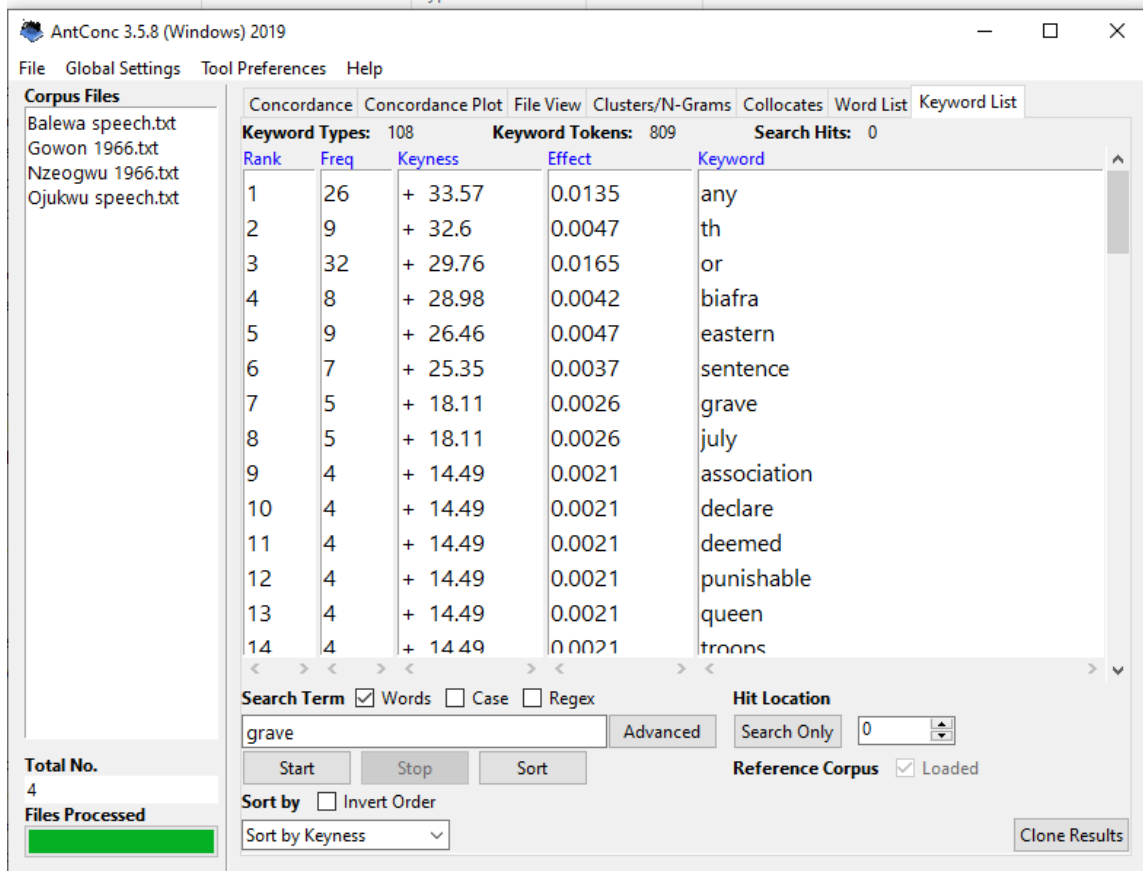


Figure 6.1: Keywords of the pre-war sub-corpus

The above keywords of the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus reflect the forceful militaristic words and pattern of speeches of the pre-war period in Nigeria. For instance, the data shows the keywords any and or, which most of the speakers used to make several negative statements and individuate

away from their listeners. It was Eastern Nigeria that opted out of Nigeria and adopted the name Biafra. As a result, the two keywords eastern and biafra, feature prominently secession speech of 1967, and Ojukwu used them to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria and negotiate affiliation with Biafrans, and individuation with Nigeria. Likewise, the keywords sentence and grave were used in the coup speech of 15 January 1966, to reproduce unequal power relations between the speaker and other Nigerians, by describing the kind of punishment that will be meted out to those who contravene the proclamations made by the speaker. Lastly, the second military coup in Nigeria happened on 29 July 1966. The speaker made references to this date, and consequently, July is one of the keywords in this corpus, which Gowon uses to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and the listeners and enact individuation away from those he accused of masterminding the first coup. The pre-war sub-corpus is smaller in size because the Nigeria-Biafra War happened just six years after Nigeria's independence and not many speeches had been made by then. The data in Figure 6.1 indicates that the pre-war sub-corpus contains three grammatical words and five content words. The student researcher then describes each keyword in subsequent paragraphs, with examples of the statements from the main texts. Likewise, the Appraisal annotation of the examples was used to explain how the speakers used them to reproduce unequal power relations and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation in the speeches.

The first keyword is the determiner any, and the concordance results of the keyword any are shown in Figure 6.2.

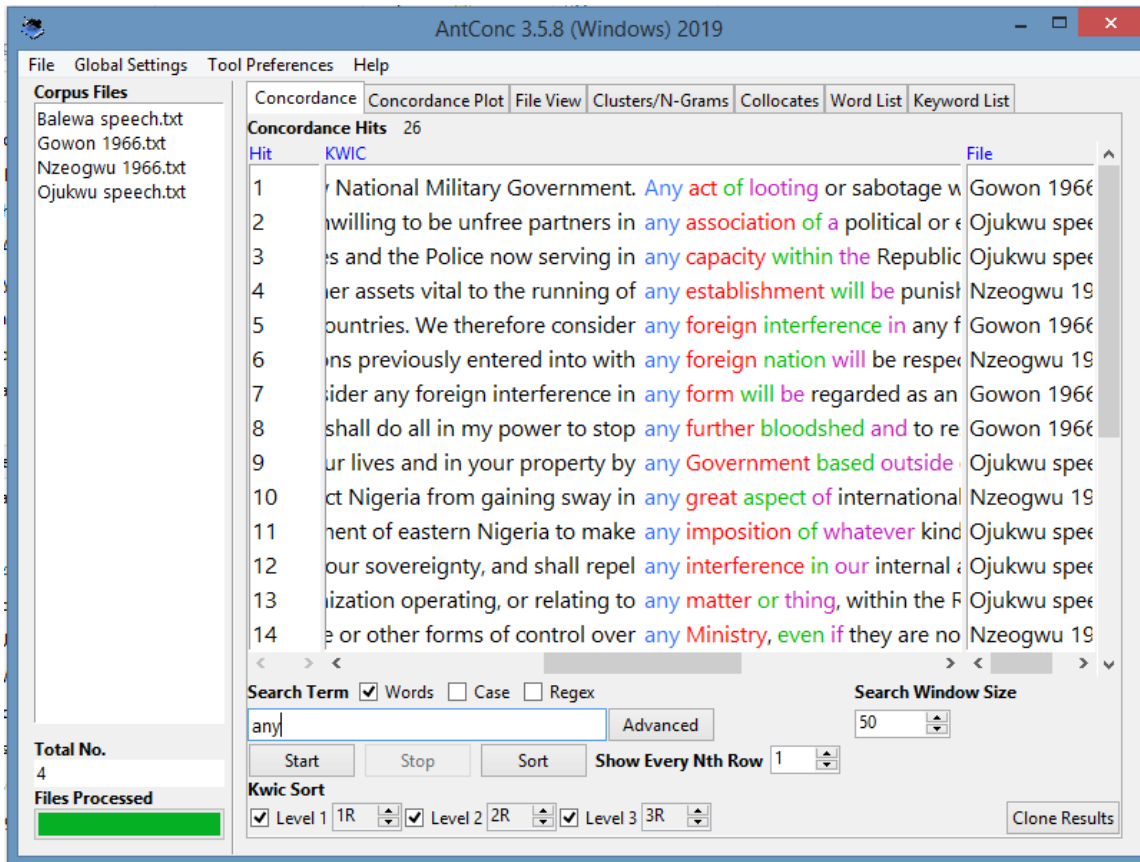


Figure 6.2: Concordance results of the keyword any

In line 1 of the concordance results of the keyword any, Gowon asserts his authority as the Head of state who wields enormous powers over the people of Nigeria, using the following clause complex: “Any [Quantification: number] act of *looting* [-Propriety] or *sabotage* [-Propriety] will be dealt with *severely*” [Intensification: Degree]. The keyword any is showing the totality of the offences which will attract punishments, while the upscaling force is intensifying the degree to which the speaker intends to deal with offenders, by graduating the negative Attitudes of such offences as “looting” and “sabotage”.

Further examination of the wider context of the keyword any, shows how Ojukwu uses it repeatedly, to transform unequal power relations between himself, Eastern Nigerians, and Nigeria, and affiliate with Eastern Nigerians, in the following clause complexes taken from lines 2 and 9 of the concordance results: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria:...Unwilling to be unfree partners in *any* [Quantification; Number] association of a political or economic nature; Aware that you can no longer be *protected* [-Security and -Capacity] in your lives and in your property by *any* [Quantification: Number] Government based outside Eastern Nigeria....” Ojukwu first affiliates with the people of Eastern Nigeria by inscribing a positive Attitude of alignment, and using the keyword any, to individuate the Eastern Nigerians away from Nigeria, by intensifying the need for their secession with the statement “aware that you can no longer be protected”.

The above analysis shows that the keyword, any is very strongly represented in the pre-war sub-corpus. The analysis of the keyword any further shows that the pre-war coup and secession speakers made several sweeping statements with the keyword any in their efforts to reproduce unequal power relations, and enact the concepts of affiliation, and individuation with their listeners.



The second keyword th was used in the speeches as a suffix to indicate the most important dates of events that happened before the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. The concordance results of the keyword th are shown in Figure 6.3.

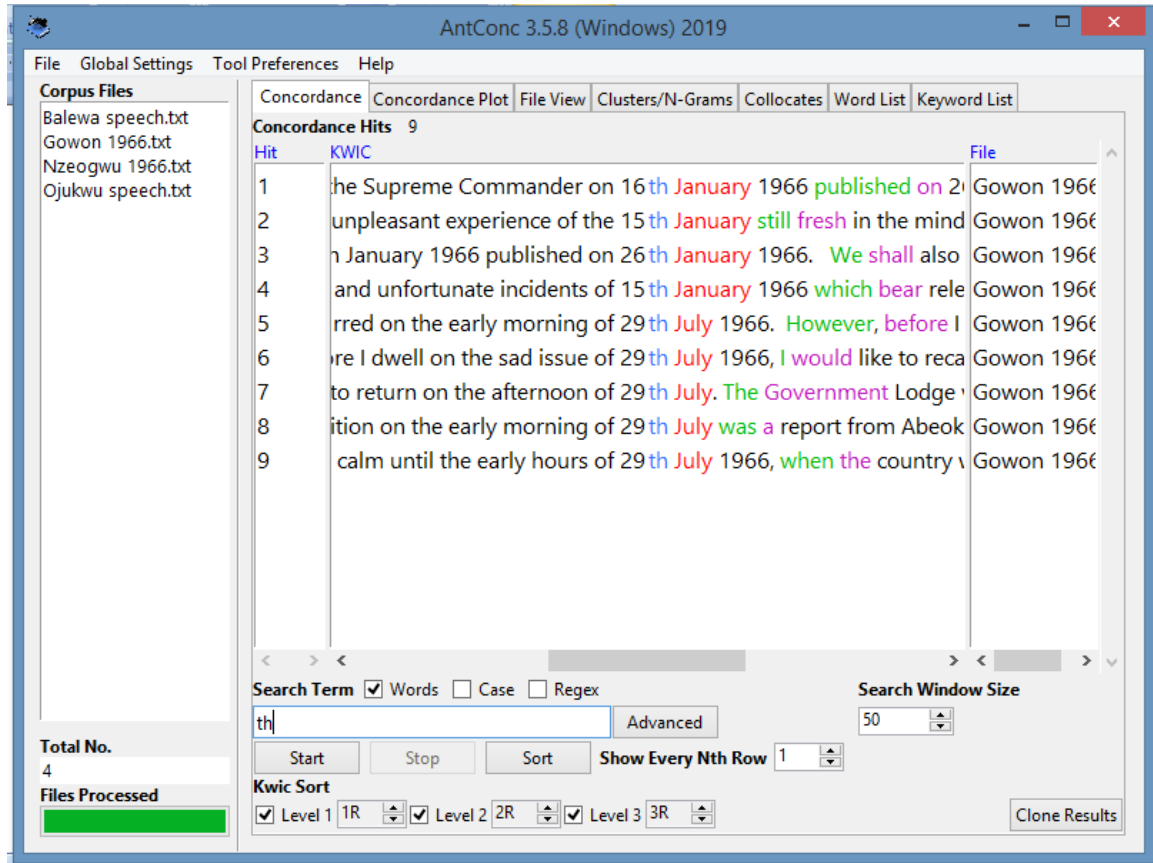


Figure 6.3: Concordance results of the keyword th

The relevant dates in the above data are 15th January 1966, when the first coup was carried out, and 29th July 1966, when the second coup was also carried out. The other dates of 16th January in line 1, and 26th January in line 3 of the concordance respectively, were used by the speaker to buttress his explanations. Figure 6.3 also shows that only Gowon who carried out the second coup of 29 July 1966 (see 1.4), used the keyword th, in his speech. Gowon used the keyword th, to explain the reasons for the second coup in Nigeria and invariably, enacted individuation, and reproduced unequal power relations between himself, and some persons, groups, or sections of the country. The following clause complex, taken from the main text of Gowon's speech, explains the wider context of Gowon's use of the keyword th in lines 5 and 4 of the concordance results: "I have

been *brought* [Intensification: Vigour] to the position today of having to *shoulder* [+Capacity] the *great* [upscaling Degree] responsibilities of this country and the armed forces with the consent of the majority of the members of the Supreme [Intensification: Degree] Military Council as a result of the *unfortunate* [-Happiness] incident that occurred on the early morning of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966. However, before I dwell on the *sad* [-Happiness] issue of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966, I would like to recall to you the *sad and unfortunate* [-Happiness] incidents of 15<sup>th</sup> January 1966 which bear relevance". Gowon uses the keyword th to emphasize the important dates of the events that led to the 1966 first and second coups. He equally, uses this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations with the verb phrase: "have been brought" to intensify the process of his coming to power by graduating the positive Attitude of his capacity to rule Nigeria.

He also uses the word "supreme" to intensify the supremacy of the authority the military wielded over the citizens, thereby affiliating with the military, and reproducing unequal power relations with the civilian Nigerians. In addition, Gowon uses the following statement to individuate away from the Eastern region of Nigeria, in line 2 of the concordance result as follows: "Thus, coupled with the already *unpleasant experience* [-Happiness] of the 15<sup>th</sup> January still fresh in the minds of the majority of the people, certain parts of the country decided to *agitate* [-Satisfaction] against the military regime which had hitherto enjoyed country-wide support". Here, the speaker uses the words "unpleasant experience" to refer to the coup of 15th January 1966, which was carried out by those he referred to as "certain parts of the country", with the word "agitate".

The above analysis of the keyword th, shows that Gowon uses it to make several references to important dates, in the sociopolitical history of Nigeria. Most of the 15th January 1966 coup masterminds came from the Igbo ethnic group of the Eastern region of Nigeria (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani, 2018). Gowon thereby enacts individuation away from those responsible for the earlier "unpleasant experience" of 15 January 1966. The keyword th is a distinguishing feature of the pre-war sub-corpus and is not part of the first ten keywords of the post-war sub-corpus. The crisis that followed the 15 January and 1 August 1966 coups and the speeches, resulted to the decision of the Eastern region to secede from Nigeria, and the consequent Nigeria-Biafra War.

The third keyword of the pre-war sub-corpus is the conjunction or. The keyword or was also used mainly by the coup speakers to reproduce unequal power relations between them and their listeners and enact affiliation with their in-group while individuating away from their out-group. The concordance results of the keyword or, are shown in Figure 6.4.

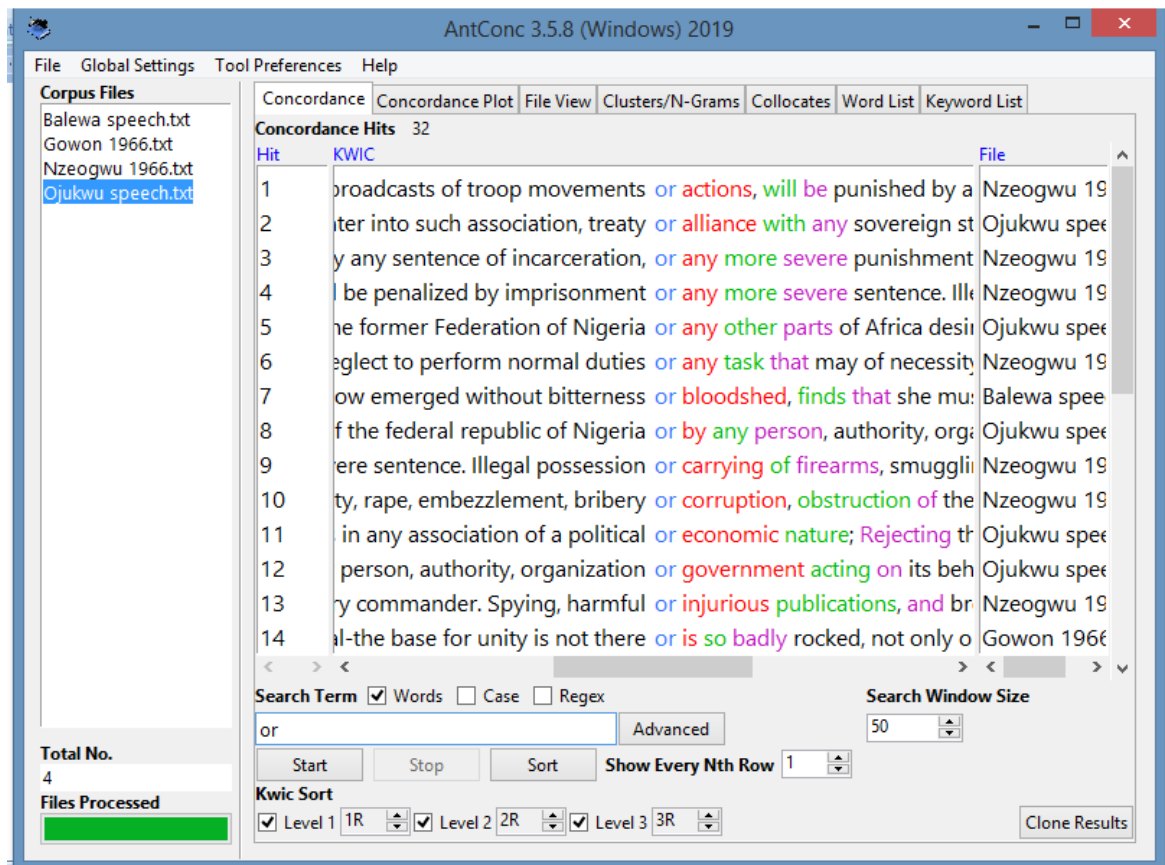


Figure 6.4: Concordance results of the keyword or

The above data shows that in concordance line 1, Nzeogwu uses the keyword or to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, his group of military loyalists, and the people of Nigeria in the following clause complex: “*Spying, [-Propriety] harmful or injurious publications, [-Propriety] and broadcast of troops movement or actions will be punished [-Happiness] by any [Quantification: Number] suitable sentence deemed fit by the local military commander*”. Here, the keyword or is used to extend a list of punishable actions which reinforces the speaker’s authority and power to delegate punishment to local military commanders. He uses the quantifier “any” to upscale the Force of the negative Attitude of punishing the offenders.

Further, in line 5 of the concordance result, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations between the Eastern region and Nigeria, and affiliates with other parts of Nigeria, or Africa, in the following clause complex: “We shall keep the door open for association with and would welcome, *any* [Quantification: Number] sovereign unit or units in the former Federation of Nigeria *or any* [Quantification: Number] other parts of Africa desirous [Intensification: Vigour] of association with us for the purposes of running a common services organization and for the establishment of economic ties”. Ojukwu uses the commonly shared value of economic partnership to enact affiliation with “any sovereign unit or units” in Nigeria or “parts of Africa” and the word “desirous” to intensify his positive Attitude towards other units of Nigeria or parts of Africa. Ojukwu's secession speech and the reactions that followed it were the immediate cause of the Nigeria-Biafra War.

Lastly, in concordance line 7, Balewa uses the keyword or to affiliate and construe an identity of determination, with Nigeria in his inaugural independence speech, as follows: “This *great* [upscaling: Degree] country, which has now emerged without bitterness or bloodshed, finds that [Contract: Pronounce] she must at once be ready to deal with grave *international* [Extent: Proximity] issues”. The word “great” upscales the degree to which the speaker aligns with Nigeria, while “international” shows the extent of Nigeria's new status as a sovereign country.

The above data shows that the 15th January 1966 coup speaker, Nzeogwu, and the 30th May 1967 secession speaker, Ojukwu, used the keyword or, to express their militaristic dispositions in their speeches. Like other keywords in this corpus or is an exclusive distinguishing feature of the pre-war sub-corpus which the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in their speeches.

The number four keyword is the noun biafra, which has 8 concordance lines that show only the secession speech of Ojukwu. The reason for this is obvious. Biafra is the name the Eastern Region of Nigeria adopted after it seceded from Nigeria, in 1967. The concordance results of the keyword biafra are shown in Figure 6.5.

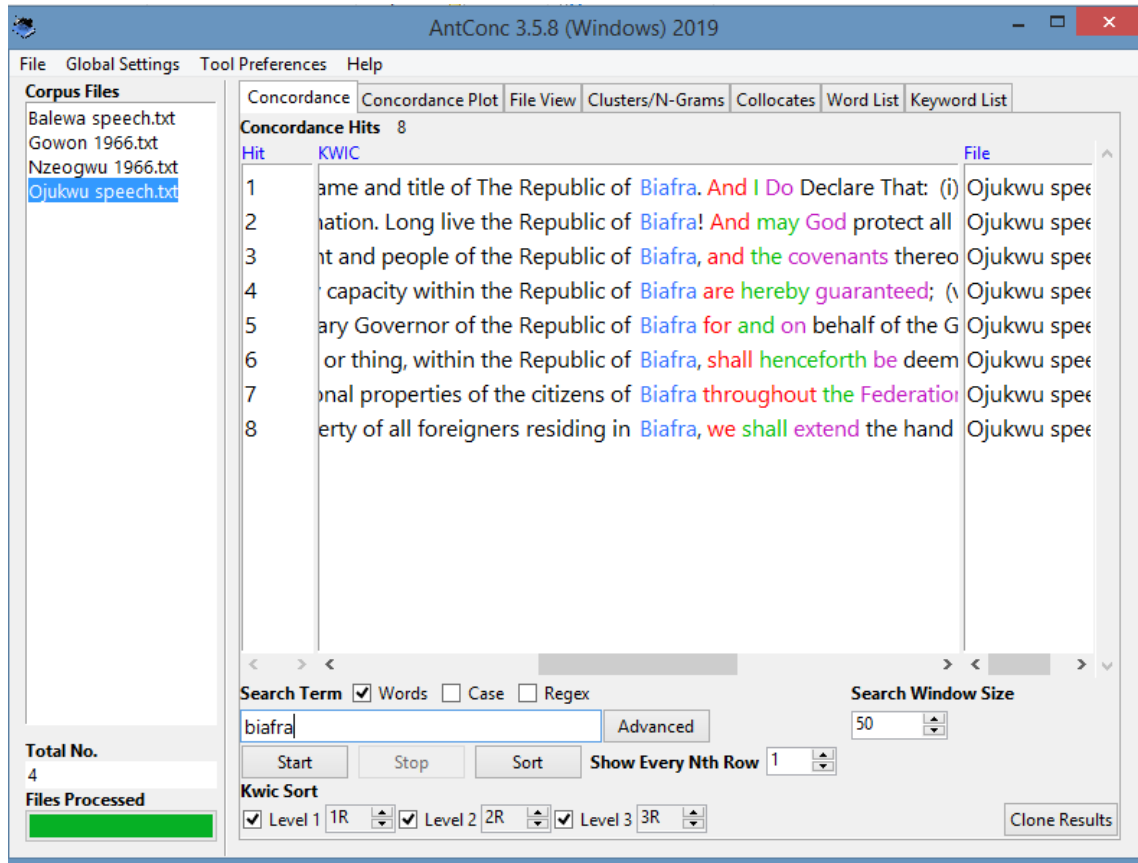


Figure 6.5: Concordance results of the keyword biafra

The keyword results indicate a very resourceful application of Appraisal resources by Ojukwu to realize the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the pre-war sub-corpus. The above data shows that all the mentions of Biafra came from the 1967 secession speech of Ojukwu. Biafra is the name the Eastern Region of Nigeria adopted after seceding from Nigeria on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1967.

An examination of the concordance results shows that in line 1, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations with Nigeria as follows: “Now Therefore I, *Lieutenant-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria*, [+Capacity] by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly *proclaim* [+Capacity] that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her *continental shelf and territorial waters* [Extent: Proximity] *shall henceforth* [Contract: Proclaim] be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra”. Ojukwu uses the word “proclaim” to inscribe the positive Attitude of his capacity to make proclamations about the future of Biafra. He also uses honorifics by mentioning his military rank of “lieutenant-Colonel” and position as “Military Governor”, to exert unequal power relations between himself, and Biafrans, by drawing attention to himself in his proclamation of the sovereignty of Biafra from Nigeria.

Similarly, in line 4 of the concordance result of the keyword biafra, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations between himself and Biafrans, as follows: “*The rights, privileges, pensions, etc.*, [+Satisfaction] of all personnel of the Public Services, the Armed Forces and the Police *now serving* [upscaling Vigour] in any capacity within the Republic of Biafra are hereby *guaranteed*” [+Security and + Capacity]. The above clause complex construes Ojukwu as one who had the power to guarantee such rights and privileges to other Biafrans. Although the speaker backgrounds agency by not mentioning who guarantees the “rights and privileges”, his secession speech made it clear that he was the Commander-in-Chief of Biafra and was able to dispense power over those residing in Biafra.

Ojukwu further uses the exclusive pronoun “we” to enact affiliation with foreigners residing in Biafra, and reproduce unequal power relations with other nations, in concordance line 8, in the following statement: “We shall *protect* [+Capacity] the lives and property of *all* [Quantification: Number] foreigners residing in Biafra, we shall extend the hand of friendship to those nations who *respect* [Intensification: Vigour] our sovereignty, and shall *repel* [+Capacity] any interference in our internal affairs”. Here, he uses the word “respect”, to intensify his affiliation with other nations, and graduate the positive meaning of the exclusive first-person pronoun “we” which he uses to

exert unequal power relations by foregrounding agency on who is doing the protecting of foreigners.

The keyword biafra, is an exclusive distinguishing feature of the pre-war sub-corpus as it was not mentioned in the post-war sub-corpus. Ojukwu was the only speaker who used this keyword in his secession speech. This is because the factors that made a part of Nigeria to secede from Nigeria, happened before the Nigeria-Biafra War, which started shortly after Ojukwu's secession speech was the last pre-war speech before the war. Nevertheless, some of those sociopolitical factors that gave rise to the secession of the Eastern region in 1967 are still very much present in Nigeria up to the time of this study. More information on Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences can be found in 1.4 & 2.4.

The keyword eastern generated nine concordance search results, and they were used to refer to the Eastern part of Nigeria that seceded as Biafra. As expected, all the concordance results of the keyword eastern came from Ojukwu's secession speech, as can be seen from the data. The concordance results of the keyword Eastern, are shown in Figure 6.6.

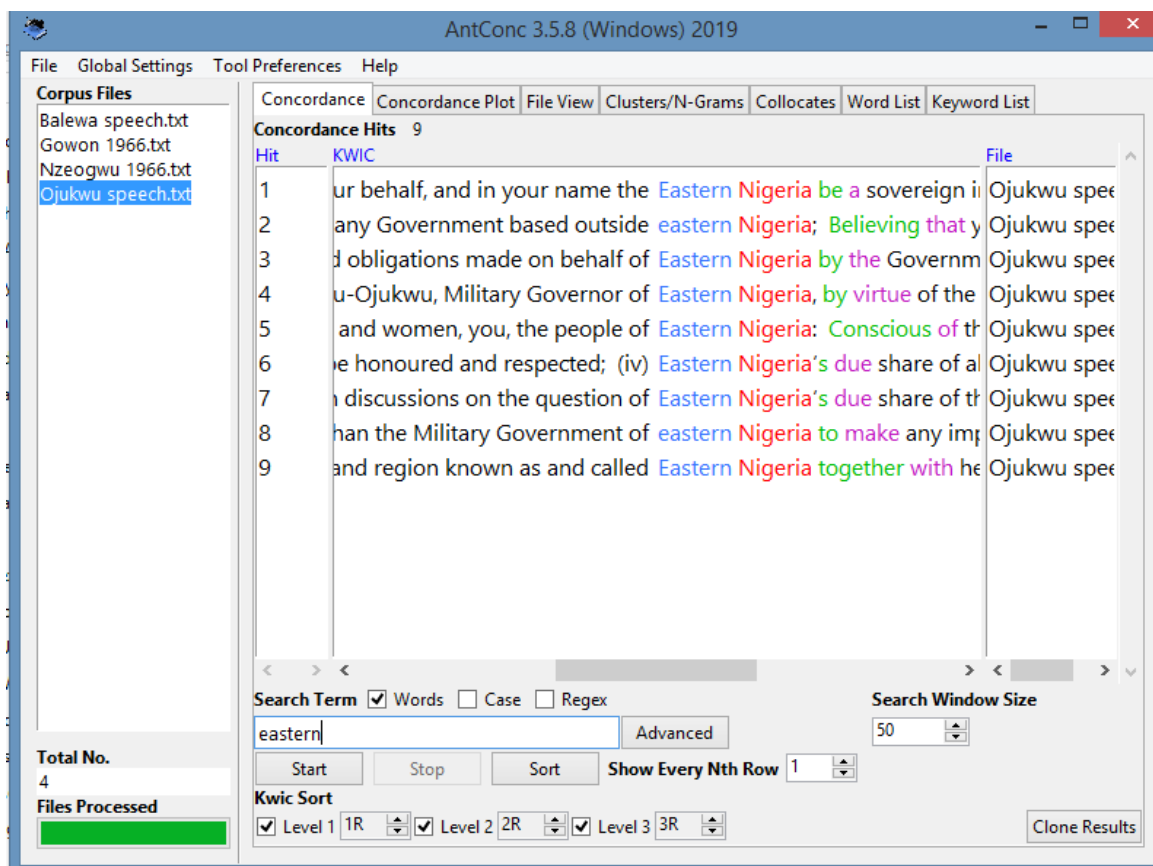


Figure 6.6: Concordance result of the keyword Eastern

In the main text of the secession speech, the speaker first uses the keyword eastern up to the end of the first part of his speech where he then proclaimed the sovereignty of Eastern Nigeria with the name, Biafra. The reason for this change of name from Eastern Nigeria to Biafra is that Biafra was the name adopted at the Eastern Consultative Forum meeting on 27th May 1967 as an identity for Eastern Nigerians (Stapleton, 2018). In this speech, Ojukwu enacts the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations to make a very strong case for the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria (Oluwole, 2019), as was decided by the representatives of all the Provinces of the Eastern Region (Stapleton, 2018).

In line 5 of the concordance result of eastern, Ojukwu uses the following clause complex to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria: “*Fellow countrymen and women* [+Inclination], you the people of *Eastern* [Sharpen: Focus] Nigeria”. Ojukwu uses the keyword “Eastern” to sharpen the focus of the positive affiliation with the people of Eastern Nigeria. The second-person pronoun “you”



was also used to create a bond of oneness with the people of Eastern Nigeria by addressing them directly as a community of people. Ojukwu easily affiliates with the people of Eastern Nigeria, because of his iconic status as an accomplished and educated soldier (Obododimma, 2000). Ojukwu's iconic status distinguished him among many Nigerians as either a hero or a villain (Inyang, 2017).

Further, in line 2 of the concordance result, Ojukwu continues to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria and individuates away from Nigeria using the following clause complex: "Aware that you can no longer be *protected* [-Security & -Capacity] in your lives and in your property by any Government based *outside* [Extent: Proximity: Space] Eastern Nigeria". He uses the second-person pronoun "you" to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria, based on the prevailing insecurity about their lives in Nigeria. Secondly, the word "outside" shows the state of insecurity in Nigeria, against Eastern Nigerians then, and the speaker exploited this situation to individuate away from Nigeria in his secession speech. Lastly, he transforms unequal power relations and enacts individuation between himself, and Nigerians in the following clause complex taken from line 6 of the concordance as follows: "*All* [Quantification: Number] subsisting *international* [Extent: Distribution: Space] treaties and *obligations* [+Propriety] made on behalf of Eastern Nigeria by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be *honoured and respected*" [+Capacity]. Ojukwu uses the word "international" to show the extent to which he was ready to exert his powers and individuate away from Nigeria in his secession speech. This soldier also uses this resource to co-articulate his positive Attitude with the words "obligations, honoured and respected".

The keyword eastern, is an exclusive feature of the pre-war sub-corpus, as it is not represented in the post-war sub-corpus. The reason for this is that the factors that led to the secession of the Eastern Region from Nigeria, happened in the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War period. The secession of the Eastern Region was the immediate cause of the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (see 1.4 and 2.4)

The number six keyword is sentence, and it presents very interesting results on the concordance search. This result shows that the keyword sentence was used only by Nzeogwu in his 15 January 1966 coup speech. It also shows that Nzeogwu used the keyword sentence extensively to exert unequal power relations between himself and other Nigerians. The concordance results of the keyword sentence are shown in Figure 6.7.

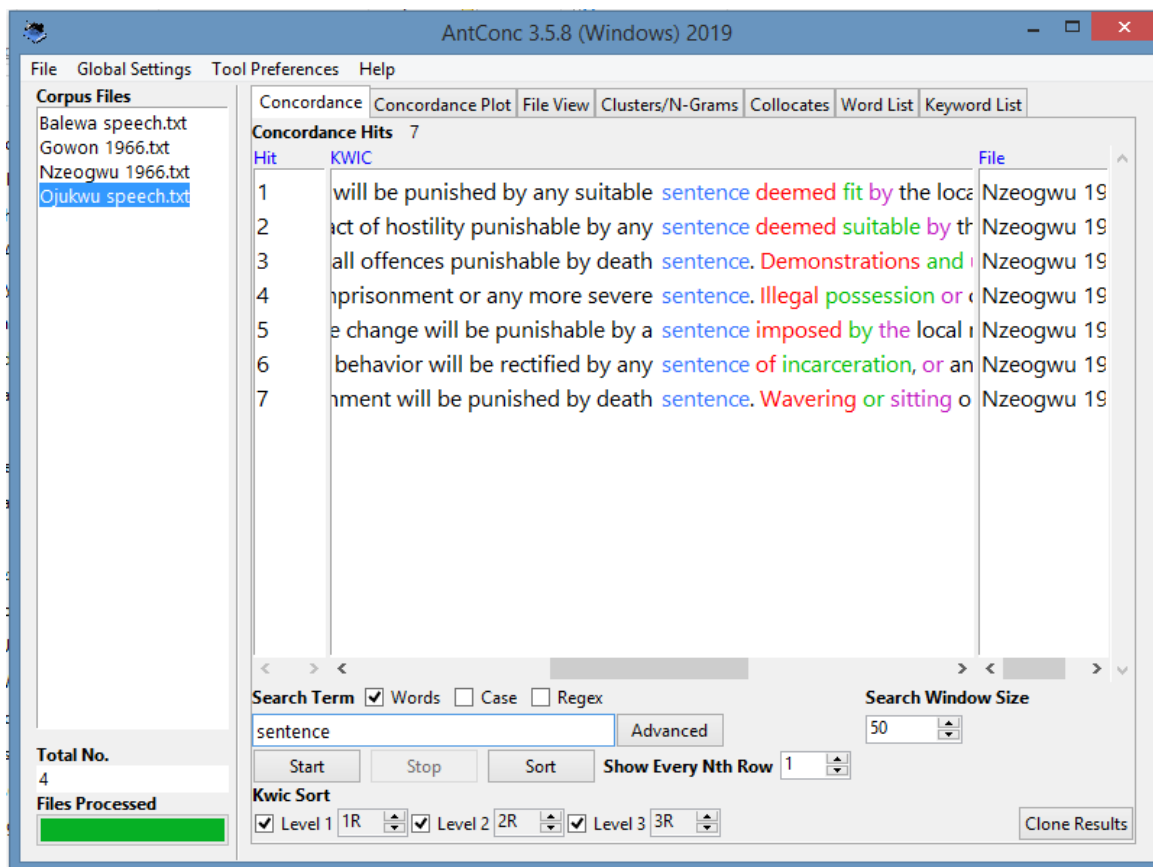


Figure 6.7: Concordance results of the keyword sentence

In the 15th January 1966 coup speech, Nzeogwu uses the keyword sentence to affiliate with his military in-group and individuate away from the civilians as the out-group. However, examples from concordance line 2 are given as follows: “Wavering or sitting on the fence and failing to declare open loyalty with the *revolution* [-Propriety] will be regarded as an act of hostility punishable by *any* [Quantification: Number] **sentence** deemed suitable by the local military commander”. Here, the word “any” quantifies the kind of punishment with which offenders will

be punished. Nzeogwu uses this statement to send a strong message to other Nigerians that the military was in total control of the country and was not ready to tolerate any infraction on its orders.

Another instance of how Nzeogwu realized the concept of individuation in his coup speech, is in concordance line 4, as follows: “*Doubtful loyalty* [-Propriety] will be penalized by imprisonment or any *more severe* [Intensification: Degree] sentence”. The word “severe” was used by the speaker to intensify the meaning of the negative Attitude of “doubtful loyalty” and show the degree of punishment that will be meted out to offenders. This statement also showed how Nzeogwu reproduced covert, binary unequal power relations, and how he individuated away from the civilians in his 15 January 1966 coup speech.

Lastly, in concordance line 6, Nzeogwu says “*Shouting of slogans, loitering and rowdy behavior* [-Propriety] will be *rectified* [downscaling: Vigour] by *any* [Quantification: Number] sentence of incarceration or any *more severe* [Intensification: Degree] punishment deemed fit by the local military commander”. He uses the word “rectified” to downscale the process of the punishment and graduates his negative Attitude to the out-group. Likewise, the word “severe” shows the degree of the punishment the military reserved for offenders. Nzeogwu uses these statements with the keyword sentence, to send a very strong message to the other Nigerians, that the military was in total control of the country thereby, exerting unequal power relations, affiliating with his military base, and individuating away, from the other civilian Nigerians.

The after-effects of Nzeogwu’s coup speech in the sociopolitical history of Nigeria, are the counter, retaliatory coup of 29th July 1966, the crisis that resulted in the secession of the Eastern regions, and the eventual Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970. Nzeogwu’s use of militaristic keywords in Nigeria’s first military coup to exert excessive unequal power relations might have set the trend upon which successive Nigerian military coup language is based (Bello, 2019; Mark, 2020). More information on Nigeria's first coup can be found in 1.4.

The next keyword for the pre-war sub-corpus is grave, which generates five concordance lines. The concordance results of the keyword grave are shown in Figure 6.8.

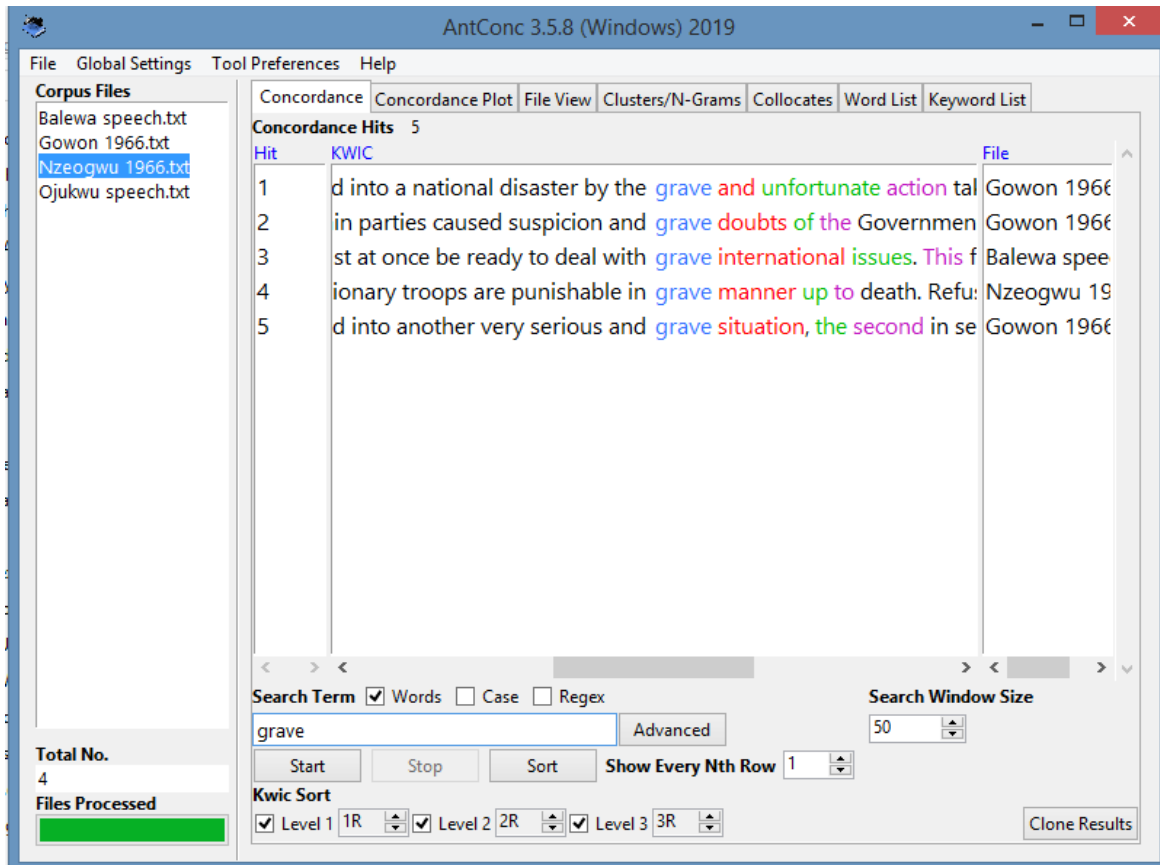


Figure 6.8: Concordance results of the keyword grave

In line 1 of the concordance for the keyword grave, Gowon referred to Nigeria's first military coup of 15 January 1966, as follows: “According to the certain well-known facts, which have so far not been disclosed to the nation and the world, the country was plunged into a *national* [upscale: Extent: Proximity] disaster [-Happiness] by the *grave and unfortunate* [-Happiness] action taken by a section of the Army against the public”. Here, the word “national” upscales the extent of the negative Attitude carried out by “a section of the Army” against the public. Gowon uses the above statement to affiliate with the Nigerian public and individuate away from those he referred to as “a section of the Army”. Consequently, the 1 August 1966 coup speech which Gowon made, exacerbated the already tense situation in Nigeria and finally resulted in the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. More information on the 1 August 1966 coup, can be found in 1.4 and 2.4.

Subsequently, Balewa uses the keyword “grave” in line 3 of the concordance as follows: “This *great* [upscaling: degree] country, which has now emerged without bitterness or bloodshed, finds that she must at once be ready to deal with *grave* [Intensification: Degree] international issues”. Here, Balewa affiliates with Nigeria by construing her as being equal with other sovereign countries. “great” intensifies the degree of the positive Attitude shown towards Nigeria. In addition, the keyword “grave” was used to intensify the extent of the seriousness of the tasks Nigeria had to deal with as a sovereign country.

Further search on concordance line 4 reveals the following clause complex: “*Demonstrations and unauthorized assembly* [-Propriety], non-cooperation with revolutionary troops is *punishable* [+Capacity] in *grave* [Intensification: Degree] manner up to death”. The keyword “grave” intensifies the degree of punishment that may be meted out to offenders by the military. This statement shows how Nzeogwu uses the keyword grave, to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the audience and individuation away from the civilians in his coup speech of 15 January 1966.

The keyword grave is an exclusive feature of the pre-war sub-corpus, as it is not found in the first ten keywords of the post-war sub-corpus. The kind of keywords that are found in the pre-war sub-corpus, portray the sociopolitical situation prevailing at that time, which finally led to the Nigeria-Biafra War. The coup and secession speeches made in the pre-war period were filled with militaristic, divisive words and statements, which exacerbated the tension in Nigeria then, and eventually led to the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970.

The next keyword of the pre-war sub-corpus is July and generated five concordance search lines. The concordance results of the keyword july are shown in Figure 6.9.

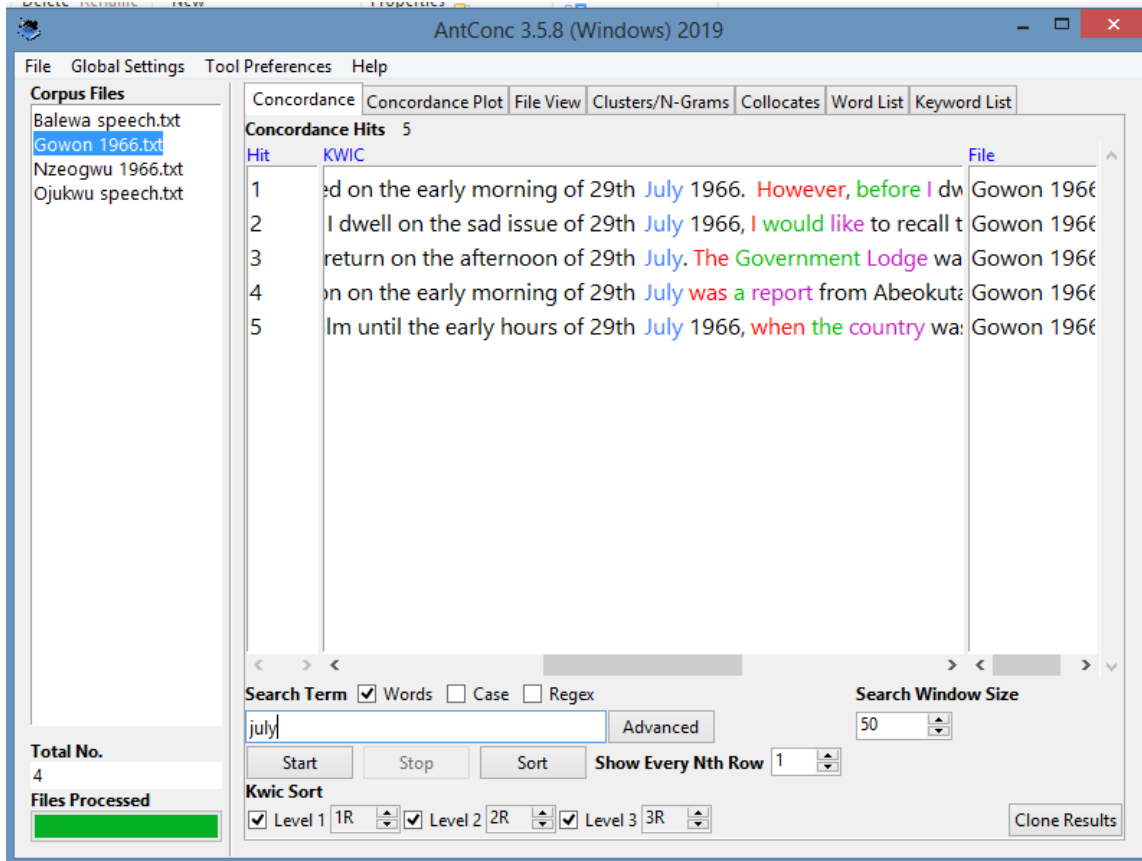


Figure 6.9: Concordance results of the keyword july

Nigeria's second coup occurred on 29th July 1966, while Gowon made the coup speech on 1 August 1966. Gowon was the only speaker that used the keyword july in his speech. The keyword july was used to refer to the coup that happened on that day, as can be seen in concordance line 1: “I have been brought to the position today of having to shoulder the *great* [Intensification: Degree] responsibilities of this country and the armed forces with the consent of the majority of the members of the Supreme Military Council as a result of the *unfortunate* [-Happiness] incident that occurred on the early morning of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966”. Gowon uses the keyword july, to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, and other Nigerians, with the phrase “great responsibilities” to intensify the degree to which he had been invested with powers through the coup of “29th July 1966”.

Continuing the analysis of the keyword july in line 2 of the concordance search, Gowon says: “However, before I dwell on the *sad* [-Happiness] issue of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966, I would like to recall to you the *sad and unfortunate* [-Happiness] incidents of 15<sup>th</sup> January 1966 which bear relevance”. Gowon tries to justify his coup of 29 July, by individuating away from the earlier coup of 15 January 1966. The words “sad, and unfortunate” create a negative imagery of the earlier coup of 15 January 1966 and the speaker used these words to individuate away from what he referred to "unfortunate incident" to describe what happened on 29 July 1966.

Lastly, in line 5 of the concordance, Gowon uses the following clause complex: “There followed a period of uneasy calm until the early hours of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1966, when the country was once again plunged into another very serious and *grave* [-Happiness] situation, the second in seven months”, to justify the coup of 29 July. The date “29<sup>th</sup> July” was used to foreground the successful coup which he used to overthrow the previous military government of Ironsi (see 1.4 and 2.4), thereby exerting unequal power relations in his speech.

The next keyword of the pre-war sub-corpus is association, which generated four concordance lines. The concordance results of the keyword association are shown in Figure 6.10

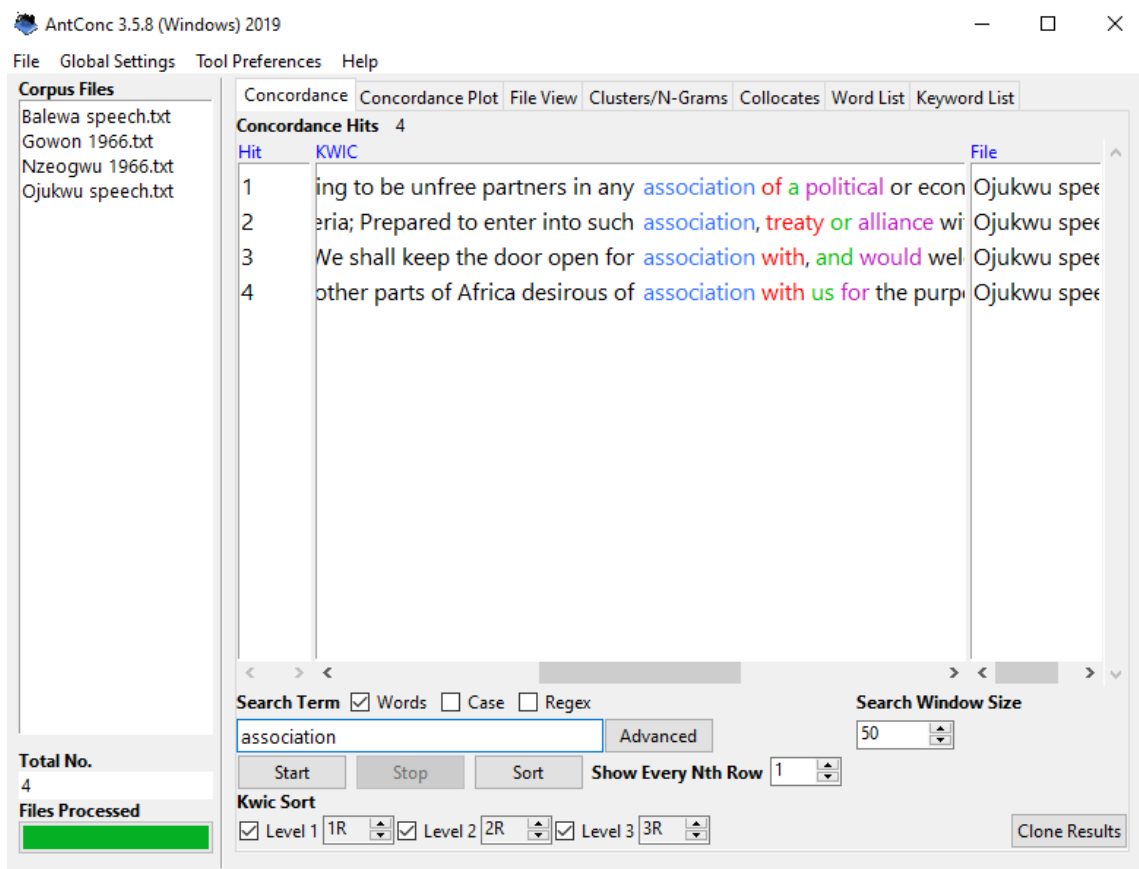


Figure 6.10: Concordance results of the keyword association

From the above results, only Ojukwu used this keyword in his secession speech, to negotiate affiliation with Biafrans, by reminding them of their human rights to freedom of association. He used the following statement: “Unwilling to be unfree partners in *any* [Quantification: Number] association of a political or economic nature”. He used the word “any” to emphasize the totality of the resolve of Biafrans not to give up their rights and privileges.



Ojukwu’s affiliation with Biafrans using this keyword is complemented by other statements that he made in a parallel construction as legal discourse, to underscore his affiliation with Biafrans, and transform unequal power relations with Nigeria, thus: “*Prepared to enter into such association, [+Inclination] treaty or alliance with any [Quantification: Number] sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good*”.

The last keyword for the pre-war sub-corpus is declare which also generated four keywords. The concordance results of this keyword are shown in Figure 6.11.

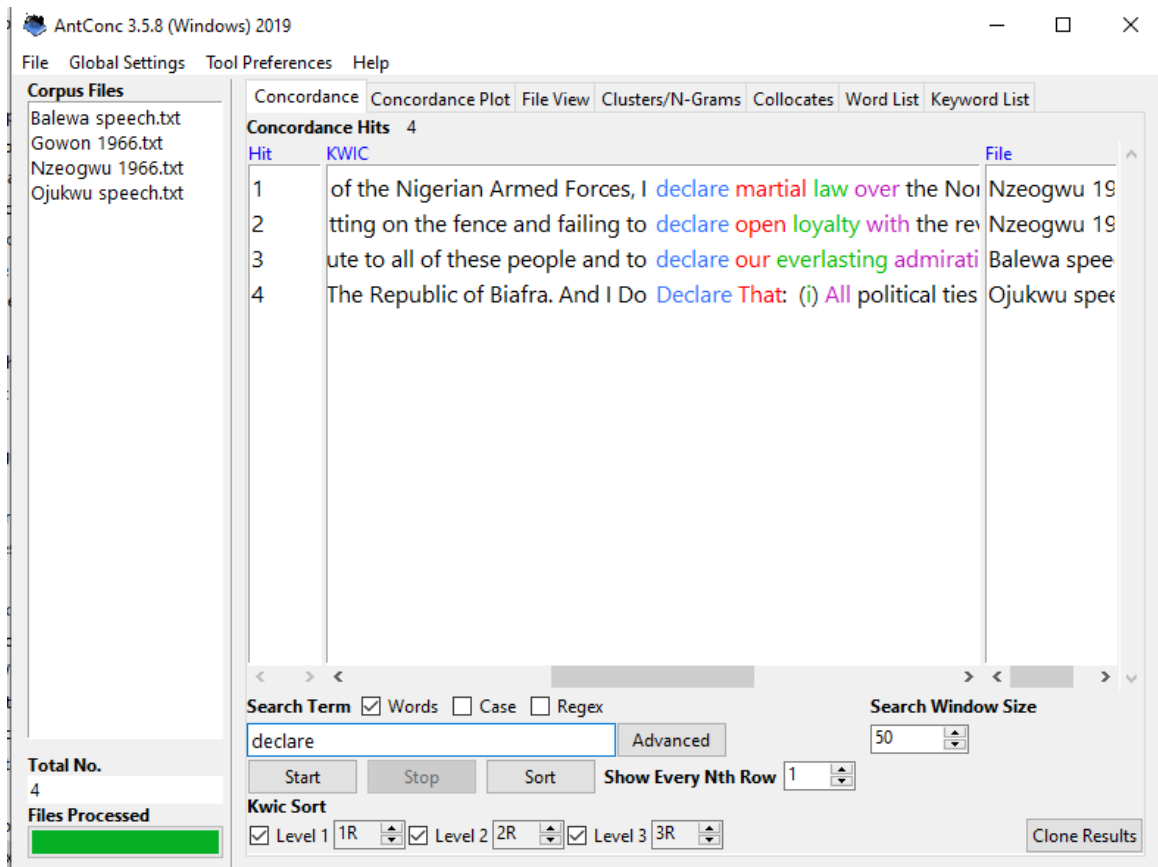


Figure 6.11: Concordance results of the keyword declare

Three of the pre-war speakers except for Gowon, used this keyword to reproduce or transform unequal power relations. Nzeogwu used this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and the Northern province of Nigeria in the first coup of 15 January 1966, thus: “In the name of the *Supreme* [upscaling Degree] Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I *declare* [+Capacity] martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria”. He used “Supreme” to upscale the degree of his power to make the declaration on behalf of the military.

Secondly, Balewa, in his independence inaugural speech of 1960, used the word declare, to negotiate affiliation with some government workers, and investors as his in-group using the following clause complex: “We are grateful also to those who have brought modern methods of banking and of commerce, and new industries. I wish to *pay tribute* [upscaling Vigour] to all of these people and to *declare* [+Capacity] our everlasting admiration of their devotion to duty”.

Thirdly, Ojukwu used the following emphatic statement: “And I Do Declare [+Capacity] That”, to declare the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria, thereby transforming unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria. He used the word “declare” to show that he could make declarations for Biafra.

The impression this candidate has about the pre-war sub-corpus is that it is rich in the resources the military speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations, enact affiliation with certain groups, and individuate away from other groups, persons, or sections of Nigeria. The pre-war coup and secession speeches were exploited by the three military leaders (Nzeogwu, Gowon, and Ojukwu), to achieve certain personal, or sectional aims, which created the national crisis that eventually led to the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. Conversely, Balewa, who was the only civilian speaker in the pre-war period, uses the keywords to enact affiliation, and construe a positive identity for Nigeria, by creating a bond of *nationhood* with Nigerians.

### 6.3 Meso-analysis of post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus

This section comprises the corpus of speeches that Nigerian leaders made after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. The post-war sub-corpus is made up of the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, from 1975 to 2015. My emphasis in this post-war analysis is to compare the keywords of the post-war sub-corpus with the pre-war sub-corpus, to explore the difference in both corpora, and their phylogenetic perspective on Nigeria's political speeches. The pre-war sub-corpus has four speeches, while the post-war sub-corpus has 12 speeches. The AntConc settings I used to generate the keywords of the post-war sub-corpus, can be found in 4.5.2. The speeches listed in Table 6.2 constitute the post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	29/07/1975	The coup that removed Gowon	Coup	Murtala
2	13/02/1976	Attempted coup against Murtala	Coup	Dimka
3	01/10/1979	2nd presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Shagari
4	01/01/1984	The coup that removed Shagari	Coup	Buhari
5	27/08/1985	The coup that removed Buhari	Coup	Babangida
6	22/04/1990	Attempted coup against Babangida	Coup	Orkar
7	17/11/1993	The coup that removed Shonekan	Coup	Abacha
8	11/06/1994	Attempted coup against Abacha	Coup	Abiola
9	29/05/1999	3rd presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Obasanjo
10	29/05/2007	4th presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Yar' Adua
11	29/05/2011	5th presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Jonathan
12	29/05/2015	6th presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Buhari

Table 6.2: Post-Nigeria-Biafra War sub-corpus

The above table represents the entire population of the post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus. The corpus comprises five inaugural, and seven coup speeches. Speeches 9-12 were given on the same date because starting in 1999, Nigeria changed the date for inaugurating a new president into office, from 1 October to 29 May ( Ajayi & Ojo, 2014).

The post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpus generated almost the same keywords as the keywords for the whole corpus. This is not unexpected, since the size of the whole corpus is balanced with that of the post-war sub-corpus. The whole corpus comprises 16 speeches, while the post-war sub-corpus comprises 12 speeches. The only keyword that is not present in the whole corpus is federal. To avoid repetition, the post-war keywords that are present in the whole corpus will not be analysed in detail again in this section. This will enable the student researcher to focus on a comparison of the lexical differences between the pre-war and post-war corpus. However, the keywords will be displayed and comments will be made about them where it is necessary to make further clarifications. The previous analysis of these keywords in the whole corpus shows several uses of them by the speakers to realize the concepts of affiliation, and individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations with their listeners. The first ten keywords of the post-war sub-corpus with their concordance search results are then analysed. The keywords of the post-war sub-corpus are shown in Figure 6.12.

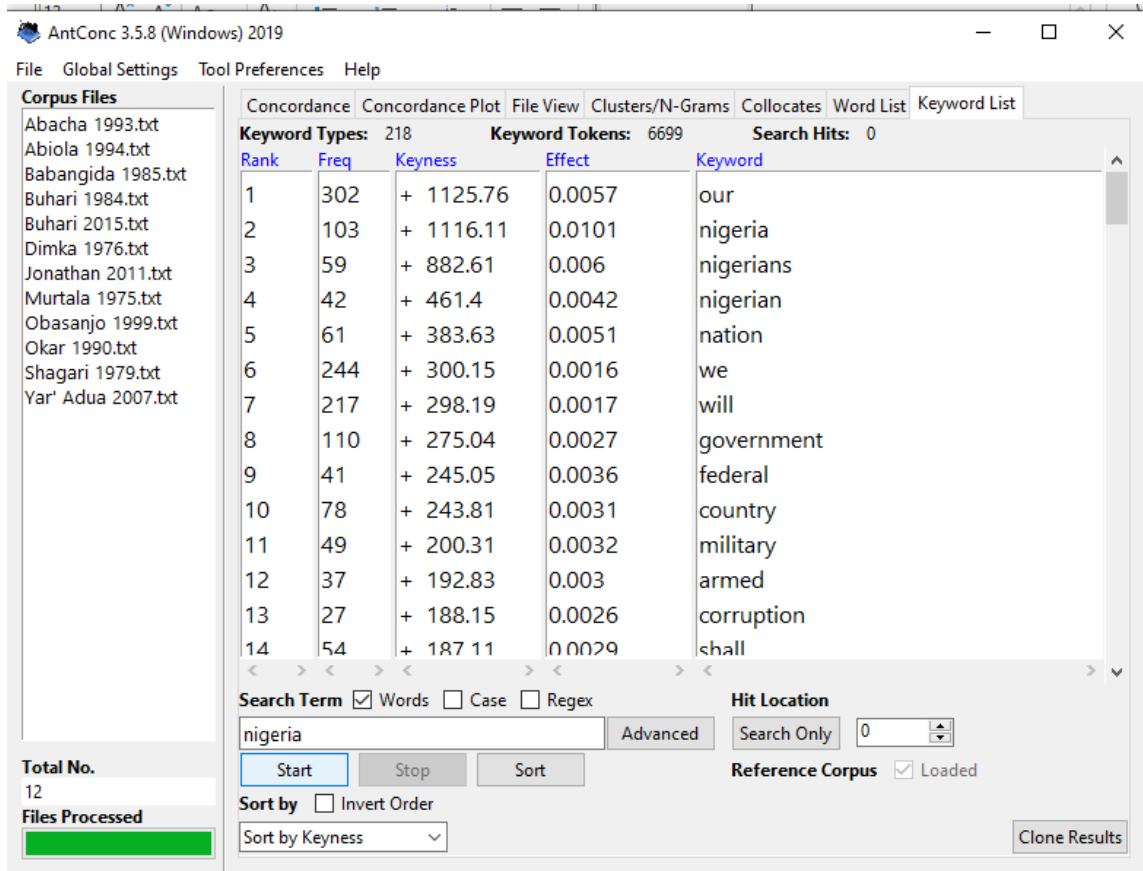


Figure 6.12: Keywords of the post-war sub-corpus

The first keyword of the post-war sub-corpus is our. This keyword is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus but is found in the whole corpus in the macro-analysis (see 5.4), which underscores the similarity between the whole corpus and the post-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword our are shown in Figure 6.13.

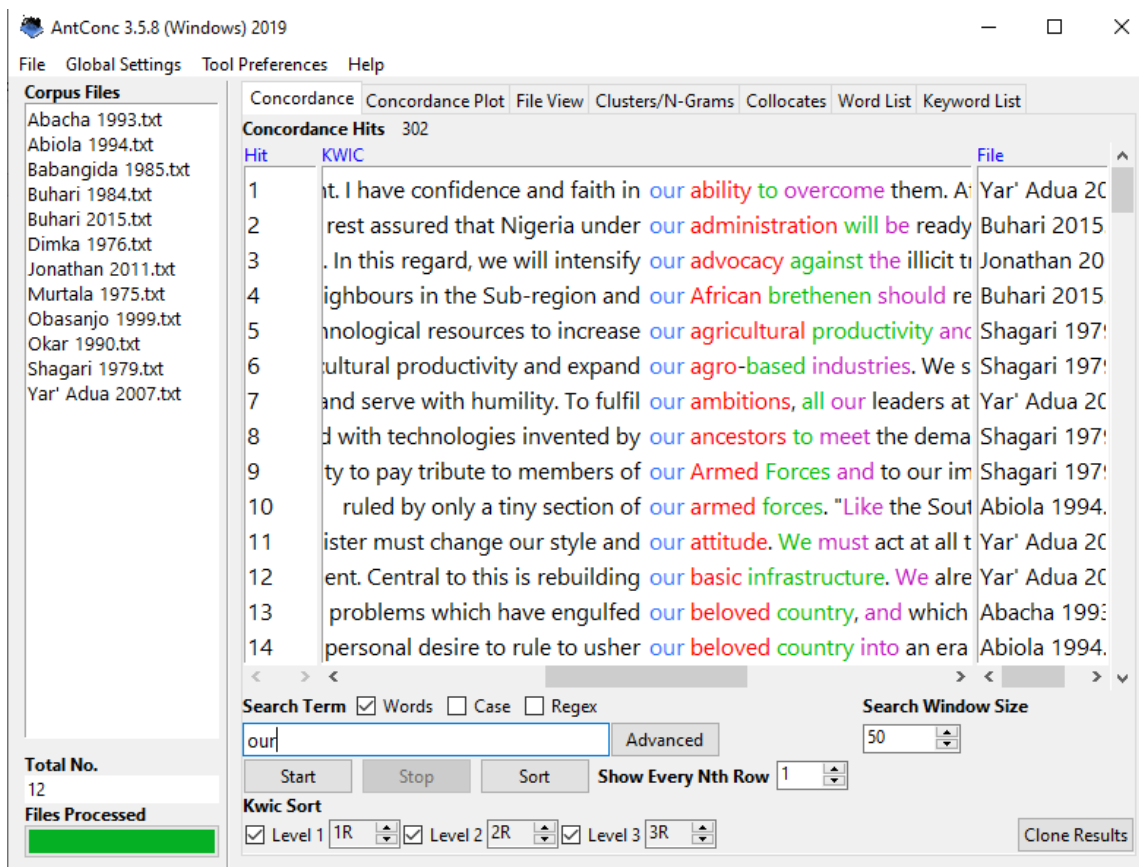


Figure 6.13: Concordance results of the keyword our

From the above results, almost all the post-war speakers used this keyword to negotiate affiliation with either Nigerians or other African countries. For instance, in line 3, Jonathan talked about intensifying “our advocacy against illicit drugs”, while in 4, Buhari used the following clause complex “Our neighbors 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”, to affiliate with other African countries.

The next keyword of the post-war sub-corpus is nigeria. This keyword is also not present in the pre-war sub-corpus but is present in the whole corpus (see 5.3.1). The concordance results of the keyword nigeria are attached in Figure 6. 14.

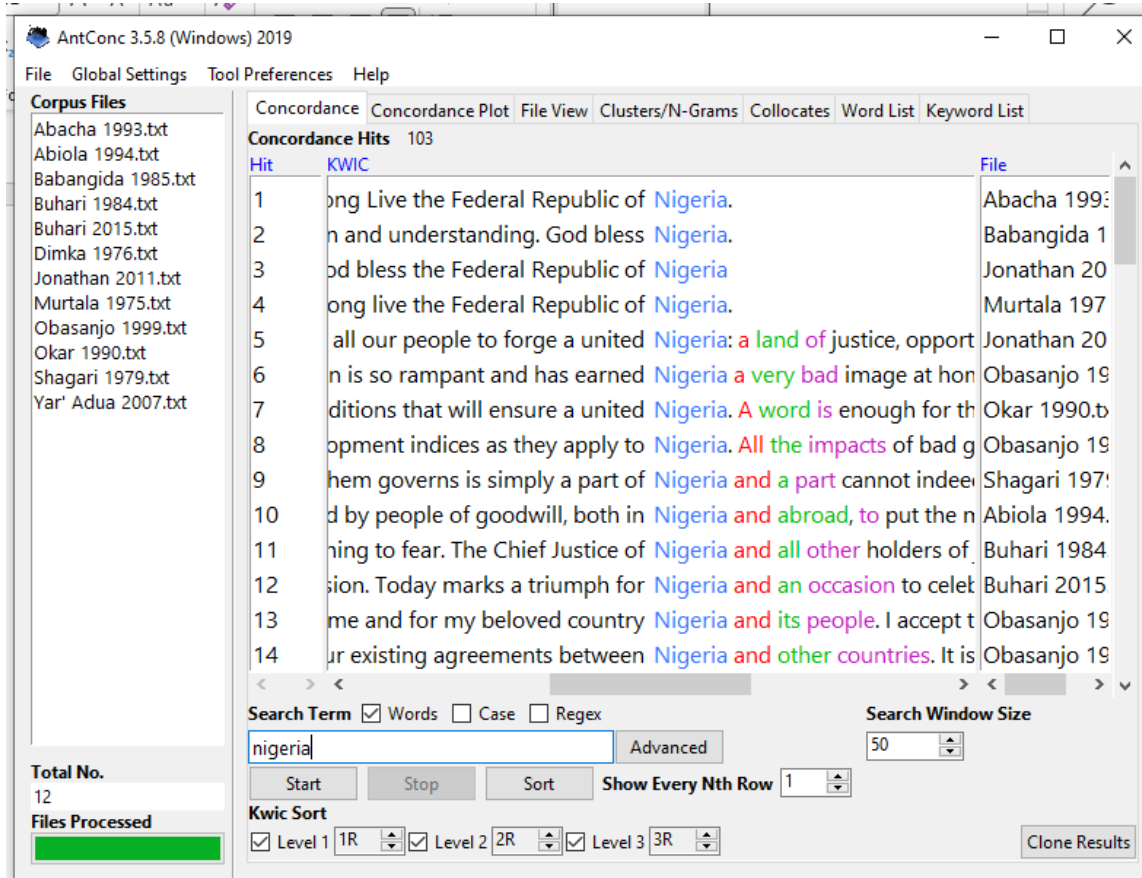


Figure 6.14: Concordance results of the keyword nigeria

The third keyword of the post-war sub-corpus is nigerians. This keyword is absent in the pre-war sub-corpus but is also found as a keyword of the whole corpus in the macro-analysis (see 5.5), which indicates some level of similarity between the whole corpus and post-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword nigerians are shown in Figure 6.15.

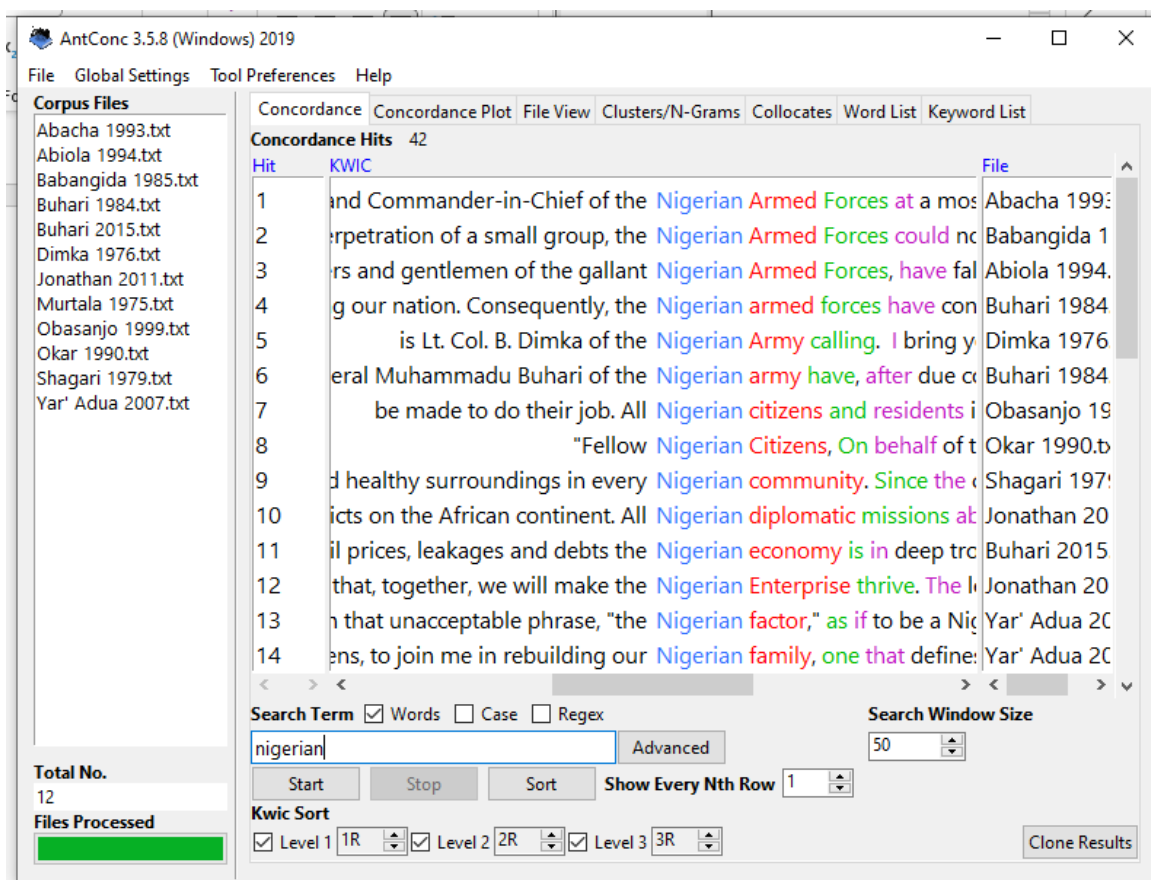


Figure 6.15: Concordance results of the keyword nigerians

Further concordance search of the keyword nigerians shows how the speaker uses it to enact affiliation, individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations in their speeches. This keyword was mainly used by Nigerian military coup speakers to reproduce unequal power relations between themselves and civilian Nigerians.

Abacha, in his 1993 coup speech, used this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, the military and civilian Nigerians, by announcing honorifics of his military title as the “Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces”, to draw the attention of his audience to the enormous power the military wields. Likewise, in line 5 of the concordance, Dimka used honorifics of military title to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and his audience, thus: “This is Lt. Col. B. Dimka of the Nigerian army calling”. Also in line 9, Shagari affiliates with all

Nigerians by using the possessive pronoun “our” before “Nigerian”. More information on this keyword is given in detail in 5.5.

The next keyword is nigerian. This keyword is present in the whole corpus (see 5.6), but not present in the pre-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword nigerian are shown in Figure 6.16.

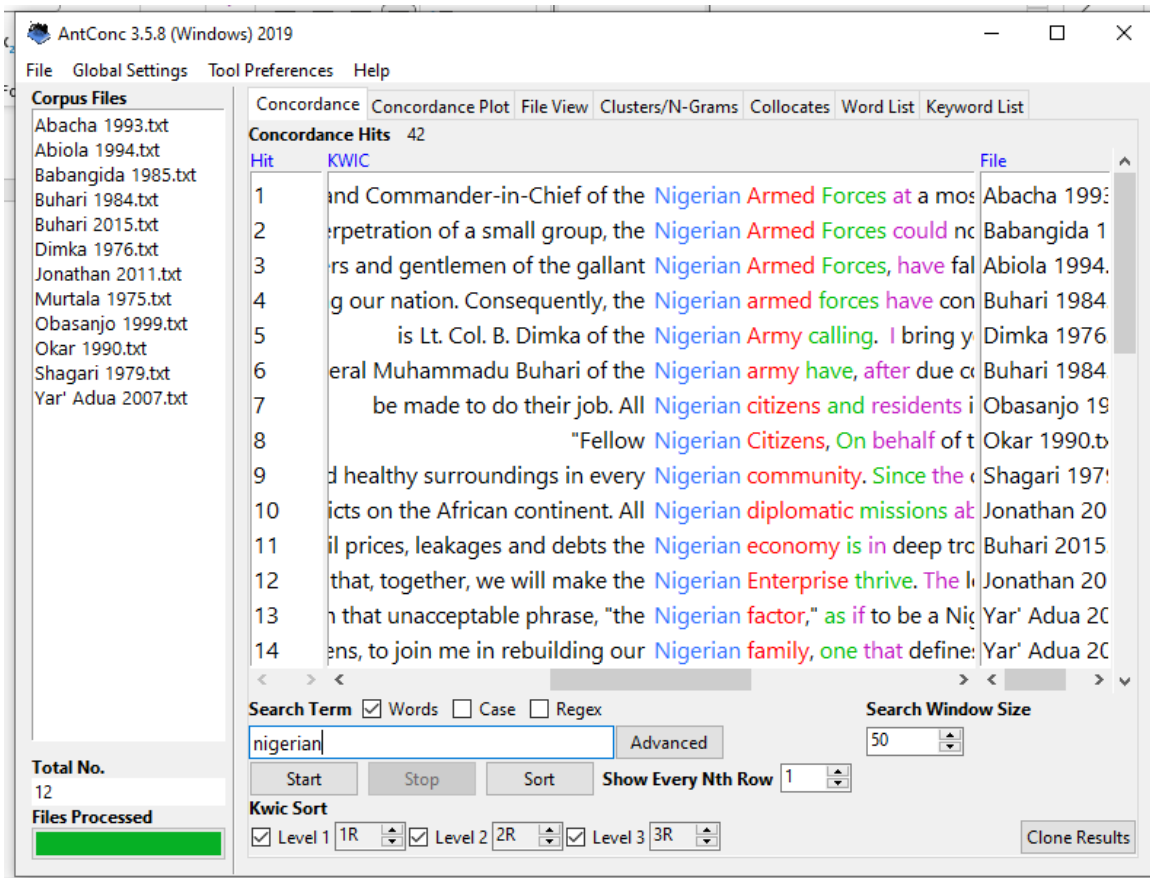


Figure 6.16: Concordance results of the keyword nigerian

Normally, some level of similarity should occur between the whole corpus and the post-war sub-corpus since the post-war sub-corpus makes up most of the whole corpus. However, this keyword is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus. The keywords of the pre-war and post-war sub-corpus show the foci of these two important periods in Nigeria's history. For instance, the sociopolitical situations that led to the Nigeria-Biafra War were somehow mitigated after the war, and the emphasis shifted to reintegrating Nigerians and rebuilding Nigeria, hence the keywords like



nigeria, nigerians, and nigerian dominate the whole corpus and the post-war sub-corpus. More detailed analysis of the keyword Nigerian can be found in 5.6.

The next keyword of the post-war sub-corpus is nation. Expectedly, this keyword is present in the whole corpus (see 5.7) but not found in the pre-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword nation are shown in Figure 6.17.

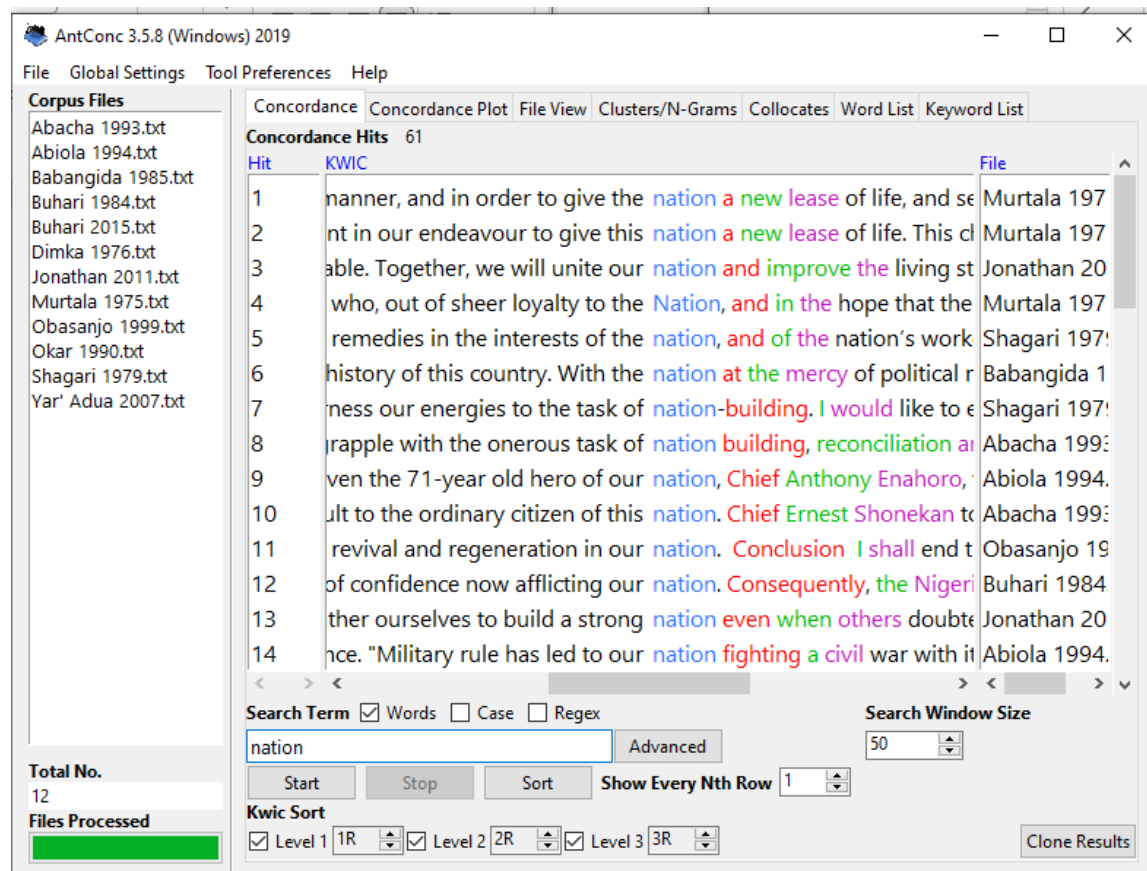


Figure 6.17: Concordance results of the keyword nation

In the keyword nation, some of the post-war speakers used it either to affiliate with Nigerians or reproduce unequal power relations with others. For instance, in line 2, Murtala used the following clause complex to affiliate with Nigerians to support his coup “I appeal to you all to cooperate with the Government in our endeavour to give this nation a new lease of life”. A detailed analysis of this keyword can be found in 5.7.

The next keyword is we. This keyword is also an exclusive feature of the whole corpus (see 5.8), and the post-war sub-corpus, as it is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus. The speakers used this keyword to either affiliate with the people or reproduce unequal power relations with their audience by using the in-group and out-group strategies. The concordance results of the keyword we are shown in Figure 6.18.

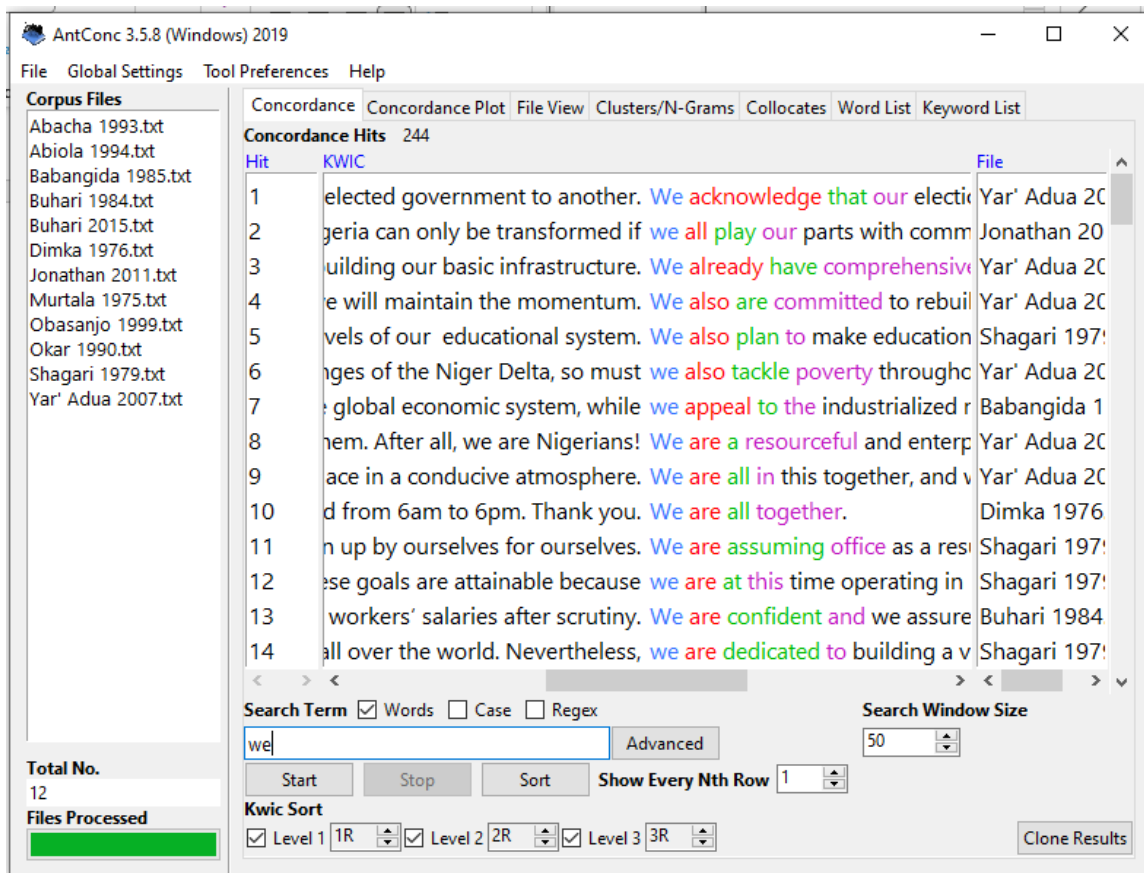


Figure 6.18: Concordance results of the keyword we

Dimka used this keyword in line 10, to negotiate affiliation with all Nigerians in his 1976 coup speech, with the following clause: “We are *all* [Quantification: Number] together”. He used the quantifier “all” to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians, in seeking their support for his coup against Murtala, which eventually failed (see 1.4 and 2.4). Yar’ Adua also used we in an inclusive sense, in line 8 such as “We are a resourceful and enterprising people, and we have it within us to make our country a better place”, to affiliate with all Nigerians and propose a bond on the shared common value of greatness with them. A more detailed analysis of this keyword can be found in 5.8.

The next keyword is will. This keyword is an exclusive feature of the whole corpus (see 5.10). and the post-war sub-corpus, as it is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword will are shown in Figure 6.19.

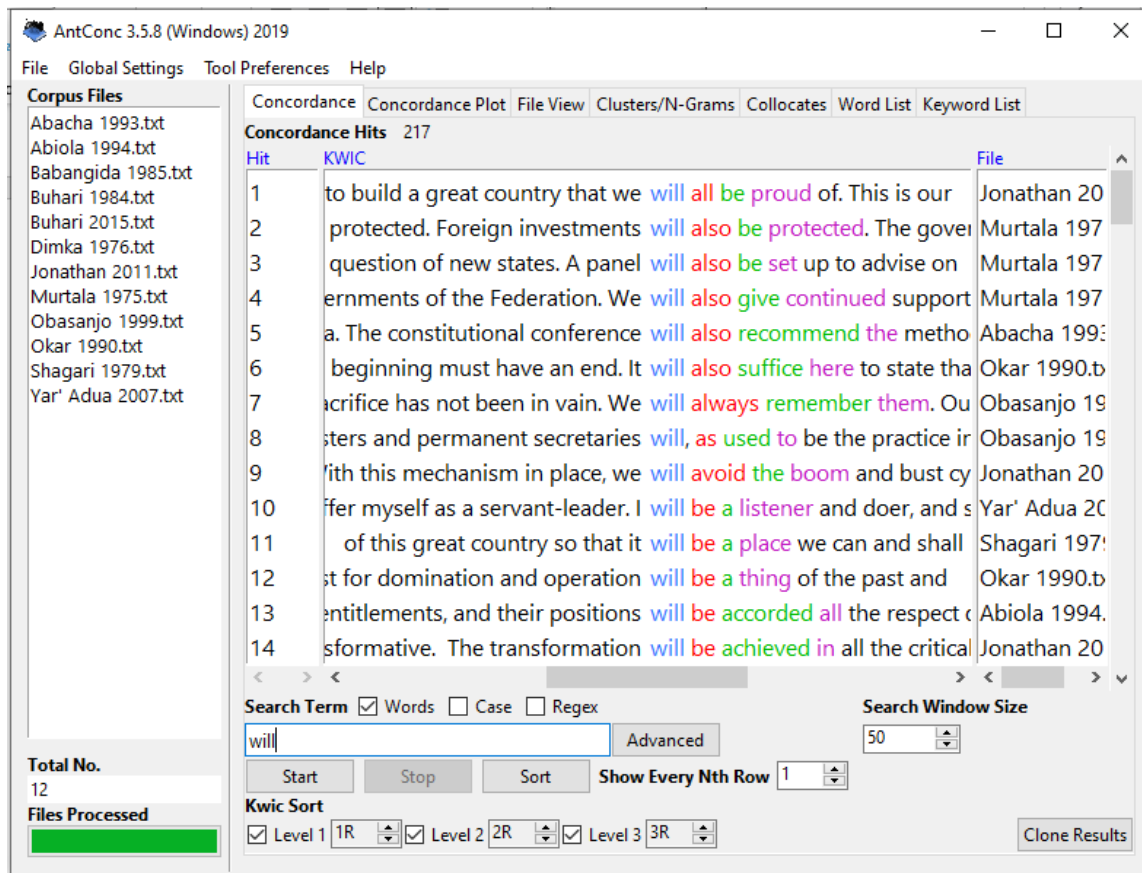


Figure 6.19: Concordance results of the keyword will

In line 2 of the concordance, Murtala, in his 1975 coup speech, used the following clause complex: “*Foreign* [Extent: Distribution: Space] investments *will* [Expand: Entertain] also be *protected* [+Capacity]”, to reproduce unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation with the investors. He uses the word “protected” to show his capability to rule the country at that time. Also, in line 6, Orkar affiliated with the in-group of Nigerian with the following clause complex: “It will also suffice here to state *all* [Quantification: Number] Nigerians without skeleton in their cupboards need not be afraid of this *change*” [downscaling Vigour]. He reduces the impact of the coup by referring to it as a “change”. A more detailed analysis of the keyword *will*, can be found in 5.10.

The next keyword of the post-war sub-corpus is government. This keyword is also an exclusive feature of the whole corpus (see 5.9), and the post-war sub-corpus, as it is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword government are shown in Figure 6.20.

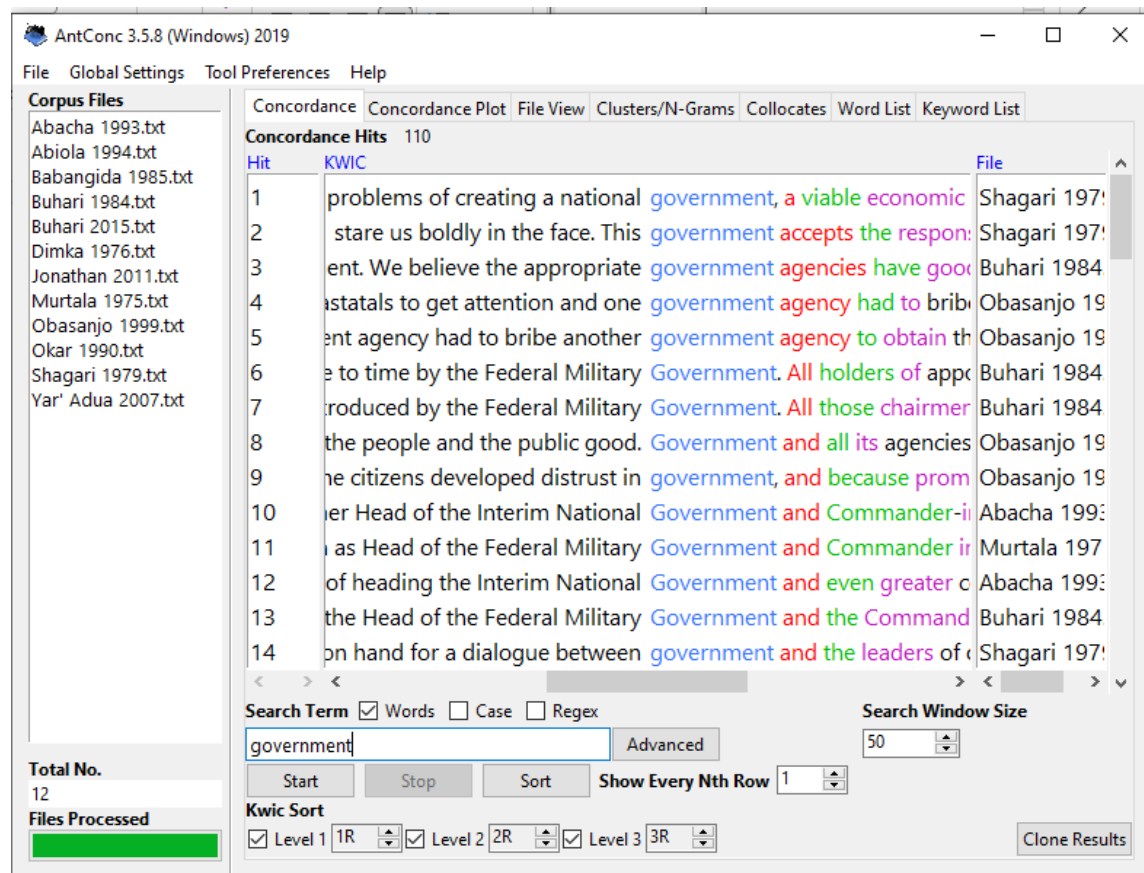


Figure 6.20: Concordance results of the keyword government

In line 1 of the concordance, Shagari, in his 1979 inaugural speeches negotiates affiliation with Nigerians by reminding them of the need for unity to avoid the sociopolitical problems that led to the overthrow of the first civilian government. He used the following clause complex: “The problems of creating a *national* [Extent: distribution: Space] government, a viable economic base and the integration of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria in *fairness and without acrimony*, [+Happiness] *overwhelmed* [-Capacity] the First Republic”, to propose a bond of nationhood with Nigerians. A more detailed analysis of this keyword can be found in 5.9.

The next keyword is federal. This keyword is an exclusive feature of the post-war sub-corpus, as it is neither present in the whole corpus, nor in the pre-war sub-corpus. The concordance results of the keyword federal are shown in Figure 6.21.

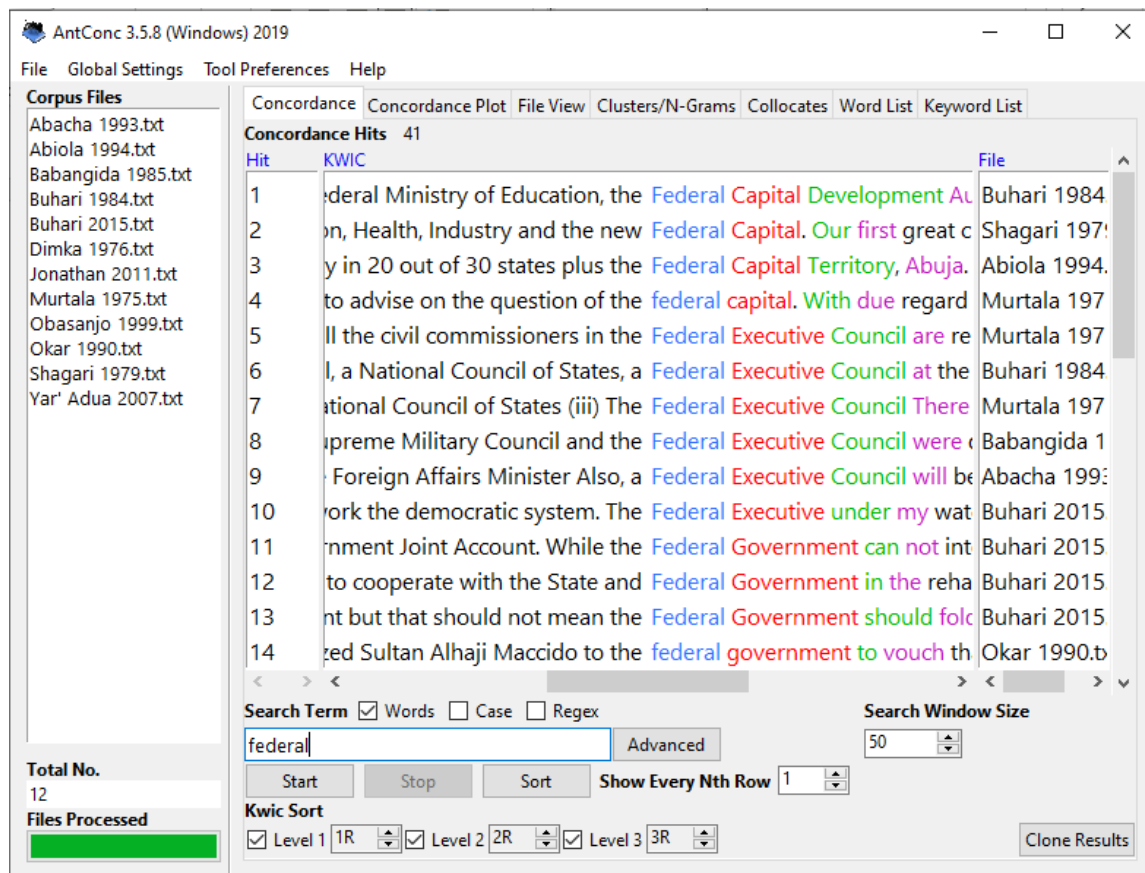


Figure 6.21: Concordance results of the keyword federal

In line 6 of the concordance, Buhari reproduced unequal power relations between the military and Nigerians in his 1984 coup speech, with the following clause complex: “Consequently, the Nigerian armed forces have *constituted* [+Capacity] themselves into a Federal Military Government comprising of a *Supreme* [upscaling Degree] Military Council, a National Council of States, a Federal Executive Council at the centre and State Executive Councils to be *presided over* [+Capacity] by military governors in each of the states of the federation”. Buhari uses the words “Supreme” to upscale the degree of the powers of the military, and “constituted” to show that he could do things that affect the country.

Secondly, in line 9 of the concordance, Abacha used his 1993 coup speech to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians, thus: “The Foreign Affairs Minister. Also, A Federal Executive Council *will be put in place*” [+Capacity]. Abacha also demonstrates his capacity as the Head of State to take decisions that affect the people of Nigeria, with the keyword federal.

Lastly, in line 10, Buhari also used his 2015 inaugural speech, to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians in the following clause complex: “The Federal Executive *under my watch* [+Capacity] will not seek to *encroach* [upscaling Vigour] on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government”. Here, Buhari makes promises to Nigerians that he will maintain the rule of law. This promise may be based on his earlier rule as a military dictator, which may make most people not trust his government as a civilian president (Amaechi, 2016; Mark, 2020).

The last keyword of the post-war speeches is country. This keyword is an exclusive feature of the whole corpus (see 5.11), and post-war sub-corpus and is not present in the pre-war sub-corpus.

The concordance results of the keyword country are shown in Figure 6.22.

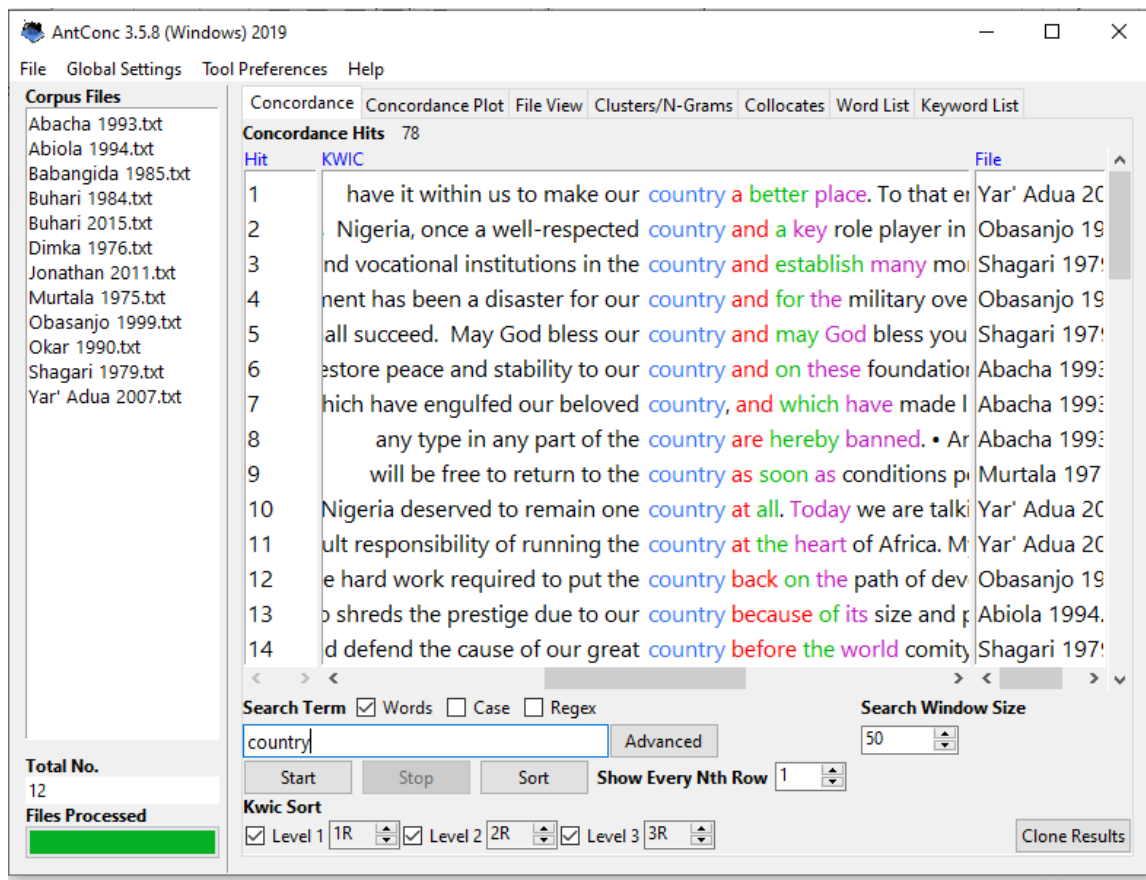


Figure 6.22: Concordance results of the keyword country

In line 1 of the concordance, Yar' Adua, in his 2007 inaugural speech, uses the keyword country to negotiate affiliation with all Nigerians, by proposing a bond of nationhood in the following clause complex: “We are a resourceful and enterprising people, and we have it within us to make our country a better place”. Similarly, in line 5 of the concordance, Shagari uses the following clause complex: “May God bless our country and may God bless you all”. A more detailed analysis of the keyword country can be found on 5.11.

The overall results of the post-war keywords show that the whole corpus and the post-war corpus, have similar features of keywords, unlike the pre-war sub-corpus that are more centered on Nigeria, and the people of Nigeria, and the speakers used these keywords to negotiate more affiliation with all Nigerians, Nigeria, and the international community, than individuation. This is unlike the pre-war keywords that are more centered on militaristic command words, which the speakers used to negotiate more individuation and reproduce binary, unequal power relations with some people, groups, or sections of the country. The similarity in the keywords of the whole corpus and the post-war sub-corpus is due to the similar large sizes of the two corpora. The differences discovered in the post-and pre-war keywords are used to report on the research questions in 1.8, especially on the patterns of evaluative language used in the study.

#### 6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the meso-analysis is reported on to project the phylogenetic perspective of the speeches and serves as an interface between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis of the speeches. Due to the similarity in the sizes of the corpus, most of the post-war keywords are the same as those in the whole corpus. In this case, some details on such keywords have been provided, and cross-reference to the section in the macro-analysis of the whole corpus where such keywords occur, for more information on the analysis. Further concordance search of the keywords reveals more use of language by the speakers to realize the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in the speeches. Some of the statements of the speakers are quoted in the analysis where necessary, to buttress these strategies.

The findings indicate that the post-war keywords are more inclined toward civil authority than the pre-war keywords which are more inclined toward forceful militaristic use of language. The pre-war militaristic use of language to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, other military personnel, or sections of the country, and enact individuation away from the civilians, while affiliating with the military, exacerbated the political tensions in Nigeria from 1966 to 1967. The tensions generated by the coup speeches of the pre-war period are the immediate factor that led to the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970 (Ojo & Fagbohun, 2014). On the contrary, the findings in the post-war sub-corpus, reveal a paradigm shift by using more civil-oriented



keywords to enact unequal power relations and affiliate with Nigerians or individuate away from the previous governments or some individuals or factors that affect Nigeria adversely such as corruption, The post-war speakers focused more on using the keywords to create bonds of good governance and nationhood with Nigerians. The presence of five inaugural speeches in the post-war sub-corpus as against only one inaugural speech in the pre-war sub-corpus might have also influenced the types of keywords generated for both periods. In comparison, Nigeria witnessed a relatively calm sociopolitical atmosphere in the post-war period than in the pre-war period, except for the coups and the political crisis of 1993 (see 1.4, 2.4 and 2.4.5.4). Consequently, the pre-war and the post-war keywords, reflect the sociopolitical dispositions of these two periods in Nigeria's history and they have enriched Nigeria's political discourse.

## Chapter Seven: meso-analysis of genres of speeches

### 7.1 Introduction

The re-adapted four-pronged approach to discourse analysis is used to conduct a second meso-analysis of the genre of speeches. Consequently, this chapter accounts for a meso-analysis of the genres of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. The reason for introducing a separate meso-analysis is to analyse those speeches that were made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War and the different genres of speeches separately, to get a much richer lexical variance of the three genres of Nigerian political discourse. This approach makes it easier to unravel the contributions of the Nigerian leaders' speeches to the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970, which made a lasting impact on Nigeria's sociopolitical history and was pivotal to this study. The pre-, and post-Nigeria-Biafra War analysis gives more information on the sociopolitical events that have shaped Nigeria's history. Similarly, the meso-analysis of the genres of speeches focuses on unravelling the differences and similarities in the linguistic resources used to realize the concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in each genre of the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of the Nigerian political discourse. The additional layer of meso-analysis enables the student researcher to unearth more strategies the speakers used to realize these analytics concepts. This also makes way for a more in-depth analysis than was done in the macro-analysis and make this layer an interface between the phylogenesis and the logogenesis (Knight, 2010; Mahboob & Knight, 2008) of the Nigerian political discourse. Lastly, this meso-analysis is at the discourse semantic stratum of language as was explained in 3.2.

Subsequently, the meso-analysis of the inaugural genre of speeches was done, followed by the meso-analysis of the coup and secession genres respectively. The student researcher also used (Anthony, 2014b) AntConc software to generate the keywords and concordance results for the meso-analysis of the genres of speeches. To realize the right keywords for this layer of the meso-analysis, the wordlists of inaugural and secession genres were used as the reference corpus to generate the keywords of the coup genre. Likewise, the wordlists of the coup and secession genres were used as the reference corpus for the inaugural genre, and finally, the wordlists for the coup

and inaugural genres were used as the reference corpus for the secession genre. More information on the settings used to generate the keywords for each genre can be found in 4.7.

## 7.2 The coup genre of speeches

The coup genre comprises the entire population of coup speeches made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. Two coup speeches were made in 1966 before the war, while seven coup speeches were made after the war. This distribution of the coup genre of speeches presents significant concordance results in my subsequent analysis. The details of the coup speeches are presented in chronological order. in Table 7.2.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	15/01/1966	The first coup in post-independent Nigeria	Coup	Nzeogwu
2	01/08/1966	The second (retaliatory) coup in Nigeria	Coup	Gowon
3	29/07/1975	The coup that removed Gowon	Coup	Murtala
4	13/02/1976	The attempted coup that killed Murtala	Coup	Dimka
5	01/01/1984	The coup that removed Shagari	Coup	Buhari
6	27/08/1985	The coup that removed Buhari	Coup	Babangida
7	22/04/1990	The attempted coup on Babangida	Coup	Orkar
8	17/11/1993	The coup that removed the ING (Interim National Government)	Coup	Abacha
9	11/06/1994	The (civilian) coup that attempted to remove Abacha	Coup	Abiola

Table 7.1: The coup sub-corpus

The above speeches are the entire population of Nigeria's coup speeches from 1966 to 1994. I added Abiola's speech to this category as a (civilian) coup speech because it has the characteristics of coup speeches (see 2.4.6). The coup genres constitute the largest genre of political speeches in Nigeria at the time of this study, and this genre shows the incisive impact of military speeches on Nigeria's political discourse. In this aspect of the meso-analysis, my emphasis is to unravel the strategies the speakers used to reproduce unequal power relations between themselves and other people. I also look at those linguistic resources and strategies the speakers used to realize affiliation

towards, or individuation away from certain people, groups, or political movements, in the speeches. The keywords of the coup genre of speech are attached in Figure 7.1.

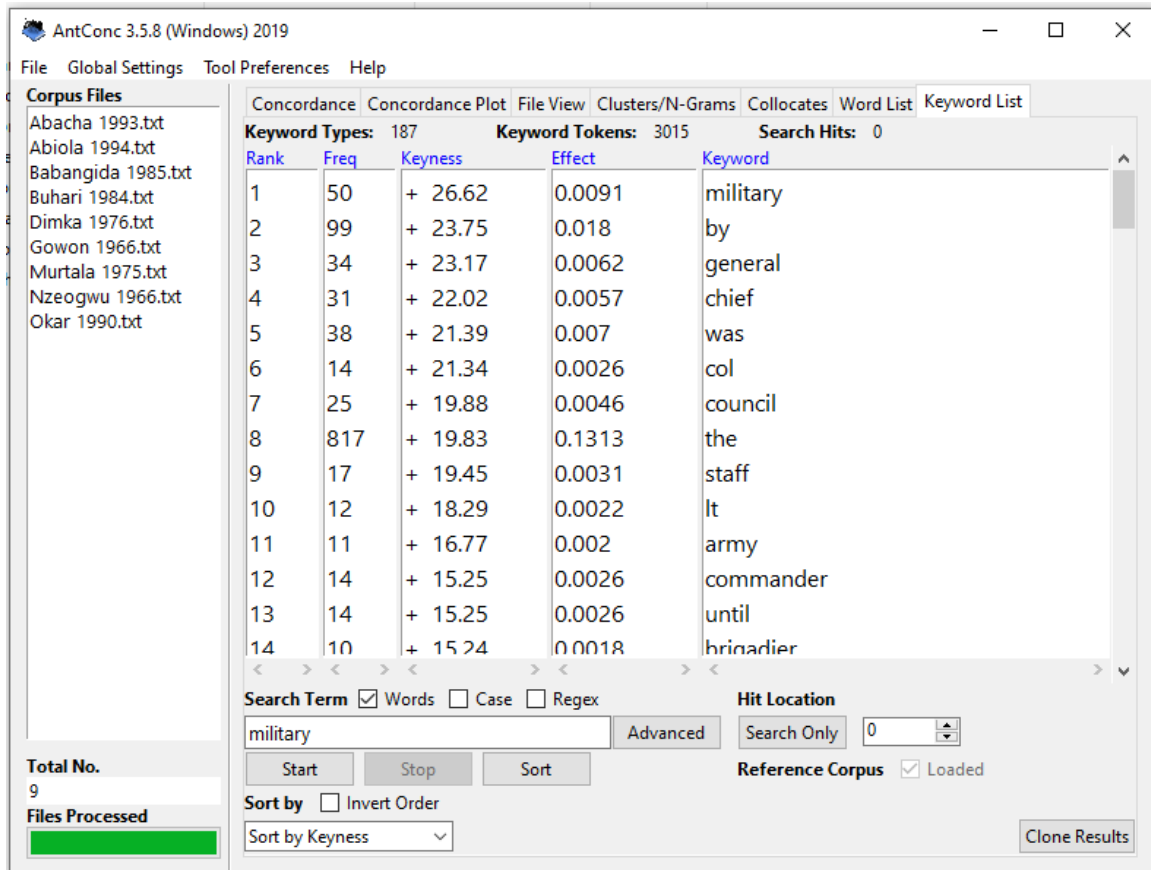


Figure 7.1: Keywords of the coup genre

### 7.2.1 Meso-analysis of the coup genre of speeches

The above keywords of the coup genre of speeches are indicative of the forceful and militaristic words and clause complexes some Nigerian military persons used to reproduce unequal power relations between themselves and groups or sections of Nigeria which they either affiliate with or individuate away from. The military-oriented keywords in the coup genre are indicative of the extent to the Nigerian military leaders tried to use their speeches to make their military governments acceptable to Nigerians. This is because a coup is unconstitutional in a democratic setting (Powell, 2012), therefore, the coup leaders had to make a stronger attempt to be able to

establish their presence in the Nigerian political space or enforce their military dominance over the people. Further analysis is on the first ten keywords of the coup genre of speeches.

The first keyword in the coup genre is military. The concordance results of the keyword military are shown in Figure 7.2.

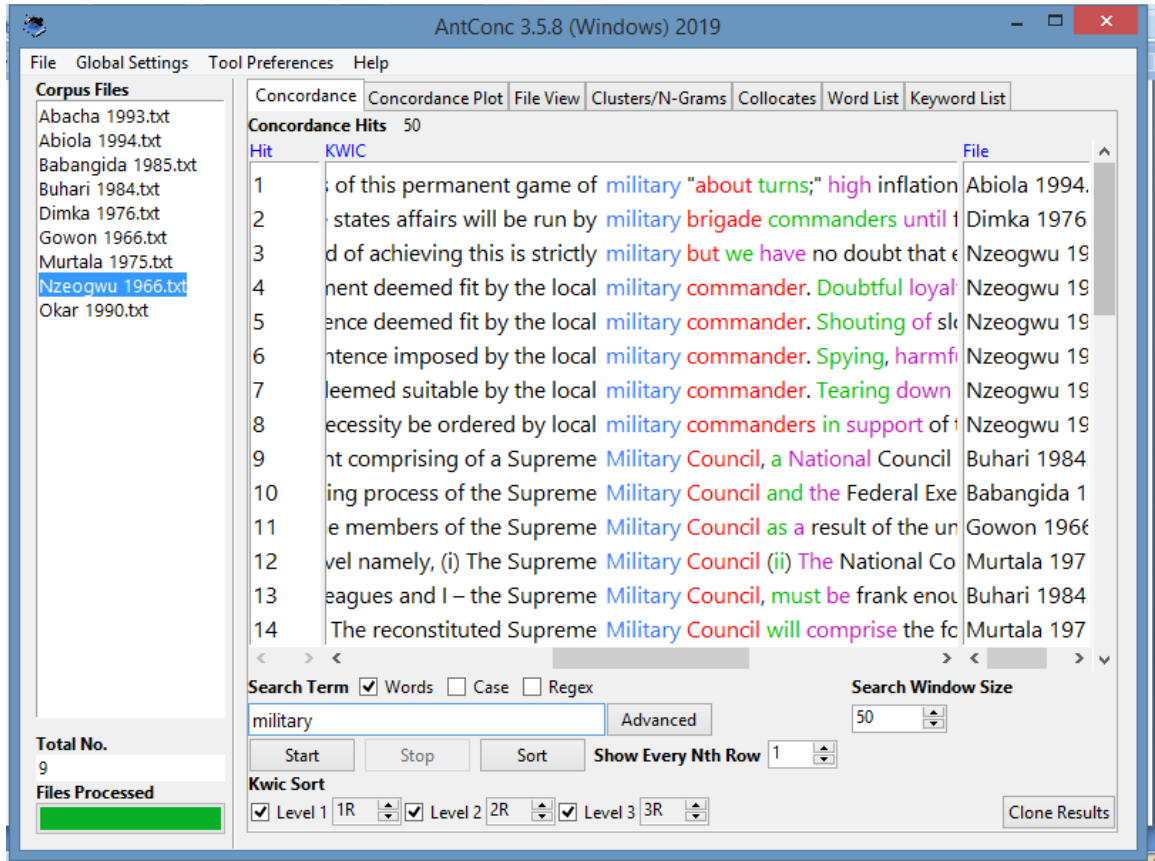


Figure 7.2: Concordance result of the keyword military

In line 1 of the concordance, Abiola individuates himself and the civilians away from the Nigerian military by listing what he termed military “about turns” of “high inflation and a huge budget deficit”. The following clause provides an example: “All we can see are the consequences of this military ‘about turns;’ *high* [Intensification: Degree] inflation, a *huge* [upscaling Degree] budget *deficit* [-Happiness] and an *enormous* [Intensification: Degree] foreign debt repayment burden, dying industries, high unemployment and a *demoralized* [-Happiness] populace”. Here, the words

“high” and “huge” and “enormous” are used by the speaker, to intensify the degree of his individuation from the military. It is noteworthy that Abiola's speech is the only coup speech made by a civilian in the coup corpus. More information on the civilian coup speech can be found on 2.4.6.

Further concordance result in line 2 shows the following example in Dimka's speech: “The affairs of the states will henceforth be *run* [+Capacity] by military brigade commanders, until further notice”. The noun phrase "military brigade commanders" was used as an honorific to express the positive Attitude of the speaker towards the military and their capacity to assume governance of the country. Therefore, Dimka uses this statement to affiliate with the military, individuate away from the civilians, especially, the state governors, and reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilian governors.

In line 3 of the concordance Nzeogwu uses the keyword military to reproduce unequal power relations and enact affiliation with the military in the following clause complex: “Our method of *achieving* [+Capacity] this is strictly military, *but we have no doubt* [Contract: Deny] that every Nigerian will give us *maximum* [Intensification: Degree] cooperation by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the *slight changes* [downscaling Soften] that are taking place”. Here, the speaker uses the inclusive pronouns “our”, “we”, and “us” to affiliate with his military in-group, while he uses the word “maximum”, to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, by indicating the degree of cooperation he requires from the civilians. The speaker downscopes and softens the impact of the coup with the words “slight changes”, to mitigate the negative perception people may have about the coup. He equally uses the Engagement resource of Deny, to counter other voices that may go against the coup. Nzeogwu’s speech shows the peculiar and forceful militaristic use of words in the Nigerian military genre of speeches (Abdulrahman, 2017; Okongor, 2015).

This first keyword, military indicates the militaristic nature of Nigeria's coup genre ( Ajayi, 2013; Ojo, 2014). Expectedly, this keyword is the exclusive feature of the Nigerian coup genre, as it is not represented in the inaugural and secession genres.

The next keyword is the preposition by, which most of the speakers used to transform unequal power relations between themselves and the civilians and enact the concepts of affiliation with the in-group, and individuation away from the out-group. The concordance results of the keyword by are shown in Figure 7.3.

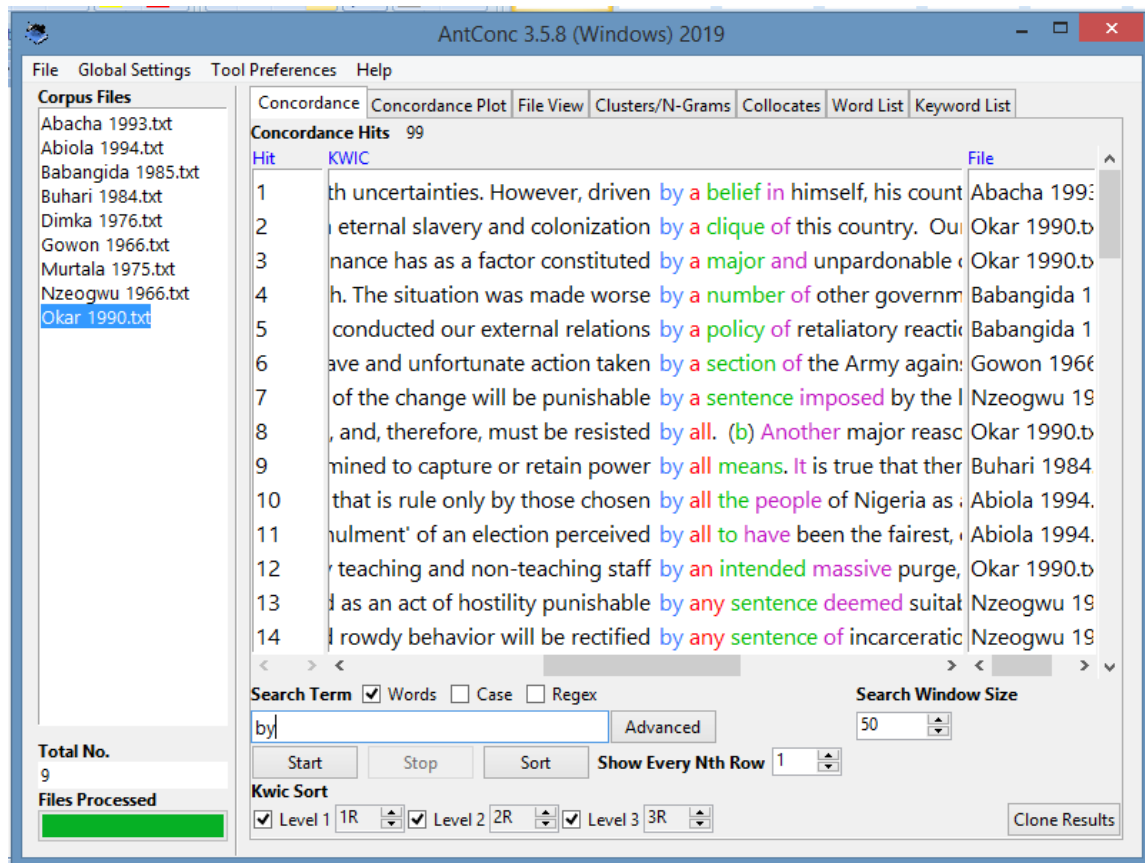


Figure 7.3: Concordance results of the keyword by

Further examination of the keyword by in line 2 of the concordance, shows the following examples: “We wish to emphasize that this is not just another coup, but a *well-conceived, planned and executed* [+Capacity] revolution for the *marginalized, oppressed and enslaved* [-Happiness] peoples of the Middle Belt and the South with a view to *freeing* [Intensification Vigour] ourselves and children yet unborn from *eternal* [Extent: Time] slavery and colonization by a *clique* [Quantification: Number] of this country”. Through this statement, Orkar enacts affiliation with the people of the Middle Belt and Southern Nigeria and individuates away from the Northern part of Nigeria, particularly, the out-group he referred to as the “clique” in the army. He uses the words

“freeing”, & “eternal” to portray the process of his individuation away from this out-group, and the degree of the domination of the out-group, especially those he referred to as a “clique”.

In line 7 of the concordance results, Nzeogwu made the following statement: “*Refusal or neglect* [-Capacity] to perform normal duties or *any* [Quantification: number] task that may of necessity be ordered by local military commanders in support of the change will be punishable by a sentence *imposed* [Intensification: Vigour] by the local military commander”. He uses “any” to upscale the kind of task, while “imposed” intensifies the process of the punishment that may be meted out to those who refuse to comply with the military orders. By this statement, the speaker enacts individuation, away from those who may go against his order, and affiliate with the military.

Lastly, line 8 of the concordance results shows the following statement: “It is our strong view that this kind of *dictatorial* [-Propriety] desire of Babangida is unacceptable to Nigerians of the 1990’s, and, therefore, must be *resisted* [Intensification: Vigour] by all”. The speaker uses the inclusive pronoun “our” to enact affiliation with his military in-group, while he uses the word “resisted” to intensify the process of his individuation away from Babangida who the speaker announced his overthrow in his coup speech.

The preposition by was used as a keyword mainly to reproduce unequal power relations, between the speakers, or military and other Nigerians. This keyword is also an exclusive feature of the Nigerian coup genre of speeches, as it is not represented in the other genres or the whole corpus in chapter five, or the inaugural and secession genres. This shows the uniqueness of the Nigerian coup genre, which reflects the significance of the coups on Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences. More information on Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences can be found in 11.5.2.

The next keyword is general. Most of the coup speakers used this keyword either to signify something that has wide acceptability or as an honorific to reproduce unequal power relations. The concordance results of the keyword general are shown in Figure 7.4.



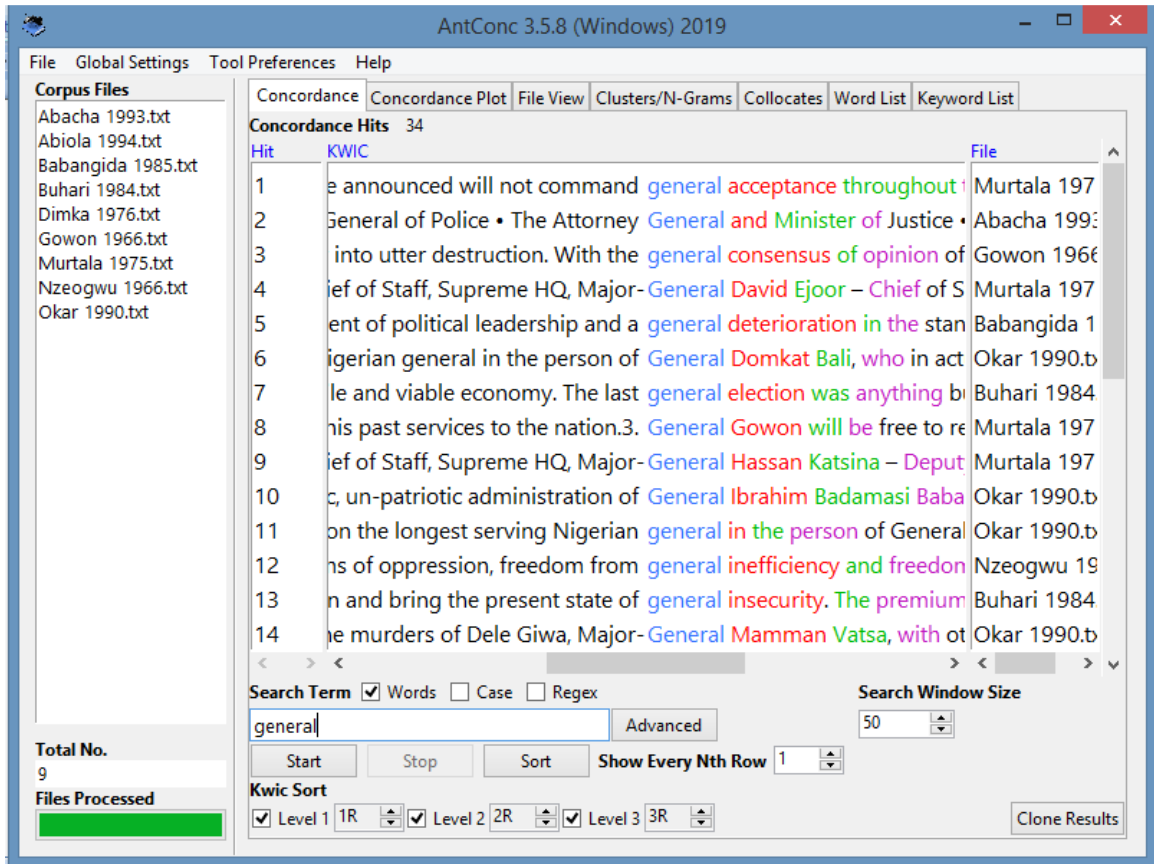


Figure 7.4: Concordance results of the keyword general

In line 2 of the concordance, Abacha reproduces unequal power relations with Nigerians in the following clause complex: “The attorney general and Minister of Justice”. The speaker uses the compound noun “Attorney General” as an honorific to draw the attention of his listeners.

Likewise, in line 7, Buhari makes the following statement: “The last *general* [Extent: Distribution: Space] election was anything but free and fair” to individuate away from the election. Buhari uses the pronoun “anything” to enact individuation by intensifying the negativity associated with the election. Buhari also uses the keyword general to express the extent, and importance of the election in Nigeria.

Lastly, in line 8 of the concordance, Murtala uses the keyword general as an honorific, in the following clause complex: “General Gowon will be free to return to the country as soon as conditions permit; he will be free to *pursue* [Intensification: Vigour] *any* [upscaling Quantification: number] legitimate undertakings of his choice in *any* [upscaling Quantification: Number] part of the country”, to affiliate with Gowon. Here, “any” is upscaling the force of the freedom given to General Gowon, and “pursue” intensifies the process of this freedom, which the speaker uses to enact affiliation with Gowon. The speaker equally uses general as honorifics to draw attention to Gowon.

This keyword general is an exclusive feature of the coup genre of speech, and it is not present in the other genres. Apart from using it as an honorific to reproduce unequal power relations, some of the speakers used the keyword general in a more civil way to enact the concepts of affiliation, and individuation in the coup genre.

The next keyword for the coup genre is chief. The concordance results of the keyword chief are shown in Figure 7.5.

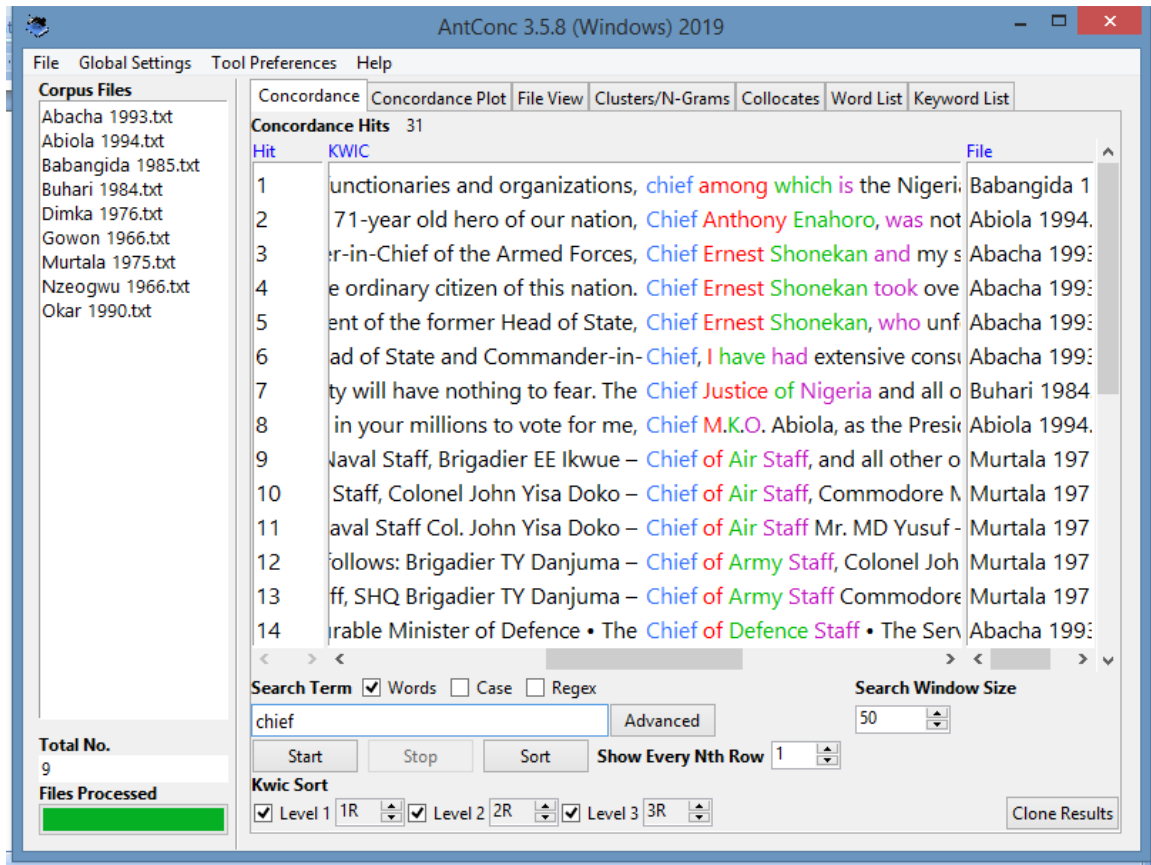


Figure 7.5: Concordance results of the keyword chief

A wider examination of the above concordance results shows that in line 1, the speaker Babangida uses the following statement: "The situation was made worse by a number of other government functionaries and organizations, *chief* [upscaling Degree] among which is the Nigerian Security Organization (NSO)", to enact individuation away from Buhari's government. The Appraisal annotation of this statement indicates that the keyword "chief" was used to intensify the degree of the offences of this organization, which was established by Buhari. Babangida uses this linguistic resource to individuate away from Buhari's government and agencies.

Secondly, in line 4 of the concordance, Abacha, uses the following clause complex: “Chief Ernest Shonekan took over as Head of State and *Commander-in-Chief* [+Capacity] of the Nigerian Armed Forces at a *most* [Intensification: Degree] trying time in the history of the country”, to affiliate with Shonekan, who he ironically overthrew through a coup. The Appraisal resources also show that the speaker uses “most” to express the degree of the problems which Shonekan inherited. The speaker equally uses the keyword chief, to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians, by using honorifics to refer to Chief Shonekan.

Lastly, in line 7 of the concordance, Buhari reproduces unequal power relations between himself, and the Chief Justice using the keyword Chief as honorifics in the following clause complex: “The Chief Justice of Nigeria and all other holders of judicial appointments within the *federation* [Extent: Distribution: space] can continue in their appointments and the judiciary shall continue to function under existing laws subject to such exceptions as may be *decreed* [+Capacity] from time to time by the Federal Military Government”. The speaker uses the word “decreed” to reproduce binary unequal power relations overtly, between himself and the judiciary.

The keyword chief was mainly used as an honorific to reproduce unequal power relations by the military speakers. This keyword is also an exclusive feature of the coup genre of speech, as it is not represented in the first ten keywords of the inaugural and secession genres. The keyword chief underscores the tendency of the Nigerian military to exert power over others. Moreover, the word ‘chief’ is key because it appears in the words “Commander in Chief”, “Chief Justice”, as well as being used on its own as a traditional title like “Chief Ernest Shonekan”. It is also used as a militaristic keyword in words like “Chief of Air Staff”, “Chief of Naval Staff”, and to indicate typicality as in Babangida’s statement “chief among which”.

The next keyword is the past tense was. Several coup speakers used the keyword was to describe the violent and forceful military coup activities that happened in Nigeria from 1966 to 1993. The concordance results of the keyword was, are shown in Figure 7.6.

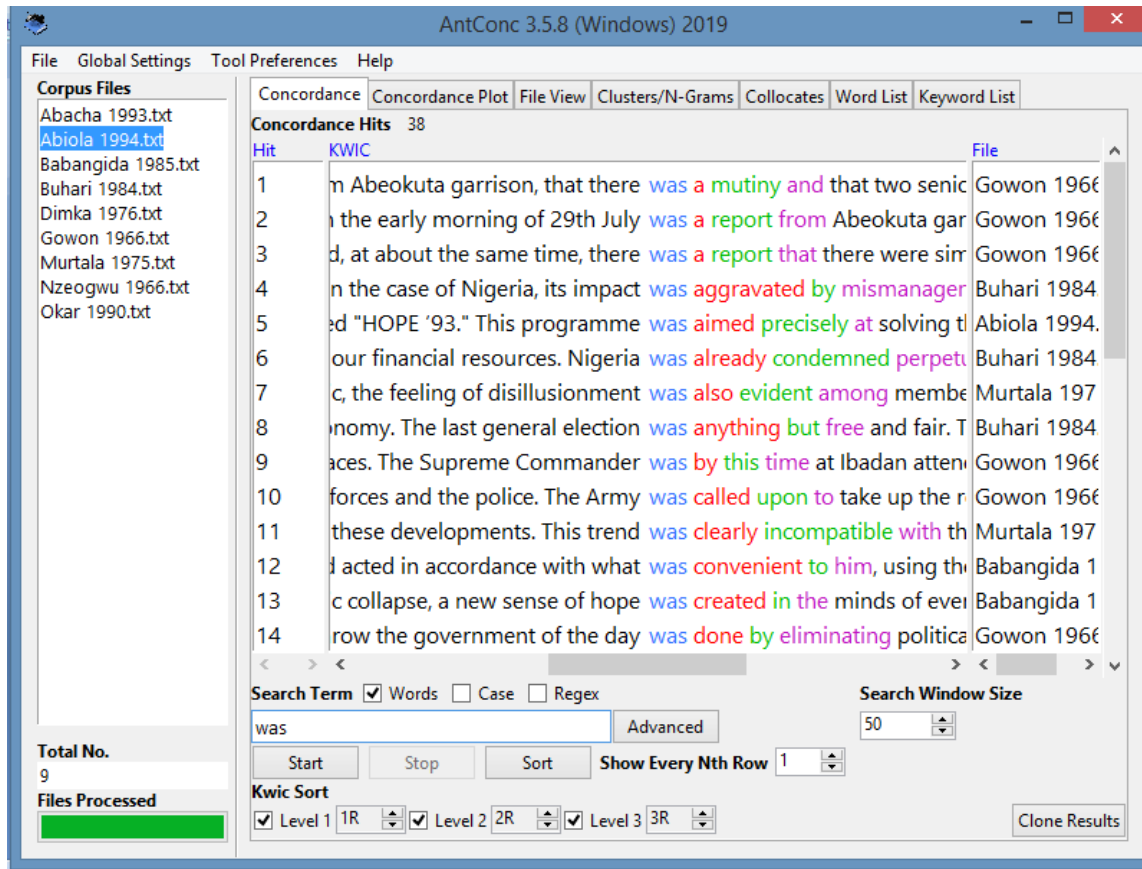


Figure 7.6: Concordance result of the keyword was

In line 1 of the concordance search for the keyword was, Gowon uses the following statement to enact individuation away from those that were killed in Nigeria’s second coup of 29 July 1966, as follows: “The position on the early morning of 29 July was a report from Abeokuta garrison, that there was a *mutiny* [-Propriety] and *two senior and one junior officers* [-Inclination] from a particular section of the country were *killed* [-Happiness]”. Gowon uses the suppression strategy with the phrase: “two senior and one junior officers” so that people will not know immediately, those that were killed. Gowon might have suppressed the identity of the victims due to the already tense political atmosphere in Nigeria then, because of the first coup of 15th January 1966.

Further in line 9 of the concordance, Gowon makes the following statement: “The *Supreme* [Intensification: degree] *Commander* [+Capacity] was by this time at Ibadan attending the natural rulers’ conference and was due to *return* [upscaling Vigour] on the afternoon of 29<sup>th</sup> July”, to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the listeners. Gowon uses the phrase:

“The Supreme Commander” to refer to Ironsi, who was killed in that coup, and who he earlier refused to mention in concordance line 1. The speaker reproduced unequal power relations by using honorifics to draw the attention of the listeners to his speech. Gowon also uses the keyword was, to refer to the events that happened during the coup in which “The Supreme Commander” was killed.

Lastly, in line 8 of the concordance, Buhari uses the following example to enact individuation away from the election conducted by the civilian government which he overthrew in a coup: “The last general election was anything *but* [Contract: Deny] *free and fair*” [-Security]. Here, the speaker uses the phrase: “was anything but” to distance himself from the election by denying its genuineness. The keyword was, is an exclusive feature of the coup genre of speeches, as it is not represented in the inaugural and secession genres, or even the macro-analysis, which also contains many of the corpus speeches.

The next keyword is Col. which is an abbreviation of a rank in the army. The concordance results of the keyword col are shown in Figure 7.7.

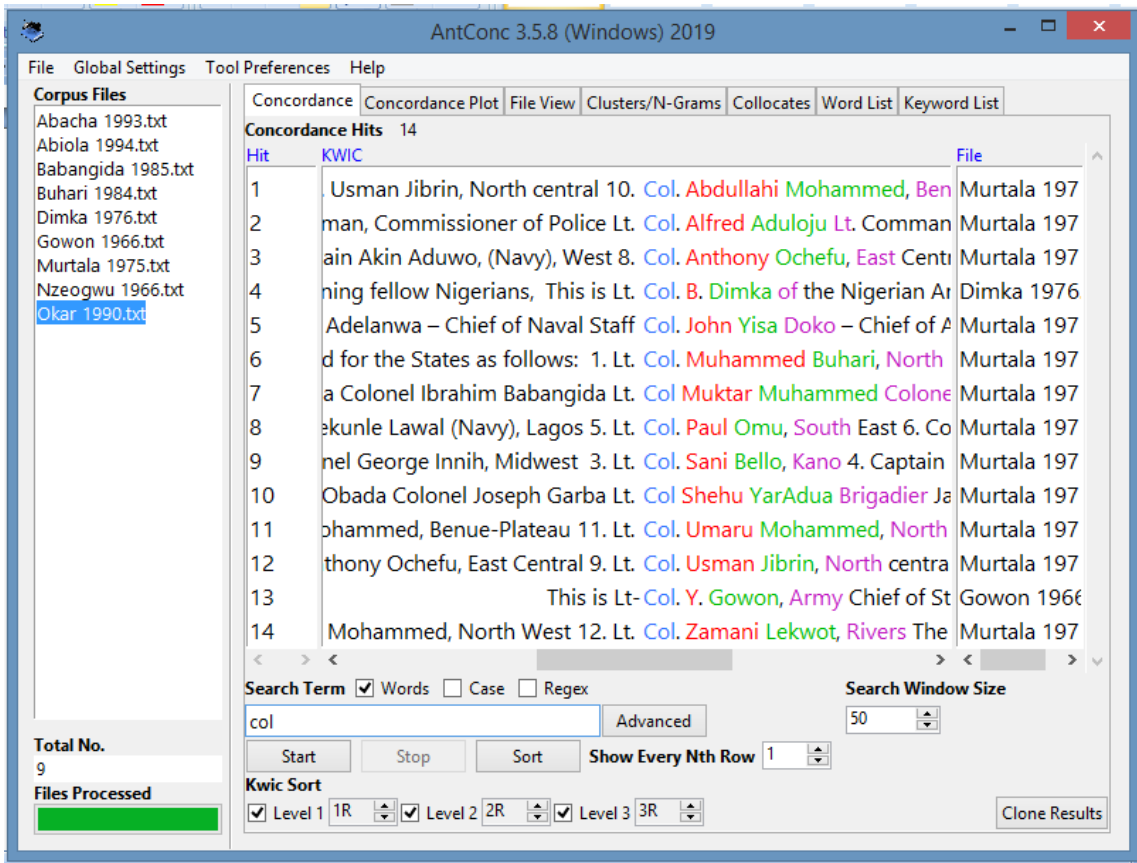


Figure 7.7: Concordance results of the keyword Col.

A wider examination of the concordance of the keyword col indicates that in line 4, Dimka uses it to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, as follows: “*This is Lt. Col. [+Capacity] B. Dimka of the Nigerian Army calling*”. Dimka uses the honorifics of his military position to command the attention of his listeners. Apart from Dimka, the first ten lines of the concordance results show that Murtala was the only speaker who used the keyword col to reproduce unequal power relations, by announcing the names of those he had appointed into various offices. For instance, he announced as follows in lines 1 and 6 of the concordance: “New Military Governors have also been *appointed* [Intensification: Vigour] for the States as follows: Lt. Col. Muhammed Buhari, Northeast and Lt. Col. Usman Jibrin, North Central”. The word

“appointed” intensifies the process of reproducing unequal relations between the speaker and Nigerians, by showing who was in the position to appoint.

Expectedly, this keyword col is an exclusive feature of the coup genre of speeches, as it is not present in the inaugural and secession genres. The keyword further justifies my claim that the Nigerian coup genre, is very militaristic and used to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, and affiliation with the military while individuating away from the civilians.

The next keyword is Council and the Nigerian military speakers equally used it to reproduce unequal power relations by expressing their authority and supremacy over other Nigerians. The concordance results of the keyword council are shown in Figure 7.8.

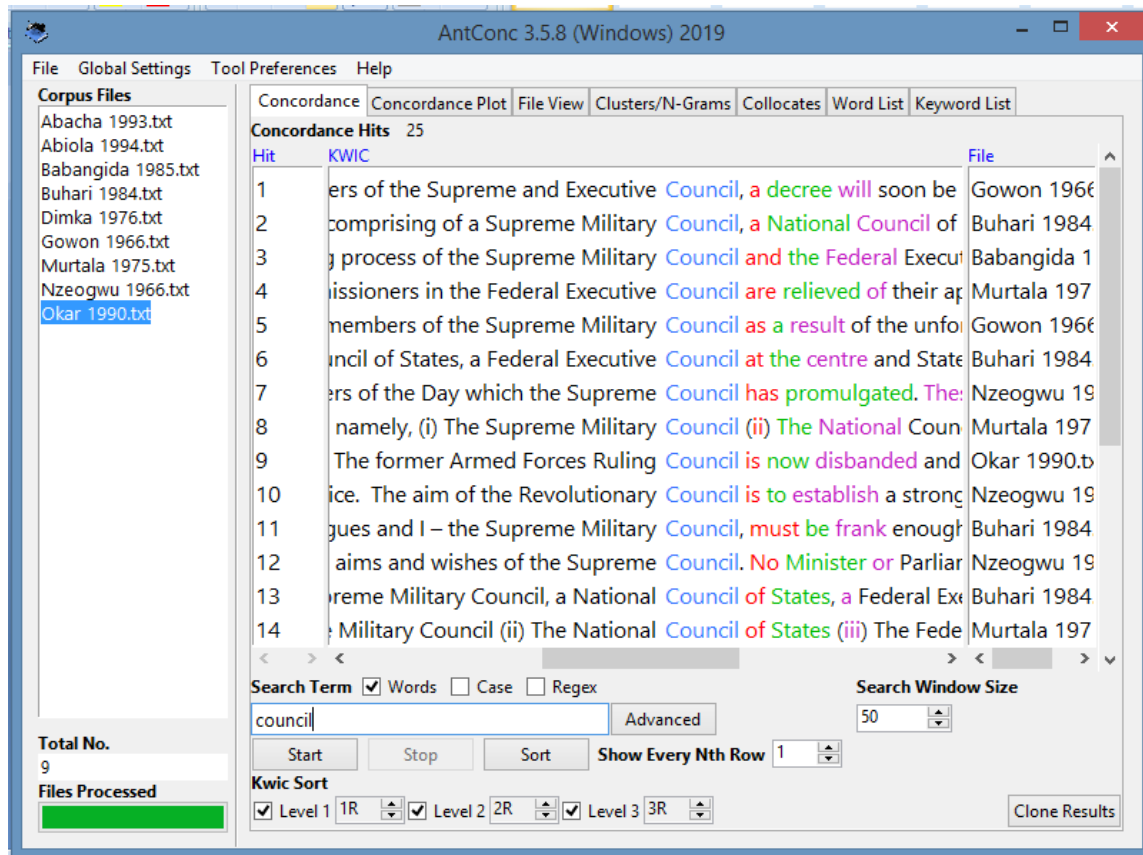


Figure 7.8: Concordance result of the keyword council



An examination of the concordance results shows that in line 1, Gowon uses the following statement: “With the general consensus of opinion of *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] the Military Governors and other members of the Supreme and Executive Council [Sharpen Focus], a decree will soon be issued [upscaling Vigour] to lay a firm foundation of this objective”, to reproduce unequal power relations between the Nigerian military and the civilians. The speaker uses the word “all” in an inclusive sense, to upscale the force of the enormity of the power the military possesses. He also uses it to graduate the positive Attitude of the military’s capacity with the word “decree”.

Further, in line 2 of the concordance, Buhari transforms unequal power relations between himself, and the civilians, as follows: “Consequently, the Nigerian armed Forces have *constituted* [Intensification: Vigour] themselves into a Federal Military Government comprising of a *Supreme* [upscaling Degree] Military Council, a National Council of States Federal Executive Council at the center and State Executive Councils to be *presided* [+Capacity] over by the Military governors in each of the states of the federation”. He uses the words "constituted and presided" to intensify the process through which his military government exerts binary power relations with the civilians.

Lastly, in line nine of the concordance of the keyword council, Orkar made the following statement: “The former Armed Forces Ruling Council is now *disbanded* [-Capacity] and replaced [+Capacity] with National Ruling Council to be chaired by the head of state with other members being a civilian vice-head of state, service chiefs, inspector general of police, one representative each from NLC, NUJ, NBA, and NANS” (note: NLC stands for: Nigeria Labour Congress, NUJ: Nigeria Union of Journalists, NBA: Nigeria Bar Association and NANS: National Association of Nigerian Students). The speaker uses the words “disbanded” and “presided” to intensify the process of reproducing unequal power relations with his listeners. The keyword council is an exclusive feature of the coup genre of speech and is not represented in either the inaugural or secession genres.

The next keyword is the definite article the. The speakers also used this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation. The concordance results of the keyword the, are shown in Figure 7.9.

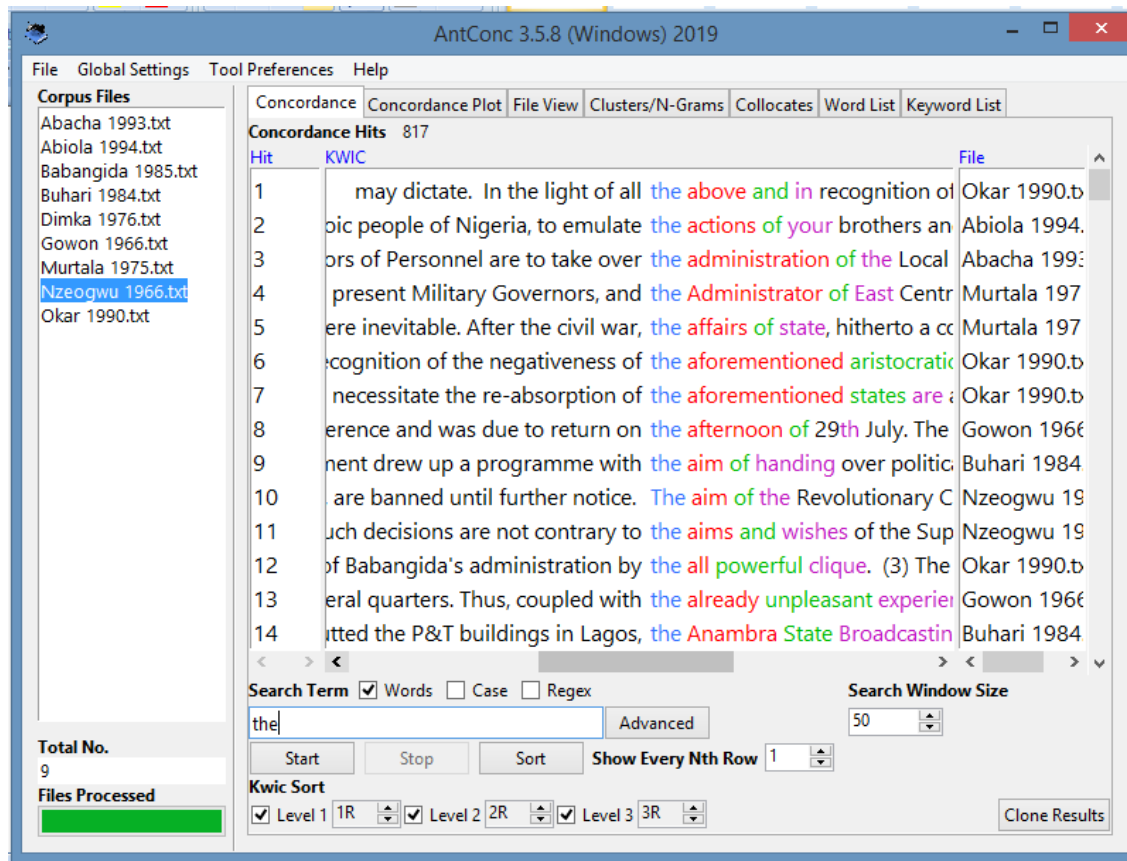


Figure 7.9: Concordance results of the keyword the

An examination of the keyword the, shows the result in line 2 of the concordance as follows: “I call on you *heroic* [+Propriety] people of Nigeria, to emulate the actions of your *brothers and sisters* [+Inclination] in South Africa and stand up as one person to *throw* [Intensification: Vigour] away the yoke of minority rule forever” [Extent: Distribution: Time]. The word “throw” intensifies the process through which Abiola affiliates with Nigerians and individuates away from the military. He called on patriotic Nigerians to emulate the actions of their brothers and sisters in South Africa who overthrew minority rule, to also overthrow the Nigerian minority military from governance. Abiola thus affiliates with “heroic Nigerians” as an in-group, by proposing a bond on the commonly shared value of heroism.

Further in line 3 of the concordance results, Abacha uses the following statement to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and his listeners: “The Directors of personnel are to *take over* [upscaling Vigour] the administration of the Local Governments until Administrators are *appointed*” [+Capacity]. The Appraisal resources “appointed” intensifies the process of exerting unequal power relations by the speaker.

Lastly, in line 10 of the concordance, Nzeogwu reproduces unequal power relations with the following statement: “The aim of the Revolutionary Council is to *establish* [+Capacity] a *strong* [upscaling Degree] united and prosperous nation [+Happiness], free from corruption and internal strife” [-Propriety]. The word “establish” intensifies the process through which the speaker exerts unequal power over his listeners. This keyword the is also not present in the inaugural and secession genres of speeches and is an exclusive feature of the coup genre.

The next keyword is the noun staff. Almost all the speakers used this keyword as an honorific to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, by announcing the rank of certain military officers. The concordance results of the keyword staff are shown in Figure 7.10

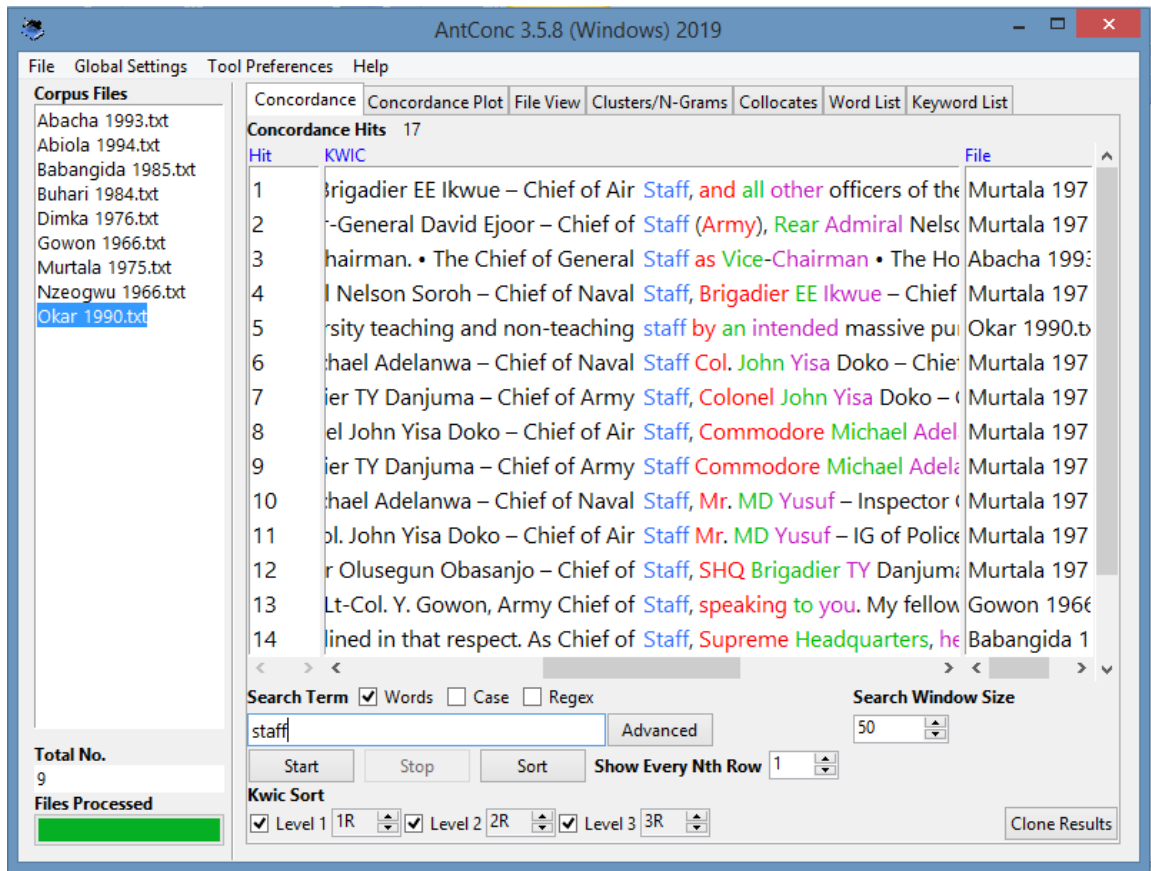


Figure 7.10: Concordance results of the keyword staff

In line 3 of the concordance, Abacha uses the keyword staff to reproduce unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, as follows: “A Provisional Ruling Council (PRC), is hereby *established* [+Capacity]. It will comprise: The Head of State, *Commander-in-Chief* [+Capacity] of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as Chairman. The Chief of General Staff as vice-Chairman”. The word "established" intensifies the process of exerting unequal power relations on the listeners.

Lastly, in lines 9 and 10 of the concordance, Murtala transforms unequal power relations with Nigerians as follows: “As you are already aware, new appointments *have been made* [Intensification: Vigour] as follows: Brigadier T.Y. Danjuma - Chief of Army Staff, Commodore Michael Adelanwa - Chief of Naval Staff”. The verb phrase “have been made” intensifies the process through which the speaker exerts unequal power relations with his listeners. In the first ten

lines of the concordance, Murtala uses this keyword more than other speakers, to reproduce unequal power relations. The keyword, staff is an exclusive feature of the coup genres, as it is not represented in either the inaugural or secession genres.

The last keyword for the coup genre is the prefix Lt which is used in the army to express the rank of Lieutenant. Expectedly, the coup speakers used this rank as an honorific to reproduce unequal power relations between themselves and their listeners. The concordance results of the keyword Lt are shown in Figure 7.11.

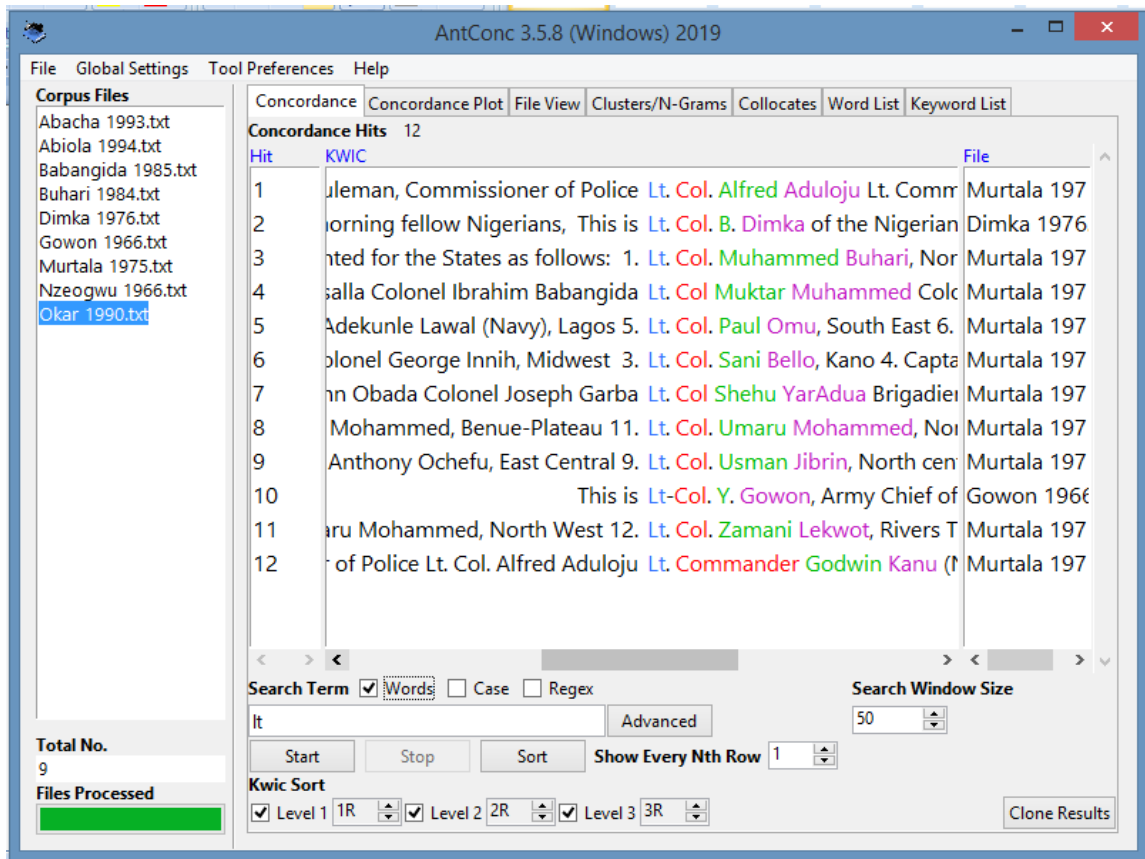


Figure 7.11: Concordance results of the keyword Lt.

In line 2 of the concordance results, Dimka reproduces unequal power relations between himself, and his listeners as follows: “This is *Lt. Col* [+Capacity] B. Dimka of the Nigerian Army *calling*” [Intensification: Vigour]. The announcement of his military rank was meant to assert his authority and command the respect of his audience. Likewise, in line 10 of the concordance, Gowon

announced his military title of Lt. to reproduce unequal power relations as follows: “This is *Lt-Col.* [+Capacity] Y Gowon, Army Chief of Staff, *speaking* [Intensification: Vigour] to you”. Gowon also uses the words “speaking to you” to command the attention of his listeners. Lastly, in lines 1-9, Murtala uses this military rank *Lt.*, as honorific, to reproduce unequal power relations, by announcing the positions of some officers.

The above keywords of the coup genre are very militaristic and forceful. The speakers are compelled by the violent and risky circumstances surrounding a coup, to use words that could either endear them to the people or force the people to comply with their military dictates. Consequently, the speakers used the keywords to enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation by either condemning the previous military governments against which they carried out the coup, a group, or individuals. The speaker also reproduced unequal power relations between the military and the civilians, or between their group of the military junta and another group or section of the country. These strategies result in a peculiar pattern of the Nigerian coup genre of speeches, which also have significant impacts on the sociopolitical experiences of Nigeria before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War and have enriched the Nigerian political discourse.

### 7.3 The genre of secession speech

The Eastern region seceded from Nigeria in 1967 and adopted the name “The Republic of Biafra”. This action resulted in the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (see 1.4 and 2.4). Although the first attempt to secede a section of amalgamated nations of Nigeria was carried out by Isaac Adaka Boro in 1966 (Ikporukpo, 2018) however, this attempt was not backed up by a speech that is well documented and had a national impact like Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech, which can easily be found online and in several print and electronic media. More information on Adaka Boro's secession can be found in 2.5.3.

The focus in the analysis of Nigeria's secession genre of speech is to establish lexical differences and similarities, that can be used to compare with the other genres of Nigeria's political discourse and answer the research questions in 1.8. Thus, the student investigator focus on unearthing the

words that are key in the secession speech, and how the speaker, uses them to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria, and negotiate affiliation with Biafrans, and individuation with Nigeria. In the coup speeches, the speakers reproduced unequal power relations in a binary and overt way. However, in the secession speech, Ojukwu transformed the already existing power that Nigeria exerts over the Eastern region by declaring the sovereignty of the Eastern region, from Nigeria. The first ten keywords of the secession genre, which give enough information on how the keywords were used to achieve analytics concepts are analysed in this section. Some graphic details about Nigeria's secession speech are provided in Table 7.3.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	30/05/1967	The secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria	secession	Ojukwu

Table 7.2: The secession sub-corpus

Since this researcher analyses Nigeria's secession speech of 1967, the only speaker in this secession speech is Ojukwu, as is revealed in a further concordance search of the keywords. The keywords of the secession genre are attached in Figure 7.12.

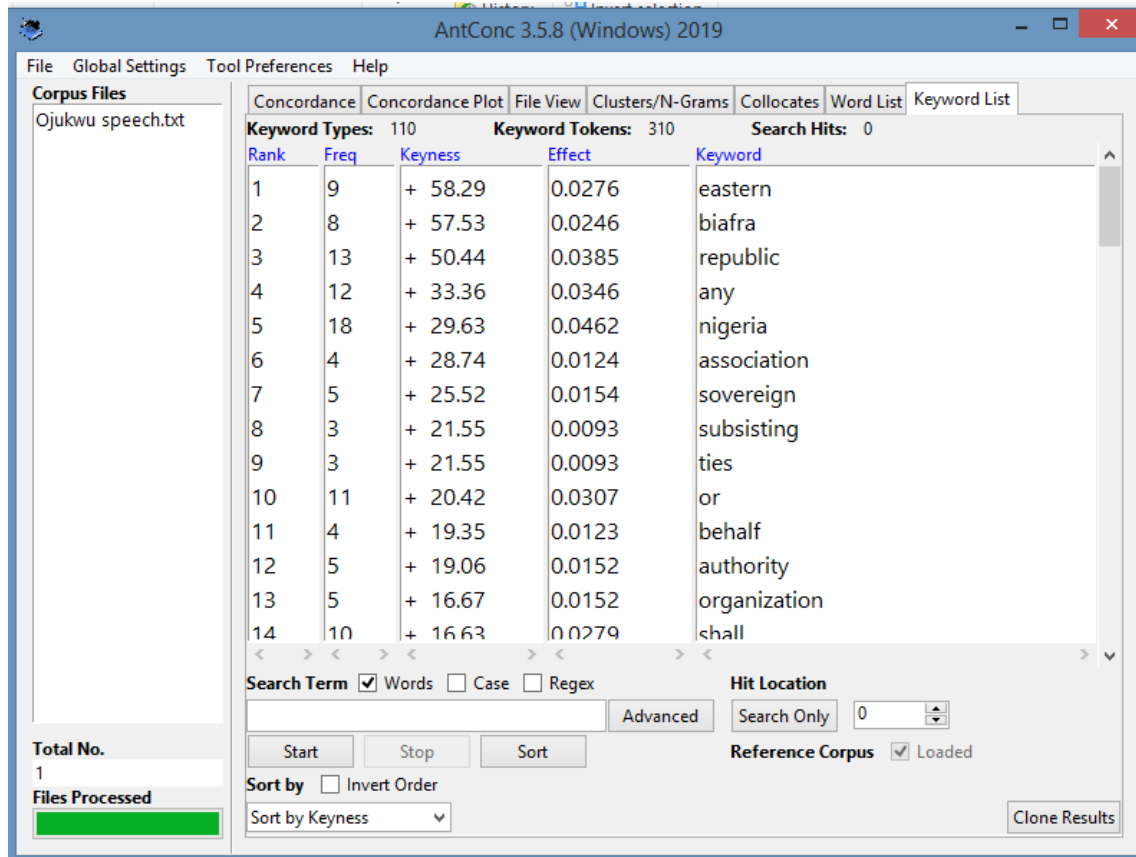


Figure 7.12: Keywords of the secession genre

### 7.3.1 Meso-analysis of the secession genre of speech

The first keyword of the secession genre is Eastern. This is not surprising because it was the Eastern region of Nigeria that seceded in 1967 as Biafra. In all the nine concordance results of the keyword Eastern, Ojukwu made serious efforts to assert the identity of the Eastern region as an independent sovereign nation, and he thereby enacts affiliation with the people of Eastern Nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword Eastern are shown in Figure 7.13.



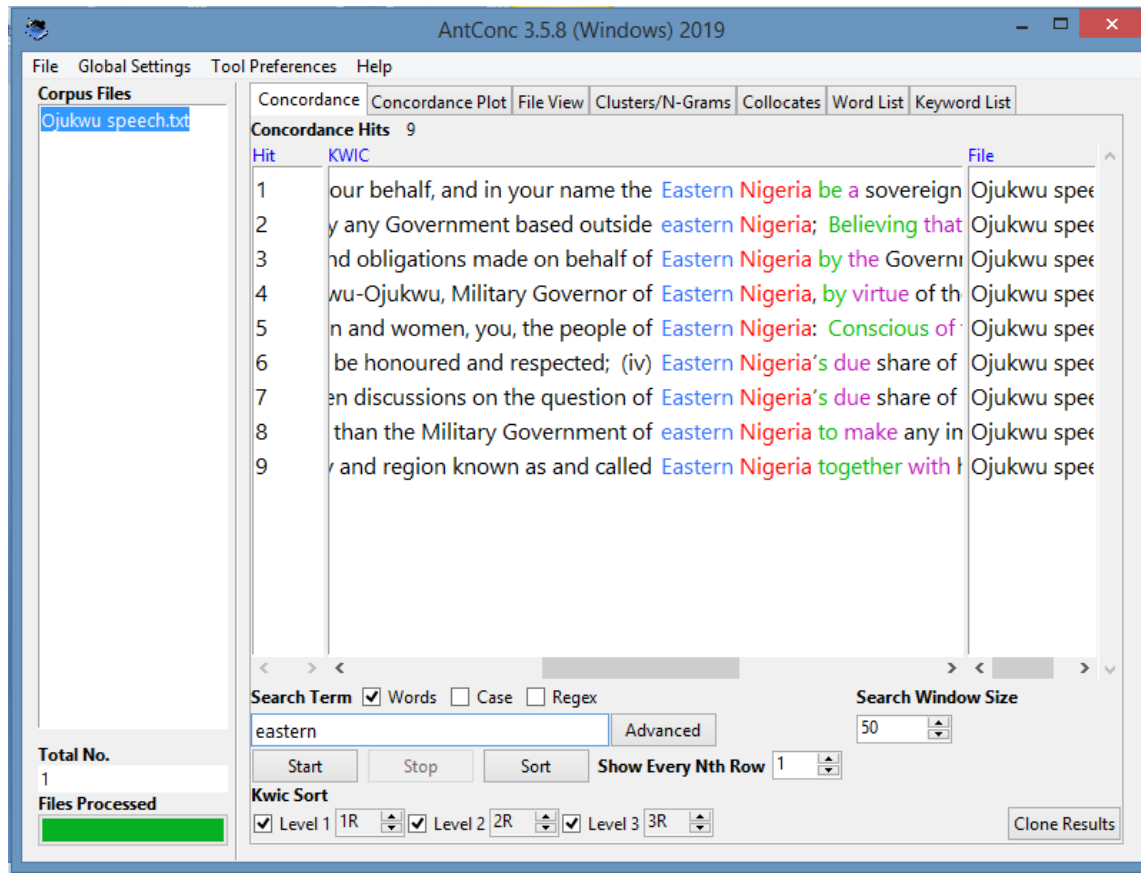


Figure 7.13: Concordance results of the keyword Eastern

In line 1 of the concordance results, Ojukwu announces the new identity of the Eastern region by reproducing unequal power relations between himself and the Eastern Nigerians as follows: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria: Conscious of the Supreme [Intensification: Degree] authority of Almighty God over *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] mankind, of your duty to yourselves and *posterity*; [Extent Distribution: time] ... Having mandated me to *proclaim* [+Capacity] on your behalf, and in your name the Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign [upscaling Degree] independent Republic”. Here, Ojukwu uses the words “proclaim” to assert his powers and capability to carve out an identity for the Eastern Nigerians, and “Supreme” to intensify the degree to which he was ready to assert the sovereignty of Eastern Nigeria.

Further in line 4 of the concordance, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations between the Eastern region and Nigeria, with the following clause complex: “Now Therefore I, Lieutenant-Col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, *Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria* [+Capacity], by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly *proclaim* [+Capacity] that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her *continental shelf and territorial waters* [Extent: Distribution: Space] shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra”. Here, the word “proclaim” was used to assert his powers and authority to make proclamations that will make the eastern region be a sovereign nation like Nigeria. he thereby transforms unequal power relations between the Eastern region and Nigeria. He equally uses the honorifics of his name and military position, to assert his authority and powers to make such declarations.

Lastly, in line 2, Ojukwu enacts affiliation with the people of Eastern Nigeria, as follows: “Aware that you can no longer be *protected* [-Security] in your lives and in your property by any Government based outside Eastern Nigeria”. The speaker uses the problem of insecurity prevailing in Nigeria at that time, to enact affiliation with Biafrans by proposing a bond on the commonly shared value of self-preservation.

The next keyword of the secession genre is biafra. The speaker also uses the same strategy of creating identity, to affiliate himself and other Eastern Nigerians with the Republic of Biafra, which is the name the seceded nation adopted. The concordance results of the keyword biafra are shown in Figure 7.14.

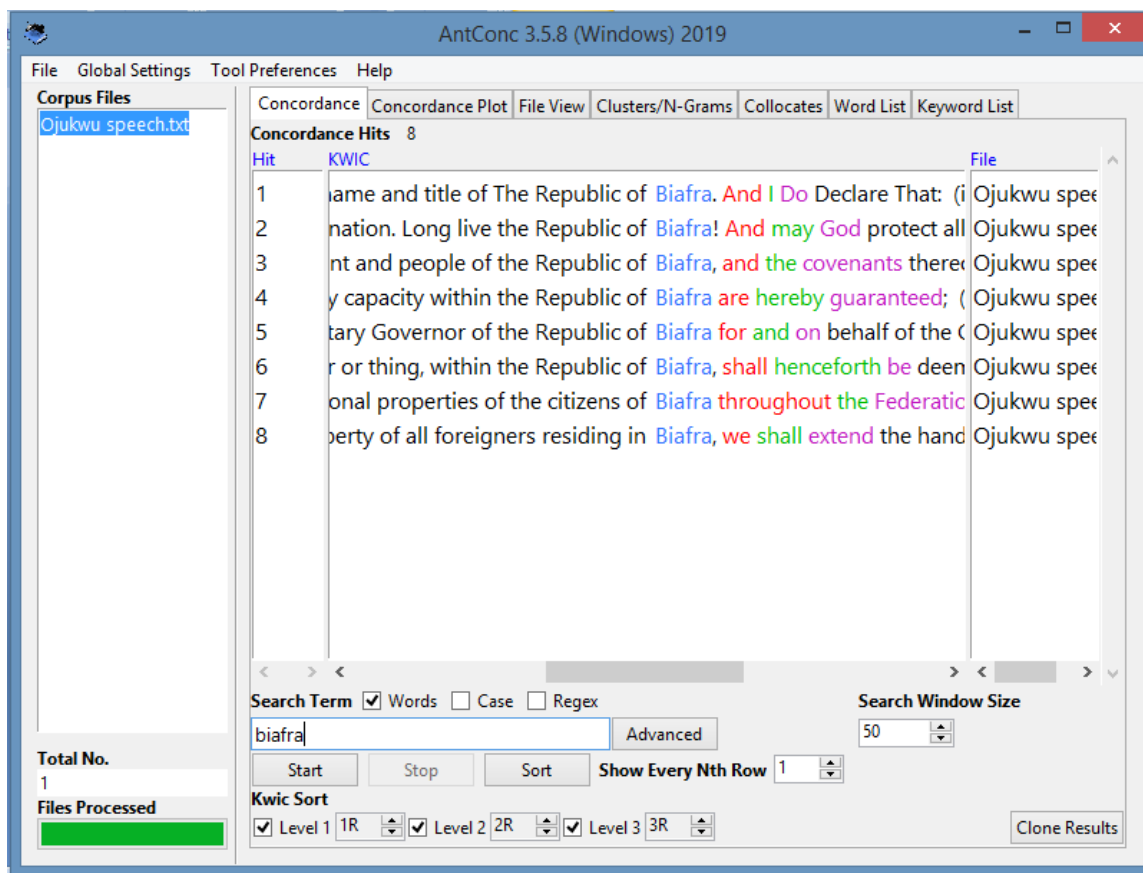


Figure 7.14: Concordance results of the keyword biafra

In line 1 of the concordance results, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations, and affiliates with Biafrans as follows: “Now Therefore I, Lieutenant-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, *Military Governor* [+Capacity] of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles recited above, do solemnly *proclaim* [+Capacity] that the territory and region known and called Eastern Nigeria together with her *continental shelf and territorial waters* [Extent: Proximity: Space] shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra”. The speaker uses the words “proclaim” and “sovereign” to intensify the process of transforming unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria, and the secession of Biafra from Nigeria.

Further in line 2, Ojukwu continues to enact a bond of affiliation with the people of Biafra with the following clause complex: “Long live the *Republic of Biafra!* [+Inclination] And may God *protect* [+Capacity] all those who live in her”. The word “protect” Appraises the “Republic of Biafra’ positively and creates a bond of security with Biafrans.

Lastly, in line 4 of the concordance, Ojukwu uses the following statement to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and all personnel serving in Biafra: “The rights, privileges, pensions, etc., of *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] personnel of the public services, the Armed Forces and the Police now serving in any capacity within the Republic of Biafra are hereby *guaranteed*” [+Capacity]. He exerts power as someone in a position of authority to guarantee the “rights” and “privileges” of others.

The above two keywords, Eastern and biafra, are exclusive features of the secession genre of Nigeria's political speech, as they are not present in either the coup or inaugural genres. The secession keywords reflect the existential need of Biafrans then, to carve out a different identity for themselves, and secure their land against any aggression from Nigeria (see 1.4 and 2.4).

The next keyword of the secession genre is republic. Ojukwu further enacts affiliation with the people of Biafra with the keyword republic, by asserting their identity and creating a common shared value of nationhood that bonds them together. The concordance results of the keyword republic are shown in Figure 7.15.

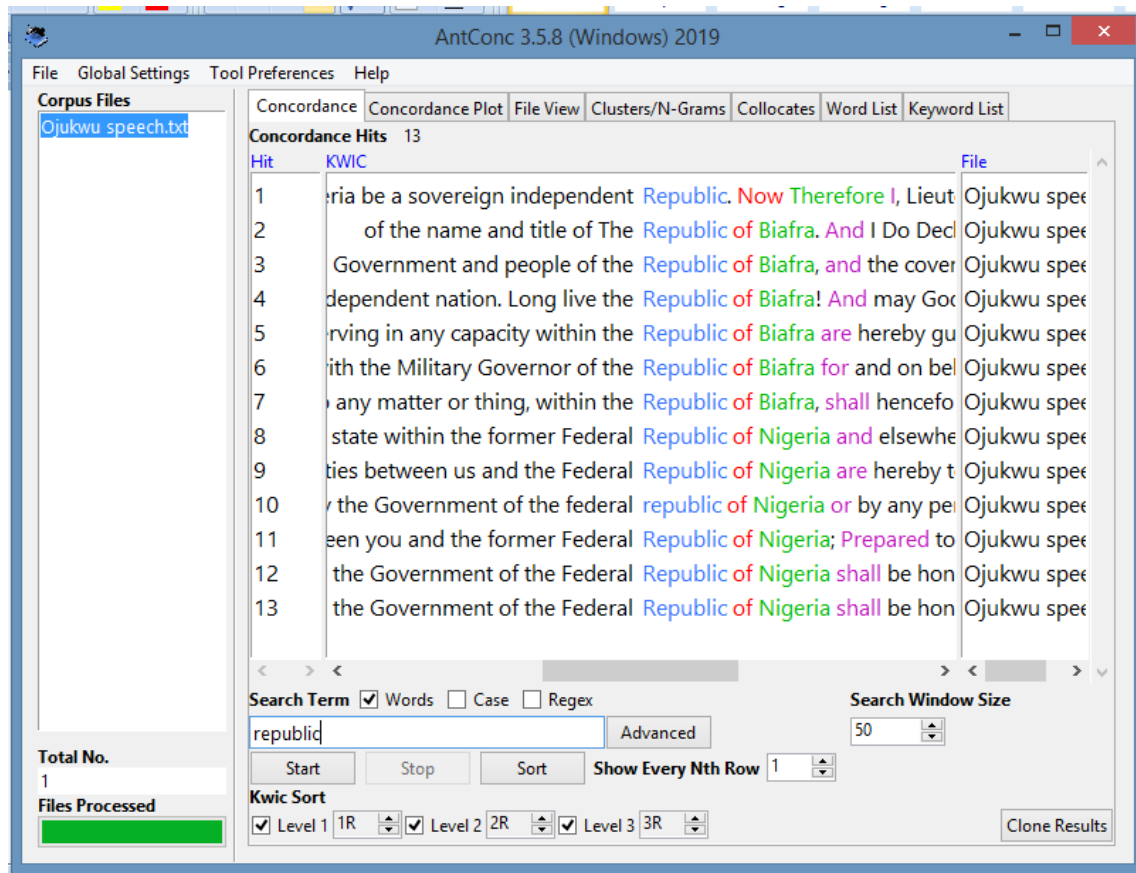


Figure 7.15: Concordance results of the keyword republic

A wider examination of the keyword republic in the main text of the secession speech, through the search of concordance line 1, Ojukwu reproduces unequal power relations between himself and the Biafrans, thus: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, *the people of Eastern Nigeria*: [+Inclination] ... Having *mandated* [Intensification: Vigour] me to *proclaim* [+Capacity] on your behalf, and in your name the Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign independent republic”.

Continuing, in line 4 of the concordance, Ojukwu enacts affiliation with the Republic of Biafra as follows: “Long live *the Republic of Biafra*” [+Happiness]. Here, he creates a special bond of success between himself and Biafra.

Lastly, in line 9 of the concordance, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria, and enacts individuation away from Nigeria, as follows: “And I Do *Declare*

[+Capacity] That: All political ties between us and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are hereby *totally* [Intensification: Degree] dissolved”. He uses the Appraisal resources of “totally” to show the degree of Biafra's secession from Nigeria, and “dissolved” to demonstrate his capacity to make declarations on behalf of Biafra.

The Igbos are the dominant ethnic group that make up the nation of Biafra, and they are well known for their republican orientation in political and social affairs (Ibenekwu, 2003; Kizito, 2020). The use of the word “republic” further demonstrates the desire of the Biafrans to be free from Nigeria and individuate away from anything that linked them with Nigeria. Expectedly, the keyword republic is not also represented in the coup and inaugural genres of Nigerian political speeches.

The next keyword for this genre of secession speech is any. The speaker uses this keyword mainly as a determiner before nouns, to enact individuation away from Nigeria or transform unequal power relations covertly, between Biafra and Nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword any, are shown in Figure 7.16.

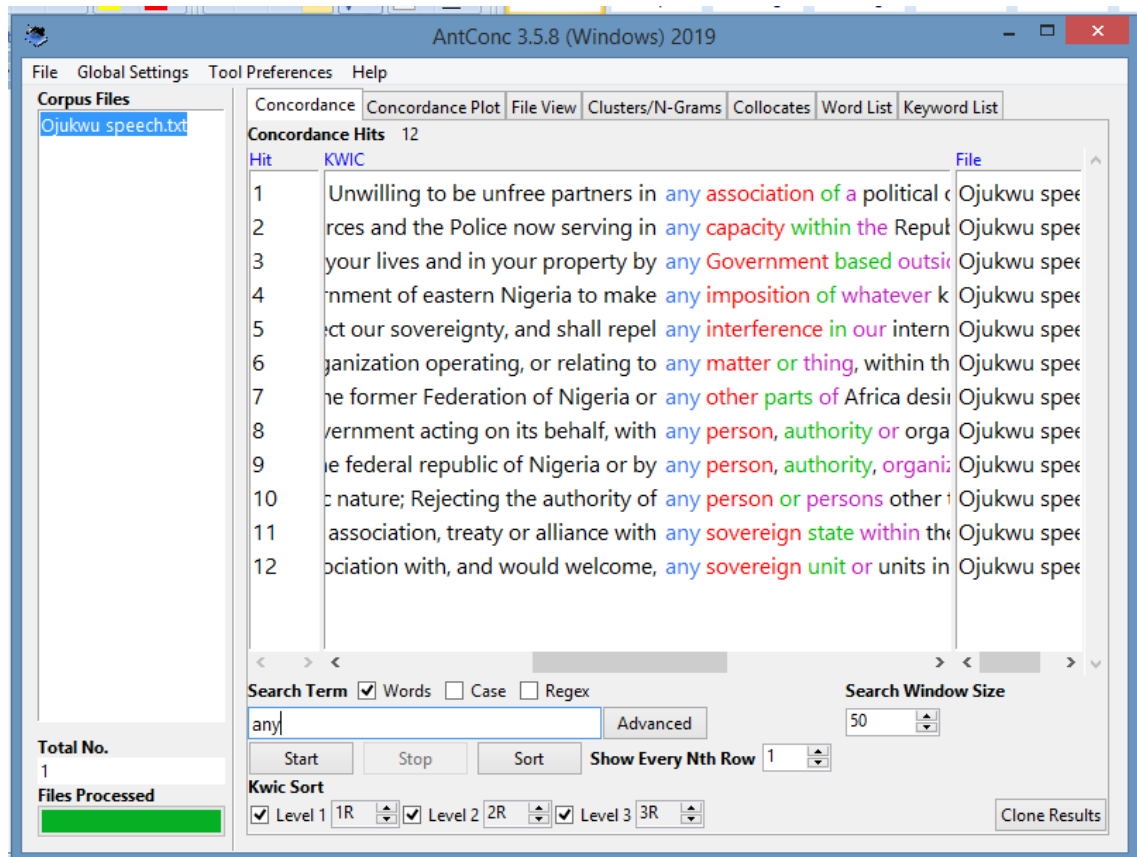


Figure 7.16: Concordance results of the keyword any

Some examples of how the speaker uses the keyword any to enact individuation of Biafra away from Nigeria are in line 1 of the concordance: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria: ...Unwilling to be unfree partners in *any* [upscaling Quantification: Number] association of a political or economic nature”. Ojukwu uses the Appraisal resource of the word “any” to upscale the force of his individuation of Biafrans away from Nigeria.

Further, in line 5 of the concordance, Ojukwu reproduces unequal power relations between himself, and his listeners as follows: “We shall *protect* [+Capacity] the lives and property of all foreigners residing in Biafra, we shall extend the hand of friendship to those nations who respect our sovereignty and shall *repel* [+Capacity] *any* [upscaling Quantification: Number] interference in our internal affairs”. The word ‘repel’ describes the process through which Ojukwu transforms

powers and authority with Nigeria, to make Biafra a sovereign nation, free from Nigeria’s authority.

Lastly, in line 10 of the concordance, the speaker uses any to enact affiliation as follows: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria: ... *Rejecting* [-Inclination] the authority of *any* [upscaling Quantification: number] person or persons other than the Military Government of Eastern Nigeria to make *any* [upscaling Quantification: Number] imposition of whatever kind or nature upon you”. Ojukwu uses the keyword any, to emphasize the totality of the rejection of Nigeria by Biafrans, thereby enacting individuation away from Nigeria.

The next keyword for the secession genre is the noun nigeria. The speaker continues to enact affiliation, and individuation and transforms power relations between Biafra and Nigeria with the keyword nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword nigeria are shown in Figure 7.17.



Figure 7.17: Concordance results of the keyword nigeria



In line three of the concordance, Ojukwu transforms unequal power relations in the following clause complex: “All political ties between us and the *Federal Republic of Nigeria* [Sharpen Focus] are hereby *totally* [Intensification: Degree] dissolved”. The word “dissolved” shows how he exerts powers, while “totally” intensifies the degree to which he transforms unequal power relations with Nigeria.

Lastly, in line 9 of the concordance, Ojukwu enacts affiliation with other units in Nigeria and Africa as follows: “We shall keep the door open for association with, and would welcome, any *sovereign unit or units* [+Inclination] in the former Federation of Nigeria or any other parts of Africa *desirous* [upscaling Vigour] of association with us for the purposes of running a common services organization and for the establishment of economic ties”. He uses the phrase “...Former Federation of Nigeria or any other parts of Africa” to demonstrate the extent he was ready to align with those that share common values with Biafra.

Considering the circumstances that led to the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria, Ojukwu's secession speech contains a lot of keywords that are unique and related to things that concern Biafra. However, the above Keyword nigeria, equally indicates that Biafra once had something to do with Nigeria as one country.

The next keyword is the noun association. This keyword generates only four concordance hits, which the speaker uses to enact affiliation with the people of Biafra and individuation away from Nigeria. Due to the few numbers of concordance lines for this keyword, I give only one example to illustrate the evidence of unequal power relations. The concordance results of the keyword association are shown in Figure 7.18.

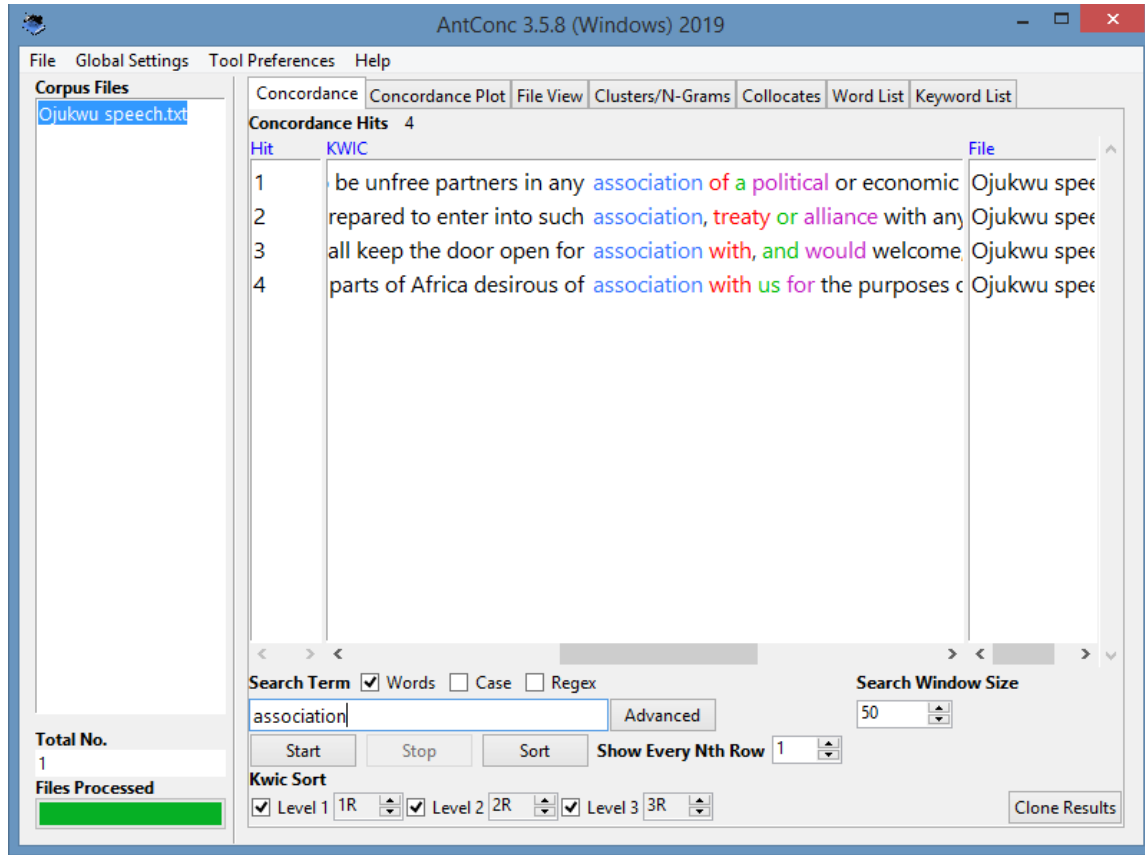


Figure 7.18: Concordance results of the keyword association

In concordance line 2, Ojukwu uses the following clause complex: “Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria: *Determined* [+Tenacity] to *dissolve* [+Capacity] *all* [upscaling Quantification: Number] political and other ties between you and the former Federal Republic of Nigeria; Prepared to enter into such *association*, [+Inclination] treaty or alliance with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good”, to transform unequal power relations, and enact individuation away from Nigeria. Ojukwu uses the words “Determined” and “dissolve” to demonstrate the seriousness Biafrans attach to their resolve to secede from Nigeria. The keyword association is an exclusive feature of the secession genre, as it is neither represented in the Nigerian coup genre, nor the inaugural genre.

The next keyword for the secession genre is sovereign. This keyword has five concordance hits, which the speaker uses to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword sovereign are shown at 7.19.

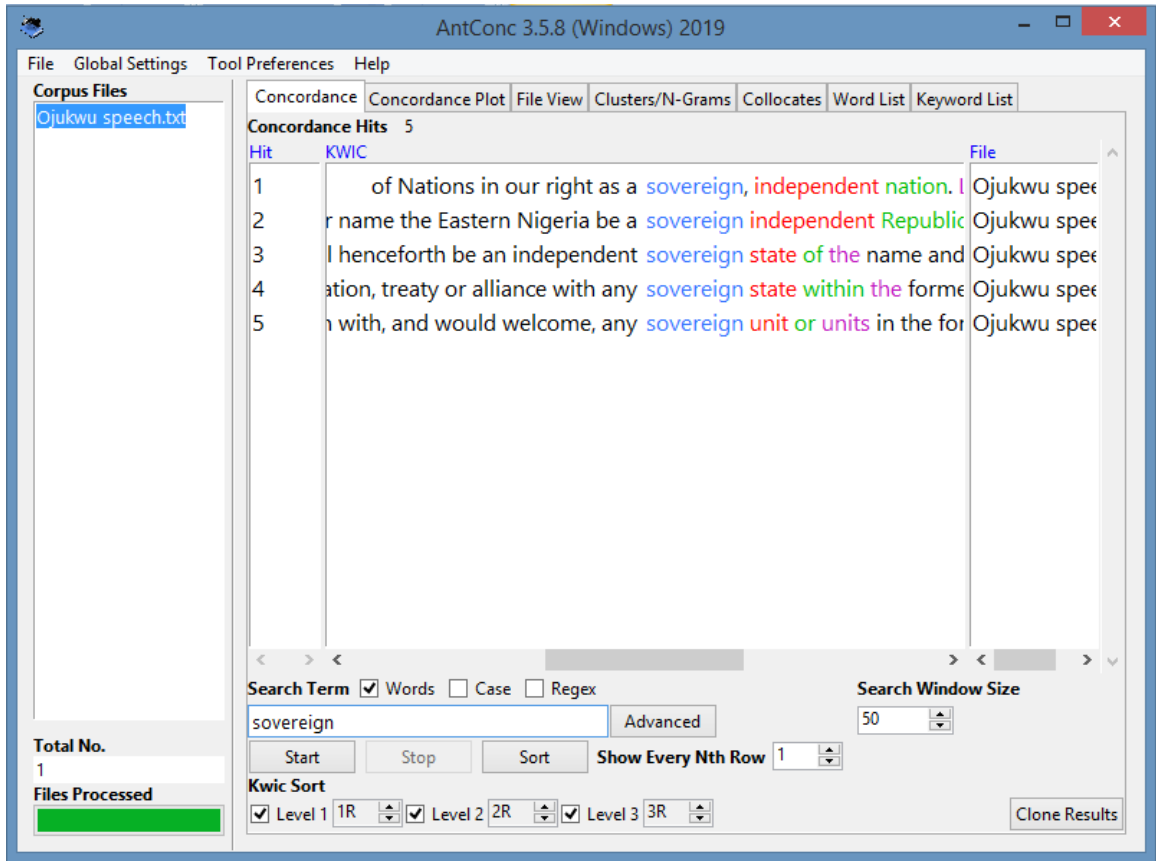


Figure 7.19: Concordance results of the keyword sovereign

An examination of the keyword sovereign shows that in line 1 of the concordance, the speaker transforms unequal power relations between Biafra and other nations, as follows: “It is our intention to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations in our right as a *sovereign*, [upscaling: Degree] independent nation”. The keyword "sovereign" was used to upscale the degree of freedom and independence the speaker asserts for Biafra.

The next keyword is subsisting. This keyword generates only three concordance hits, which the speaker uses to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria. To buttress this point, one example is used to show evidence of unequal power relations in this speech. The concordance results of the keyword subsisting are shown in Figure 7.20.

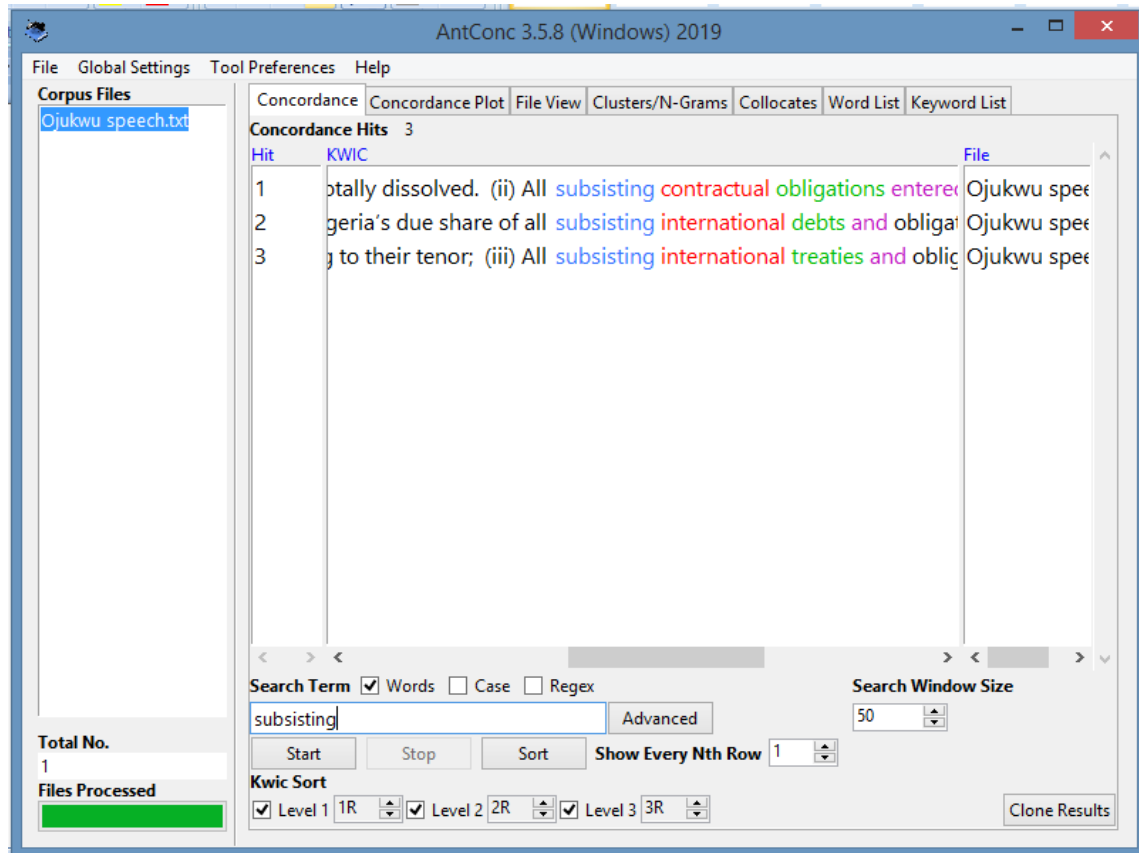


Figure 7.20: Concordance results of the keyword subsisting

In line 1 of the concordance, Ojukwu demonstrates the enormous power he wields as the Biafran Head of State, as he transforms unequal power relations between himself and Nigeria, using the following clause complex: “All [Quantification: Number] subsisting *contractual obligations* [+Propriety] entered into by the Government of the federal republic of Nigeria or by any [upscaling Quantification: Number] person, authority, organization or government acting on its behalf, with any person, authority or organization operating, or relating to any matter or thing, within the Republic of Biafra, shall henceforth be deemed to be entered into with the Military Governor of the Republic of Biafra for and on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Biafra, and the covenants thereof shall, subject to this *Declaration* [+Capacity], be performed [Intensification: Vigour] by the parties according to their tenor”. He uses the word “performed” to intensify the process through which he transforms power with Nigeria to assert Biafra’s

sovereignty in the speech. This keyword subsisting is an exclusive feature of the secession genre and is not represented in either the coup or inaugural genres of speeches.

The next keyword is ties. Ojukwu also uses this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria and enact individuation away from Nigeria. The keyword ties has only three concordance results. I use one example of concordance to show evidence of unequal power relations in the speech. The concordance results of the keyword ties are shown in Figure 7.21.

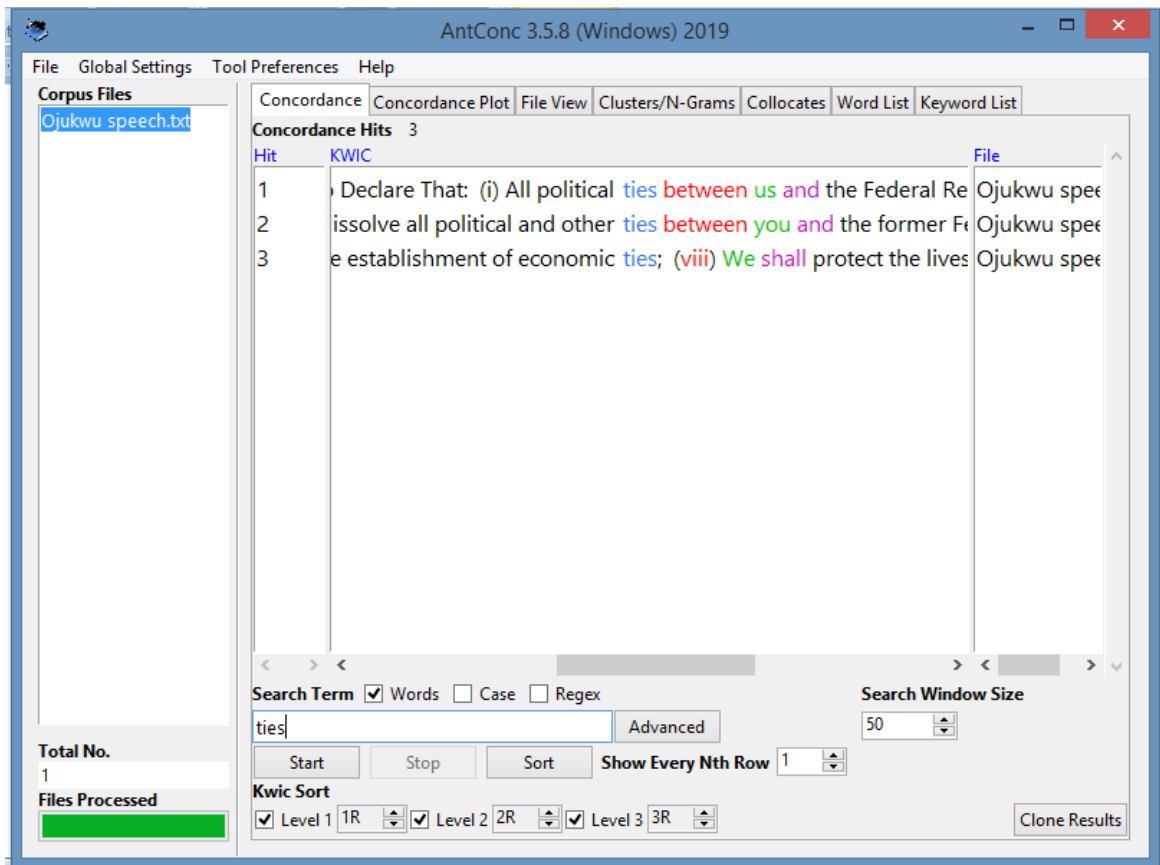


Figure 7.21: Concordance results of the keyword ties

In line 1 of the concordance results, Ojukwu uses the following clause complex to further transform unequal power relations with Nigeria: “All political *ties* [+inclination] between us the Federal Republic of Nigeria are hereby *totally* [Intensification: Degree] *dissolved*” [+Capacity]. The word “totally” intensifies the extent of disalignment between Biafra and Nigeria, while “dissolved”

shows how the speaker exerts unequal power in his speech. The keyword ties is also an exclusive feature of the secession speech.

The last keyword that is analysed in this genre is the conjunction or. The speaker equally uses this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, the people of Biafra, and Nigeria, and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation. The concordance results of the keyword or are shown in Figure 7.22.

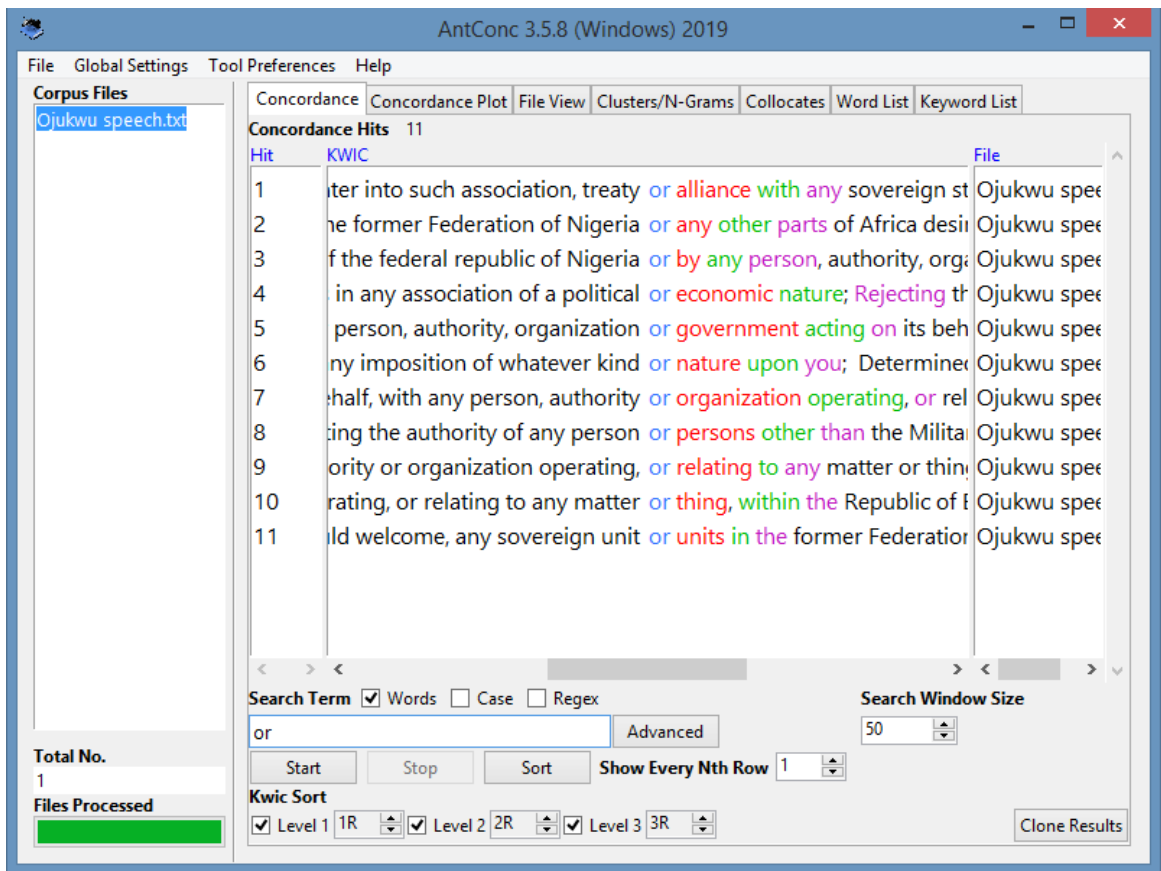


Figure 7.22: Concordance results of the keyword or

In line 4 of the concordance, Ojukwu uses the following statement: “Unwilling to be *unfree* [-Happiness] partners in *any* [upscaling Quantification: number] association of a political or economic nature”, to negotiate the individuation of Biafra away from Nigeria. The word “any” upscales the seriousness of the process the speaker uses to enact this individuation.

Likewise, in line 3 of the concordance, the speaker uses the following clause complex: “Rejecting [-Inclination] the authority of any person or persons other than the Military Government of Eastern Nigeria to make any imposition of whatever [Quantification: Number] kind or nature upon you”, to further individuate Biafrans away from Nigeria. The word “whatever” upscales the force of the individual differences between Biafrans and Nigeria and emphasizes the totality of the secession.

Lastly, in line 1 of the concordance, the speaker uses the following clause complex: “Prepared to enter into such *association, treaty or alliance* [+Inclination] with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and *elsewhere* [Extent: Proximity: Space] on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good”, to enact affiliation of Biafra with other sovereign states. He uses “elsewhere” to indicate the extent that Biafrans were ready to go to align with any unit(s) that share common values with them.

The secession genre of speech has very peculiar features that are quite distinct from the inaugural and coup genres. The incisive sociopolitical events that gave rise to Nigeria's political speeches at different times, also impacted the keywords of both the inaugural, coup, and secession genres of speeches. For instance, the inaugural genre uses mainly keywords that are more civil and focused on the development of the country, and affiliation with Nigerians. The secession genre also reproduces unequal, soft power (Cao, 2011) relations and enacts the analytics concepts of affiliation and individuation without sounding sectional against some persons or individuals. On the contrary, the coup genre relies more on forceful, militaristic keywords to reproduce binary unequal power relations overtly, and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation between the military and the civilians, or between one region and other regions of the country and another. It, therefore, used in-group and out-group strategies to achieve military dominance. It is also significant that the inaugural and coup genres have several speakers, while the secession genre has only one speaker. This made the secession genre to maintain one pattern reproducing unequal power relations between the speaker and Biafrans, and between Biafra and Nigeria. The secession speaker also enacted the concepts of affiliation and individuation, by drawing on legal and parallel construction of clause complexes, to assert the fundamental human rights of Biafrans to self-

determination. More information on the approach used by the secession speaker can be found in 8.2. Through these peculiar features, the three genres of speeches have enriched Nigeria's political discourse by highlighting different patterns of evaluative language.

#### 7.4 The inaugural genre of speeches

The inaugural genre comprises the entire population of presidential inaugural speeches made before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970, which I present in table 7.2.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	01/10/1960	The first inaugural speech on Nigeria's independence from Britain	Inaugural	Balewa
2	01/10/1979	The first post-Nigeria-Biafra War presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Shagari
3	29/05/1999	The second post-Nigeria-Biafra War presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Obasanjo
4	29/05/2007	The third post-Nigeria-Biafra War presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Yar' Adua
5	29/05/2011	The fourth post-Nigeria-Biafra War presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Jonathan
6	29/05/2015	The fifth post-Nigeria-Biafra War presidential inaugural speech	Inaugural	Buhari

Table 7.3: The inaugural sub-corpus

This section of the analysis focuses on the occurrences of keywords that are unique to the inaugural speech genre but are not present in the coup and secession genres. The keywords for the inaugural genre are attached in Figure 7. 23.



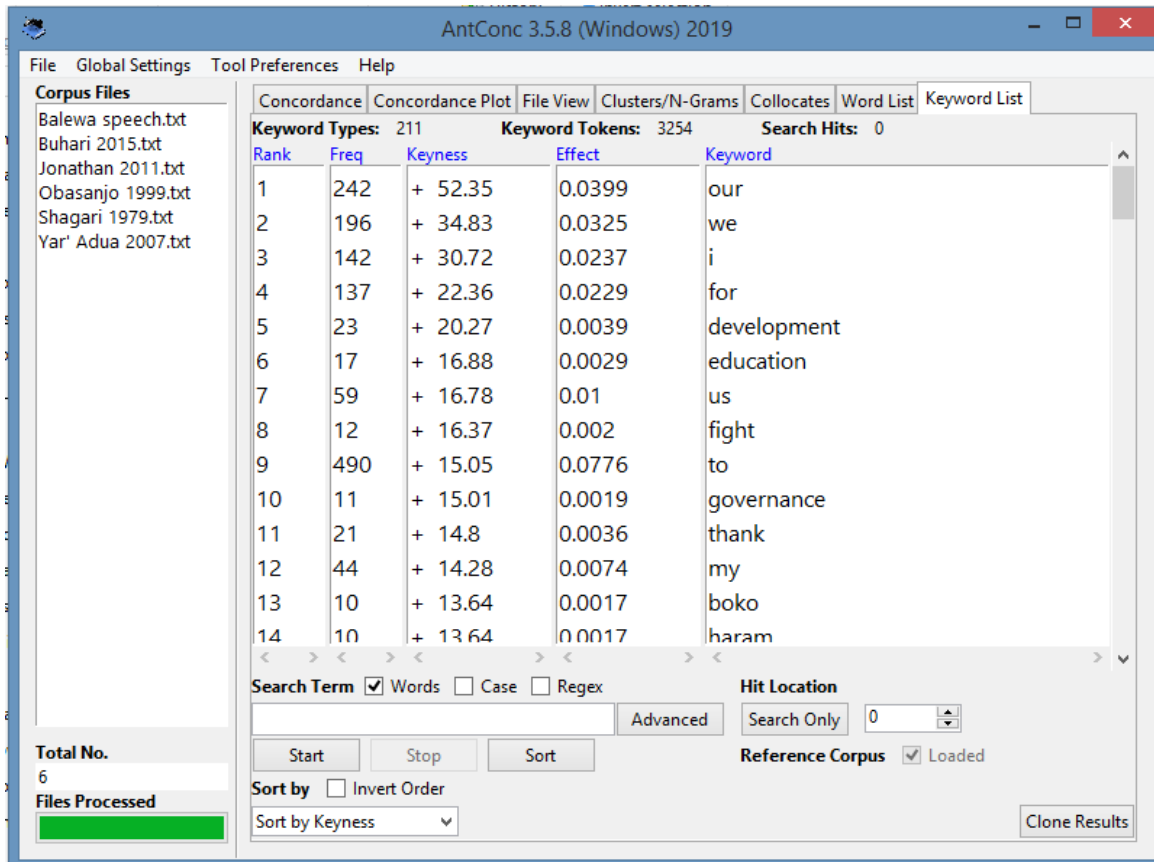


Figure 7.23: Keywords of the inaugural genre

#### 7.4.1 Meso-analysis of the inaugural genre of speeches

The keywords show the genre of Nigeria's presidential inaugural speeches. Out of the six inaugural speeches, the 1960 Balewa's inaugural speech is the only one that was made before the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970. Numbers 1-10 keywords, which are the focus of this analysis, are significantly different from the coup genre, as these keywords are not represented in the coup genre. In this inaugural genre, the keywords are more oriented towards civil authority and more inclusive of all Nigerians, than the coup genre which mainly focuses on creating a dichotomy between the military and the civilians with militaristic words and clause complexes. The reason for these differences could be because the inaugural genre of speech is usually made by people who have come to power through a legitimate civil process like an election, and with the people's mandate. The opposite is the case for the coup genre, which lacks constitutional legitimacy or people's mandate. Therefore, in the inaugural genre, the speakers are not under pressure to get the attention or consent of the people, so the inaugural diction is remarkably different from the coup

genre of speech. Consequently, the inaugural speakers used the keywords to enact more affiliation than individuation and unequal power relations, unlike the coup speakers, who enacted more individuation away from certain persons or sections of the country and reproduced binary unequal power relations between the civilians and the military. Although the concordance generated 211 keyword types, the first ten keywords of this genre are analysed with three examples each, to make my analysis more focused on unravelling the analytics concepts.

The first keyword of the inaugural genre is the possessive pronoun our. The concordance results of the keyword our are shown in Figure 7.24.

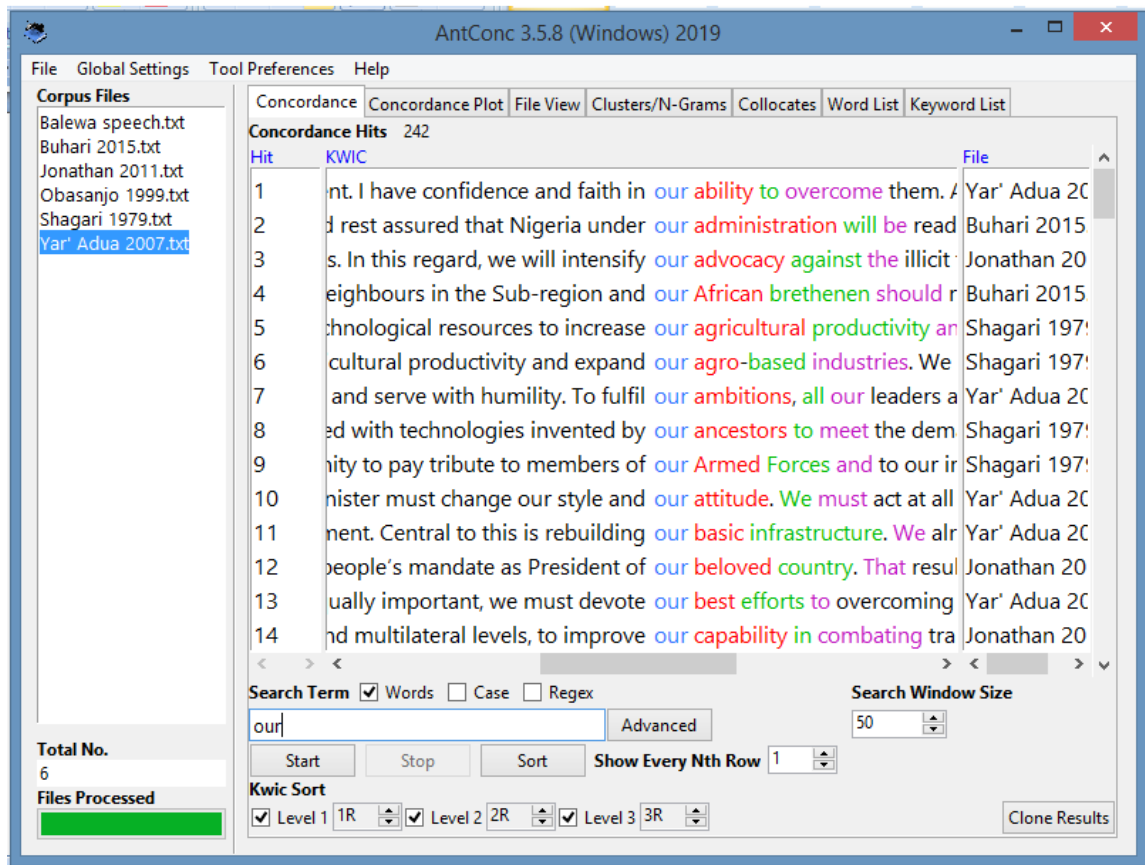


Figure 7.24: Concordance results of the keyword our

Some examples of the use of the keyword our to affiliate with the people of Nigeria are in line 1 of the concordance, which shows the following statement taken from the main text: “No matter what *obstacles* [-Happiness] confront us, I will set a *worthy* [+Propriety] personal example as your

President. I have confidence and faith in our ability to *overcome* [+Capacity] them. After all, we are Nigerians!" [+Inclination]. The speaker creates a bond of "togetherness" with Nigerians in the above statements, thereby affiliating with them. The Appraisal resources used in the speech, show that the word "overcome" expresses a positive evaluation of Nigerians' abilities and capabilities. Yar' Adua uses the inclusive possessive pronouns "us and our" to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians.

Further in line 5 of the concordance, Shagari uses the following example to enact affiliation with Nigerians in his speech: "We shall devote more manpower and technological resources to *increase* [+Capacity] our agricultural productivity and *expand* [+Capacity] our agro-based industries". The words "increase and expand" intensify the process through which the speaker enacts affiliation with Nigerians.

Lastly, in line 4 of the concordance, Buhari enacts affiliation with other African countries as follows: "Our neighbours in the Sub-region and our African *brethren* [+inclination] should rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play *any* [Quantification: Number] leadership role that Africa expects of it". Here, the speaker uses the word "play" to intensify the process of his affiliation with Nigeria's neighbours and "any", to show the extent of the readiness of Nigeria to cooperate with other countries to achieve their goals.

The second keyword is the 1st person plural pronoun we. The speakers mainly use the genericization strategy (Machin & Mayr, 2012) to transform unequal power relations between themselves, their governments, and the people of Nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword we, are shown in Figure 7.25.

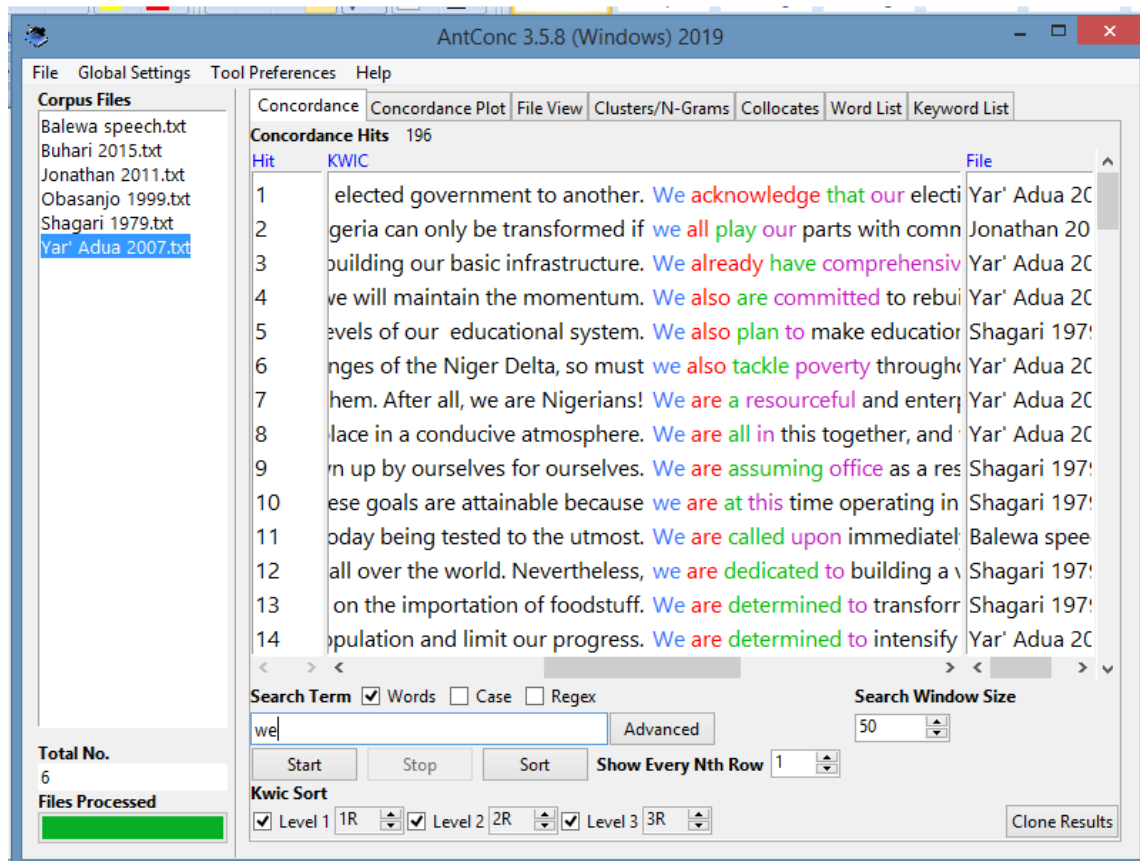


Figure 7.25: Concordance results of the keyword we

A wider examination of the keyword we, shows that in line 1 of the concordance result, Yar' Adua uses the following clause complex to reproduce unequal power relations, and individuate away from Nigeria's electoral process: “We *acknowledge* [upscaling Vigour] that our elections had some shortcomings”. Here, the speaker uses the “we” keyword in an inclusive sense, to exert the power of acknowledging something wrong with the system, and thereby enact individuation against the flawed election.

This style of reproducing power relations in the inaugural genre is different from the way it was reproduced in the coup genre of speeches, where the speakers mainly used the honorifics of titles and military positions to instil awe, command the attention of the people, and compel them to listen to what they had to say in the coup announcements.

Further in line 5 of the concordance, Shagari transforms unequal power relations with the following clause complex: “We also plan *to make* [+Capacity] education more *qualitative* [Upscaling Degree] and *functional* [Upscaling Vigour] with a sound moral content”. The words “to make, qualitative and functional” intensify the process by which the speaker transforms unequal power relations with Nigerians by outlining the things He and other government officials intend to achieve.

Lastly, in line 7 of the concordance, Yar’ Adua affiliates with all Nigerians by creating a commonly shared value of nationhood and determination, as follows: “We are a *resourceful and enterprising* [+Tenacity] people, and we have it within us to make our country a better place”. The words “resourceful and enterprising” create a special bond of “determination” between the speaker and Nigerians.

The next keyword is the 1st person singular pronoun *i*. The speakers in the inaugural genre mainly used this keyword to reproduce unequal power relations more subtly by foregrounding agency, unlike the military’s assertive use of the 1st person personal pronoun “I” (Dahnilyah, 2017). The inaugural speakers also used the keyword *i* to form solidarity with all Nigerian people or a section of Nigerians (Fajar, 2019). The concordance results of the keyword *i* are shown in Figure 7.26.

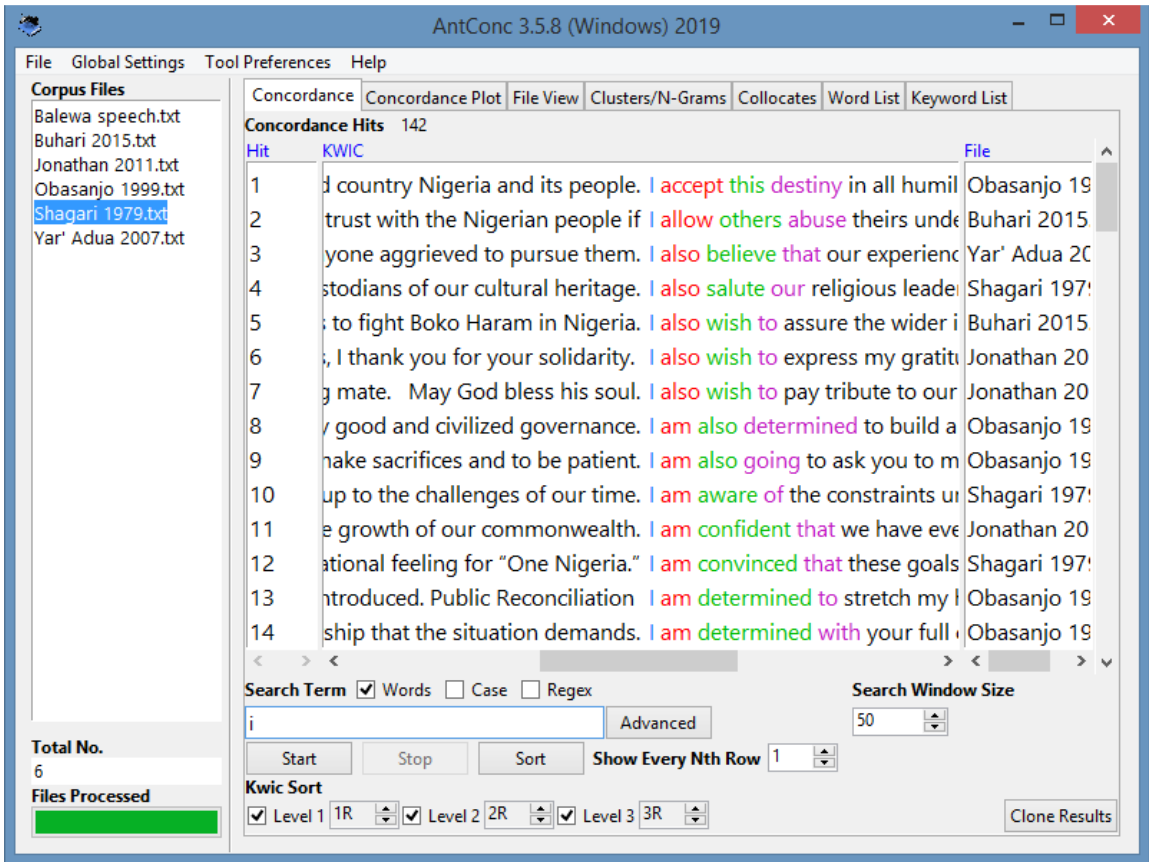


Figure 7.26: Concordance results of the keyword *i*

In line 2 of the concordance result, Buhari uses the keyword *i* in his 2015 inaugural speech, to affiliate with, and reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians by assuring them that he would not allow abuse of office in his government. The following example shows Buhari's use of the keyword: "For I will not have kept my own *trust* [+Propriety] with the Nigerian people if *I allow* [+Capacity] others abuse theirs under my watch". Here, Buhari covertly informs Nigerians that he would not allow them to abuse their powers, using the personal pronoun "I".

A further search of concordance line 10, reveals how Shagari uses the keyword *i* to enact affiliation with the Nigerian workers in the following statement: "I am aware of the *constraints* [-Happiness] under which Nigerian workers have had to live in the *immediate past*" [Extent: Proximity: Time]. The speaker aligns with the Nigerian workers, using the Appraisal resource of negative happiness

to show solidarity with Nigerian workers' plight. Lastly, in line 8, Obasanjo reproduces unequal power relations with Nigerians in the following statement: "I am also *determined* [+Tenacity] to *build* [+Capacity] a broad consensus amongst all parties to enhance national harmony and stability and thus ensure success in the long struggle ahead". The speaker uses the words "determined", and "build" to reproduce unequal power relations overtly, between himself and his listeners, using his position as the President.

The next keyword is the preposition for. Apart from using this keyword to form a link between two indices, some of the speakers also used it to reproduce power relations. The concordance results of the keyword for are shown in Figure 7.27.

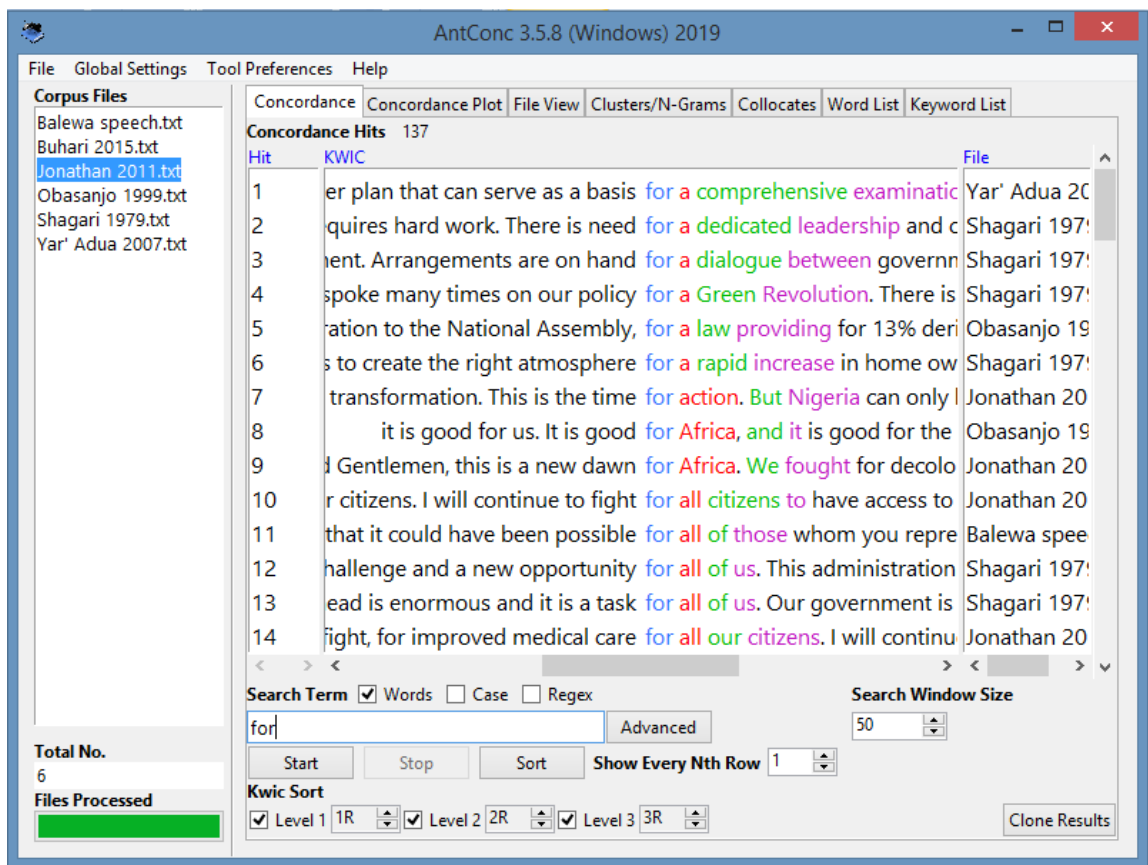


Figure 7.27: Concordance results of the keyword for

In line 10 of the concordance, Jonathan reproduces unequal power relations and enacts affiliation with all Nigerians in the following clause complex: “I will continue to *fight* [+Capacity] for *all* [Quantification: Number] citizens to have access to *first-class* [Intensification: Degree] education”. The positive Attitude ‘fight’ is intensified by the words “first-class” to show the determination of the speaker to make Nigerians happy.

Also, in line 2 of the concordance, Shagari enacts affiliation with Nigerians by creating a bond of “dedication” with Nigerians as follows: “There is need for a *dedicated* [+Tenacity] leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to *cultivate* [upscaling Vigour] a *wide-spread national* [Extent: Distribution: Space] feeling for one Nigeria” The Appraisal resources “wide-spread” quantifiers the extent of the sense of unity the speaker tries to inculcate in Nigerians through his speech.

Lastly, in line 9, Jonathan enacts affiliation with his listeners as follows: “Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a new dawn [+Happiness] for Africa”. The phrase “a new dawn” graduates the positive attitude of the speaker towards Africa.

The next keyword is development. This keyword is not present in the coup genre of speech and is not also present in the secession genre. This is an indication of the more civil and progressive keywords of the inaugural genre of speeches, unlike the coup and secession genres. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is one of the keywords of the inaugural genre of Nigerian political speeches because development can only strive under a stable political atmosphere. All the speakers from lines 1-10, used this keyword to align with the people of Nigeria and create bonds on commonly shared values. The concordance results of the keyword development are shown in Figure 7.28.



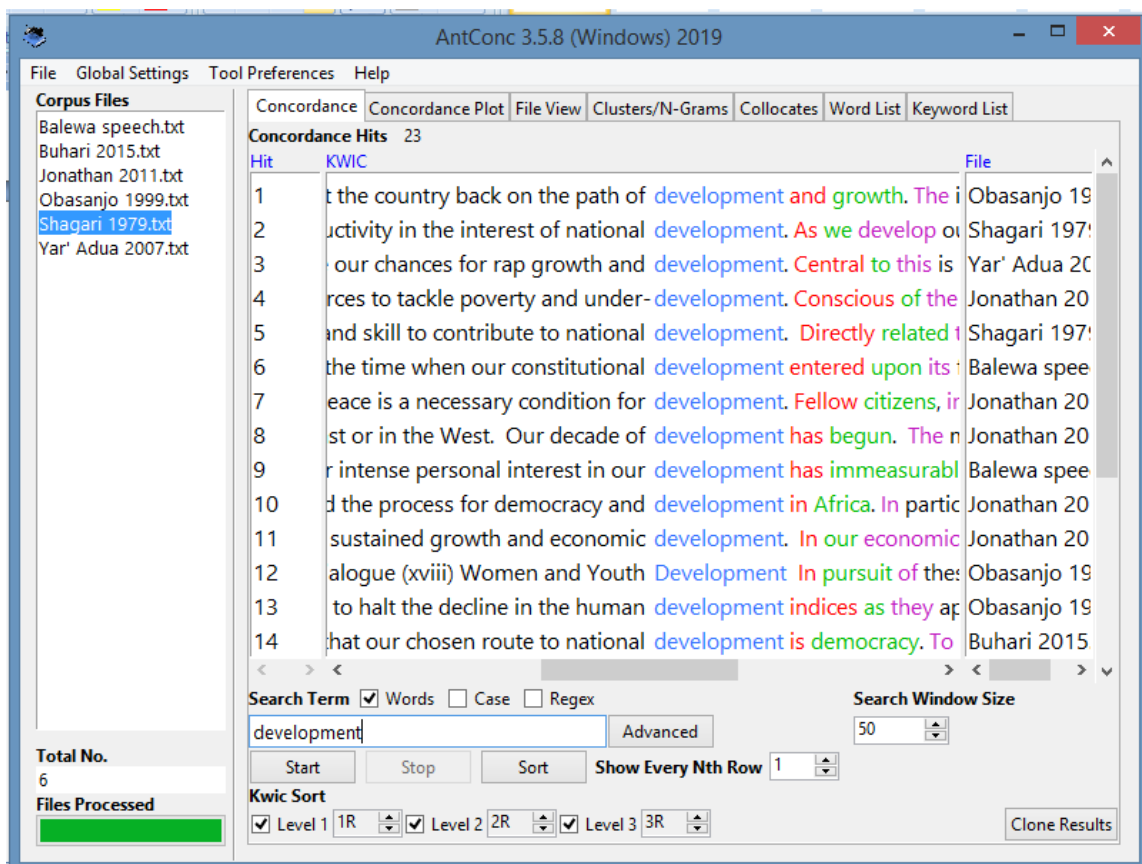


Figure 7.28: Concordance results of the keyword development

In line 8 of the above concordance results, Jonathan enacts affiliation with all Nigerians as follows: “Our *decade* [Proximity: Extent] of *development* [+Happiness] has begun”. Here, the word “decade” shows the extent to which the speaker affiliates with Nigerians on his positive Attitude toward their “development”.

Further in line 2 of the concordance, Shagari enacts affiliation with all Nigerians as follows: “However, we must all be *determined* [+Tenacity] to see that *higher wages and better* [upscaling Degree] conditions of service are matched by *higher* [upscaling Degree] productivity in the interest of *national* [Extent: Distribution: Space] development”. The speaker thereby creates a shared common value of national development, using the word “national” to show the extent he intends to make Nigerians happy.

Lastly, in line 1 of the concordance, Obasanjo uses the keyword development to reproduce unequal power relations with all Nigerians, as follows: “These measures will help to *create* [+Capacity] the auspicious atmosphere necessary for the reforms and the difficult decisions and the hard work required [upscaling Vigour] to put the country back on the path of *development and growth*” [+Happiness]. The verb phrase “to put” intensifies the process through which the speaker exerts unequal power relations with Nigerians. However, he creates a bond of “nationhood” with Nigerians.

The next keyword of the inaugural genre is education. This keyword also reflects the civil-oriented keywords of the inaugural genre of speeches that the speakers used to enact affiliation with all Nigerians. This is unlike the coup and secession genre, which relies more on militaristic and forceful keywords, to mainly reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians, and enact individuation away from certain persons, other regions of the country, or affiliation with the military. The concordance results of the keyword education are shown in Figure 7.29.

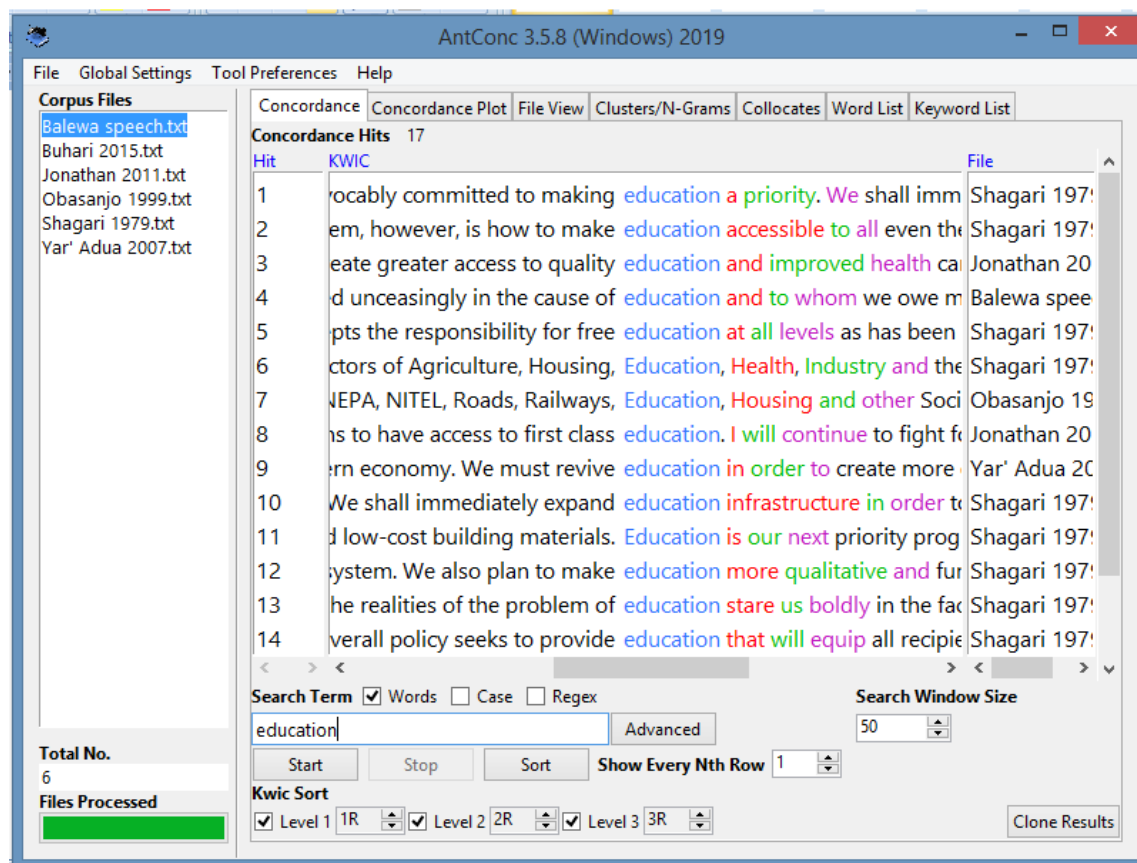


Figure 7.29: Concordance results of the keyword education

In line 3 of the concordance search for education, Jonathan reproduces unequal power relations with Nigerians using the 1st person plural pronoun “we” in an exclusive sense to refer to those in authority, but affiliates with the people by using the keyword education as a commonly shared value to propose a bond of “solidarity” with the people (Fajar, 2019), as follows: “We will *create* [+Capacity] *greater* [upscaling Degree] access to *quality* [upscaling Degree] education and improved health care delivery”. The word “quality” upscales the speaker’s affiliation with the people and intensifies the degree of his commitment to providing a standard education for the Nigerian citizens.

Further in line 4 of the concordance, Balewa affiliates with the missionaries as follows: “And there have been *countless* [Quantification: Mass] missionaries who have laboured *unceasingly* [+Tenacity] in the cause of education and to whom we owe many of our medical services”. The word “countless” is an intentional exaggeration (hyperbole), which he used to express his positive Attitude toward the efforts of the missionaries in Nigeria.

Lastly, in line 1 of the concordance, Shagari reproduces unequal power relations with Nigerians using the following clause complex: “My administration is *irrevocably* [+Tenacity] *committed* [+Capacity] to making education a priority”. Here, the words “irrevocably” and “committed” intensify the process through which the speaker intends to achieve his objective of education.

It is a remarkable feature of the inaugural genre of speeches that the speakers used civil-oriented keywords to reproduce soft-power relations (Cao, 2011) covertly. More information on power relations and genres of speech can be found in 1.6.1, 2.6, 2.5.1.

The next keyword is the possessive pronoun us which the speakers used in an inclusive sense, to align with the people of Nigeria. The concordance results of the keyword us, are shown in Figure 7.30.

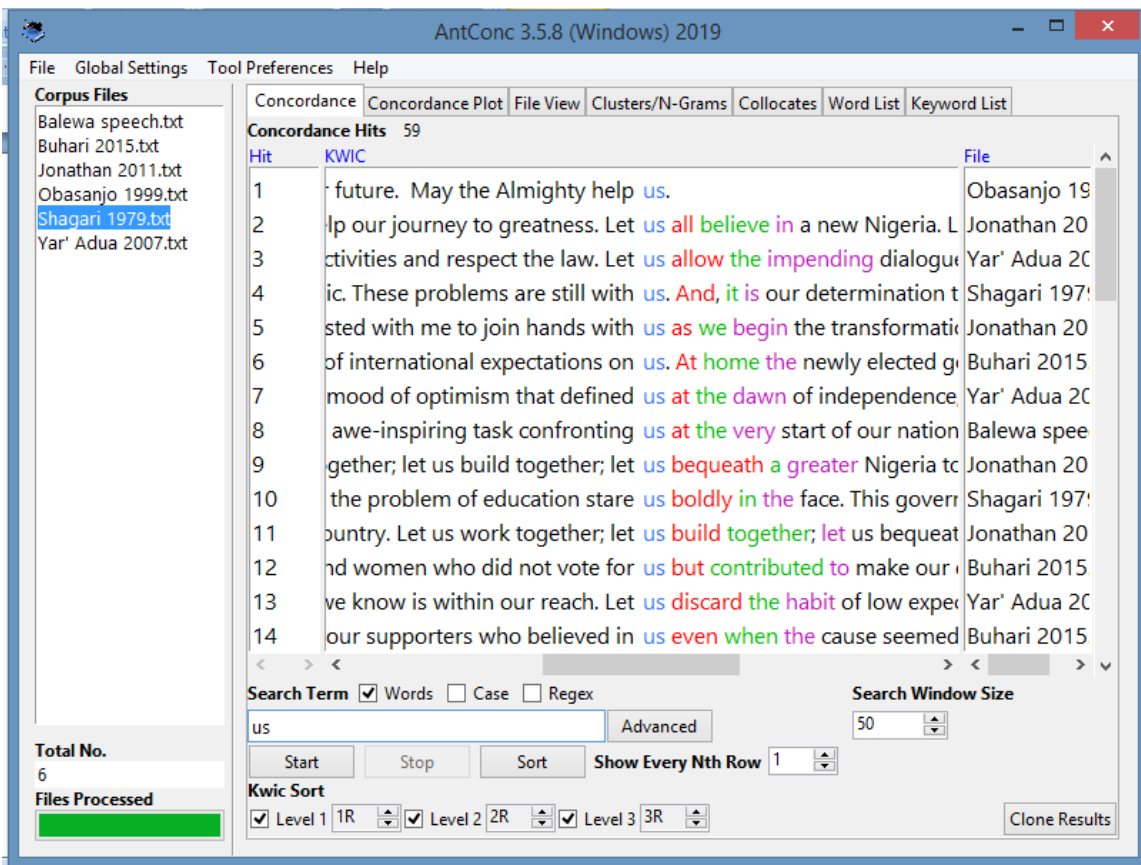


Figure 7.30: Concordance results of the keyword us

In line 1 of the concordance results, Obasanjo uses the inclusive possessive pronoun “us” to enact affiliation with all Nigerians in the following clause complex: “May the *Almighty* [Intensification: Degree] *help* [+Capacity] us”. Obasanjo invokes the help of the “Almighty” to align with Nigerians since religion has an overwhelming influence on the lives of most Nigerians (see 1.4). Therefore, invoking help from the “Almighty” is a way of affiliating with Nigerians religiously. He also uses the inclusive pronoun “us” to achieve a sense of oneness in his speech.

Further in line 2 of the concordance, Jonathan enacts affiliation with all Nigerians as follows: “Let us *all* [Quantification: Number] believe in a new Nigeria”. Here, the word “all” shows inclusiveness and upscales the force of the positive Attitude of oneness in the inclusive possessive pronoun “us”, which the speaker uses to affiliate with Nigerians irrespective of their ethnic or religious background. This keyword is not present in the coup, or secession genres, and is an exclusive feature of the inaugural genre.

Lastly, in line 9 of the concordance, Jonathan bonds with Nigerians using the commonly shared values “unity” and “progress”, to enact affiliation with all Nigerians as follows: “Let us work together; let us *build* [upscaling Vigour] together; let us bequeath a *greater* [upscaling Degree] Nigeria to the generations to come”. The words “build” and “greater” upscale the positive Attitude of the speaker in using the possessive pronoun “us” in an inclusive sense, to affiliate with Nigerians.

The next keyword is the verb fight. This keyword presents an interesting aspect of the analysis because it connotes an open militaristic use of words to show power, which is not common with the other keywords of the inaugural genre that have been analysed so far. The concordance results of the keyword fight are shown in Figure 7.31.

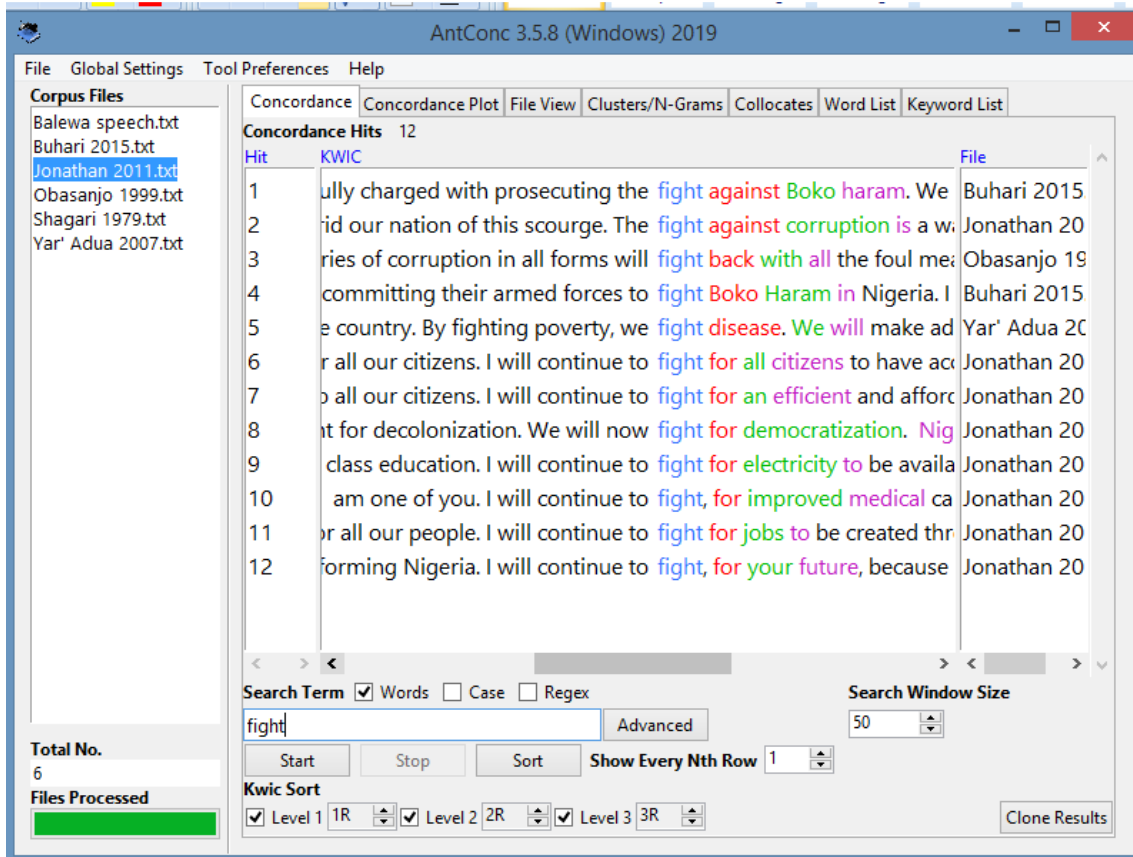


Figure 7.31: Concordance results of the keyword fight

An examination of the keyword fight in the main texts reveals that in line 1 of the concordance, Buhari affiliates with the people and governments of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger, as follows: “Here I would like to *thank* [upscaling Vigour] the governments and people of Cameroon, Chad and Niger for *committing* [Intensification: Vigour] their armed forces to *fight* [+Capacity] Boko Haram in Nigeria”. The word “committing” is used by the speaker to intensify the process of the efforts made by these neighbouring countries, to assist Nigeria in the fight terrorism. The speaker used these resources to create a commonly shared value of “unity” among the countries. Boko Haram is an armed group in Nigeria that is fighting the Nigerian Government and other countries around Lake Chad since 2009, based on some ideological differences (Christian et al., 2014; Salisu Mohd., 2015).

Further examination of the keyword fight shows that Obasanjo uses it to individuate away from some people, in the following clause complex: “The beneficiaries of *corruption* [-Propriety] in all forms will *fight* [+Capacity] back with *all* [Quantification: Number] the foul means at their disposal”. The word “all” shows the extent of effort the “beneficiaries of corruption” can make against the government and the people of Nigeria. From lines 6-12 of the concordance, Jonathan in his 2011 inaugural speech, uses the keyword fight in a pattern that reproduces unequal power relations and enacts affiliation with all Nigerians. However, only line 6 is analysed as follows: “I will continue to *fight* [+Capacity] for *all* [Quantification; Number] citizens to have access to *first class* [Intensification: Degree] education”. He uses the word ‘first class’ to intensify the degree of his affiliation with Nigerians, on education.

The next keyword is the preposition to, which most of the speakers used to enact affiliation with Nigerians. This keyword is also an exclusive feature of the inaugural genre and is not present in the coup and secession genres of speeches. The concordance results of the keyword to are shown in Figure 7.32.

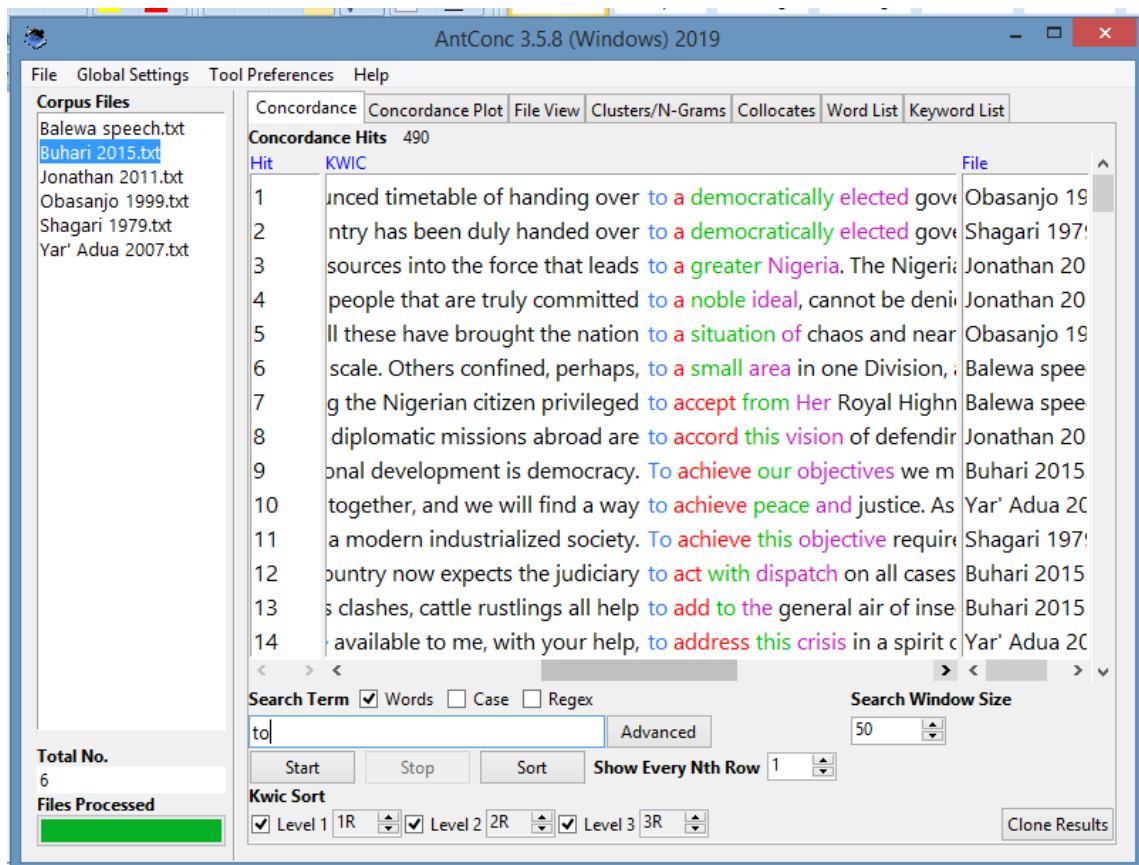


Figure 7.32: Concordance result of the keyword to

In the concordance line 3, Jonathan reproduces unequal power relations with other Nigerian leaders and the citizens as follows: "The leadership and the followership must strive to *convert* [Intensification: Vigour] our vast human and natural resources into the force that leads to a *greater* [Intensification: Degree] Nigeria". He uses the words "strive" and "convert" to exert power by giving directives. Secondly, in line 9 of the concordance, Buhari uses the following statement to affiliate with Nigerians and reproduce unequal power relations as follows: "To achieve our objectives we must consciously *work* [Intensification: Vigour] for the democratic system". The speaker uses the emphatic auxiliary verb to exert his authority over the people and uses the verb "work" to intensify the process of his affiliation with all Nigerians using the pronouns "our" and "we" in an inclusive sense.



The last keyword I examine in this genre is the word governance. The concordance results of the keyword governance are shown in Figure 7.33.

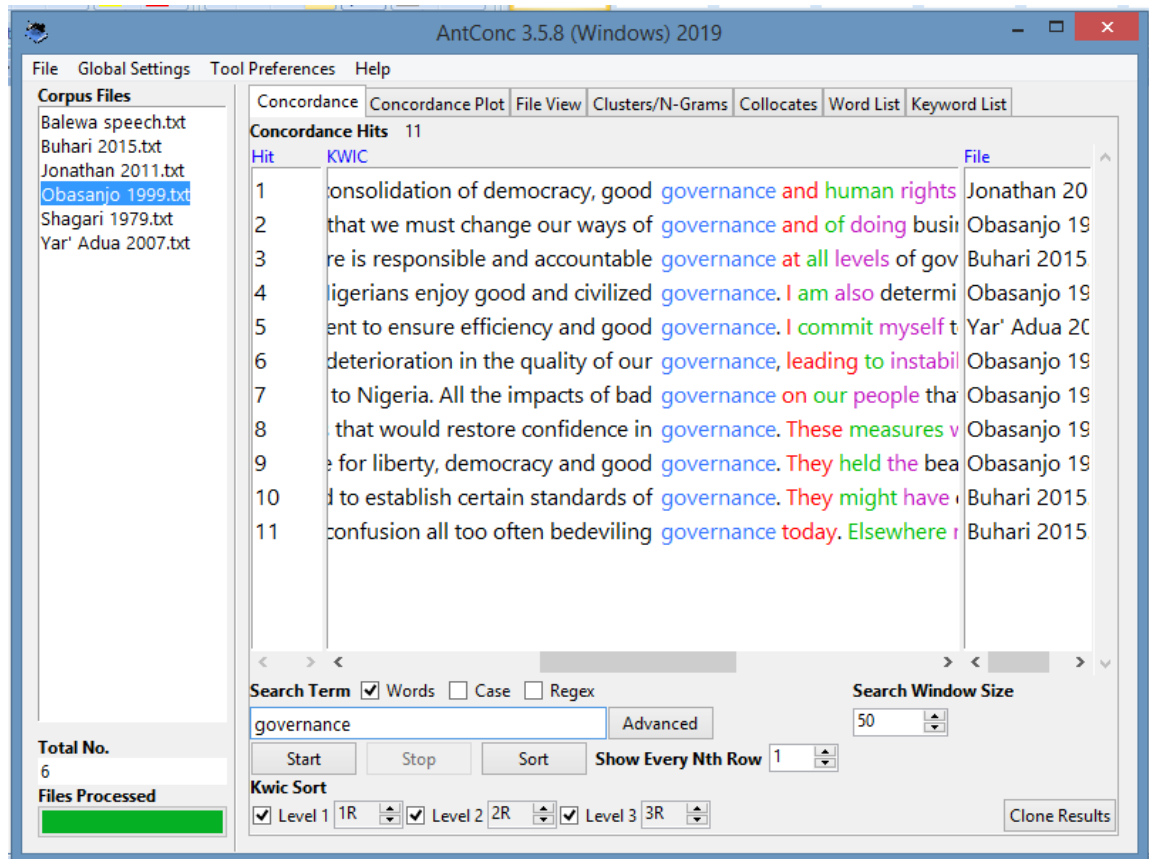


Figure 7.33: Concordance results of the keyword governance

In line one of the concordance, Jonathan transforms unequal power relations, and affiliates with other countries in Africa through the shared common value of “good governance and human rights” as follows: “In particular, we will support the *consolidation* [Intensification: Vigour] of democracy, good governance and human rights in the *continent*” [Extent: Distribution: Space]. Jonathan uses “we” pronoun in an inclusive sense to reproduce unequal power relations by foregrounding agency through the word “consolidation” to intensify the process of the action he intends to take.

Further in line 2 of the concordance, Obasanjo transforms unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians using the following clause complex: “I must end this address by stressing again that we must *change* [upscaling: Vigour] our ways of governance and of doing business on this eve of the coming *millennium*” [Extent: Distribution: Time]. Here, the word “change” upscales the force through which the speaker exerts his authority as the President.

Lastly, in line 4, Obasanjo also uses the keyword governance, to reproduce unequal power relations with all Nigerians, as follows: “It is my *resolve* [+Tenacity] to work harmoniously with the legislature and the judiciary to *ensure* [Intensification: Vigour] that Nigerians enjoy good and civilized governance”. The speaker uses the word “ensure” to intensify the process of his authority to positively change the situation of governance for Nigerians, thereby affiliating with them on good governance.

The above keywords of the inaugural genre of speeches of the Nigerian political discourse are exclusive to this genre, as they are not present in the coup or secession genres of speeches. The contrasting lexical differences in the genres of speeches in the Nigerian political discourse are significant for the kind of sociopolitical experiences of the periods that these speeches were made. These differences will be triangulated to discuss the research questions in 1.8. Subsequently, the keywords of the coup genre of speeches are analysed in 7.4.

## 7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the focus is on the second layer of the meso-analysis, which are the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. This second layer of the meso-analysis makes my study a four-pronged approach to discourse analysis. The above analyses of the genres of speeches unearth different characteristics and features that are peculiar to each genre, in reproducing or transforming unequal power relations and enacting affiliation, and individuation in the speeches. For instance, the secession genre relies on human rights and the commonly shared values of security and self-determination to affiliate with the people and nation of Biafra. In the secession genre, Ojukwu relied more on the rhetorical use of content words and clause complexes, such as parallel

constructions of persuasive words and clause complexes, and the use of inclusive personal and possessive pronouns to negotiate involvement and solidarity with the Biafran people. Conversely, in the coup genre, the speakers maintained a forceful militaristic approach to reproduce binary unequal power relations overtly and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation with their in-groups and out-groups. Lastly, in the inaugural genre, the speakers mainly reproduced soft power by coupling ideational and interpersonal resources in a way that proposed special bonds of solidarity with the people (Fajar, 2019). In essence, the affiliation strategies of the inaugural, and secession genres are more closely related than the coup genre, but the secession genre equally shares the militaristic words used to transform unequal power relations overtly, with the coup speech. The differences between Nigeria's coup, secession and inaugural genres of speeches reflect the different sociopolitical periods that existed before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970, and the different political stages Nigeria experienced until 2015 when the last inaugural speech was made. More information on the patterns of Nigeria's political speeches can be found in 11.2.

## Chapter Eight: Micro-analysis of Nzeogwu’s 1966 coup speech

### 8.1 Introduction

-In this first chapter of the micro-analysis, Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu’s coup speech is reported on (see 1.4). For the qualitative micro-analyses, three speeches were selected from the sixteen speeches that are used as data for this study. Selecting three speeches for micro-analysis is in line with Bednarek’s proposal that a few representative texts should be chosen for micro-analysis to allow for the most detailed analysis (2010). Consequently, one speech is selected from each of the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. In this chapter, the coup speech is the first to be analysed, followed by the secession speech in chapter nine and the inaugural speech in chapter ten. The aim is to explain the logogenesis of the texts, especially how the speakers utilized linguistic resources to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, and negotiate affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations with their audience.

Subsequently, the speeches in this micro-analysis have been divided into sections, to focus the analysis on the different aspects of the speech. This chapter summarizes the report on the findings, by stating the main syndrome(s) of affiliation, individuation, and power asymmetry contained in each section of the speech. The student researcher draws from the terms “Self” and + the Appraisal resources most frequently used in the section to describe the main syndromes in each section. The speeches that are selected for the micro-analysis are presented in Table 8.1.

S/N	Date	Event	Genre	Speaker
1	15/01/1966	The first Nigeria coup	Coup	Nzeogwu
2	30/05/1967	The secession speech that triggered the Nigeria/Biafra war	Secession	Ojukwu
3	29/05/2011	The inaugural speech of the fifth civilian government	Inaugural	Jonathan

Table 8.1: The selected speeches for micro-analysis

One speech each was selected from the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, for an in-depth, fine-grained micro-analysis which focuses on describing how meaning-making resources unfolded in the speeches (logogenesis). The following is the reasoning for selecting these three speeches for the micro-analysis. Firstly, the 1966 coup speech was the first coup speech that was made in Nigeria after the country had gained independence from Britain in 1960. This speech, therefore, laid a salience for subsequent patterns and features of the genre of Nigeria's coup speeches. In addition, this 1966 coup speech made by Nzeogwu was mentioned in the macro- and meso-analyses more often than the other coup speeches that are analysed in this study. Secondly, the 1967 secession speech is the major Nigerian secession speech that can fit into the kind of analysis undertaken in this study. More information on the reason for choosing Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech for micro-analysis can be found in 2.5.3. Thirdly, Jonathan's 2011 presidential speech was the inaugural speech that was referred to most in the meso-analysis of this genre of speeches in 7.4, and so this speech was selected.

In the micro-analysis of chapters 8-10, a double coding of some words, phrases, or clause complexes has been made in the UAM CorpusTool under the Attitude system, to indicate that these words instantiate more than one meaning resource. More information on the explanations for double coding some words and clause complexes can be found in 4.7.2. Furthermore, the Appraisal resources of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation used in the speeches are analysed to show how the speakers co-articulated their Ideational and Interpersonal meanings of the Nigerian political discourse, and coupled these meanings with the Appraisal systems, to realize the concepts of power relations, affiliation, and individuation. In the micro-analysis, italics were used to mark out the word(s) or phrases or clause complexes which the speakers used to instantiate the Appraisal resources, while the words or phrases that are used to propose bonds are underlined.

Subsequently, the analysis of this speech has been divided into sections A-D, to focus the analysis on the different aspects of the speech. Each section is a sub-section of this chapter. Also, the Appraisal resources of this speech have been coded on the Appraisal table which is used as a guide in this analysis. The Appraisal table is attached as Appendix D. To further aid the analysis, each section of the speech to be analysed is reprinted before proceeding with reporting on the analysis

of that specific section. A report on the fine-grained analysis of Nigeria's first coup speech which was made by Nzeogwu, is thus given in 8.2. In reporting on this speech, more detailed explanations of the context of the speech are given to enable international readers of this thesis to understand some contextual factors that influenced the speaker's choices of linguistic resources that the speaker used to reproduce unequal power relations, and affiliate with, or individuate away from some people or sections of the country. The table of the coupling resources which the speaker used to enact the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and reproduce power relations in the speech is produced in 8.3. This table shows the repeated patterns of the occurrences of the couplings, which became syndromes that are identified in the reporting of the findings. Finally, the table of couplings is explained, and this chapter is concluded in 8.4.

Nzeogwu's coup happened on 15th January 1966, which was six years after Nigeria gained independence from Britain. The coup overthrew the civilian government of Tafawa Balewa, and among the reasons for the coup mentioned by Nzeogwu, were corruption, nepotism, incompetence, and inability to stop the political crisis in some parts of the country. Nzeogwu's opening statement in the coup speech, which he used to declare "martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria", generated much disaffection between the Northern, and Eastern Nigerians where Nzeogwu came from. Nzeogwu's "declaration of martial law in the Northern Provinces" was one of the reasons the 15 January 1966 coup became unsuccessful because it gave the impression that the coup was carried out mainly due to prejudices against the north by the military officers that were mainly from South Eastern Nigeria (Ojo & Fagbohun, 2014). Nzeogwu declared "Martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria" because he oversaw the coup in the northern provinces where he hailed from, while the other coup plotters oversaw the coup in the Southern Provinces (Siollun, 2009). Nevertheless, Nzeogwu or any of the 15 January 1966 coup plotters did not lead the country in whatever position, because the coup was countered by other soldiers led by General Aguiyi Ironsi (Siollun, 2009). However, Nzeogwu's proclamation shows that the coup plotters lacked a good understanding of the ethnic dynamism and differences inherent in the amalgamated Southern and Northern Protectorates (see 1.4) because his declarations of martial law over a particular Province generated a negative ethnic perception of the coup as an attempt by the Igbo ethnic group of Eastern Nigeria (where a majority of the coup plotters came from) to dominate the North (Obi-

Ani & Obi-Ani, 2018, Ojo, 2014). The coup speaker uses this sectional strategy, to construe the Northern region of Nigeria, as an out-group, in his speech.

Nzeogwu's abolition of the regional government in his speech resulted in Nigeria changing systems of government from regional, to unitary, and to the present federal system, which still has the characteristics of a unitary government (Akpan, 2006). Consequently, Nigeria's first military coup speech can be considered a watershed in the sociopolitical history of Nigeria, since it sets the pattern for the use of military speech styles in Nigeria's political discourse (Igwebuike & Moses, 2009). More information on the January 1966 coup can be found in 1.4 and 2.4.

## 8.2 Micro-analysis of Nzeogwu's 1966 coup speech

In this micro-analysis, the words, phrases, or clause complexes the speaker uses to propose bonds are underlined, quoted marks are used to enclose the words or clause complexes that are used to instantiate Appraisal resources, and other words or clause complexes that are used as examples to elucidate the explanations. Thus, section A of Nigeria's first coup speech, is attached as follows:

### 8.2.1 Section A

“In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. The Constitution is suspended, and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship, are banned until further notice.

The aim of the Revolutionary Council is to establish a strong united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife. Our method of achieving this is strictly military but we have no doubt that every Nigerian will give us maximum cooperation by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the slight changes that are taking place. I am to assure all foreigners living and working in this part of Nigeria that their rights will continue to be respected. All treaty obligations previously entered into with any foreign nation will be respected and we hope that such nations will respect our country's territorial integrity and will avoid taking sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people.

My dear countrymen, you will hear, and probably see a lot being done by certain bodies charged by the Supreme Council with the duties of national integration, supreme justice, general security

and property recovery. As an interim measure all permanent secretaries, corporation chairmen and senior heads of departments are allowed to make decisions until the new organs are functioning, so long as such decisions are not contrary to the aims and wishes of the Supreme Council. No Minister or Parliamentary Secretary possesses administrative or other forms of control over any Ministry, even if they are not considered too dangerous to be arrested”.

The speaker, Nzeogwu, opens this section of his speech which have been coded in the Appraisal table lines 1-14, and attached as appendix D, with the following clause complex: “In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria”. Here, he uses the word “Supreme” to instantiate upscaling: Intensification: Degree, to graduate the meaning of the word “Council” and couples with a Proclaim: Pronounce authorial voice, to show the situation of insecurity in Nigeria on 15 January 1966, when the military overthrew the first civilian government through a coup. The speaker also transforms unequal binary power relations between the Nigerian “Armed Forces” and the civilians by making it clear that the “Revolution” was carried out by the Armed Forces, thereby aligning himself with the Armed Forces. He also instantiates an inscribed +Capacity Attitude using the word "declare", which couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to reproduce unequal power relations between him and Nigerians in the following clause complex: “I declare Martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria”. Consequently, the speaker individuates himself and the Armed Forces away from the Northern Province of Nigeria, and reproduces binary, unequal power relations overtly, between him as the appraiser and other Nigerians as the appraised.

Nzeogwu continues the use of the words “constitution”, “suspended” and “dissolved” to instantiate an inscribed attitude of -Security, and couples his experiential ideas of a coup with a Monoglossic authorial voice to reproduce binary, unequal power relations overtly, between him and Nigerians by suspending the constitution, dissolving the regional government and elected assemblies. Nzeogwu further uses the word “all” to instantiate an upscaling Quantification: Number to graduate the meaning of the Attitude of -Propriety, which he instantiates with the word “banned” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to reproduce more binary unequal power relations overtly. The banning of “All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities” shows the extent of power that the Nigerian military, which Nzeogwu represents in his speech at that time, exerts



over Nigeria's sociopolitical experience. This power dominance of the Nigerian military is still very perceptible in Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences up to the time of writing this thesis in 2023 (see 1.4 & 2.4). Nzeogwu banned "demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship". Nigeria has two major religions, which are Christianity and Islam. Christianity is dominant in the Southern part of the country, while Islam is the major religion in the far Northern part of Nigeria. Nigeria is prone to religious crises (Nwanaju, 2015). In essence, compliant readers of this speech may see Nzeogwu's ban on "demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, which inscribes negative Propriety, excluding religious worship", as his high regard for religion and the sensitivity Nigerian leaders attach to religious affairs in Nigeria's sociopolitical history.

Further analysis shows that the speaker uses the word "establish" to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Satisfaction, which is instantiated by the word "nation" and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to describe his vision of the kind of nation he wishes for Nigeria. He completes his opening declarations by using the word "free" to instantiate upscaling infusing Degree, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety which is instantiated by the words "corruption and internal strife" and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to individuate away from such negative factors that were at variance with his vision of Nigeria. The negative factors of corruption and internal strife were very prominent in the first post-independent civilian government of Nigeria. Some of the pronounced internal strife was the 1964-1966 political crisis in the Western Region, and the Middle Belt crisis of 1960 and 1964 (Ojo, 2012, 2017). Some of the officials of Nigeria's first civilian government were also very notable in corrupt activities (Nzeribe, 2017). The coup speaker's choice of Appraisal resources was, therefore, informed by some of these negative factors I have mentioned above.

However, the 15 January 1966 coup was unsuccessful and lasted for only three days before Nzeogwu and his co-coup plotters were defeated and arrested by soldiers loyal to Ironsi, who led the counterattack to stop the coup (Siollun, 2009). Ironically, Nzeogwu was not able to rid the country of corruption and internal strife, as he promised in his coup speech. Invariably, internal strife has continued in Nigeria's sociopolitical history, from the time of Nzeogwu's coup to the present time of writing this thesis in 2023. Nigeria fought a war from 1967 to 1970, with the

Eastern region which seceded as Biafra. Also, since 2009, Nigeria's security situation has become worse, with the rise in terrorism, insurgency, kidnapping, the Biafra separatist activities, and ethnic conflicts (Longba'am-Alli, 2022; Nwamuo, Ani, Okonkwo, 2020). Similarly, the factor of corruption has become endemic in Nigeria's sociopolitical system (Enweremadu, 2021).

Nzeogwu appraises the military positively as being capable, by using the words "strictly" and "military" to instantiate a Sharpening Focus to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which is instantiated by the word "achieving" and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to reproduce binary unequal power relations between the Nigerian military and the civilians. He further instantiates an upscaling Intensification: Degree with the word "maximum", to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety which is instantiated by the word "cooperation", and couples with a Heteroglossic: Contract: Counter voice "but" and Pronounce voice "we have no doubt that", which makes the dialogic contraction of the authorial voice doubly strong, to emphasize that they will use only military method to achieve their aims. He thereby reproduces binary unequal power relations overtly, between the military and the civilians, by making it clear that the military is the ruler and cannot be opposed. He, therefore, uses the word "but" to counter the voices of those who may be opposed to the coup, which is unconstitutional (Ejemheare, 2019; Olaniyi & Umar, 2014).

Nzeogwu further uses "slight" to instantiate downscaling Degree, to downscale the "changes" and graduate the meanings of the inscribed and invoked Attitudes of -Propriety and -Security which are instantiated by "disturbing" and couples with Heteroglossic: Contract: Counter and Pronounce authorial voice to control the dialogic space, by reducing the effect of the violent military coup with words like "slight" and "changes". The downscaling degree is responsible for this reducing effect and the dialogic contraction makes it harder to argue against his pronouncement. The 15th January 1966 coup in Nigeria was very bloody, as several prominent civilians and military personnel were killed (Achebe, 2012; Salawu, 2010; Salawu & Hassan, 2011). Nzeogwu also individuates himself and the military away from the Nigerian civilians by creating a military in-group that was in control of the country, and a civilian out-group, who should be controlled not to rebel against the military. He uses the pronouns "our", "we", and "us" (to refer to the military) in

an inclusive sense, while using “every” to make a general reference to Nigerians, in an exclusive sense.

Subsequently, the speaker uses the words “all” to instantiate upscaling Quantification: Number in the phrase “all foreigners”, to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Veracity, which is instantiated by the word “assure” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to pronounce his capability to guarantee the safety of “all foreigners living and working” in Northern Nigeria then. He thereby reproduces unequal power relations and negotiates affiliation with the foreigners, by proposing a bond of protection with them. Nzeogwu further instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with the word “all” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety which is instantiated by the word “respected”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to reproduce unequal power relations, and affiliate with foreign nations, by asserting the military's readiness to respect “all treaty obligations” previously entered with the foreign nations. Nzeogwu further uses the word “avoid” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, to graduate the invoked Attitude of -Inclination which is instantiated with the word “avoid” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to warn other countries to steer clear of the internal political intrigues in Nigeria. He then explains who the foreign countries should avoid in the following clause complex: “...and will avoid taking sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people”. Here Nzeogwu uses the word “people” to upscale a Sharpen Focus, to graduate an invoked Attitude of -Propriety instantiated with the word “enemies”, and another Sharpen Focus instantiated with the phrase “the Revolution” to graduate the invoked Attitude of -Propriety instantiated with “enemies”, which couples with a Heteroglossic: Contract: Expand: Acknowledge voice “we hope that” and Expand: Entertain voice “will”, to reproduce unequal power relations between him and the foreign countries, by warning them not to “take sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people”. Here the coup speaker invokes the word “enemies” to frame the out-group of those who may be opposed to the coup. He thereby individuates away from those he referred to as “enemies” as his out-group and proposes a bond of rejection of the “enemies”.

Lastly, the speaker affiliates with Nigerians by instantiating an upscaling Intensification: Degree with the word “Supreme” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, which is instantiated by the words “My dear countrymen”, and couples with a Heteroglossic: Contract: entertain authorial voice, instantiated by “will” and “probably”, to inform his listeners of what to expect from the new military regime. He equally, exerts unequal power with Nigerians by announcing the capability of the military.

Nzeogwu further uses the word “arrested” to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of an inscribed Attitude of a negated +Capacity, which is instantiated by the phrase “No Minister or Parliamentary Secretary possesses administrative or other forms of control” and couples with Heteroglossic: Contract: Deny voice, with the word “No”, to individuate away from government officials, by announcing that the civilian government officials no longer possess “administrative or other forms of control over any Ministry”. Nzeogwu used his coup speech to create a wide gap between Nigerian civilians who are the people being described here, and the military and this gap has continued to the time of writing this thesis (Collins & Phinos, 2019).

One main syndrome that the speaker uses to reproduce unequal power relations and individuation in this section, is Nigerians & -Propriety. Nzeogwu uses this syndrome to individuate away from government officials and other civilian citizens, by framing them as either “enemies of the Revolution” or “enemies of the people”. He also uses negation to deny the authority of government officials and divest them of their official powers. He further develops this syndrome to frame those that may oppose the coup as “enemies”, thereby individuating away from them, by banning them from exercising some fundamental constitutional rights like gatherings. Nzeogwu, therefore, individuates himself, and the military away from government officials, other citizens, and foreign nations, by negating their freedom.

The second syndrome is Self & +Capacity, which Nzeogwu uses to assert his authority, and by extension, the Nigerian military’s powers, and authority over other citizens. The first paragraph of the coup speech is full of militaristic words and expressions, which the speaker uses to couple his

ideas of power and authority. In the first expression, he announces the declaration of martial law over the “Northern Provinces of Nigeria”. He followed this declaration by abolishing the constitution and the elected representatives. He dissolved the elected civilian government and replaced it with a military regime. The speaker uses more militaristic keywords like “revolution”, “declare”, “suspended”, and “dissolved” to reproduce binary, unequal power relations overtly, between the military, and the civilians. Nzeogwu’s pronouncements show that he and his military junta aimed at establishing a perfect utopian country.

### 8.2.2 Section B

“This is not a time for long speech-making and so let me acquaint you with ten proclamations in the Extraordinary Orders of the Day which the Supreme Council has promulgated. These will be modified as the situation improves.

You are hereby warned that looting, arson, homosexuality, rape, embezzlement, bribery or corruption, obstruction of the revolution, sabotage, subversion, false alarms and assistance to foreign invaders, are all offenses punishable by death sentence. Demonstrations and unauthorized assembly, non-cooperation with revolutionary troops are punishable in grave manner up to death. Refusal or neglect to perform normal duties or any task that may of necessity be ordered by local military commanders in support of the change will be punishable by a sentence imposed by the local military commander. Spying, harmful or injurious publications, and broadcasts of troop movements or actions, will be punished by any suitable sentence deemed fit by the local military commander. Shouting of slogans, loitering and rowdy behavior will be rectified by any sentence of incarceration, or any more severe punishment deemed fit by the local military commander. Doubtful loyalty will be penalized by imprisonment or any more severe sentence. Illegal possession or carrying of firearms, smuggling or trying to escape with documents, valuables, including money or other assets vital to the running of any establishment will be punished by death sentence. Wavering or sitting on the fence and failing to declare open loyalty with the revolution will be regarded as an act of hostility punishable by any sentence deemed suitable by the local military commander. Tearing down an order of the day or proclamation or other authorized notices will be penalized by death.

This is the end of the Extraordinary Order of the Day which you will soon begin to see displayed in public. My dear countrymen, no citizen should have anything to fear, so long as that citizen is law abiding and if that citizen has religiously obeyed the native laws of the country and those set down in every heart and conscience since 1st October, 1960”.

In section B of the 1966 coup speech which has been coded in lines 15-26 of the Appraisal Table D attached as appendix D, Nzeogwu, uses linguistic resources to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, to evaluate Nigerian civilians negatively, by associating the civilians with several negative behaviours and individuating the Nigerian military away from the civilians. The speaker also transforms binary, unequal power relations overtly, between the military and civilians by using militaristic words and clause complexes to give too much power and authority to the military over the civilians in his speech. For instance, Nzeogwu uses the word “ten” to instantiate upscaling Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, which is also instantiated by the word “proclamations” and couples with a Contract: Justify authorial voice, to close all alternative voices and justify why he had to “acquaint” his listeners of certain drastic changes in their daily lives. Nzeogwu thereby created a military in-group and an out-group of those who may contravene his proclamations. The speaker follows up by intensifying the proclamations with an inscribed Attitude of a +Reaction, which is instantiated by the phrase “Extraordinary Orders” and couples with a Contract: Justify authorial voice, to reproduce unequal power relations between the in-group and the “other” out-group of Nigerians. Nzeogwu co-articulated his ideas by using resources like the pronouns “me” and “you” exclusively, to individuate away from his out-group. Nzeowu continues to instantiate upscaling infusing Degree with the word “Supreme”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, which is instantiated by the word “promulgated” and couples with a Contract: Justify authorial voice, to reproduce more binary unequal power relations overtly, and construe an identity of supremacy for the Nigerian military.

Subsequently, the speaker uses the word “warned” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety, which he instantiates with several negative words such as: “looting”, “arson” “homosexuality”, “rape”, “embezzlement”, “bribery” or “corruption”, “obstruction of the revolution”, “sabotage”, “subversion”, “false alarms” and “assistance to foreign invaders” and couples them with a Heteroglossic Proclaim: Pronounce authorial voice, to intensify the force of the type of offences he warned Nigerians not to engage in. Nzeogwu continues to evaluate Nigerians negatively, by instantiating upscaling Quantification: Number with “all” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety which invokes

a -happiness and -Security Attitude, instantiated by the clause complex “offenses punishable by death sentence” and couples with a Heteroglossic proclaim: Pronounce authorial voice, to prescribe the kind of punishment that will be administered to offenders. He continues to negatively evaluate his listeners by instantiating upscaling infusing Vigour with the word “punishable” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety, which he also instantiates with a list of offences such as “Demonstrations”, “unauthorized assembly” and “noncooperation” with the coup and couples these resources with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to still warn the out-group of the capital punishment of death that awaits anyone who ignores these warnings. The speaker thereby reproduces unequal power relations and individuates away from the out-group. Nzeogwu’s warnings and prescription of the “death sentence” for offenders, show the level of insecurity and fear that followed his coup speech, which was an immediate cause of a series of “retaliatory” actions that resulted in the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970.

In continuation of his warnings to the “other Nigerians”, the speaker uses linguistic resources to soften his individuation from the people and attempt to affiliate with them (Igwebuiké & Moses, 2009; Wambu & Ecoma, 2020). He also negotiates affiliation with the military, while he individuates away from the Nigerian civilians and reproduces more binary, unequal power relations overtly, with Nigerians. He uses the co-articulation of these Appraisal resources to warn the out-group of the harsh punishment that awaits them, if they fail to comply with his order, using the following clause complex: “Refusal or neglect to perform normal duties, or any task that may of necessity be ordered by local military commanders in support of the change will be punishable by a sentence imposed by the local military commander”. Here, he instantiates upscaling Intensification: Vigour with the word “perform” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Normality, which he instantiates with the word “normal” and couples with a Heteroglossic Expand: Entertain voice with “will”, to first intensify his emphasis on “perform”, and reduce the focus on the kind of penalty that will be meted out to those who do not perform what he sees as their duty.

He continues to instantiate a downscaling Quantification Number with the word “any” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Happiness, which is instantiated by the word “ordered”

and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to reproduce unequal power relations between the civilians and the (local) military commanders who he gave the discretion to impose any punishment of their choice. Nzeogwu is making the point that even refusal or neglect to perform one task is punishable. The resource of downscaling Extent: Space with the word “local” implies that any military officer in the area where the offence was committed was empowered to apply any punishment, he deems fit, without receiving orders from higher military authorities. Nzeogwu reproduces more unequal power relations by mentioning the type of sentence that may be prescribed by the military commanders in the following clause complex: “any suitable sentence”. Here, Nzeogwu uses “any” to make the point that any sentence is needed for punishment, while “suitable” refers to the nature of the sentence. He also employs the phrase: “local military commander” several times in his speech, to emphasize the in-group and out-group approach that affiliated him with the military and individuated him away from the Nigerian civilians.

Lastly, he instantiates upscaling Sharpen Focus with the word “revolution” to graduate the invoked Attitude of -Propriety, which is instantiated by the words “wavering” or “sitting on the fence” and “failing to declare open loyalty” and he couples these with an Expand: Entertain voice, to warn the citizens not to hesitate in declaring “open loyalty with the revolution”. The speaker also uses the word “punishable” to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety, which is instantiated by the word “hostility” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice, in the word “will” to give power to the military Commander with this clause complex: “punishable by any sentence deemed suitable by the local military commander”. Nzeogwu thereby affiliates with the military, and individuates away from the civilian citizens, as he reproduces binary, unequal power relations overtly, between the Nigerian military and the civilians. Nzeogwu also applies the words “Tearing down” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of -Propriety Judgement in “Tearing down” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice with the word “will”, to complete the list of offences the citizens may commit that will attract a death sentence or other severe punishments.



Nzeogwu uses the following clause complex: “My dear countrymen, no citizen should have anything to fear, so long as that citizen is law-abiding and if that citizen has religiously obeyed the native laws of the country and those set down in every hearth and conscience since 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960”, to complete his “Extraordinary orders”. Here, he uses the word “no” to instantiate downscaling Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the +Propriety Attitude, which is instantiated by the words “law” and “obeyed” and couples with Heteroglossic: Contract: Deny voice, contradicting an anticipated voice that says that law-abiding citizens have reasons to fear.

A wide gap exists in the civil-military relations in Nigeria (Ayeni, Uzoigwe, 2019), and in Nigeria's military diction, certain words or phrases like "bloody civilians" and “unknown soldiers," have become a common trademark of the Nigerian military, and have further disaffiliated the military from the civilians. The phrase unknown soldiers were first introduced into Nigerian political discourse in “1977” (Effiong, 2021) after an invasion of Fela’s house by persons suspected to be Nigerian soldiers. According to Fela in his popular music track “Unknown Soldiers”, the Nigeria military soldiers invaded his house and caused an unprecedented level of destruction of property and assault on humans, but the Nigerian court afterwards declared that the invasion was done by “unknown soldiers” (Alimi, 2013, p. 89). Interestingly, in 2021, another group of insurgents in Nigeria were named “unknown gunmen” (Unachukwu & Unachukwu, 2021, p. 1833), which underscores the syndrome of sociopolitical crisis that has formed part of Nigeria’s political discourse from 1960 up to the time of writing this thesis in 2023.

Here are some of the main syndromes which the speaker uses to reproduce binary unequal power relations overtly and negotiate affiliation and individuation in this section. The first syndrome of couplings in this section is Nigerians & -Propriety, which the speaker uses to disaffiliate himself and the military from a certain category of individuals. He created an in-group consisting of the military and an out-group consisting of civilians who fall within the category of the out-group of those he frames as “enemies”. He also pronounces a series of offences that he warned the Nigerian civilians not to commit, and the powers he gives to the military to choose any punishment they deem suitable, up to the death sentence. This syndrome is used by the speaker to enact more individuation away from the Nigerian citizens and affiliate himself with the military while

reproducing binary, unequal power relations overtly, with the civilians. He also uses this syndrome to frame some categories of the citizens like government officials and those who are not “law-abiding”, as those who should be afraid of what he terms “Extraordinary Orders of the Day”.

The second syndrome is Self & +Tenacity which the speaker uses to assert his authority. He realizes this syndrome by making “ten proclamations” of a series of offences which he warns the citizens not to commit. He equally uses militaristic words like “promulgated”, “proclaim”, and a pattern of warnings to the Nigerian citizens, to demonstrate his resoluteness in the coup speech.

Lastly, there is a syndrome of Nigerians & -Happiness, which also shows his disalignment from the civilian citizens. The repeated patterns of the kind of punishments like “death sentence” which the military has been authorized to carry out on those that disobey his “proclamations”, invoke a negative happiness Attitude that becomes a syndrome in this section.

There were many crises that followed Nzeogwu’s 15th January 1966 coup speech, which culminated in the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970 (Achebe, 2012). More information on the 1966 crises can be found in 1.4, & 2.4, respectively. I then attach section C of Nzeogwu’s speech to make the analysis more easily understandable.

### 8.2.3 Section C

“Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent; those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs at least, the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds.

Like good soldiers we are not promising anything miraculous or spectacular. But what we do promise every law abiding citizen is freedom from fear and all forms of oppression, freedom from general inefficiency and freedom to live and strive in every field of human endeavour, both nationally and internationally. We promise that you will no more be ashamed to say that you are a Nigerian”.

A micro-analysis of section C of the coup speech which has been coded in lines 27-42 of the Appraisal Table, attached as appendix D, shows that the speaker tries to affiliate with some Nigerians by using the personal and possessive pronouns “we” and “our” inclusively, to specifically frame an in-group and out-group of persons by presenting some people as “our enemies”. (Hope, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Slocum & Van Langenhove, 2017).

Nzeogwu affiliates with the “we” in-group, by proposing a bond of inclusion while he individuates away from the “them” out-group, by proposing a bond of rejection of these out-groups who he framed as “our enemies”. The speaker uses a particular pattern of coupling his ideas about the “enemies”, with other Appraisal resources to construe an identity of “good” and “bad” Nigerians, which produces a prosody of -Propriety Judgements, co-articulated with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to close all possible alternative voices on the “enemies”. For instance, he enacts an inscribed Attitude of -Propriety which he instantiates with the words “enemies” and “the political profiteers”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with “good” Nigerians, and disaffiliate from the enemies. Further, he uses an inscribed Attitude of -Propriety instantiated by the words “swindlers” coupled with an upscaling Vigour instantiated with “seek”, to intensify the focus of his individuation of the “good” Nigerians away from the “enemies”. Subsequently, Nzeogwu enacts a double-coded invoked Attitude of +Capacity and -Capacity, instantiated with the words “high” and “low” respectively, to intensify the focus of his clause complex on some Nigerians who occupy high positions in government, and those that occupy low positions, yet misuse their official positions by engaging in corrupt acts. Corruption was a very common faction in Nigeria's first civilian government which lasted from 1960 to 1966, when Nzeogwu made the speech, and is still a major factor in Nigeria’s political discourse (Nzeribe, 2017; Ogbeide et al., 2016).

Further analysis shows that the speaker continues with his in-group and out-group approach in subsequent paragraphs of his speech. Here, Nzeogwu instantiates upscaling infusing Vigour with the word “demand” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of -Propriety, which is also instantiated with the words “bribes” and “10 percent” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to control the dialogic space, in the following clause complex: “...that seek bribes and

demand 10 percent". In Nigeria, the demand for 10 percent of the contract amount by government officials before awarding a contract, is one of the major features of official corruption (Adeyemo & Amade, 2016; Ogbeidi, 2012). Nzeogwu continues by instantiating upscaling Degree with the word "VIPs" to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Normality to pronounce another category of powerful Nigerians who are the out-group enemies "of the people". In addition, he instantiates a downscaling Degree with "at least", to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Normality, to make the point that these categories of Nigerians want to hold onto their status as VIPs even if they cannot stay as ministers. He uses these pronouncements to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians and individuate away from the "enemies". Nzeogwu further instantiates inscribed Attitude of -Propriety with the words "the tribalists" and "the nepotists", and couples these Attitude meanings with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to further individuate Nigerians away from the "enemies".

Continuing, Nzeogwu uses the words "international circles" to instantiate upscaling Extent: Distribution: Space, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of -Capacity, which is instantiated by the phrase: "big for nothing" to show the extent to which the actions of the "enemies" have made Nigeria incapable of gaining international recognition. Lastly, he instantiates an inscribed Attitude of -Propriety with the word "corrupted" to affiliate with Nigerians against the "enemies". He also instantiates Downscaling: Extent: Proximity: Time with the word "back", to graduate the invoked Attitude of -Propriety, instantiated by the words "put the Nigerian political calendar back" to complete his categorization of the law-abiding citizens as the in-group Nigerians, and the "enemies" as the out-group, who he individuates away from.

In the last paragraph of this section which has been coded in lines 37-42 of the Appraisal table, the speaker instantiates upscaling infusing Degree with the word "good", to inscribe a positive Judgement of +Veracity instantiated by "soldiers", by suggesting that they are honest and will not promise more than they can deliver. The speaker then couples this positive Judgement of soldiers with a Monoglossic authorial voice, because no dialogic space is given to dispute the simile that the military are not good soldiers. However, the speaker uses the word "anything" to instantiate downscaling Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of -Capacity, instantiated with the words "not promising anything miraculous or spectacular" and

couples with a Heteroglossic: Contract: Deny authorial voice, to let Nigerians know that they should not expect anything that is beyond the capacity of the soldiers. He uses the following clause complex to deny those voices that may want them to behave like the politicians, who make unrealistic promises: “Like good soldiers, we are not promising anything miraculous or spectacular”. He uses the “not” negation verb, to deny any special “miraculous” or “spectacular” expectations Nigerians may have of them. Through these clause complexes, Nzeogwu proposes a bond of trust and integrity with Nigerians, and individuates away from the politicians, who he had earlier categorized as "our enemies" in the first clause complex of this section, thus: “Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent;”.

Consequently, Nzeogwu couples a Heteroglossic Contract: Counter authorial voice with upscaling infusing Vigour instantiated with the word “promise”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, also instantiated with “promise” to counter his earlier clause complex not to make promises by contracting the dialogic space further around the promises he is making to assure Nigerians that the military still has a lot of good promises to them. In addition, Nzeogwu instantiates Quantification: Number with the words “every” and “all”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness which is instantiated with “freedom” and couples with the Heteroglossic Contract: Counter voice, to counter the putative voices who may not believe that they could realize their promises, by assuring “every law abiding citizen” of “freedom from all forms of oppression”. The speaker again differentiates the citizens into two categories, the law-abiding ones, who he Appraises positively with a +Propriety Judgement, and his “enemies”, who he Appraises negatively with a -Propriety Judgement, thereby further emphasizing his in-group and out-group affiliation and individuation strategy. He further instantiates upscaling Extent: Distribution: Space with the words “nationally” and “internationally”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness instantiated by the word “freedom” to show the extent of his positive visions for Nigerians. He co-articulates his promises to Nigerians in a pattern that becomes affiliative syndromes of shared common values that are predicated on a bond of freedom.

Nzeogwu concludes his affiliation through further promises, by instantiating upscaling infusing Vigour with the word “promise”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, also instantiated by “promise” and couples with a Heteroglossic: Proclaim: Pronounce, to negotiate more affiliation with Nigerians, by pronouncing more encouraging promises. The speaker equally reproduces unequal power relations between the Nigerian military and the “other” out-group Nigerians using the pronoun “we exclusively, and the phrase “law abiding” citizens, to create a binary power relation of the ruler and the ruled. Nzeogwu construes an identity of “good” and “bad” Nigerians through use of these resources for individuation and affiliation. Nzeogwu’s 15th January 1966 coup speech polarized Nigerians into “we” versus “them” groups and gave rise to a series of actions and counteractions, one of which was the retaliatory coup of 29th August 1966 (see 1.4 & 2.4

Here are some of the main syndromes the speaker uses to realize the analytics concepts of unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation in this section. Firstly, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & -Propriety, which the speaker uses to create an out-group of “enemies” in contradistinction to the in-group of “law abiding” Nigerians. He thus makes a “we” versus “them” dichotomy, by appraising the out-group with several negative words like “swindlers,” “profiteers,” “tribalists” and “nepotists”. This becomes a pattern of disalignment in the speech. He uses the above linguistic resources to present the “enemies” in such a way that his real and putative audience had no choice but to see them from the negative lens of “enemies of the people”, and “enemies of the Revolution”.

Secondly, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & +Happiness, which the speaker uses to affiliate with the in-group of Nigerians, who are “law abiding”. He uses several promises to propose a bond of freedom with this group of Nigerians and negotiate affiliation with them.

Thirdly, there is the syndrome of Self & +Inclination, which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation with the military to propose a common shared value of oneness with the military. For instance, in the last paragraph, he uses “we” three times and “you” two times, to differentiate

between those that had the agency to make the promises and those who had to receive the promises. He thereby aligns himself with the military. He uses this syndrome to reinforce the syndrome of Nigerians and +Happiness because many of the instantiations of this syndrome are the word “promise”, which is used to describe the anticipation of positive actions in the future.

#### 8.2.4 Section D

“I leave you with a message of good wishes and ask for your support at all times, so that our land, watered by the Niger and Benue, between the sandy wastes and Gulf of Guinea, washed in salt by the mighty Atlantic, shall not detract Nigeria from gaining sway in any great aspect of international endeavour. My dear countrymen, this is the end of this speech. I wish you all good luck and I hope you will cooperate to the fullest in this job which we have set for ourselves of establishing a prosperous nation and achieving solidarity”.

In section D of the 1966 coup speech which has coded in lines 43-52 of the Appraisal Table attached as Appendix D, the speaker concludes his speech by reinforcing unequal power relations overtly and enacting more affiliation and individuation. For instance, Nzeogwu uses the word “good” to instantiate infusing Degree, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness, which is instantiated by the words “good wishes” and couples with Expand: Acknowledge authorial voice, to propose a bond of goodwill with Nigerians. He further instantiates Extent: proximity: Time with “at all times”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, instantiated by “support” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of support with Nigerians. He, then reproduces unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, with the use of the personal and possessive pronouns: “I”, “you”, and “your” to continue emphasizing this in-group and out-group (Machin & Mayr, 2012) strategy in the coup speech. Nzeogwu then uses Pronounce: Justify to justify his reason for asking for the support of Nigerians and instantiates Intensification: Vigour with the word “watered”, to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Valuation, which is instantiated by the words “Niger” and “Benue”. According to him, Nigerians should support the revolution through the military, so that Nigeria shall continue to flourish.

Nigeria is a country in the West African sub-region (Suleiman, 2018). The country has two main important rivers: River Niger and River Benue which flow from the Northern part, into the Atlantic Ocean (Ekundayo, 2015) in the Southern part of Nigeria. The two major Rivers Niger and Benue are significant, as a national heritage that divides the north from the south (Orakwe, 2020). Nigeria also has a border in the North with the Republic of Niger where the Sahara Desert is located. The Sahara Desert is a national heritage that depicts the identity of the far northern part of Nigeria, while the Atlantic Ocean is located in the Southern part of the country (Ekundayo, 2015). The speaker, therefore, uses these national heritages to create an affiliation with Nigerians, and propose a bond of nationhood and solidarity with them.

Further, the speaker instantiates upscaling Degree with “great”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, instantiated with “endeavour” and couples with a Heteroglossic: Contract: Justify, to justify his reason for asking for support. He continues, by instantiating a Sharpen: Focus on the word “speech”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated by the word “dear” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with his “countrymen”. The speaker further instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with “all” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness which is also instantiated by the words “good luck” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to consolidate his alignment with all Nigerians. Nzeogwu also instantiates upscaling isolating Degree with “fullest”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, instantiated with “cooperate” and couples with Expand: Entertain voice, to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians by asking for their cooperation in complying with his “Extraordinary Orders” to the “fullest”. The speaker also downscales the impact of the coup by referring to it as a “job”, probably to defuse the perception some people may have about the coup as an aberrant, violent unconstitutional overthrow of a legitimate government. The following instantiations, reinforce my conclusion on the use of “job” to refer to Nigeria’s first coup. Here, the speaker instantiates Sharpen: Focus with “job”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Normality, which he instantiates with “ourselves” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice.



Nzeogwu uses the word “establishing” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Satisfaction, which is instantiated by “prosperous” to affiliate with Nigerians by proposing a bond of national prosperity. Lastly, Nzeogwu instantiates upscaling Vigour with “achieving”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness which he instantiates with “solidarity”. He also continues his affiliation with the military, using the first person plural pronouns “we” and “ourselves” inclusively, to designate the military who carried out the coup, and reproduce unequal power relations with the civilians. The last clause complex: “I wish you all good luck and hope you will cooperate to the fullest in this job which we have set for ourselves of establishing a prosperous nation and achieving solidarity”, is used to demand “cooperation” from the citizens over his “Extraordinary Orders”.

At the end of this section, the student researcher discusses the main syndromes found in it. Firstly, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & +Happiness, which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation with all Nigerians, by proposing bonds of hope, prosperity, and goodwill from the military in-group to the civilian out-group. Some clause complexes or phrases that can serve as examples are: “I leave you with a message of good wishes”, “My dear countrymen”, “I wish you all good luck” and “and achieving solidarity”.

Secondly, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & +Tenacity, which the speaker uses to exert soft power (Agangan, & Kamalu, 2015) over the listeners, by subtly, asking for their “support”, cooperation to the “fullest” and “solidarity” to enable the military to achieve its objectives with the coup. The speaker uses the words “establishing” and “achieving solidarity” to show how capable the military is in handling the affairs of the country. He used the first and second-person pronouns, “I” and “you” three times in this short paragraph, to show that the military was in control and the “other” citizens were at the receiving end of their orders.

### 8.3 The coupling resources

Nzeogwu used several Appraisal resources to realize the analytics concepts of unequal power relations and enact affiliation and individuation in his speech. Some of these resources were co-articulated in a pattern that revealed the logogenesis of the text, in terms of how the speaker used the meaning-making resources to unfold his in-group and out-group of Nigerians, binary unequal power relations expressed overtly, with the out-group, and using militaristic words and clause complexes to enact affiliation and individuation in the coup speech. For a thorough analysis of these resources concerning the analytics concepts, the resources with the highest number of occurrences in the speech have been chosen, to show the syndrome coupling of Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the speech to realize the analytics concepts. In the same vein, the four Appraisal resources of Upscaling Force, Downscaling Force, Expansive Engagement and Contractive Engagement have been chosen to analyse the coupling resources, because these four encompass other resources. The coupling resources are shown in Table 9.1.

Coupling Resources	Nigerians & -Propriety	Nigerians & +Happiness	Military & +Inclination	Self & + Tenacity
Total instances	14	06	04	04
Upscaling Force	07	04	04	04
Downscaling Force	02	00	00	00
Expansive Engagement	03	02	00	01
Contractive Engagement	11	04	04	03

Table 8.2: The coupling resources in Nzeogwu’s 1966 coup speech

The coupling statistics above show sets of resources which the speaker uses to realize the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and power relations in the coup speech. For instance, the speaker couples negative Attitudes with Nigerians by individuating away from them. In addition, the upscaling column shows the number of times the speaker uses an upscale Force to graduate the meaning of the Attitude resource(s). Nzeogwu creates two groups of in-group law-abiding Nigerians, and out-group enemies, and coupled the negative Attitude of -Propriety with the out-

group 14 times to individuate himself, and the in-group Nigerians away from the out-group. This individual uses some negative phrases and clause complexes to describe the “enemies” as follows: “Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent; those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs at least, the tribalists, the nepotists”. The soldier also warns foreign nations to “avoid taking sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people”. This syndrome is very common in the coup speech and the sharp division between the in-group and out-group, is not a feature of the inaugural speech, which relied more on using words and clause complexes inclusively, to affiliate with all Nigerians. This syndrome also invokes a negative syndrome of -Happiness by pronouncing a series of punishable offences that the out-group of Nigerians could commit.

Another marked syndrome of the coup speech is the positive evaluation of Nigerians with a +Happiness Attitude. Nzeogwu uses this syndrome of resources to affiliate with Nigerians towards the end of his proclamations after he had initially evaluated the out-group negatively. He uses a series of promises to instantiate the +Happiness syndrome and justify the coup and ask for the support of Nigerians. The speaker expresses several positive images of happiness with Nigeria’s heritages of the Rivers Niger and Benue, to give Nigerians reason to support the coup so that their future will be as beautiful as national heritages. Nzeogwu further uses the following clause complexes “I leave you with a message of good wishes and ask for your support at all times”, and “I wish you all good luck and I hope you will cooperate to the fullest in this job which we have set for ourselves of establishing a prosperous nation and achieving solidarity”, to affiliate with Nigerians and couple a positive happiness syndrome.

Thirdly, Nzeogwu couples a positive Attitude to the military & +Inclination in his speech several times, to reproduce binary unequal power relations overtly, with the out-group Nigerians. He used these resources in a pattern that affiliates his speech with the military as the in-group, and reproduces unequal power relations, by giving the military commanders the power to punish the “enemies” with any sentence that they deem fit, even the death sentence. Some examples of this syndrome are as follows: “Shouting of slogans, loitering and rowdy behaviour will be rectified by

any sentence of incarceration, or any more severe punishment deemed fit by the local military commander”.

Lastly, Nzeogwu instantiates a pattern of Self and +Tenacity, to reproduce binary, unequal power relations between himself as an in-group, and the out-group Nigerians or the Northern Province where he declared martial law. In the coup speech, Nzeogwu makes some proclamations that showed his resoluteness and determination to assert his authority and the authority of the military over the listeners. For instance, in the first paragraph he makes the following statement: “In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria”. Nzeogwu also makes “ten proclamations” that he uses to reproduce unequal power relations in the speech. Nzeogwu uses this syndrome to affiliate with Nigerians by asking for their support, in his determination to succeed.

Nzeogwu uses the 19 upscaling Force, to intensify the binary power relations between himself, the Nigerian military, and the out-group of Nigerian citizens, while he uses the 02 downscaling Force to mitigate the impact of his speech, by referring to the coup as a “slight change” and a “job”.

Subsequently, Nzeogwu uses 06 Expansive Engagement resources in the syndromes to open the dialogic space for the possibility of alternative voices, while he uses 22 Contractive Engagement resources to position his statements as being correct and unarguable. The speaker also uses 34 inscribed Attitude resources to make his proclamations in the speech explicit, and 20 invoked Attitude resources to make implicit, implied statements that have a much deeper meaning and implications, thus intensifying his individuation and affiliation with some people or sections of the country. For instance, by prescribing the death sentence for those that refuse to perform “normal duties”, Nzeogwu succeeds in affiliating to the in-group of “local military commanders” by giving them overwhelming powers to decide what constitutes “normal duties”, while he individuates away from the out-group of “enemies” who may be punished for failing to comply with these undefined duties.

Lastly, in terms of Attitude polarity, Nzeogwu expresses 23 negative Attitudes to individuate away from the out-group, and 30 positive Attitude statements, to affiliate with the military in-group and intensify his determination to achieve the aims of expressing military dominance in his speech.

#### 8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reported the analysis of Nigeria's first coup speech of 15th January 1966, to explain how the speaker co-articulates Appraisal resources to realize the concepts of affiliation, and individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations in the coup speech. Nigerians were the focal point of this speech, and the statistical results of the coupling table show that the speaker uses Appraisal resources of Nigerians & -Propriety several times, to individuate away from some Nigerians, by creating an in-group of law-abiding Nigerians and an out-group of enemies, while he uses Military & +Inclination to affiliate with the Nigerian military as his in-group. The analysis further shows how the speaker couples Ideational meanings with the three Appraisal systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation, to realize his objectives (Martin and White, 2005c) Consequently, the coupling of these Ideational meanings in the Interpersonal discourse reveals the logogenesis of the speech, in terms of the contexts, and the resources he uses to realize the analytics concepts. The student researcher has given further explanations of the context of the coup speech, in the analysis.

This analysis reveals a different pattern of affiliation, individuation, and power relations from the inaugural speech. In this speech, the speaker relies more on his categorization of Nigerians into an in-group of law-abiding citizens and an out-group of enemies, to realize the above concepts. Moreover, he uses more militaristic words and expressions such as: "I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. The Constitution is suspended, and the regional governments and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved" to emphasize the syndrome of dominance that is perceptible in this speech. This is unlike the inaugural speech, which uses pronouns in a more inclusive sense, to affiliate with all Nigerians and places less reliance on reproducing a binary power relation overtly. Nzeogwu's first coup speech in Nigeria set a pattern which subsequent military speeches followed. The findings from this chapter are discussed fully in chapter eleven to respond to research questions in 1.8.

## Chapter Nine: Micro-analysis of Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech

### 9.1 Introduction

Biafra's secession speech was made on 30th May 1967, by Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, and it is so far, the only secession speech that has become a watershed in the sociopolitical history of Nigeria (Agwu, 2001). The text of this speech can be found in Appendix N, and more information on the 1967 secession speech can be found in 2.4.3. This student analyst has divided the analysis of this secession speech into sections A and B, to make it easier for readers of this thesis to follow the trend of the analysis. The student analyst has also coded the Appraisal resources of this secession speech in the Appraisal table which is attached as Appendix E. The secession speech was preceded by many political intrigues and upheavals, which were exacerbated by the January 15th 1966, coup led by Nzeogwu, the retaliatory coup of 29th July 1966 led by Gowon, and the pogrom against the Igbos living in the north (Korieh, 2013), because Nzeogwu and a majority of those who carried out the 15th January 1966 coup were Igbo (Julius-Adeoye, 2017). In this analysis, there are more explanations from the contextual perspective, on the sociopolitical events that preceded the secession speech.

It was the Eastern region that seceded from Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra, and Ojukwu uses Appraisal strategies to propose bonds of affiliation with the Eastern Nigerians as an in-group, and individuate away from Nigeria, as the out-group. These Appraisal resources are discussed in 9.2, with emphasis on how the speaker uses linguistic resources to couple Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the logogenesis of his speech, especially, how he transforms unequal power relations and negotiates affiliation and individuation in the speech. In this secession speech, Ojukwu transforms the already existing power Nigeria wields over the Eastern region, by asserting the sovereignty of the Eastern region as the Republic of Biafra, thereby making Biafra to be at the same level as sovereign countries as Nigeria. He equally reproduces unequal power relations with Biafrans and other nations. There are explanations on the coupling table concerning the main syndromes of Appraisal resources used by the speaker to realize the analytics concepts. In 9.3. Finally, this micro-analysis of the secession speech is concluded in 9.4.

This candidate has divided the analysis into sections A and B, to enable the analysis to focus on the structure of the speech, for easier understanding. In section A, Ojukwu borrows extensively from legal discourse, with repeated patterns of words, phrases, and clause complexes, which he uses to awaken Biafrans to their rights and privileges, in preparation for the declaration of the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria. Similarly, in section B, Ojukwu draws from legal discourse to make a series of declarations that confirm the secession and sovereignty of the Eastern region, as the Republic of Biafra, thereby transforming unequal power relations, and negotiating affiliation with Biafrans and individuation away, from Nigeria using the linguistic resources differently from the way they were used in the inaugural and coup speeches.

## 9.2 Micro-analysis of Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech

In section A of the secession speech, quotation marks are used to mark out word(s) phrases or clause complexes which the speaker uses to instantiate the Appraisal resources, while words or phrases used to propose bonds are underlined following the convention used in chapter eight and nine. This candidate attaches each section before reporting on the analysis of the section.

### 9.2.1 Section A

“Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria:

Conscious of the supreme authority of Almighty God over all mankind, of your duty to yourselves and posterity;

Aware that you can no longer be protected in your lives and in your property by any Government based outside Eastern Nigeria;

Believing that you are born free and have certain inalienable rights which can best be preserved by yourselves;

Unwilling to be unfree partners in any association of a political or economic nature; Rejecting the authority of any person or persons other than the Military Government of Eastern Nigeria to make any imposition of whatever kind or nature upon you;

Determined to dissolve all political and other ties between you and the former Federal Republic of Nigeria; Prepared to enter into such association, treaty or alliance with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good;

Affirming your trust and confidence in me; Having mandated me to proclaim on your behalf, and in your name the Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign independent Republic. Now Therefore I, Lieutenant-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her continental

shelf and territorial waters shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra”.

In this section A, which the student analyst has coded in lines 1-26 of the Appraisal table and attached as Appendix E, Ojukwu uses several linguistic resources to negotiate affiliation with the people of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, who seceded from Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra. Ojukwu also co-articulates his Ideational and Interpersonal meanings to individuate away from Nigeria and transform unequal power relations in a way that demonstrates that Biafra’s sovereignty was sacrosanct. Here, Ojukwu transformed power relations in a way to demonstrate that Biafra is also a sovereign nation like Nigeria, which is an exclusive feature of the secession speech, unlike the inaugural and coup speeches where the speakers reproduced power relations between individuals, groups, or sections of the country.

Ojukwu uses one continuous clause complex that has no main clause with a finite verb, which makes section A difficult to argue against, giving rise to more use of the Monogloss Engagement resource. In the opening line, Ojukwu instantiates a Sharpen: Focus on the words “Fellow countrymen and women”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Normality, which he instantiates with the word “Fellow” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to exclude all alternative voices and take total control of the speech (Martin and White, 2005c) to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria. He uses the nominal group: "Fellow countrymen and women," to align with the people of the Eastern Region and draw them close to himself by proposing a bond of oneness. He continues to couple with Eastern Nigerians by instantiating a Sharpen Focus with the words “Eastern Nigeria”, to graduate the meaning of the positive Attitudes of +Normality, which he instantiates with the word “people” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to have a direct affiliation with the people of Eastern Nigeria, by addressing them thus: “you, the people of Eastern Nigeria”. The use of the second-person pronoun “you” enables the speaker to propose a direct bond of brotherhood between himself and the people of Eastern Nigeria at the beginning of his speech, thereby giving the people of Eastern Nigeria a sense of belonging in his speech.



Subsequently, the speaker instantiates upscaling Degree with the word “supreme” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity which he instantiates with the word “authority” and reinforced by an additional upscaled instantiation of +Capacity in “Almighty” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to intensify the faith Eastern Nigerians had in the supreme power of God, to see them through in their resolve to secede from Nigeria. The acknowledgement of the power of God in the secession speech is very strategic in negotiating an affiliation with the people based on the shared common value of “faith”, considering the political upheavals that preceded the secession speech, and the grave implications of seceding from Nigeria. He follows his alignment with Eastern Nigerians, by using the word “posterity” to instantiate Extent: Distribution: Time, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated by the word “duty” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to galvanize the people to action by reminding them that they owe a duty to themselves to undertake this morally justified course of action, which will be reckoned in future.

The amalgamation of unrelated nations to form Nigeria continues to pose a threat to the unity of Nigeria, especially after Nigeria's independence from Britain in 1960 (Siollun, 2009). The 1966 coup and counter-coup and the genocidal actions against the Igbos of Eastern Nigeria in the Northern part of the country, were factors responsible for the secession speech, which was also the immediate cause of the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970 (Achebe, 2012, pp. 63–65; Korieh, 2013). More information on the events that led to the Nigeria-Biafra War can be found in 1.4 and 2.4. All this information is vital in understanding the context of Ojukwu's pattern of affiliation, individuation, and transforming unequal power relations in the secession speech.

Ojukwu uses the word “outside” to instantiate Extent: Distribution: Space, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Security, which is instantiated with “protected” and negated by “no longer”. He then couples these resources with a Heteroglossic Contract: Expand: Entertain voice, to pronounce that the security of Eastern Nigerians can only be guaranteed by an authority in their region. He thereby negotiates individuation away from Nigeria through this pronouncement. The speaker further uses the following clause complex: “Aware that you can no longer be protected in your lives and in your property by any government based outside Eastern Nigeria”, to affiliate with

the people of Eastern Nigeria, by emphasizing the existential dangers they face if they remain in Nigeria. He tries to awaken the consciousness of Eastern Nigerians to their inalienable human rights and prepare them for his declaration of secession from Nigeria.

The following statement from the speech justifies my assumption. Here, the speaker uses the double-coded inscribed Attitude of +Normality and +Happiness instantiated with the word “free” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice with “Believing that”, to continue his emphasis on the inalienable rights possessed by Eastern Nigerians, to make decisions about their lives. He also instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “have”, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Security, which is instantiated with the words “inalienable rights” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice, to continue aligning with the people of Eastern Nigeria, by proposing a bond of rights and privileges. Ojukwu also inscribes a double-coded -Normality and -Happiness with the word “unfree”, which is graduated by upscaling Quantification: Number instantiated with “any” and couples with Expand: Entertain voice to upscale the resolve of Eastern Nigerians to resist any breach of their fundamental human rights.

Ojukwu instantiates upscaling infusing Vigour with “Rejecting”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity which he instantiates with “authority” but negates with “Rejected” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to propose a bond of rejection of Nigerian authority. He uses the Interpersonal meaning of “rejecting” couples with the Ideational and Interpersonal meaning of “authority” to individuate away from Nigeria’s authority. He continues by instantiating a Sharpen: Focus on “eastern Nigeria” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed +Inclination Attitude, instantiated with “other than” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to emphasize the necessity of relying only on the “Military Government” of Eastern Nigeria, which he heads as the Commander-in-Chief. Further, he instantiates Quantification: Number with the word “any”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Satisfaction which is instantiated with “imposition” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to demonstrate that only the “Military Government of Eastern Nigeria” had the right and capacity to make decisions on their lives. Ojukwu also uses these assertions to prepare the minds of his listeners for the eventual declaration of the secession of the Eastern Region from Nigeria. Here, Ojukwu uses the words “Unwilling”, “unfree” and “Rejecting” to evaluate Nigeria negatively and individuate Eastern

Nigeria away from Nigeria. The speaker equally uses “other than” to negate the authority of Nigeria and assert the authority of the “Military Government of eastern Nigeria” to affiliate with the people of eastern Nigeria and positively evaluate the idea of a government in Eastern Nigeria. In addition, the speaker instantiates upscaling isolating Vigour with “dissolve”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, instantiated with “Determined” which is coupled with a Monoglossic authorial voice to align with Eastern Nigerians and proposes a bond of determination with them.

Ojukwu followed this by inscribing a +Capacity Attitude instantiated with the word “prepared” and coupled with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to intensify the force of the disalignment of himself and Eastern Nigerians away from Nigeria. Continuing, the speaker instantiates a downscaling Quantification: Number with “any” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, also instantiated with the word “sovereign” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to assert that Biafra is at liberty to associate with or make treaties with any country it likes. However, the condition for such an association should be that that part of Nigeria must be “sovereign”. Ojukwu reinforces this part of his bond with Biafrans by instantiating upscaling Degree with the word “best”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated with the word “good” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to propose a bond of togetherness. The speaker instantiates these Appraisal resources to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria and form a bond of solidarity with them before his eventual declaration of their secession from Nigeria. Ojukwu also individuates away from Nigeria and transforms unequal power relations between himself and the people of Eastern Nigeria by using negative evaluative resources on Nigeria. However, he first draws from legal discourse to gain their trust and confidence by awakening them to their rights and privileges and proposing bonds of oneness, fundamental rights, and determination, thereby reproducing unequal power relations with his listeners covertly, and exerting power over Eastern Nigerians and at the same time, affiliates with them. The speaker then relies on the confidence he had gained from the people of Eastern Nigeria, and other putative listeners, to declare the secession of Eastern Nigeria from Nigeria.

Ojukwu consolidates on the trust and support he had gained from Eastern Nigerians in his speech, to transform binary unequal power relations overtly, which he uses to declare the secession of the Eastern Region of Nigeria away from Nigeria. For instance, he instantiates upscaling Degree using the word “Affirming” to graduate the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Security and +Propriety, which he instantiates with the words “trust” and “confidence” and this Attitude couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of trust and confidence with the people of Eastern Nigeria. Ojukwu consolidates on this bond of trust and confidence, by co-articulating his declaration with another upscaling infusing Vigour, instantiated with “mandated” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to affiliate with the people of Eastern Nigeria, and bond with them around the legitimacy of his declaration. The speaker then instantiates upscaling isolating Vigour with “proclaim”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with his listeners. He continues by instantiating an invoked +Capacity Attitude with “sovereign” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to further align himself with the region he was about to secede from Nigeria.

The speaker’s strategy of bonding with the people first by referring to the mandate they gave him to make his proclamations is a clear departure from the coup speech which was more of an imposition on the people, without any reference to the people’s mandate. Ojukwu uses the above strategy to gain some legitimacy to his speech, by using the already established bonds of togetherness, trust and confidence to bolster this legitimacy. The representatives of the 20 provinces that make up Eastern Nigeria met on 27th May 1967 and mandated Ojukwu to declare a sovereign nation for Eastern Nigerians (Achebe, 2012; Stapleton, 2018). This is a major departure from the coup speech, which had neither constitutional backing nor any mandate. The speaker of the secession speech exploits this mandate to his advantage as his source of authority, which he uses to affiliate with Eastern Nigerians, individuate away from Nigerians and reproduce unequal power relations overtly, between himself and Biafrans.

Ojukwu applies honorifics to prepare the minds of his listeners for his eventual declaration of the secession of the Eastern region and to exert power and authority. Here, he instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with his military rank “Lieutenant-Colonel” and couples it with a Monoglossic authorial voice to announce his name and military rank and show that he can lead the

people to secession. The speaker also instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the words “Military Governor” and couples it with a Monoglossic voice to assert his authority and reproduce unequal power relations between him and his listeners. However, he still refers to the legitimacy of his actions by instantiating upscaling isolating Degree with “authority” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Valuation, which he instantiates with “principles” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to emphasize the authority and universal principles of freedom upon which he makes his declarations. Ojukwu continues by instantiating infusing upscaling Vigour with the word “proclaim” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity which he equally instantiates with “proclaim” and couples with Monoglossic Engagement, to show the seriousness of his proclamation, by infusing the meaning of the word “solemnly” with an action word “proclaim” to sedate his listeners into the seriousness of his declaration and the calm and dignified way he goes about it.

Ojukwu then pronounces the boundaries of the seceding nation by instantiating a Distribution: Space with the words “territory” and “region”, and couples these resources with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, instantiated by “proclaim that” to close alternative voices, and demonstrate his capacity to pronounce the territorial area of the seceding Eastern region. He follows up by instantiating another Extent: Distribution: Space with the words “continental shelf and territorial waters”, to couple with the Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice to further pronounce the extent of the boundary of the about-to-be-declared nation, with Nigeria. Ojukwu then uses the words “independent” and “sovereign” to upscale the Degree of his declaration, and couples it with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to transform unequal power relations with his listeners, by pronouncing the name of the seceded Eastern regions as: “The Republic of Biafra”. Eastern Nigeria, which seceded from Nigeria in 1967, includes a continental shelf stretching out into the Atlantic Ocean and is very rich in oil, gas, and other mineral resources (Ibe, 1982).

This candidate now discusses the main syndromes which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation, and individuation, and transform or reproduce unequal power relations in this section. Firstly, the speaker uses language in a way that formed a syndrome of Biafrans & +Capacity which he used 6

times to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria by emphasizing the capability and the rights of Biafrans to make decisions over their lives and future. Before he declares the secession of that region from Nigeria, he makes several utterances that convey similar meanings of oneness, of human rights & privileges, sovereignty, and rejection of external authority. Ojukwu borrows from legal discourse to galvanize Biafrans for the eventual declaration of secession from Nigeria using the following clause complex: “Rejecting the authority of any person or persons other than the Military Government of Eastern Nigeria to make any imposition of whatever kind or nature on you;”. He also used this style of speaking, to propose shared common bonds of affiliation with his people.

Secondly, the speaker creates a syndrome of Self & +Capacity to demonstrate to his listeners that he had the capability and determination to lead them away from Nigeria to a new country. He transforms unequal power relations between himself and Nigeria in such a way that he normalizes them, by often referring to the mandate he had from the people to make his declarations. The speaker also uses this syndrome in the last paragraph of this section to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Biafrans and individuate away from Nigeria. He uses honorifics of his military titles to assert his capacity, authority and powers to make such proclamations as follows: “Now Therefore I, Lieutenant-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her continental shelf and territorial waters shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra”.

### 9.2.2 Section B

“And I Do Declare That: (i) All political ties between us and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are hereby totally dissolved;  
(ii) All subsisting contractual obligations entered into by the Government of the federal republic of Nigeria or by any person, authority, organization or government acting on its behalf, with any person, authority or organization operating, or relating to any matter or thing, within the Republic of Biafra, shall henceforth be deemed to be entered into with the Military Governor of the Republic of Biafra for and on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Biafra, and the

covenants thereof shall, subject to this Declaration, be performed by the parties according to their tenor;

(iii) All subsisting international treaties and obligations made on behalf of Eastern Nigeria by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be honoured and respected;

(iv) Eastern Nigeria's due share of all subsisting international debts and obligations entered into by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be honoured and respected;

(v) Steps will be taken to open discussions on the question of Eastern Nigeria's due share of the assets of the Federation of Nigeria and personal properties of the citizens of Biafra throughout the Federation of Nigeria.

(vi) The rights, privileges, pensions, etc., of all personnel of the Public Services, the Armed Forces and the Police now serving in any capacity within the Republic of Biafra are hereby guaranteed;

(vii) We shall keep the door open for association with, and would welcome, any sovereign unit or units in the former Federation of Nigeria or any other parts of Africa desirous of association with us for the purposes of running a common services organization and for the establishment of economic ties;

(viii) We shall protect the lives and property of all foreigners residing in Biafra, we shall extend the hand of friendship to those nations who respect our sovereignty, and shall repel any interference in our internal affairs;

(ix) We shall faithfully adhere to the charter of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations Organization;

(x) It is our intention to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations in our right as a sovereign, independent nation. Long live the Republic of Biafra! And may God protect all those who live in her”.

In section B of the secession speech which is coded in lines 27-63 of the Appraisal Table, and attached as Appendix E, Ojukwu starts by declaring the secession of Biafra from Nigeria with the following clause: “And I Do Declare That:” which he uses to transform unequal power relations with Nigeria, by asserting the sovereignty of Biafra. This clause “And I Do Declare That” instantiates a Contract: pronounce Engagement resource, which contracts the dialogic space around all the declarations that follow, and couples with them to transform power relations between Biafra and Nigeria. Ojukwu consolidates his declaration of Biafra as a sovereign state by using several Appraisal resources to transform unequal power relations with Nigeria and other foreign nations which may want to interfere in the secession of Biafra. He also affiliates with Biafrans, and other federating units of Nigeria, or nations that may want to relate with Biafra, on the condition that they must “respect” Biafra's sovereignty. He also individuates himself and Biafrans away from Nigeria, by proposing bonds of rejection and freedom. Consequently, the speaker proclaims ten declarations to actualize his objectives of seceding the Eastern region from Nigeria. He uses personal and possessive pronouns inclusively, to propose the bond of oneness

with Biafrans, while he uses the pronouns exclusively and militaristic keywords, to individuate himself and Biafrans away from Nigeria. The following analysis reveals how the speaker couples his Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the Appraisal systems, to realize his objectives in the secession speech.

Here, Ojukwu uses the word “Declare” to instantiate upscaling Vigour to graduate the force of the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which he instantiates with performative words “I do” and couples with Heteroglossic: Contract: Pronounce voice instantiated with “I Do Declare That”, to assert his capability and resolve, of declaring the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria. Ojukwu negotiates unequal power relations between himself, and the people of the Eastern region overtly. Ojukwu's secession speech, declaring the Eastern region of Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra, was the immediate cause of the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970 (Ediagbonya & Nwachukwu, 2020). The Nigerian government led by Gowon, reacted by invading the Eastern region to stop the secession (Luepke, 2018). The war came to an end when the Biafran army surrendered to the Nigerian government on 15 January 1970.

Subsequently, Ojukwu starts his ten declarations by using the quantifier “All”, to instantiate a Quantification: Number to emphasize the seriousness of the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria. He follows this by instantiating upscaling infusing Degree with “totally” to graduate the meaning of the double-coded Attitude of inscribed -Composition and invoked +Capacity, which is instantiated with “dissolved” to demonstrate the finality of the secession from Nigeria. He couples the word “totally” with the verb “dissolved”, to demonstrate the extent of his capability to individuate Biafra away from Nigeria.

In his second declaration, the speaker instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with “All”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Propriety which is instantiated by “obligations” to restate his sincerity in taking responsibility for all obligations due to Biafra. This statement is strategic in restoring the confidence of investors and other political partners who may be afraid of the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria. He asserts his authority as the leader of Biafra now in charge of previous contractual agreements between Nigeria and Biafra with the



following instantiations: downscaling Quantification: Number with “any” to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the words “person, authority, organization or government” to show the scope of the obligations that he accepts as the new leader of Biafra. The speaker uses the phrase “any person” to emphasize his readiness to fulfil his obligations to all people who have entered contracts with the government of Nigeria regarding anything in Biafra. He continues by instantiating an inscribed +Capacity Attitude with “acting” to consolidate his earlier statement. He uses a downscaling Quantification: Number with “any” and a downscaling Quantification: Number with “any” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity and an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the word “entered” which he couples with an Expand; Entertain voice, instantiated with “shall” to reinforce his earlier stance on fulfilling his obligations with persons the Nigerian government had agreed on behalf of the Republic of Biafra., thereby asserting his authority.

Subsequently, he consolidates his authority and powers by instantiating an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the honorifics “Military Governor” and couples with a Contract: Pronounce voice to reproduce unequal power relations between him and Biafrans by positioning himself as military governor over them. Further, he instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Normality with “people” and couples it with a Contract: Pronounce voice, to affiliate with Biafrans. He connects “Government” and “people” to continue aligning his government with the people of Biafra by proposing a bond of trust, which he needs at that time and individuates away from Nigeria on administrative matters. Here, he instantiates a double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Veracity and +Capacity, which he instantiates with the words “covenants” and “Declaration” respectively, and couples with a Heteroglossic: Expand: Entertain authorial voice with “shall”, to show the seriousness of his secession from Nigeria and future cooperation to settle other differences that may arise from this secession.

In addition, Ojukwu refers to previously existing contractual obligations entered by the government of Nigeria as “covenants” which must be based on his “declaration”, thereby reproducing binary, unequal power relations with Nigeria overtly, to indicate complete severance of authority from Nigeria, and the vestment of these powers on himself, as the leader of the Republic of Biafra. He also uses the word “covenants” to show the deep seriousness he and the

people of Eastern Nigeria attach to these declarations, and their readiness to bond together to defend these declarations. Lastly, on this second declaration, Ojukwu instantiates inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the word “performed” and couples it with an Expand: Entertain voice since he is not specific on how the “covenants” shall be “performed” leaving room open for interpretation about how Biafra will fulfil these obligations. He uses these resources to continue transforming unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria, by dictating the terms under which the “parties” involved in this secession should operate.

Further analysis of the secession speaker’s declarations (see lines 40-42 of the Appraisal table), indicates that he reproduces more unequal power relations, and negotiates affiliation and individuation with the international community. For instance. Ojukwu instantiates upscaling Extent: Distribution: Space with the word “international”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety, which he instantiates with the words “treaties and obligations” and this Attitude couples with Heteroglossic: Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to give assurances that he will respect “international treaties and obligations” previously made on behalf of Biafra, by the Government of Nigeria. Ojukwu uses this assurance to affiliate with the international community and assures them of his sincerity to deal with them fairly, even on external obligations like debts. He thereby proposes bonds of concession and trust between himself, Nigeria, and the international community to demonstrate his desire to make concessions that may guarantee the secession of Biafra from Nigeria. Ojukwu instantiates upscaling Vigour with the verb “made” and couples it with a Contract: Pronounce voice, to affiliate with Nigeria about “international treaties and obligations”. He concludes his concession by instantiating an inscribed Attitude of +Propriety with the words “honoured” and “respected” and couples it with an Expand: Entertain voice instantiated with “shall”, to express his sincerity and capability to fulfil his part of the obligations on international “treaties and obligations”.

In his fourth declaration (see lines 43-45 of the Appraisal table), Ojukwu also instantiates upscaling Extent: Distribution: Space with the word “international”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Propriety, which is instantiated with “debts and obligations”, and it couples with a Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to further give his assurances on his readiness not to

disappoint the international community over international debt obligations previously incurred when Eastern Nigeria was part of Nigeria. To consolidate his assurances, he instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with “entered” and couples it with Contract: Pronounce voice to affiliate with the international community to whom the debts and obligations are owed. He further uses the words “honoured” and “respected” to inscribe an Attitude of +Propriety which he couples with an Expand: Entertain voice, to give full assurance of his sincerity and capability to implement his clause complexes. The speaker’s assurances to the international community show the importance he attaches to their support in his secession speech. However, contrary to the expectations of Biafrans, many powerful foreign countries like Britain, Russia, and Egypt, actively supported Nigeria to defeat Biafra, during the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967-1970, ostensibly, because of their interest in the abundant crude oil in Biafra (Akinbi, 2015a, 2015b; Orukpe, 2019). Lack of strong international support has been adduced as one of the reasons why Biafra lost the war to Nigeria (Achebe, 2012).

In his fifth declaration (see lines 46-48 of the Appraisal table), Ojukwu co-articulates the resources of a Sharpen Focus with “due” to graduate the double-coded invoked Attitude of +Inclination and +Propriety instantiated with “to open discussions” and couples with Expand: Entertain voice to affiliate with Biafra by pledging to open discussions with Nigeria on how Biafra can receive its due share of Nigeria’s national assets. He further instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Normality with “personal properties” and couples it with an Expand: Entertain voice to express his readiness to enter a negotiation with Nigeria, on the “assets and personal properties” of Biafrans. He then co-articulates upscaling Extent: Distribution: Space with “throughout” which he couples with an Expand: Entertain voice, to position Nigeria as a discussion partner in negotiations to retrieve properties he believes should belong to Biafra. The speaker thereby transforms power relations between Biafra and Nigeria as being on the same level as sovereign nations.

The Igbo people are the dominant ethnic group in Eastern Nigeria, and they are frequently characterized as being very egalitarian and enterprising (Onwuatuegwu, 2020). The Igbos therefore had properties and investments in all parts of Nigeria before the secession of the Eastern Region from Nigeria, and these are some of the properties that Ojukwu would like to be retrieved

after secession (Onwuatuegwu, 2020). However, most of the properties owned by the Igbos were either destroyed or declared “abandoned properties” by a Nigerian court after the war (Nwamuo, Ani, Okonkwo, 2020).

Analysis of the speaker’s sixth declaration (see lines 49- of the Appraisal table), shows that the speaker instantiates a combination of upscaling Quantification: Number with “all”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated with “rights, privileges, pensions”, and couples with Contract: Pronounce voice to affiliate with all government personnel of Eastern region, who suddenly find themselves in another country. The Engagement resources remain with the instantiation of Contract: Pronounce in “I Do Declare That” as it covers this declaration and there is no modal verb in this declaration to modify the probability of what is said in it. He continues by instantiating an invoked +Tenacity with “guaranteed” and couples it with a Contract: Pronounce voice, to promise to maintain these rights no matter what. He uses this promise to affiliate with the government personnel by proposing a bond of financial security with them. This declaration to guarantee their work status is strategic in defusing the tension that may arise over the public servants’ work status, following the secession of Biafra from Nigeria.

In his seventh declaration (see lines 51-54 of the Appraisal table), the secession speaker continues to affiliate with Biafrans, with the plural personal pronoun "we," to share a bond of solidarity with them. Here, the speaker uses the clause “keep the door open for” to instantiate invoked Attitude of +Tenacity which couples with Expand: Entertain authorial voice to express the readiness of Biafrans to associate with others. He further instantiates a Sharpen: Focus with “nation” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, which is instantiated with “welcome” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice to declare that Biafra will only associate with sovereign units from Nigeria or other parts of Africa. Ojukwu declares his interest to extend his affiliation with entities that do not yet exist, implying that he is encouraging other units in Nigeria to follow suit and declare their secession from Nigeria. Ojukwu further instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Inclination with “desirous” to affiliate with other units in Nigeria. Lastly, Ojukwu instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “establishment”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Security instantiated with “economic ties” to give reasons for affiliating

with other sovereign units in Nigeria, and Africa, which is: “for the purposes of running a common services organization and for the establishment of economic ties.” The secession speaker uses these resources to generalize the degree to which he was ready to cooperate with others in providing the necessary, general services for his people. Ojukwu thereby shows his readiness to affiliate with other sovereign units to ensure the economic well-being of Biafrans. The speaker equally transforms unequal power relations, by using certain words like, "running", and “establishment”, which show that he is envisaging the running of organizations and establishment of economic ties in Biafra.

In his eighth declaration (see lines 55-58 of the Appraisal table), Ojukwu continues to reproduce unequal power relations, by instantiating upscaling Quantification: Number with “all”, to graduate the meaning of the double-coded invoked Attitude of +Capacity and +Security which he instantiates with “protect” and couples with Expand: Entertain authorial voice to affiliate with foreigners by proposing a bond of protection with them. He further instantiates a double-coded invoked Attitude of +Happiness and an inscribed +Propriety which is instantiated with “friendship” and “respect” respectively, and couples with Expand: Entertain voice to affiliate with foreign nations who were ready to “respect” Biafra’s sovereignty. The speaker uses the pronoun “we” inclusively, to negotiate affiliation with Biafrans. He also instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with “repel” and couples it with Expand: Entertain Engagement instantiated with “shall” to show that Biafrans could defend themselves over any external aggression.

In addition, he uses the word “interference” to inscribe -Propriety and invoke a -Security Attitude which he couples with upscaling Quantification: Number with “any” to assert that Biafrans would defend themselves against external aggression. However, Biafra’s defeat in the war shows that it was unable to repel interference. The speaker thereby transforms unequal power relations with non-Biafrans, including the Nigerian government. Ojukwu makes frequent use of personal and possessive pronouns in his clause complexes, “we shall protect”, “we shall extend”, “our sovereignty”, and “our internal affairs” to affiliate with the people of Biafra by proposing a bond of oneness.

In his ninth declaration (see line 59 of the Appraisal table), Ojukwu affiliates with international organizations and proposes a bond of association based on mutual respect. For instance, he uses the word “faithfully” to instantiate inscribed Attitude of +Propriety and couples it with Expand: Entertain authorial voice, to assure the international community of the integrity and capability of Biafrans, by coupling +Propriety with the “Organization of African Unity” and “The United Nations Organization”. Ojukwu continues to affiliate with international organizations by pronouncing the readiness of Biafrans to adhere to the charter of the above-mentioned organizations.

Similarly, in his tenth declaration (see lines 60-63 of the Appraisal table), Ojukwu instantiates the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination instantiated with the phrase “intention to remain” and couples with a Contract: Pronounce authorial voice instantiated with “And I Do Declare that” at the beginning of this section, to affiliate with the British Commonwealth of nations. He also instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the words “sovereign” and “independent” to assert Biafra’s power to join the British Commonwealth as a sovereign nation.

The speaker then closes his speech by using positive appraisal resources to affiliate with Biafrans. For instance, he instantiates upscaling Distribution: Time with the word “long”, to invoke a double-coded inscribed Attitude of +Inclination and +Reaction towards the Republic of Biafra, instantiated with “the Republic of Biafra” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to send his good wishes to Biafra, with the clause complex: “Long live the Republic of Biafra”. Ojukwu further instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with “all” to graduate the meaning of the double-coded inscribed Attitude of +Capacity and +Security which he instantiates with the word “protect” and couples with Expand: Entertain authorial voice instantiated with “may”, to invoke the powers of God to protect “all those who live in Biafra”. Considering the high existential threat to Biafrans for seceding from Nigeria, and their subsequent human and material loss in the Nigeria-Biafra War, it is obvious why the secession speaker ends his speech by relying on God’s help. Biafra lost the war after 30 months of fighting to protect her sovereignty and surrendered to Nigeria on 15th January 1970 (Osadola, 2022). However, the remote and immediate causes of the Nigeria-Biafra War, are still very much present in Nigeria up till the time of writing this thesis in 2023 (see

1.4 and 2.4). I discuss the sociopolitical implications of the factors that led to the Nigeria-Biafra war in answer to my research questions in 1.8.

The following are discussions on the main syndromes of how the speaker uses linguistic resources to couple his Ideational meanings in the Appraisal systems, to enact affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations in this section of the speech. Firstly, there is the syndrome of Self & +Capacity, which Ojukwu uses to reproduce overt, unequal power relations between himself and Nigeria, and exert power over Biafrans. Ojukwu uses the quantifier “all” several times, in a pattern that demonstrates the totality of his rejection of Nigeria, and his uncompromising stance over his declaration of the secession of the Eastern Region from Nigeria. The repeated pattern of coupling his ideas of freedom with the resources that show his capability to secede from Nigeria is the main syndrome in this section, as in the following clause complex: “All subsisting contractual obligations entered into by the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria or by any person, authority, organization or government acting on its behalf, with any person, authority or organization operating, or relating to any matter or thing, within the Republic of Biafra, shall henceforth be deemed to be entered into with the Military Governor of the Republic of Biafra, and the covenants thereof shall, subject to this Declaration, be performed by the parties according to their tenor”.

Secondly, there is the syndrome of Biafrans & +Capacity which he uses to assert the capability of Biafrans to secede from Nigeria and negotiate individuation of himself and Biafrans away from Nigeria. The secession speaker made it clear, especially in his second declaration, that he was in control of the territory of Biafra, and no other person or representative of Nigeria had any authority except him. Ojukwu repeats this emphatic statement several times and even follows it with a threat of what Biafrans could do if his warnings were not heeded by Nigeria or any country that may want to assist them. He uses the personal pronoun “we” several times in an inclusive sense, to affiliate with Biafrans and individuate away from Nigeria. He also uses the inclusive “we” pronoun in a pattern that asserts the capability of Biafrans by instantiating a series of Biafrans & + Capacity syndrome in the following clauses: “We shall protect”, “and shall repel”, “We shall faithfully adhere” “in our right as a sovereign independent nation”.

The third syndrome is Biafrans & +Inclination which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation with units in the Nigerian federation that may want to align with Biafra, international organizations, and foreign nations. The speaker also uses words like “desirous”, “welcome”, “it is our intention to” to instantiate this syndrome. The speaker co-articulates his ideas in a way that enables him to interconnect his clause complexes as one parallel statement. This pattern also adds force and seriousness to his speech, especially in transforming or reproducing unequal power relations overtly.

The fourth syndrome in this section is Self & +Propriety which Ojukwu uses to transform power relations between him and Nigeria overtly, by asserting his preparedness to now take charge of the “contractual obligations” that Nigeria previously entered on behalf of Biafra. Ojukwu also uses it to affiliate with the international community, by reassuring them of his intention to honour all covenants and debts previously entered by Nigeria. Some words which he uses to instantiate this syndrome are “obligations”, “covenants” and “honoured”. This candidate then gives the statistics of the coupling resources used in this speech in Table 9.1.

### 9.3 The coupling resources

Coupling Resources	Biafrans & +Capacity	Biafrans & +Security	Self & +Propriety	Self & + Capacity
Total instances	10	06	06	12
Upscaling Force	05	04	03	03
Downscaling Force	01	00	00	01
Expansive Engagement	01	03	02	03
Contractive Engagement	08	03	03	09

Table 9.1: The coupling resources in Ojukwu’s 1967 secession speech

The above table shows the highest occurrence of the Appraisal resources the speaker couples to realize the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations in the secession speech. In addition, the four main Appraisal resources, namely: Upscaling Force, Downscaling Force, Expansive Engagement, and Contractive Engagement have been used, to show the speaker's



coupling pattern in the secession speech, since other Appraisal resources are subsumed in the above four resources.

This result indicates that the speaker couples with Biafrans and +Capacity as his in-group to transform unequal power relations between Biafra and Nigeria, by asserting the sovereignty of Biafrans. He draws from legal discourse to awaken the rights and privileges of Biafrans and their capacity to make decisions for themselves, before declaring the sovereignty of Biafra. The speaker uses the following words, clauses, or clause complexes to realize this syndrome “Conscious of the supreme authority of Almighty God over all mankind”, “Rejecting the authority of any person or persons”. “...and shall repel”. “...Prepared to enter into such association, treaty or alliance with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good”. To further realize this syndrome, the speaker upscales the force of his utterance five times to transform power relations. Ojukwu also applies 01 downscaling force once with the quantifier “any” to restate the totality of the resolve of Biafrans to take charge of their destiny. He then uses one Expansive Engagement resource to Expand the dialogic space with the auxiliary verb “shall” to admit alternative voices on the capability of Biafrans to protect all foreigners living in Biafra, thereby affiliating with the foreigners. Lastly, he contracts the dialogic space eight times, to show total control of the discourse, which he states with “And I Do Declare That” at the beginning of section B.

The next syndrome is Biafrans & +Security, which the speaker couples six times with other resources to affiliate with Biafrans by reminding them of the insecurity they experienced in Nigeria, and the need for them to have a nation of their own that can guarantee their security. He upscales the force of his utterance four times with no downscaling Force, to assert the rights and capability of Biafrans to secure their lives and property within the sovereign state of Biafra. He also Expands the dialogic space three times to align with Biafrans on their security with such a clause complex as “Aware that you can no longer be protected in your lives and in your property by any government based outside eastern (sic) Nigeria”. Lastly, he contracts the dialogic space three times to have control of the speech as he exerts power over Biafrans in the following clause complex: “Affirming your trust and confidence in me; Having mandated me to proclaim on your behalf, and in your name the Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign independent Republic”.

Ojukwu also couples Self & +Propriety six times, to affiliate with Biafrans and the international community by assuring them about his readiness to honour contractual agreements and international treaties made by Nigeria on behalf of Biafra. He uses such statements as “shall be honoured and respected”, to realize this syndrome. He also upscales the force of his utterance three times with zero downscaling Force, to show his seriousness in keeping to his promise. Likewise, he Expands the dialogic space two times and contracted it three times to make his promises unarguable.

Lastly, his coupling of Self & +Capacity 12 times with other Appraisal resources, indicates the extent the secession speaker asserted his authority by transforming unequal power relations between himself, and Nigeria, to either affiliate with his in-group Biafra, or individuate away from out-group Nigeria. The speaker made very strong declarations for the sovereignty of Biafra, with the opening clause “And I Do Declare That”, which he used to contract the dialogic space to assert his capacity to lead Biafra. He equally exerts power over Biafrans, by using honorifics of his military titles and position, to make several declarations on their behalf. I refer to these syndromes in the responses to my research questions in chapter eleven.

Finally, the statistics of the positive and negative polarity show that the speaker uses 48 positive instantiations of Attitude, to negotiate affiliation with Biafrans, the international community and organizations, while he used eight negative instantiations, to enact negative Attitudes which he used to individuate away from Nigeria as his out-group. Also in terms of explicitness of expressions, he uses inscribed Attitude 42 times, to transform unequal power relations overtly, between Biafra and Nigeria, by making his declaration of Biafra’s sovereignty very clear and emphatic, while he uses invoked Attitude 15 times, to express his declarations implicitly, to avoid making open, explicit statements in some instances, to indirectly indicate his Attitude in some instances that involve certain obligations, as in the following clause complex: “Prepared to enter into such association, treaty or alliance with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good”.

Ojukwu did not outline the terms and conditions, probably to give room for changes in future where necessary.

#### 9.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, there have been reports on a qualitative, fine-grained, micro-analysis of Nigeria's 1967 secession speech, with emphasis on how the speaker couples Appraisal resources with Ideational resources to affiliate with Biafrans, and individuate away from Nigeria and her allies, and transform power relations overtly, between Biafra and Nigeria, by asserting Biafra's sovereignty. This speech borrows extensively from legal discourse and is framed as a legal declaration of secession. The analysis reveals that the secession speaker couples his Ideational meaning of Biafra's sovereignty and secession from Nigeria with Appraisal resources, to create an in-group of Biafrans, and an out-group of Nigerians. He also uses personal and possessive pronouns to show a sense of commonality and to align himself with the Eastern region, which is the region that seceded from Nigeria as Biafra in 1967. The micro-analysis also reveals the logogenesis of the speech, in terms of the sociopolitical contexts that give more meaning to certain clause complexes in the speech. There is a similarity of features of the coup speech and the secession speech, in the use of militaristic keywords, to reproduce unequal power relations overtly. The main difference between the speeches is that whereas these power relations were binary between the military, "law abiding citizens" and "enemies" in the coup speech, in the secession speech, they are not. There are power relations between Ojukwu, Biafrans, Nigeria and the international community, but Ojukwu did not reproduce these power relations in a binary way of the ruler and the ruled, rather he transformed these power relations to make Biafra have equal sovereignty with Nigeria and other nations. In the inaugural speech, however, the speaker reproduces mainly soft power relations and affiliates with all Nigerians, without creating groups, unlike the coup and secession speeches.

In addition, while the secession speaker claimed some legitimacy to his speech by relying on a mandate from the people of the eastern region, the coup speaker, aligns himself with the military against the civilians and created a sharp division between the military and the civilian citizens, and categorized some as "enemies", while the inaugural speaker did not have to bother about the

legitimacy of his speech, since the process that resulted in the inaugural is legally backed by the constitution. These alignment patterns in the coup, secession and inaugural speeches also show in the ways the speakers co-articulated their ideas, especially in the use of personal and possessive pronouns to inclusively or exclusively affiliate or individuate with others. The micro-analysis reveals the significance of this speech, by unearthing the sociopolitical events that influence the choices of evaluative resources in Nigeria's political discourses, and the connections between the previous events before the Nigeria-Biafra War and the present political experiences in Nigeria. There are more explanations of the evaluative patterns in the three speeches used for the micro-analysis in chapter eleven, as responses to the research questions.

## Chapter Ten: Micro-analysis of Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural Speech

### 10.1 Introduction

In this last chapter of the micro-analysis of individual speeches, the student analyst aims to demonstrate through qualitative Appraisal analysis how the speaker Goodluck Jonathan coupled ideational and interpersonal meanings in the three Appraisal systems and proposed different types of bonds with his listeners. This chapter is also interested in unravelling how he either affiliated with, or individuated away from certain people, groups, or sections of the country, to achieve his objectives. Further, the analysis in this chapter explains how the speaker uses the Appraisal resources to reproduce unequal power relations with his listeners or putative readers. The Appraisal resources that I used in this analysis are mapped in the Appraisal table and attached as Appendix C.

### 10.2 Micro-analysis of Jonathan's 2011 Presidential inaugural speech

The 2011 inaugural speech has been divided into sections A-H, for ease of analysis and understanding. The student analyst first pastes the section of the speech before analysing it according to the codings in the Appraisal table, which were produced with UAM CorpusTool. The Appraisal table for the 2011 inaugural speech can be found in Appendix C, while the 2011 presidential inaugural speech can be found in Appendix M.

#### 10.2.1 Section A

“My Dear Compatriots, I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation. I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times, to continue to deserve your trust”.

In section A of the 2011 presidential inaugural speech which has been coded in lines 1-10 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, Jonathan aligns with all Nigerians by instantiating the phrase: “My dear compatriots”, with inscribed +Happiness Attitude, and this Attitude couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, instantiated with the phrase “My dear compatriots” to give a sense of positivity and propose a bond of affection between him and Nigerians. The Monoglossic

authorial voice enables the speaker to close down all alternative voices and be in total control of his inaugural speech (Martin and White, 2005a). Further analysis indicates that the speaker uses the word “humble” which he infuses with the word "gratitude" to instantiate a Sharpen Focus and graduate the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Propriety and +Happiness, and couples these Attitude with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of humility and gratitude with Nigerians. The focus is on the word “humble” because Jonathan uses the lexeme to project himself as a servant of the people who had just been inaugurated into the exalted office of the President. Continuing, President Jonathan expresses his capacity to lead the country, using the locution “Commander in Chief” to upscale Intensification: Degree, realized by “in-Chief” which intensifies the Degree of his capability, and graduates the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated with the headword “Commander”. These locutions couple with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to assert his authority as the President. Jonathan uses the expression “Commander-in-Chief” to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians by asserting his capability and preparedness to lead Nigeria at that critical time in her sociopolitical history. The 2011 Presidential election witnessed a violent, ethno-religious crisis in some parts of Northern Nigeria. Some of the remote causes of the crisis could be the death of former President Yar'Adua in 2010, who was from the far northern part of Nigeria, and his replacement with his Vice-President, Goodluck Jonathan, in line with Nigeria’s constitution, Jonathan is from the Southern part of Nigeria. The crisis that followed the 2011 presidential election, underscores the fact that Nigeria is deeply divided along ethnic and religious lines (Orji & Uzodi, 2012; Salawu, 2010).

Jonathan equally uses honorifics to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, by emphasizing his position as “the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces”. Moreover, Jonathan uses the word “great” to instantiate upscaling Isolating: Degree, which graduates the Force of the invoked Attitude of +Satisfaction, instantiated with the word “nation” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to demonstrate his affiliation and propose a bond of a shared common value of great nationhood with Nigerians.

Further analysis shows that the speaker appreciates all Nigerians for electing him their president, by using the word “all” to instantiate Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, which he instantiates with “thank” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice (Martin and White, 2005c), to express his gratitude to all Nigerians, irrespective of ethnic or religious affiliation, for electing him their President. He further uses the phrase “trust and confidence” to instantiate the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety, and couples this Attitude with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of trust and confidence with Nigerians, thereby affiliating with them. Jonathan uses the words “humble” and “trust” to express his affiliation with all Nigerians to endear himself to all parts of the country, especially, those sections or individuals that may not be happy that their region did not produce the president. The speaker affiliates with all parts of the country due to ethnic and religious differences among Nigerians (Siollun, 2009).

Further analysis shows that President Jonathan uses the word “demonstrated” to instantiate upscaling Vigour which graduates the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated with the phrase “power of your vote”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to align with Nigerians for using their vote to elect him as their President. Jonathan further instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Propriety with the word “assure”, which he couples with a Monoglossic voice, to assure Nigerians of his integrity to occupy the exalted office of a President, thereby proposing a bond of trust with Nigerians. Jonathan continues his assurance by using upscaling Vigour, which he instantiates with the phrase “do my utmost” to graduate the force of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated with the phrase “to do” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to close the dialogic space (Martin and White, 2005c), and affiliate with Nigerians by emphasizing his capability to lead them. The speaker uses the first person, second person, and possessive pronouns: “I”, “you” and “your” respectively, to reproduce unequal power relations and create an in-group of trust and solidarity with Nigerians (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Lastly, he upscales Vigour with the word (deserve), to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety, which he instantiates with the word “trust” and couples with a Contract: Pronounce voice, to propose a bond of confidence with Nigerians.

The use of pronouns in a manipulative way, to reproduce unequal power relations in political speeches has been explained by scholars. For instance, van Dijk says that there are many implications for using either the pronouns “we”, or “our” to form alliances, solidarity or position one's ideas with others (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017; van Dijk, 1997). In this inaugural speech, the speaker uses the above-mentioned pronouns to show that he was in the position of power/authority to make assurances to Nigerians. Jonathan demonstrates this power, by using the Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, to control the dialogic space with Nigerians, by contracting alternative voices that say that he does not deserve the trust of Nigerians. In Nigeria's sociopolitical spectrum, Jonathan's ascendancy as the President of Nigeria in 2010 according to Nigeria's constitution, after the death of former President Yar'Adua, did not go down well with some individuals and groups from some sections of the country, who felt that they had not exhausted their mandate which Yar'adua held before his death (Onimisi, 2015). Nigeria is deeply divided along ethno-religious and cultural hegemonies (Siollun, 2009). More information on the sociopolitical divisions in Nigeria can be found in 1.4, 2.3 and 2.4. The circumstances under which President Jonathan came to power, might have influenced his linguistic choice of using more positive Appraisal resources to propose bonds of shared common values with all Nigerians and reproduce unequal, soft power relations (Cao, 2011; Dunmire, 2012).

The following are reports on the main syndromes that the speaker used to reproduce power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation in this section. First, the speaker used a Self & +Inclination affiliation pattern very often in this section to align with Nigerians. Jonathan proposes several bonds of appreciation and gratitude between himself and all Nigerians. For instance, he co-articulates the phrases: “My dear compatriots”, “humble gratitude” “I thank you all” to affiliate with all Nigerians and construe identities of “togetherness” and “oneness” for Nigerians in his speech.

Second, there is a syndrome of Self & +Capacity, which the speaker uses to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and his listeners, by coupling a pattern of positive capacity Attitude to indicate his new position as the “Commander-in-Chief” of the country. Jonathan equally uses the first person pronoun “I” and the second person pronoun “you” to form an in-group



of all Nigerians and negotiate affiliation between himself and all Nigerians. Jonathan demonstrates his capability to lead the country as the President, by making several emphatic statements such as: “I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times, to continue to deserve your trust”.

#### 10.2.2 Section B

“I would like to specially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of Brother Heads of State and Government, who have come to share this joyous moment with us. Your Excellencies, I thank you for your solidarity. I also wish to express my gratitude, to the Representatives of Heads of State and Government who are here with us.

My appreciation also goes to the chairperson of the African Union and other world leaders, our development partners, and all our distinguished guests. I want to specially thank all Nigerians for staying the course in our collective commitment to build a democratic nation. To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties, who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you. At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother, Vice-President Namadi Sambo; and my dear wife, Patience, who has been a strong pillar of support. I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing Nigerian women for the cause of democracy. In the same vein, I owe a debt of gratitude to my mother and late father. I cannot thank them enough. I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’Adua, with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago, when I contested as his running mate. May God bless his soul. I also wish to pay tribute to our founding fathers, whose enduring sacrifices and abiding faith in the unity and greatness of our country, laid the foundation for the nation. We take enormous pride in their contributions. The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness”.

In section B of the inaugural speech which has been coded from lines 11-23 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, the speaker, President Jonathan expresses positive happiness, by using the word “joyous” to instantiate a Sharpening: Focus, which graduates the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness. This positive Attitude meaning is coupled with a Monoglossic authorial voice to control the dialogic space, affiliate with visiting foreign dignitaries, and propose a bond of happiness with them. The speaker continues to couple these positive Appraisal resources to intensify his affiliation with foreign dignitaries and Nigerians, by using the word “thank” to instantiate upscaling Isolating: Vigour, to graduate the force of the inscribed, double-coded Attitude of +Happiness and +Tenacity, instantiated with the word “solidarity” and couples with a

Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of solidarity with them. The speaker further affiliates with the visitors, by using the word “express”, to instantiate upscaling Vigour, and graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated with “gratitude” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to propose more bonds of happiness and friendship, with the foreign representatives. Continuing, Jonathan uses the word “distinguished” to instantiate upscaling Degree, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Satisfaction, instantiated with the word “appreciation” which he couples with a Monoglossic voice, to show the degree to which he appreciates their presence, and propose a bond of appreciation with the guests whom he Appraised positively as “our development partners, and our distinguished guests”.

In addition, Jonathan expresses further appreciation to Nigerians by using the word “all” to instantiate Quantification: Number, to graduate the inscribed +Tenacity, instantiated with “commitment” which he couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with “all Nigerians” irrespective of their ethnicity or religion. Further analysis shows that he uses the word “salute” to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which he instantiates with the word “demonstrated” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to strengthen the effect of his affiliation with PDP and other politicians. “PDP” is the acronym for “People’s Democratic Party” which Jonathan belongs to. He couples these Appraisal resources in a way that shows the determination and degree to which Nigerians believe in their democracy and proposes a bond of determination with them. President Jonathan's sustained efforts to positively appraise all Nigerian might have been influenced by the crisis that happened after the 2011 Presidential election that brought him to power (Onimisi, 2015).

Further analysis of the inaugural speech reveals that the speaker uses the words: “acknowledge and salute” to instantiate upscaling: Vigour, and “strong” to upscale Infusing: Degree, and graduate the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Inclination and +Tenacity, instantiated with the word “pillar”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with the Vice-President, Namadi Sambo, and his wife, Patience. he uses the metaphor of “strength” to describe his wife Patience as a “strong pillar of support”, to show the degree of her effort in his election. Continuing, Jonathan expresses more positive Appraisal of his wife with the word “thank” to instantiate

upscaling Intensification: Vigour to graduate the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Capacity and +Tenacity, instantiated with the words “galvanizing” and “mobilizing” respectively, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to further affiliate with his wife by praising her capability and resoluteness in mobilizing women for his election. In addition, the speaker affiliates with the (late) President of Nigeria, Yar' Adua, who he took over from, with the word “pay” to instantiate upscaling, isolating: Vigour, to graduate the meaning of inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, instantiated with the word “tribute” and couples Monoglossically to pray for God’s blessing on Yar’ Adua’s soul.

Subsequently, Jonathan expresses positive Happiness with Nigeria’s “founding fathers” by using the words “pay tribute” to instantiate upscaling Intensification: Vigour, and the phrase “enduring sacrifice” to intensify upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Tenacity and +Propriety, which he instantiates with the clause complex “enduring sacrifice and abiding faith”, and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose bonds of sacrifice and faith with Nigeria's "Founding Fathers". The Appraised here are the “founding fathers” of Nigeria. The phrase: "founding fathers" is usually used in Nigeria sociopolitical history, to refer to some personalities like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, and Ahmadu Bello, who opposed British colonial rule, and negotiated for Nigeria's independence (Egbefo, 2015; Uduma, 2012). The President iconizes the efforts of Nigeria's "Founding Fathers" in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. Jonathan continues his positive Appraisal of the “founding fathers” by using the word “enormous” to instantiate upscaling Degree, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, which he instantiates with the word “pride” and couples with Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate Nigerians with the “founding fathers” using the inclusive plural first person pronoun “we”. He also uses the word “summit” to instantiate Extent: Proximity: Space, and the word “greatness” to instantiate upscaling Degree, to graduate the meaning of +Tenacity, instantiated by the phrase “pivotal task” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to propose a bond of great nationhood with Nigerians. He expresses this bond in the following clause complex: “The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness”, thereby affiliating with Nigerians on the commonly shared values of nationalistic ideals.

The main syndromes in this section are Self and +Inclination, which the speaker used frequently to enact affiliation in the speech. For instance, he deploys the possessive pronouns “our” and “us” often, to affiliate himself and Nigerians with the foreign guests who attended his inauguration, using such expressions as: “I would like to specially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of brother Heads of State and Governments, who have come to share this joyous moment with us”. Secondly, he deploys the metaphor of “courage” and “resilience” with such words as “demonstrate”, “galvanize” and “mobilize” to appreciate the efforts his political associates made to make him win the election, thereby, affiliating with them. Third, he aligns with his listeners by coupling Appraisal resources to express a positive Attitude of “gratitude”, with such words as “thank”, and “tribute” to affiliate with some Nigerians like the “founding fathers” and his predecessor, “Yar’ Adua’.

Second, there is the syndrome of Self and +Capacity, where the first person pronoun was used many times by the speaker to reproduce unequal power relations with the audience using such clause complexes as: “I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’ Adua, with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago when I contested as his running mate”. Jonathan used the “I” pronoun to instantiate a positive capacity Attitude meaning, with a Monoglossic authorial voice to show that he was in control of the discourse, thereby reproducing unequal, soft power relations with Nigerians, using the following expression: “The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness”.

### 10.2.3 Section C

“Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, earlier this year, over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians endured all manner of inconvenience just to secure their voters cards, in order to exercise the right to choose those that will govern them. At the polls, we saw the most dramatic expressions of the hunger for democracy. Stories of courage and patriotism were repeated in many ways, including how fellow citizens helped physically challenged voters into polling stations to enable them exercise their franchise. The inspiring story of the one hundred and three year-old man, and many like him across the country, who struggled against the physical limitations of age to cast their vote, is noteworthy. Such determination derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience in the face of the greatest of odds. That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears, and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation even when others

doubted our capacity. Today, our unity is firm, and our purpose is strong. Our determination unshakable. Together, we will unite our nation and improve the living standards of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. Our decade of development has begun. The march is on. The day of transformation begins today. We will not allow anyone exploit differences in creed or tongue, to set us one against another. Let me at this point congratulate the elected Governors, Senators, members of the House of Representatives and those of the States Houses of Assembly for their victories at the polls”.

In section C of this speech which has been coded in lines 24-39 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, the speaker continues to use different evaluative resources to align positively with Nigerians and other putative listeners, on the success of his 2011 Presidential election. Here, he uses the word “distinguished” to instantiate upscaling Degree to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Inclination, which he instantiates with the phrase “Ladies and Gentlemen” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with his listeners by expressing the degree of his regard for them using the following clause complex: Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen. He further uses the clause complex “over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians”, to instantiate upscaling Quantification Mass, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Tenacity, instantiated with the word “endured” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to appreciate the large number of Nigerians that voted for him despite the inconveniences. He thereby uses these resources to align with Nigerians and propose bonds of solidarity and resilience with Nigerians on the success of the election.

Subsequently, the speaker uses the metaphor of hunger in the following phrase: “expressions of the hunger for democracy” to describe Nigerians’ commitment to the 2011 presidential election. Here, Jonathan uses the word “most” to instantiate upscaling isolating Degree and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity which he instantiates with the phrase “expressions for the hunger for democracy” to couple with a Monoglossic voice, to affiliate with Nigerians and propose a bond of election victory with them. He further instantiates upscaling Vigour using the word “helped”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Valuation, instantiated with the words “courage and patriotism”, which he couples with a Monoglossic voice, to propose a bond on the commonly shared values of courage and patriotism with Nigerians, over the 2011

Presidential election. Because of the crisis-ridden history of Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences (Ashindorbe, 2018), the speaker uses the word "patriotism" to show that Nigerians demonstrated extraordinary unity and national cohesion in the 2011 presidential election than other times. Here, Jonathan further uses the word "determination" to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, which he instantiates with the word "resilience" and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to affiliate with Nigerians using the metaphor: "Nigerian spirit of resilience" to describe Nigerians positively and construe an identity of a strong-willed people.

Further analysis shows that the speaker extends his affiliation patterns, by using the word "encouraged" to instantiate upscaling Vigour, and graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which is instantiated with the word "build" and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to intensify the degree of the strength of his proposed nationhood using the statement: "and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation". Similarly, Jonathan covertly individuates away from some people, by using the word "doubted" to instantiate upscaling Vigour and graduate the invoked Attitude of -Capacity, instantiated with the phrase "our capacity", and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Counter authorial voice, to give a negative Judgement on those who had a negative perception of the election. Jonathan is countering the voices of those who doubted Nigeria's capacity to conduct a successful presidential election in 2011. One remarkable thing about this statement is the repeated use of the possessive pronouns: *our*, *us*, and *ourselves* to realize the concepts of affiliation and reproduce soft power relations covertly, with Nigerians.

The speaker proposes a bond of encouragement with Nigerians, to strive for higher nationalistic ideals using the following clause complex: "That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, douses our fears, and encouraged us to gathers ourselves to build a strong nation even when others doubted our capacity". He further instantiates upscaling Degree with the word "firm" to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated with the word "strong" and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to propose a bond of unity with Nigerians, in the following clause complex: "Today, our unity is firm, and our purpose is strong". Similarly, he

upscales Intensification: Degree with the word “unshakable” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity, instantiated with “determination” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to propose a bond of determination with Nigerians. He consolidates on his affiliation with Nigerians by instantiating “improve” to upscale Vigour and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, which he instantiates with the phrase “living standards” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to propose a bond of happiness with Nigerians. The speaker thereby affiliates with Nigerians and reproduces soft power relations covertly, by not sounding imposing with his ideas, but encouraging Nigerians to strive higher (Ankersmit, 2009; Sayer, 2017).

Jonathan further instantiates Extent: Distribution: Space with the word “decade” to graduate the invoked Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated with “development” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to express more positive Attitude on his vision for Nigerians. Here, he consolidates his positive evaluation of Nigerians with an invoked Attitude of +Tenacity, which he instantiates with the metaphor of “march” and couples this positive Attitude with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to galvanize Nigerians for action for the realization of his good visions. He then uses the word “today” to instantiate Extent: Proximity: Time, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which he instantiates with “transformation” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to express his desire to see that the positive changes he wishes for Nigerians should begin immediately.

David identifies the usefulness of pronouns to convey different purposes in communication. The researcher opines that pronoun “can be used both for clarification and concealment of the elements in a situation” (2014, p. 168). Here, the speaker uses possessive pronouns to propose bonds of strength, resilience, patriotism, and nationhood with Nigerians, thereby affiliating with them in his speech. The 1914 amalgamation of different unrelated nations to form Nigeria, is a major factor responsible for disunity in Nigeria's sociopolitical history (Adeyemi, Oluwatobi, 2018). Consequently, Nigeria's sociopolitical and socio-cultural history is replete with instances of disunity among the amalgamated nations (Siollun, 2009), hence Nigeria’s 2011 presidential inaugural speaker uses a series of positive Attitude resources to affiliate with all Nigerians in his speech. He also uses some negative Attitude resources to individuate himself, and Nigerians, away

from those factors and people that could militate against the unity of Nigerians. More information on the amalgamation can be found in 2.3.

For instance, the speaker expresses a negative Attitude by using the word “exploit” to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of -Inclination and the phrase “We will not allow” which he couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to intensify the Force of his individuation away from negative activities and propose a bond of rejection of those who exploit religious and linguistic differences to cause division. Jonathan uses the following clause complex to propose this bond of rejection: “We will not allow anyone exploit differences in creed or tongue, to set us one against another.” The 2011 inaugural speaker thereby individuates himself and Nigerians away from some people who may like to capitalize on Nigeria's differences, to cause disunity. Nigeria is a heterogeneous, multiethnic, multicultural, diverse people of unrelated identities (Siollun, 2009). The differences in religion and ethnicity have been a constant cause of the crisis, especially during elections.

Lastly, the speaker affiliates with Nigerians, by co-articulating his ideas with various Appraisal resources to instantiate the shared common values of nationhood in his speech. Jonathan uses the word “congratulate” to instantiate upscaling Intensification: Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, instantiated with the word “victories” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to affiliate with some Nigerian politicians by congratulating them on their election victories. He thereby enacts affiliation with the politicians as his in-group, whom he shares the values of election victories with.

One of the main syndromes which Jonathan uses to negotiate affiliation in this section of his speech is Nigerians & +Tenacity. This syndrome is responsible for the high number of instantiations of Attitude of Nigerians & +Tenacity, and +Capacity in this section. The speaker realizes these syndromes by instantiating more couplings of positive Attitude with a Monoglossic voice and an Intensification: Vigour, to propose bonds of determination, nationhood, and resilience with Nigerians. Jonathan uses the metaphors of “hunger” and “march” to intensify this syndrome with



the expressions: “hunger for democracy”, and “The march is on”, to negotiate his alignment with Nigerians on the common shared value of election success and his vision for a transformed Nigeria. In addition, he uses clause complexes like: “Today, our unity is firm”. “Our purpose is strong”. “Our determination unshakable”, to affiliate with Nigerians and reproduce unequal, soft power relations. Further examples of this syndrome are: “Our decade of development has begun”. “The march is on”. “The day of transformation begins today”. The speaker used these statements to negotiate alignments with all Nigerians and encourage them to be more determined as a people to achieve their goals.

Secondly, there is a syndrome of Nigerians & +Inclination which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians on the unity of Nigeria. The speaker realizes this objective by using the inclusive possessive pronoun “our” and the first person plural pronoun “we” to align with Nigeria’s “founding fathers” “politicians”, “distinguished guests and other citizens. Jonathan also uses clause complexes that enact affiliation between himself, with such expressions as: “Together, we will unite our nation, and improve the living standards of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West”.

Thirdly, the syndrome of Nigerians & -Inclination, to individuate himself, and Nigerians away from divisive factors of religion and linguistic differences, thereby proposing a bond of “rejection”. He uses such expressions as: “exploit”, “We will not allow”, and to set us one against another”, to negotiate individuation by positioning himself and Nigerians away from these divisive factors of ethnicity, religion, linguistic differences, and those individuals who “exploit” these differences to cause trouble. He couples the negative Attitude of -Inclination with a Monoglossic authorial voice, and upscaling Vigour, to express a strong voice against such negative factors of people.

#### 10.2.4 Section D

“I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty. Confident that a people that are truly committed to a noble ideal, cannot be denied the realization of their vision, I assure you that this dream of Nigeria, that is so deeply felt by millions, will indeed come to reality. A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ancient prejudices, and win the people’s mandate as President of our beloved country. That result emanated from the toil and sacrifice of innumerable individuals and institutions, many of whom may never get to receive public appreciation for their effort. Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my Facebook page. It was sent by Mr. Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr. Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but had campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed, and passed on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest. The success of the 2011 elections and the widespread acclaim which the exercise received was due to the uncommon patriotism and diligence exhibited by many Nigerians, including members of the Armed Forces, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and others”.

In section D of the inaugural speech which has been coded in lines 40-53 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, the speaker starts by reproducing unequal power relations with his listeners using the following clause complex: “I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty”. Here he uses the word “forge” to instantiate upscaling Vigour and graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Tenacity, which is instantiated with the phrase “shared aspiration”. The speaker then couples these resources with a Heteroglossic Pronounce authorial voice, instantiated with the phrase “I am mindful that”, to contract the dialogic spaces that may go contrary to his pronouncement, and equally affiliate with Nigerians around the commonly shared value of “aspiration”. “I represent” indicates his determination and capability, while “shared aspiration instantiates commonality, oneness, and resoluteness on Nigerians’ hope for a better country”. In essence, Jonathan reproduces power asymmetry overtly, with his listeners by equating his position as the President with their “shared aspiration”.

Continuing, the speaker affiliates with Nigerians by using the word “plenty” to instantiate upscaling infusing: Quantification: Number to upscale the +Valuation inscribed by “plenty”, and instantiated with the phrase “justice, opportunity and plenty”, which he couples with a Heteroglossic: Pronounce authorial voice, instantiated by the locution “I am mindful that”, to emphasize the huge opportunities that abound in Nigeria. The speaker affiliates with Nigerians by proposing a bond of “opportunities”.

In addition, the word “committed” instantiates upscaling Intensification: Vigour to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitudes of +Normality, which is instantiated with “committed” and the appraised are “a people”. The speaker further uses the phrase “cannot be denied” to instantiate upscaling Intensification Vigour to intensify his stand that the dream of Nigerians cannot be taken away from the people. Jonathan uses another phrase “noble ideal” to instantiate a +Valuation Attitude, which he couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce locution, which is instantiated by the phrase “Confident that” to affiliate with Nigerians by encouraging them to remain steadfast in their dream of a great nation. Further analysis reveals that the speaker instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with the word “millions”, to graduate an invoked Attitude of +Security which is instantiated by the word “assure”, and couples with Pronounce locution to propose bonds of hope and assurance with Nigerians.

Continuation of his affiliation with Nigerians, Jonathan uses a series of evaluative resources to highlight some of Nigeria’s sociopolitical problems, like the discrimination against ethnic minorities. Here, he uses the clause complex “A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ethnic prejudices, and win the people’s mandate as President of our beloved country” to express the challenges he surmounted to win the election. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic county, with over 250 ethnic groups (Nsereka, 2019). Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba are recognized as the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, due to their large population. However, other ethnic groups are considered minorities (Rindap & Mari, 2014). These three major ethnic groups have always dominated Nigeria’s political landscape, until 2011 when Goodluck Jonathan, who is from Ogbia, a minority ethnic group (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011; Okolo, 2022; Sinikiem &

Kalama, 2020), won the presidential election. Jonathan congratulates the electorates on electing him despite this minority disadvantage.

Consequently, using the phrase “a mere” indicates that Jonathan instantiates a downscaling Extent: Proximity: Time, to strengthen the invoked Attitude of -Capacity, which he further instantiates with the phrase “a mere daydream” as the downscaling of “a mere” increases the unlikelihood of “a citizen from a minority ethnic group” galvanizing “national support” in Nigeria. Jonathan couples these Appraisal locutions with Heteroglossic Expand: Entertain authorial voice, to individuate away from certain political stereotypes that were prevalent in Nigeria against those that are from the minority ethnicity. In addition, he uses the word “citizen” to instantiate invoked Attitude of +Normality, which is further instantiated by the word “minority” to downscale Quantification: Number, to show that his ethnic group is a minority, and previously would not have stood a chance to win a presidential election in Nigeria. Further the word “galvanize” upscales Vigour, graduating the meaning of the +Tenacity Attitude, to express the efforts Nigerians made to elect him the President. These locutions are complemented with the words “national support” to instantiate Extent: Distribution: Space, which is further upscaled in “on an unprecedented scale” to graduate the Attitude of +Happiness, and couples with a Heteroglossic Expand: Entertain authorial voice, to show the extent and spread of his election victory, and open the dialogic space to entertain other voices that agree with him that despite the disadvantage of coming from the minority in Nigeria, he could win the presidential election.

In addition, the word “ancient” instantiates a downscaling Extent: Proximity: Time, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety, instantiated with “prejudices” and couples with Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to show that such “prejudice” against the minority ethnic groups, has been happening in Nigeria for a long time. He then uses the word “win” to instantiate upscaling Vigour, to graduate the meaning of the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Capacity and +Happiness, to express his happiness that despite the odds against him, he still won the election. The speaker uses the above Appraisal resources to affiliate with Nigerians for making his election victory possible, despite the odds of coming from a minority ethnic group and invariably,

individuates away from such long-held “prejudices” in Nigeria, and those who practice them. He thereby proposes a bond of national unity with Nigerians, using the above locutions.

The speaker further uses the word “uncommon” to instantiate infusing upscaling Intensification: Degree, and the words “patriotism” and “diligence” to instantiate the double-coded, invoked Attitudes of + Propriety and +Tenacity, which he further couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to express happiness over the efforts made by members of the “Armed Forces” and “National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)” for a successful election. The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) is a one-year compulsory paramilitary service programme that was established in 1973 by General Yakubu Gowon, for Nigerian University graduates to integrating Nigerians nationally, after the Nigeria-Biafra War of 1967 to 1970 (Abraham, 2020). The serving NYSC members and armed forces personnel played key roles in the conduct of the 2011 and subsequent elections in Nigeria (Ojo E. O., 2016). However, the 2011 post-election violence that happened in the Northern part of Nigeria led to the death of ten NYSC members (Ojo E. O., 2016). The speaker, therefore, affiliates with them using the above positive Appraisal locutions and proposes a bond of patriotism with them. The speaker instantiates negative Attitude locutions to individuate himself, and other Nigerians, away from the post-election violence.

The first main syndrome Jonathan uses to negotiate affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations in this section, is (a) Self & +Capacity, which he uses to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, and Nigerians, by asserting his authority as the President. He uses the exclusive pronoun “I” to assert his power over the people as their President.

Secondly, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & +Tenacity which the speaker uses to negotiate affiliation with those who worked hard to break what he referred to as “ancient prejudices” and elect him the President and individuate away from those who are still fixated on such prejudices. In this instance, he couples Ideational meanings of long-held prejudice against people from the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria about political aspirations, and the breaking of such prejudice by electing him the President, despite coming from one of such minority groups. The syndrome of

Nigerians & +Tenacity was used by Jonathan to propose a bond of strength determination and resilience between himself and Nigerians.

Lastly, there is a syndrome of Self & +Propriety used to affiliate with Nigerians, members of the armed forces, and NYSC, around what he described as “uncommon patriotism and diligence” which these groups exhibited during the election. The speaker thereby, proposes bonds of a shared value of heroism and sacrifice with these groups, and construes an identity of hardworking and patriotic Nigerians, using the 2011 election success.

#### 10.2.5. Section E

“Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted, a senseless wave of violence in some parts of the country led to the death of ten members of the NYSC and others. These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland. They are heroes of our democracy. We offer our heartfelt prayers and condolences in respect of all those who lost their lives. In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the great people of this country. We must demonstrate the leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity, and sacrifice, to transform our nation. We must strengthen common grounds, develop new areas of understanding and collaboration, and seek fresh ideas that will enrich our national consensus. It is the supreme task of this generation to give hope to the hopeless, strength to the weak and protection to the defenceless. Fellow citizens, the leadership we have pledged is decidedly transformative. The transformation will be achieved in all the critical sectors, by harnessing the creative energies of our people. We must grow the economy, create jobs, and generate enduring happiness for our people. I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country. The urgent task of my administration is to provide a suitable environment, for productive activities to flourish. I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of this great transformation. My dear countrymen and women, being a Nigerian is a blessing. It is also a great responsibility”.

In section E of the inaugural speech which has been coded in lines 54-62 of the Appraisal table attached as Appendix C, the speaker uses several Appraisal resources to overtly individuate away from certain people over the 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria. For instance, he uses the words “free, fair and transparent”, to instantiate a Sharpen Focus, on the fairness of the election, and these resources graduate the meaning of the double-coded inscribed Attitude of -Security, and -Propriety

instantiated by the phrase “a senseless wave of violence”, which couples with Monoglossic authorial voice, to individuate away from the violence that happened after the election. The speaker also covertly individuates away from the part of the country where this violence happened, by referring to it as “some parts of the country”, to avoid escalating the violence. The violence took place in the core Northern part of Nigeria (Onimisi, 2015). One resource he used to do this is a downscaling Quantification: Extent: Distribution: Space, instantiated with the words “and others” to graduate the meaning of the negative, invoked Attitude of -Happiness instantiated by the word “death”, and coupled with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to show the quantity and impact of the violence. In this case, the speaker uses “Aggregation” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 83) to suppress the extent of the violence by mentioning the number of NYSC members that were killed but suppressing the actual number of casualties with the words “and others”. The speaker’s suppression of the number and identities of the “others” could be deliberate, so as not to exacerbate the tension generated by his election victory. That Jonathan did not specify who these “others” were is strategic. Jonathan invariably uses the above resources to individuate away from the people that carried out the violence, and affiliate with those who were the casualties.

Consequently, the speaker then uses the word “supreme” to instantiate upscaling isolating Degree, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety which is instantiated by the phrase “brave men and women”. This positive Appraisal locution couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to negotiate affiliation with the victims of the election violence, by describing them as “brave men and women” who paid the supreme sacrifice to become heroes of our democracy, thereby proposing a bond of sacrifice and heroism with the victims of the post-election violence. The speaker consolidates his affiliation with the election victims, by instantiating a Sharpening Focus on the word “democracy”, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety instantiated with the word “heroes” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to positively describe the victims by proposing a bond of heroism with them.

Jonathan demonstrates the locutions of affiliation in the following clause complex: “In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the great people of this country”.

Here, the speaker uses the word “elected” to instantiate upscaling: isolating Vigour to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Propriety which is instantiated by the words “patriotism and passion” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to affiliate with other elected officials by categorizing himself with them. Through this statement, the speaker emphasizes the trust that he believes all Nigerians should have in the government and those they elected, by creating a bond of commonly shared values of hope, and expectations between his government and Nigerians. Jonathan consolidates his affiliation with other elected officials and Nigerians, by instantiating upscaling Degree with the word “great”, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Normality which is instantiated with the phrase “hopes and aspirations” and couples with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to reproduce unequal power relations between himself, and other elected officials, by stressing on what they must do to satisfy the “hopes and aspirations” of Nigerians.

The 2011 inaugural speaker continues to affiliate with Nigerians, with the word “transform” to instantiate upscaling Intensification: Vigour, to graduate the double-coded, invoked Attitudes of +Capacity and +Tenacity which are instantiated with the words “leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity and sacrifice”. The speaker then couples these Attitudes with a Heteroglossic Contract: Entertain authorial voice to open the dialogic space and include other voices that agree with him on Nigeria’s nationhood and propose a bond of national transformation with the other elected officials and Nigerians.

The following clause complex from the text confirms Jonathan’s endorsement of Nigerians: “I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country”. Here, this individual uses the word “great” to instantiate isolating upscaling Degree, and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, which is instantiated by the word “transform” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice (Martin and White, 2005c), to create bonds of hope and confidence with Nigerians. He uses these locutions to intensify the degree of his “confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform the country”. Jonathan consolidates his positive expressions on Nigeria’s future, by instantiating upscaling Intensification: Vigour with the word “thrive” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity, instantiated with the phrase “will make” and couples with a



Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians.

Lastly, President Jonathan continues to enact affiliation with Nigerians with positive clause complexes, by instantiating upscaling Vigour with the word “call” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Propriety, instantiated with “good” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to further reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians, by calling on them to act in the right direction. Similarly, Jonathan uses the word “great” to instantiate upscaling infusing Degree to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness instantiated with the word “transformation” and couples with a Contract: Entertain voice, to align with the in-group of “good” Nigerians by proposing a bond of nationhood. Jonathan uses the clause complex “I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of this great transformation” to affiliate with this category of “good” Nigerians. In essence, the speaker Appraises some Nigerians positively, as an in-group who share the same common values of the transformation of Nigeria with him as the President. Jonathan also transforms unequal power relations by using the personal pronoun “I” exclusively, to assert his powers as the President of Nigeria, who had the powers and capability to "call" on others for a positive change.

This candidate now discusses the main syndromes of coupling Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, which the speaker uses to realize his objectives in this section. First, there is the syndrome of Self & +Propriety, which the speaker uses to construe an identity of “patriotism” among Nigerians, by affiliating with them and the politicians, around the need to discharge their duties patriotically, as elected representatives of the people. Jonathan uses the resources of “patriotism and passion” to create a bond of nationalistic ideals with Nigerians and negotiate affiliation with them.

Second, there is a syndrome of Nigerians & +Capacity which the speaker uses to express his positive appreciation of Nigerians for their ability to “transform” the country. Jonathan thereby reproduces unequal, soft power relations covertly, and affiliates with them by proposing a bond of

national transformation. Jonathan uses the first person pronoun “I” to exercise his position as the President without creating a binary power asymmetry and by reproducing soft power relations in a way that does not sound commanding or demanding on Nigerians.

#### 10.2.6 Section F

“We must make a vow that, together, we will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive. The leadership and the followership must strive to convert our vast human and natural resources into the Force that leads to a greater Nigeria. The Nigeria of our dreams must be built on hard work and not on short cuts. Let me salute the Nigerian workers who build our communities, cities and country. They deserve fair rewards, and so do the women that raise our children, and the rural dwellers that grow our food. The moment is right. The signs are heart-warming. We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth and economic development. In our economic strategy, there will be appropriate policy support to the real sector of the economy, so that Small and Medium Enterprises may thrive. Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth, and my Administration will continue to encourage locally owned enterprises to take advantage of our resources in growing the domestic economy. A robust private sector is vital to providing jobs for our rapidly expanding population. But this must be a collaborative effort. We must form technical and financial partnerships with global businesses and organizations. We live in an age where no country can survive on its own; countries depend on each other for economic well-being. Nigeria is no different. Returns on investment in Nigeria remain among the highest in the world. We will continue to welcome sustainable investment in our economy. We will push programs and policies that will benefit both local and foreign businesses, but we must emphasize mutual benefits and win-win relationships. The overall ongoing reforms in the banking and financial sectors are therefore designed to support the real sector of the economy. To drive our overall economic vision, the power sector reform is at the heart of our industrialization strategy. I call on all stakeholders, to cooperate with my administration, to ensure the success of the reforms. Over the next four years, attention will be focused on rebuilding our infrastructure. We will create greater access to quality education and improved health care delivery. We will pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it play its role of ensuring food security and massive job creation for our people. The creation of the Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority will immensely contribute to strengthening our fiscal framework, by institutionalizing savings of our commodity-related revenues. With this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility. The lesson we have learnt is that the resolution of the Niger Delta issue is crucial for the health of the nation’s economy. In the interest of justice, equity and national unity, we shall actively promote the development of the region. I believe that peace is a necessary condition for development. Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else”.

In section F which has been coded in lines 63-73 of the Appraisal table attached as Appendix C, the speaker transforms unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians by using the word “vow” to instantiate a Sharpen Focus on the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the emphatic phrase “must make” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Entertain Engagement locution that introduces possible future scenarios which he and his listeners must work to turn into realities. In addition, the speaker instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “thrive”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the emphatic phrase “must make” and couples with Contract: Entertain voice, to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians by being emphatic on what Nigerians “must” and “will” do to “make the Nigerian enterprise thrive”. The President uses the first person plural pronoun “we” inclusively, to affiliate with Nigerians by proposing a bond of inclusion with them (Barron, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Jonathan further uses the word “greater” to instantiate upscaling isolating Degree, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity which is instantiated with the word “convert”. These Appraisal locutions are then coupled with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice to affiliate with Nigerians by reminding them of the responsibility before them to build Nigeria to an enviable height. Nigeria is very rich in oil and gas, which is the mainstay of her economy, but the price of oil and gas fluctuates according to global market forces (Uwakonye et al., 2011). Here, Jonathan admonishes Nigerians to utilize their rich mineral resources to work for the development of Nigeria.

Subsequently, Jonathan specifically affiliates with the Nigerian workers, using the word “salute” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour, and graduate the inscribed meaning of the Attitude of +Capacity, which is instantiated by the word “build” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to appreciate the efforts of the Nigerian workers. Likewise, he uses the phrase “fair rewards” to instantiate a Soften Focus, which softens the clause complex “they deserve fair rewards” to invoke a +Capacity Attitude, instantiated with “the Nigerians workers”, and couples with a Monoglossic voice to positively appraise “the women that raise our children” and “the rural dwellers that grow our food”. Jonathan also transforms unequal power relations between himself and the Nigerian workers by using the phrase "fair rewards" to soften the focus of his clause complex and avoid making any emphatic promise on the kind of rewards the workers deserve. He

equally foregrounds the Nigerian workers as the ones who did the building of “our communities, cities, and country”. The speaker co-articulates the meanings of the above positive Appraisal resources to affiliate with the Nigerian workers, women, and rural dwellers, and propose a bond of national development with them.

Further, in lines 69-73 of the Appraisal table in Appendix C, President Jonathan uses the second person pronoun “we” and the possessive pronoun “our” several times, to affiliate with Nigerians, by giving them a sense of belonging in his speech. He uses the following clause complex to emphasize his economic vision: “We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth and economic development”. Here, Jonathan uses the word “take off” to instantiate upscaling Isolating Vigour, and “sustained” to upscale Distribution: Time, and graduate the meaning of the double-coded invoked Attitudes of +Capacity and +Satisfaction instantiated by the words “sustained” and “growth” respectively. He then couples these resources with a Monoglossic authorial voice and encourages Nigerians to support his economic policy. With this statement, the speaker bonds with Nigerians on the commonly shared values of general economic well-being. Moreover, the co-articulation of the Graduation locution "sustained" which is upscaling Distribution: Time, with the Engagement Monoglossic authorial voice to close all dialogic spaces intensifies the positive Attitude, and sense of security that the speaker gives to Nigerians about his determination to improve their economic well-being. Jonathan further instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “blessed” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Happiness, which is also instantiated by the phrase “enormous natural wealth” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to construe an identity of collectivity through the clause complex “our resources”. He also instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Capacity with the word “encourage” which couples with the Heteroglossic Contract: Entertain authorial voice, instantiated by the phrase “will continue” to affiliate with all Nigerians on the future possibility of the commonly shared values of benefitting from the abundant natural resources in Nigeria (Uwakonye et al., 2011). President Jonathan continues his affiliation with Nigerians based on the country’s natural resources and expresses his intention to manage these resources for the collective good of all.

However, Jonathan negotiates individuation by using the word “avoid” to instantiate upscaling Vigour and graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of -Inclination, which is instantiated by the words “boom and bust cycle” to couple with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice and individuate Nigerians away from the mistakes the previous governments made by mismanaging the country's natural resources. Jonathan uses the following clauses “With this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility”, to enact this individuation away from the mistakes of the previous Nigerian governments. This speaker equally individuates himself and Nigerians away from the factors of global oil price volatility (see line 67 of the Appraisal table). The speaker couples the above Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation resources also to propose a bond of solidarity, with the pronoun "we" used inclusively, to affiliate with Nigerians around the commonly shared values of protecting the natural resources.

President Jonathan continues to use personal and possessive pronouns inclusively, to construe an in-group of all Nigerians and the international community and affiliate with them by proposing a bond of togetherness. For instance, the speaker uses the word “all” to instantiate Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness, which is instantiated by the word “good” and couples with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to generalize his desire that every Nigerian, irrespective of class, ethnicity, or religion, should enjoy the benefits of being a Nigerian. Here, the speaker affiliates with all Nigerians as an in-group with his emphasis on the shared "common good" for all.

In conclusion, the main syndromes the speaker uses to enact affiliation, individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations with his listeners are summarized. First, there is the syndrome of Nigerians & +Tenacity, which the speaker uses to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians, by making emphatic statements to emphasize what Nigerians should do to make Nigeria great. The following clause complex provides an example: “We must make a vow that, together, we will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive”. The emphatic auxiliary verbs: “must” and “will”, are used to reproduce power asymmetry in the speech. Moreover, he uses the personal plural pronoun “we”, inclusively, to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians by proposing a bond of togetherness to utilize Nigeria’s natural resources for the common good of all.

Second, there is a syndrome of Self & +Capacity, which the speaker uses to enact affiliation with the Nigerian workers, women, and rural dwellers, in positively appraising their efforts to build Nigeria. This syndrome of Self & +Capacity is used very often in this section to refer to all Nigerians and their ability to transform the country to be more viable. The speaker also uses this syndrome of Self & +Capacity, to reproduce unequal power relations between himself and Nigerians, by making more emphatic statements on the objectives of his government to rebuild Nigeria.

Third, the syndrome of Self & +Security is used by the speaker to reproduce unequal power relations covertly, and affiliate with Nigerians by assuring them of his administration's preparedness to provide economic development that will guarantee their security. The speaker uses these syndromes in this section to propose a bond of "security" with Nigerians.

Last, there is a syndrome of Nigerians & -Inclination, which the speaker uses to individuate himself and Nigerians away from the mistakes of the previous governments concerning the proper management of Nigeria's natural resources. For instance, the speaker enacts individuation in the following clause complex: "With this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility". Jonathan co-articulated Ideational and Interpersonal meanings to construct the above syndromes, which he uses to enact affiliation, individuation, and unequal power relations with his listeners in the inaugural speech.

#### 10.2.7 Section G

"The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our commonwealth. I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope. We owe ourselves and posterity the duty of making this country respectable in the comity of nations. Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security. We will continue to play an active role in the United Nations. Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security. Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a new dawn

for Africa. We fought for decolonization. We will now fight for democratization. Nigeria, in partnership with the African Union, will lead the process for democracy and development in Africa. In particular, we will support the consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in the continent. Africa must develop its vast resources to tackle poverty and underdevelopment. Conscious of the negative effect of insecurity on growth and development, my Administration will seek collaboration at bilateral and multilateral levels, to improve our capability in combating trans-border crimes. In this regard, we will intensify our advocacy against the illicit trades in small arms and light weapons, which have become the catalyst for conflicts on the African continent. All Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad are to accord this vision of defending the dignity of humanity the highest priority”.

In section G which has been coded in lines 74-84 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, Jonathan starts by outlining how his administration will tackle corruption, which is one of the major setbacks to the progress of Nigeria as a country (Ogbeidi, 2012). Here, Jonathan uses the words “bane” and “overwhelming” to upscale Intensification: Degree and graduate the double-coded inscribed Attitudes of +Tenacity and +Capacity, which he instantiates with the phrase “collective determination” and couples with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to individuate Nigerians away from the factor of corruption. Jonathan uses the phrase: “collective determination”, to create a sense of “commonality” among Nigerians against corruption, which indicates to Nigerians that the fight against corruption is a collective one. Jonathan also individuates away from corruption by likening it to a “scourge” that Nigerians must get rid of, thereby proposing a bond of disapproval of corruption. This speaker uses the metaphor of “scourge”, to instantiate an invoked negative Appreciation: Reaction against corruption.

In addition, Jonathan uses the “war” metaphor to describe the magnitude of the effort needed by Nigerians to defeat the “scourge” of corruption. Further, Jonathan uses the word “all” to instantiate upscaling Quantification: Number, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which is instantiated by the word “fight” and couples with a Contact: Entertain authorial voice to affiliate with all Nigerians in the fight against corruption. The speaker also Affiliates with all Nigerians by using the word “limited” to instantiate a downscaling Quantification: Mass, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Satisfaction, which is instantiated by the word “growth” and couples with Heteroglossic Contract: Justify authorial voice, to justify why every Nigerians should

get involved in the “war” against corruption. The speaker also uses the possessive pronoun “our” to align with all Nigerians by describing the growth and development of Nigeria as “our commonwealth”. President Jonathan further affiliates with Nigerians by instantiating Extent Proximity: Time with the word “future” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Inclination, which is instantiated by the word “hope” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Pronounce authorial voice, instantiated by the clause complex “that we have every reason to look to the future with hope”, to encourage Nigerians to be hopeful in his administration, by pronouncing his positive confidence in Nigeria’s future and proposing a bond of hope.

Subsequently, Jonathan uses the word “committed” to instantiate upscaling infusing Vigour to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Security, which is equally instantiated by the words “global peace and security” to couple with Expand: Entertain voice (Martin and White 2005) to align Nigerians with the international community in the effort to maintain global peace (see line 78 of the Appraisal table). Jonathan continues to align Nigeria with the international community by instantiating upscaling infusing Vigour with the word “fought” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity which is instantiated by the word “decolonization” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to inform the listeners of what Nigeria did in the past to decolonize Africa (Adeyeri & Adeniji, 2021; Ojukwu & Euka, 2020). Moreover, he instantiates upscaling infusing Vigour with the word “fight” to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity, which is instantiated by the word “democratization” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice, to inform the listeners of what Nigeria intends to do during his administration (see line 82 of the Appraisal table, attached as appendix C). Jonathan thereby affiliates Nigeria with the international community by proposing bonds on the commonly shared values of decolonization and democratization of the African Continent.

Jonathan continues his alignment of Nigeria with the international community, with a more positive Appraisal of Nigeria, and reproduces unequal power relations covertly, to reassure the audience of his administration’s plans to contribute to global peace (see line 83 of the Appraisal table). For instance, he uses the word “improve” to instantiate upscaling Vigour and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Security instantiated with the word “insecurity” and couples



with a Contract: Entertain authorial voice, to give reassurance to the international community that Nigeria was ready to partner with them to “combat trans-border crimes” Jonathan’s efforts to seek collaborative efforts in combatting trans-border crimes may be connected with the problems of terrorism which had been affecting Nigeria’s sociopolitical and socio-economic well-being since 2009 (Foyou, Ngwafu, 2018). The rise in terrorist activities in Nigeria has adversely affected the sociopolitical stability of the country (Amalu, 2015).

Lastly, the speaker uses the word “highest” to instantiate upscaling Degree to express the level of commitment he has in contributing to global security and graduates the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Inclination which he also instantiates with the word “vision” and couples with a Monoglossic voice to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigeria’s diplomatic missions abroad. Jonathan uses these Appraisal resources to affiliate with different groups, nations, and organizations by proposing a bond of peace.

A summary of the main syndromes the speaker used to negotiate unequal power relations, affiliation, and individuation are given in this section. First, there is a recurrent pattern of Nigerians & +Tenacity. The speaker uses this syndrome with the metaphors of “scourge” and “war”, to negotiate a very strong bond with Nigerians to join hands and fight corruption. The speaker does this in the following clause complex: “The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination to rid our nation of this scourge”. Similarly, “The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our commonwealth”. This individual uses these locutions to express his desire and determination of Nigerians to fight corruption. This syndrome also manifests in the repeated pattern of Nigerians’ determination to “fight” for democracy and good governance. He uses the following clause complex: “We fought for decolonization”. “We will fight for democratization”, to express how determined he expects Nigerians to be to achieve these objectives under his administration.

Second, there is a syndrome of Self & +Capacity, which the speaker uses repeatedly to reassure the guests of his determination to contribute to global peace and security. The President expresses his capability to handle insecurity by affiliating with other countries in the following clause complex “Conscious of the negative effect of insecurity on growth and development, my Administration will seek collaboration at bilateral and multilateral levels, to improve our capability in combatting trans-border crimes”.

#### 10.2.8 Section H

“My fellow countrymen and women, Nigeria is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive change will continue to take place, for the good of our people. The time for lamentation is over. This is the era of transformation. This is the time for action. But Nigeria can only be transformed if we all play our parts with commitment and sincerity. Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness. Let us all believe in a new Nigeria. Let us work together to build a great country that we will all be proud of. This is our hour. Fellow Compatriots, lift your gaze towards the horizon. Look ahead and you will see a great future that we can secure with unity, hard work and collective sacrifice. Join me now as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria. I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you. I will continue to fight, for improved medical care for all our citizens. I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education. I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens. I will continue to fight for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people. I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnerships. You have trusted me with your mandate, and I will never, never let you down. I know your pain because I have been there. Look beyond the hardship you have endured. See a new beginning; a new direction; a new spirit. Nigerians, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dreams, we can achieve together. I call upon all the Presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country. Let us work together; let us build together; let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come. I thank you! God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria”.

In section H which has been coded in lines 85-104 of the Appraisal table, Appendix C, the speaker concludes his speech by using several positive evaluative resources to propose more bonds of alignment, solidarity, and commitment with Nigerians. Firstly, he uses the words “My fellow countrymen and women” to instantiate +Normality which couples with the word “not” to instantiate a Contract: Deny, contracting the dialogic space, while “it shall be” instantiates an Expand: Entertain Engagement, introducing a future vision of what Nigeria can become. He uses these positive locutions to express his good wishes for Nigeria as a country and propose a bond of

national consciousness with Nigerians. Jonathan also instantiates an invoked Attitude of +Happiness with the words “positive” and “change” to intensify his affiliation with Nigerians with the words “for the good of our people” to express his happiness over the welfare of Nigerians. The speaker equally instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “lamentation” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Happiness which is then instantiated with “is over” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to admonish Nigerians to stop lamenting over their previous economic and political losses and join hands to solve the present problems (see line 86 of the Appraisal table). He reproduces more unequal power relations with Nigerians with this declaration “This is the era of transformation”. Here, he instantiates Extent: Distribution: Time with the word “era”, to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the word “transformation” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to declare a new “era” for Nigerians under his administration.

Jonathan continues to affiliate with Nigerians by admonishing them to be positive about national development (see lines 88-91 of the Appraisal table). Here, he uses the word “greatness” to instantiate upscaling Degree and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of -Propriety instantiated with the words “cynicism and skepticism” which he couples with a Contract: Entertain voice, to advise Nigerians against negative actions that could militate against achieving Nigeria’s “greatness”. He further affiliates with all Nigerians by proposing a bond of national consciousness with the following expression: “Let us all believe in a new Nigeria”. Here, he instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with the word “all” to graduate the meaning of the Attitude of +Inclination, which he instantiates with the word “new” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to encourage Nigerians to be hopeful for a better country. Continuing, he instantiates upscaling Degree with the word “great” to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which he instantiates with the words “Let us work together to build” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to affiliate with Nigerians and propose a bond around the commonly shared value of hard work.

Jonathan uses the word “horizon” to instantiate downscaling Extent: Proximity: Space and graduates the invoked Attitude of +Inclination instantiated by the word “gaze” and couples these with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to suggest that the future Nigerians are being called to envision, is far away. The speaker uses the idea of lifting one’s “gaze to the horizon” as a metaphor for anticipating the future. Jonathan uses these locutions to further encourage Nigerians to align with one another and utilize the abundant resources in Nigeria for the benefit of all. He co-articulates these positive Appraisal resources to propose bonds of togetherness and hard work with Nigerians (see line 91 of the Appraisal table).

Subsequently, Jonathan appraises himself positively by constructing a parallel clause complex on the word “fight”. He repeated the phrase “I will continue to fight for” several times to reinforce his points and list things that he aims to fight for the welfare of Nigerians (see lines 92-97 of the Appraisal table). Here, Jonathan uses the word “continue” to instantiate upscaling Vigour to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which he instantiates with the word “fight” and couples with a Heteroglossic Contract: Justify, to express his desire, and justify his reason to “fight” for the future of Nigerians using the following clause complex: “I will continue to fight for your future because I am one of you”. Jonathan thereby transforms unequal power relations and negotiates affiliation with Nigerians. The reason he gave for his determination “to fight for” their future, "because I am one of you", creates a sense of common values, and he proposes bonds of determination and oneness between him and Nigerians.

In the statement “I will fight for all citizens” he uses the word “all” to instantiate upscaling Quantification: Number to graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity instantiated by the word “fight” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice to construe an image of a strong leader, who is determined to fight for his people. The image of a strong leader is expressed in this clause complex “I will continue to fight for improved medical care for all citizens”. Similarly, he uses the words “first class” to instantiate upscaling Degree and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which is instantiated by the word “fight” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice, to construe an image of a strong leader, who is determined to provide the best education for his people. Continuing, he instantiates upscaling Quantification:

Number with the word “all” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity instantiated with the word “fight” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice to assert his determination to provide electricity for Nigerians. Similarly, he instantiates upscaling Quantification: Number with the word “all” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity instantiated with the word “fight” and couples with an Expand: Entertain authorial voice to affiliate with all Nigerians on the provision of “affordable public transport system”. Lastly, he instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “productive” to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which he instantiates with the word “fight” and couples with an Expand: Entertain voice to affiliate with Nigerians on the provision of jobs. The repeated use of the quantifier “all” signifies Jonathan’s intention to work for all Nigerians, irrespective of ethnic or religious differences. Jonathan co-articulates these positive Appraisal resources to construe an identity of a caring, determined President, who was ready to go the extra mile to fight for the good of his people by proposing a series of welfare that he intends to provide for Nigerians.

For the rest of the speech, the speaker continues to affiliate with Nigerians by assuring them of his determination not to betray their trust. Here, this speaker uses the word “mandate” to instantiate a Sharpen: Focus and graduate the meaning of the inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity which is instantiated with the word “trusted” to show the willingness of Nigerians to continue with Jonathan. He then couples these resources with a Monoglossic authorial voice to propose a bond of trust with Nigerians. He uses the second and first-person pronouns “you” “me” and “I” in an inclusive way, to affiliate with Nigerians by creating an in-group of Nigerians that are determined to work with him to realize his aims.

Subsequently, Jonathan instantiates upscaling Vigour with the word “call”, to graduate the inscribed Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the word “transformation” and couples with a Monoglossic voice, to transform unequal power relations between himself and the other presidential candidates who lost the election to him. He uses the pronouns “me” and “us” to create an in-group of himself and those that won the election, and an out-group of other presidential candidates who contested with him but lost. He follows this up by instantiating a pattern of unequal power relations and affiliation with other presidential candidates with an inscribed Attitude of

+Tenacity instantiated with the word “work” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to align with them on the commonly shared value of working for the progress of the country, using the clause complex “Let us work together”. Likewise, he instantiates an inscribed Attitude of +Tenacity with the word “build” and couples it with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to align with the other presidential candidates, using the clause complex “Let us build together”. Lastly, he uses the word “greater” to instantiate upscaling Intensification: Degree, to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Capacity instantiated with the word “bequeath” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to propose bonds of togetherness and service with the politicians.

Jonathan concludes his speech by affiliating with Nigerians and the country Nigeria, by invoking blessings on them (see lines 103 & 104 of the Appraisal table). Here, Jonathan uses the word “all” to instantiate upscaling Quantification: Number to graduate the meaning of the invoked Attitude of +Happiness which is also instantiated by the word “bless” and couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice to invoke appreciation and blessings on Nigerians with the clause complex: “God bless you all!”. Similarly, he instantiates a Sharpen Focus with the phrase “the Federal Republic of Nigeria” and graduates the invoked Attitude of +Happiness instantiated with the word “bless” which he couples with a Monoglossic authorial voice, to align himself with the country Nigeria, using the following clause complex “And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria” thereby proposing a bond of blessing on Nigerians and Nigeria.

The student analyst then summarizes the main syndromes of couplings that occurred in this section. Firstly, there is the syndrome of Self & +Tenacity which is instantiated by the word “fight”. The speaker uses this word to reproduce unequal power relations between him and Nigerians, by creating an image of a very strong and determined leader, who is ready to “fight” to make Nigerians benefit from his administration. The speaker describes his intention to deliver good governance to Nigerians as a “fight” in several clause complexes in his speech. The repeated use of the word “fight” shows his determination and forms a commonly shared value of good governance between him and Nigerians. The speaker uses the first person pronoun “I” to couple his ideas of fighting for the good of his people in a recurrent pattern to produce a syndrome of the strong leader.

The second syndrome in this section is Nigerians & +Happiness which the speaker uses to invoke blessings on Nigerians and Nigeria as a country. For instance, Jonathan proposes affiliative bonds of happiness and unity with the following clause complex “I thank you! God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria”.

### 10.3 The coupling resources

The Appraisal resources are used by the speaker to realize specific patterns of coupling in the text that enabled Jonathan to reproduce power relations and enact the concepts of affiliation and individuation in his speech. These specific patterns of coupling become a syndrome that shows the logogenesis of the text. In Table 10.2, this student analyst shows how the four Appraisal resources: Upscaling Force, Downscaling Force, Expansive Engagement, and Contractive Engagement couple with these syndromes to give a more explicit analysis. The student analyst uses these four resources because they encompass other Appraisal resources.

Coupling Resources	Nigerians & +Happiness	Nigerians & +Capacity	Nigerians & +Tenacity	Self & +Tenacity
Total instances	14	19	11	12
Upscaling Force	12	17	09	11
Downscaling Force	00	00	00	00
Expansive Engagement	01	01	00	05
Contractive Engagement	03	06	03	03

Table 10.1: The coupling resources in Jonathan’s 2011 inaugural speech, adapted from Siebörger (2018, p. 364).

The upscaling and downscaling Graduation resources, and the expansive and contractive Engagement resources, incorporate all other categories of resources within their system. This researcher did a manual count of the resources in the Appraisal table of Appendix C, to generate the couplings according to their number of occurrences on the table. The figures show the Appraisal resources that have the highest number of occurrences in the analysis which the speaker

uses to realize the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and power relations. For instance, the above table shows that the speaker couples the resources of Nigerians & +Happiness a total of 14 times. The speaker also couples the resources of Nigerians & +Capacity a total of 19 times, while he couples the resources of Nigerians & +Tenacity for a total of 11 times, and couples the resources of Self & +Tenacity for a total of 12 times.

The above statistics show how Jonathan couples his Ideational and Interpersonal meanings, to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation in his speech. Here, the high coupling of Nigerians & +Happiness, reveals that the speaker uses a series of resources to align with Nigerians, through positive evaluation and proposing bonds of oneness, progress, and appreciation. The +Happiness Attitude is used by the inaugural speaker to evaluate Nigerians positively, and this demonstrates the disposition and resolve of the speaker to make Nigerians happy during his administration. Considering the rejection of the speaker by some individuals and groups, based on his ethnicity, Jonathan enacted a series of +Happiness Appraisal resources, to affiliate with all Nigerians, in his efforts to defuse the tension that followed the 2011 Presidential.

Second, the speaker couples the Attitude resources of Nigerians and +Capacity, to encourage Nigerians in their abilities and capabilities, to achieve several great things for the country. He equally uses this resource to Appraise Nigerians positively by reminding them of their responsibility towards their country, using the following clause complex: “The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness”. The speaker thereby, uses this syndrome of coupling, to affiliate with Nigerians on the commonly shared value of hard work.

The speaker also couples the resource of Nigerians & +Tenacity several times, to give a more positive appraisal of Nigerians on their ability and determination to achieve great things. The speaker describes this quality of Nigerians with the metaphor of “resilience” as “Nigerian spirit of resilience” and uses this coupling to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians by proposing bonds of determination and resilience with Nigerians. Jonathan evaluates Nigerians positively, thereby



negotiating more affiliation with individuals, groups, and all Nigerians than individuation in the inaugural speech.

Lastly, the President couples his Ideational and Interpersonal meanings to show a high occurrence of Self & +Tenacity, which he uses to reproduce unequal power relations covertly, by making a series of parallel statements of his determination to “fight” for the rights and privileges of all Nigerians. In addition, the speaker uses a total number of 86 upscaling force and four downscaling force, to intensify the locutions of positive couplings of Nigerians in the inaugural speech. He also instantiates 92 positive and 12 negative evaluations of Nigerians, to negotiate more bonds of affiliation with Nigerians, while there are few instances of individuating away from individuals, groups, or factors that could cause divisions among Nigerians, as in the following clause complex “We will not allow anyone exploit differences in creed or tongue, to set us one against another”. He uses these locutions to upscale the positive ability and determination of Nigerians and himself, to realize their ambitions and collective determination in building a strong, viable country. The downscaling locutions are equally used by Jonathan to negotiate affiliation with Nigerians. For instance, he denied the voices and stances of those who “doubted” the capacity of Nigerians to achieve great things. Jonathan also uses the expressions “a mere daydream” and “a decade ago” to downscale those voices that did not believe that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could aspire to the office of the President of Nigeria, thereby strengthening the voices of those who believe in discarding what he refers to as “ancient prejudices” against the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria’s sociopolitical history.

Jonathan uses Expansive Engagement resources seven times in the couplings to acknowledge the possibility of other voices either countering or agreeing with his views. For instance, in the resource of Self & +Tenacity, the speaker uses the word “will” to acknowledge the possibility of alternative voices in his speech, and therefore “entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives” (Martin and White, 2005c, p. 111) concerning his promises to “fight” for the rights and privileges of all Nigerians. Jonathan opens the dialogic space to entertain alternative voices in his strong promises to Nigerians, which may not be unconnected with politician’s tendencies to use

persuasive language to gain the interest of their listeners, but not necessarily committed to their promises afterwards (Bhatia, 2015).

Subsequently, there are 25 Contractive resources used in the 2011 Presidential inaugural speech, which the speaker uses to exclude or constrain alternative voices from participating in his speech. Jonathan achieves this by using 65 inscribed and 33 invoked Attitude resources, to make more explicit statements, that align him with all Nigerians, individuate himself and Nigerians away from actions he describes as “a senseless wave of violence” or factors like “skepticism” and “cynicism” which could prevent Nigerians from achieving greatness. Jonathan equally reproduces unequal power relations covertly, by contracting the dialogic space and making more inscribed statements. For instance, Jonathan uses the word “even” as an adverb to intensify his emphasis on the capability of Nigerians, despite those that had a contrary opinion, in the following clause complex “That spirit has over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation even when others doubted our capacity”. Jonathan metaphorically refers to the determination of Nigerians as “the Nigerian spirit of resilience”. Similarly, Jonathan uses the Contract: Pronounce resource to close alternative voices by making an explicit statement in the following clause complex “I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty”. Jonathan thereby transforms unequal soft power relations covertly with the Contractive Engagement resources, by asserting his experiential ideas about Nigeria.

Lastly, the speaker uses 92 positive and 12 negative Attitude resources, to evaluate Nigerians positively. The positive evaluation of Nigerians resulted in more affiliation and proposition of bonds on several commonly shared values, and less individuation from certain people, groups or factors that militate against his objectives of construing a Nigerian identity of oneness and togetherness in his speech. There are also more instances of reproducing unequal power relations covertly, and very few instances of binary power relations with his audience. These locutions enabled the speaker to instantiate more positive evaluations of Nigerians in his inaugural speech.

#### 10.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, a micro-, fine-grained analysis of President Jonathan's 2011 Presidential inaugural speech has been done. The fine-grained analysis reveals the way that the speaker uses meaning-making Appraisal resources to unfold his speech (logogenesis), especially, as it concerns Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences. Consequently, the analysis unearths how the speaker couples Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in the three Appraisal systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation, to reproduce unequal power relations, enact affiliation with Nigerians, and individuation from certain factors such as corruption, and certain individuals who had negative perception of his vision for Nigeria. The speech was made at a time in Nigeria, when someone from a minority ethnic group from southern Nigeria, became the President following the death of former President Yar' Adua, who was from the northern part of the country. The emergence of Jonathan at the polls caused violent reactions in the far northern part of Nigeria. Jonathan, therefore, tried to achieve reconciliation in his speech by using inclusive resources to evaluate Nigerians positively in his speech. In essence, the speaker tried to achieve a reconciliation of all Nigerians, irrespective of ethnic or religious differences. To achieve this objective, he co-articulates his Ideational and Interpersonal meanings in a way that they produce the above syndromes of positive evaluations that he used to propose bonds of unity, oneness, and determination among real and putative readers or listeners, thereby construing an identity of a united Nigeria in his speech.

## Chapter Eleven: Conclusion

### 11.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to use the reported analyses in the previous chapters to respond to the four research questions presented in 1.8. There are also discussions on the limitations of this study, which provide directions for future research, and give my concluding remarks on the study. The analysis cuts across three layers of macro-, meso-, and micro-analyses. The micro layer focuses on a fine-grained analysis of individual coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. Each of these layers of analysis has something unique and innovative to contribute to the findings of the study. The macro-analysis reveals lexical patterns in the genre of Nigerian presidential speeches while the meso-analysis reveals distinguishing features of the pre-war and post-war speeches, and the genres of speeches, and the micro-analysis reveals different patterns of negotiating affiliation, individuation, and reproducing of unequal power relations in the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan. These differences contribute to the answers to the research questions.

Research Question 1 is about the patterns of evaluative language used in the speeches. The student analyst uses data from the micro-analyses to discuss these patterns of evaluative language used in the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches in 11.2. Research Question 2 is about how Nigerian leaders used language to maintain power asymmetry in their speeches. Here, data from the macro-analysis, meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War corpora, genres of speeches, and micro-analyses are used to respond to this research question in 11.3. Research Question 3 is about how the speakers positioned themselves in relation to other individuals and political movements in Nigeria. The candidate discusses how the speakers positioned themselves in the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches of Nzeogwu, Ojukwu and Jonathan in 11.4. This candidate then responds to Research Question 4 (a), which is about the contributions of study to the sociopolitical knowledge about Nigeria by drawing answers from the macro-analysis, meso-analysis, and micro-analysis to discuss these contributions in 11.5.1. Finally, Research Question 4 (b) is about the contributions of CL and SFL analyses to theoretical knowledge about power, affiliation, and individuation. The student researcher draws from the reports of the macro-analysis, meso-analysis, and micro-analysis to discuss this research question on 11.5.2. There are also discussions on the

limitations of this study in 11.6 and directions for future study in 11.7. Lastly, the concluding remarks about this study can be found in 11.8, on “Improving the understanding of Interpersonal meanings in Nigerian political discourse”.

### 11.2 Research Question 1: What are the patterns of evaluative language used in the selected Nigerian speeches?

In the coup speech, this student researcher found the following numbers of instances of specific couplings (see 8.3): Nigerians & -Propriety = 14, Nigerians & +Happiness = 06, Military & +Inclination = 06, and Self & +Tenacity = 04. The above coupling results present a syndrome of disaffiliation from Nigerians, affiliation with the military, and overt reproduction of unequal, binary power relations between the speaker and the civilian Nigerians. In the coup speech, predominantly negative evaluative language was associated with Nigerians and positive evaluative language with the military where the speaker belongs. Some of the strategies that formed a particular pattern in the coup speech are in-group and out-group affiliation and individuation, and the use of words and clause complexes to reproduce binary power relations overtly with the out-group.

Secondly, there is a dominant pattern of negative evaluation of the out-group, and the speaker uses this pattern to negotiate affiliation and individuation in his speech. For instance, certain expressions like “enemies of the revolution” and “enemies of the people” were used frequently, to construe some people as an out-group “enemy”.

Thirdly, there is a dominant pattern of constructing a negative evaluation of Nigerians in the coup speech. This pattern is reflected in the speaker’s “ten proclamations in the Extraordinary Orders of the Day”, which he uses to negotiate individuation away from the civilian Nigerians, and affiliation with the military. This dominant pattern of using the moral other (Chen, 2022; Machin & Mayr, 2012) strategy to individuate away from the civilians is responsible for the 14 instances of Nigerians & -Propriety.

In the secession speech, this student researcher found the following numbers of instances of specific couplings (see 10.3): Biafrans & +Capacity = 10, Biafrans & +Security = 06, Self & +Capacity=12, Self & +Propriety = 06. The above results indicate a pattern of positive evaluative language used by the speaker to encourage Biafrans to secede from Nigeria. This candidate has identified three major patterns of evaluative language used in the secession speech, which are (a) affiliation with Biafrans through bonding, (b) individuation away from Nigeria through bonding with Biafrans, and (c) negotiation of unequal power relations between the speaker, Nigeria, and his allies. The speech draws heavily on legal discourse to outline Biafrans' rights and obligations with those of the Nigerian government.

Firstly, the dominant pattern of evaluative language is affiliation with the people of Biafra, by proposing a bond of nationhood. The speech follows a pattern of address to Eastern Nigerians to awaken them to their fundamental human rights which further bonds them together as one people and individuates them away from Nigeria. The first part of the secession speech has a persuasive pattern of language use, which the speaker uses to propose a bond of encouragement with all Eastern Nigerians and prepare them for the declaration of secession from Nigeria, with the identity of Biafra.

Secondly, the second person pronoun "you", and the possessive pronouns "your", and "yourselves", were used ten times, while the first person pronoun "me" was used two times in section A of the speech to create a pattern of direct affiliation between the speaker and Biafrans, and propose a bond of solidarity with them on their rights and privileges (Kuo, 2002). This patterned use of the pronouns "you", and "yourselves" was also used to evaluate the Biafrans positively, by reminding them of their security and tenacity as a people.

Thirdly, there is a pattern of transforming unequal power relations overtly, between the speaker and Nigeria. This pattern was achieved by making ten declarations that draw on legal discourse (see 9.3). Ojukwu's pattern of first bonding with Biafrans before making his declarations to transform unequal power relations overtly is an exclusive feature of the secession speech.

The 12 instances of Self & +Capacity show the extent of capability and competence the secession speech speaker uses to reassure Biafrans that he could defend and protect them from external aggression. Secondly, 15 instances of upscaling Force against 02 instances of downscaling Force used in the secession speech show the high tempo at which it was made. This high tempo of the speech may not be unconnected to the violent events of a counter coup and genocide that preceded the speech (see 1.4). The speaker also used 09 instances of Expansive, and 23 instances of Contractive Engagement in the secession speech, which enabled him to close down all alternative voices and be in total control of the speech.

In the inaugural speech, observations indicate the following numbers of instances of specific couplings (see 10.3), Nigerians & +Happiness = 14, Nigerians & +Capacity = 19, Nigerians & +Tenacity = 11, and Self & +Tenacity = 12. This result indicates that Nigeria's 2011 presidential inaugural speech contains many positive evaluative resources of Affect and Judgement that the speaker used to affiliate with Nigerians. The resources of the Appraisal sub-system of Affect were used to evaluate Nigerians positively in the inaugural speech by portraying Nigerians as happy as in the following example: "I would like to especially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of Brother Heads of State and Governments, who have come to share this joyous moment with us". In addition, the total counts of 19 couplings of Nigerians & +Capacity, 11 couplings of Nigerians & +Tenacity and 12 couplings of Self & +Tenacity indicate that positive Judgement was a dominant feature of the inaugural speech. Lastly, the high number of couplings of +Tenacity and +Capacity indicates features of negotiation of power relations in the inaugural speech. One of the strategies the speaker used to realize this pattern of affiliation, individuation, and power relations is bonding. The speaker proposes several bonds which he used to affiliate with Nigerians and the international community. The inaugural speech contains many Appraisal resources that the speaker uses to co-articulate his ideational meanings about Nigeria in the Graduation, Attitude and Engagement systems, to appraise Nigerians positively.

Secondly, there is a dominant feature of using the first person plural pronoun "we", and possessive pronouns "our", "us", and "ourselves" inclusively, to make parallel clause complexes that propose bonds of determination, resilience, and solidarity, which the speaker uses to affiliate with

Nigerians. These dominant features of inclusive pronouns account for the high number of couplings of Nigerians & +Tenacity, and Self & +Capacity, realized in the inaugural speech (Yaoharee & Mongkut, 2018).

Thirdly, another dominant feature of the inaugural speech is the use of the first person singular pronoun “I”, to reproduce unequal power relations with Nigerians covertly and overtly and individuate away from factors that are construed as negatively affecting Nigerians. There are 36 uses of the 1st person pronoun “I” in the speech. Initially, the speaker used the “I” pronoun to exert unequal, soft-power relations covertly with Nigerians, as in: “I want to assure you that I will do my utmost to continue to deserve your trust”. This kind of soft-power relations is dominant in section A-F of the inaugural speech, in which the speaker exerts power by affiliating with Nigerians using a commonly shared value to propose bonds of assurance, and nationhood (Reyes, 2011). However, in section H of the inaugural speech, a different pattern of reproducing unequal power relations overtly becomes more dominant. Here, the speaker repeatedly uses the metaphor of "fight", to negotiate power asymmetry, by declaring his capability to fight for Nigerians.

In addition, the syndrome of Self & +Tenacity couplings found in this speech is another means by which the speaker reproduces unequal power relations overtly, to show his capability to lead Nigeria at that critical time.

Lastly, there is a pattern of coupling the Attitude resources with mainly upscaling Force and very few instances of downscaling Force. There is also a pattern of coupling the Attitude and Graduation resources with contractive Engagement resources and a few expansive Engagement resources in the inaugural speech. These dominant features formed a prosody of positive evaluations of Nigerians and positive self-evaluations.



### 11.3 Research Question 2: How have Nigerian leaders used language to maintain power asymmetry in these speeches?

The response to this question is drawn from the data of the sixteen speeches used in the macro-analysis to show the features of keywords used to reproduce power asymmetry in the whole corpus, the meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches and meso-analysis of genres of speeches, to reveal the exclusive features of language used to maintain power asymmetry.

The speakers reproduced power asymmetry by using certain keywords that connote power and collocating the keywords to reproduce power asymmetry between them and Nigerians. The first ten keywords of the whole corpus show how Nigerian leaders exert power in advancing their causes: *Nigeria, our, Nigerians, Nigerian, nation, we, government, will, country, and shall*, show that Nigerian leaders used the keywords that connote power to recreate their ideology in the sovereignty of Nigeria. The above keywords also show that Nigerian leaders reproduced unequal power relations with some groups, sections, or political ideas by making emphatic statements (see 5.2).

The main feature of the pre-war sub-corpus is the creation of in-groups and out-groups, especially in the coup and secession speeches. The keywords are most strongly represented in the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches of 1966 and 1967.

Nzeogwu, in his coup broadcast, used “any” to reproduce power asymmetry between him and the civilian government officials. Certain power-oriented words and expressions were used to mark some Nigerians out as an “other” or as an out-group that the speaker individuates away from (Andreouli, 2015b). This strategy was fully exploited in the pre-war sub-corpus by Nigerian military speakers, to realize power asymmetry between the military as the in-group and the “other” Nigerians as the out-group. In essence, the pre-war military speakers construed an identity of “we” versus “them”, to realize their aim of power asymmetry in the speeches.

The post-Nigeria-Biafra War sub-corpus generated more keywords than the pre-war sub-corpus, and this indicates that the Nigerian leaders adopted different approaches in their speeches after the Nigeria-Biafra War. The first ten keywords of the post-war sub-corpus are: “our”, “nigeria”, “nigerians”, “nigerian”, “nation”, “we”, “will”, “government”, “federal”, “country”. This shows that the keywords of the post-war sub-corpus are more civil-oriented and less militaristic than those of the pre-war sub-corpus.

Similarly, this student investigator draws answers from the second meso-analysis of genres of speeches, comparing the keywords of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches. A comparison of the keywords shows that the inaugural genre of speeches concentrated more on the keywords that are focused on affiliating with the people and providing good governance than the coup and secession genres which focused more on reproducing binary unequal power relations overtly and creating in-groups and out-groups of affiliation and individuation. The main difference in the way the speakers maintained power asymmetry in the three genres of speeches is that in the inaugural genre, the speakers relied mainly on using personal and possessive pronouns inclusively to negotiate soft power relations with Nigerians (Cao, 2011; James, 2014).

The coup and secession speakers used more militaristic and power-oriented keywords and expressions to position themselves with other people, ideas, or sections of the country, to create asymmetrical power relations in their speeches. Consequently, they used pronouns inclusively and exclusively to negotiate in-group and out-group affiliation and individuation and maintain power imbalance and their speeches.

The micro-analysis layer provides very rich insights into how the speakers reproduced power asymmetry in the speeches. The main determinants of power asymmetry in the speeches are the resources the speakers used to affiliate with or disaffiliate from certain people, ideas, sections of the country, or political movements. In this case, the speakers used linguistic resources to couple ideational meanings with the Appraisal sub-systems of Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement, in

a pattern that enables them to reproduce power asymmetry, by proposing different bonds of affiliation and individuation, and construing different identities for Nigerians.

Conversely, in the coup speech, the speaker instantiates militaristic, power-oriented expressions to maintain binary power asymmetry overtly by affiliating with the military and individuating away from certain persons, government officials, sections of the country, or political ideas.

Lastly, the secession speaker used pronouns inclusively to make a parallel pattern of speech and couple his ideas about power in a way that first proposes bonds of nationhood, sovereignty, freedom, and human rights, to affiliate with Biafrans. He then individuates away from Nigeria, by instantiating militaristic, power-oriented words and expressions to couple his ideas of secession with Appraisal systems, in a way that transforms power relations overtly between Biafra and Nigeria, by proposing to his Eastern Nigerian audience a bond of separation with Nigeria.

In conclusion, the inaugural speakers used more positive evaluative resources to negotiate soft power relations by affiliating with Nigerians on national development. On the contrary, the coup speakers used more negative evaluative resources to individuate away from their out groups, thereby reproducing binary power asymmetry overtly with some sections of Nigeria, individuals, and political ideas. The secession speaker used positive evaluative resources to reproduce unequal power relations with Biafrans by first affiliating with them, and then evaluating Nigeria negatively, by individuating himself and Biafrans away from Nigeria, to claim Biafran sovereignty back from Nigeria.

#### 11.4 Research Question 3: How have the speakers positioned themselves in relation to other individuals and political movements in Nigeria in these speeches?

This research question elicits answers that explain the strategies the speakers used in the three genres of speeches to position themselves with, or away from certain people, groups, sections/regions of Nigeria or political ideas, and to create identities in the speeches. Consequently,

the concepts of affiliation, individuation, and identities are all integral in unravelling the speakers' positioning strategies in the speeches. Below are responses to this question which explain the patterns of positioning in the coup, secession, and inaugural speeches.

The coup genre of speeches presents a very interesting and rich corpus for this study. This is because most of the sociopolitical events that happened in Nigeria during the period covered by this study, 1960-2015, were a result of the coups and countercoups that started in 1966. It is, therefore, pertinent to note that the coup speeches have had a more far-reaching impact on the sociopolitical history of Nigeria (Ojo, 2014) than any other genre of speeches. For instance, in the first coup speech of 15 January 1966, Nzeogwu positioned himself with the military, and away from the civilians.

In the coup speech of 29 July 1966, Gowon specifically positioned himself and other Nigerians away from some military officers and civilians, whom he accused of plunging the country into a national disaster by carrying out the first coup in Nigeria. Although he used concealment strategy by not mentioning the sections of the country that either carried out the first coup or were victims of the coup, the political crisis that followed his speech confirmed that positioning is a potent political strategy that can be used to manipulate people into achieving a desired political objective.

More examples of the positioning strategies in the coup genre of speeches can be seen in the following statement made by Abiola, which was the only civilian that made a coup speech in this study (see 2.4.6): “Today, people of Nigeria, I join you all in saying Enough is Enough. We have endured 24 years of military rule in our 34 years of independence. Military rule has led to our nation fighting a civil war with itself. Military rule has destabilized our nation today as not before in our history”. Abiola made this speech in 1994 in his attempt to overthrow the military government of the day after the presidential election which he won in 1993 was annulled by the military government of Babangida (Obiora, 20116). Abiola, thus, uses the above statement to position himself and Nigerian away from the military, by emphasizing the negative effects of

military rule in Nigeria, while he creates an identity of oppressed civilians, who desperately need to regain their mandate from the military (Adebanwi, 2001).

The secession speech speaker, Ojukwu, positioned himself with Biafrans and individuated away from Nigeria in the secession speech. The positioning approach in the secession speech was used to construe identities of resilience and determination, attributed to the speaker and the people of Biafra. In the response to research question 4(a), there is a description of how the positioning strategies used in these speeches contribute to knowledge about Nigeria's sociopolitical situation.

The keywords of the inaugural speeches show that the speakers relied mainly on inclusive and exclusive pronouns, and civil-centered words, to position themselves close to, or away from some people, or ideas. The effort to affiliate with all Nigerians in the inaugural speeches could be because of the frequent interruptions of the democratic process by the military through a coup.

For example, in Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech, he used certain words to position himself close to and away from Nigerians. For instance, the following sentence means that he was going to work for all Nigerians but would not be committed to fulfilling the desire of everybody: "I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody".

11.5.1 Research Question 4(a): What are the contributions of such CL and SFL analyses of these speeches to sociopolitical knowledge about the country Nigeria and its history?

This study contributes to sociopolitical knowledge about Nigeria by first analysing the entire population of Nigeria's presidential political speeches according to their different genres and comparing these genres of speeches to unearth the areas of congruence and divergence about the linguistic resources used by the speakers to realize the analytic concepts. Available records show that there has been no such combination of speeches, with the kind of theories and methods that are used in this study, in previous Nigeria's political discourse. Corpus analysis and SFL's Appraisal framework have been used to unravel a comprehensive perspective of Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences, and how the linguistic resources used by the speakers contributed to

either improving or worsening these sociopolitical experiences. One of the main revelations of this study is that the factors of disunity that led to the first military coup in 1966, are even much more in Nigeria's present sociopolitical experiences (see 1.4. and 2.4.). For instance, for about a decade, there has been an increase in terrorist and separatist activities in Nigeria, which is a confirmation that the speeches have not addressed the fundamental problems of the amalgamation of different ethnicities (Adegboyega, 2016).

In addition, this present study contributes to unravelling how the speakers' use of Interpersonal meanings illuminates the relationship between them and the people of Nigeria, by combining the quantitative analytical tools of Corpus Linguistics (CL), and the qualitative resources of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), especially, the Appraisal framework, to give a comprehensive account of Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences. The comparison of the resources used in the genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches reveals how the different approaches used to enact affiliation, individuation, and reproduce unequal power relations in the speeches have contributed to showing the connections between Nigeria's past and present sociopolitical experiences. For instance, this study has been able to explain the sociopolitical circumstances before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War (Aremu & Buhari, 2017; Onuoha, 2016). A combination of CL and SFL has shown the flexibility of SFL to collaborate with other theoretical frameworks in trans-disciplinary research to generate both quantitative and qualitative meaningful results.

In addition, the resources used by the speakers to reproduce binary unequal power relations, and negotiate affiliation and individuation based on individual, group, and regional considerations in the pre-war coup speeches, most likely contributed to widening the gap in national cohesion among the amalgamated ethnicities in Nigeria, and eventually exacerbated tensions that resulted in the Nigeria-Biafra War. The effects of the war are still very palpable in Nigeria's sociopolitical experiences at the time of writing this thesis in 2023 (see 1.4 and 2.4). Likewise, the linguistic choices and resources used especially, in the various coup speeches in the post-war period, have created distrust in Nigeria's civil-military relationship, and encouraged group, instead of national cohesion among the regions and ethnic groups in Nigeria, which has intensified the lack of national unity and shaped the Nigeria of today (Achebe, 2012; Okoye, 2018).

Lastly, the alarming rise in terrorist activities, general insecurity, and separatist activities in Nigeria has hindered Nigeria's sociopolitical and economic development (Dickson & Ezirim, 2017; Okoye, 2018; Udama, 2013). The prevailing sociopolitical situations in Nigeria indicate that there is a gap between the promises in the political speeches made by Nigerian leaders over the years and the actual sociopolitical situation in Nigeria. The continuing political crisis and lack of unity and cohesion among the diverse ethnic groups and regions in Nigeria, confirm that Nigerian political leaders have not lived up to the numerous promises and beautiful prospects they have been presenting to Nigerians in their speeches. These findings call for more in-depth and holistic research on political discourses to unravel the linguistic resources political speakers use in their speeches and their implications.

11.5.2 Research Question 4(b): What are the contributions of such SFL and CL analyses of these speeches to the linguistic knowledge about how language is used to negotiate power asymmetries, affiliation, and individuation?

This study makes significant contributions to the field of discourse analysis by re-adapting Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis into a four-pronged approach (see 4.2.2, 6.2 & 7.2). The re-adaptation of the three-pronged approach to a four-pronged approach enables this researcher to give adequate account for different sub-corpora at the level of the meso-analysis, like the meso-analysis of pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches, and the meso-analysis of genres of speeches, which are analysed in this study. The pre-and post-Nigeria-Biafra War speeches are pivotal in unravelling the different evaluative resources the speakers used to negotiate power asymmetry, affiliation, and individuation, before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War, which is a watershed in Nigeria's sociopolitical history. The macro-analysis allows an examination of the phylogenesis of the speeches while the micro-analysis focuses on the logogenesis of the texts.

Secondly, this study uses recent innovations in presenting Appraisal analysis by making use of a comprehensive table for Appraisal analysis, which includes the three Appraisal systems and sub-systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation.

Thirdly, this study contributes to the theory of affiliation and individuation, which are relatively recent concepts that are still being theorized in SFL (Martin, 2010). This candidate describes how speakers negotiated affiliation and individuation in the speeches by combining the three genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, and using the mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative analyses, to compare the exclusive features of each genre, in terms of keywords and concordance analysis, and the unique ways the speakers negotiated affiliation and individuation in the speeches.

Fourthly, this study contributes to the theory of coupling through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the coupling resources which the speakers used, to show how the syndromes were combined to reproduce unequal power relations and negotiate affiliation and individuation in the speeches.

The combination of these political speeches, which comprise three main genres of coup, secession, and inaugural speeches, has enriched the corpus of Nigerian spoken discourse. This combination of the entire population of Nigeria's presidential political speeches is a major contribution to political discourse because it provides rich data for more comprehensive interpersonal analyses of political discourse in terms of the linguistic resources used to reproduce power asymmetry, negotiate affiliation, and individuation in the much larger data that comprise different corpus and sub-corpus. The CL and SFL conceptual frameworks have assisted in describing meaning potentials in the Nigerian presidential speeches, revealing the communicative patterns of Nigerian leaders to the citizens. The analyses have demonstrated the *modus operandi* of communication ethos deployed to influence citizens' submission to the government in power.

#### 11.6 Limitations of the study

This study has unravelled how Nigerian leaders used linguistic resources to reproduce power asymmetry, affiliate with preferred people, groups, or political ideas, and individuate away from others that are not in line with their objectives. Although it would have been interesting to enlarge this research to include other genres of political speeches, like diplomatic speeches made by



participants in international organizations, parliamentary speeches, and campaign speeches, and even incorporate a multimodal approach to the study, all these could not have been adequately accomplished in this research. This study is, therefore, limited to three specific genres and to one kind of occasion: when a new leader assumes power in the country. Analysing multimodality would have required the use of multimodal discourse analytics tools and the results and major findings of this study would have been too wide to make much meaningful impact. Consequently, this student researcher was constrained to limit the study to the entire population of Nigeria's presidential political speeches, so that the study would be focused enough to make meaningful contributions to knowledge. For this reason, other genres of political speeches were excluded from this study.

Lastly, the student researcher was not able to make a fine-grained analysis of all the speeches due to the limited time and space under which this research was conducted. The research focused strongly on the texts of the speeches themselves, although more contextual information would have been given on the speeches. In other words, this study focused more on the speeches than their context. Particularly, other texts that were influential at the same time the speeches were made, such as news articles and other parties' responses to the leaders' speeches were not considered. The insights found in this study are also limited by the theoretical approaches the researcher used. Using different frameworks to analyse the same speeches would have yielded different findings. This research was also constrained by lack of funds, technical problems with computer equipment and irregular access to the Internet and electricity.

#### 11.7 Directions for future research

This study has opened some points that this candidate feels urged to recommend for further research. In discussing the research questions, the candidate mentioned how the speakers position themselves close to, or away from other people, to negotiate power asymmetry, affiliation, and individuation. The candidate also pointed out that through positioning, people construe different identities for either themselves or the putative readers. Consequently, this candidate suggests that further research should be done to unravel more strategies used to realize the concepts of positioning and identity in discourse. In this regard, the study of identity could examine data using

the frameworks of interviewing, questionnaire, ethnographic observation and iconization, to elicit questions on stratification, and personal and group opinions.

Secondly, this candidate suggests that more research should be done on the concepts of affiliation and individuation which are still being theorized in SFL (Martin, 2010). Thirdly, this student researcher recommends that more researchers adopt the three-pronged approach to their contexts in innovative ways that enable clearer perspectives on the phylogenesis and the logogenesis. Additional prongs could be added, in any of the layers according to the context of the research to provide for a more detailed analysis of discourses. The possibilities are only limited by space in the various types of documents in which people report on research, and the conceptual limits which people have in conceiving new layers of analysis. Further research using different adaptations of Bednarek's (2010) three-pronged approach to discourse analysis can enhance the analysis of different sub-corpora in different genres.

Finally, this student researcher suggests that analyses of other forms of political speech such as campaign speeches, concession speeches and state of the nation speeches, should be carried out using SFL analytic tools to unearth more varied ways that political leaders make an impact on a people's sociopolitical experiences through their speeches. The candidate also recommends that comparative research be conducted on presidential speeches from different countries, as such a comparison would reveal areas of political convergence and divergence, and discursive differences that reflect differences in the sociopolitical experiences of different countries.

### 11.8 Concluding remarks: Improving the understanding of interpersonal meanings in Nigeria's political discourse

As a youth, the student researcher observed Nigeria's political landscape, especially, the speeches politicians used to convince people to vote for certain candidates or follow certain policies. This student researcher has equally witnessed the interchange of governance between the military and the civilians especially in the post-Nigeria-Biafra War period, in terms of the speeches made to

justify every change of government. This study aimed to investigate what makes these speeches align with audiences as they do by unearthing the linguistic resources the speakers used to reproduce power asymmetry and negotiate affiliation, and individuation, in interpersonal discourse.

In Nigeria, the thin thread that still connects the diverse ethnic groups as a country is becoming thinner and thinner, despite the plethora of political speeches aimed at uniting the country. The prevailing sociopolitical situations in Nigeria have challenged this student researcher to conclude that there is a need to continue research on the use of interpersonal meanings in political discourses, especially, the linguistic resources that discourse participants use to gain some advantages over others. Considering the incisive impact of political speeches on people's lives, this student researcher, therefore, advocates for more research on political speeches, especially, with a focus on the resources speakers use to convince audiences of their legitimacy as leaders. This study was embarked on to contribute to knowledge about the possibilities for understanding political discourses that this study opens, especially in the Nigerian political discourse.

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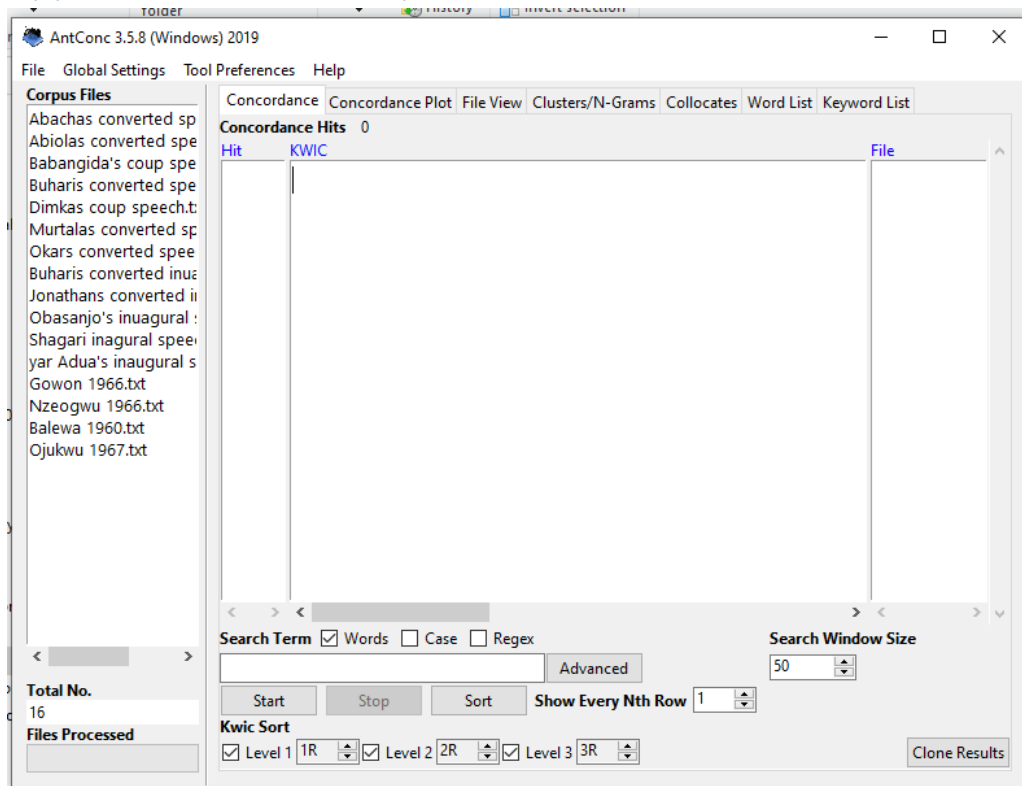
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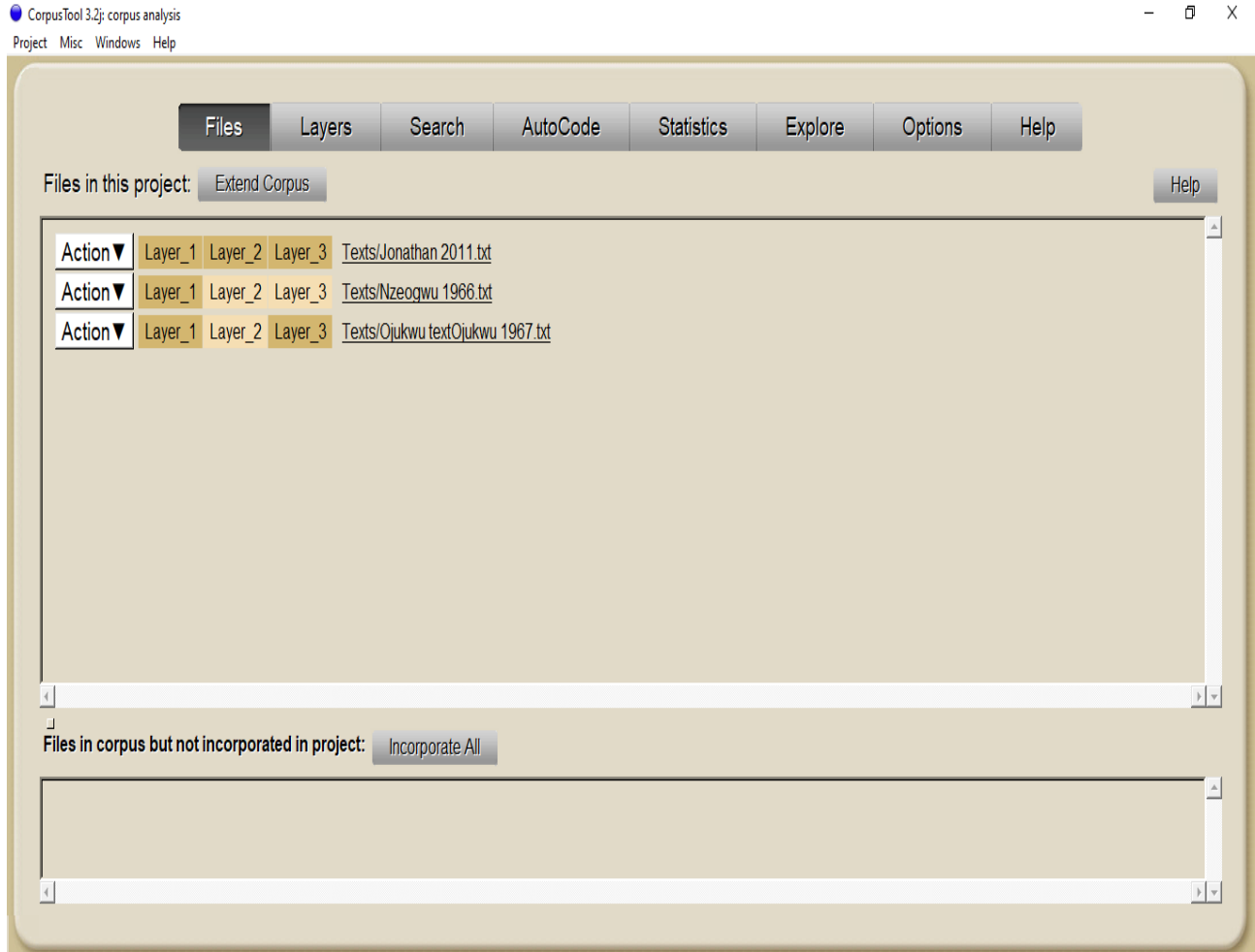
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## Appendix A: Whole corpus in AntConc



## Appendix B: The UAM CorpusTool scheme of the speeches used for micro-analysis



Appendix C: Appraisal table for Jonathan’s 2011 inaugural speech

APPRAISAL RESOURCES OF:		ATTITUDE				ENGAGEMENT	GRADUATION
S/N	Instantiations	Type	Pos Neg Amb	Inscr Invk	Appraised	Monogloss Heterogloss	Force Focus
1	My dear compatriots	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	
2	humble gratitude	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Sharpen
		+Happiness					
3	Commander-in-chief of....	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
4	great nation	+Satisfaction	Pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
5	I thank you all, fellow citizens	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Quantification Number
6	for the trust and confidence	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	
7	which you demonstrated through the power of your vote	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
8	I want to assure you	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	
9	that I will do my utmost at all times	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↑ Sharpen
10	to continue to deserve your trust	+Propriety	Pos	invkd	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↑ vigour
11	this joyous moment with us	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Sharpen
12	I thank you for your solidarity	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑ vigour
		+Tenacity					
13	Gratitude	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑ vigour
14	My appreciation...and all our distinguished guests	+Satisfaction	Pos	inscr	World leaders/guests	Monogloss	↑ degree

15	I want to especially thank all Nigerians... in our collective commitment....	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Quantification Number
16	To members of the PDP family...who have demonstrated...I salute you	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerian Politicians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
17	At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother....	+Inclination	Pos	inscr	Nigerian Vice President Namadi Sambo	Monogloss	↑ vigour
18	And my dear wife Patience, who has been a strong...	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	The speaker's wife,Patience	Monogloss	↑ degree
19	I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing ....	+Capacity + Tenacity	Pos	inscr	The speaker's wife	Monogloss	↑ vigour
20	I cannot but pay tribute to late President Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar' Adua....	+Inclination	Pos	inscr	(late) President Yar' Adua	Monogloss	↑ vigour
21	I also wish to pay tribute to our founding fathers, whose enduring sacrifices	+Tenacity +Propriety	Pos	inscr	founding fathers	Monogloss	↑ vigour
22	We take enormous pride in their contributions.	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	founding fathers	Monogloss	↑ degree
23	The pivotal task of this generation...summit of greatness	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Extent Proximity: Space ↑ degree
24	Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and...	+Inclination	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑degree
25	over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians endured	+Tenacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Mass
26	the most dramatic expressions of the hunger for democracy	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ degree

27	Stories of courage and patriotism were repeated	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑vigour
28	Such determination derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience....	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
29	That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑vigour
		-Security					
30	and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation	+Capacity	Neg	inscr	Nigerians	Contract/Counter	↑vigour
31	even when others doubted our capacity	-Capacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Contract/Counter	↓vigour
32	Our unity is firm our purpose is strong	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ degree
33	Our determination unshakable	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ degree
34	Together, we will unite our nation and improve the living standards of all our...	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
35	Our decade of development has begun	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Extent: Distribution:Space
36	The march is on	+Tenacity	Pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	
37	The day of transformation begins today	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑Extent: Proximity: Time
38	exploit differences	-Inclination	Neg	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
39	Let me at this point congratulate elected...for their victories at the polls	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Nigerian Politicians	Monogloss	↑ vigour

40	I represent the shared aspiration of all our people	+Tenacity	Pos	invkd	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑ vigour
41	Justice, opportunity and plenty	+Valuation	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Monogloss	Quantification: Number
42	confident that a people that are truly committed to a noble ideal	+Valuation	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
43	cannot be denied the realization of their vision	+Happiness	Neg	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
44	I assure you that this dream of Nigeria, that is so deeply felt by millions....	+Security	Pos	invkd	Self	Pronounce	↑ Quantification Number
45	A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream	-Capacity	Neg	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↓Extent:Proximity Time
46	to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group	+Normality	Neg	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↓ Number
47	could galvanize national support	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑Extent Distribution:Space
48	on an unprecedented scale	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑degree
49	to discard ancient prejudices	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Self	Contract/Entertain	↓Extent:Proximity Time
50	and win the people's mandate as President....	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑ vigour
		+Happiness					
51	Uncommon patriotism and diligence	+Propriety	Pos	invkd	Armed forces and NYSC	Monogloss	↑ degree
		+Tenacity					
52	Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted	+Satisfaction	Neg	inscr	Election	Monogloss	↑vigour



53	a senseless wave of violence led to the death of ten NYSC members and others	-Propriety -Security	Neg	invkd	NYSC/other Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Quantification Number
54	These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland	+Propriety	Neg	inscr	NYSC/other Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ degree
55	They are heroes of our democracy	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	NYSC/other Nigerians	Monogloss	Sharpen
56	In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Self	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
57	must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion	+Propriety	Pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Entertain	
58	to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the great people of this country	+Normality	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ degree
59	We must demonstrate the leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity...our nation	+Capacity +Tenacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
60	I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Degree
61	I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria	+Propriety	Pos	invkd	Good Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
62	to enlist as agents of this great transformation	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Good Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ degree
63	We must make a vow that,	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ Sharpen

64	we will make the Nigerian enterprise thrive.	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
65	The leadership and the followership must strive to convert...a greater Nigeria	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerian leaders and the citizens	Contract/Entertain	↑ degree
66	Let me salute the Nigerian workers who build our Communities, cities, and....	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerian workers	Monogloss	↑ vigour
67	They deserve fair rewards,	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerian workers	Monogloss	Soften
68	and so do the women that raise our children, and the rural dwellers...our food	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	women, and the rural dwellers	Monogloss	Soften
69	We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth	+Tenacity	Pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
70	Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth,	+Happiness	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Monogloss	↑ degree
71	and my administration will continue to encourage locally...economy	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
72	We will avoid the boom and bust cycles... volatility	-Inclination	Neg	invkd	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
73	I shall always place the common good before all....	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ Quantification Number
74	The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective....	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑degree
		+Capacity					
75	The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑ Quantification: Number

76	so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our....	+Satisfaction	Pos	inscr	Resources	Contract/Justify	↑degree
77	look to the future with hope	+Inclination	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract: Pronounce	↑Extent/Proximity/ Time
78	Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed...global peace	+Security	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Expand/Entertain	↑vigour
79	greater human energy and	+Satisfaction	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ degree
80	a new dawn	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigeria	Monogloss	↑ degree
81	We fought for decolonization	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
82	We will now fight for democratization	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Expand/Entertain	↑ vigour
83	Conscious of the negative effects of...to improve our capability in combating trans-border crimes	-Security	Pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Entertain	↑ vigour
84	All...the highest priority	+Inclination	Pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
85	My fellow countrymen and women, Nigeria...promise;	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigeria	Contract/Deny Expand/Entertain	
86	The time for lamentation is over	-Happiness	Neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour
87	This is the era of transformation	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	Extent: Distribution: Time
88	Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness	-Propriety	Neg	inscr	Nigerians	Contract/Entertain	↑degree

89	Let us all believe in a new Nigeria.	+Inclination	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Quantification: Number
90	Let us work together to build a great country that we will all be proud of.	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigeria	Contract/Entertain	↑ degree
91	Fellow compatriots, lift your gaze towards the horizon	+Inclination	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↓Extent: Proximity: Space
92	I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Justify	↑vigour
93	I will continue to fight for improved medical care for all citizens.	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Expand/Entertain	↑ Quantification: Number
94	I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Expand/Entertain	↑ degree
95	I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Expand/Entertain	↑ Quantification: Number
96	I will continue to fight for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Expand/Entertain	↑ Quantification: Number
97	I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnerships	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Expand/Entertain	↑ vigour
98	You have trusted me with you mandate, and I will never, never let you down	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑ Sharpen

99	I call upon all the Presidential candidates who contested with me to join....	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Presidential candidates	Monogloss	↑ vigour
100	Let us work together;	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Politicians	Monoglosss	
101	Let us build together;	+Tenacity	Pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	
102	Let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to generation to....	+Capacity	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑degree
103	God bless you all	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ Quantification: Number
104	God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria	+Happiness	Pos	invkd	Nigeria	Monogloss	↑ Sharpen

Table 8.1: Layer\_1, Layer\_2 & Layer\_3 Appraisal coding of Jonathan's 2011 Inaugural speech

## Appendix D: Appraisal table for Nzeogwu's 1966 coup speech

	APPRAISAL RESOURCES OF:	ATTITUDE			ENGAGEMENT	GRADUATION	
S/N	Instantiation	Type	Pos/ Neg Amb	Inscr/ Invkd	Appraised	Monogloss Heterogloss	Force/Focus
1	Supreme Council of the revolution	+Inclination	pos	invkd	Military	Proclaim: pronounce	↑degree
2	I declare martial law over the Northern...Nig.	+Capacity	Pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	
3	The Constitution is suspended, and the regional government... are hereby dissolved	-Security	Neg	inscr	Self	Monogloss	
4	All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities...banned	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Quantification Number
5	...establish a strong united and prosperous nation.	+Satisfaction	Pos	inscr	Military	Monogloss	↑vigour
6	free from corruption and internal strife	-Propriety	Neg	inscr	Nigeria	Monogloss	↑degree
7	Our method...achieving this is strictly military	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	Sharpening Focus
8	but we have no doubt that every Nigerian will give us maximum coop.	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Counter: pronounce	↑degree
9	by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the slight	-Propriety -Security	neg	inscr/ invkd	Nigerians	Counter: Pronounce	↓ degree

10	I am to assure all foreigners... will continue to be respected	+Veracity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↑Quantification Number
11	All treaty obligations... enemies of the Revolution	-Propriety	neg	invkd	Foreign nations	Contract: Acknowledge	Sharpen Focus
12	and enemies of the people	-Propriety	neg	invkd	Foreign nations	Contract: Entertain	Sharpen Focus
13	My dear countrymen... the Supreme Council with the duties... and property recovery	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract: Entertain	↑degree
14	No Minister or Parliamentary Secretary possesses...arrested	+Capacity	Neg	inscr	government officials	Contract: Deny	↑vigour
15	This is not a time... ten proclamations	+Tenacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Justify	↑Quantification Number
16	in the Extraordinary Orders of the day	+Reaction	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Justify	
17	which the Supreme Council... promulgated	+Tenacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Justify	↑degree
18	You are hereby warned that looting, arson... and assistance to foreign....	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Proclaim: Pronounce	↑vigour
19	are all offences punishable by death sentence	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Proclaim: pronounce	↑Quantification Number
		-Happiness		invkd			
20	Demonstrations...are punishable in grave manner up to death	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑ vigour

21	Refusal or neglect to perform normal duties	+Normality	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Contract: Entertain	↑vigour
22	or any task...ordered by the local military ....	-Happiness	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Quantification Number
23	Wavering or sitting on the fence...open loyalty	-Propriety	neg	invkd	Nigerians	Expand: Entertain	Sharpen: Focus
24	will be regarded as an act of hostility....	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Expand: Entertain	↑ vigour
25	Tearing down an order of the day...will be penalized by death	-Propriety	neg	invkd	Nigerians	Expand: Entertain	↑ vigour
26	...no citizen should have anything to fear so long as...and if that citizen	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Heterogloss Contract/Justify	Quatification Number
27	Our enemies are the political profiteers	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	
28	the swindlers,	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	
29	the men in high and low places	+Capacity -Capacity	pos neg	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	
30	that seek bribes and demand 10 percent	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑vigour
31	those that seek to keep the country divided... can remain in office as minister or VIPs	+Normality	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑degree
32	at least	+Normality	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↓degree
33	the tribalists, the nepotists	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	



34	those that make the country... before international circles	-Capacity	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Extent: Distrib/Space
35	those that have corrupted our society	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	
36	and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and....	-Propriety	neg	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↓Extent: Proximity: Time
37	good soldiers	+Veracity	pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
38	we are not promising anything miraculous or spectacular	-Capacity	neg	invkd	Self	Contract: Deny	↓Quantification Number
39	But what we do promise	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Military	Contract: Counter	↑vigour
40	every law abiding citizen is freedom from fear and...oppression	+Happiness	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract: Counter	↑Quantification Number
41	freedom from general inefficiency... nationally and internationally	+Happiness	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Contract: Counter	↑Extent: Distribution: Space
42	We promise that you... be ashamed to say that you are a Nigerian	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Military	Contract: Proclaim: Pronounce	↑ vigour
43	I leave you with a message of good wishes	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Expand: Acknowledge	degree
44	and ask for your support at all times	+Tenacity	pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑Extent: proximity: Time
45	so that our land, watered by the Niger and Benue...Atlantic	+Valuation	Pos	invkd	Self	Contract: Pronounce: Justify	↑vigour
46	shall not detract Nigeria from gaining sway....	+Inclination	Pos	invkd	Military	Pronounce: Justify	↑degree

47	My dear countrymen, ... is the end of this speech	+Happiness	pos	inscr	Nigerians	Monogloss	Sharpen: Focus
48	I wish you all good luck	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Monogloss	↑Quantification Number
49	and I hope you will Cooperate to the fullest	+Tenacity	pos	invkd	Self	Expand: Entertain	↑ degree
50	in this job which we have set for ourselves	+Normality	pos	inscr	Military	Expand: Entertain	Sharpen: Focus
51	of establishing a prosperous nation	+Satisfaction	pos	inscr	Nigeria	Expand: Entertain	↑ vigour
52	and achieving solidarity	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Nigerians	Expand: Entertain	↑ vigour

Table 9.1: Layer\_1, Layer\_2 & Layer\_3 Appraisal coding of Nzeogwu's 1966 coup speech

Appendix E: Appraisal table for Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech

	APPRAISAL RESOURCES	ATTITUDE				ENGAGEMENT	GRADUATION
S/N	Instantiations	Type	Pos Neg Amb	Inscr/ Invkd	Appraised	Monogloss Heterogloss	Force Focus
1	Fellow countrymen and women,	+Normality	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ Sharpen
2	You, the people of Eastern Nigeria	+Normality	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ Sharpen
3	Conscious of the supreme authority of Almighty God over all mankind,	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ degree
		+Capacity					
4	of your duty to yourselves and posterity	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	Extent: Distribution: Time
5	Aware that you can no longer be protected ...outside eastern Nig.	+Security	neg	inscr	Biafrans	Heterogloss Expand: Entertain	Extent: Distribution: Space
6	Believing that you are born free	+Normality	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	
		+Happiness					
7	and have certain inalienable rights which can best be preserved....	+Security	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	↑vigour
8	Unwilling to be unfree partners in any association... nature	-Normality	neg	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	↑Quantification: Number
		-Happiness					
9	Rejecting the authority of any person or persons	+Capacity	neg	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ vigour
10	other than the Military Govt. of eastern Nigeria	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	Sharpen: Focus

11	to make any imposition of whatever kind...you	-Satisfaction	neg	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	Quantification Number
12	Determined to dissolve ...Republic of Nigeria	+Tenacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ vigour
13	Prepared to enter into such association, treaty or alliance	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	
14	with any sovereign state ... of Nig and elsewhere	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↓Quantification Number
15	on such terms and conditions as best to sub ...your common good	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑degree
16	Affirming your trust and confidence in me	+Security	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑degree
		+Propriety					
17	Having mandated me				Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ vigour
18	to proclaim on your behalf and in your name				Biafrans	Monogloss	↑ vigour
19	the Eastern Nigeria Sovereign ... Republic	+Capacity	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Monogloss	
20	I, Lieutenant-Colonel....	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	
21	Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	
22	by virtue of the authority and pursuant ...principles recited....	+Valuation	pos	inscr	Self	Monogloss	↑ degree
23	do hereby solemnly proclaim	+Capacity	pos	invkd	Self	Monogloss	↑ vigour
24	that the territory and region...Eastern Nigeria				Self	Contract: Pronounce	Extent: Distribution: Space
25	continental shelf and territorial waters				Self	Contract: Pronounce	Extent: Distribution: Space

26	independent Sovereign state of the... of The Republic of Biafra				Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑ degree
27	And I Do Declare That	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑ vigour
28	All political ties between us and Federal Republic of Nigeria				Biafrans	Contract: Pronounce	↑Quantification Number
29	are hereby totally dissolved	-Composition	neg	inscr	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑ degree
		+Capacity	pos	invkd			
30	All subsisting contractual obligations entered... of Nigeria	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑Quantification Number
31	or by any person, authority, or govt.				Self	Contract: Pronounce	↓Quantification Number
32	acting on its behalf	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	
33	with any person, authority or organization		neg	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↓Quantification Number
34	operating or relating to any matter or thing within the...Biafra	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↓Quantification Number
35	shall henceforth be deemed to be entered into with	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
36	Military Governor of the Republic of Biafra	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	
37	Government and people Republic of Biafra	+Normality	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	
38	and the covenants thereof shall subject to this Declaration	+Veracity	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
		+Capacity					

39	be performed by the parties according to their tenor	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
40	All subsisting International treaties and obligations	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑Extent: Distribution: Space
41	made on behalf of Eastern Nigeria by the... Fed. Republic of Nigeria				Self	Contract/Pronounce	↑vigour
42	shall be honoured and respected	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
43	Eastern Nigeria's due share of all subsisting International debts and obligations	+Propriety	pos	invkd	Self	Contract/Pronounce	↑Extent: Distribution: space
44	entered into by the Fed. Republic of Nigeria	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Self	Contract/Pronounce	
45	shall be honoured and respected	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
46	Steps will be taken to open discussions on Eastern Nigeria's due share of the assets...Nig	+Inclination	pos	invkd	Self	Contract/Pronounce	Sharpen: Focus
		+Propriety					
47	and personal properties of the citizens of Biafra	+Normality	pos	inscr	Self	Expand: Entertain	
48	throughout the Federation of Nigeria				Self	Expand: Entertain	Extent Distribution: Space
49	The rights, privileges, pensions...the Police	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Self	Contract: Pronounce	↑Quantification Number

50	now serving in any capacity within the Republic of Biafra are hereby guaranteed	+Tenacity	pos	invkd	Self	Contract: Pronounce	
51	We shall...association	+Tenacity	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	
52	Sovereign unit or units...Federation of Nigeria or Africa	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	Sharpen: Focus
53	desirous of association with us	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Contract: Pronounce	
54	running a common services organization and for....economic ties	+Security	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Contract/Pronounce	↑vigour
55	We shall protect the lives... of all foreigners residing in Biafra	+Capacity	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	↑Quantification Number
		+Security					
56	we shall extend the hand of friendship to those nations who respect our sovereignty	+Happiness	pos	invkd	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	
		+Propriety		inscr			
57	and shall repel	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	
58	any interference in our internal affairs	-Propriety	neg	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	Quantification: Number
		-Security		invkd			
59	We shall faithfully adhere to the charter of Organization of African Unity and the U.N.O.	+Propriety	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Expand: Entertain	

60	It is our intention to... member of the British Commonwealth of...	+Inclination	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Contract: Pronounce	
61	in our right as a sovereign independent nation	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Contract: Pronounce	
62	Long live the Republic of Biafra!	+Inclination	pos	invkd	Biafra	Monogloss	↑Extent: Distribution: Time
		+Reaction					
63	And may God protect all those who live in her	+Capacity	pos	inscr	Biafrans	Monogloss	↑Quantification Number
		+Security					

Table 10.1: Layer\_1, Layer\_2 & Layer\_3 Appraisal coding of Ojukwu's secession speech



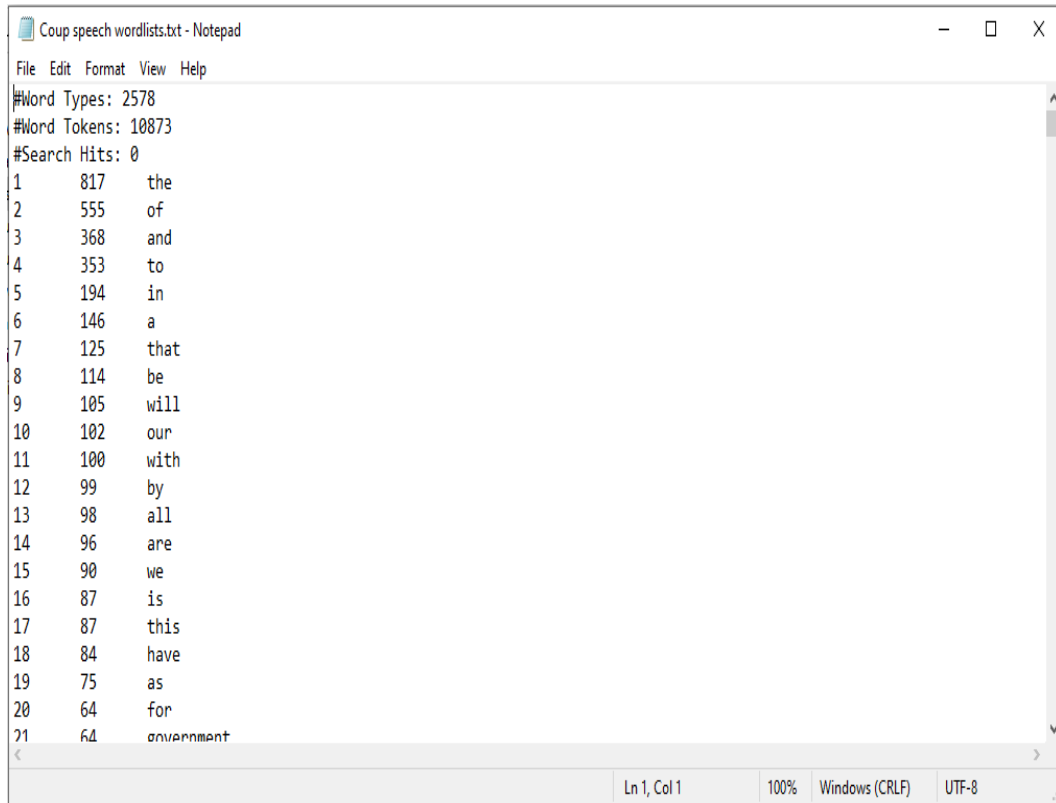
## Appendix F: The BNC (British National Corpus) wordlist

```
BNC_wordlist.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 337596
#Word Tokens: 90350013
#Search Hits: 0
1 5739934 the
2 2913193 of
3 2438445 and
4 2435448 to
5 2034829 a
6 1840393 in
7 981651 that
8 906927 is
9 881422 it
10 827489 for
11 802982 was
12 697204 s
13 675096 on
14 667192 i
15 623251 as
16 621414 with
17 609545 be
18 571916 he
19 496597 by
20 495596 you
21 486944 at
Ln 4, Col 15 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8
```

## Appendix G: The inaugural speech wordlist

```
inaugural speech wordlists.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 2565
#Word Tokens: 11777
#Search Hits: 0
1 704 the
2 491 and
3 490 to
4 485 of
5 246 in
6 242 our
7 196 we
8 177 a
9 142 i
10 138 will
11 137 for
12 127 is
13 122 that
14 116 all
15 106 be
16 91 have
17 91 this
18 81 with
19 71 as
20 69 are
21 66 on
Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8
```

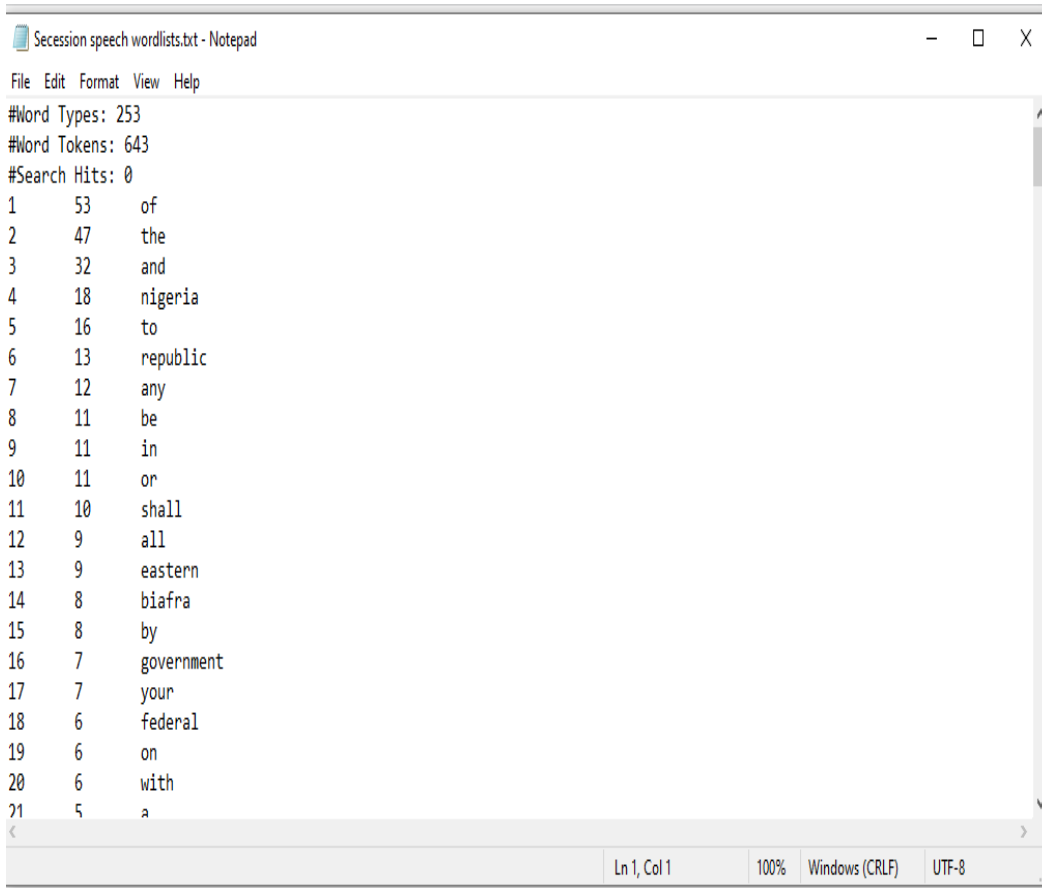
## Appendix H: The coup speech wordlist



```
Coup speech wordlists.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 2578
#Word Tokens: 10873
#Search Hits: 0
1 817 the
2 555 of
3 368 and
4 353 to
5 194 in
6 146 a
7 125 that
8 114 be
9 105 will
10 102 our
11 100 with
12 99 by
13 98 all
14 96 are
15 90 we
16 87 is
17 87 this
18 84 have
19 75 as
20 64 for
21 64 government
```

Ln 1, Col 1    100%    Windows (CRLF)    UTF-8

## Appendix I: The secession speech wordlist

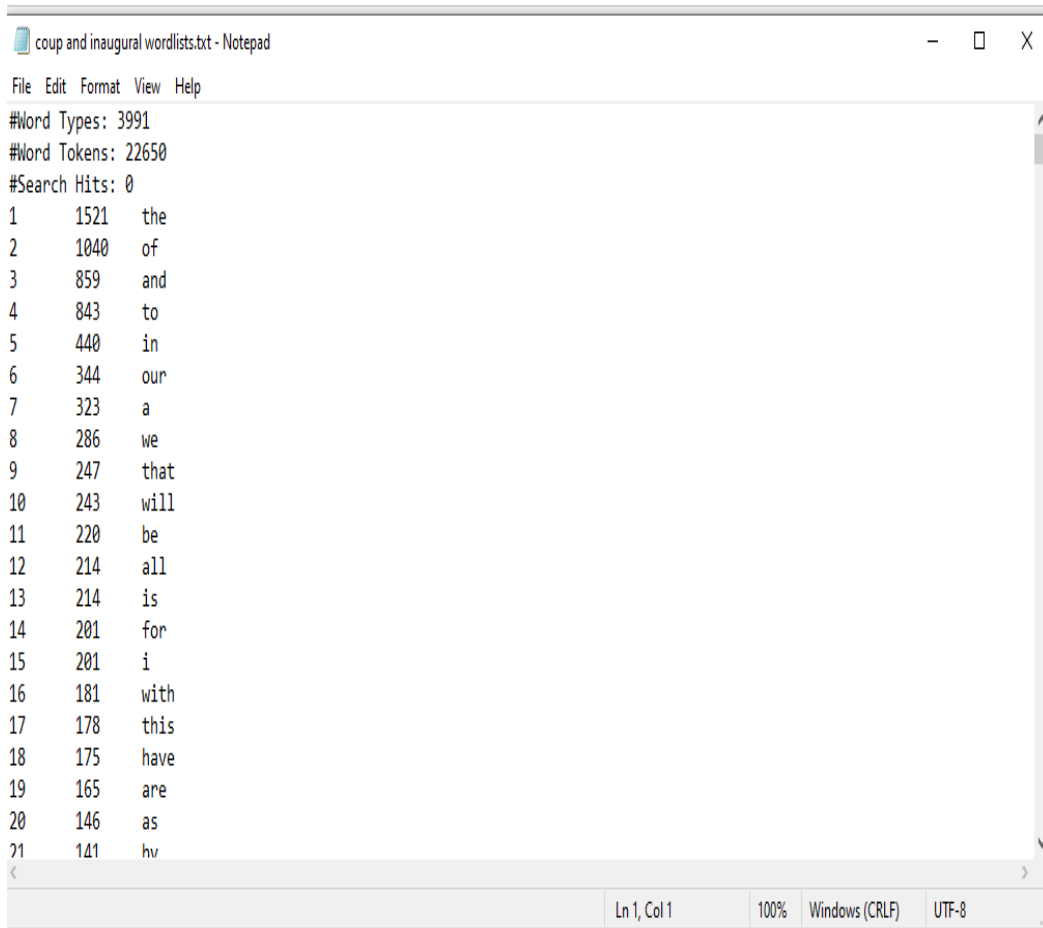


```
Secession speech wordlists.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 253
#Word Tokens: 643
#Search Hits: 0
1 53 of
2 47 the
3 32 and
4 18 nigeria
5 16 to
6 13 republic
7 12 any
8 11 be
9 11 in
10 11 or
11 10 shall
12 9 all
13 9 eastern
14 8 biafra
15 8 by
16 7 government
17 7 your
18 6 federal
19 6 on
20 6 with
21 5 a
Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8
```

## Appendix J: The inaugural and secession corpus wordlists

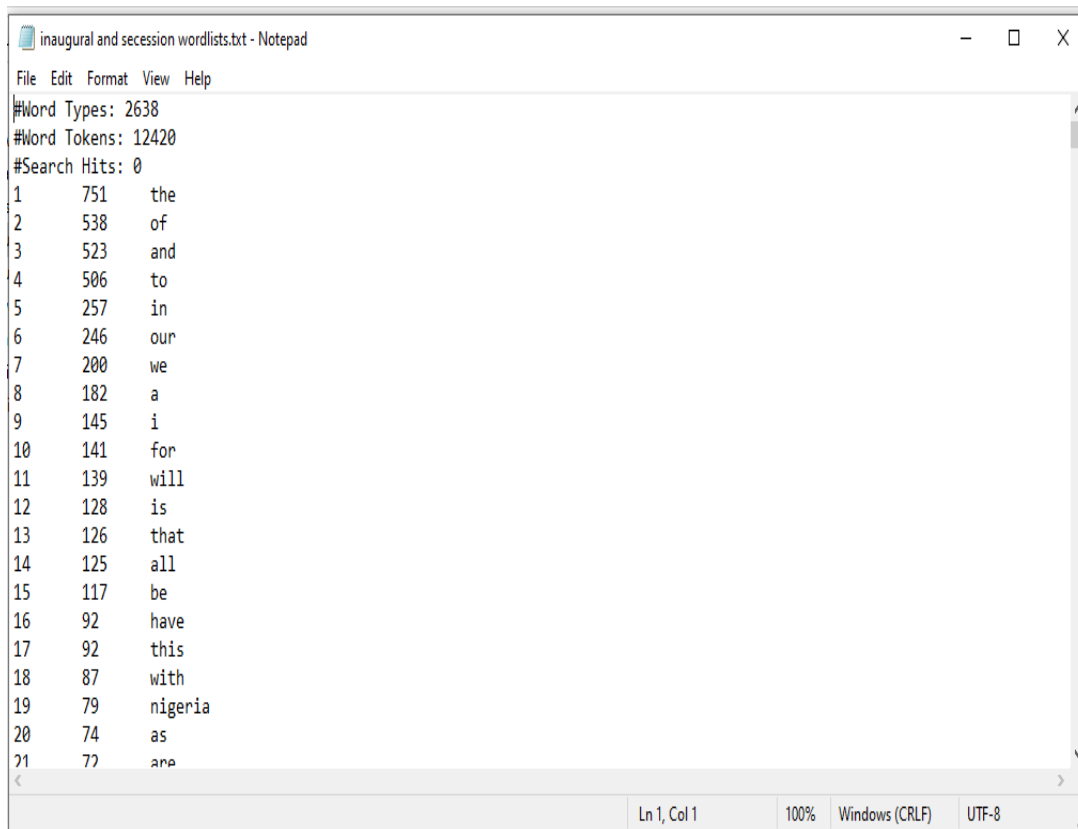
```
inaugural and secession wordlists.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 2638
#Word Tokens: 12420
#Search Hits: 0
1 751 the
2 538 of
3 523 and
4 506 to
5 257 in
6 246 our
7 200 we
8 182 a
9 145 i
10 141 for
11 139 will
12 128 is
13 126 that
14 125 all
15 117 be
16 92 have
17 92 this
18 87 with
19 79 nigeria
20 74 as
21 72 are
Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8
```

## Appendix K: The coup and inaugural corpus wordlist



```
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 3991
#Word Tokens: 22650
#Search Hits: 0
1 1521 the
2 1040 of
3 859 and
4 843 to
5 440 in
6 344 our
7 323 a
8 286 we
9 247 that
10 243 will
11 220 be
12 214 all
13 214 is
14 201 for
15 201 i
16 181 with
17 178 this
18 175 have
19 165 are
20 146 as
21 141 hv
Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8
```

## Appendix L: The inaugural and secession corpus wordlist



```
inaugural and secession wordlists.txt - Notepad
File Edit Format View Help
#Word Types: 2638
#Word Tokens: 12420
#Search Hits: 0
1 751 the
2 538 of
3 523 and
4 506 to
5 257 in
6 246 our
7 200 we
8 182 a
9 145 i
10 141 for
11 139 will
12 128 is
13 126 that
14 125 all
15 117 be
16 92 have
17 92 this
18 87 with
19 79 nigeria
20 74 as
21 72 are
```

Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8

## Appendix M: Nzeogwu's January 1966 coup speech

Radio broadcast by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu – announcing Nigeria's first military coup on Radio Nigeria, Kaduna on January 15, 1966

In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. The Constitution is suspended, and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship, are banned until further notice.

The aim of the Revolutionary Council is to establish a strong united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife. Our method of achieving this is strictly military but we have no doubt that every Nigerian will give us maximum cooperation by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the slight changes that are taking place. I am to assure all foreigners living and working in this part of Nigeria that their rights will continue to be respected. All treaty obligations previously entered into with any foreign nation will be respected and we hope that such nations will respect our country's territorial integrity and will avoid taking sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people.

My dear countrymen, you will hear, and probably see a lot being done by certain bodies charged by the Supreme Council with the duties of national integration, supreme justice, general security and property recovery. As an interim measure all permanent secretaries, corporation chairmen and senior heads of departments are allowed to make decisions until the new organs are functioning, so long as such decisions are not contrary to the aims and wishes of the Supreme Council. No Minister or Parliamentary Secretary possesses administrative or other forms of control over any Ministry, even if they are not considered too dangerous to be arrested.

This is not a time for long speech-making and so let me acquaint you with ten proclamations in the Extraordinary Orders of the Day which the Supreme Council has promulgated. These will be modified as the situation improves.

You are hereby warned that looting, arson, homosexuality, rape, embezzlement, bribery or corruption, obstruction of the revolution, sabotage, subversion, false alarms and assistance to foreign invaders, are all offences punishable by death sentence. Demonstrations and unauthorized assembly, non-cooperation with revolutionary troops are punishable in grave manner up to death. Refusal or neglect to perform normal duties or any task that may of necessity be ordered by local military commanders in support of the change will be punishable by a sentence imposed by the local military commander. Spying, harmful or injurious publications, and broadcasts of troop movements or actions, will be punished by any suitable sentence deemed fit by the local military commander. Shouting of slogans, loitering and rowdy behavior will be rectified by any sentence of incarceration, or any more severe punishment deemed fit by the local military commander.



Doubtful loyalty will be penalized by imprisonment or any more severe sentence. Illegal possession or carrying of firearms, smuggling or trying to escape with documents, valuables, including money or other assets vital to the running of any establishment will be punished by death sentence. Wavering or sitting on the fence and failing to declare open loyalty with the revolution will be regarded as an act of hostility punishable by any sentence deemed suitable by the local military commander. Tearing down an order of the day or proclamation or other authorized notices will be penalized by death.

This is the end of the Extraordinary Order of the Day which you will soon begin to see displayed in public. My dear countrymen, no citizen should have anything to fear, so long as that citizen is law abiding and if that citizen has religiously obeyed the native laws of the country and those set down in every heart and conscience since 1st October, 1960.

Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 percent; those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs at least, the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds.

Like good soldiers we are not promising anything miraculous or spectacular. But what we do promise every law abiding citizen is freedom from fear and all forms of oppression, freedom from general inefficiency and freedom to live and strive in every field of human endeavour, both nationally and internationally. We promise that you will no more be ashamed to say that you are a Nigerian.

I leave you with a message of good wishes and ask for your support at all times, so that our land, watered by the Niger and Benue, between the sandy wastes and gulf of guinea, washed in salt by the mighty Atlantic, shall not detract Nigeria from gaining sway in any great aspect of international endeavour. My dear countrymen, this is the end of this speech. I wish you all good luck and I hope you will cooperate to the fullest in this job which we have set for ourselves of establishing a prosperous nation and achieving solidarity.

## Appendix N: Ojukwu's 1967 secession speech

DECLARATION OF BIAFRA BY CHUKWUEMEKA ODUMEGWU OJUKWU, ON MAY 30, 1967

“Fellow countrymen and women, you, the people of Eastern Nigeria:

Conscious of the supreme authority of Almighty God over all mankind, of your duty to yourselves and posterity;

Aware that you can no longer be protected in your lives and in your property by any Government based outside Eastern Nigeria;

Believing that you are born free and have certain inalienable rights which can best be preserved by yourselves;

Unwilling to be unfree partners in any association of a political or economic nature; Rejecting the authority of any person or persons other than the Military Government of Eastern Nigeria to make any imposition of whatever kind or nature upon you;

Determined to dissolve all political and other ties between you and the former Federal Republic of Nigeria; Prepared to enter into such association, treaty or alliance with any sovereign state within the former Federal Republic of Nigeria and elsewhere on such terms and conditions as best to sub serve your common good;

Affirming your trust and confidence in me; Having mandated me to proclaim on your behalf, and in your name the Eastern Nigeria be a sovereign independent Republic. Now Therefore I, Lieutenant-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, Military Governor of Eastern Nigeria, by virtue of the authority, and pursuant to the principles recited above, do hereby solemnly proclaim that the territory and region known as and called Eastern Nigeria together with her continental shelf and territorial waters shall henceforth be an independent sovereign state of the name and title of The Republic of Biafra. And I Do Declare That:”

(i) “All political ties between us and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are hereby totally dissolved;  
(ii) All subsisting contractual obligations entered into by the Government of the federal republic of Nigeria or by any person, authority, organization or government acting on its behalf, with any person, authority or organization operating, or relating to any matter or thing, within the Republic of Biafra, shall henceforth be deemed to be entered into with the Military Governor of the Republic of Biafra for and on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Biafra, and the covenants thereof shall, subject to this Declaration, be performed by the parties according to their tenor;

(iii) All subsisting international treaties and obligations made on behalf of Eastern Nigeria by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be honoured and respected;

(iv) Eastern Nigeria's due share of all subsisting international debts and obligations entered into by the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be honoured and respected;

(v) Steps will be taken to open discussions on the question of Eastern Nigeria's due share of the assets of the Federation of Nigeria and personal properties of the citizens of Biafra throughout the Federation of Nigeria.

(vi) The rights, privileges, pensions, etc., of all personnel of the Public Services, the Armed Forces and the Police now serving in any capacity within the Republic of Biafra are hereby guaranteed;

(vii) We shall keep the door open for association with, and would welcome, any sovereign unit or units in the former Federation of Nigeria or any other parts of Africa desirous of association with

us for the purposes of running a common services organization and for the establishment of economic ties;

(viii) We shall protect the lives and property of all foreigners residing in Biafra, we shall extend the hand of friendship to those nations who respect our sovereignty, and shall repel any interference in our internal affairs;

(ix) We shall faithfully adhere to the charter of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations Organization;

(x) It is our intention to remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations in our right as a sovereign, independent nation. Long live the Republic of Biafra! And may God protect all those who live in her”.

## Appendix O: Jonathan's 2011 inaugural speech

### 2011 inaugural speech of President Goodluck Jonathan

My Dear Compatriots, I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation. I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times, to continue to deserve your trust.

I would like to specially acknowledge the presence in our midst today, of Brother Heads of State and Government, who have come to share this joyous moment with us. Your Excellencies, I thank you for your solidarity. I also wish to express my gratitude, to the Representatives of Heads of State and Government who are here with us.

My appreciation also goes to the chairperson of the African Union and other world leaders, our development partners, and all our distinguished guests. I want to specially thank all Nigerians for staying the course in our collective commitment to build a democratic nation. To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties, who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you. At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother, Vice-President Namadi Sambo; and my dear wife, Patience, who has been a strong pillar of support. I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing Nigerian women for the cause of democracy. In the same vein, I owe a debt of gratitude to my mother and late father. I cannot thank them enough. I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago, when I contested as his running mate. May God bless his soul. I also wish to pay tribute to our founding fathers, whose enduring sacrifices and abiding faith in the unity and greatness of our country, laid the foundation for the nation. We take enormous pride in their contributions. The pivotal task of this generation is to lift our fatherland to the summit of greatness.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, earlier this year, over seventy-three million eligible Nigerians endured all manner of inconvenience just to secure their voters cards, in order to exercise the right to choose those that will govern them. At the polls, we saw the most dramatic expressions of the hunger for democracy. Stories of courage and patriotism were repeated in many ways, including how fellow citizens helped physically challenged voters into polling stations to enable them exercise their franchise. The inspiring story of the one hundred and three year-old man, and many like him across the country, who struggled against the physical limitations of age to cast their vote, is noteworthy. Such determination derives from the typical Nigerian spirit of resilience in the face of the greatest of odds. That spirit has, over the years, stirred our hopes, doused our fears, and encouraged us to gather ourselves to build a strong nation even when others doubted our capacity. Today, our unity is firm, and our purpose is strong. Our determination unshakable. Together, we will unite our nation and improve the living standards of all our peoples whether in the North or in the South; in the East or in the West. Our decade of development has begun. The march is on. The day of transformation begins today. We will not allow anyone

exploit differences in creed or tongue, to set us one against another. Let me at this point congratulate the elected Governors, Senators, members of the House of Representatives and those of the States Houses of Assembly for their victories at the polls.

I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty. Confident that a people that are truly committed to a noble ideal, cannot be denied the realization of their vision, I assure you that this dream of Nigeria, that is so deeply felt by millions, will indeed come to reality. A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ancient prejudices, and win the people's mandate as President of our beloved country. That result emanated from the toil and sacrifice of innumerable individuals and institutions, many of whom may never get to receive public appreciation for their effort. Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my Facebook page. It was sent by Mr. Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr. Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but had campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed, and passed on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest. The success of the 2011 elections and the widespread acclaim which the exercise received was due to the uncommon patriotism and diligence exhibited by many Nigerians, including members of the Armed Forces, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and others.

Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted, a senseless wave of violence in some parts of the country led to the death of ten members of the NYSC and others. These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland. They are heroes of our democracy. We offer our heartfelt prayers and condolences in respect of all those who lost their lives. In the days ahead, those of us that you have elected to serve must show that we are men and women with the patriotism and passion, to match the hopes and aspirations of you, the great people of this country. We must demonstrate the leadership, statesmanship, vision, capacity, and sacrifice, to transform our nation. We must strengthen common grounds, develop new areas of understanding and collaboration, and seek fresh ideas that will enrich our national consensus. It is the supreme task of this generation to give hope to the hopeless, strength to the weak and protection to the defenceless. Fellow citizens, the leadership we have pledged is decidedly transformative. The transformation will be achieved in all the critical sectors, by harnessing the creative energies of our people. We must grow the economy, create jobs, and generate enduring happiness for our people. I have great confidence in the ability of Nigerians to transform this country. The urgent task of my administration is to provide a suitable environment, for productive activities to flourish. I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of this great transformation. My dear countrymen and women, being a Nigerian is a blessing. It is also a great responsibility.

We must make a vow that, together, we will make the Nigerian Enterprise thrive. The leadership and the followership must strive to convert our vast human and natural resources into the Force that leads to a greater Nigeria. The Nigeria of our dreams must be built on hard work and not on short cuts. Let me salute the Nigerian workers who build our communities, cities and country.

They deserve fair rewards, and so do the women that raise our children, and the rural dwellers that grow our food. The moment is right. The signs are heart-warming. We are ready to take off on the path of sustained growth and economic development. In our economic strategy, there will be appropriate policy support to the real sector of the economy, so that Small and Medium Enterprises may thrive. Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth, and my Administration will continue to encourage locally owned enterprises to take advantage of our resources in growing the domestic economy. A robust private sector is vital to providing jobs for our rapidly expanding population. But this must be a collaborative effort. We must form technical and financial partnerships with global businesses and organizations. We live in an age where no country can survive on its own; countries depend on each other for economic well-being. Nigeria is no different. Returns on investment in Nigeria remain among the highest in the world. We will continue to welcome sustainable investment in our economy. We will push programs and policies that will benefit both local and foreign businesses, but we must emphasize mutual benefits and win-win relationships. The overall ongoing reforms in the banking and financial sectors are therefore designed to support the real sector of the economy. To drive our overall economic vision, the power sector reform is at the heart of our industrialization strategy. I call on all stakeholders, to cooperate with my administration, to ensure the success of the reforms. Over the next four years, attention will be focused on rebuilding our infrastructure. We will create greater access to quality education and improved health care delivery. We will pay special attention to the agricultural sector, to enable it play its role of ensuring food security and massive job creation for our people. The creation of the Nigerian Sovereign Investment Authority will immensely contribute to strengthening our fiscal framework, by institutionalizing savings of our commodity-related revenues. With this mechanism in place, we will avoid the boom and bust cycles, and mitigate our exposure to oil price volatility. The lesson we have learnt is that the resolution of the Niger Delta issue is crucial for the health of the nation's economy. In the interest of justice, equity and national unity, we shall actively promote the development of the region. I believe that peace is a necessary condition for development. Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before all else.

The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming Force of our collective determination, to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist, so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our commonwealth. I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope. We owe ourselves and posterity the duty of making this country respectable in the comity of nations. Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security. We will continue to play an active role in the United Nations. Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security. Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a new dawn for Africa. We fought for decolonization. We will now fight for democratization. Nigeria, in partnership with the African Union, will lead the process for democracy and development in Africa. In particular, we will support the consolidation of democracy, good governance and human rights in the continent. Africa must develop its vast resources to tackle poverty and underdevelopment. Conscious of the negative effect of insecurity on growth and development, my Administration will seek collaboration at bilateral and multilateral levels, to improve our capability in combating trans-border crimes. In this regard, we will intensify our advocacy against the illicit trades in small arms and light weapons, which have become the catalyst for conflicts on the African

continent. All Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad are to accord this vision of defending the dignity of humanity the highest priority.

My fellow countrymen and women, Nigeria is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive change will continue to take place, for the good of our people. The time for lamentation is over. This is the era of transformation. This is the time for action. But Nigeria can only be transformed if we all play our parts with commitment and sincerity. Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness. Let us all believe in a new Nigeria. Let us work together to build a great country that we will all be proud of. This is our hour. Fellow Compatriots, lift your gaze towards the horizon. Look ahead and you will see a great future that we can secure with unity, hard work and collective sacrifice. Join me now as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria. I will continue to fight, for your future, because I am one of you. I will continue to fight, for improved medical care for all our citizens. I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education. I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens. I will continue to fight for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people. I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnerships. You have trusted me with your mandate, and I will never, never let you down. I know your pain, because I have been there. Look beyond the hardship you have endured. See a new beginning; a new direction; a new spirit. Nigerians, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dreams, we can achieve together. I call upon all the Presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country. Let us work together; let us build together; let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come. I thank you! God bless you all! And God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.