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**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Boko  
Haram in Nigerian Presidential Speeches**

**By**

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## Abstract

This thesis presents a critical analysis of the representation of Boko Haram and other key social actors in Nigerian political discourse. Much of the scholarly attention on Boko Haram's representation in discourse has been focused on media sources (Ayoola and Olaosun, 2014; Chilwa, 2016; Demarest, Godefroidt and Langer 2020; Hamid and Baba, 2014; Osisanwo, 2016; Ugwuona, 2015), while equally significant and dominant framing of the group in political discourse has been largely unexamined. To fill this void, this study analyses 28 speeches delivered by President Goodluck Jonathan between 2010 and 2015, a period that the Global Terrorism Index (2016) regards as the deadliest phase of Boko Haram terrorism. The study identifies and critically examines President Goodluck Jonathan's discursive choices and the roles and relations he assigns to Boko Haram and other key social actors (the Government, Nigerians, the Security Forces, and himself) in the discourse. For qualitative analysis, the study draws on Norman Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis, Theo van Leeuwen's social actor network theory, and Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics theory, while the quantitative analysis applies automated corpus analytical tools. Combining these broad strands of research methods triangulates the study such that the findings are not limited to isolated lexicalisations and representations within each speech but cumulatively explore the representation patterns across the entire corpus. In particular, the qualitative parsing of the texts informs the quantitative data from which conclusions are drawn about the frequencies, associations and patterns of representation across the corpus. The study's findings reveal a polarised representation of in-group and out-group social actors, the construction and reinforcement of national identity, heightened assessment of terrorist threats, and the legitimisation of social action. Specifically, the study contributes to public understanding of Boko Haram's portrayal in Nigerian political discourse. More generally, the study contributes to

counter-terrorism discourse studies by unravelling the implicit processes by which social actors and social action in political discourse are enacted, normalised and legitimised.

*Keywords:* Boko Haram, critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, representation of social actors, political discourse

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## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....		ii
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....		iv
List of Figures .....		xiii
List of Tables .....		xiv
<b>1 CHAPTER 1 Introduction</b> .....		<b>16</b>
1.1 Setting the Scene.....		16
1.2 Research Gap .....		19
1.3 Problem Statement.....		22
1.4 Aim, Objectives and Research Questions.....		25
1.5 Researcher Reflexivity.....		26
1.6: Overview of the Thesis.....		27
<b>2 CHAPTER 2 The Socio-Political Context of the Study</b> .....		<b>29</b>
2.1 Introduction.....		29
2.2 Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Nigeria .....		29
2.3 Political Speeches in Nigeria .....		33
2.3 Boko Haram.....		35
2.3.1 The Name Boko Haram.....		35
2.3.2 Emergence .....		37
2.3.3 Evolution and Radicalisation.....		39
2.3.4 Research on Boko Haram .....		41
2.3.5 President Goodluck Jonathan and Boko Haram .....		43
2.4 Conclusion .....		49

3	CHAPTER 3 Theoretical Framework .....	51
	3.1 Introduction.....	51
	<b>3.2 Ideology and Language</b> .....	51
	<b>3.2 Discourse and Ideology</b> .....	52
	3.3 Historical Overview of CDA.....	54
	3.3 The Dialectic-Relational Approach .....	57
	3.4 The Social Actor Network Approach .....	61
	3.4.1 Inclusion and Exclusion: .....	65
	3.4.2 Role Allocation.....	66
	3.4.3 Activation .....	67
	3.4.4 Passivation.....	69
	3.3.5 Genericisation and Specification.....	70
	3.3.6 Personalisation and Impersonalisation .....	71
	3.3.7 Assimilation.....	71
	3.3.8 Differentiation .....	72
	3.5 Systemic Functional Grammar .....	72
	3.5.1 Interpersonal Metafunction .....	73
	3.5.2 Mood.....	74
	3.5.2.1 Subject.....	74
	3.5.2.2 Finite.....	75
	3.5.3 Residue .....	75
	3.6.2.1 Predicator .....	75
	3.6.2.2 Complement .....	76
	3.6.3.4 Adjunct .....	76
	3.5.4 Modality .....	77

3.6	Textual Metafunction .....	78
3.7	Ideational Metafunction.....	78
3.7.1	Transitivity .....	79
3.7.2	Process.....	80
3.7.2.1	Material Process .....	81
3.7.2.2	Mental Process .....	83
3.7.2.3	Relational Process .....	84
3.7.2.4	Verbal Process.....	84
3.7.2.5	Behavioural Process .....	85
3.7.2.6	Existential Process.....	85
3.8	The Ideological Square.....	85
4	CHAPTER 4 Research Methodology .....	88
4.1	Introduction.....	88
4.2	Corpus.....	89
4.3	Analytical Methods.....	91
4.4	Notational Conventions .....	94
4.5	Inclusion of Social Actors .....	97
4.5.1	Frequency of Inclusion of Social Actors .....	99
5	CHAPTER 5 Representation of Boko Haram .....	101
5.1	Introduction.....	101
5.2	Inclusion of Boko Haram.....	102
5.2.1	Activation of Boko Haram .....	104
5.2.1.1	Boko Haram as Actor.....	104
5.2.1.2	Boko Haram as Actor in Transitive Material Process Clauses .....	106
5.2.1.3	Boko Haram as Actor in Intransitive Material Process Clauses .....	109



5.2.1.4	Boko Haram as Assigner, Attributor and Initiator .....	110
5.2.1.5	Boko Haram as Behaver.....	112
5.2.1.6	Boko Haram as Senser .....	113
5.2.2	Passivation of Boko Haram.....	118
5.2.2.1	Boko Haram as Receiver.....	118
5.2.2.2	Boko Haram as Goal .....	119
5.2.2.3	Boko Haram as Scope .....	121
5.3	Nomination of Boko Haram .....	123
5.3.1	Nominal Group with Pronoun as Head .....	124
5.3.2	Nominal Group with Common Noun as Head .....	127
5.3.3	Nominal Group with Proper Noun as Head .....	128
5.4	Exclusion of Boko Haram .....	130
5.5	Emergent themes from the Representation of Boko Haram.....	132
5.5.1	Boko Haram as Violent and Destructive .....	132
5.5.2	Boko Haram as powerful and dominant social actors.....	136
5.5.3	Boko Haram as Elusive Threat.....	139
5.6	Conclusion .....	141
6	CHAPTER 6 Representation of Nigerians .....	143
6.1	Introduction.....	143
6.2	Inclusion of Nigerians.....	143
6.2.1	Activation of Nigerians .....	145
6.2.1.1	Nigerians as Actor.....	145
6.2.1.2	Nigerians as Senser .....	152
6.2.1.3	Nigerians as Behaver.....	153
6.2.2	Passivation of Nigerians .....	155

6.2.2.1 Nigerians as Goal .....	155
6.2.2.2 Nigerians as Receiver and Target.....	158
6.3 Exclusion of Nigerians .....	169
6.3.1 Backgrounding of Nigerians.....	170
6.3.2 Suppression of Nigerians.....	171
6.4 Nomination of Nigerians as Grammatical Participants in the Clause .....	172
6.4.1 Nominal Group with Pronoun as Thing .....	173
6.4.2 Nominal Group with Proper Noun as Thing .....	176
6.4.3 Vocatives .....	178
6.4.4 Nominal Group with Common Noun as Thing.....	179
6.5 Conclusion .....	181
7 CHAPTER 7 Representation of the President and the Government .....	182
7.1 Introduction.....	182
7.2 Inclusion of the President and the Government.....	182
7.2.1 Activation of the President .....	187
7.2.1.1 President as Sayer.....	187
7.2.1.2 Government as Sayer .....	201
7.2.1.3 President and Government as Sayer .....	202
7.2.2 Passivation of the President and the Government .....	207
7.3 Nomination of the President .....	209
7.3.1 President Goodluck Jonathan indexed in the realm of experience.....	210
7.3.2 President Goodluck Jonathan's Voice in the War against Terror .....	212
Authority and Power to engage the terrorists in battle.....	214
Nominal Group with Pronoun as Head .....	221
7.4 Conclusion.....	222

8	CHAPTER 8 Representation of Security Forces.....	223
	8.1 Introduction.....	223
	8.2 Inclusion of Security Forces .....	224
	8.2.1 Activation of Security Forces .....	226
	8.2.1.1 Security Forces as Actor in Transitive Material Process .....	226
	8.2.1.3 Security Forces as Actor in Intransitive Material Process .....	230
	8.3 Nomination of Security Forces .....	234
	8.3.1 Deictic Markers for Nominating Security Forces .....	234
	8.3.2 Generalisation of Security Forces .....	241
	8.3.3 Pronouns .....	243
	8.4 Conclusion.....	244
9	CHAPTER 9 Conclusion.....	246
	9.1 Introduction.....	246
	9.2 Findings and Contributions of the Study.....	247
	9.2.1 Key Social Actors and their Discursive Representation.....	247
	9.2.1 Polarised Representation of In-group and Out-group Social Actors.....	250
	9.2.2 National Identity Construction and Rallying behind the National Cause .....	252
	9.2.3 Terror as an External, Global, and International Phenomenon .....	256
	9.2.4 Legitimisation of Social Action.....	258
	9.3 Challenges and Limitations Encountered .....	260
	9.4 Opportunities for Future Studies .....	263
	References.....	264

Appendix A: List of Political Speeches .....	285
Appendix B: Transcripts of Political Speeches .....	286
Appendix C .....	311

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Mohammed in Custody. Source BBC 2014 .....	40
Figure 3.1 Three Options in Relating Language and Ideology. Lukin (2019 p. 12) .....	<b>Error!</b>
<b>Bookmark not defined.</b>	
Figure 3.2. Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse Fairclough. (1992, p. 73) .....	59
Figure 3.3 The Social Actor Network (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52).....	64
Figure 3.4 Types of Processes in English Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 216 .....	80
Figure 4.1. List of Speeches that Exclusively Focus on Boko Haram.....	90
Figure 4.2. Sample Screenshot of AntConc Concordance.....	93
Figure 4.3. Notational Conventions for Representing Lexicogrammatical constituency .....	94
Figure 4.4. Sample Speech Illustrating the Notation Convention .....	95
Figure 4.5. Sample Parsed Clause from the Corpus .....	96
Figure 5.1 Frequency of Inclusion of Boko Haram .....	102
Figure 5.2 Concordance plot for they and have in the Corpus .....	126
Figure 5.3 Concordance Plot for "Innocent" .....	134
Figure 5.4 Epithets of "terrorists" in the Corpus.....	138
Figure 6.1 Frequency of inclusion of Nigerians in Grammatical Participant Roles.....	144
Figure 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Nominal Group Structure with Proper Noun as Head ....	176
Figure 7.1. Frequency of Inclusion of the President in the Corpus .....	183
Figure 7.2. Frequency of Inclusion of the Government in the Corpus .....	186
Figure 8.1. Inclusion of Security Forces .....	225
Figure 8.2 Security Forces as Actor in Transitive and Intransitive Processes.....	226
Figure 8.3 Concordance plot for Security Forces .....	239

## List of Tables

Table 4.1 Common Denominators of Social Actors in the Corpus .....	98
Table 4.2 Frequency of Inclusion of Social Actors in the Corpus.....	99
Table 5.1 Transitive Material Process Clauses with Boko Haram as Actor.....	106
Table 5.2 Intransitive Material Process Clauses with Boko Haram as Actor.....	110
Table 5.3 Intransitive Material Processes with Boko Haram as Scope .....	121
Table 5.4 Types of Nominal Groups that Realise Boko Haram as Grammatical Participants ...	124
Table 6.1 Frequency distribution of Nigerians as Actor.....	146
Table 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Mental Process Clauses with Nigerians as Senser .....	152
Table 6.3 Summary of Participant and Process in clauses realising Nigerians as Goal .....	156
Table 6.4 Nigerians as Receiver and Target .....	159
Table 6.5 Types of Nominal Groups that Realise Nigerians as Grammatical Participants .....	173
Table 6.6 Nigerians realised in Nominal Groups with Common Noun as Thing.....	179
Table 7.1 Summary of Verbal Process Clauses that Realise the President as Sayer .....	188
Table 7.2. The President as Senser .....	203
Table 7.3 The Government as Senser .....	204
Table 8.1 Security Forces as Actor (Animate Goal).....	227
Table 8.2 Security Forces as Actor (Inanimate Goal).....	230
Table 8.3. Security Forces as Sayer (Intransitive Clause) .....	231
Table 8.4 Nominal Group Structures for Security Forces .....	234



## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Setting the Scene

In this thesis, I investigate President Goodluck Jonathan's representation of Boko Haram and other key social actors in political speeches delivered between 2010 and 2015. This study falls under the purview of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), the multidisciplinary paradigm which, among other objectives, aims to unpack the ideological content of socially relevant texts through linguistic analysis. The study was birthed from my yearning to understand how the seemingly unending war against Boko Haram is construed in Nigerian political discourse. I combined theoretical models from CDA, Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL), a linguistics theory and analytical methodology associated with Michael Halliday (Halliday 1978, 1994) and Social Actor Network (henceforth SAN) theory propounded by Theo van Leeuwen (van Leeuwen 1996, 2008) for the qualitative analysis in the study. As De Beaugrande (1997) and Stubbs (1996) propose, the qualitative textual analysis was complemented with quantitative analysis using corpus analytical tools AntConc (Anthony, 2014). The tools were used to generate wordlists and identify distinct patterns of co-occurrence in the texts. The quantitative results complemented the more intensive and detailed qualitative textual analysis. Through this thesis, I sought to make known the implicit ideologies, legitimisation and politicised character of the representation of Boko Haram and the other key social actors in the political speeches.

For nearly a decade, the Nigerian government has grappled with violent attacks masterminded by a group commonly and collectively referred to as *Boko Haram*. The group is purported to have started as a non-violent, anti-state movement, which sought to promote the teachings of Islam and encourage the enforcement of Sharia law in some Northern Nigerian states



(Demarest, Godefroidt and Langer 2020; Onuoha, 2015; Osisanwo, 2016). However, in 2009, a crackdown on the group by the police force in Borno State triggered conflict between the group and security personnel, resulting in their radicalisation and transition to violence (Forest, 2012; Mustapha, 2014). From sporadic skirmishes with officers of the Nigeria Police Force to confrontations with civilians, the group became increasingly daring and lethal. The Institute of Economics and Peace Global Terrorism Index (2015) ranked Boko Haram as the world's deadliest terrorist group. The group's attacks in 2014 alone reportedly caused about 6,644 deaths, compared to the 6,073 deaths caused by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). According to the Council on Foreign Relations (2017) and the Global Conflict Tracker (2018), Boko Haram has been responsible for an estimated 47,700 deaths and the displacement of 1.9 million persons since May 2011. These fatalities were from suicide bombings, burning of villages, and coordinated assaults on various vulnerable targets like schools, hospitals, religious places of worship and local entertainment centres. Forest (2012) claims that 'Boko Haram has been responsible for more attacks and more casualties than any other armed group in Nigeria' (p. 65).

The group's indiscriminate attacks have not been limited to civilian and state targets. On August 26, 2011, Boko Haram claimed responsibility for a car bomb detonated at the United Nations headquarters in Abuja that killed twenty-three people and left eighty-one injured. In March 2012, they were also allegedly responsible for the kidnap of two European construction workers, Chris McManus and Franco Lamolinara, who were later killed in a botched rescue attempt. On November 13, 2013, the U.S. Department of State designated Boko Haram a foreign terrorist organisation (Forest, 2012; Oftedal, 2013). In April 2014, Boko Haram drew an unprecedented amount of international media attention when the group claimed responsibility for kidnapping 276 girls from their dormitories in Chibok, Borno state (Chiluwa, 2016; Smith, 2015). This heinous

act sparked international outrage and a spirited #Bringbackourgirls campaign towards ensuring the safe return of the abductees.

Between 2012 and 2014, several of the group's attacks seemed to have targeted mainly Christians in North-Eastern Nigeria. This situation led to the narrative that Boko Haram was a Muslim initiative to annihilate Christians (Pérouse de Montclos, 2015). However, the range of their targets soon spread to include Muslims as well (Akowe, 2013), thus contesting that narrative and stimulating discussion about other motivations, ideologies and grounds for Boko Haram's actions. Langer and Demarest (2017) have opined that root causes and motivations of Boko Haram may be found in the socio-economic marginalisation of Nigeria's Northern states. This position points the lens of enquiry at social and political elites in the North, whose lacklustre approach to handling the region's economic vulnerabilities has made the region a fertile ground for the group to thrive. According to the UN Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (2012), Nigeria's North East region is 76.8% under the poverty line. Compared to the Southern region, poverty levels are about 40% higher in the North, and the region trails the South in infrastructural development and educational attainment (Meagher, 2014). With such high levels of poverty pervading Northern Nigeria, Langer and Demarest (2017) suggest that an escape from poverty was a plausible enticement for early Boko Haram recruits. Thurstston (2017) acknowledges the position but argues that economic deprivation alone cannot explain why violent movements grow in some places and not others, or why some movements develop particular worldviews. The two positions acknowledge demography and poverty as root causes for Boko Haram's emergence, but these are only variables of other drivers of Boko Haram's dissent and violence. In this regard, politicians have not been spared from blame, as Kendhammer (2016) claims that members of the group were first recruited and armed by politicians to disrupt elections. After the election, they were abandoned by the politicians but found the group as an outlet for crime and later terrorism.

According to the American Foreign Policy Council (2010), Boko Haram has forged alliances with militant Islamic organisations such as Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA), Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Al-Shabaab in Somalia, and Ansar al-Dine in Northern Mali. In the past five years, the Global Terrorism Index has consistently listed Boko Haram amongst the world's deadliest terrorist groups. However, the group's belligerent reputation and its heinous insurgent campaign are not the study's focus. Instead, this study is ultimately concerned with how Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan represents Boko Haram and other key social actors affected by these attacks.

## **1.2 Research Gap**

The activities of Boko Haram have received immense coverage from Nigeria's print, electronic and social media. These reports have been subjected to analysis by researchers. Analysing headlines from four Nigerian e-newspapers, Osisanwo (2016) identifies the linguistic and discourse strategies deployed by these newspapers in representing Boko Haram and other social actors. Chilwa (2016) examines the discourse and pragmatic features of statements issued by Boko Haram and published online between 2009 and 2012. He argues that these messages contain explicit and implicit threats similar to those issued by Al Qaeda but are significantly different from conventional verbal threats. Chilwa and Odebunmi (2016) analyse the content of social media conversations about Boko Haram on *Nairaland*, one of Nigeria's foremost internet community forums. Ugwuona (2015) analyses selected news reports and opinion articles about Boko Haram published between 2011 and 2012. Chilwa and Adegoke (2013) investigate pragmatic acts in the discourse of tweeters and online feedback comments on the activities of Boko Haram. Ayoola and Olaosun (2014) examine the media representation of newspaper reports on the activities of Boko Haram.

Boko Haram has also been studied from religious (Okemi, 2013; Shuriye et al., 2013), historical (Adesoji, 2011; Iyekekpolo, 2016; Loimeier, 2012), media (Asogwa et al., 2012; Hamid and Baba, 2014; Ngige, Badakale, and HammanJoda, 2016), security and strategy (Aghedo and Osumah, 2012; Danjibo, 2012; Elkaim, 2013; Falode, 2016) Law (Sampson, 2015) and linguistics (Ayoola and Olaosun, 2014; Chilwa and Adegoke, 2013; Ogungbe and Alo, 2014) perspectives. While existing linguistic studies have centred on aspects of pragmatics, grammar, and discourse, their non-linguistic counterparts have focused on empirical issues surrounding the group's emergence, religious underpinnings, organisational structure, attacks, and modus operandi. Nevertheless, despite being a salient resource for articulating and disseminating the national agenda, scant attention has been paid to analysing Nigerian political speeches for their representation of the country's greatest security threat.

The intricate link between language and politics has been well established over the years (see Chilton and Schäffner, 2002). From the time of Greek and Roman rhetors to the work of Habermas, Foucault, Bourdieu, and more recently in Critical Linguistics and CDA, investigating the use of language in political texts and contexts has been commonplace. Political speeches are important resources that can be consulted to gain insight into the enduring and changing political values and conditions that shape a nation's history. They constitute powerful resources for disseminating the government's edict and winning the support and consent of citizens, party members, lawmakers, and the international community. In the last decade, there has been an increasing interest in terrorism and counter-terrorism discourse (Barttolucci, 2014). This increase is hardly surprising considering the social, political and economic effects that terrorism has had globally (Chen and Siems, 2004). While there has been considerable interdisciplinary diversity in most of the studies carried out on terrorism and terrorism discourse in the US, it is less so in other

parts of the world, particularly Africa. America's War on Terror is considered a catalyst for the surge in the analysis of terrorism discourse, especially after the September 11, 2001 attacks. However, since then, the discourse of terrorism has permeated other parts of the world.

At the outset, I will like to make clear my standpoint that terrorism occurs in reality but can also take on materiality in discursive constructions. In agreement with Van Dijk (1997) that considers language intrinsically connected to power, language also allows for textual reality to be produced, reproduced, recontextualised and normalised in processes that often go unnoticed. This creation of reality holds even greater significance within political discourse, where hegemonic practices are prominent, and the speaker's ideology, agenda, and motives tend to be projected as the only way of perceiving reality. The speeches analysed in this study are a version of reality that aligns with the social position, agenda, and interest of President Goodluck Jonathan. In line with this viewpoint, the study adopted a discursive approach to study his representation of the key social actors in the political speeches. The discursive representation of these social actors offers the space to engage with the texts critically. In addition, it makes room for unravelling how the representations have been produced and disseminated and what these representations may mean for the audience.

At the outset, I also acknowledge my bias regarding the representational power of political discourse. Political discourse is a means for powerful social actors (in this context, politicians) to foreground their self-serving narratives, attach meanings to social actors and social action, and silence rebuttals that do not fit their agenda. Their access to the media and other platforms for information dissemination allows them to foreground their narrative and exclude other possible narratives in order to arrive at their discursive constructs. Much work has been done on the notion of terror and the war on terror, particularly in the US. However, more can be done on similar

discourse elsewhere, in this case, Nigeria. Amato (2007) and Gay (2007) offer critical insights on how Neo-Conservatives used the war on terror discourse to extend America's military influence abroad, specifically in the Middle East. They assert that the discourse was surreptitiously exploited to justify unilateral military action by the US in Afghanistan and Iraq (Noor, 2010).

Peterson (2007) probes the ethical premise of the war on terror discourse and attempts to deconstruct the inner workings of the discourse to expose its manifold ethical contradictions. Jackson (2005) used CDA to examine the language of counter-terrorism as it was constructed in the United States following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Bartolucci (2014) critically analyses the appropriation of the US-led war on terror discourse by media and governments. In the Nigerian discourse sphere, terrorism discourse has yet to receive the attention it deserves. Especially in recent times when ravaging insecurity caused by Boko Haram has shaped public discourse and the government's policies on security in Nigeria. While this study analyses the president's representation of Boko Haram, it should not be seen as an attempt to discover a true or false presidential narrative. Instead, it should be regarded as an academic endeavour that seeks to understand how representational choices are enacted, rationalised, and legitimised.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

Political speeches, Wodak (2011) points out, belong to the genre of official political discourse. Politicians use these speeches to endear themselves to the citizenry, solicit support, announce policies, present achievements, and craft how they would like to be perceived by their various audiences. They contain the politician's representation, ideology, and bias about topics, policies, themes, social actors, and events of national and international interest. Among the different political speeches delivered by Nigerian politicians, the president's speech ranks as the most influential. Its importance is likely due to the institutional voice it projects as the words of

the highest political office holder in the country. It is highly anticipated, receives nationwide coverage from the media, and could have immediate and far-reaching consequences in the affairs of the entire nation.

From 2011 to 2015, Boko Haram was featured in several political speeches by Nigeria's president. His treatment of the subject matter was typically by detailing the government's counter-insurgency measures, commiserating with victims of the group's attacks, and threatening or responding to threats issued by the group. Interestingly, the president did not limit his discussion about Boko Haram to speeches centred on security-related matters. Even speeches delivered on occasions that were not remotely related to the notion of security, such as speeches delivered on Children's Day, Christmas Day, and Easter, contained the president's views about Boko Haram. The implication of such powerful, pervasive, political discourse about Boko Haram is that listeners and readers are consciously or unconsciously influenced by the president's representation of the group. His views about Boko Haram may appear ordinary on the surface, but beneath the surface, these views are ideological and carefully crafted to shape his representation of the group and their activities for particular stated or unstated ends. The propensity for uncritical acceptance and reproduction of the president's representation is the problem that necessitates a critical analysis of the speeches in order to identify, examine and critically evaluate the president's representation of Boko Haram and other key social actors. It is pertinent that such a critical study is carried out because representations by political leaders can influence the setting of national agendas, contribute to the construction of identities, and may subsequently be reproduced in other discourses. Therefore, while the crimes perpetrated by Boko Haram are tragic, any representation of Boko Haram, its actions, and the actions of other social actors by a Nigerian president to support self-serving interests and ideologies is also socially tragic. As yet, no study has analysed these

speeches for representation of any kind, let alone for the representation of Boko Haram, Nigeria's most significant security threat. Moreover, being that they are speeches by the Nigerian president, the propensity for acceptance, reproduction, and neutralisation of the representation is relatively high. Therefore, this study is timely as it creates an awareness of the representation of Boko Haram by Nigeria's president and critically analyses the ideological underpinning and social implication of the representation.

Political speeches play a crucial role in keeping the Nigerian public informed about policies, processes, and the government's action plan. The type of information that the public gets from political speeches is markedly different from information disseminated through the media. The difference between the two lies in the authority backing the message. Some of the information in the political speeches is not available or even hinted at in the media. For example, in the 1 January 2012 New Year address, President Jonathan announced that the Federal Government had removed subsidies from Premium Motor Spirit (PMS). The news was delivered instantaneously by the President and it took effect immediately as sellers started to hike the price of the product (Oghojafor, Anyim & Ekwoaba, 2014). Apart from conveying important information, political speeches allow for the construction, maintenance, and transmission of ideologies. This function assumes even more importance during periods of conflict as the political speeches may play a decisive role in influencing how the public perceives issues, including the causes, consequences, and the proposed resolution by the government. Due to the discursive functions and importance of political speeches, it is surprising that the representation of social actors in Nigerian political speeches has yet to receive scholarly attention. Such a study is important for understanding how Nigerian political discourse constructs ideological representations of Boko Haram and other key social actors and how these representations are shaped by and contribute to the shaping of shared



beliefs and value systems. I contend in this study that implicit ideological representations of Boko Haram can be unravelled by analysing political discourse about the group through the lens of CDA. I use the term ‘implicit’ because ideologies cannot be read off the page of a text. Critical analysis is required to unravel ideologies.

#### **1.4 Aim, Objectives and Research Questions**

This study critically analyses President Goodluck Jonathan’s representation of the roles, relations and practices of Boko Haram and other key social actors in his public political speeches. The speeches, which were delivered between 2010 and 2015, were collected and analysed to make apparent the underlying ideologies and legitimisations inherent in them. Hodges and Nilep (2007) assert that “discourse does more than merely reflect events that take place in the world; discourse interprets those events, formulates understandings and constitutes their socio-political reality” (p. 2). This study attempts to unravel the underlying ideology enshrined in the representation of Boko Haram and key social actors in the discourse. In particular, it analyses the patterns of transitivity and the involvement of the respective social actors in these patterns. The study employed the sociosemantic inventory proposed by van Leeuwen (1996) to reveal implicit attitudes, ideologies, and worldviews of the president as reflected by his representational choices. In order to achieve the stated aim, the following questions are relevant:

1. Who are the key social actors, and how does the president discursively represent them?
2. What are the dominant transitivity choices for representing the key social actors?
3. How are the resources of lexicogrammar drawn upon to construe positive representation of in-group social actors and negative representation of out-group social actors?
4. What ideologies, power relations, and legitimations are revealed, concealed, or reinforced by the president’s representation of the key social actors?

### **1.5 Researcher Reflexivity**

I would like to make explicit here my motivation and rationale for undertaking this research project. Primarily, the study begins from my perspective as a Nigerian linguist interested in the machinations of representation in Nigerian political discourse. For some time now, I have been deeply concerned with how Nigerian politicians use public speeches to frame acts of terror and the alleged actors behind these acts. My concern stems from discontentment with the public speeches of the Kano State Governor on 11 May 2004. On this day, our house, cars, and poultry farm were destroyed in a premeditated act of violence against Christians residing in Kano State, Nigeria. The perpetrators ambushed my mother and me on our way from work, and to this day, I am still in awe about escaping unscathed. Having come so close to death and going home to a house burnt to the ground, surely, the incident could not get much worse, but it did. On 12 May 2004, my horror of the previous day turned to incredulity when I listened to the Governor's public speech about the incident. His account was far from reflective of what my family and I had personally experienced. We and other Christians were profiled, singled out, and attacked; our property was destroyed while others lost their lives. However, the Governor chose to represent the incident as a demonstration marred by "pockets of violence." He failed to call out the perpetrators for who they were and appeared to blame the victims for being at the wrong place during the incident. None of the things I went through that day felt like a riot, and the choice to subvert the narrative left me distraught. I found this speech to be subversive of the reality I experienced, and since then, I became wary about any public speech emanating from Nigerian politicians. I developed a keen ear for listening to Nigerian politicians whenever they speak about riots, demonstrations, unrest, or crisis. Therefore, when Boko Haram became a pressing topic for discussion in the political speeches of the president, it immediately caught my attention. My interest soon developed into open-ended questions, which

led me to undertake this study of the representation of Boko Haram and other key social actors featured in the political speeches of Nigeria's President.

### **1.6: Overview of the Thesis**

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. The present chapter, the Introduction, serves as the gateway into the study. It sets the scene for the rest of the thesis by presenting the requisite background that birthed the study. This chapter situates the study amongst previous studies on Boko Haram from religious, historical, legal, linguistics, and media perspectives. It identifies the strengths and limitations of previous work on Boko Haram. Based on the dearth of research on Boko Haram's representation in Nigerian political discourse, this chapter makes a case for the importance of understanding how Nigerian political discourse construes representations of Boko Haram and how the representation contributes to the shaping of shared beliefs and value systems about the group. It concludes by explaining my rationale and motivation for conducting the study.

Chapter 2 provides historical, social, and political background about Nigeria and political speech-making in Nigeria. As context is a crucial element of the theoretical framework applied in this study, this chapter presents the reader with the requisite background information about the socio-political setting within which the study takes place. Chapter two also discusses ethnicity as a catalyst for unity, change, and resistance in Nigeria's history and politics. This contextual information is important for understanding the circumstances surrounding the emergence of President Goodluck Jonathan as President and some of the sentiments behind the resistance to his administration. In addition to describing the political landscape of Nigeria, this chapter covers the rise of Boko Haram, the influence and impact of the group, and the complexities involved in the group's religious and political affiliations and motivations.

In chapter 3, I review the primary literature on CDA, SFL, and SAN theories. The chapter examines the relations between language, discourse, and ideology and explains how these notions apply to this study. Following this short overview, chapter 3 reviews the history and developments that have taken place in the field of CDA, describing the shift from what was known as Critical Linguistics to CDA. Since there are different approaches to CDA, section 3.2 reviews the two approaches that have been applied in this thesis (see Wodak and Meyer (2009) for a more exhaustive review). Section 3.5 outlines the central premises of SFL and how it is implemented to pursue the aims of the study. Chapter 4 describes the corpus of Nigerian political speeches and the methodological procedures that were applied in the course of the study. The notation conventions applied are described, and the methodological limitations encountered when conducting the study are highlighted. Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 are devoted to analysing each of the key social actors. Each of these chapters is written and organised similarly to address the first three questions in the thesis. Five social actors were identified as the key in the discourse under study. Chapter 5 covers the representation of Boko Haram; Chapter 6 covers the representation of Nigerians; Chapter 7 combines the representation of political social actors (the President and the Government), while Chapter 8 covers the representation of Security Forces. Each chapter takes as a point of departure the frequency with which the social actor features in the data. Then, I examined the patterns of inclusion and exclusion of the social actor in the discourse. As for answering research question 2, each of these chapters covers transitivity analysis in a detailed manner. Following this, the third research question is also addressed. Chapter 9, the conclusion, summarises the findings in the thesis, highlights the contributions of the study and presents some opportunities for future research.

## CHAPTER 2

### The Socio-Political Context of the Study

#### 2.1 Introduction

This study adopts a CDA framework in which context is important. From the outset, critical discourse analysts typically consider the influence that contextual factors exert on texts. These factors, according to Wodak (2001), include “the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text and the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects create meanings in their interactions with texts” (p.3). Involving context allows the analyst to account for the social processes and structures which contribute to the formulation, reception, and dissemination of discourse. Thus, the study transcends from a purely linguistic endeavour to include other sociological, historical, and political considerations in its analysis and interpretation (Wodak, 1996). In pursuance of this goal, this chapter provides historical and socio-political background information about Nigeria, political speeches in Nigeria, Boko Haram, and other information surrounding the group. It reviews studies on Nigerian political speeches and details the history and evolution of Boko Haram. This chapter aims to provide context to Boko Haram in general. It highlights what is known about the group’s name, emergence, evolution, radicalisation tactics, religious and socio-political identity. The contextual background in this section provides clarity and support for the detailed critical analysis of the representation of Boko Haram presented in chapter 5 of the thesis.

#### 2.2 Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Nigeria

According to van Dijk (1998) and Wodak (1996), it is difficult to understand the discursive strategies in text without understanding the social background against which they were formulated. Therefore, this section presents a brief overview of Nigeria and some of the socio-political

developments that have shaped its history. This overview is offered in order to “transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, and sociological dimension in the analysis, theory and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion” (Wodak, 1996, p. 24). In this section, I shall discuss ethnicity, religion and the socio-political and historical context in which the linguistic and social interactions of interest in this study take place. Islam is widely practised in Northern Nigeria, while Christianity and African traditional religions dominate Southern Nigeria (Demarest, Godefroidt and Langer 2020). The demography of adherents to Christianity and Islam is similar in size. Although no religion has a clear dominance over the other, ethno-religious tensions have been pervasive and have repeatedly led to conflict in Nigeria (Suberu, 2001).

Ethnicity and religion are intricately intertwined with politics in Nigeria. In a country of over 180 million people, home to a plethora of ethnic groups and strong adherents of either Christianity or Islam, an understanding of the nature of the relationship is essential before analysing the speeches of the country’s leader. Ethnicity is a contested concept that is constantly evolving. This study adopts Antweiler’s (2015) definition of ethnicity as ‘a socially grown collective identity, which assumes a shared history and origin as well as shared traditions’ (p. 27). This definition presents ethnicity as a personal and social marker of identity, which can be a resource in the practice and discourse of politics. Graf (1988), one of the early studies on the ethnic demography of Nigeria, estimates that there are about 250 ethnic groups. More recently, Falola and Heaton (2008) have estimated that about 200 ethnic groups live within Nigeria’s borders. Of this number, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups are considered the three major ones since they make up most of the population. The Hausa ethnic group, located in the northern savannas, accounts for 21% of the population, while the Yoruba ethnic group, located in the southwestern

part of the country, makes up 20%, and the Igbo of the southeast constitute 17% of the population. Other ethnic groups include Fulani, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Nupe and Owe (Falola and Heaton, 2008).

In 1914, through an act of amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates, the British colonialists subsumed the different ethnic groups under a single political identity, which is now present-day Nigeria (Falola, 1999, p. 68). The act was in pursuance of the colonialists' indirect rule system of governance, allowing them to administer over the territories effectively. The larger ethnic groups were allowed to retain their geographical autonomy so long as it did not interfere with the administrative boundaries of the colonial period. However, smaller ethnic groups were forced to identify with the dominant ethnic group in their region. For example, a smaller independent group of the Kanem Bornu and the Sokoto caliphate were forced to take up a single political identity under the Northern protectorate of the new Nigeria. The impact of this merger can be seen in the spread of the Hausa language, which became a lingua franca across the region. Strong regional and ethnic ties had already formed for the more dominant Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba groups. These groups had been used to lobbying for resources from the colonialist along their respective ethnic divides. In the build-up to Nigeria's independence, the Willink Commission was set up to evaluate and proffer solution to the imbalance between the minor and major ethnic groups in the various regions. The commission proposed a Bill of Rights, which was subsequently entrenched in the Independence Constitution. Coming together as one nation only seemed artificial because it was evident that each group would consider itself self-autonomous. The result of this inherent divide did not take long to manifest as ethno-regional affiliations dominated the First Republic. The newly enacted Federal system of government recognised the needs, languages and resources of the three dominant ethnic groups and included this recognition in the constitution.

Interestingly, Nigerians have since continued to recognise and identify along these lines, sometimes even more strongly than they would do so nationally. Consequently, issues of ethnicity have been increasingly politicised in Nigeria.

What does the ethnic complexity in Nigerian politics hold for this study? It is necessary to contextualise ethnicity beforehand to understand why President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest to contest the 2011 presidential election pitted ethnic and regional elite against him and why studies such as Solomon (2015) have attributed the manifestation of this resistance to have birthed Boko Haram. On 9 February 2010, Goodluck Jonathan became acting President of Nigeria after President Umaru Yar'Adua died in office. Goodluck Jonathan served in this capacity of 10 months before declaring his intention to run for president in the 2011 elections. His candidature was resisted from within his own party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), mainly on the grounds of his ethnicity.

On the one hand, he was resisted because he hailed from a minority Ijaw tribe in South-South Nigeria, but even more strongly, Northern elites within the PDP resisted him because of the party's zoning system. The zoning system of the PDP was an internal arrangement founded on alternating its presidential candidates between northerners and southerners since the general elections in 1999. Those who championed Goodluck Jonathan's resistance cited the fact that President Umaru Yar'Adua, a Northerner, did not complete his term in office as such; it was only fair to appoint and endorse a Northern candidate at the next election. Therefore, Jonathan's ambition to run for office was perceived to be usurpative of the North's presidential turn. This premise fuelled widespread resistance from within and outside the PDP (Ajaero, 2010). When Goodluck Jonathan eventually contested and won the April 21, 2011 presidential election, his victory was met with ethnic resistance that erupted in violence across the Northern states of Nigeria



(Nwozor, 2014). Solomon (2015) has suggested that Boko Haram evolved into a political weapon to resist Goodluck Jonathan initially and stop his emergence as President. Where this failed, they were to make his administration ungovernable.

### **2.3 Political Speeches in Nigeria**

From as early as the 1950s, speech-making has been an indispensable part of Nigeria's political history. Before the country's independence in 1960, rousing political speeches were used by pro-independence nationalists to instil a sense of nationhood amongst Nigerians as they advocated for self-rule from British colonialists. Daramola (2008) claims that such diverse polemic speeches were distributed in pamphlets or printed in local newspapers. These speeches and other writings were unified in demanding freedom from British colonial rule regardless of the medium. On 1 October 1960, this wish was finally granted, and Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, used the occasion to deliver a momentous and historic inaugural address to the nation. The speech is not only memorable, but it also initiated a tradition of political speech-making by Nigerian leaders on national days of honour which continues until today.

Several studies have analysed the speeches of Nigerian presidents from different linguistic perspectives. From a pragmatic standpoint, Abuya (2012) analyses President Goodluck Jonathan's 29 May 2011 inaugural speech. Adetunji (2006) examines the pragmatic functions of deixis in selected speeches of President Olusegun Obasanjo. Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) analyse speech act features of two presidential addresses by President Umaru Yar' Adua, Adedun and Atolagbe (2011) draw on speech act theory to analyse President Olusegun Obasanjo's farewell speech to Nigerians in 2007. Ademilokun (2015) uses appraisal theory to examine the construal of attitudinal meanings expressed by President Muhammadu Buhari in his inaugural address. Enyi (2016) comparatively analyses President Muhammadu Buhari's Maiden Coup Address of 1

January 1984 and his Inaugural Address of 29 May 2015 from a general pragmatic perspective. From a stylistic standpoint, Awonuga (2005) examines several characteristic linguistic features of President Olusegun Obasanjo's Sustainance of Democracy address to the nation. Ayeomoni (2012) uses systemic functional grammar to analyse some nationwide addresses by Nigerian military leaders. Nigerian political speeches have also been investigated from critical discourse analytical perspectives. Kamalu and Agangan (2012) analyse the textual and ideological representations in Goodluck Jonathan's presidential declaration of interest speech; Bello (2013) is a CDA analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's address on his candidacy for election.

Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015) apply SFL and CDA to analyse the 2015 inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari. Studies on the speeches of Nigerian presidents may also be delineated into thematic preoccupations. Some have focused on First Republic leaders' styles and political rhetoric (Awonuga, 1988; Oladeji, 1989; Akindele, 1989; Ajewole-Orimogunje, 2012). Speeches of presidential aspirants have also received attention. Akinwotu (2013) analyses the acceptance of nomination speeches of two presidential candidates; Kamalu and Agangan (2012) analyse the declaration of interest address of Goodluck Jonathan at the PDP presidential primaries; Taiwo (2008) examines the enactment of power in President Olusegun Obasanjo's speech at elders' and stakeholders' meeting of the PDP. Several of the speeches analysed in these studies have been collected into anthologies like Obotetukudo (2010), a compilation of Nigerian elected leaders and military dictators from 1960-2010. It also accounts for some stylistic and rhetorical differences between the speeches of democratically elected leaders and military dictators who came into power forcefully. Some linguistic explorations of political discourse in Nigeria are Ayoola's (2005) critical analysis of President Obasanjo's July 25, 2005 address to the National Assembly; Taiwo (2009) on President Obasanjo's address at the PDP Elders and Stakeholders

forum; Adeyanju (2009) on political speeches in English by selected Nigerian leaders; and Kamalu and Agangan's (2011) exploration of the language of President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest speech at the PDP presidential primaries. Some other studies, however, concentrate on newspaper adverts, such as Opeibi (2009), Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013), and Ademilokun (2015).

## **2.4 Boko Haram**

Before delving into President Goodluck Jonathan's representation of Boko Haram, it is important to understand the group's origin and its encounter with the Nigerian government. Also important is the complex network of political, economic and territorial interests at stake, for 'discourse analysis is essentially historical: language cannot be interpreted without understanding what is going on in a particular social and political context' (Fowler and Marshall, 1985, p. 5).

### **2.4.1 The Name Boko Haram**

The group now known in local and international circles as Boko Haram has gone by several other names and aliases in the past. According to Adibe (2012), locals in Maiduguri once referred to members of the group as 'Nigerian Taliban' because of their modus operandi which appeared to be modelled after the Taliban's of Afghanistan. At the time, there was no evidence of established links between the two, so Boyle (2009) refutes this claim, seeing it more as ridicule by the locals rather than a symbol of allegiance. Between 2002 and 2009 when the group was under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf (a key figure in the group's emergence), its members were called *Yussufiyyah*, which roughly translates to 'followers of Yusuf' (Okereke, 2012, p. 450). However, before going by this name, members of the group were called *Sahaba* as early as 1995, when they were led by Lawan Abubakar (Falode, 2016; Hamid and Baba, 2014; Madike, 2011). Lawan later

proceeded to Saudi Arabia for further studies at the University of Medina, and in his absence, Mohammed Yusuf is said to have taken over the reins of leadership.

These variations in its name have contributed to muddying the waters around the group and mystifying its origin. However, from 2009 to the present, the group has consistently been referred to as ‘Boko Haram’ (Mustapha 2014). The most ubiquitous translation of ‘Boko Haram’ is “Western education/civilisation is forbidden”, derived by combining *Boko*, which means *book* in Hausa and *Haram* the Arabic word for *forbidden* (Mustapha 2014; Onuoha, 2015). It is worth noting here that *forbidden* largely bears religious rather than legal connotations. According to Brigaglia (2011), Boko Haram is said to have caught on as a nickname for followers of Mohammed Yusuf, whose teachings were filled with scorn and mistrust for anything related to Western civilisation. Such contempt for the West is not uncommon in Nigeria’s Muslim northern region, as they are reputed to have vehemently resisted British colonial influence. Specifically, the region preferred Islamic education introduced by the Arabs, known as *ilimin Islamiyya*, to western education, *ilimin boko*, introduced by British colonialists. According to Ayoola and Olaosun (2014), “many Muslim families still refuse to send their children to government-run Western schools, a problem compounded by the ruling elite which does not see such education as a priority” (p.50). The reason for this preference is not farfetched, as the former focuses on the teachings of the Qur'an, the recitation of which was the entry point for children into Islam. The language of instruction was also exclusively Arabic. *Ilimin boko*, on the other hand, was considered suspect and a disguise for evangelism because it did not teach about the Qur'an and Islam, or use Arabic.

Therefore, while contempt for Western education predated the Boko Haram group, these sentiments became highly vocalised in the sermons of Mohammed Yusuf, whose unusual religious edict was unprecedented at the time. He tapped into the pre-existing perception about Western

education, and when his teaching gained sufficient traction, the semi-sarcastic sobriquet Boko Haram was accorded to the movement (Pérouse de Montclos, 2015). As the group increased its nefarious activities in Nigeria's North East, the name gained popularity. Yet, despite the widespread usage and associated meanings, the group's leadership has dissociated itself from being referred to as Boko Haram, preferring instead the Arabic title *Ahl al-Sunna li'l-Da'wa wa'l-Jihad*, which in English translates to People of Sunna for Preaching and Jihad (Apard, 2015).

#### **2.4.2 Emergence**

There are several accounts about the emergence of Boko Haram, some more compatible with others but generally providing little evidence to substantiate their claims. This situation is hardly surprising considering how difficult it is to obtain authentic information from the group members themselves or conduct field studies in the region. Likewise, academic literature on the group is limited, and the available few studies contain fragmented and contradictory information. There are also questions about the reliability of some of the journalistic accounts available, as they do not reveal their sources of information and may contain exaggerations, bias or factual errors.

Pérouse de Montclos (2014) claims that “Mohammed Yusuf founded the first form of Ahl al-Sunna li'l-Da'wa wa'l-Jihad around 2002, published his book: *This is our faith and our Dawah* around 2008, and led the group until his death in 2009” (p. 32). He credits Yusuf's original source of inspiration to the teachings of Sheikh Mahmud Abubakar Gumi who headed the Movement for the Eradication of Heresies and the Implementation of Sunnah, also known as the *Izala*- a Nigerian Wahhabi Salafi organisation. The veracity of this claim stems from Yusuf's allegiance to the Salafi Creed of Monotheism (Tawhid) and his use of Salafi-jihadi doctrine to justify a revolution similar to that of Usman dan Fodio in 1804. Pérouse de Montclos (2014) further asserts that Mohammed Yusuf's beliefs were similar to those held by many Salafi organisations that “the full

implementation of Sharia law requires a change of political regime because a democratic and secular constitution contravenes the law of God” (p. 8). The difference, however, is that some of these organisations reject revolution by armed struggle, while Yusuf was open to revolution by any means possible, including violence. Mohammed Yusuf was also inspired by the teachings of his spiritual mentor, Sheikh Adam Mahmud Jafar (Matfess, 2017). Both men shared Wahhabi Salafi ideology. Sheikh Adam Mahmud Jafar advocated for an increased Islamicisation of the political institutions of Nigeria; Yusuf on the other hand, pushed for a radical withdrawal from working for the Nigerian state, studying in formal educational institutions or voting in elections (Matfess, 2017). The last point ended up causing a rift between them, because Mohammed Yusuf forbade his followers from participating in the 2007 elections, while Sheikh Adam Mahmud Jafar called on his followers to vote for Muhammadu Buhari, a Presidential candidate in the election. Yusuf regarded participation in this election as heresy, despite the fact that Muhammadu Buhari, a fellow Muslim, was running. Sheikh Adam Mahmud Jafar was later killed in Kano State by unknown gunmen, after which Mohammed Yusuf changed the Izala doctrine into his more radical interpretation, now metamorphosed into present-day Boko Haram (Pérouse de Montclos, 2014).

Oftedal (2013) acknowledges the difficulty in addressing questions about the emergence of Boko Haram because of the differing views on how to define a group’s origin. On the one hand, a group’s origin can be traced to the ideas held by the group, while on the other hand, it can be traced to members, organisational structures or names. Because insurgent and terrorist groups tend to constantly change their names and often lack organisational structure, it becomes difficult to determine whether they are the same group of people operating under new names, splinters of the same group operating under a different name or entirely different groups. Of the several accounts available, Oftedal (2013) argues that the one below is most common, albeit with some variation:

In 2002, a group of radical youths who had worshipped at the Alhaji Muhammadu Nidimi Mosque in Maiduguri broke away from the mosque and declared that the Nigerian Islamic establishment was intolerably corrupt. They embarked on *hijra* (a religious migration akin to that of the Prophet Muhammad's withdrawal from Mecca to Medina in 622), and set up a separatist community based on strict Islamic principles in the village of Kanama, near the border with Niger. They preached an anti-state ideology and called for other Muslims to withdraw from society and return to a life under "true" Islamic law. Some see this as the beginning of Boko Haram, although that name was not yet in use. The group became known as "the Nigerian Taliban", though there is no evidence that they had any links to the Taliban or other international jihadists. In December 2003 the group came into conflict with police, reportedly over a community dispute over fishing rights. Subsequent events are unclear; whether the group attacked local police stations or the army besieged the group's mosque. Either way, most of the group's members were killed during the conflict, including the leader. In 2004 the survivors returned to Maiduguri and rejoined the youth group originating from the Alhaji Muhammadu Nidimi Mosque, now led by Mohammed Yusuf. They continued to work for the Islamist cause, and their group later became known as Boko Haram. (p. 15)

Whatever the mix of inspirations and how the narrative is tied together, it can be deduced that while the group may not have started out as violent, that is certainly what it is today. The next section discusses the evolution and radicalisation of Boko Haram.

### **2.4.3 Evolution and Radicalisation**

According to the Global Terrorism Database (2017), the first attack of Boko Haram was launched on 26 July 2009 with an unknown number of fatalities. Adesoji (2011) provides a description of the attack, which Osisanwo (2016) and Brigaglia (2012) cite as the catalyst for the group's evolution and violent radicalisation. According to Adesoji (2011), "the immediate cause of the riot was the sacking of the group's hideout in Dutsen Tanshi area of Bauchi state on 26th July, 2009 by a joint security team" (p. 104). The operatives were alleged to have been acting on a tip-off about the harbouring of ammunitions within the premises of the group's mosque. Nine Boko Haram members were arrested by the police, and some arms and ammunition were confiscated. The crackdown was not completed without casualties on both sides: one soldier, two

policemen and thirty-nine Boko Haram members lost their lives (Osisanwo, 2016). This ignited reprisal attacks by the group's members on police stations in Borno state, later escalating to three neighbouring states of Bauchi, Yobe and Kano (Bakare et al., 2009; Owuamanam et al., 2009). The five-day riot resulted in no less than 700 deaths, mostly of suspected Boko Haram members, and wanton destruction of police stations, prisons, schools, government offices, and churches (Adesoji, 2011; Nwankwo and Falola 2009).



*Figure 2.1 Mohammed in Custody. Source BBC 2014*

After the riot, Mohammed Yusuf was arrested, but while in custody, he was allegedly killed under extrajudicial circumstances. Brigaglia (2012) claims that video recordings of his dead body were widely circulated locally and on the internet. This act may have been to serve as a deterrent to Boko Haram sympathisers and members who survived the riot and had gone into hiding. While Adesoji (2011) is a widely cited account of the July riot, Walker (2012) provides a slightly discrepant account also cited in Oftedal (2013). These studies report similar estimates of casualties but they do not attribute the July riots to a security operation at the group's mosque. Rather they



posit that the riots were caused by heavy handed police enforcement of a public order on the use of helmets by motorcyclists.

#### **2.4.4 Research on Boko Haram**

The activities of Boko Haram have received wide coverage from Nigeria's print, electronic and social media. These reports have been subject to analysis by scholars. Analysing headlines from four Nigerian e-newspapers, Osisanwo (2016) identifies the linguistic and discourse strategies deployed in representing Boko Haram and other social actors. The study uses CDA and van Leeuwen's (1996) representation of social actor theory for analysis. Osisanwo (2016) identified thirteen representational strategies used by selected newspapers from 2011 to 2014 in representing Boko Haram and other social actors. He concludes that the representations of Boko Haram by the newspapers are largely negative, using different discourse and linguistic strategies thus setting the agenda for the negative perception of the members of the group within and outside Nigeria.

Chiluwa and Odebunmi (2016) analyse the content of social media conversations about Boko Haram on *Nairaland*, one of Nigeria's foremost internet community forums. The data for the study was drawn from conversation threads posted by *Nairaland* users from July 2009 to January 2014. Using a qualitative analysis of stance and representation, the study argues that the negative evaluation of Boko Haram is a dangerous development in the social and political discourse about the group on *Nairaland*. Such stereotyping does not bode well for a nation that has historically struggled with deep-seated issues of tribalism. Working within a similar genre of internet discourse, Chiluwa and Adegoke (2013) analyse tweets by self-acclaimed Boko Haram members and others by unaffiliated users tweeting about the activities of the group. Nearly a quarter of their dataset contained tweets supporting the activities of Boko Haram, a result to be

expected considering the pool of data collected. However, they also found similar rhetoric to Chiluwa and Odebunmi (2016) in which tweeters denounced Boko Haram whilst simultaneously denigrating Muslims and Islam in general. As the study analysed data from individuals who did not explicitly indicate their affiliation or stance regarding Boko Haram, the study argues that anonymity online allows for the expression of anti-government sentiments. Although this study only captures the views of a subset of internet users in Nigeria, it is still a relevant reflection of sentiments held by some Nigerians about the questionable handling of the crisis by the government. Ayoola and Olaosun (2014) examine the media representation of newspaper reports on the activities of Boko Haram. The data for the study are newspaper reports published in the July and August 2011 editions of three Nigerian national newspapers after the bombing of Nigeria's police headquarters and the United Nations building in Abuja. Using a CDA approach, the authors assert that Nigerian newspapers represent Boko Haram as outlaws having affiliations to *Al Qaeda*. However, the study is limited to three Nigerian newspapers. Thus, the findings may be unrepresentative of the wider Nigerian media to which the claims allude. Generalisations on such a sensitive subject matter should be narrowed down because they could play a decisive role in influencing how people perceive the causes, consequences and how the government decides to respond to the issue (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Some of the conclusions of the study are also contradictory. Despite asserting that "the analysis showed that Boko Haram should have been more accurately represented by the newspaper media as a dissident socio-political group whose interpretation of Islam run at cross-purposes with the teachings of the Holy Quran and the *Hadith*" (p. 57), the study still goes on to conclude that, "Nigerian national newspapers serve as a source of accurate information and perceptive analysis on Boko Haram, thus demonstrating that the Nigerian public

could rely on the Nigerian print media for accurate information and analysis of crucial socio-political happenings in the country” (p. 57).

The review of previous research on Boko Haram has shown that the media and the internet have been common sources for data. These two domains have provided a plethora of data for studying different aspects of Boko Haram’s history, influence, attacks and impact. However, studies focused on the group’s representation in political discourse had received little attention over the years. While Meagher (2014), Mustapha (2014), and Kendhammer (2016) had identified the influence of politicians in the rise of Boko Haram, this thesis presents an opportunity to look beyond the Nigerian media and the internet to examine discourse from the political institution of the Nigerian government.

#### **2.4.5 President Goodluck Jonathan and Boko Haram**

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was Nigeria’s 14th Head of State and the third civilian president since civilian governance was restored in 1999. He served for an unprecedented five years because his predecessor, Umar Yar’ Adua died three years into his four-year tenure. Goodluck Jonathan, who was Acting President when Umar Yar’ Adua took ill, completed the remaining 12 months of Yar’Adua’s tenure and commenced a four-year tenure on May 29, 2011. Cook (2011) reports that the Boko Haram group was already considered a security threat before Goodluck Jonathan became president. The year 2009 is particularly notable because of the aforementioned clash between Boko Haram members and the Nigerian police force in Borno state. In the aftermath of the confrontation, Mohammed Yusuf (the cleric who led the group at the time) was arrested and killed under suspicious circumstances while his followers went underground, only to remerge under a new leadership of Abubakar Shekau in early 2010. The group’s re-emergence could not be more ill-timed as it coincided with President Yar’ Adua’s sudden

departure to Saudi Arabia for emergency medical treatment. Yar'Adua's absence created a vacuum and heightened political uncertainty and tension in the country because he did not officially transfer power to his deputy, Goodluck Jonathan before leaving for Saudi Arabia. Section 145 of Nigeria's 1999 constitution requires the President to send a letter to the National Assembly informing it of his temporary transmission of power to his deputy in lieu of a prolonged period of absence. Failure to do this on Yar' Adua's path threw the nation into interregnum and fanned flames of deep religious and ethnic divides (see section 2.2) that have long troubled the country. The National Assembly intervened in the situation and passed a resolution dubbed "doctrine of necessity" which granted Vice President Goodluck Jonathan constitutional powers to act as President. The move had no precedent but was necessitated by the constitutional crisis that President Yar' Adua's inaction had caused.

In February 2010, President Jonathan's emergence as Acting President was met with trepidation by some Northern elites who voiced their dissatisfaction and challenged the National Assembly's legislation in court (Tattersall, 2010). They were unsuccessful in overturning the decision and so Goodluck Jonathan continued to serve as Nigeria's Acting President. In late 2010, to the dismay of those that had resisted his emergence as Acting President, Goodluck Jonathan announced his bid to contest for the 2011 Presidential elections. Goodluck Jonathan's bid was considered an affront to the existing zoning arrangement by the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to which Goodluck Jonathan was a member. The arrangement stipulates that the PDP reserves the right to zone vital public offices between aspirants from the North and the South and among the six geopolitical zones. Since Yar'Adua (a Northerner) died before completing his tenure, the Northern elites expected that they should be allowed to present another Northerner as a Presidential aspirant in order for their zone to complete the full length of their tenure. However, the PDP

exercised its right to zone the position to the South and Goodluck Jonathan emerged as the Presidential candidate. It was already a bitter pill to swallow that Goodluck Jonathan's critics and opponents had to contend with him for 14 months as Acting President, but with the outcome of the PDP's directive, Jonathan could emerge president and serve for four additional years. With this kind of murky background leading to the 2011 elections, the campaign period was a tense affair. It was filled with widespread manipulation of the North vs South dichotomy and there were pockets of violence amongst political party supporters. In April 2011, Goodluck Jonathan emerged victorious at the polls thus ending any legitimate means by his opponents to stop him from becoming President. However, it did not curb the illegitimate attempts to oust him. Right from the week of his inauguration till the end of his tenure there were multiple attacks across the country by Boko Haram and other groups that did not declare their affiliation to any group. Goodluck Jonathan references these groups in his 21 April 2011 "Enough is Enough" speech thus:

- (2.1) Sadly, some misguided elements do not share in the spirit of our democratic achievements. They formed into groups of miscreants and struck with deadly and destructive force in some parts of the country. The mobs also targeted government offices and facilities, especially those of INEC. They waylaid vulnerable Youth Corps members, even though we all know that these young and innocent Nigerians are guests within our communities and are agents of public good and national unity. We are shocked by these horrific acts which strike at the heart of our nation. These disturbances are more than mere political protests. Clearly, they aim to frustrate the remaining elections. This is not acceptable.

In excerpt 2.1 above, Goodluck Jonathan nominates the perpetrators of the attack as *misguided elements, group of miscreants* and *mob*, terms which do not indicate their identity. This may have been due to the fact that no group claimed responsibility for carrying out the attacks. The radicalisation of Boko Haram and the rise in violence prior to and during President Jonathan's tenure fuelled speculation that the attacks perpetrated by these groups were aimed at frustrating and discrediting the Goodluck Jonathan administration (Pérouse de Montclos, 2015). President Jonathan was not known to openly respond to Boko Haram but he initiated several policies to curb their influence. In less than a month after his inauguration, President Jonathan, through the Nigerian National Assembly, signed into law the Terrorism Preventive Act (TPA). The Act designated the office of the National Security Adviser as the coordinating officer for Nigeria's counter terrorism efforts (Bhura, 2012). The TPA was a precursor to the designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO) by the United States and the United Kingdom in 2013 (Campbell, 2014). President Jonathan's next administrative response was to declare a state of emergence in parts of three North Eastern states (Yobe, Borno, Plateau and Niger) on 31 December 2011. This declaration resulted in the closure of the borders in these States. Excerpt 2.2 from the 31 December 2011 speech reads thus:

(2.2) As part of the overall strategy to overcome the current security challenges, I have directed the closure of the land borders contiguous to the affected Local Government Areas so as to control incidences of cross boarder terrorist activities as terrorists have taken advantage of the present situation to strike at targets in Nigeria and retreat beyond the reach of our law enforcement personnel.

The state of emergency gave President Jonathan greater autonomy over the North Eastern region but his tense relationship and history with Northern politicians ensured that they remained uncooperative and even accused him of using the Boko Haram as an excuse to settle scores, intimidate political opposition and provoke intercommunal conflict in the north (Thurston, 2017). In May 2013, President Jonathan declared a more comprehensive state of emergency over the entirety of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe state. In his justification for the state of emergency he cited that:

(2.3) These terrorists and insurgents seem determined to establish control and authority over parts of our beloved nation and to progressively overwhelm the rest of the country. In many places, they have destroyed the Nigerian flag and other symbols of state authority and in their place, hoisted strange flags suggesting the exercise of alternative sovereignty.

This was President Jonathan's first open admission of Boko Haram's dominance in the North East and their rebellion against the Nigerian state. As a result, President Jonathan ordered the immediate deployment of troops "to those states for more effective internal security operations". The increased presence of military troops in the North East was followed by widespread accusations of human rights abuses by the security forces (Amnesty, International 2013). President Jonathan's critics cited the free roam mandate from his 14 May 2013 "Declaration of State of Emergency" speech as the backing that the military relied on to met out inhuman treatment of residents in the North East. Excerpt 2.4 from the 14 May 2013 speech reads:

(2.4) Accordingly, the Chief of Defence Staff has been directed to immediately deploy more troops to these states for more effective

internal security operations. The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders to take all necessary action, within the ambit of their rules of engagement, to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists. This will include the authority to arrest and detain suspects, the taking of possession and control of any building or structure used for terrorist purposes, the lock-down of any area of terrorist operation, the conduct of searches, and the apprehension of persons in illegal possession of weapons.

The government faced mounting criticism over its handling of the state of emergency both locally and internationally. During a Peace Summit in Paris, President Jonathan was quizzed about the reports from human rights organisations about violations by Nigeria's security forces. He denied the allegations on the grounds that the security services:

“...were directed to adhere strictly to clearly spelt out rules of engagement and avoid any excesses that may amount to a violation of human rights. Careful regard for human rights has always been central to our counter-terrorism strategies, resulting in the adoption of rules and procedures to protect the civilian population from excessive collateral damage.”

(Campbell, 2014b, p. 1)

In Nigeria, President Jonathan received strong criticism from Nigeria's former President Olusegun Obasanjo over his reliance on a militarised approach to resolving the Boko Haram crisis. An excerpt from President Obasanjo's "Before it is too late" letter reads:

Knowing the genesis of Boko Haram and the reasons for escalation of violence from that sector with the widespread and ramification of the menace of Boko



Haram within and outside the Nigerian borders, conventional military actions based on standard phases of military operations alone will not permanently and effectively deal with the issue of Boko Haram. There are many strands or layers of causes that require different solutions, approaches or antidotes. Drug, indoctrination, fundamentalism, gun trafficking, hate culture, human trafficking, money laundering, religion, poverty, unemployment, poor education, revenge and international terrorism are among factors that have effect on Boko Haram. One single prescription cannot cure all these ailments that combine in Boko Haram. (Moss, 2018, p. 67)

In what became known colloquially as the ‘war of open letters’, President Jonathan responded through his media spokesperson and stated that “Mr. Obasanjo’s attack was reckless, baseless, unjustifiable and indecorous, as well as highly unbecoming, mischievous and provocative”. In April 2014, President Jonathan endorsed the National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) for implementation. The mandate of the programme was to forestall people from joining terrorist groups, preempt attacks and mitigate against the impact of Boko Haram’s attacks. In September 2014, with the increase in cross border activities by Boko Haram across the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries, President Jonathan and other African leaders reinstated the Multinational Joint Task Force MNJTF with a mandate particular to counterterrorism.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided contextual information about the political landscape of Nigeria. It paid particular attention to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of Goodluck Jonathan as Nigerian’s third civilian president since civilian governance was restored in 1999. It covered his tense relationship with the Northern Nigerian political elites, his response to violence in the

North East by Boko Haram and the criticism of his administration locally and internationally. The chapter offered insight into the deep seated ethnic divides that is entrenched in Nigerian politics and how it determines the political course of affairs in the Nation. Although there was no direct evidence showing that the Northern elites created Boko Haram, the review shows that that they may have benefited from the prolonged antics of Boko Haram which put the Jonathan-led administration in a bad light both locally and internationally.

## CHAPTER 3

### Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework of this study comes from the perspectives of CDA, specifically Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach to CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2001, 2003), Halliday's SFL (Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014) and van Leeuwen's SAN theory (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008). Before delving into the details of the theories applied, section 3.1 discusses three pivotal concepts in CDA, namely language, discourse, and ideology. The discussion of these concepts serves to establish their relevance to CDA in general and how they relate to this study specifically. In addition, I consider the contribution of notable analysts such as Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Theo van Leeuwen and Anabelle Lukin to the theory and practice of CDA. The review of the work of these analysts shows how their work has informed my approach within the specified limits, and, how I identified and addressed those limits. In the preceding two chapters of the thesis, I have primarily addressed contextual aspects of the study. This chapter (3), shifts the discussion from context to the theoretical framework applied for the critical discourse analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential addresses.

#### 3.2 Ideology and Language

Ideology is a concept that is central to several disciplines in the social sciences (Malešević, 2002). Although it is notoriously vague to define (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak, 2007), most social, political and linguistic theorists have engaged with some account of ideology. The origin of the concept has been traced to the French philosopher, Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1798), who coined the term *ideology* to mean a "science of ideas" (cited in Nicolas, 2004, p. XII). Its contemporary usage is largely attributed to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *Die Deutsche Ideologie* published

in 1848. According to Marx and Engels, ideology represents the “production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness” that is “at first directly intertwined with material activity and the language of real life” (cited in Eagleton, 2000, p. 89). Ideology may also be viewed as either partial or total. According to Mannheim (1929), partial ideology is a localised representation of the world influenced by specific interests, prejudices, and point of view. The partial conception of ideology manifests in specific actions and utterances which are a universal part of human nature rather than being specific to some particular group. On the other hand, total ideology refers to the view that language is always ideological, and ideology depends on language. van Dijk (2007) defines ideology as a system of shared ideas and representations of social groups, and the “axiomatic” principles of such representations (p.115). This definition presupposes that ideology is both cognitive and social as it manifests in being shared by members of social groups, organisations and institutions. Since language functions as a medium for expressing thought, it is able to reinforce and reproduce ideologies in discourse. Political discourse has been regarded as a site where ideologies are rife (van Dijk, 2006), thus this thesis applies the total view of ideology to examine the political discourse of President Goodluck Jonathan.

### **3.3 Discourse and Ideology**

This study likewise regards discourse and ideology as pivotal theoretical elements of CDA. Regarding the former, this study adopts Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional notion of discourse as text, discursive practice and social practice. Fairclough uses *text* in a broad sense to refer to any instance of language use that encompasses speech, writing and visual signs. For Fairclough, CDA requires a detailed analysis of text, in order to gain insight into the operation of discursive processes. As such, his approach to CDA advocates and conducts text analysis that sheds light on the links between the text, social practices and social structures. This approach to analysing text

applies analytical methods drawn from SFL, amongst other text based linguistic frameworks. The synergy between Fairclough's brand of CDA and SFL is made possible due to the preoccupation of SFL with the relationship between language and the semiotic elements of social life (Fairclough, 2003). The text-based and socio-semiotic synergy between SFL and CDA has resulted in major contributions in the field of CDA (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew 1979; Hodge and Kress 1993; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; Lemke 1995).

For Fairclough (1992), discourse is simultaneously "a mode of action", which allows people to act upon the world (p. 63), and a mode of representation. The causal effects of discourse as a mode of action implies that discourse can bring about changes in our knowledge, belief system, attitudes, values and the shaping of our identities. As regards the latter, discourse as a mode of representation can have political effects. Discourse also inculcates and sustains ideologies, which contribute to "establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9). The aforementioned causal effects of discourse are possible due to the dialectical relations inherent in language. Discourse constitutes "situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 6). Its constitutive function also extends to sustaining, reproducing and transforming social identities, relationships, systems of knowledge and belief. Fairclough (2003) argues that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure such that on the one hand, discourse is socially constitutive and on the other hand, it is shaped and constrained by social structures. Thus, discourse contributes to the constitution of all the dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it. Therefore, Fairclough's notion of discourse and discursive practice allows for critical analysis to reveal the ways in which social identities are set up, how social relations between participants are enacted

and negotiated, and the overall discursive and representational strategy of the speaker. These constitutive aspects of discourse are focal to the critical analysis carried out in this study.

### **3.4 Historical Overview of CDA**

CDA as defined by one of its leading proponents focuses on ‘uncovering injustice, inequality, taking sides with the powerless and suppressed’ and making ‘mechanisms of manipulation, discrimination, demagoguery, and propaganda explicit and transparent’ (Wodak, 1989, p. xiv, cited in Lukin, 2019 p. 8). The origin of CDA is generally traced to the critical perspective in language studies which gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s in France and Britain respectively. According to Fairclough (1993), French scholar Pêcheux (1982) and his associates developed an approach to discourse analysis by drawing upon the work of linguist Zellig Harris and Althusser’s reformulation of a Marxist theory of ideology. This approach had roots in the work of Russian theorists Bakhtin (1981) and Vološinov (1973), both of whom had postulated an integration of language and social processes in the early 1930s (Wodak, 2011a).

In late 1979, Roger Fowler, Gunter Kress, Robert Hodge, Tony Trew and other Hallidayan linguists at the University of East Anglia began developing systematic ways of analysing the linguistic and social import of texts (Fowler et al, 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Wodak and Chilton, 2005). They applied the term *Critical Linguistics* to their efforts which sought to blend elements of linguistic science with elements of social theory whilst drawing upon the functional linguistic theory of Michael Halliday (1978) thereby showing how language and grammar can be used as ideological instruments. The fusion with SFL made it possible to move linguistic analysis beyond formal description and use it as a basis for social critique. Comparing the British and French traditions, Fairclough (1993) argues that they both sought social and linguistic synthesis in discourse analysis but had limited success in achieving it. Their efforts, however, represent a static

vision of power relations, and give a salient value to the role of discourse in the maintenance and reproduction of power relations.

About a decade later, in January 1991, a two day symposium at the University of Amsterdam brought together Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak for a stimulating and rapidly expanding debate on theories and methods of discourse analysis. The largely successful symposium marked a significant point in the development of CDA as the collaborators were able to confront each other with their distinct approaches and proposed methodologies which still hold sway in CDA today. The meeting was a catalyst for several milestones in CDA in the years that followed, which include the publication of a special issue of *Discourse and Society* in 1993 which covered the divergent theoretical and methodological considerations made in Amsterdam and the publication of several books, which, coincidentally or because of a *Zeitgeist*, appeared simultaneously and were led by rather similar research agendas (Wodak and Meyer 2001).

There have since been improvements of these models, leading to the emergence of multidisciplinary approaches to discourse analysis which exist as CDA or more recently as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) amongst scholars like Teun van Dijk. Despite their different disciplinary backgrounds and diversity of methods and data, Wodak (2013) posits that all the approaches deal with discourse and have at least the following seven dimensions in common:

1. An interest in the properties of naturally occurring language use by real language users (instead of a study of abstract language systems and invented examples).
2. A focus on units larger than isolated words and sentences, and hence, new basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts or communicative events.

3. The extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar towards a study of action and interaction.
4. The extension of non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film, the internet and multimedia.
5. A focus on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies.
6. The study of the functions of (social, cultural, situative and cognitive) contexts of language use.
7. Analysis of a vast number of phenomena of texts, grammar and language use: coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, speech acts, interactions, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric, mental models and many other aspects of text and discourse. (p. 39)

Some of the studies that have used the varied CDA approaches to analyse texts include Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001), Van Dijk (1989, 1998, 2001, 2008) Wodak (2001, 2011), Chouliaraki and Fairclough, (2010), Wodak and Meyer (2016) Persson and Neto (2018). It is clear from the foregoing that CDA gives room for diversity in methodology, disciplinary backgrounds and objects of investigation. CDA subsumes a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas; what unites them is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, identity, politics and political economy or cultural change in society. In sections 3.3 and 3.4 below, I discuss the dialectical-relational and the SAN approach to CDA which I have applied in this study. I present some of the key elements shared by both approaches which make it possible to categorise them as belonging to the broad CDA movement and how they are applied in this thesis.



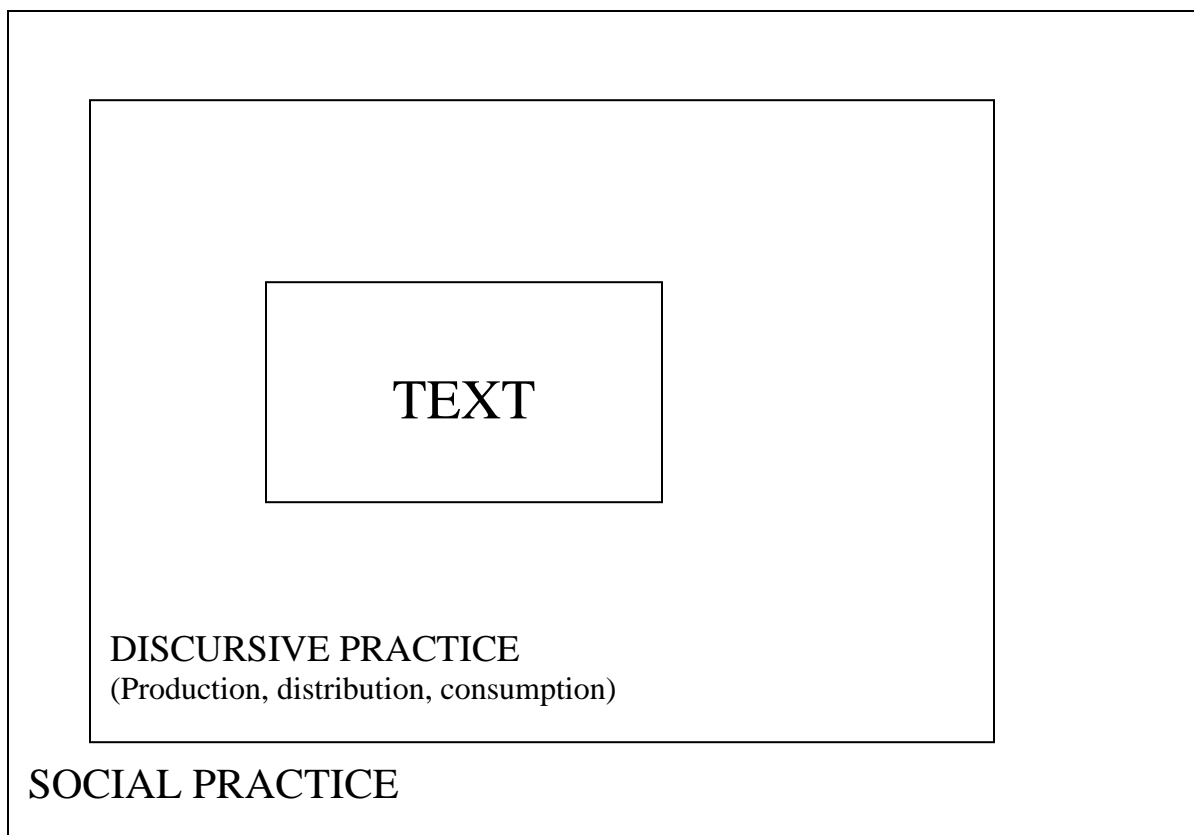
### 3.5 The Dialectic-Relational Approach

The work of Norman Fairclough has been influential in developing the dialectic-relational approach to CDA and a transdisciplinary approach to social change. The origin of the approach can be traced to Fairclough (1989; 1991; 1992) which espouse the relations between language, ideology and power in discourse and social change. Fairclough (1995) originally called his approach 'critical discourse analysis' but overtime the label was subsumed under the broader CDA movement of which several approaches, including his own, are part (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). The choice to call it the dialectic-relational approach comes from Fairclough's conception of discourse as an important form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices in the social world. The approach addresses the general question: what is the particular significance of semiosis, and of dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements in the social processes which are under investigation? The question is posed because Fairclough (1992) considers the relationship between discourse (which he calls *semiosis* to reduce the scope of confusion with other meanings which are ascribed to discourse) and the social world to be a 'dialectic' one in which discourse reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations, including power relations, and at the same time is also shaped by other social practices and structures. Thus discourse is in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions.

Over the years, the dialectic-relational approach has undergone changes arising from applying it in various fields. Early applications of this version of CDA included analysing critical language awareness in education (Fairclough, 1992), the marketisation of higher education and the enterprise culture project launched by the Thatcher government (Fairclough, 1995). Important theoretical developments arising out of Fairclough (1992) were the conceptualisation of 'orders of

discourse' (p. 43), which refers to the semiotic dimension of networks of social practices, the foregrounding of dialectics of discourse and the development of 'recontextualisation' as a CDA category in Chouliaraki's research on classroom discourse (Chouliaraki, 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). Of particular relevance to the present study is the application of the dialectic-relational model to analyse Nigerian political discourse imbued with other social dimensions of ethnicity, culture and politics.

Fairclough (1992) advocated for a productive way of doing social research by focusing on language, using some form of discourse analysis. The approach merges methods for analysing language within linguistics and language studies, and social and political thought relevant to developing an adequate social theory of language. Fairclough (1992) combines both traditions to develop a synthesis of socially and linguistically oriented views of discourse, moving towards a social theory of discourse. At the heart of the framework is a highly theorised approach to discourse that allows one to connect more linguistically focused approaches to the broader social context. To do this Fairclough devised a three-dimensional conception of discourse reproduced diagrammatically in Figure 3.2 below.



*Figure 3.1. Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse Fairclough. (1992, p. 73)*

Fairclough's three-dimensional model illustrated in Figure 3.2 above propounds the view that discourse comprises the following three dimensions: text (speech, writing, visuals or a combination of all three), discursive practice (the production and consumption of texts) and social practice. According to Fairclough (1992), each of these conceptions of discourse is informed by the following distinct analytical traditions: 'the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macro-sociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structure and the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared common sense procedures' (p. 73). All three dimension should be covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event.

The dialectic-relational approach to CDA has been under continuous development since the 1980's, largely in response to social changes (Fairclough, 2017). The earliest version of the model, Fairclough (1989), emphasises on the power in discourse and the power behind discourse. It focuses on the critique of ideological discourse as part of a concern with the reproduction of the existing social order. Fairclough (1989) describes how people with power shape the 'order of discourse' and the social order (p. 49). From this perspective, discourse is considered a site of social and class struggle. On the backdrop, of conceptualising discourse this way, Fairclough (1989) makes a case for CDA to serve as a step towards social emancipation by raising consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others.

Shortly afterwards, Fairclough (1992) emerged with a focus on discourse as a part of top-down approach to social change in the implementation of neoliberal capitalism. This version of the dialectic-relational approach to CDA coincided with the shift to neoliberalism from the 1970s. Fairclough (1992) cites the marketisation of universities as an example of a move to restructure public services on a market model. The move is argued to present itself via discursive practices in which universities model their discourse after corporations. Also noticeable were congruent changes in structure, management and practices in the representation of processes and activities of the university. This included ideological change in common sense assumptions such as, students are consumers and universities are businesses in competition. More recently, Fairclough (2017) has advocated a third version the dialectic-relational CDA that focuses on critique of political debate as an element of struggle. This latest version incorporates augmentation into CDA; and it proposes that proponents address ideology in terms of practical argumentation rather than focus solely on its constructive effects on social reality.

### 3.6 The Social Actor Network Approach

This approach to CDA was largely influenced by the work of Theo van Leeuwen (1996; 2008), renowned for his conception of discourse as recontextualised social practice. The analytical framework derives from Bernstein's concept of recontextualisation, Foucault's theory of discourse, Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and Martin's theory of activity sequences. Drawing on these studies, van Leeuwen (2008) adopts the view that 'all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices' (p. 5). Although not all are always represented, discourse as social practice typically includes elements such as: participants (performing certain roles, usually those of agent, affected or beneficiary), actions (the core of any social practice), performance modes (indications of how the actions were or should be performed), eligibility conditions (referring to the qualifications that participants must have to be eligible to play a particular role in a specific social practice), times (concerning the time constraints of the social practice), locations (social practices involve a variety of locations in which actions take place) (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 7-12).

The unique feature of van Leeuwen's model is that it does not rely solely on linguistic approaches to determine the portrayal of social actors in discourse. Instead, he combines linguistic categories with sociological categories to develop a sociosemantic inventory for investigating the representation of social actors in discourse. To justify his reliance on both traditions, van Leeuwen (1996) argues that 'there is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories' (p. 33); as such, if a CDA study ties itself too closely to only linguistic markers of agency, it risks overlooking other relevant instances of agency, perhaps sociological ones. van Leeuwen illustrates this incongruence between linguistic and sociological categories by examining the variance in their treatment of agency. Linguistic agency is typically realised by the grammatical role of *agent* or

*actor* while sociological agency may be realised in other ways which are not necessarily agentive from a grammatical paradigm, such as possessive pronouns or prepositional phrases. van Leeuwen's uses the following text to illustrate this point:

People of Asian descent say they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers.

Here, the sociological agent is *people of Asian descent* while *neighbours and co-workers* represents the sociological patient. The act of providing an account about the attitude of their neighbours and co-workers is what delineates the people of Asian descent as sociological agent, while, being at the receiving end of the claim in this account is what makes *neighbours and co-workers* the sociological patient. However, grammatically, *people of Asian descent* and *neighbours and co-workers* are actually both agents. The reason for the agency difference is traceable to the fact that the sociological analysis treats the text as one sentence while grammatical analysis (specifically SFL) analyses the text as two paratactic clauses. The first is a primary Verbal process clause: *//People of Asian descent say//*. This primary clause projects a secondary Material process clause: *//they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers//*. The agent in the first clause is *people of Asian descent* (*Sayer* in SFL terminology, the agent/participant that does the act of saying) while in the second clause the agent (the participant that gave the cold shoulder) is *neighbours and co-workers*. It is on the basis of this incongruence that van Leeuwen (2008) recommends the dual pathway of linguistic and sociological categories when accounting for agency of social actors in discourse to avoid overlooking relevant instances of agency.

Hence the social actor model is both grounded in linguistics and sociology as each of van Leeuwen's representational categories are tied to specific linguistic and rhetorical realisations and find unity in the concept of social actor, a term which gained some currency following van

Leeuwen's use in his sociosemantic inventory. Although van Leeuwen does not explicitly define the term, Koller (2009) posits that *social actor* delineates a discourse analytical category and textual instantiation on which the construal of self and others, both individual and collective is based. The social actor theory was adopted in this study as a framework for investigating the representation of key social actors in the speeches, while Fairclough's dialectic-relational model was applied to unveil the ideological tendencies of such representations.

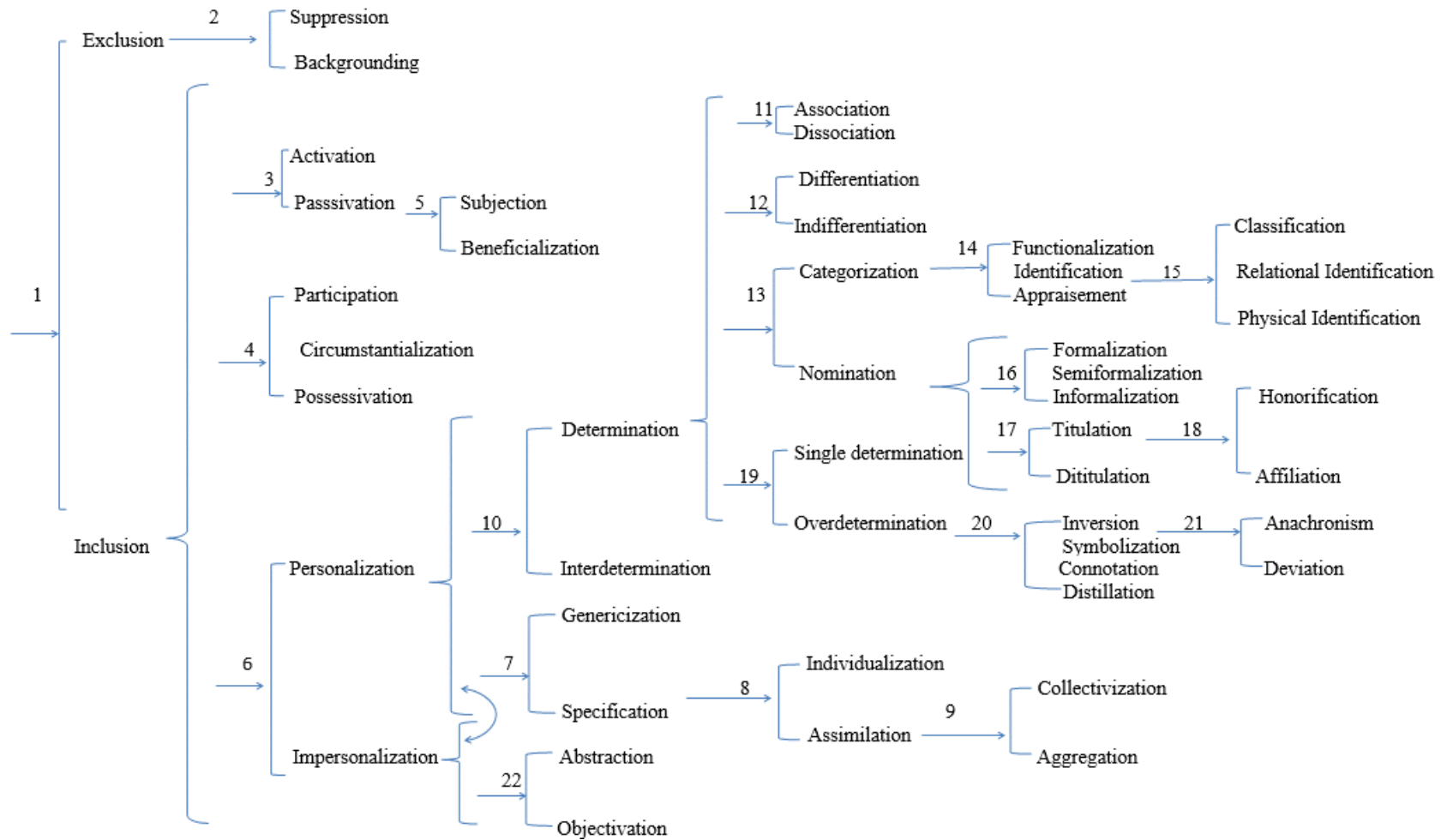


Figure 3.2 The Social Actor Network (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52)



### 3.6.1 Inclusion and Exclusion:

van Leeuwen (2008) posits that a given representation of social practice may include some social actors and exclude others. The choice of whom to include or exclude is usually linked to the interest and purpose of the text producer in relation to the audience for whom the text is intended. The notion of salience and prominence also comes into question when accounting for inclusion of social actors. The analysis should highlight the frequency with which each social actor is included as well as the location in the clause where inclusion occurs. In some cases, the exclusion of social actors may be deemed ‘innocent’ if the writer or speaker considers such details to be shared knowledge with the audience, thus requiring no further mention. Conversely, other exclusions may be deliberate, in order to obfuscate agency and responsibility of the elided social actors. van Leeuwen (2008) further distinguishes between two types of exclusions: *suppression* and *backgrounding*. The former is a radical form of exclusion in which there is no mention of certain social actors or their activities anywhere in the text. This form of exclusion leaves no trace of the elided social actor. It can be realised through non-finite clauses functioning as grammatical participant, nominalisation, beneficiary deletion, and passive agent deletion. Exclusion of the latter category (backgrounding) is less radical compared to suppression.

Like suppression, the backgrounded social actors are not mentioned in relation to a given action; however, they may be mentioned elsewhere in the text. This form of exclusion allows for the audience to infer with reasonable certainty who the elided social actor is. The backgrounded social actors are not so much excluded as deemphasised. Backgrounding is realised through ellipsis in non-finite clauses and infinitival clauses in a clause complex. Critical discourse analysts are interested in the phenomena of absence in discourse and exclusion is a typical way for realising absence (Schröter and Taylor, 2018). In van Leeuwen’s (1993) representation of schooling, he

found that fathers were radically excluded in texts addressing teachers, but included in other texts schooling outside the context of the school. Analysing cases of suppression can be crucial in studies which critically compare different representations of the same practice; however, suppression in single texts or texts from the same producer is not easily detectable since the elided social actor is not mentioned elsewhere in the text. The present study focuses only on speeches by President Goodluck Jonathan, and as such, radical exclusions were not looked at in great detail since the excluded social actors are not mentioned anywhere else in the speeches and representations of the phenomenon by other speakers have not been considered in this study. Backgrounding, however, was given considerable attention in the form of analysing the frequency and patterns associated with the social actors that were found to have been backgrounded.

### **3.6.2 Role Allocation**

Drawing on the work of critical linguists (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler 1991; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Van Dijk 1991) and Hallidayan functional grammarians, van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) considers the roles allocated to social actors to be an important aspect of their representation in discourse. Once social actors have been included (see section 3.4.1 above) in a representation, they are simultaneously assigned roles based on the action or experience being represented. The roles that social actors are assigned is an important consideration, particularly, when analysing which social actor is assigned the role of *agent* (Actor in SFL terminology) and *patient* (Goal in SFL terminology) with respect to a given action. van Leeuwen (2008) opines that social actors are not immutable entities with fixed predetermined roles. On the contrary, a social actor may be assigned a particular role in one representation but reassigned another role in another representation of the same practice. This distinction is important in CDA because it allows an analyst to compare role allocation of social actors across representations of the same practice. In this study, the roles

allocated to all the social actors were identified using van Leeuwen's role allocation taxonomy. Afterwards, comparisons were made across the speeches to determine the point at which reallocation of roles had occurred (if any) and probe why these choices were made and what interests the choices might serve. van Leeuwen (2008) proposes two broad systems for assigning social actors with roles: (1) activation and (2) passivation.

### 3.6.3 Activation

Activation refers to the representation of a social actor as the active dynamic force in an activity. An activated social actor is portrayed as the grammatical participant who does the deed in an activity or experience being represented. Activation is typically realised by transitivity structures in which the activated social actor is coded as Actor in Material processes, Behavior in Behavioural processes, Senser in Mental processes and Sayer in Verbal processes. Excerpts 3.1 to 3.4 illustrate the realisation of social actors in activated participant roles.

(3.1) //They set ablaze business premises, private homes and even places of worship//.

<b>They</b>	set ablaze		business premises, private homes and even places of worship	
S	F	P	C	
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
<b>Actor</b>	Material		Goal	

(3.2) //We remember all the precious souls that have been lost//.

<b>We</b>	remember		all the precious souls that have been lost	
S	F	P	C	
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
<b>Senser</b>	Mental		Phenomenon	

(3.3) //They spoke through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction//.

<b>They</b>	spoke		to all Nigerians	through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction
S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			

<b>Behaver</b>	Behavioural	Recipient	Circumstance
----------------	-------------	-----------	--------------

(3.4) //I want to thank our brave men and women of the security services for their commitment//.

<b>I</b>	want to thank	our brave men and women of the security services	for their commitment.
S	F	P	C
Mood	Residue		
Theme	Rheme		
<b>Sayer</b>	Verbal	Target	Circumstance

Activation may also occur when a social actor is portrayed as the external cause for the represented action. In such cases, the social actor is realised as Initiator in Material processes, Inducer in Mental processes, Attributor in attributive Relational processes and Assigner in identifying Relational processes. These grammatical participant roles are dynamic as they cause other participants to carry out the process of the clause. The excerpt clauses below illustrate the realisation of social actors in activated causative roles.

(3.5) //The activities of terrorist elements has caused the good people of this country to flee their lands and their homes.//

<b>The activities of terrorist elements</b>	has	caused	the good people of this country	to flee	their lands and their homes.
S	F	P	C	P	A
Mood	Rheme				
Theme	Rheme				
<b>Initiator</b>	Process	Actor	Material	Circumstance	

(3.6) //The despicable abduction of school girls from Chibok in Borno State has brought to the awareness of the entire world, the heartless brutality of these terrorists who want to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise our nation.//

<b>The despicable abduction of school girls</b>	has	brought	to the awareness of the entire world,	the heartless brutality of these terrorists who want to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise our nation.
S	F	P	C	C
Mood	Residue			
Theme	Rheme			

<b>Inducer</b>	Mental	Senser	Phenomenon
----------------	--------	--------	------------

(3.7) //They have made violence their ideology//.

<b>They</b>	have	made	violence	their ideology
S	F	P	C	C
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
<b>Attributor</b>	Relational	Carrier	Attribute	

While transitivity structures contribute a great deal to activation, there are other less-transitive ways through which activation can be realised. van Leeuwen (2008) identifies premodification and postmodification of nominal groups and circumstantialisation as secondary means for realising activation. The unique feature of these types of activation is the use of prepositions to introduce the social actor. For instance, social actors may be activated through circumstantial prepositions as with *from all of us* in excerpt 3.8 below.

(3.8) //All of these require urgent and concerted actions from all of us.//

This observation is particularly relevant since Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) consider circumstantial elements to be temporal, spatial and causal augmentations to the process, thus implying that social actors which occur in circumstances may be overlooked since they are not directly involved in the process. However, Halliday and Matthiessen's position may limit the possibility for accounting for all the social actors present in the text. Hence, social actors realised in transitively dynamic participant roles as well as those present in circumstantial elements were accounted for in this study when analysing inclusions.

### 3.6.4 Passivation

Passivation occurs when social actors are represented as undergoing the activity or experience being represented. There are two forms in which passivation takes place: *subjection* and *beneficialisation*. The former occurs when social actors are treated as the objects in the

representation. This can be realised by transitivity structures in which the passivated social actor is coded as Goal a Material process. For example, in excerpt 3.9 below, *our daughters* are subjected in relation to the process *to bring*.

- (3.9) ///The government will continue to do everything possible to bring our daughters home///.

This government	will	continue to do	everything possible	to bring	our daughters	home
S	F	P	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Actor	Material		Scope	Material	Goal	Cir
$\alpha$				$\beta$		

Beneficialisation involves the realisation of a social actor as a third party that benefits positively or negatively from the unfolding of the process. In excerpt 3.10 below, *some innocent families* are beneficialised in relation to *hurt* and *bring grief*.

- (3.10) To those who persist in sowing the seeds of discord, I say, you may hurt and bring grief to some innocent families.

### 3.6.5 Genericisation and Specification

Text producers may choose to represent social actors as classes or as specific identifiable individuals. When genericisation occurs, the social actors are distanced from the audience's immediate world of experience using any one of the following forms: plural nominal group without a determiner (excerpt 3.11), singular nominal group preceded by determiner (excerpt 3.12), mass nouns without determiner.

- (3.11) Terrorists will not be allowed to define who we are or instil fear in our people and cause destruction and mayhem.
- (3.12) A number of young men and women have been kidnapped by these criminal elements including our daughters from Chibok.
- (3.13) Our people are reclaiming their right to live in peace once again.

As for specification, social actors may be represented using concrete and often precise reference to their identifiable semiotic properties.

### 3.6.6 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Personalisation occurs when social actors are represented as human beings, realised by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names, nouns and adjectives that denote human features. For example, excerpt 3.14 below, personalises two former Prime Ministers of Britain and France respectively.

(3.14) //Prime Minister David Cameron and President Francois Hollande and other world leaders have spoken with me//.

When social actors are represented by abstract or concrete nouns whose meanings do not include semantic features of being human, impersonalisation occurs. Impersonalisation is further distinguished into *abstraction* and *objectivation*. Abstraction occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation. Objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged. In other words, objectivation is realised by metonymical reference.

### 3.6.7 Assimilation

van Leeuwen distinguishes between representation of social actors as individuals, which he refers to as *individualisation*, and representation as a group, which he classes as *assimilation*. Assimilation is realised through *aggregation* and *collectivisation*. While aggregation quantifies the representation of social actors using statistics, collectivisation uses generalised opinions devoid of statistical representation.

### 3.6.8 Differentiation

This category of representation differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the self and the other, or between “Us” and “Them”, similar to van Dijk’s notion of ideological square.

### 3.7 Systemic Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a socio-semiotic theory of ‘meaning as choice’ in which language is interpreted as a ‘network of interlocking options’ (Halliday, 1994, p. xiv). It was developed by Michael Halliday in the late 1960’s (Halliday, 1978, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; 2014) based on a functional conceptual framework of language rather than a formal one. As a social semiotic theory of language, systemic functional linguistics prioritises language from the perspective of systems of meaning – how these systems are shaped, and at the same time, how they play a role in shaping human social systems and how they relate to other systems of meanings within society (Fontaine, 2019). With its origins firmly grounded in a functional approach to language, SFL brings into theoretical rigor the concept of function in relation to language in a unique and robust way. In SFL, function is meaning in context. It is not simply equated with ‘use’, but is considered a property of language at every level of description.

The core of this linguistic theory lies in the assumption that there are a plethora of options available to language users to choose from when construing meaning; these choices are delicately described in functional terms to account for all aspects of meaning making in language as well the connections between various types of meaning making resources (Irwin and Jovanovic-Krstic, 2021). Therefore, meaning is essentially equated with function in SFL. Describing language from this perspective, Halliday (1994) opines that all languages simultaneously fulfil three distinct yet inter-related systems of function, namely: to understand the environment (ideational), to act out



our social relationships in the environment (interpersonal) and to organise the output of the first two into a coherent unit (textual) (p. xii). These systems correspond to the register variables *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, and lie behind the various systemic functional approaches to language (Eggins, 2011; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Despite the primacy of the notion of function in SFG, the term was dropped by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) for this purpose, on the grounds that it has become ubiquitous in contexts where function simply means ‘way of using language, and has no significance in the analysis of language itself’ (30). In its place, the term metafunction was adopted to represent the intrinsic system of meaning and function in language. The concept of metafunction is integral to the systemic functional grammar theory of language as it provides a basis for exploring how meanings are construed, understood and evolve over time in language. Halliday (1994) introduced three metafunctions, namely: interpersonal metafunction, textual metafunction and ideational metafunction. Each metafunction possesses its own distinct feature and structure which will be discussed independently below.

### **3.7.1 Interpersonal Metafunction**

The interpersonal metafunction delineates one of the primary functions that humans have of language, which is to communicate about self, others and the relationships between. It accounts for the different complementary roles that speaker/listener and writer/reader take up and how language is structured to facilitate the entire communicative process. In what he terms as ‘the nature of dialogue’ (68), Halliday (1994) posits that language facilitates the following speech functions: statement, command, question and offer. Three of these speech functions correspond to particular grammatical structures: statements are typically expressed by declarative clauses; questions by interrogative clauses; commands by imperative clauses; while offers are not associated with any specific grammatical structure.

## Structure of the Interpersonal Metafunction

### 3.7.2 Mood

The Mood plays a central role in carrying out the interpersonal function of the clause. It primarily comprises the Subject and the Finite typically realised grammatically by nominal and verbal groups respectively. The order of the components of the Mood delineates the clause as either a declarative (Subject ^ Finite), an interrogative (Finite ^ Subject; Wh ^ Finite) or an imperative (no Subject; no Finite). The Mood may sometimes contain Modal Adjuncts, which embody the speaker's assessment of the message along the lines of polarity and modality.

#### 3.7.2.1 Subject

The Subject is the entity on which something is predicated in the rest of the clause. It may be realised as a nominal group, a WH- element, a clause or a gerund. The Subject is the entity that the speaker makes responsible for the validity of the proposition being advanced in the clause. Since the interpersonal metafunction deals with language as an interactive event, the Subject is the entity being held responsible for the functioning of the clause as an interactive event. Whatever claim a speaker is making is anchored on the Subject to facilitate the affirmation or denial of the proposition. Excerpts 3.15 to 3.17 show the Subject being realised by the underlined pronoun, nominal group and nominal group complex:

- (3.15) We overcame most of the challenges
- (3.16) The Federal Government is re-equipping our armed forces
- (3.17) One area in which Nigerians especially those in the Northeast have already begun to experience major Change is in the war against terror.

### **3.7.2.2 *Finite***

The Finite is the element in the Mood structure that combines with the Subject to make the proposition of the clause something that can be argued about. According to Halliday (1994), the Finite has the function of making the proposition finite by giving it a point of reference in the context of the speech event. The Finite is realised by one out of a small number of verbal operators expressing tense (temporal operators: be, do and have) or modality (modal operators: can, could, may, might, must, will, would, shall, should, ought to). The Finite may also be mapped onto the Predicator as long as the Predicator is showing tense and it is absent when it is in participial or infinitive forms.

### **3.7.3 Residue**

The Residue refers to the remainder of the clause after the Subject, Finite and Modal Adjuncts (which make up the Mood) have been identified. This definition is not intended to be dismissive of the relevance of the Residue; it only serves to identify what makes up its structure. The Residue consists of three functional elements: Predicator, Complement(s) and Adjunct(s). There can be only one Predicator, one or two Complements and any number of Adjuncts, though in reality the number does not often exceed seven.

#### **3.7.2.1 *Predicator***

The Predicator is present in all major clauses except those where it is displaced through ellipsis or where the verb “to be” is used as the main verb. Similar to the exclusionary definition adopted for the Residue, the Predicator is expressed by the rest of the verbal group apart from temporal or modal operators which function as Finite in the Mood structure. Hence, after identifying the Finite, everything else in the verbal group forms the Predicator.

### 3.7.2.2 Complement

The Complement is an element in the Residue that has the potential of being chosen as the Subject of the clause if made passive. Just like the Subject, the Complement is usually realised as a nominal or nominal group complex and it is a fusion of elements traditionally classed as Objects and Complements. In the example above ‘our armed forces’ which is Complement can very easily be construed as Subject albeit in the passive voice thus:

(3.18) //Our Armed Forces are being reequipped by the Federal Government//

Our Armed Forces	are	being reequipped	by the Federal Government
<b>S</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>A</b>

### 3.7.3.4 Adjunct

The Adjunct **A** is typically realised by adverbial groups and prepositional phrases, though some nominal groups indicating time (i.e., yesterday, next month, next year) are also common as Circumstantial Adjuncts. Adjuncts are quite mobile and can be seen to occur in different positions in the clause. However, unlike Complements, Adjuncts do not have the potential of being Subject. There is no Adjunct in the example above; however, the president could have included two Adjuncts thus:

For several years	terrorists	have	unleashed	pain and sorrow	in Nigeria’s Northeast
<b>A</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>A</b>

Halliday (1994) distinguishes between three types of Adjuncts, namely: Circumstantial, Modal and Conjunctive Adjunct.

#### Circumstantial Adjunct

A Circumstantial Adjunct contributes to the experiential meaning of the clause by supplying information about the location, time, manner and reason for the Process. Circumstantial

Adjuncts provide answers to probes about when, how, why and where the Process occurs. They are parsed as Circumstance in the analysis and are further subcategorised into Circumstantial Adjunct of (i) Extent (ii) Location (iii) Manner (iv) Cause (v) Contingency (vi) Accompaniment (vii) Role (viii) Matter and (ix) Angle.

### **Modal Adjuncts**

Modal Adjuncts express the speaker's judgement regarding the relevance of the message. They are subcategorised into Mood and Comment Adjuncts; the former appears very close to the Finite thereby expressing meanings closely related with tense, modality and polarity, while Comment Adjuncts express the speaker's attitude to the proposition. Both the Mood and Comment Adjunct are parsed in the Mood element of the clause.

### **Conjunctive Adjuncts**

They serve to signal how the clause relates with the preceding text. They have more of a cohesive functional role than an interpersonal or experiential role, and as such they only feature as constituents in the Textual metafunction. Examples of Conjunctive Adjuncts include are: moreover, however, for instance as a result and meanwhile.

### **3.7.4 Modality**

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) modality refers to the speaker's judgement, or request of the judgement of the listener, on the status of what is being said. It is realised through the finite element or through a separate mood Adjunct. They contend that interpersonal judgements, or assessments, extend beyond the core grammatical system of modality to include assessments of temporality and intensity realised through mood Adjuncts, and also other types of assessments beyond the mood itself that relate either to the proposition being exchanged or to the act of exchanging it. Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014) posit that there are various kinds of

indeterminacy that fall between the polar choice of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ collectively known as modality. Put differently they argue that what modality does is to construe the region of uncertainty that lies between ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Bartlett (2004) notes that modality is a rich resource for speakers to construe the nature of reality and to construct participant roles through discourse. He argues that, if features such as modality are to be used in macro-analysis, however, the categorisations employed must be sufficiently delicate.

### **3.8 Textual Metafunction**

The textual metafunction stems from the premise that all languages have some sort of organisation of components which allow for the smooth flow of discourse. According to Halliday (1994), the clause is organised as a two-part message in which one part, the *Theme*, serves as the point of departure of the message and it combines with the *Rheme*, the remaining part of the clause in which the Theme is developed. The two parts of the clause are realised positionally, with the Theme typically at the initial position of the clause while the Rheme is in a non-initial position. The choice of Theme for any individual clause will generally relate to the way information is being deployed over the course of the whole text (Martin et. al, 2010).

### **3.9 Ideational Metafunction**

The ideational metafunction refers to the system for construing human experience in language and the resources of the lexicogrammar that make this possible (Halliday, 2014). The system views language as agentive in the construction of reality. It is divided into two sub-types embodying different modes for construing experience, namely: the experiential metafunction and the logical metafunction. From an experiential perspective, language construes our experience of the world, including our fictional or imaginary experience and to describe events, states and the entities involved. The experiential metafunction reflects our view of the world as consisting of

processes taking place at certain times, in certain places, in different manners, for different reasons and involving different entities. For example, President Goodluck Jonathan opened his 01/01/2011 New Year address thus:

- (3.19) My brothers and sisters, it is no more news that our country was viciously attacked on both Christmas and New Year's eves by terrorists who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria as we approach an epochal year of positive change.

Experientially, the going on being construed by the president in excerpt 3.19 is an attack which took place on Christmas and New Year's eves. The clause construes two participants in relation to the process: the *terrorists who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria* and *our country*. Applying functional labels to analyse excerpt 3.19 reveals that, central to the Nigerian president's representation is a process realised by the verbal group *attacked*, involving participants realised by nominal groups *our country* and *terrorists...* which occurred within a circumstantial realised by the prepositional group *on Christmas and New Year's eves*. The cover term for such a grammatical system of analysis is Transitivity.

The second subtype of the ideational metafunction is the logical metafunction. It construes experience as complex configurations of meaning brought about by the relations of two or more clauses functioning as a whole unit. While the experiential metafunction covers representation at the level of the clause, the logical metafunction operates above the clause and concerns relations between clauses. The logical metafunction is sub-categorised into the taxis system of interdependency and the logico-semantic system of expansion and projection.

### **3.10.1 Transitivity**

For Halliday (2002) transitivity is “the cornerstone of the semantic organisation of experience” (p. 89) because it concerns those language resources that humans use to construe their experience of the world. Thompson (2008) argues that the analysis of the transitivity choices of

language users “is one of the most effective ways of exploring the ideological assumptions that inform and are construed by the texts” (p.17). In this thesis, I applied transitivity analysis to determine the attribution of agency to the key social actors included in the speeches.

### 3.10.2 Process

The process of the clause is central to the configuration of the transitivity system. It embodies actions or states that the participants are involved in and it is realised by the main verb in the clause. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) posit that the transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of six process types, which represent inner and outer experience and states of being. Figure 3.4 below shows the process types in English and the domains of experience that they semiotically construct.



Figure 3.3 Types of Processes in English Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 216



### 3.7.2.1 Material Process

The age-long definition of a verb as a ‘doing word’ is a useful descriptor of the Material process. This definition highlights a typical construal of human experience as consisting of doings and goings-on. Material processes involve a doer of some form of physical action which may or may not affect another participant in the clause. The ‘doer’ of the material action in the clause is referred to as the Actor. This participant is grammatically realised by nominal groups and may, or may not possess human attributes. The entity that is directly impacted upon by the actions of the Actor is called the Goal. This is the ‘done to’ entity in the clause. Similar to the Actor, the Goal is grammatically realised by nominal groups.

Not all Material process clauses contain a Goal. As such, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) propose a primary criterion for differentiating between two sub-categories of Material processes based on the presence or absence of a Goal. Drawing on traditional terminology, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) use ‘transitive’ to denote material processes which comprise an Actor and a Goal while ‘intransitive’ material clauses comprise of only the Actor but no Goal (p. 171). A transitive material process encodes the meaning that one participant in the clause (the Actor) does something that impacts on another participant (the Goal). Excerpts 3.20 and 3.21 illustrate the deployment of transitive Material process clauses in the data.

(3.20) //They have desecrated places of worship// GEJ/01/01/2015\_13

They	have	desecrated	places of worship
S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Process		Goal

(3.21) //They have killed men, women and children// GEJ/01/10/2014\_08

They	have	killed	men, women and children
------	------	--------	-------------------------

S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme		
Actor	Material	Goal	

In the two excerpts above, there is a second participant affected by *desecrated* in 3.20 and *killed* in 3.21. The nature of the Goal may constitute a sub-category of Material process clauses. As excerpts 3.20 and 3.21 show, the unfolding of the process affects an inanimate entity (places of worship) that realises the Goal, while animate entities (men, women and children) realise the Goal in 3.21. In order to examine the impact that a social actor's actions has in the speeches, my analysis takes cognisance of the broad categorisation of transitive and intransitive Material processes, while within the transitive clauses, I examined whether the Goal affected is animate or inanimate; created or transformed through the unfolding of the process. Creative Material processes are clauses in which the Actor or Goal is construed as being brought into existence as the process unfolds, while the transformative Material process refers to clauses in which the unfolding of the process leads to transformation or change of a pre-existing Actor or Goal (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Thompson 2014).

As for intransitive Material processes, the Actor's actions do not extend to the Goal. The process unfolds without beyond the single inherent participant of the clause. Excerpts 3.22 and 3.23 show sample intransitive Material clauses from the data.

(3.22) They have unleashed much pain and agony on our land// GEJ/01/01/2015\_09

They	have	unleashed	much pain and agony	on our land
S	F	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Material	Scope	Circumstance	

(3.23) We will take justice to them wherever [[they are hiding]] GEJ/01/01/2011\_EB3

We	will	take	justice	to them	wherever [[they are hiding]]
S	F	P	C <sup>do</sup>	C <sup>io</sup>	Acir
Mood		Residue			
Theme	Rheme				
Actor	Material	Goal	Recipient	Circumstance	

As excerpts 3.22 and 3.23 illustrate, intransitive material processes may not have a Goal but they typically have another participant; the Scope, which is ‘dressed’ up as a Goal (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 301) The difference between these two participant roles is that the Goal is directly affected by the process while the Scope is not. The Scope either construes the domain over which the process takes place or construes an extension of the process in general or specific terms. There are three other obliquely involved grammatical participants in the Material clause: the Recipient, Client and Attribute. The Recipient is the participant to whom something is given in the clause. Depending on its position in the clause, the Recipient may be preceded by the preposition *to*. The Client is the participant for whom the service being construed in the process is rendered. Depending on its position in the clause, the Recipient may be preceded by the preposition *for*. The Attribute is optional added specification to the Material clause that expresses the state in which the Actor or Goal ends up following the unfolding of the process.

### **3.7.2.2 Mental Process**

A Mental process clause is one that construes experience that goes on in the mind. Language users can construe experiences like thinking, knowing, wanting, seeing, and feeling as inner states or processes. There are four subcategories of Mental processes, namely: perceptive, cognitive, desiderative and emotive. The fact that a Mental process takes place in a mind dictates that the one in whose mind the process occurs must be human or must possess human attributes. This entity is referred to as the *Senser*, who does the liking, seeing, knowing of something or

someone in the clause. The entity that is being felt, liked or wanted by the Senser is called the Phenomenon. It is a complimentary participant to the Senser in a Mental process clause.

### ***3.7.2.3 Relational Process***

A Relational process signals a relationship between two referents. The kind of relationship being signalled depends on the type of Relational process being construed. There are three main types of Relational processes in the English system: intensive, possessive and circumstantial, and each one has its own distinct sub-category of either being attributive or identifying.

#### **Attributive Relational Process**

In this type of Relational process a quality or feature is ascribed to some entity. The quality is labelled Attribute while the entity said to possess the quality is labelled Carrier.

#### **Identifying Relational Process**

In this type of Relational process one entity is identified in terms of another. The relationship being construed in an Identifying Relational clause is one of equation in which a specific realisation is equated to a more generalisable category. It can also be reversed such that a generalisable category is equated to a specific realisation. This element of reversibility is a principal differentiating feature between Identifying and Attributive Relational processes. The general category is labelled Value while the specific realisation is called Token.

### ***3.7.2.4 Verbal Process***

A Verbal process denotes a symbolic conveyance of meaning through language. It involves the construal of some entity saying something, although the entity responsible for the saying does not necessarily have to be human. The entity construed as saying something is referred to as the Sayer while the entity to whom the saying is addressed is called the Receiver. On a similar note, the entity to whom the saying is directed is called the Target. The actual content of what is said or the name of the saying is called the Verbiage.

### **3.7.2.5 Behavioural Process**

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define Behavioural processes as ‘psychological and physiological human behaviour like breathing, coughing, smiling dreaming and staring’ (248). They are not very distinct on their own and possess attributes of Mental and Material processes. The Behaver refers to the conscious entity that is construed to be behaving in the clause. There is also an indirect participant called Behaviour that serves to signal the extension of the process in the way that a Scope in a Material Process clause operates.

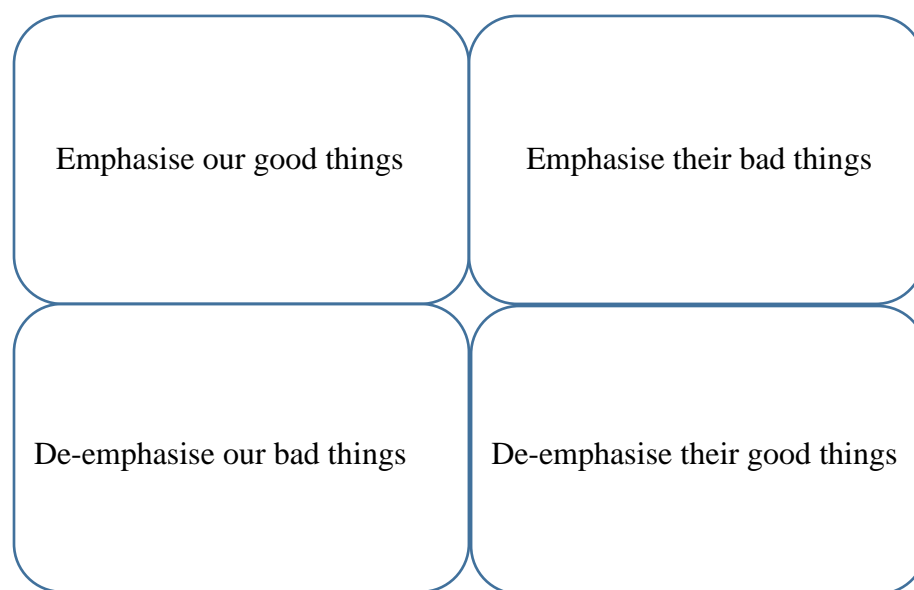
### **3.7.2.6 Existential Process**

Existential Processes serve to signal that something exists or something happens. It is realised by the empty subject ‘there’ which serves a place holder function rather than a representational function. There is only one Participant in the Existential Process clause and it is labelled *Existent*.

## **3.8 The Ideological Square**

In order to gain insights into ideological constructions in discourse, analysts have considered the role of cognitive structures and processes. Most notable in this regard is van Dijk (1998, 2006) that advocates a cognitive approach towards the study of discourse structures. Primarily, van Dijk (1998) argues that discourse structures are the result of individual and mental processes. To this end, he proposed a triangulated theoretical model that operates between cognition, society and discourse. Furthermore, he argued that group relations and representation ought to be taken into account when exploring how ideologies are generated, disseminated, reproduced, and challenged. In essence, the structuring and organisation of the beliefs of group members about their social struggles and conflicts provide an insight into socio-cognitive ideologies. The format of these beliefs can be revealing when viewed in relation to how the group

members represent themselves and others in discourse. Therefore, van Dijk (1998) proposed the *ideological square* as concept for understanding the representation of in-groups and out-groups in text and talk. He argued that discourse allows for a polarisation schema of Us vs Them in which in-group expresses positive self-presentation at the expense of a negative other presentation. As illustrated in figure 3.5 below, the presentation is linguistically achieved through four macro semantic strategies of emphasising our good things and emphasising their bad things, while de-emphasising our bad things and de-emphasising their good things.



*Figure 3.4 The ideological square (based on van Dijk 2011: 396)*

These meta-strategies of either emphasising or de-emphasising, as shown in figure 3.5 above can be applied at all levels of text and talk, as we shall see in more detail in chapter 5 and 6. The model presupposes that the in-group (Us) is consistently depicted, evaluated or associated with good, right, and just, while the out-group is fundamentally bad, evil and unjust. Van Dijk's ideological square has proven revelatory in the analyses of discourses concerning asymmetries of power, such as those concerning group dominance (Oktar 2001), racism (Teo 2000), anti-Semitism

(Wodak 2001), and other manifestations of asymmetrical power relationships of which the present study exemplifies.

## CHAPTER 4

### Research Methodology

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework of the study. It reports on the data collected, the rationale and selection criteria adopted, methods and approaches that were applied and the limitations experienced in the course of conducting the study. The chapter begins with a detailed description of the corpus of political speeches analysed in the study. Section 4.2 describes the data source from which the speeches were selected and the search criteria adopted to identify relevant speeches for analysis. In section 4.3, I discuss the research design and analytical methods adopted in the study. I applied both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data. Regarding the former, I fully parsed groups and clausal structures in each speech according to the tenets of SFL. The description of the SFL parsing convention, tags and notations are covered in section 4.4. In addition to SFL, I also applied qualitative analysis from van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semiotic taxonomy for the representation of social actors in discourse. Section 4.4 explains the aspect of the taxonomy that was applied in the thesis. As for quantitative methods, I applied corpus analytical tools to generate frequency lists and concordance plots. I also used Microsoft Excel to calculate the frequency of inclusion of the social actors as well as the frequency distribution of parsed transitivity structures and social actor categories. This was done to enable me narrow my focus from the outset to the key social actors represented in the speeches. In addition to frequency distribution, I applied an automated tagger to the corpus to describe the semantic fields of the verbs that realise the process of the clause. The results from the tagger were mainly used to confirm borderline semantic categories whenever I was in doubt. Section 4.5 concludes



the chapter with a reflection on some of the limitations I had to overcome in the course of conducting this research and highlighting what could be done differently.

## **4.2 Corpus**

The corpus comprises texts from 28 political speeches delivered by President Goodluck Jonathan between 2010 and 2015. Although Goodluck Jonathan's tenure as president commenced on 29 May 2011, I stretched the data collection timeline to 2010 to accommodate the speeches that he delivered as Acting President between 9 February 2010 and 29 May 2015. The official transcripts of all the speeches were obtained from two web portals: the Nigeria State House website and the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture website. The Federal Ministry of Information and Culture is the Federal outfit responsible for the dissemination of "essential and vital information which will enhance and facilitate democratic governance of Nigeria as a Federal Republic" (Federal Ministry of Information and Culture website, 2020). These websites archive all the speeches, media chats and press releases from the office of the President, ordered by date. As the webpages are free to access they proved to be useful and reliable sources for data collection. The State House and the Ministry of Information websites archive the verbatim transcript of Nigerian presidents' speeches in reverse chronological order. All the speeches are in English and the full transcripts are available on the websites without commentary or value judgment. The availability of the full transcripts and absence of commentary made these websites my preferred source for the data over other potential data collection sources such as the mainstream media or the social media webpage of the president. I found no inconsistencies in the transcripts obtained from the two sources and none of the transcripts been retracted, called to question or contested.

In order to systematise the search for relevant speeches, I set date parameters from 9 February 2010 to 29 May 2015. The start date coincides with President Jonathan's assumption of

office as Acting President while the end date coincides with the expiration of his tenure as substantive President. For the purpose of the study, this span comprehensively covers the entirety of his full term as president and 14 months of his tenure as Acting President. In total, 188 texts were retrieved for the period under review. I then applied a guided word search using the following keywords “speeches”, “presidential address”, “Boko Haram”, “terror”, “terrorism”, “counterterrorism”, “insurgency”, “terrorists”, “attacks”, “suicide”, “bombing” and “insecurity” to identify public speeches that focus on Boko Haram related issues. Of the 188 texts returned, I excluded repeat items, interview transcripts, media chat transcripts and press statements. The reduced sample returned 28 political speeches that comprise 16,165 tokens of 3,584 types. Of the 28 speeches, only three speeches were parsed in entirety as they focus exclusively on Boko Haram. Table 4.1 below shows the three speeches that make up this category.

<b>Title of the Speech</b>	<b>Date</b>
“Enough is Enough” Presidential address	21 April 2011
Declaration of State of Emergency in Certain Parts of the Federation speech	31 December 2011
Declaration of State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States	14 May 2013

*Figure 4.1. List of Speeches that Exclusively Focus on Boko Haram*

The other 25 speeches were delivered on national days such as ‘Democracy Day’, ‘Independence Day’ and religious holidays like Easter, Christmas and Eid-El-Fitir. Two speeches were delivered at the UN General Assembly, while the national day speeches and festive and commemorative speeches were delivered to the Nigerian audience. A cursory reading of the speeches shows that on national days, the president tends to present a scorecard of his administration and typically discusses Boko Haram under the security section of the speech. On religious holidays, in addition to the president’s celebratory message, he tends to denounce Boko

Haram as being contradictory to the religious beliefs of Christians and Muslims. Since these classes of speeches contain sections unrelated to the topic of Boko Haram, only section pertaining to Boko Haram were extracted for analysis. When the unrelated sections were removed, the corpus size reduced accordingly to 10,165 tokens of 2,084 types. The full list of 28 speeches analyzed in the study is provided in Appendix A while the transcript of the speeches is presented in Appendix B.

### **4.3 Analytical Methods**

Within a CDA framework, this thesis applies van Leeuwen's (2008) sociosemantic inventory to analyse President Goodluck Jonathan's political speeches. As discussed in section 3.3.4, the inventory has ten categories, however, this study employs the following eight categories: inclusion, backgrounding, suppression, activation, passivation, genericisation, specification, individualisation, and assimilation. I found these categories to be the most compatible means of interfacing between SFL and the SAN theory. The selected categories ensured that the analysis could be replicated on each social actor without making the process repetitive or cumbersome.

The analysis relied on the notion of prominence to determine the social actors that are key to President Goodluck Jonathan's representation. I used two parameters to determine the prominence that a social actor was accorded in the speeches. The first parameter is frequency of occurrence while the second is thematisation. Measuring frequency of occurrence is a quantitative methodology that aligns with inclusion and exclusion dichotomy in van Leeuwen's inventory. On the other hand, thematisation is a qualitative based measure drawn from the SFL parsing of the texts. Using these two parameters, I was able to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data. Frequency of occurrence is a useful means for measuring salience, however, there are other additional strategies that a speaker might use to make a topic prominent. For example,

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) show how accent and tone can indicate prominence in speech. However, since the data for the study is written rather than spoken discourse, I relied on markers of prominence in text rather than in speech. Thus, the frequency of inclusion data aided me to identify recurrent lexicalisations and recurrent transitivity patterning which I interpreted as signals of the president's preoccupation with the item. Baker (2006) points out that highly frequent words can reveal an ideological stance and attitude of the language users and provide an indicator of a particular bias.

I applied a further quantitative analysis of the speeches using the corpus analytical tool, AntConc (Anthony, 2014). Analysing linguistic data using a computer software such as AntConc is regarded as a methodology for carrying out linguistic research rather than a recognised branch of linguistics (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). The software offers a range of functions such as frequency lists, keyword lists, concordance plots, distribution plots, clusters and collocation plots. In this study, I applied the frequency list function, concordance function and the collocates function to identify and track lexical frequencies, patterns and associations across the speeches. As Lukin (2019, p. ix) asserts 'ideological reproduction requires the reiteration of linguistic patterns', thus, the AntConc software was instrumental towards identifying salient and non-salient patterns in the text to which I paid more meticulous and critical attention. The frequency list function generates a list of all the words in a corpus based on their raw frequency. I used this function to identify the spread of specific nominal groups and verbal groups across the corpus. Frequency lists have been used by corpus analysts as the basic quantitative technique for revealing how often a word occurs in the corpus. Scott and Tribble (2006) posit that frequency lists can provide 'an ideal starting point for the understanding of a text in terms of its lexis' (p. 31).

The concord function in AntConc generates the total list of occurrences of a word in its context, otherwise known as “key word in context” (KWIC) (Baker, 2006, p. 71). This function enables the analyst to start carrying out the qualitative analysis by presenting the node word in the middle of its co-text on the left and right side in each of the concordance lines. The length of context surrounding the node can be specified to include on each side and can be expanded to suit the analyst’s requirement. In addition, the left and right side of the search word can be sorted alphabetically, allowing the analyst to detect observable patterns easily. Figure 4.2 below presents a screenshot of a concordance plot for Boko Haram in the corpus.

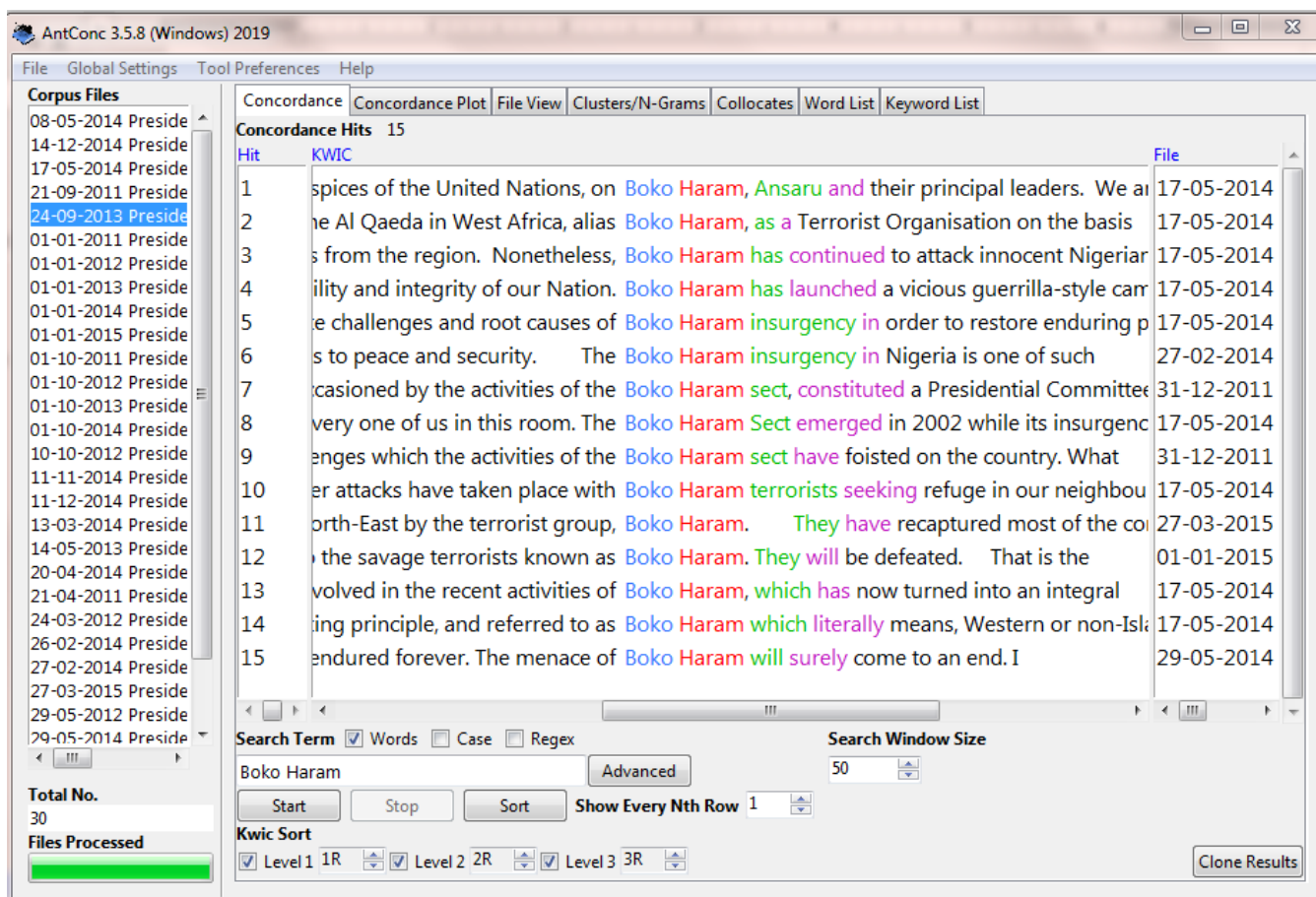


Figure 4.2. Sample Screenshot of AntConc Concordance

The second measure I applied when determining salience was thematisation. After parsing the speeches, I examined the distribution of social actors selected as Theme. Since the theme is

what the message is about I used this as a means of determining social actors that are salient in the president's discourse. Interestingly, the results of the qualitative frequency measure corroborated the qualitative thematic analysis as the frequently occurring social actors also emerged as thematic constituents thus confirming the veracity of the chosen method. Both measures therefore combined to generate the list of key social actors analysed in the study.

#### 4.4 Notational Conventions

All the speeches analysed in the study are set out in Appendix A. To aid in the identification and parsing of groups and clausal units in each speech, I applied Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) notational conventions for representing lexicogrammatical constituency set out in Table 4.3 below.

Lexicogrammatical unit	Notation
word	# [space]
phrase or group	
clause	
clause complex	
downranked phrase/group	[ ]
downranked clause	[[ ]]
downranked clause complex	[[[ ]]]
enclosed phrase/group	< >
enclosed clause	<< >>
enclosed clause complex	<<< >>>

Figure 4.3. Notational Conventions for Representing Lexicogrammatical constituency

In addition to the notation convention, I used a numbering system to track references to each speech in the corpus. The speeches are prefaced with the acronym GEJ which in full stands for Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The acronym is followed by the day, month, year of the speech and clause number in the appendix. Accordingly, Figure 4.4 below, shows the notation convention and numbering system as it appears in Appendix B.

Clause No.	GEJ/01/01/2011
	My Brothers and Sisters,
1	it is no more news

2	that our country was viciously attacked on both Christmas and New Year's eves by terrorists
EB1	[[who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria]]
3	as we approach an epochal year of positive change.
4	They spoke to all Nigerians through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction.
5	There was no national interest reason
6	for them to speak that way.
7	I want to assure whoever [[they are]]
EB2	[[they are]]
8	that Nigeria and Nigerians will speak to them firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows.
9	We will take justice to them wherever [[they are hiding]]
EB3	they are hiding
10	for our nation's peace and security cannot be sacrificed on the altar of narrow interest.
11	I have instructed all arms of our security establishment
12	to within the shortest possible time find
13	and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness.
14	I repeat:
15	they have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow,
16	now Nigerians will speak through love, unity and justice.
17	It is the intention of those behind the blast
18	to get government and Nigerians to enter into panic mode
19	and begin to react instead of proact
20	If we do this
21	they have won.
22	So we have to take all necessary steps
23	to bring them to book after swift but thorough investigations
24	while we also allow for no disruption in our plans for a prosperous new year.

*Figure 4.4. Sample Speech Illustrating the Notation Convention*

### **SFL Parsing**

The three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) are central to SFL theory. The metafunctions construe meaning simultaneously and relate the speaker's linguistic choices to the context of use. The ideational metafunction construes meaning based on any one of six kinds of experience (material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioural and existential). The interpersonal metafunction enacts social relations in the text and with the reader. The textual metafunction

relates messages to the prior and following text and context. I applied these strands of functional meanings to each speech in the corpus and parsed the clauses in full according to the tenets of SFL.

Figure 4.5 below illustrates a sample parsing of a clause and a brief commentary follows.

<b>Clause</b>	Nonetheless,	Boko Haram	has continued	to attack	innocent Nigerians	without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender.
<b>Interpersonal</b>	A	S	F	P	C	A
	Mood			Residue		
<b>Textual</b>	Textual	Topical	Rheme			
<b>Ideational</b>		Actor	Material	Goal	Circumstance	

Figure 4.5. Sample Parsed Clause from the Corpus

The SFL parsing shows that ideationally, Boko Haram is construed as Actor in an experience that involves them as the source of force behind the material process *to attack*. This construal endows Boko Haram with powerful and impactful force based on the transitive status of the clause. They occupy a grammatically agentive position of power compared to the other participant in the clause *innocent Nigerians* that realises the Goal. The experience in this clause can be explored from either the perspective of the participant represented as Actor or the participant represented as Goal. In each scenario, functional based meanings can be gleaned from the clause and interpreted with other patterns identified in the speeches. Interpersonally, the clause realises the declarative Mood conveying a propositional message. The president conveys information about what Boko Haram have done. Interpersonal meanings between the speaker and the audience can be further analysed. The clause is drawn from a monologic speech without indeterminacy or interaction with the audience. As such, there is no room to confirm or refute the president's proposition. His position as President and as speaker comes into play when analysing the clause but less so for the listeners. Lastly, the textual metafunction foregrounds the entity about whom the message is centred. I relied on the textual metafunction mainly to identify social actors that are prominent in the president's representation based on how frequently they were selected as



Theme of the clause. Employing a rich functional theory like SFL allowed me to systematise the study and mitigate against biased interpretation of the text by relying on just close reading alone. O'Halloran (2011) suggests that, critical discourse analysts must use linguistic analysis rigorously, consistently and as comprehensively as possible given their particular focus, so that they are not vulnerable to criticisms that their analyses of texts are subjective, influenced by their own political commitments and focused on cheer-picked facets of texts that support a preconceived narrative.

#### 4.5 Inclusion of Social Actors

A text producer may include or exclude social actors from the representation of a social practice to suit different interests, purposes, agendas and audiences. President Goodluck Jonathan includes sixteen different social actors in the corpus of speeches analysed in this study. In agreement with Bartlett (2004), I found it necessary to account for the meaning and realisation of the grammatical units in the text before undertaking any statistical analysis in the study. Doing this at the outset, allowed me to relate power relations, ideologies and legitimisations in discourse as close as possible to the linguistic realisations in the text. As shown in Table 4.1 below, I have introduced some 'common denominators' (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 31) to account for the grammatical realisation of each social actor in the corpus.

<b>Common Denominator</b>	<b>Realisations in the speeches</b>
Boko Haram	Boko Haram, Boko Haram members, terrorists, insurgents, the group, criminal elements, divisive forces
Nigerians	citizens, all Nigerians, our people, we, us, Nigerians, countrymen and women, our hearts, every lover of peace in this great nation, innocent Nigerians, girls, women, men, children, daughters from Chibok, the injured, displaced, bereaved, young lads, victims, families, villagers, citizens, state officials, relatives, politicians corps members, health workers, travellers.
President	I, my, me, President of the Federal Republic and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces, my heart
Government	This government, we, this administration, our government

Security Forces	security establishment, security agencies, security forces, security operatives, they, them, troops, armed forces, military, Chief of Defence Staff, law enforcement
Others	neighbouring allies, international allies, God, Boko Haram sponsors, judiciary, politicians, local interest groups, Al Qaeda, victims of terror abroad (Syria), Prime Minister David Cameron, President François Hollande

*Table 4.1 Common Denominators of Social Actors in the Corpus*

The term ‘common denominator’ is used in this thesis as a cover term under which all occurrences of a social actor are accounted. A common denominator is useful because it allows an analyst to collate representations of a social actor under a single term due to the different lexicalisations that may be used to represent the social actor in the discourse. For example, I have used Nigerians as a common denominator for all nominal groups realising Nigerian citizens in the corpus. In the excerpt below, all the nominal groups that come under the common denominator Nigerians are in bold font:

**My dear compatriots**, as **we** celebrate our centenary, the security situation in some of our North-Eastern States, sadly remains a major concern for **us**. Just yesterday, **young students, full of hopes and dreams for a great future**, were callously murdered as **they** slept in their college dormitories in Yobe State. I am deeply saddened by their deaths and that of other **Nigerians** at the hands of terrorists. **Our hearts** go out to **their parents and relatives, colleagues and school authorities**. GEJ 26/02/2014\_2-7

The common denominator ‘Nigerians’ brings all the realisations of Nigerian citizens under one term. As regards the other common denominators applied in the thesis, I grouped all representations of Boko Haram as **Boko Haram**, representations of the Federal Government of Nigeria as **Government**; representations of President Goodluck Jonathan as **President**, social

actors responsible for security and law enforcement as **Security Forces** and those social actors that do not fall into any of the categories above as **Others**. Throughout the thesis, common denominators are written in letter case to differentiate them from other usage of the same term.

#### 4.5.1 Frequency of Inclusion of Social Actors

Social Actor	Type of Inclusion				Raw Frequency	Freq per 1000 words
	Vocative	Circumstantial	Modification	Participation		
Nigerians	31	13	9	188	241	26
Boko Haram	0	12	14	151	177	19
Government	0	6	12	131	149	16
President	5	7	3	114	129	13
Security Forces	0	2	1	86	89	10
Others (Included fewer than 10 times in the corpus)						
Neighbouring Allies	0	2	3	2	7	0.7
International Allies	0	3	3	1	7	0.7
God	0	3	1	1	5	0.5
Boko Haram sponsors	0	3	0	2	5	0.5
Judiciary	0	0	0	3	3	0.3
Politicians	0	0	1	2	3	0.3
Local interest groups	0	2	0	1	3	0.3
Al Qaeda	0	1	0	2	3	0.3
Victims of terror abroad	0	2	0	0	2	0.2
Prime Minister David Cameron	0	0	0	1	1	0.1
President François Hollande	0	0	0	1	1	0.1

*Table 4.2 Frequency of Inclusion of Social Actors in the Corpus*

In total, 16 social actors are included in the corpus, some represented more or less frequently than others. At a glance, Table 4.2 shows the social actors that are more dominant or less dominant based on how frequently they are included in the corpus. At a normalised frequency of 26 occurrences per 1000 words in the corpus, Nigerians are the most included social actors. This high frequency of occurrence is hardly surprising since the speeches are primarily addressed to Nigerians. Boko Haram is ranked second on the frequency list, occurring 19 times per 1000 words in the corpus. The Government comes in close third, occurring 16 times per 1000 words.

The President self-represents himself on average 13 times per 1000 words, while the Security Forces are included in the corpus 10 times per 1000 words. Based on frequency of occurrence data, these five social actors are considered key in President Goodluck Jonathan's political speeches analysed in this study. The scanty occurrence of the other social actors in the speeches did not provide enough data for me to conduct detailed analysis of their representation.

According to Baker and Levon (2015) frequency data can support the critical discourse analyst to discover subtle, and perhaps unexpected, patterns of language use, and to situate those patterns within a broader social, historical and ideological context. I agree with this position and found it useful to begin my analysis by observing the general distribution of the social actors in the corpus before determining those that I could focus on more closely. Hence, the frequency data helped shed light on general patterns of inclusions and exclusions of social actors in the corpus, but my main conclusions are drawn from analysing the lexical, transitivity and representational choices within the speeches.

## CHAPTER 5

### Representation of Boko Haram

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present my analysis of the representation of Boko Haram in the corpus of presidential addresses by President Goodluck Jonathan. From the outset, the representation of Boko Haram in these speeches was my main reason for carrying out this study. As such, it presents a good starting point to examine their representation before analysing the representation of other social actors in the speeches. Section 5.2 discusses the frequency and patterns of inclusion of Boko Haram in the speeches. This discussion is based on three forms of inclusion drawn from van Leeuwen (2008): circumstantialisation, modification, and grammatical participation. Whilst I report about the frequency information for all three categories, my discussion in the rest of the chapter focuses mainly on the representation of Boko Haram in grammatical participant roles as this is the domain under which I carried out the transitivity analysis.

After examining and discussing the inclusion data, section 5.3 discusses the nomination strategies for representing Boko Haram. I examine (1) the experiential structure of the nominal groups that realise Boko Haram as a grammatical participant, (2) the semantic field of the verbal group realising the Material process, (3) the emergent themes realised by the activation, and (4) the type of circumstantial included, or lack thereof. Section 5.3 seeks to answer the question: what name does President Jonathan call Boko Haram? In section 5.5, I examined some of the emergent themes from the representation of Boko Haram. Finally, the chapter ends by looking at the ideologies construed in the representation of Boko Haram.

## 5.2 Inclusion of Boko Haram

I shall orient my discussion by examining the frequency and pattern of inclusion of Boko Haram in the speeches. In brief, social actors are included whenever they are realised as grammatical participants, circumstantial elements or (pre and post) modifiers in the speeches. Figure 5.1 below presents the overall and particularised frequency distribution of Boko Haram in the speeches. In addition, it distinguishes inclusion by grammatical participation and other less the prominent means of inclusion (circumstantialisation and modification).

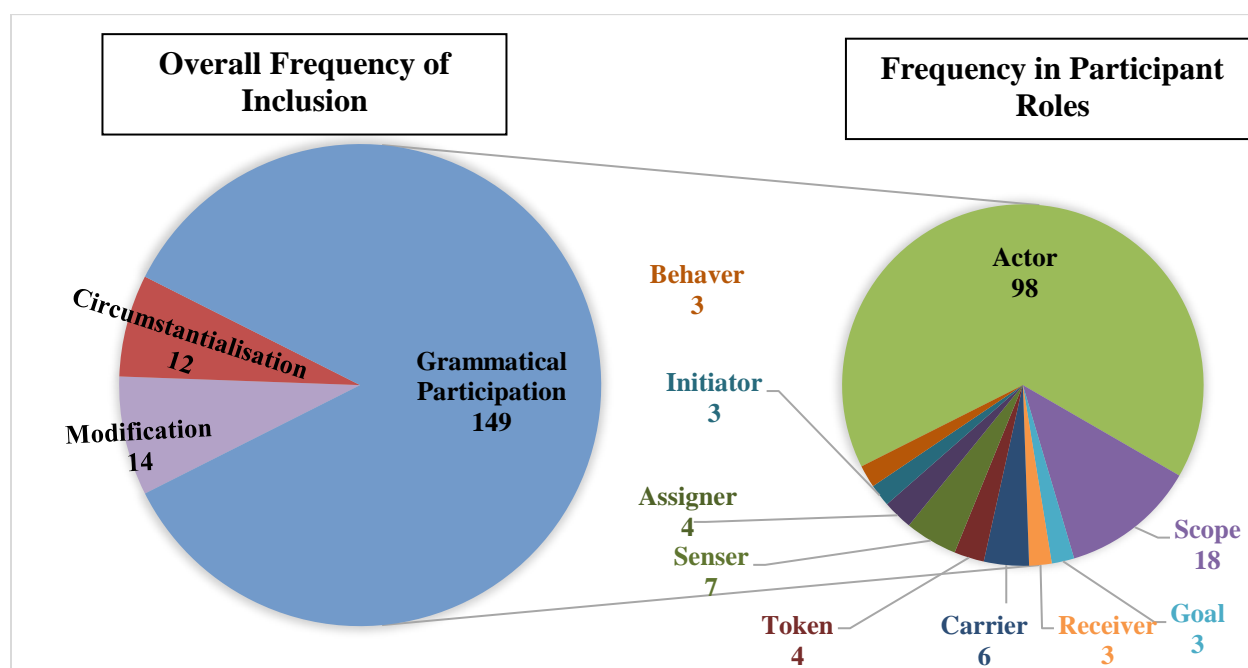


Figure 5.1 Frequency of Inclusion of Boko Haram

The overall frequency pie chart on the left presents the cumulative frequency for the inclusion of Boko Haram across all the speeches. In total, Boko Haram is included 175 times, which ranks third place behind Nigerians and the Government in the overall frequency of inclusion of social actors in the study. Whilst collecting the data for this study, I hypothesised that by selecting texts using terms closely associated with Boko Haram, such as the group's name, labels (*terrorists*, *insurgents*) and alleged acts (*terror*, *terrorism*, *insurgency* and *insecurity*), the

inclusion data for social actors would be skewed in Boko Haram's favour. However, the frequency of inclusion data suggests that the selection criteria may not have had the impact I initially presumed.

Figure 5.1 above sets out the inclusion data in three broad categories "circumstantialisation", modification (premodification and postmodification) and "grammatical participation" (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 33). Figure 5.1 shows that grammatical participation is the most dominant form for including Boko Haram in the speeches. Less frequently, Boko Haram is included as a constituent of prepositional circumstantials that provide supplementary information in the clause. Excerpt 5.1 and 5.2 below illustrate the inclusion of Boko Haram in circumstantials. For emphasis, the structure realising Boko Haram is underlined.

- (5.1) //I also commend all Nigerians [[who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy]]//.  
GEJ/01/01/2015\_04
- (5.2) ///While we continue to deploy our resources in the fight against the terrorists,  
//we do recognise the great toll the conflict is taking on our people///.  
GEJ/01/10/2014\_34

Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 show that when Boko Haram is included through circumstantialisation and modification, it takes the form of an after-thought that does not contribute to the experiential core of the clause. As for modification, Boko Haram is realised by nominal groups functioning as Qualifier. Excerpt 5.3 below illustrates the inclusion of Boko Haram by modification.

- (5.3) I have directed the closure of the land borders contiguous to the affected Local Government Areas so as to control incidences of cross-boarder terrorist activities as terrorists have taken advantage of the present situation to strike at targets in Nigeria and retreat beyond the reach of our law enforcement personnel....While

efforts are being made to implement the recommendations of the Committee, the crises have assumed a terrorist dimension with vital institutions of government including the United Nations Building and places of worship becoming targets of terrorist attacks. GEJ/31/12/2011\_34-42

We can glean from the second pie chart in Figure 5.1 that Boko Haram is mainly included in activated grammatical participant roles compared to passivated participant roles (see section 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 for discussion on activated and passivated roles). With regard to the former, Boko Haram is activated as Actor (98), Senser (7), Assigner (4), Initiator (3) and Behavior (3) while the group is passivated as Scope (18), Goal (5) and Receiver (5). The participant roles of Token (4) and Carrier (6) realise neutral participant roles for including Boko Haram. In the sections that follow, I shall discuss Boko Haram's realisation in activated and passivated grammatical participant roles.

## **5.2.1 Activation of Boko Haram**

### ***5.2.1.1 Boko Haram as Actor***

The participant role of Actor is the most dominant selection for including Boko Haram in the speeches. Boko Haram is the “source of the energy bringing about the change” in 98 out of 149 clauses in which the group is realised as a grammatical participant (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 224). We can glean some interesting patterns from the type of Material process in which Boko Haram realises the role of Actor. Firstly, there is a noticeable distinction between the distribution of transitive and intransitive Material processes. In order of frequency, 68 out of the 98 clauses are transitive while the remaining 30 clauses are intransitive. Table 5.1 below summarises the transitive Material process clauses in which Boko Haram realises the role of Actor.

<b>Verbal Group</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Beneficiary</b>	<b>Circumstance</b>	<b>Freq</b>
---------------------	-------------	--------------------	---------------------	-------------



	<b>Animate</b>	<b>Inanimate</b>			
destroyed		schools, dormitories, communities			8
attacked	innocent Nigerians	churches, schools, our country			7
killed	our children				6
murdered	innocent citizens				2
maimed	unarmed civilians				2
set ablaze		houses			2
bombed		business premises			2
want to manipulate		the fate of Nigeria			1
have shut down		businesses			1
have desecrated		places of worship			1
have brought		untold hardship	to men and women		1
have violated		the culture and peaceful way of life in our country,			1
have displaced	people			from their homes	1
will go to destabilise		our nation			1
challenge		our unity as a people			1
unleashed		the unprecedented war of terror			1
have raped	our daughters				1
lay down		your arms			1
have kidnapped	a number of young men and women				1
have taken	women and children				1
fan		the embers of terror			1
to destabilise		our nation			1
test		our collective resolve			1
have taken over		some Norther parts of Borno State			1
progressively overwhelm		the rest of the country			1
have hoisted		strange flags			1
seek to prevent	Government				1
pursue		their fanatical agenda			1
targeted	population groups				1
harassed	nationalistic politicians				1
intimidated	travellers				1
waylaid	vulnerable Youth Corps members				1
continue to breach		the peace of this nation			1
may hurt and bring grief	to some innocent families				1

can impose		their agenda of hate and division		1
can derail	us			1
bring down		our country		1
to intensify		the war against Nigeria		1
have injured or maimed	many persons			1
renounce		terrorism		1
seek to provoke		turmoil, hatred and harmful divisions		1
seek to impose		their ideology of hate and violence		1
have taken advantage of		the present situation		1
indoctrinate	its members			1
seek to take over		Nigeria		1
has slaughtered	students			1
<b>Total</b>				<b>68</b>

Table 5.1 Transitive Material Process Clauses with Boko Haram as Actor

### 5.2.1.2 Boko Haram as Actor in Transitive Material Process Clauses

The preponderance of transitive material clauses over intransitive ones indicates that Boko Haram is frequently represented as a social actor whose actions affect other social actors or impact the world in some way. According to Thompson's (2008) cline of dynamism schema, the Actor in a transitive clause is more dynamic than the Actor in an intransitive clause. Therefore, with most of Boko Haram's activations occurring as the former, the agency and impact of the group's actions are accentuated in the speeches. Unsurprisingly, most of the verbs that realise the transitive Material process are drawn from semantic fields that portray Boko Haram as a destructive social actor. Table 5.1 above shows that the verbs that realise the transitive Material process include: *destroyed* (8), *attacked* (7), *killed* (6), *murdered* (3), *maimed* (3), *set ablaze* (2), *slaughtered* (1), *desecrated* (1), *raped* (1), *shut down* (1), *hurt* (1), and *violated* (1), see Appendix C for the list of Material process clauses with Boko Haram as Actor. I consider the president's frequent choice of such verbs to be a strong indicator of negative-other representation, wherein the negative actions

of a social actor are deliberately foregrounded at the expense of positive ones. These verbs portray Boko Haram as a social actor whose impact on the world is lethal, life-threatening and destructive. In addition, the verbs are highly intentional, leaving no room for doubt about the culpability of Boko Haram in the execution of the actions. As a result of the deployment of these verbs, President Goodluck Jonathan successfully constructs a type of enemy based on the actions that they carry out. This construction creates the ideological division between “Us” and “Them” based on Boko Haram’s destructive actions portrayed as abhorrent to the in-group. Specifically, President Jonathan achieves the enemy construction by negatively situating Boko Haram’s agency in Material processes construing destruction.

Furthermore, the negative construal of Boko Haram as Actor is reinforced through the representation of the type of Goal affected by the unfolding of the process (Butt et al., 2004, p. 285). The 68 transitive Material processes unfold to 24 animate entities and 44 inanimate/abstract entities that realise the Goal of the clause. Table 5.1 above shows all the nominal groups that realise the Goal; they include *innocent Nigerians, our children, innocent citizens, unarmed civilians, school children, our daughters, travellers, vulnerable youth corps members* and *students*. These nominal groups represent vulnerable and unarmed Nigerians who have been targets and victims of Boko Haram’s attacks. Whilst the choice of these nominal groups highlights the indiscriminate attacks by Boko Haram on vulnerable members of the society, it also delegitimises the act of preying on non-combatant and unarmed civilians.

Interestingly, all 26 occurrences of animate Goals are realised by nominal groups representing Nigerians. Boko Haram is never construed as the force behind material action that affects other animate social actors. I found it noteworthy that the President fails to mention casualties suffered on the part of the Security Forces across the corpus. However, his speeches

dwell on the casualties suffered by civilians. The exclusion of representation of casualties on the path of the Security Forces presupposes that throughout the conflict, the Nigerian Security Forces have not been affected by the attacks by Boko Haram, or it could suggest that the President has chosen to background the representation of such casualties when they have occurred. It could also imply that the losses suffered are not significant enough to warrant mention in the president's speeches. There is some merit towards considering the second narrative because it allows the President to discredit Boko Haram's claims that it is fighting a just war against the Nigerian Government and the Security Forces. Boko Haram had claimed via its YouTube broadcasts that they were targeting Security Forces and not civilians, but the preponderance of Material process clauses which construe unarmed civilians as Goal suggest otherwise. The President's representation also portrays Boko Haram as terrorists rather than non-state political agitators that some of their supporters make them out to be. Terrorists are generally associated with killing unarmed civilians and the representation of Boko Haram's attacks fits them into the terrorist profile.

In 44 out of the 68 transitive Material process clauses, the unfolding of the process extends to inanimate and abstract entities that realise the Goal of the clause. Table 5.1 above shows that the Goal is realised by nominal groups denoting inanimate entities such as *villages, communities, government infrastructure* and abstract entities such as *the culture and peaceful way of life in our country, our country, our unity as a people, our collective resolve, the Nigerian flag, churches, schools* and *motor parks*. The choice of these nominal groups extends the impact of Boko Haram's actions to other aspects in the lives of Nigerians and the country at large. Some of the nominal groups realising Goal appear to be strategic choices linked to attacks by Boko at locations with high volume of casualties such as markets and motor parks. I did not overlook the presence of the

personal pronoun ‘our’ which serves as a means of in-grouping such that it highlights that if Boko Haram attacks these entities possessivised as ‘ours’, it indicates that they do not belong to our group or share our belief systems or our way of life.

In sum, the activation of Boko Haram with such affective agency on both animate and inanimate entities realising the Goal frame them as social actors to be feared. Studies have shown that a key strategy used by public officials in their attempts to unite their audiences is to remind them that their lives and values are at risk or vulnerable to impending attacks at the hands of an enemy other. President Jonathan’s construal of Boko Haram as Actor whips up fear on account of the threat they pose to the nation, the people and their values. The implication of such hysteria in the population makes the citizens to look anxiously to the government for protection, rendering them malleable to manipulation.

### ***5.2.1.3 Boko Haram as Actor in Intransitive Material Process Clauses***

While most of Boko Haram’s actions extend to both animate and inanimate entities realising the Goal, in 30 Material process clauses, Boko Haram’s actions are self-confined and do not extend to another participant in the clause. Table 5.2 below shows all occurrences of clauses in which Boko Haram is realised as Actor but the performance of the process does not extend to a Goal. In place of the Goal, the clauses contain a Scope that construes the domain over which the process takes place (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 239).

<b>Verbal Group</b>	<b>Scope</b>	<b>Circumstance</b>	<b>Freq</b>
will not succeed			2
to use`	innocent youth	as cannon fodder	1
are hiding			1
have won			1
have unleashed	much pain and agony	on our land.	1
have brought	untold hardship	to men and women	1
driving	people	into exile	1

have done	the unimaginable		1
challenge	our unity as a people		1
unleashed	the unprecedented war of terror	on some parts of our country	1
bring	your grievances		1
carried out	the attacks		1
has been launching	deadly attacks		1
seem determined to establish	control and authority	over parts of our nation	1
pursue		their fanatical agenda	1
struck		with destructive force	1
targeted	government offices		1
perpetrated	other acts of intolerance, violence and destruction of human life		1
seek to re-enact	a stalemate in the political process		1
use	terror		1
have foisted	security challenges	on the country	1
have taken advantage of	the present situation		1
strike	at targets	in Nigeria	1
retreat			1
uses	every means		1
has launched	a vicious guerrilla-style campaign		1
has wreaked	havoc		1
runs	an international network		1
<b>Total</b>			<b>30</b>

Table 5.2 Intransitive Material Process Clauses with Boko Haram as Actor

#### 5.2.1.4 Boko Haram as Assigner, Attributor and Initiator

Boko Haram realises external causative roles in Relational and Material process clauses. As Assigner and Attributor, Boko Haram assigns an identity or attribute to other participants in the clause (see excerpt 5.4 and 5.5 below).

- (5.4) ||| They have killed men, women and children ||, rendering many children orphans and ||several women widows.||| GEJ/01/10/2014\_08-10

They	have	killed	men, women and children	{ }	rendering	many children	orphans
S	F	P	C		P	C	C
Mood		Residue			Residue		
Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme	

Actor	Material	Goal	Assigner	Relational	Token	Value
1 $\alpha$			1 $\beta$			

and	{rendering}	several women	widows
		C	C
		Residue	
		Rheme	
	Relational	Token	Value
2			

In excerpt 5.4 above, the death of their relatives at the hands of Boko Haram causes women and children to be assigned the new identity of widows and orphans. Although the women and children are not directly affected by the material action *killed* in clause 1 $\alpha$ , they are identified by the Value signifying the loss of their relatives. This clause conveys the meaning that Boko Haram's agency extends beyond their direct engagement via the material realm of experience to the realm of identifying relations. Likewise in excerpt 5.5 below, the causative agency of Boko Haram occurs as part of President Jonathan's warning that Boko Haram has an overarching aim of causing Nigerians to react in a certain way. This representation endows the Attributor the dynamic status in the clause to cause other participants to adopt certain attributes.

(5.5) |||It is the intention of those behind the blast|| to get government and Nigerians to enter into panic mode and begin to react instead of proact||| GEJ/01/01/2011\_17

It	is	the intention of those behind the blast	to get government and Nigerians to enter into panic mode	and	begin to react instead of proact.
	F	C	Subject		
	Residue		Mood		
	Theme <sub>1</sub>		Rheme <sub>1</sub>		
Theme <sub>2</sub>	Rheme <sub>2</sub>				
	Relational	Token	Value		
1 $\alpha$			1 $\beta$		2

{those behind the blast}	to get	government and Nigerians	to enter	into panic mode
		C		C
		P		
Residue				
	Theme	Rheme		
Attributor		Carrier		Attribute
		Relational		
1 $\beta$				

### 5.2.1.5 Boko Haram as Behaver

The realisation of Boko Haram as Behaver occurs in three clauses from the GEJ/01/01/2011 speech. In these clauses, Boko Haram is realised as Behaver of the process *to speak*, see excerpts 5.6 to 5.8 below:

(5.6) ||They spoke to all Nigerians through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction. ||

GEJ/01/01/2011\_04

They	spoke		to all Nigerians	through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction	
S	F	P	C	Acir	
Mood		Residue			
Theme		Rheme			
Behaver	Behavioural	Recipient	Circumstance		

(5.7) |||There was no national interest reason for them to speak that way.|||

GEJ/01/01/2011\_05-06

There	was	no national interest	for them	to speak	that way
S	F	P	S	P	Acir
Mood		Residue	Mood	Residue	
Theme		Rheme		Rheme	
	Existential	Existent	Behaver	Behavioural	Circumstance
$\alpha$			$\beta$		

(5.8) ||They have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow||

GEJ/01/01/2011\_15



They	have	spoken	through deaths and messages of sorrow
S	F	P	Acir
Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme		
Behavior	Behavioural	Circumstance	

I found the activation of Boko Haram in these Behavioural clauses to be instantiations of grammatical metaphor. To speak is a physiological behaviour but in the excerpt clauses above bombing, violence and destruction which could congruently have been construed as Material processes are relegated to the Circumstance in excerpt 5.6. The effect of the behavioural construal is that the force of the act is diminished and represented as a behaviour rather than a material action. The representation allowed the President to compare Boko Haram's actions to the response of Nigerians. The response of Nigerians to how Boko Haram has spoken is to speak in love and justice.

#### **5.2.1.6 Boko Haram as Senser**

The activation of Boko Haram as Senser occurs in seven Mental process clauses across the corpus (see Figure 5.1). Mental processes construe the thoughts, feelings, desires and perception of the Senser in whose mind the process unfolds. President Goodluck Jonathan's realisation of Boko Haram as Senser presupposes that he knows their thoughts, feelings and desires. He cites the source of his information as "detailed briefings received from our security agencies" (GEJ/14/05/2013\_18) rather than direct interaction with Boko Haram. In fact, the president denied any direct interaction with Boko Haram during a media chat stating that his administration would not entertain any communication with ghosts. Furthermore, on 24 April 2013, after sustained pressure from the Northern Governors Forum, President Goodluck Jonathan inaugurated the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North (Agbibo and Maiangwa, 2014). This move was applauded by many Nigerians who viewed it as

an important step in dialoguing with Boko Haram. However, when the committee submitted its report to the Federal Government, it lacked any strong evidence of dialogue between the committee and Boko Haram (Bamidele, 2016). Based on the information at President Jonathan’s disposal and his own description of the group, his representation of Boko Haram as Senser makes value judgement and evaluation about the inner workings in the mind of Boko Haram. Excerpts 5.9 to 5.15 below are all the Mental clauses that construe Boko Haram as Senser.

(5.9) ||They aim to frustrate the remaining elections.|| GEJ/21/04/2011\_17

They	aim to frustrate		the remaining elections
S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme		
Senser	Mental	Phenomenon	

(5.10) || Sadly, some misguided elements do not share in the spirit of our democratic achievements. || GEJ/21/04/2011\_01

Sadly,	some misguided elements	do not share in	the spirit of our democratic achievements.
A <sup>mood</sup>	S	F	P
Mood		Residue	
Interpersonal	Topical Theme	Rheme	
	Senser	Mental	Phenomenon

In excerpt 5.9 taken from the pre-election broadcast in April 2011, President Jonathan asserts that Boko Haram “aims to frustrate the general elections”. The context of this claim is associated with violence that erupted in some Northern states ahead of the 2011 general elections. Similarly, in excerpt 5.10 he claims that they do not share in Nigeria’s democratic achievement. The portrayal of Boko Haram in these two excerpts as a group that desires to thwart democracy, suggests that they are an anti-democratic unit. Boko Haram is not acting upon democracy but it is the abstract notion of their desires and aim that is being negatively evaluated.

- (5.11) Extremist foreign elements, collaborating with some of our misguided citizens, are focused on an attempt to bring down our country and the democracy and freedom we cherish and celebrate today. GEJ/29/05/2014\_05

Extremist foreign elements, collaborating with some of our misguided citizens,	are focused on		an attempt to bring down our country and the democracy and freedom we cherish and celebrate today
S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme		Rheme	
Senser		Mental	Phenomenon

In excerpts 5.10 and 5.11, the term “misguided” occurs as Epithet in the nominal group that realises Boko Haram as Senser. This serves as a means of characterising Boko Haram members as out-groups based on the beliefs and desires that they hold. The construal in this excerpt implies that with proper guidance, Nigerian citizens would not join Boko Haram, only misguided ones would do so. There also appears to be an over-lexicalisation of how far off the members of Boko Haram seem to be. They are classed as foreign and their focus is on bringing down collectives of the in-group (our country, democracy and freedom we cherish and celebrate).

- (5.12) |||These terrorists do not mean well for anyone, of whatever religion or dispensation. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014\_43

These terrorists	do not mean well		for anyone, of whatever religion or dispensation
S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme		Rheme	
Senser		Mental	Phenomenon

- (5.13) ||We will confront the few misguided persons [[who falsely believe|| that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people]].|| GEJ/29/05/2012\_EB02

We	will	confront	the few misguided persons who falsely believe, that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.
S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue	
Theme		Rheme	

Actor	Material				Goal					
[[Defining Relative Clause]]										
the few misguided persons who	falsely	believe		that	through violence,	they	can	impose	their agenda of hate and division	on this nation of good people.
S	A <sup>mood</sup>	F	P		Acir	S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue			Resi-	Mood		-due		
Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme				
Senser		Mental: Cognitive			Circumstance	Actor	Material	Goal	Circumstance	
$\alpha$				$\beta$						

- (5.14) ||We must confront all those [[who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places]] || GEJ/29/05/2012\_EB03

We	must	confront	all those who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places, against the media.							
S	F	P	C							
Mood		Residue								
Theme	Rheme									
Actor	Material		Goal							
[[Defining Relative Clause]]										
all those who	think		they	can	derail	us	by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places and against the media.			
S	F	P	S	F	P	C	Acir			
Mood		Residue	Mood		Residue					
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme						
Senser	Mental: Cognitive		Actor	Material		Goal	Circumstance			
$\alpha$			$\beta$							

In excerpts 5.13 and 5.14 above, Boko Haram is Senser in cognitive Mental process clauses. Unlike the desiderative variant that projects the wants and wishes of Boko Haram as a proposal, cognitive Mental process clauses project Boko Haram's thoughts and beliefs as a

proposition. President Jonathan portrays Boko Haram as firm believers in indiscriminate violence and an agenda of hatred and division. Similar to the desiderative processes, the cognitive mental processes can project material process clauses. In (5), he evaluates this belief as false in order to delegitimise the quality of this belief system. Furthermore, by using a restrictive relative clause as Qualifier of the nominal group in the above excerpts, President Goodluck Jonathan creates a logical presupposition that presents the information embedded in the relative clause as given knowledge that is not contestable.

- (5.15) ||The despicable abduction of school girls from Chibok in Borno State has brought to the awareness of the entire world, the heartless brutality of these terrorists [[who want to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise our nation.]] || GEJ/01/01/2014\_06

The despicable abduction of school girls from Chibok in Borno State	has	brought to the awareness of	the entire world	the heartless brutality of these terrorists who want to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise our nation.		
S	F	P	C <sup>io</sup>	C <sup>do</sup>		
Mood		Residue				
Theme	Rheme					
Inducer	Mental: Cognition		Senser	Phenomenon		
[[Defining Relative Clause]]						
these terrorists who	want		to instigate	a descent into anarchy	and	balkanise our nation.
S	F	P	P	C		P C
Mood		Residue	Residue			Residue
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme Rheme
Senser	Mental: Desiderative		Material	Goal		Material Goal
$\alpha$		1 $\beta$				2 $\beta$

In excerpt 5.15 President Goodluck Jonathan represents Boko Haram's desires negatively. He achieves this representation by construing Boko Haram as Senser in desiderative mental process clauses that projects a Material process clause. The Subject of the projection is the same as the Subject of the mental process clause, as such, the proposal realises an offer rather than a

command (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 515). Although the material action construed in the projection is yet to occur, the President's representation of Boko Haram's desirability for these actions serves to define them as violent social actors. The defining relative clause serves the dual function of qualifying the nominal group Head *terrorists*, as well as elaborating on the Epithets *heartless* and *brutality*. President Jonathan implies that Boko Haram's heartless brutality is expressed through its members desire to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise the nation.

### 5.2.2 Passivation of Boko Haram

This section discusses the inclusion of Boko Haram as passivated grammatical participants in the speeches. Inclusion by passivation occurs when a social actor is represented as undergoing an activity or being at the receiving end of it (van Leeuwen, 2008). Figure 5.1 shows that Boko Haram is realised in the passivated grammatical participant roles of Receiver (3) and Goal (3).

#### 5.2.2.1 Boko Haram as Receiver

In the speeches, President Jonathan seldom addresses Boko Haram directly. The three clauses in which he addresses Boko Haram rely on reported speech to construe the president's message. See excerpts 5.16 to 5.18 below:

- (5.16) |||To all those waging war against our country, I ask ||that you lay down your arms and embrace peace. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014\_25

To all those waging war against our country,	I	ask that	you lay down your arms and embrace peace.	
C	S	F	P	C
Rhe-	Mood		-me	
Textual	Topical Theme	Rheme		
Receiver	Sayer	Verbal	Projected	
$\alpha$			$\beta$	

- (5.17) |||Bickering and quarrels only serve to send the wrong signals to terrorists and insurgents, that ||we are divided in this fight|||. GEJ/11/12/2014\_12

Bickering and quarrels	only serve to send	the wrong signals	to terrorists and insurgents,	that	we are divided in this fight.
------------------------	--------------------	-------------------	-------------------------------	------	-------------------------------

S	F	P	C	C			
Mood		Residue					
Theme	Rheme						
Sayer	Verbal	Verbiage	Receiver		Projected		
$\alpha$					$\beta$		

(5.18) |||I want to assure whoever they are that ||Nigeria and Nigerians will speak to them firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows|||. GEJ/01/01/2011\_08

I	want to assure	whoever they are	that	Nigeria and Nigerians	will	speak	to them	firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows.
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Behavior	Behavioural	Recipient	Circumstance	
$\alpha$				$\beta$				

The reference to Boko Haram in excerpts 5.16 – 5.18 is generic and impersonal. They are not construed as participants within the same semiotic space of the President as he delivers his speech. This construal indicates the distance between President Goodluck Jonathan and Boko Haram. The President's message appears to be directed and Boko Haram rather than construed as an exchange between the two parties.

### 5.2.2.2 *Boko Haram as Goal*

The Goal is a grammatical participant in the clause that is affected by the unfolding of the process. Excerpts 5.19 and 5.20 below present all the realisations of Boko Haram as Goal in the speeches.

(5.19) |||I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces ||to take all necessary action to apprehend them|||. GEJ/13/03/2014\_05-06

I	have	ordered	our security agencies and Armed Forces	to take	all necessary action	to apprehend	them.
---	------	---------	--	---------	----------------------	--------------	-------

S	F	P	C	P	C	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	Theme	Rheme
Sayer	Verbal		Target	Material	Scope	Material	Goal
$\alpha$				$\beta$		$\gamma$	

(5.20) |||I call on all Nigerians ||to join hands with government|| to fight these terrorists|||. GEJ/31/12/2011\_32-34

I	call on		all Nigerians	to join	hands	with government	to fight	these terrorists.
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue				
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme
Sayer	Verbal	Target	Material	Scope	Circumstance	Material	Goal	
$\alpha$				$\beta$ Non-finite			$\gamma$ Non-finite	

In 5.19, President Jonathan ordered the security and Armed Forces to apprehend Boko Haram. The president is rather vague in his construal of the execution of this action by prefacing his message with an intransitive Material process “to take necessary action”. By qualifying the modus operandi for this action as “necessary”, President Jonathan legitimises the steps taken by the security agencies so long as it leads to the capture of Boko Haram. Likewise, the absence of a Circumstance in excerpt 5.19 silences whatever goes on after Boko Haram members are apprehended. This is a crucial exclusion considering the fact that there have been accusations about extrajudicial killings carried out by the security forces on arrested suspects. In 5.20 the clause complex realises a call inviting Nigerians to join hands with the government to fight Boko Haram. The sparse inclusion of Boko Haram as Goal is surprising since their activation as Actor frames them as the antagonists in the speeches. The fact that only three clauses construe them as directly being affected as Goal suggests the president projects less of a physical engagement with Boko Haram.



### 5.2.2.3 Boko Haram as Scope

The construal of Boko Haram as Scope occurs in intransitive Material process clauses in which they are not affected by the process or benefit from it (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 239). Table 5.3 below shows all the clauses in which Boko Haram is realised as Scope.

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Scope</b>
all arms of our security establishment	to find	all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness
all arms of our security establishment	to bring to justice	all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness
We	have to bring to book	them
We	have continued to vigorously confront	those who seek to destroy the bonds of unity that hold us together.
Our security forces	continue to engage	the terrorists
Special Forces	to engage	the terrorists
we	will fish	them
we	will bring to justice	them
No Actor	must be fished out	the perpetrators of these dastardly acts of violence and all those [[who seek to continue to breach the peace of this nation
We	will bring to justice	the perpetrators
We	will confront	the few misguided persons who falsely believe that through violence they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.
Our security forces	must confront	all those [[who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places
No Actor	will be driven	these thugs
We	will ultimately prevail over	the terrorists and all other evil forces.
they	apprehend	them

*Table 5.3 Intransitive Material Processes with Boko Haram as Scope*

Table 5.3 shows representations of Boko Haram being unaffected by the unfolding of Material processes. Two processes which I found worthy of discussion are *to find* and *to bring to justice* cited below as excerpt 5.21.

(5.21) ||| I have instructed all arms of our security agencies || to within the shortest possible time find || and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness|||. GEJ/01/01/2011\_13

President Jonathan's directive to the Security Forces in 5.21 entails some form of physical action to search potential hideouts for suspected members of the group. The execution of the Material process *to find* rests solely on the Security Forces, however, *finding* Boko Haram does not suggest that anything is to be done to Boko Haram apart from locating them. Similarly, *to fish out* and *to apprehend* them express meanings associated with non-impactful actions. As for *bringing Boko Haram to justice* or *bringing them to book*, these processes convey the meaning that the Security Forces have been instructed to persecute Boko Haram. The construal of prosecution as *justice* is an interesting one because President Jonathan does not specify the arm of the Security Forces that would execute this process. The individual units are genericised as *all arms of our security agencies* thus backgrounding the specific unit behind the process. The implication of this representation is that justice is construed as a neutral process that would be fairly administered by the country's Security Forces. It also relies on semantic frames of meaning from the legal domain and portrays Boko Haram as offenders and the Security Forces as enforcers of the law.

We see in Table 5.3, the verbal groups *to confront* and *to engage* realise the process of the clause. These verbs do not fully describe the nature of actions that the Security Forces carry out. The intransitive nature also means that there is no result from the unfolding of the process. The immediate effect of the meaning here is that Boko Haram seems to be left unaffected, despite the use of terms which suggest a strong response from the government.

To conclude this section, the analysis has shown that President Goodluck Jonathan's activation of Boko Haram across the different process types portrays the group as social actors who firmly believe in violence (cognitive mental processes), desires to commit violent acts (desiderative mental processes) behaves violently (behavioural process) and continuously commits violent and destructive acts (material process clauses) on vulnerable and valuable assets of the country. The activation serves an othering purpose in the discourse as it foregrounds the negative actions and thoughts and wishes of Boko Haram compared to other in-group social actors. Likewise, the activation of Boko Haram this way serves to contrast Boko Haram with Nigerians by way of representing Boko Haram's negative qualities in contradistinction to the good qualities and actions of Nigerians.

### 5.3 Nomination of Boko Haram

Social actors may be nominated by their unique identity, by reference pronouns, genericised classes, labels or categories (van Leeuwen, 2008). Since nominal groups are the structures that are used to nominate Boko Haram as a grammatical participant in the clause, this section examines the types and internal structure of the nominal groups used to achieve this purpose. It is possible to distinguish between three types of nominal groups that are used to nominate Boko Haram in the speeches: (1) Nominal group with pronoun as Head, (2) Nominal group with common noun as Thing and (3) Nominal group with proper noun as Thing. Table 5.4 below, shows the frequency with which each type of nominal group is deployed in the speeches and some sample clauses that show the realisation in context.

	Type of Nominal Group	Examples of Realisations in the Corpus	Freq
1	Nominal group with pronoun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>They</b> formed into groups of miscreants and struck with deadly and destructive force</li> </ul>	94

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>They</b> have destroyed countless schools and displaced people from their communities, driving them into exile.</li> <li>• <b>They</b> have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow.</li> <li>• So we have to take all necessary steps to bring <b>them</b> to book.</li> </ul>	
2	Nominal group with common noun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regrettably, <b>terrorists</b> have unleashed much pain and agony on our land.</li> <li>• We all must work together, collectively, to rid our world of <b>haters of peace</b>,</li> <li>• We will confront the <b>few misguided persons</b> who falsely believe, that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.</li> <li>• A number of young men and women have been kidnapped by these <b>criminal elements</b> including our daughters from Chibok.</li> </ul>	59
3	Nominal group with proper noun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Boko Haram</b> has launched a vicious guerrilla-style campaign against the government and the people of Nigeria.</li> <li>• We are also glad that our gallant Armed Forces have successfully stemmed the seizure of Nigerian territories in the North-East by the terrorist group, <b>Boko Haram</b></li> <li>• Border and cross-border attacks have taken place with <b>Boko Haram</b> seeking refuge in our neighbouring countries.</li> </ul>	22

*Table 5.4 Types of Nominal Groups that Realise Boko Haram as Grammatical Participants*

### 5.3.1 Nominal Group with Pronoun as Head

As Table 5.4 above shows, pronouns are the most frequent type of nominal groups for realising Boko in the speeches. The pronominal system of language has long been identified as a

resource used by politicians to indicate, accept, deny or distance themselves from the audience, as well as identify with in-groups and exclude out-groups (Bull and Fetzer, 2006, Fairclough, 2001; Wilson, 1990). Beyond expressing person, number and gender as propounded by traditional grammarians, or expressing referential and deictic meanings (Bhat, 2004; Simon and Wise, 2002), pronouns are known to be discursive resources for identity construction. The referential complexity of pronouns allows them to be used to enforce or manipulate social relations since the same pronoun can be applied differently in a text depending on the speech context. The ease with which pronouns may be used to convey different meanings therefore makes them a useful tool for rhetorical purposes in political discourse. Bramley (2001) opines that politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct different alignments to, and boundaries between, themselves and other social actors.

In President Jonathan's speeches, pronouns constitute linguistic markers of alliance and distance. In excerpt 5.22 below, personal pronouns are used to express the president's affiliation with in-group social actors and distance from out-group social actors. For emphasis, pronouns for out-groups appear in boldface while pronouns for in-groups are underlined.

(5.22) My Brothers and Sisters, it is no more news that our country was viciously attacked on both Christmas and New Years eves by terrorists who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria as we approach an epochal year of positive change. **They** spoke to all Nigerians through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction. There was no national interest reason for **them** to speak that way. I want to assure whoever **they** are that Nigeria and Nigerians will speak to **them** firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows. We will take justice to **them**

wherever **they** are hiding for our nation's peace and security cannot be sacrificed on the altar of narrow interest. GEJ/01/01/2011\_10

Excerpt 5.22 above, shows the binary opposition between *our* and *we* on one hand; and *they* and *them* on the other. The opposition shows that the interests, actions and ethos of the out-group (*they*) do not align with that of the in-group (*we*). President Jonathan uses *they* to refer to Boko Haram, whom he nominates in line 2 of the excerpt as “terrorists who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria as we approach an epochal year of positive change”. The president’s message sets up an Us vs Them dichotomy invoked by the nominal group “terrorists...” which *they* replaces subsequently, and *we* Nigerians (strategically referred to as brothers and sisters). This distinction runs throughout excerpt 5.22 and was observed in other parts of the speeches. To explore the spread of oppositional pronominal use within the corpus, I applied collocation and concordance analysis using AntConc. The former shows that *they* collocates frequently with *have*. Out of 289 collocate types, *have* ranks second after *and* is the most frequent collocate for *they*. The concordance in Figure 5.2 below presents the collocates of *they* and *have*; and it reveals some interesting patterns.

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Concordance Hits 18						
Hit	KWIC					
2	ting the exercise of alternative sovereignty.	They have attacked	government buildings and facilities.	The		
3	our country, which took generations to build.	They have destroyed	countless schools and displaced people			
4	the rest of the country. In many places,	they have destroyed	the Nigerian flag and other symbols			
5	! In their mission, they have maimed and raped.	They have killed	men, women and children, rendering many			
6	unleashed much pain and agony on our land.	They have made	widows of our mothers and sisters			
7	many children orphans and several women widows.	They have made	violence their ideology and are bent			
8	way. They will not succeed! In their mission,	they have maimed	and raped. They have killed men,			
9	ave attacked government buildings and facilities.	They have murdered	innocent citizens and state officials. T			
10	h-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram.	They have recaptured	most of the communities and territorie			
11	any other time, since the civil war. Yet,	they have remained	undaunted and unwearied in the face			
12	e murdered innocent citizens and state officials.	They have set	houses ablaze, and taken women and			
13	mothers and sisters and orphans of our children.	They have shut	down businesses, desecrated places of worshi			
14	this cowardly act of utmost wickedness. I repeat:	they have spoken	through deaths and messages of sorrow,			
15	people safe. We shall continue to ensure that	they have the	best in terms of equipment, training			
16	brought untold hardship to both men and women.	They have violated	the culture and peaceful way of			
17	react instead of proact. If we do this	they have won.	So we have to take all			

Figure 5.2 Concordance plot for *they* and *have* in the Corpus

Figure 5.2 reveals that apart from lines 10, 11 and 15, all other occurrences of “they have” in the corpus is used to represent violent and destructive actions by Boko Haram. They have *attacked, destroyed, maimed, raped, murdered, set houses ablaze, violated, made violence their ideology and made widows of our mothers and sisters*. The consistent pattern observable from the concordance plot suggests that an Us vs Them polarisation is at work.

### 5.3.2 Nominal Group with Common Noun as Head

Table 5.4 shows that common nouns are used to realise Boko Haram in 59 clauses. The use of common nouns serves to generalise Boko Haram rather than specify their identity. Excerpt 5.23 below, illustrates the use of the common noun *terrorists*, to realise Boko Haram as Actor:

- (5.23) |||My Brothers and Sisters, it is no more news|| that our country was viciously attacked on both Christmas and New Year’s eves by **terrorists** who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria as we approach an epochal year of positive change|||. GEJ/01/01/2011\_03

Excerpt 5.23 above is drawn from President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2011 New Year address. He opens the address by recounting a recent attack on the country. The primary relational process clause presupposes that the president’s listeners are already knowledgeable about the attack, since, the president asserts that the details are “no longer news”. On the basis of this presupposition, President Jonathan presents as shared knowledge, two details about the attack: the target (our country) and the date of the attack (Christmas and New Year’s eves). However, he genericises the perpetrators of the attack by choosing the common noun *terrorists* to realise the Actor. The president’s genericisation of the attackers this way is an interesting choice because it defocalises the identity of whomever carried out the attack and instead assigns them a genericised label. More so, two days after the attack, in an interview with The Daily Trust newspaper, Abu Qaqa, a popular Boko Haram spokesman claimed that Boko Haram was responsible for the attack (Asfura-Heim

and McQuaid, 2015). Abu Qaqa's claim and its widespread publication suggests that at the time of delivering the speech, the presidency was aware that the group had claimed responsibility, yet they were referred to as *terrorists* rather than a more specific name.

Interestingly, the paucity of specifically named enemies is an artefact of this genre of political speeches (Dunmire, 2007). For example, studies on the political speeches of US President George W. Bush's concerning 9/11 terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq reveal a similar reliance on general labels or abstract terms and an absence of specifically named enemies (Collins and Glover 2002; Dunmire, 2007; Graham et al, 2004). Generic nomination of the enemy in this way provides an elastic definition that allows for the inclusion of a range of unspecified social actors under a collective label. Genericisation of Boko Haram this way enables President Jonathan to represent Boko Haram as a monolith bloc lacking the individuality and agency of a pressure group with names, families and relationships. Also, by choosing to assign them the terrorist label delegitimises whatever struggles or resistance they propose (if any). Critically, it implies that it is the terrorists' nature that is the problem to be addressed, not the conditions that give rise Boko Haram's actions.

### **5.3.3 Nominal Group with Proper Noun as Head**

Table 5.4 shows that proper nouns are the least frequent for nominating Boko Haram in the speeches. The proper noun "Boko Haram" realises the Thing in only 21 clauses in which Boko Haram is included as a grammatical participant. Primarily, proper nouns serve to nominate social actors by the unique identity of their name, however, they can also be used to indicate distance, involvement, and solidarity (or lack thereof) between the text producer and the represented social actor (De Fina 2003). Although the group is most commonly known as Boko Haram, since its emergence, its name has been the subject of media and scholarly debate (Sampson 2015). They



have been known by different informal nicknames such as *Nigerian Taliban* (Adibe, 2012; Davis 2012; Walker, 2012), *Yussufiyyah* (Okereke, 2012) *Sahaba* (Falode, 2016; Hamid and Baba, 2014; Madike, 2011) *Boko Haram* (Davis 2012; Osisanwo, 2016) and formal Arabic names such as *Al-Sunna Wal Jamma'a*, *Muhajirun Wal-Takhfir* and *Ahl al-Sunna li'l-Da'wa wa'l-Jihad* (Onuoha, 2011; Davis, 2012;; Osisanwo, 2016 Sampson, 2015). Out of these names, only *Boko Haram* occurs as proper noun for identifying the group in the speeches. I shall highlight some considerations that may have contributed to the president's choice of the proper noun *Boko Haram* over the proper nouns by which the group is known.

The monikers *Yussufiyyah*, *Sahaba*, *Al-Sunna Wal Jamma'a*, *Muhajirun Wal-Takhfir* and *Ahl al-Sunna li'l-Da'wa wa'l-Jihad* are drawn from Arabic and they strongly evoke the rhetoric of Salafism, a conservative stream of Sunni Islam (Davis, 2012). With almost half of Nigeria's population registered as Muslims, they are a politically influential and powerful group (Mustapha, 2009; Nnoli, 1996). Therefore, President Goodluck Jonathan dissociation from these names forestalls potential criticism that could arise from affiliating the group with Islam. The name *Nigerian Taliban* does not connote an affiliation with Islam, however, it suggests that Boko Haram members are Nigerians. The patterns identified in President Goodluck Jonathan's representation of Nigerians (see chapter six) shows an overwhelming use of positive self-representation. As such, I found it unsurprising that the name *Nigerian Taliban* does not occur in the speeches as it would contradict the positive representation of Nigerians. Based on the above, it is therefore unsurprising that in the 21 clauses where Boko Haram is realised by a proper noun, President Jonathan nominates them using the name that the group is most commonly known by (Osisanwo, 2016) and one which appears to be less face threatening compared to the others.

#### 5.4 Exclusion of Boko Haram

The most notable exclusion of Boko Haram occurs in the form of radical suppression of all leadership figures of the group. Leadership is a recurrent theme in President Goodluck Jonathan's speeches. At the national level, he issues directives to security forces, consults with state Governors and Federal Ministers and dialogues with religious leaders, Emirs and Chieftains. At the international level, he interacts with Foreign World leaders and appeals for support from the international community. On a personal note, President Jonathan also assures the audience that one of his alluring qualities as a leader that "he will not fail them". I examined suppressed social actors because unattributed views or actions may form part of a straw man argument or show a hidden ideological standpoint.

The excerpt clauses below show some inclusions of leaders in the speeches

- (5.24) I have been in touch with all state governors and relevant security agencies. I have consulted with traditional, religious and political leaders who are also very disturbed by this trend of events.
- (5.25) Prime Minister David Cameron and President Francois Hollande and other world leaders have spoken with me; we appreciate their commitment to help us put an end to the crisis.
- (5.26) I urge the political leadership in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states to co-operate maximally with the Armed Forces and the Police to ensure that the exercise succeeds.
- (5.27) All leaders and citizens, in every community, must therefore make peace the number one priority of their daily routine.

The inclusion data is indicative of the importance that President Jonathan accords to social actors who are leaders when we look at how frequently they are included in the speeches. However, the representation of leadership for Boko Haram is suppressed. The radically suppression of Boko

Haram leaders was realised by excluding the actions or identity of any social actor in a leadership capacity of Boko Haram. President Jonathan makes no reference to any leader of the group, notably excluding Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram's most visible leader since 2010 (Zenn, 2014). In June 2012, the United States Department of State declared Boko Haram's Shekau, Khalid al Barnawi (a commander), and Abubakar Adam Kamar (an active member) as 'Specially Designated Global Terrorists' (Okereke, 2014). The United States offered a reward up to US \$7 million for information about Shekau's location. In June 2014, the United Nations Security Council's Al Qaeda Sanctions Committee approved the inclusion of Abubakar Mohammed Shekau to its list of individuals and entities targeted for financial sanctions under UNSC Resolution 2161. This listing prohibits the provision of financial support to Shekau and his subjects by any individual or entity. Yet with all this visibility representations of Shekau or other Boko Haram leaders are conspicuously missing in the president's speeches.

According to (Fairclough, 2003) 'There are many motivations for exclusion, such as redundancy or irrelevance, but exclusion may be politically or socially significant' (p. 149). The exclusion of Boko Haram's leadership is strategic in this regard. The exclusion of Abubakar Shekau is inextricably linked to the fact that the Nigerian security forces had claimed that Shekau had been killed in 2012, as such, any reference to the leader of the group by the presidency would jeopardise the credibility of the report by Nigeria's Security Forces. The presidency would have been further ridiculed by Shekau's repeated appearance in at least seven videos released on YouTube since his alleged death in 2013. Furthermore, the suppression of Boko Haram's leaders can also be seen as a delegitimisation strategy. The absence of a leadership figure for the group in the president's speeches suggests that they are not an organised unit.

## 5.5 Emergent themes from the Representation of Boko Haram

The main themes that emerge from a detailed analysis of the activation of Boko Haram are violence, destruction, power, control and elusiveness. The discussion in the rest of this section is organised based on these themes. I aim to show how each theme is manifested through clusters of transitivity structures and lexicogrammatical resources.

### 5.5.1 Boko Haram as Violent and Destructive

The representation of Boko Haram is mainly associated with violence and destruction. President Goodluck Jonathan constructs Boko Haram as a destructive social actor whose actions cause loss of lives and property of Nigerians as well as “violates the culture and peaceful way of life in the country” (GEJ/01/01/202015\_15). In section 5.2.1.1, I examined the activation of Boko Haram as Actor, I shall revisit some of the findings here in order to discuss the theme of violence and destruction.

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
<b>Concordance Hits 18</b>						
Hit	KWIC					
2	ting the exercise of alternative sovereignty. They have attacked government buildings and facilities. The					
3	our country, which took generations to build. They have destroyed countless schools and displaced people					
4	the rest of the country. In many places, they have destroyed the Nigerian flag and other symbols					
5	! In their mission, they have maimed and raped. They have killed men, women and children, rendering many					
6	unleashed much pain and agony on our land. They have made widows of our mothers and sisters					
7	many children orphans and several women widows. They have made violence their ideology and are bent					
8	way. They will not succeed! In their mission, they have maimed and raped. They have killed men,					
9	ave attacked government buildings and facilities. They have murdered innocent citizens and state officials. T					
10	h-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram. They have recaptured most of the communities and territorie					
11	any other time, since the civil war. Yet, they have remained undaunted and unwearied in the face					
12	e murdered innocent citizens and state officials. They have set houses ablaze, and taken women and					
13	mothers and sisters and orphans of our children. They have shut down businesses, desecrated places of worshi					
14	this cowardly act of utmost wickedness. I repeat: they have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow,					
15	people safe. We shall continue to ensure that they have the best in terms of equipment, training					
16	brought untold hardship to both men and women. They have violated the culture and peaceful way of					
17	react instead of proact. If we do this they have won. So we have to take all					

Figure 5.2 (reproduced above) shows that Boko Haram is constructed as an active agent that carries out a range of violent and destructive actions such as *attacking, destroying, killing, maiming, raping, setting ablaze, shutting down* and *violating*. Their actions are not only destructive but they also constitute criminal offences. According to Van Dijk (1997) if a social group is consistently described as being the responsible agent of negative action, the framing has potential for ideological bias. Applied in this case, President Goodluck Jonathan's overwhelming use of violent and destructive verbal groups to denote Boko Haram's action serves the ideological purpose of othering them in the discourse. He achieves this by foregrounding the violent and destructive actions of Boko Haram that target and impact upon Nigerians. This type of oppositional framing sets up Boko Haram as the negative out-group compared to positive representations of the actions of in-group social actors.

The process of the clause is at the heart of Halliday's experiential metafunction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). However, moving outward from the process, the representation of other participants in the clause also contributes to the construction of Boko Haram as a violent and destructive social actor. For example, the lexicalisation of the Goal serves to represent Boko Haram in a violent and destructive light. Figure 5.3 shows the concordance plot for innocent in the corpus.

Concordance			Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Concordance Hits 15								
Hit	KWIC	File						
1	to mention the displacement of thousands of <b>innocent</b> Nigerians. We have developed intelligence, which indicates clearly that	17-05-2014						
2	theless, Boko Haram has continued to attack <b>innocent</b> Nigerians without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender. Christians ha	17-05-2014						
3	s destroyed. The reprehensible abduction of <b>innocent</b> school girls in Chibok, Borno State is another manifestation of this crim	17-05-2014						
4	peace and stability. The abduction of young <b>innocent</b> school girls in Chibok represents a watershed, and a turning point, in th	17-05-2014						
5	vernment in our joint efforts to rescue these <b>innocent</b> children. The major challenge that we have faced in our search and resc	17-05-2014						
6	ure in Gujba, Yobe State killing a number of <b>innocent</b> students of the institution and other residents in cold blood, most of the	01-10-2013						
7	d ones in the dastardly attacks yesterday on <b>innocent</b> villagers in Faskari and Sabuwa local government areas. We totally con	13-03-2014						
8	needless loss of lives and property of many <b>innocent</b> Nigerians including members of our security forces. The recent killin	14-05-2013						
9	buildings and facilities. They have murdered <b>innocent</b> citizens and state officials. They have set houses ablaze, and taken wom	14-05-2013						
10	arts of the country. They killed and maimed <b>innocent</b> citizens. They set ablaze business premises, private homes and even pla	21-04-2011						
11	en though we all know that these young and <b>innocent</b> Nigerians are guests within our communities and are agents of public c	21-04-2011						
12	ir wards. We must not allow anybody to use <b>innocent</b> youth as cannon fodder for the ambitions of a few. Let us preserve	21-04-2011						
13	I say, you may hurt and bring grief to some <b>innocent</b> families momentarily, but you will never succeed in stopping our transf	21-04-2011						
14	it down the Twin Towers in New York, killed <b>innocent</b> persons in Boston and led to the murder of defenceless people in the	29-05-2014						
15	horant young men and women to attack the <b>innocent</b> . We cannot allow this to continue. I welcome the statements of solidarit	29-05-2014						

Figure 5.3 Concordance Plot for "Innocent"

President Jonathan condemns Boko Haram's actions on moral grounds. His condemnation is rooted in framing the innocence and non-combatant status of the victims of Boko Haram's attacks. The choice of the Epithet *innocent* as pre-modifier of the nominal groups, *citizens*, *students*, *Nigerian*, *children*, *school girls* and *youth* that realise the Goal evokes sympathy from the audience for the victims who Boko Haram has so callously attacked. Throughout the speeches, President Jonathan is consistent with his use of *innocent* as a pre-modifier for victims of Boko Haram's attacks. By choosing to pre-modify the victims with *innocent*, President Jonathan portrays Boko Haram as a violent social actor that selects and executes attacks on vulnerable individuals who are not involved in any form of hostility against them. The repeated use of *innocent* across the corpus carries forward the president's representation whereas, in some other instances, he represents the attack on innocent civilians as a form of continuous action by Boko Haram, see excerpt 5.28 below.

- (5.28) ||Nonetheless, Boko Haram has continued to attack innocent Nigerians without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender.|| GEJ/17/05/2014\_38

Nonetheless,	Boko Haram	has continued	to attack	innocent Nigerians	without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender.
A	S	F	P	C	A
Mood			Residue		
Textual	Topical	Rheme			
	Actor	Material	Goal	Circumstance	

The iterative verbal group *has continued* logically presupposes the existence of previous attacks by Boko Haram on innocent Nigerian citizens. In this way, Boko Haram's attacks are not represented as incidental, rather they are shown to be deliberate and continuous thereby heightening the group's violent representation in the corpus. The targets of Boko Haram's attacks are not limited to human subjects. Non-human and abstract entities also feature as Goal of the clause. The president's representation of Boko Haram's attacks involve targets with potential for mass casualties. The Goal in this case is mainly realised by locations that typically attract large gatherings such as business premises, schools, churches and motor-parks.

Moving further away from the semantic core of the clause and the Goal, the construction of Boko Haram as a violent and destructive is encoded indirectly the Circumstance of the clause. The Circumstance of the clause is the furthest constituent from the process in which Boko Haram's violence is represented. It is an optional clausal element that augments the process by supplying temporal, spatial, causal and other peripheral information about the unfolding of the process. In excerpts 5.29 and 5.30, supplementary information about Boko Haram's violence is expressed in the Circumstance of the clause

- (5.29) ||| Just two days ago, Terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Guba, Yobe state|| killing a number of innocent students of the institution and other residents in cold blood, most of them in their sleep|||.GEJ/01/10/2013\_19-20

Just two days ago,	Terrorist elements	attacked	The College of Agriculture in Guba, Yobe state.
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A	S	F	P	C
Resi-	Mood		-due	
Theme	Rheme			
Circumstance	Actor	Material	Goal	
$\alpha$				
killing	a number of innocent students of the institution and other residents		in cold blood	most of them in their sleep
P	C		Acir	Acir
Residue				
Theme	Rheme			
Material	Goal		Circumstance	Circumstance
$\beta$				

(5.30) ||Just yesterday, young students, full of hopes and dreams for a great future, were callously murdered as they slept in their college dormitories|| GEJ/26/02/2014\_05

Just yesterday	young students full of hopes and dreams for a bright future	were	callously	murdered	as they slept in their college dormitories
A	S	F	A	P	
Resi-	Mood		-due		
Theme	Rheme				
Circumstance	Actor	Mat-	Circ	-erial	Circumstance

In the excerpt clauses above, the prepositional phrases elaborate on the manner in which Boko Haram executed material actions lexicalised as *attacked* and *murdered*. On their own these verbal groups bear negative semantic load, but by including the Circumstance of manner, some of the load is extended to the Circumstance as it evokes a sense of cruelty and ruthlessness about the action.

### 5.5.2 Boko Haram as powerful and dominant social actors

The second recurrent theme associated with the activation of Boko Haram as Actor is power and dominance. President Goodluck Jonathan represents Boko Haram as powerful social actors who exert dominance and control over the entire country, the values the citizens hold dear and the safety and stability in the region. The theme of power and dominance overlaps with the



theme of violence discussed above, as the former appears to be a reflection of the group's strength. Across the corpus, this theme is mainly expressed in material process clauses that construe Boko Haram as the force behind actions that affects the entire country not just other social actors or infrastructure. The excerpt clauses below illustrate this theme:

(5.31) |||Let me state clearly from the outset|| that what started as a local insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria has now evolved into the new frontier of the global war of terrorism against our civilisation, our way of life, and against the many prospects of stability in our region|||. GEJ/17/05/2014\_05-06

In excerpt 5.31 above, President Jonathan compares the group's origin to its current state at the time of delivering his speech. He acknowledges that Boko Haram began as a local insurgency but as at the time of delivering his speech, the president considers them to a more powerful global threat. The contrast between *local insurgency* and *global war of terrorism* is noticeably used to show that Boko Haram's reach and influence is beyond the scope of North Eastern Nigeria where the group originated. By affiliating Boko Haram with the global war of terrorism, President Goodluck Jonathan suggests that they are no longer a Nigerian problem but have metamorphosed into a global problem. He expresses this sentiment in his address at the 2014 Paris Regional Summit thus:

(5.32) |||Boko Haram is not anymore a challenge to Nigeria alone; || it is a threat to each and every one of us in this room|||. GEJ/17/05/2014\_08

(5.33) ||These terrorists and insurgents seem determined to establish control and authority over parts of our beloved nation and to progressively overwhelm the rest of the country.|| GEJ/14/05/2013\_24

- (5.34) We are in a sober moment in our country. Our sombreness has to do with the crises of nationhood occasioned by the activities of terrorist elements who have done the unimaginable to challenge our unity as a people. GEJ/01/10/2014\_03-04

In excerpt 5.34 above, Boko Haram is portrayed as the source of sombreness sweeping across the entire nation. Their actions are deemed to have caused a crisis of nationhood and challenge the unity of Nigerians as a people. President Goodluck Jonathan does not represent any specific Goal in this clause, instead, the dominance of Boko Haram is expressed in the Scope of the clause. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that across the entire corpus there are no lexicalisations associating Boko Haram with weakness or vulnerability. One of the ways the president could have represented them as weak would have been to pre-modify the nominal group realising Boko Haram with an Epithet denoting weakness or vulnerability. However, none is used in the corpus. Instead common Epithets of Boko Haram include *global*, *international* and *savage* as illustrated in Figure 5.4 below.

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
<b>Concordance Hits 4</b>						
Hit	KWIC					
1	possible means, the evil machinations of <b>global terrorists</b> and their misguided domestic accomplices					
2	ve joined hands with Al Qaeda and <b>international terrorists</b> in the misguided belief that violence can pc					
3	challenge. We will bring justice to the <b>savage terrorists</b> known as Boko Haram. They will be defeat					
4	is the regional and global character of <b>the terrorists</b> \x92 campaign that makes it imperative tha					

Figure 5.4 Epithets of "terrorists" in the Corpus

I acknowledge that the absence of Epithets characterising Boko Haram as weak does not necessarily equate to a representation of Boko Haram's as strong, however, the absence of such

Epithets suggests that President Goodluck Jonathan does not consider weakness to be a defining trait of the group.

### 5.5.3 Boko Haram as Elusive Threat

President Goodluck Jonathan activates Boko Haram as elusive social actor that has evaded capture and prosecution by Nigeria's law enforcement agencies. This representation is mainly expressed in the group's activation in intransitive material process clauses. Thus far, my discussion has focused on transitive material clauses where Boko Haram's violent, destructive and dominant actions extend to other social actors and participants in the clause. However, the corpus also contains in transitive clauses in which Boko Haram's actions do not extend, rather they are confined to the actor as illustrated in the excerpt clauses below:

(5.35) |||We will take justice to them [[wherever they are hiding]] ||for our nation's peace and security cannot be sacrificed on the altar of narrow interest.|||

GEJ/01/01/2011\_10

(5.36) ||| I have directed the closure of the land borders contiguous to the affected Local Government Areas|| so as to control incidences of cross boarder terrorist activities|| as terrorists have taken advantage of the present situation|| to strike at targets in Nigeria|| and retreat beyond the reach of our law enforcement personnel|||. GEJ/31/12/2011\_17

(5.37) ||| I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces|| to take all necessary action|| to apprehend them|| including combing the Rugu Forest thoroughly|| to permanently rid it of the terrorists and armed criminals [[who have been launching deadly attacks on surrounding states from there.]]|||

GEJ/13/03/2014\_EB03

In excerpts, 5.35-5.37, verbal groups from the semantic field of movement portray Boko Haram as an elusive and cowardly social actor. Although the group's material actions are agentive, they appear to imply cowardice in terms of Boko Haram's modus operandi.

Furthermore, the group's elusiveness is portrayed in clauses that associate Boko Haram with animal symbolism vocabulary for evading capture. President Jonathan passivates Boko Haram as Goal in the unfolding of material processes *hunt down, fish out, be routed* and *get away*. Boko Haram is represented as either being on the run or in hiding. Animal symbolism is introduced into the representation through the choice of lexicalisations *hunt down* and *fish out* rather than less dehumanising choices such as *search for, look for* or *find*. The use of animal symbolism to depict the pursuit of Boko Haram has the effect of dehumanising Boko Haram and justifying any action that the security forces take during the pursuit. This is akin to a hunter being justified in the pursuit of prey. In this way, the President Jonathan's representation appears to be a simple and natural description of the actions of the security forces rather than motivated symbolic choices that perform ideological work. Although these verbal groups do not occur frequently in the corpus, the imagery they connote when deployed is remarkably restrictive and coherent such that this is a form of conscious enemy construction rather than chance occurrence.

The portrayal of Boko Haram's elusiveness is reinforced by nominating Boko Haram's hideout as *Rugu forest* (excerpt 5.37), which subtly communicates Boko Haram's abode to be an animal habitat rather than human constructed hideout such as a bunker or a camp. The suggestion here is that Boko Haram dwells in non-human settlements, difficult to penetrate and requiring that the security forces thoroughly comb it to capture them. Another suggestive representation about the abode of Boko Haram is the near total lack of reference to a particular place where they reside. With the exception of Rugu forest mentioned in the GEJ/13/03/2013 speech, at no point in the speeches does President Goodluck Jonathan make reference to a location where Boko Haram reside.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the overall representation of Boko Haram in President Goodluck Jonathan's political speeches. I applied close textual analysis from SFL to examine agency and transitivity while SAN was applied to determine the roles that Boko Haram was assigned and the nomination strategies for referring to the group. The results of the analysis are interpreted with a view to uncovering the underpinnings of ideological polarisation that the structures realise. The transitivity analysis highlights Boko Haram's frequent activation in the role of Actor and the construal of negative, dynamic Material processes is a discursive strategy for enemy construction. The group is represented as a dynamic grammatical participant whose actions extend and transform both animate and inanimate entities that realise the Goal of the clause. By representing the victims of Boko Haram's attacks as innocent and vulnerable, the speeches delegitimise Boko Haram's actions as morally objectionable. The speeches strongly emphasise the innocence and vulnerability of the victims of Boko Haram's attacks and when the impact of the attack is national or democratic ethos, it shows Boko Haram's apathy to buttress an out-group portrayal.

The chapter also discusses what appears to be a pattern of amplifying the threat that Boko Haram poses. Whilst President Jonathan acknowledges that the group started as a local insurgency, this chapter highlights constructions in his speeches which suggest that Boko Haram is more impactful than a local insurgency. There are three ways in which this is evidenced. The first is that the speeches pay more attention to describing them as an international and global terrorist group. They are represented as social actors under the misguided influence of global terrorists and they are shown to be a threat beyond the immediate environment of North Eastern Nigeria. In this way, the president portrays the group as a pawn in the hands of international terrorist organisations. He

frames their emergence as an external phenomenon by showing how they have come from outside the borders of Nigeria, suggesting that they are an external problem that has befallen Nigeria. They are construed as a global threat thus implying that tackling Boko Haram entails a global response.

## CHAPTER 6

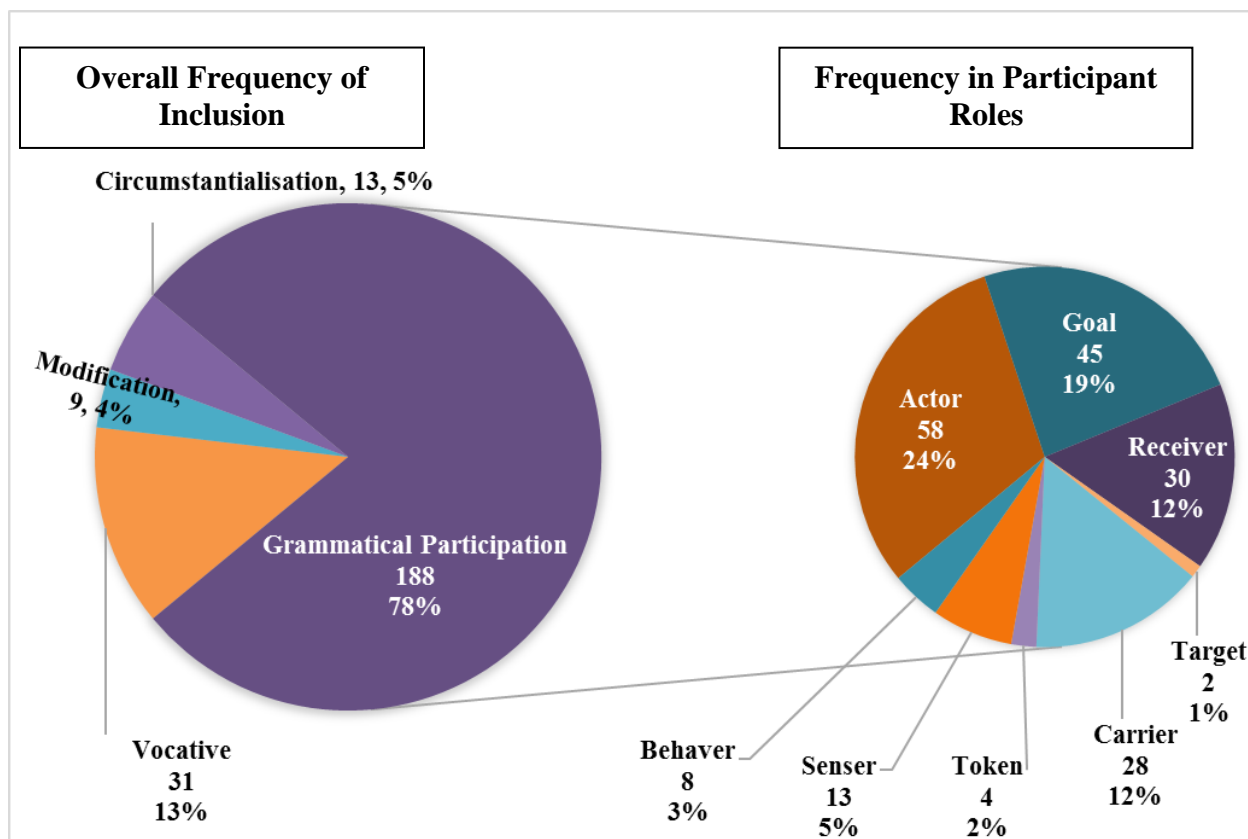
### Representation of Nigerians

#### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the representation of Nigerians in President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential speeches. As reported in section 4.5.1, Nigerians are the most included social actors in the speeches. As the primary addressees of the speeches it is unsurprising that President Jonathan devotes attention to representing them frequently. The analysis covers their inclusion, exclusion, activation, passivation and the transitivity roles they are assigned in the speeches.

#### 6.2 Inclusion of Nigerians

A good point of departure for examining the representation of a social actor in discourse is to account for the frequency and the means by which the social actor is included in the texts. Figure 6.1 below shows the four categories of modification, vocatives, circumstantialisation and grammatical participation under which Nigerians are included in the speeches.



*Figure 6.1 Frequency of inclusion of Nigerians in Grammatical Participant Roles*

Figure 6.1 above, shows that that Nigerians are mainly included in the speeches through their realisation as grammatical participants in the clause. Grammatical participation accounts for 78% of the total inclusion of Nigerians in the speeches. At 13%, inclusion as Vocatives ranks second. As one might expect in a corpus of public speeches addressed to citizens of the country, Nigerians are included as Vocatives frequently. The frequency of inclusion of Nigerians using Vocatives is best understood when compared to the other key social actors in the study, none of them record more than 2% inclusion as Vocatives (see section 4.5.1). Finally, inclusion by circumstantialisation and modification record 5% and 4% inclusion respectively. Based on the concentration of inclusion via grammatical participation, the sub-sections that follow discuss the inclusion in each of the grammatical participant roles. Circumstantialisation is discussed when



analysing individual clauses while inclusion by modification and Vocatives are discussed together in section 6.4.3.

## 6.2.1 Activation of Nigerians

### 6.2.1.1 Nigerians as Actor

Figure 6.1 above shows that Nigerians are construed as Actor in 58 Material process clauses. Halliday (2004) uses the outcome of the process as a general criterion for differentiating between the subtypes of Material processes. When the outcome of the process is confined to the Actor, the clause construes a ‘happening’ and is referred to as intransitive. Conversely, when the outcome of the process extends to another participant, the clause construes a ‘doing’ otherwise known as a transitive material process (p. 180). Halliday (2004) also distinguishes between material processes that result in creative outcomes and those that bring about transformative ones. In creative material processes, the Actor or Goal is brought into existence as the process unfolds, while in transformative clauses a pre-existing Actor or Goal is construed as being transformed as the process unfolds. In the corpus, Nigerians are mainly realised as Actor in intransitive and transformative material process clauses. Table 6.1 below summarises all the instances of activation of Nigerians as Actor and shows the distribution of verbal groups across four sub-types of material processes.

Verbal Group	Goal	Scope/Recipient/Client	Circumstance	Process Type		Frq
have lost		their lives		Intransitive	Transformative	6
join		hands	with government	Intransitive	Transformative	4
live			in peace	Intransitive	Transformative	3
provide		full support		Intransitive	Transformative	3
face		terrorist attacks		Intransitive	Transformative	3
flee		their lands and homes		Intransitive	Transformative	3
win		the war against terror		Intransitive	Transformative	2
celebrate		our centenary		Intransitive	Transformative	2
return			to their homes	Intransitive	Transformative	1
approach		an epochal year of change		Intransitive	Transformative	1

do		all we can		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
go about		their business		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
reclaiming		their rights...		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
acquire		education		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
take		full charge		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
achieve		our vision		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
cooperate with		our security forces		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
give to		our security forces		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
vote		for candidates		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
rededicate		themselves		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
snatch		victory		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
play			into their hands	Intransitive	Transformative	1		
not fall		victim to those who fan the embers of terror		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
contend with		many attacks		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
prevail over		the terrorists		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
resist		the evil machinations of global terrorists		Intransitive	Transformative	1		
rekindle		the spirit of Nigeria		Transitive	Transformative	2		
put aside		parochial considerations		Transitive	Transformative	1		
acquire		education		Transitive	Transformative	1		
develop		this country		Transitive	Transformative	1		
not allow		them		Transitive	Transformative	1		
overcome		all obstacles		Transitive	Transformative	1		
fight		this evil extremism		Transitive	Transformative	1		
defeat		terrorism		Transitive	Transformative	1		
preserve		the sanctity of lives		Transitive	Transformative	1		
renew		our faith		Transitive	Transformative	1		
exercise		their franchise		Transitive	Transformative	1		
build		a nation		Transitive	Creative	2		
<b>Total</b>				<b>44</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>58</b>

*Table 6.1 Frequency distribution of Nigerians as Actor*

Table 6.1 above shows the diverse set of verbal groups that realise the material process of clauses in which Nigerians are realised as Actor. These verbal groups are drawn from neutral and general actions semantic domains that activate Nigerians in positive terms. In agreement with Dowty (1991) and Chilton (2004), the assignment of agentive grammatical participant roles to social actors defines their position with regards volition, causation and related questions of responsibility for the action. Based on the foregoing, the frequency data in Figure 6.1 might suggest

that the high frequency of activation of Nigerians in the role of Actor is indicative of their power and agency in the discourse. However, my enquiry into the activation of Nigerians in intransitive clauses shows that they are represented in less agentive forms than the frequency of activation in the role of Actor suggests. Using excerpt clauses from the corpus, I shall discuss the activation of Nigerians in the grammatical participant role of Actor in the rest of this section.

Table 6.1 above shows that President Goodluck Jonathan's activation of Nigerians is largely constructed using verbal groups that realise intransitive and transformative material processes. In 44 out of 58 material clauses, Nigerians are realised as the Actor behind actions that do not extend to other participants in the clause. The high frequency of occurrence of intransitive clauses suggests that President Jonathan portrays Nigerians as non-impactful social actors whose actions are self-confined and express the notion that something happened rather than they did something. In the corpus, the most frequent way for realising this intransitivity is through the deployment of *lost* as illustrated in the excerpt clauses below:

- (6.1) ||| Let me crave the indulgence of all present here|| to stand up to observe a minutes silence in honour of these young lads [[who lost their lives.]] ||| GEJ/11/11/2014
- (6.2) || Once again, I extend heartfelt commiserations to all the families [[who have sadly lost loved relatives in recent terrorist attacks.]] || GEJ/20/04/2014\_8
- (6.3) || I commiserate with all our citizens [[who lost loved ones in the recent Mubi killings and all the other acts of senseless destruction of lives and properties in the country.]] || GEJ/10/10/2010\_EB1
- (6.4) ||| On an occasion like this, it is important|| that we remember all the precious souls [[that have been lost in the unprecedented war of terror unleashed on some parts of our country by these individuals [[who want to compel us to live our lives their way.]] ] ] ||| GEJ/01/10/2014

In the excerpts 6.1 to 6.4, President Jonathan activates Nigerians as Actor who lost lives, relatives, loved ones and precious souls. The activation occurs in rankshifted defining relative

clauses that function as Qualifier in the nominal group. These rankshifted clauses characterise the Thing (*young lads, families, our citizens and the precious souls*) based on the loss that occurred. Based on the transitivity parsing, Nigerians are activated as the Actor of the clause, however, semantically, the nature of the outcome of *lost* portrays Nigerians as the affected participant. The choice to activate Nigerians as Actor of intransitive material processes within embedded clauses delimits the impact that Nigerians are shown to have in the experience that President Jonathan construes. The representation appears to foreground the victimhood of Nigerians by characterising them as social actors who have experienced loss.

Another interesting motif revealed by the analysis of the intransitive clauses concerns the use of material processes of motion and general actions such as *do, go, flee, return, approach, celebrate* and *snatch*. As these actions generally only require the direct involvement of one participant, they contribute to the representation of Nigerians intransitively. Amongst the different verbal groups realising movement, *flee* and *return* stand out as processes that result from external causation. The excerpt clauses below, illustrate how Nigerians are not only represented as Actor in intransitive clauses but also how their actions are the result of the action of other social actors.

- (6.5) ||| The activities of terrorist elements has caused the good people of this country to flee their lands and their homes. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014

The activities of terrorist elements	has	caused	the good people of this country	to flee	their lands and their homes.
S	F	P	C	P	A
Mood		Rheme			
Theme		Rheme			
Initiator	Process		Actor	Material	Circumstance

- (6.6) ||| Our security forces are making it possible for thousands of internally-displaced Nigerians to begin returning to their homes and communities||| GEJ/01/10/2014

Our security forces	are making it possible for	thousands of internally-displaced Nigerians	to begin returning	to their homes and communities
---------------------	----------------------------	---	--------------------	--------------------------------

S	F	P	C	P	A
Mood		Residue			
Theme	Rheme				
Initiator	Process	Actor	Material	Circumstance	

In excerpt 6.5 above, Boko Haram is realised as the external causative grammatical participant Initiator, whose activities have caused Nigerians to take flight from their abode. Similarly, in excerpt 6.6, it is the security forces that enable Nigerians to make the journey back to their homes. In both clauses, Nigerians are caused to move to or from their homes without recourse to undertaking these actions on their volition. According to the president's representation, the movement of Nigerians is dependent on the outcome of actions by other impactful social actors. This construal indicates that Nigerians are not dynamic participants in the clause and they must rely on the efforts of the Security Forces in order to be able to reside safely and peacefully in their homes.

Thus far, my discussion has been focused on the activation of Nigerians in simplex clauses, however, Nigerians are also activated in clause complexes that show interesting patterns about their overall representation in the discourse, see excerpts 6.7 to 6.9 below:

- (6.7) || Terrorism is a war against all of us. ||| I call on all Nigerians || to join hands with government || to fight these terrorists. ||| GEJ/31/12/2011\_32-34

I	call on		all Nigerians	to join	hands	with government	to fight	these terrorists.
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue				
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme
Sayer	Verbal	Target		Material	Goal	Circumstance	Material	Goal
$\alpha$				$\beta$ Non-finite			$\gamma$ Non-finite	

- (6.8) ||| I appeal to our countrymen and women|| to provide our gallant armed forces and security agencies with the fullest support, || and not to fall victim to those [[who fan the embers of terror.]] ||| GEJ/11/12/2014

I	appeal to		our countrymen and women	to provide	our gallant armed forces and security agencies	with the fullest support
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir
Mood	Residue			Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal		Target	Material I	Recipient	Goal
A				$\beta$ Non-finite		

(6.9) ||| I call upon each one of you|| to stand up || and be counted with us in this fight. |||  
GEJ/17/05/2014

I	call upon		each one of you	to stand up	and	be	counted	with us in this fight
S	F	P		P		F	P	Acir
Mood	Residue			Residue		Mood	Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Rheme		Theme		Rheme
Sayer	Verbal		Target	Material		Material		Circumstance
$\alpha$				$1\beta$		$2\beta$		

Excerpts 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 show the typical way in which President Jonathan construes Nigerians as Actor in clause complexes. The activation occurs in projected material process clauses such as, the  $\beta$ -clauses in excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 and the  $1\beta$ -clause in excerpt 6.9. Projection, which is a distinct feature of mental and verbal process clauses, is used here to realise the speech function of a proposal which is realised when one participant gives an order or makes an offer to another participant in the clause. President Goodluck Jonathan's statement does this by projecting a material clause through a modulated verbal process clause in which President Goodluck Jonathan is construed as Sayer, while Nigerians are construed as the Target. The projected material clauses in excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 are perfective non-finites with an implicit Actor presumed from the Target of the reporting Verbal clause. The use of this projection diminishes the agency of Nigerians as it is the Sayer of the primary clause that carries thematic prominence. Experientially, the verbal groups *to join*, *to provide*, *to stand up* and *to be counted* realise the material process as

‘metaphenomenon’ in a different order of reality, one which may not eventuate (Halliday 2004 p. 441). As such, the president’s representation implies that Nigerians have not joined hands with the government, provided the security forces with full support or stood up to be counted in the fight. They have only been urged to do so by the president. This means that the projected clauses tell the audience more about what President Jonathan desires and less about what Nigerians have done in reality.

The choice of modal operator in clauses which activate Nigerians as Actor shows an interesting pattern. President Goodluck Jonathan tends to use high value modulatives to construe his proposal to Nigerians. This ensures that his proposal evokes a sense of obligation on all Nigerians regarding actions that he urges them to carry out. The excerpt clauses below illustrate the deployment of *must* in the corpus. For emphasis, the modal verb is in bold font.

- (6.10) |||we **must** all at this time join hands|| and support INEC|| in ensuring a successful conclusion of the commendable work [[which they started.]] ||| GEJ/21/04/2011
- (6.11) |||Nigeria is the only country [[we have]]||| and we **must** all work|| to preserve it for present and future generations. ||| GEJ/29/05/2014
- (6.12) |||Nigerians from all sections of the country **must** work together with our security agencies and armed forces|| to overcome the terrorists who now threaten all that we hold dear. ||| GEJ/29/05/2014
- (6.13) |||We **must** rekindle the spirit of Nigeria, || to ensure that every democrat and every lover of peace in this great nation continues to live in a free, peaceful, and secure Nigeria. ||| GEJ/01/10/2013
- (6.14) |||We **must** confront all those [[who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places, against the media, and security personnel.]] ||| GEJ/29/05/2012
- (6.15) |||We **must** never play into their hands by succumbing to their nefarious ploys to incite religious, ethnic hatred and division among us. || GEJ/30/03/2013

### 6.2.1.2 Nigerians as Senser

The Senser is any participant in the clause endowed with consciousness to feel, think, want or perceive (Halliday 2004). These attributes of consciousness equate to the four sub-types of Mental process clauses: emotive, cognitive, desiderative and perceptive. Table 6.2 below summarises all instances of activation of Nigerians in the grammatical participant role of Senser.

Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Circumstance	Type of Mental Process	Freq
We	have witnessed	serious security challenges	in different parts of our country	Perceptive	2
We	remember	all the precious souls that have been lost		Cognitive	2
We	are shocked	by these horrible acts		Cognitive	1
We	learn	lessons		Cognitive	1
For us	to reflect on	the facts		Cognitive	1
We all	know	that these young and innocent Nigerians are guests within our communities		Cognitive	1
We	are yet to come to terms with	the level of human suffering occasioned by these dark days		Cognitive	1
Our hearts	go out to	their parents, relatives and colleagues		Desiderative	1
We	must not forget	their gallantry and successes		Cognitive	1
We	are aware of	the security challenges which the activities of the Boko Haram sect have foisted on the country		Cognitive	1
We	appreciate	their commitment		Emotive	1
<b>Total</b>					<b>13</b>

Table 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Mental Process Clauses with Nigerians as Senser

The collectivisation of Nigerians using the inclusive first person personal pronoun *we* stands out as a recurrent feature in the activation of Nigerians as Senser. Collectivising the Senser this way suggests that the president and Nigerians have shared feelings of inner consciousness and



experiences about the phenomenon being construed in the Mental process. Cognitive Mental processes realised by the verbal groups: *remember, are shocked, reflect on, know, are aware of* and *are yet to come to terms with* occur most frequently in activating Nigerians as Senser. The frequent use of cognitive Mental processes over the other sub-types of Mental processes suggests that the representation of what Nigerians know and perceive is more crucial to the president's message than a representation of what they want or desire.

A close look at the nominal group realising the Phenomenon (that which Nigerians know and perceive) reveals that their knowledge mainly relates to the lives that have been lost, the challenges, suffering and general insecurity occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram. These events are presented assertively by the president thus leaving little room for any doubt about the veracity of his claims. Therefore, if all Nigerians know these experiences to be true the government can justify any of the counterterrorism methods it adopts to stop the perpetrators. This can also serve as justification for calling on Nigerians to support to fight against the terrorists based on the presupposition that being aware of these issues is sufficient grounds to support the government to do something about it.

### **6.2.1.3 Nigerians as Behaver**

In the Behavioural process clauses, President Jonathan highlights what he deems to be the appropriate physiological behaviour that Nigerians ought to exhibit in the face of provocation and other antics by Boko Haram. He urges Nigerians to show *restraint, understanding, confidence in the security forces* and *lawfulness* in the face of provocation by Boko Haram. This construal serves to represent Nigerians positively as the peaceful and reasonable party in the ongoing conflict. In eight Behavioural clauses, Nigerians realise the grammatical participant role of Behaver. The excerpts below illustrate the construal of Nigerians in this role.

- (6.16) For your part, dear countrymen and women, I urge you to continue to exhibit restraint and understanding in the face of seeming provocations.

For your part,	dear countrymen and women,	I	urge	you	to continue to exhibit	restraint and understanding	in the face of seeming provocations.
A	A <sup>Mood</sup>	S	F	P	C	P	C
Resi-	Vocative	Mood	-idue		Residue		
Textual Theme	Interpersonal Theme	Topical Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	
		Sayer	Verbal	Target	Behavioural	Behaviour	Circumstance
$\alpha$					$\beta$		

- (6.17) I appeal to all Nigerians around the country to show restraint in the face of provocation.

I	appeal	to all Nigerians around the country			to show	restraint	in the face of provocation
S	F	P	C		P	C	Acir
Mood	Residue				Residue		
Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Target			Behavioural	Behaviour	Circumstance
$\alpha$					$\beta$		

In excerpts 6.16 and 6.17 above, President Jonathan is construed as Sayer of Verbal process clauses in which he urges and appeals to Nigerians to exhibit a measured and self-controlled response to Boko Haram. His appeal to Nigerians comes on the back of attacks by Boko Haram on churches during the Easter celebration. The speeches were delivered during that period and as such allowed the President to frame his speech alongside Christian theology to preach restraint over retaliation. This also reinforces the portrayal of Nigerians as non-aggressive social actors. Two contextual factors are worthy of note here.

Unlike Material process clauses where the verb that realises the process is often loaded with evaluative meanings, the verbs that construe the Behavioural processes appear to be somewhat neutral. Excerpt 6.18 below, which is taken from President Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 New Year Day, construes Nigerians as Behavior that reacts in lovingly, justly and lawfully despite ben faced with deaths, violence and destruction.

- (6.18) They spoke to all Nigerians through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction. There was no national interest reason for them to speak that way. I want to assure whoever they are that **Nigeria and Nigerians** will speak to them firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows. We will take justice to them wherever they are hiding for our nation's peace and security cannot be sacrificed on the alter of narrow interest. I have instructed all arms of our security agencies to within the shortest possible time find and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness. I repeat: they have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow, now **Nigerians** will speak through love, unity and justice.  
GEJ/01/01/2011\_10

It is clear from excerpt 6.18 above, that the overriding rhetoric in the president's message is that Nigerians will not repay Boko Haram in their own coin. President Jonathan's message express a stark contrast between concrete Boko Haram's actions (bombing, violence and destruction) and the response that Nigerians will take to these actions (love, unity and justice). The verb *to speak* grammatically realises a Behavioural process, however, the meaning being conveyed could more congruently be realised as a Material process. This representation realises a grammatical metaphor whereby a Material experience is construed through the lens of a Behavioural process. Interestingly, the president's appraisal of Nigerians occurs in the Circumstance *firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows* and *through love, unity and justice* and not in the process of the clause. Thus, the comparison lies in the manner of their actions not in the actions themselves.

## 6.2.2 Passivation of Nigerians

### 6.2.2.1 Nigerians as Goal

Table 6.3 below summarises all the instances of passivation of Nigerians as Goal and shows the distribution based on the Actor of the process.

Actor	Verbal Group Realising Material Process	Freq	Goal (Nigerians)	No of clauses
	killed	8	<i>innocent citizens</i>	36

Boko Haram	murdered	4	<i>young students</i>	
	maimed	3	<i>many persons</i>	
	claimed	3	<i>lives</i>	
	take as hostage	2	<i>women and children</i>	
	attacked	2	<i>innocent Nigerians</i>	
	targeted	2	<i>population groups</i>	
	injured	2	<i>many persons</i>	
	kidnapped	2	<i>young men and women</i>	
	waylaid	2	<i>vulnerable Youth Corps</i>	
	harassed	1	<i>nationalistic politicians</i>	
	intimidated	1	<i>travellers</i>	
	use	1	<i>youth as canon fodder</i>	
	drive	1	<i>Nigerians into exile</i>	
	hurt	1	<i>innocent families</i>	
slaughtered	1	<i>corps members</i>		
Government	protect	2	<i>all Nigerians</i>	9
	free	2	<i>our girls</i>	
	assist	1	<i>the afflicted</i>	
	rescue	1	<i>the survivors</i>	
	help	1	<i>victims of terror</i>	
	bring	1	<i>our daughters home</i>	
	save	1	<i>our people</i>	
<b>Total</b>		<b>45</b>		<b>45</b>

Table 6.3 Summary of Participant and Process in clauses realising Nigerians as Goal

Goatly (2000) defines the Goal as ‘victim of the power of Actors’ (p. 288). I consider the use of victim in this definition to be an apt description for the realisation of Nigerians as Goal in the corpus. In 36 out of the 45 clauses, Nigerians are represented as the victims of a range of violent acts by Boko Haram. The following excerpt clauses illustrate the construal of victimhood of Nigerians at the hands of Boko Haram.

- (6.19) ||| In their mission, they have maimed|| and raped.||| They have killed men, women and children,|| rendering many innocent children orphans|| and several women widows. ||| GEJ/01/01/2015

In their mission,	they	have	maimed	and	raped	They	have	killed	men, women and children
A	S	F	P		P	S	F	P	C

Resi-	Mood		-due		Residue	Mood		Residue
Textual	Topical	Rheme			Theme	Theme	Rheme	
Circumstance	Actor	Material			Material	Actor	Material	Goal
1					2	Simplex		
{they}	rendering	many innocent children	orphans	and	{they}	{rendering}	several women	widows.
	P	C	C			P	C	C
	Residue					Residue		
	Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme	
Attributor	Relational	Carrier	Attribute		Attributor	Relational	Carrier	Attribute
1					2			

(6.20) || Boko Haram has continued to attack innocent Nigerians without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender.|| GEJ/17/05/2015

Boko Haram	has	continued to attack	innocent Nigerians	without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender
S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Material	Goal	Circumstance	

In excerpts 6.19 and 6.20 Nigerians are represented as the victims of a range of violent acts by Boko Haram. President Jonathan reports that they *have been maimed, raped, killed and indiscriminately attacked* by Boko Haram. Section 5.2.1.1 shows how this representation foregrounds the agency of Boko Haram, likewise, it highlights the powerlessness and vulnerability of Nigerians. This vulnerability is further accentuated through the choice of Epithet *innocent* in excerpt 6.19 and *vulnerable, afflicted, unarmed, young* and *weak* which occur elsewhere in the speeches. These Epithets evoke a sense of blamelessness especially with regard to provocation or wrongdoing. Reyes (2011) argues that the representation of aggression on a vulnerable target triggers an emotional response from the audience and creates a moralised victim's identity for the referent. The portrayal of victimhood is not limited to clauses in which Boko Haram acts on

Nigerians, but even in clauses where the Government features as Actor, Nigerians still tend to be represented as victims. This construal mainly occurs when representing the kidnapped Chibok girls. Excerpts 6.21 and 6.22 below are examples of such clauses:

- (6.21) || A number of young men and women have been kidnapped by these criminal elements including our daughters from Chibok.|| We will free our daughters and defeat terror. || GEJ/11/11/2014
- (6.22) || We have been fully committed towards rescuing the abducted girls|| GEJ/11/11/2014

A select group of Nigerians (the kidnapped Chibok girls) realise the Goal in excerpt 6.21 and 6.22. The Government, realised by the exclusive first person plural pronoun *we*, is Actor of the material processes *will free* and *rescuing*. The meanings expressed by the verbs *to free* and *to rescue* suggest that it is crucial for the Government to intervene and save them from their captors. Other related verbal groups such as *save*, *protect*, *assist* and *help* are used elsewhere in the speeches to denote material actions carried out by the Government to assist the social actors that have been affected by Boko Haram's attacks.

#### 6.2.2.2 Nigerians as Receiver and Target

Nigerians are realised as Receiver (28) and Target (2) in 32 Verbal process clauses. Since Nigerians are the primary addressees of the speeches, it is unsurprising that they are realised so frequently in receptive participant roles of Verbal process clauses. Table 6.4 below summarises frequency inclusion of Nigerians as Receiver or Target and presents some sample projected clauses.

Sayer	Verbal Group	Receiver/Target	Sample Projected clause	Freq
I	(re) assure	all Nigerians	that calm is being restored in troubled parts of the country	12
I	urge	every Nigerian	to rededicate themselves to living in peace and oneness with all members of their communities	5

I	call on	all Nigerians	to join hands with government to fight these terrorists	4
I	appeal	to our countrymen and women	to provide them with the fullest support	3
I	express	to the victims of this violence	condolences	2
For me	to address	you		1
Let me	crave the indulgence	of all present here		1
I	implore	every Nigerian	let us join together to fight this evil	1
Let me	thank	all of you	for coming to Nigeria at this trying time when we are facing terrorist attacks	1
I	commend	all Nigerians		1
I	promise	the victims	that we will continue to stand with you.	1
<b>Total</b>				<b>32</b>

Table 6.4 Nigerians as Receiver and Target

Based on the data in Table 6.4 above *assure*, *call on* and *urge* are the most frequently occurring verbal groups in clauses that construe Nigerians as Receiver. These verbal groups realise the Verbal process in clause complexes that project secondary Material processes. In order to analyse the representation of Nigerians as Receiver, Verbal process clauses are analysed below:

#### Verbal process clauses projecting Material clauses with President as Actor

- (6.23) ||| I will defend the right of all citizens to freely express their democratic choice anywhere in this country; || to enjoy every freedom and opportunity that this country can offer without let or hindrance. ||| **I assure** you all || that I will do so with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief. ||| GEJ/21/04/2011

I	assure	you all	that	I	will	do	so	with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief.
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope	Circumstance	

- (6.24) ||| **I assure** all Nigerians||| that our security agencies, armed forces and I will continue to fully discharge our constitutional responsibilities for protecting the unity and territorial integrity of this country with all the powers and forces at our disposal. ||| GEJ/30/03/2013

I	assure	all Nigerians	that	our security agencies, armed forces and I	will	continue to fully discharge	our constitutional responsibilities...
S	F	P		S	F	P	C

Mood	Residue			Mood	Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope
$\alpha$				$\beta$		

Excerpt 6.23 and 6.24 portray President Jonathan as a promise-maker who is personally committed to the predicated proposal in the secondary clause. The excerpts show a consistent pattern of highly personalised orientations; mainly realised by the self-referential personal pronoun *I* that indexes President Jonathan as Sayer and the second person personal pronoun *you* that nominates Nigerians as Receiver. This personalised indexicalisation gives a conversational feel to the president's message and closes the interpersonal distance between him and his addressees. In the excerpt 6.24, the determiners *all* and *every* function as non-specific Deictic elements in the nominal group. Although these determiners are impersonal, they still evoke a sense of collective identity of Nigerians as the addressees of the speech. The point to note here is that President Jonathan frames his assurances as a bond between two close parties. For the most part, the use of personal pronouns to realise the Sayer and the Receiver obscures all forms of identity and affiliation other than the notion of collectiveness and nationality.

### Verbal process clause projecting Material clause with Government as Actor

- (6.25) ||| **I assure** all Nigerians|| that this Government will continue to do whatever is required to provide the security we deserve. ||| GEJ/11/12/2014\_3-5

I	assure	all Nigerians	that	this Government	will continue to do	whatever is required to provide the security the security we deserve.	
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope	
$\alpha$				$\beta$			

- (6.26) ||| I share the deep pain and anxiety of their parents and guardians|| and **I assure** them once again|| that government will continue to do everything possible|| to bring our daughters home. ||| GEJ/29/05/2014



I	assure	them	that	government	will continue to do	everything possible	to bring	our daughters	home	
S	F	P		S	F	P	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue				
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme					
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Mat	Scope	Mat	Goal	Circ	
$\alpha$				$\beta$				$\gamma$		

- (6.27) ||| I wish to **reassure** every Nigerian|| that we will confront this threat against our collective peace and security,|| and bring the perpetrators to justice. ||| GEJ/29/05/2012

I	wish to reassure	every Nigerian	that	we	will	confront	this threat against our collective peace and security,
S	F	P		S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material		
$\alpha$				$\beta$			

- (6.28) ||| I want to **reassure** you all|| that those [[who are directly or indirectly encouraging any form of rebellion against the Nigerian state]], and their collaborators; those insurgents and terrorists [[who take delight in killing our security operatives]], whoever [[they may be]], wherever [[they may go]], we will hunt them down, || we will fish them out, || and we will bring them to justice. ||| GEJ/14/05/2013

I	want to reassure	you all	we	will	hunt	them	down	we	will	fish	them	out
S	F	P	S	F	C P		S	F	C P			
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme					
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver	Actor	Mat-	Goal	-erial	Actor	Mat-	Goal	-erial		
$\alpha$				$\beta$				$\gamma$				

Rather than construe his personal involvement, in excerpts 6.25, 6.26, 6.27 and 6.28 it is the Government that is represented as Actor in the secondary projected clause. These clauses constitute the second category of assurances made by President Jonathan to Nigerians. The Government is construed as that Actor that will do *whatever is required* (6.25), *do everything possible to confront this threat* (6.26) and *bring the perpetrators to justice* (6.27). The excerpts are

intransitive clauses in which the process does not extend to another participant. The main verb *do* suggests that the Government is an active agent but the fact that only the domain over which the action takes place is mentioned obscures from the message the nature of the Government's actions.

### Verbal process clauses projecting Material clauses with No Actor

- (6.29) ||| I want to **assure** Nigerians|| that all the culprits will be made to face the full weight of the law. ||| GEJ/10/10/2012

I	want to assure	Nigerians	that	all the culprits	will	be made to face	the full weight of the law.
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Theme	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Goal	Material	Scope	
$\alpha$				$\beta$			

- (6.30) ||| I **assure** you all|| that calm is being restored in troubled parts of the country|| and that the elections scheduled for next Tuesday will go on as planned.||| GEJ/20/04/2011

I	assure	you all	that	calm	is	being restored	in troubled parts of the country...
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	Acir
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Goal	Material	Circumstance	

- (6.31) ||| I **assure** you|| that Nigeria will be safe again, || and that these thugs will be driven away. ||| GEJ/29/05/2014

I	assure	you	that	Nigeria	will	be	safe again,	and	that	these thugs	will	be driven away
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C			S	F	P
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue				Mood		Residue
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme					Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Carrier	Relational	Attribute				Goal	Material	
$\alpha$				1 $\beta$				2 $\beta$				

- (6.32) ||| I want to **assure** you|| that the terrorists will not get away with their atrocities: || they will not win; they will be routed. ||| GEJ/01/01/2015

I	want to assure	you	that	the terrorists	will not	get away	with their atrocities	they	will not	win
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	A	S	F	P

Mood		Residue			Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue
Theme		Rheme			Theme		Rheme		Theme		Rheme
Sayer		Verbal	Receive		Actor		Material	Cir	Actor		Material

(6.33) ||| I **assure** you, they will not succeed. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014

I	assure	you,	they	will not	succeed.
S	F	P	C	S	F
Mood		Residue		Mood	
Theme		Rheme		Rheme	
Sayer		Verbal	Receiver	Actor	Scope
$\alpha$			$\beta$		

(6.34) ||| I **reassure** you|| that no cost will be spared,|| no idea will be ignored,|| and no resource will be left untapped in the quest to enable our people live without fear. ||| GEJ/01/10/2013

Excerpts 6.29 to 6.34 represent the third category of clauses with *(re)assure* as main verb. In these clauses, there is no Actor of the process in the projected Material clause, the president assures Nigerians that a course of action will be taken but he does not specify the Actor of the process. As the parsing above illustrates, the construal of these clauses with null Actor is mainly achieved using passive clauses. Interestingly this is the most frequent category, which means that more often than not, President Jonathan makes assurances about things that will be done without specifying who will do them.

Table 6.4 above shows that the second verbal group that frequently occurs in the construal of Nigerians as Receiver is *call on*. As I have illustrated in the analysis of the verb *assure*, *call on* also occurs as the primary clause in a clause complex that projects a Material process clause. Comparing the two realisations, when the President uses *(re)assure* he does so to project representations of his actions, the actions of Government or actions without an explicit Actor. However, when he uses *call on* in the speeches, he uses it exclusively to invite Nigerians to act.

The excerpt clauses below are all the occurrences of *call on* as main verb of the primary clause that realises Nigerians as Receiver.

- (6.35) ||| I call on all Nigerians, irrespective of party or belief, || to join me in this fight against insurgency and terror. ||| GEJ/11/12/2014\_9-10
- (6.36) ||| I call on all Nigerians|| to join hands with government to fight these terrorists. ||| GEJ/31/12/2011\_32-34
- (6.37) ||| We call on the citizenry|| to co-operate with our security agencies|| to ensure a return to normalcy within the shortest possible time. ||| GEJ/14/05/2013
- (6.38) ||| We call on the citizenry|| to continue to provide useful information to our law enforcement agencies|| to enable us arrest the situation. ||| GEJ/31/12/2011
- (6.39) ||| I call upon each one of you|| to stand up|| and be counted|| with us in this fight. GEJ/17/05/2014

The excerpt clauses above show that President Jonathan evokes nationalist and collaborative fervour by inviting Nigerians to work with the Security Forces to “arrest” the Boko Haram situation. The representation in these clauses suggests that President Jonathan perceives and portrays Nigerians as social actors who have a role to play in the fight against Boko Haram. The role appears to be collaborative based on the choice of the verbal groups: *to join*, *co-operate*, and *provide*, while their nationalistic role is portrayed through the choice of verbal groups *to stand up* and *be counted*. Likewise, the logico-semantic clausal relations in excerpts 6.35 and 6.36 elaborate on collaboration through the dependant clause that explains the feats attainable (a return to normalcy within the shortest possible time and the arrest of the situation) through the co-operation between Nigerians and the Security Forces. Concerning the motif of nationalism, the nomination of Nigerians as *citizenry* appears to trigger citizens’ sense of civic duty. Therefore, we can extrapolate from the realisation of Nigerians as Receiver that President Jonathan construes collaboration between Nigerians and the Security Forces as a form of civic duty that holds positive

potential in the fight against Boko Haram. However, that the lexical verb realising the projected Material process obscures from the representation, the nature of what is actually being done when Nigerians co-operate and provide information to the Security Forces or when they stand up to be counted.

Apart from calling on Nigerians, President Jonathan also *urges*, *implores* and *appeals* to them. The excerpt clauses below present all the occurrences of *urge*, *appeal* and *implore* as the main verb in clauses that construe Nigerians as Receiver.

- (6.40) ||| I urge all Nigerians|| to rededicate themselves to living in peace and oneness with all members of their communities no matter their ethnicity, religious beliefs or places of origin.||| GEJ/30/03/2013
- (6.41) ||| I urge every Nigerian||| to put aside political, sectional or other parochial considerations, || and support whole-heartedly the efforts of the government and the military, in checking this evil. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014
- (6.42) ||| On this day, I implore every Nigerian||| wherever you are, whatever language you speak, whatever your religious persuasion, whichever Political Party you support|| let us join together to fight this evil of extremism. ||| GEJ/01/10/2013
- (6.43) ||| Dear countrymen and women, I urge you|| to continue to exhibit restraint and understanding in the face of seeming provocations. ||| GEJ/30/03/2013
- (6.44) ||| I appeal to all communities around the country|| to show restraint in the face of provocation. ||| GEJ/20/04/2011
- (6.45) ||| I appeal to our countrymen and women|| to provide them with the fullest support,|| and not to fall victim to those [[who fan the embers of terror.]] ||| GEJ/11/12/2014

I	appeal to		our countrymen and women	to provide	our gallant armed forces and security agencies	with the fullest support
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir
Mood	Residue		Residue			
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Material	Recipient	Goal
1 $\alpha$				1 $\beta$		

Excerpts 6.40 to 6.42 above foreground the themes of peace and unity in diversity as existential values associated with Nigerians. These themes are drawn wholly from the last line of the Nigerian National Anthem which reads: “One nation bound in freedom, peace and unity”. Therefore, President Goodluck Jonathan appears to recontextualise this theme across his message to Nigerians thereby enjoining them to live by its tenets. Similarly, in excerpts 6.43 and 6.44 President Jonathan prescribes what he considers to be the appropriate approach to adopt in the face of provocations by Boko Haram. He specifies restraint as a strategy to be adopted which suggests that he does not endorse any form of engagement between Nigerians and Boko Haram.

Lastly, in 6.45 President Jonathan makes a two-fold appeal to Nigerians. On one hand, he calls on the countrymen and women to provide the security agencies with the fullest support, whilst also enjoining them not to fall victim to those who fan the embers of terror. With regards to the first appeal, President Jonathan construes Nigerians as implicit Actor of the process *to provide*, while the Security Forces are construed in the benefactive role of Recipient. The presence of a Recipient indicates that the clause is a transitive material process denoting the transfer of the Goal from the Actor to the Recipient. Interestingly, the Goal of the clause is realised by *the fullest support* which is an abstract nominal group that obscures the micro actions involved in the act. By abstracting away from the substance of what the support of Nigerians entails, President Jonathan presents his proposition as taken for granted information. The absence of elaboration about his proposition obscures the nature of support that Nigerians are called upon to provide to the security forces. In the excerpt clauses below, I examine how support for the Security Forces is constructed and legitimised in the speeches.

- (6.46) ||| Fellow Nigerians, it is our collective duty as patriots|| to avail our men and women in uniform of all the support they need to fight and win this war. |||  
GEJ/01/10/2014

- (6.47) || Whenever a country is challenged, the people have an obligation to bond together.|| GEJ/01/10/2014

The thematic equative clause in excerpt 6.46 defines the support from Nigerians for the security forces as a collective and patriotic duty. The clause expresses a presupposition that the Security Forces need the support of Nigerians to fight and win the war against terror. Therefore, the call for Nigerians to support the security forces is legitimised on the basis that it enables patriotic Nigerians to fulfil their duty. Elsewhere in the same speech, President Jonathan uses his authoritative voice of expertise, personal conviction and altruism (Reyes 2011) to legitimise his call for Nigerians to support the security forces. See excerpts 6.48-6.50 below:

- (6.48) ||| I am convinced|| that with your support and prayers, we shall overcome these challenges || and together, we will restore every part of our country to the path of peace, growth and development. ||| GEJ/14/05/2013
- (6.49) ||| I urge every Nigerian||| to put aside political, sectional or other parochial considerations, || and support whole-heartedly the efforts of the government and the military, in checking this evil. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014
- (6.50) ||| But we must all become more alert and vigilant, || and do all that we can || to give our armed forces and security agencies the fullest possible assistance, support and cooperation [[they require]] || to achieve more effective protection of lives and property across the country. ||| GEJ/20/04/2014

Excerpt 6.48 shows that President Jonathan legitimises the efficacy of Nigerians' support for the security forces on the basis of his personal conviction. As President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he is the most authoritative person to speak about the policies and practices that his government adopts with regards to security in the country. Based on the authority that his position affords him, he posits that support, prayers and collective action will enable Nigerians to overcome their security challenges. This legitimisation derives from the 'authorisation' (Van Leeuwen, 2007) that a speaker brings to the immediate context of the speech to strengthen his/her position.

In excerpt 6.49, President Jonathan legitimises the call for support from Nigerians by presenting it as a course of action that would be beneficial for them. This excerpt construes tacit presuppositions about the involvement of Nigerians in the war against terror. In excerpt 6.49, President Jonathan projects the altruistic presupposition that setting aside their differences and supporting the government and security forces will somehow check the evil of Boko Haram. In 6.50 the presupposition is that Nigerians are not alert and vigilant but if they become alert, support and cooperate with the security forces, then the Security Forces would attain more effective protection of lives and property. Reyes (2011) opines that legitimisation by altruistic manifestations are very likely to be accepted by the audience as such legitimisation highlights what the audience stands to gain from accepting the speaker's proposition. The subliminal message in these excerpts is that all Nigerians desire an end to the threat of Boko Haram and one of the ways in which this can be achieved is by setting aside their differences and providing support to the security forces. This message rests upon the presupposition that all Nigerians are patriotic, will work together and will collectively seek an end to the Boko Haram problem. There are however many dissenting voices to the government's campaign against Boko Haram. There are those who consider it a witch-hunt against a pressure group from Northern Nigeria. They reject the labelling of Boko Haram as terrorists and compare the treatment of Boko Haram to the treatment of Niger Delta militants who received an amnesty deal from the Government. Some Nigerians have also not supported the war against Boko Haram on the grounds that its militarised nature has allowed the Security Forces to deny and abuse suspected Boko Haram members of their human rights. They base their criticism on the wanton authority that the Security Forces are afforded to operate in Nigeria's North East region.



Excerpts 6.51 and 6.52 below are the only two clauses in which Nigerians are realised as Target. The clauses convey the president's commendation and promise to Nigerians. In excerpt 6.53, Nigerians are represented in the beneficiary role of Client denoting what the Government will do for Nigerians with regards to security. It is worth mentioning that Nigerians are not realised as participants in any role of external causation such as Initiator, Attributor or Assigner. Their absence in such is indicative of the low level of power and influence that they are endowed with in these speeches.

- (6.51) ||| I also commend all Nigerians [[who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.]]||| GEJ/01/01/2015\_04
- (6.52) ||| I promise the victims of these dastardly acts|| that we will continue to stand with you. ||| GEJ/11/11/2014
- (6.53) ||| Therefore, we shall, on no account, shy away from doing whatever becomes necessary to provide the fullest possible security for the citizens of this country in any part of the country [[they choose to reside]].||| GEJ/14/05/2013

In sum, this section has shown the different ways in which President Jonathan construes Nigerians as in the Grammatical participant role of Receiver. He construes them as social actors to whom he is accountable hence the need to provide assurances about his actions and the actions of the government, urge them to adopt law abiding collaborative action as well as appeal for their support for the Security Forces

### **6.3 Exclusion of Nigerians**

This section discusses the exclusion of some Nigerians from President Goodluck Jonathan's speeches and the ways in which the exclusion was achieved. In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have used transitivity analysis to discuss the meanings construed when Nigerians are included as grammatical participants in the speeches. Here, I have applied van Leeuwen's

(2008) suppression and backgrounding taxonomy to determine which Nigerians have been excluded from the speeches and how the exclusion was achieved.

### 6.3.1 Backgrounding of Nigerians

Backgrounding occurs when a social actor is not explicitly referred to in the text. In the speeches, a select group of Nigerians are backgrounded through the use of non-specific deictic markers to realise them as grammatical participants. The excerpt clause below illustrates the backgrounding of Nigerians.

(6.54) ||| Many Nigerians have acknowledged||| that there has been a significant decline in the spate of security breaches. ||| GEJ/01/10/2012

Many Nigerians	have	acknowledged	that	there	has been	a significant decline in the spate of security breaches
S	F	P		S	F	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal			Existential	Existent	
$\alpha$				$\beta$		

In excerpt 6.54 above, the identity of the Nigerians who have acknowledged, and the social actor(s) to whom their acknowledgement was made are backgrounded. The backgrounding is possible because the Sayer is realised by a non-specific determiner *many* functioning as Deictic in the nominal group. The president's representation reduces the possibility of contesting the veracity of his claim by presenting the claim as taken for granted information that does not need to be examined or contested. His representation of an unspecified group of Nigerians as Sayer, manufactures consent about the success that his administration has made in reducing the spate of security breaches. Thus, the president implies that the acknowledgement from Nigerians is an endorsement of success in the area of security.

Men and boys are another group of Nigerians backgrounded in the speeches. In order of frequency of occurrence, the nominals women (7), girls (7) and daughters (4) occur far more frequently in the speeches than men (3) boys (0) and sons (0). While both genders (male and female Nigerians) are realised as Goal, the high frequency of occurrence of women, girls and daughters compared to any male gender suggests a tendency to report more about events in which women/girls are affected as opposed to those in which men/boys are affected. The primary reason for the higher frequency of occurrence of female gender terms is the abduction of Chibok girls by Boko Haram in April 2014. Most of the representation of girls and daughters in the speeches are related to this incident. The terms *girls* and *daughter* are not present in any of the president's speeches before 2014. As for *sons*, this term does not occur at all in the corpus. However, there have been documented attacks by Boko Haram in which young boys were the casualties. For example, excerpt 6.55 below is a reference to the 10 November 2014 attack on an all boys school in Yobe state. President Jonathan refers to the casualties as *young promising children*:

(6.55) ||| Only yesterday, Government Science Secondary School in Yobe State was bombed by insurgents, || killing our promising young children [[who were seeking education to build the country and support their parents]]. ||| Many Nigerians have lost their lives and property to these mindless killings|| GEJ/11/11/2014

Does the absence of boys/sons mean that Boko Haram has not affected these group of social actors? Not quite, it however suggests the presence of subtle gender-biased backgrounding of male social actors which can be explored further in a wider study.

### **6.3.2 Suppression of Nigerians**

The speeches radically suppress the representation of a group of Nigerians known as the Civilian Joint Task Force (JTF). By suppression, I mean that the speeches do not contain any

representation of the JTF or actions attributable to them. This group of Nigerians simply do not exist in the account that President Jonathan renders to his audience. The JTF was formed in early 2013 as a vigilante militia group with the goal of policing their communities against Boko Haram. At its inception, membership into the group was voluntary but overtime a more elaborate scheme for recruiting members was established. Bamidele (2016) reports that the JTF is made up youth armed with mundane weapons such as bows and arrows, swords, clubs and daggers that operate under the supervision of civilian JTF sector commanders. Amnesty International (2012) reports that the JTF were reputed for identifying and in some cases arresting suspected Boko Haram members. Having noted the calls that President Jonathan makes to Nigerians to support the security forces in its fight against Boko Haram, the suppression of the JTF from the President's speeches may indicate a lack of endorsement of their actions. As they are not a sanctioned unit of the Nigerian Security Force it may have proved difficult to legitimise the group in any way.

#### **6.4 Nomination of Nigerians as Grammatical Participants in the Clause**

This section examines the nominal groups that realise Nigerians in the different grammatical participant roles. Based on the configuration of its internal elements, it is possible to distinguish between three types of nominal groups that realise Nigerians as grammatical participants in the speeches: (1) Nominal group with pronoun as Thing, (2) Nominal group with common noun as Thing and (3) Nominal group with proper noun as Thing. Table 5.6 below, shows the frequency with which each type of nominal group is deployed in the corpus and some sample clauses to show the realisation in context.

	<b>Type of Nominal Group</b>	<b>Examples of Realisations in the Corpus</b>	<b>Freq</b>
1	Nominal group with pronoun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We are shocked by these horrific acts.</li> </ul>	84

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Let <b>us</b> preserve the sanctity of the lives and future of all of our children.</li> <li>• We must confront all those who think they can derail <b>us</b> by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder.</li> <li>• I want to assure <b>you</b> that the terrorists will not get away with their atrocities.</li> </ul>	
2	Nominal group with common noun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Our people</b> are reclaiming their right to live in peace once again.</li> <li>• For your part, dear <b>countrymen and women</b>, I urge you to continue to exhibit restraint and understanding in the face of seeming provocations.</li> </ul>	68
3	Nominal group with proper noun as Thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our Administration will not rest until <b>every Nigerian</b> is free from the oppression of terrorism.</li> <li>• I want to assure <b>Nigerians</b> that all the culprits will be made to face the full weight of the law.</li> </ul>	42

*Table 6.5 Types of Nominal Groups that Realise Nigerians as Grammatical Participants*

#### **6.4.1 Nominal Group with Pronoun as Thing**

In the corpus, the first person plural pronoun *we* is used to variously refer to President Goodluck Jonathan, Nigerians and the Government. In some cases, the meaning of *we* is ‘inclusive’ (including the President and Nigerians), ‘exclusive’ (excluding Nigerians, but referring to the President and the Government) or ambivalent (the interpretation of the referent is difficult to determine). I coded each occurrence of *we* in the corpus according to these categories based on the interpretation of inclusiveness or exclusiveness that is manifest from the surrounding text. The excerpt clauses below illustrate President Goodluck Jonathan’s use of the inclusive *we* to realise Nigerians in grammatical participant roles in the speeches:

- (6.56) || **We** are a strong, resilient and courageous people. || Together, **we** will confront terrorism and every other challenge [[that comes our way with patriotic zeal and determination]].|| GEJ/29/05/2014

We	are	a strong, resilient and courageous people.	Together,	we	will	confront	terrorism and every other challenge
S	F	C	A	S	F	P	C
Moos		Residue	Resi-	Mood		-due	
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme			
Carrier	Relational	Attribute	Circumstance	Actor	Material	Goal	
$\alpha$			$\beta$				

- (6.57) ||| **We** all must work together, collectively, || to rid our world of haters of peace, [[who use terror to maim, || kill, || instill fear|| and deny people their rights to peace and security]] |||. GEJ/27/02/2014

- (6.58) || Fellow Nigerians, in recent times, **we** have witnessed serious security challenges in parts of our country.|| GEJ/01/10/2012

In excerpt 6.56, the inclusive *we* collectivises President Jonathan and Nigerians in the grammatical participant role of Carrier. The clause construes strength, resilience and courage as the Attribute of Nigerians. In the adjoining clause, President Jonathan asserts that Nigerians (realised as Actor) will exhibit this strength through the collective action of confronting terrorism and other challenges. The deployment of *we* appears to be a strategic choice for positive self-representation based on shared values between the President and Nigerians, as well, as agency for collective action against a common enemy. In addition to positive self-representation, the inclusive *we* seems to endow the President Jonathan with the participatory status of speaking on behalf of the in-group social actors in the discourse. It expresses the interpersonal proposition that President Jonathan is an active participant in executing the range of material actions that he proposes. For example, in excerpt 6.57, the president's remark that *we all must work together*, activates him with Nigerians in the string of actions outlined in the clause. His deployment of *we* as Actor indicates his alignment and solidarity with the actions of Nigerians which is further enhanced elsewhere in the corpus by his representation of Boko Haram as the explicit oppositional group. Finally, the

realisation of Nigerians using an inclusive *we* allows President Jonathan to co-implicate Nigerians in the execution of the process. This means that President Jonathan draws Nigerians into any represented issue, either by sharing responsibility for or benefiting from the resolution of the issue. Deploying the inclusive *we* this way makes the president's propositions difficult to challenge and make his proposals illogical to decline.

In the corpus, the second person personal pronoun *you* is used to realise Nigerians in benefactive grammatical participant roles. Li Zhanzi (2001) posits that the use of *you* in a political speech triggers an interpersonal model between the speaker and the audience to make the latter's presence more obvious. The nomination of Nigerians using the pronoun *you*, closes the interpersonal distance between the President and the people. The usage evokes a sense in which the speaker and the audience feel like they are talking face to face, thereby triggering their emotional resonance more easily. By doing so, the president seems to gain the people's attention, make them realise that they are closely bound up, and interpersonally shortens the distance between him and Nigerians. The realisation tends to occur in verbal process clauses as illustrated below:

- (6.59) ||| It is a sad fact|| that as I address **you** today, || all the gains of the past 15 years of democratic governance in our country are threatened by the presence of international terrorism on our shores. GEJ/29/05/2014
- (6.60) ||| I assure **you** all|| that calm is being restored in troubled parts of the country|| and that the elections scheduled for next Tuesday will go on as planned.||| GEJ/21/04/2011
- (6.61) |||I reassure **you**|| that no cost will be spared, || no idea will be ignored, || and no resource will be left untapped in the quest to enable our people live without fear. ||| GEJ/01/10/2013
- (6.62) ||| What I promise the victims of these dastardly acts|| that we will continue to stand with **you**. ||| GEJ/11/11/2014

The frequent use of *our* as Deictic in the nominal group realising Nigerians deserves some attention. As I shall illustrate using excerpt clauses below, the president deploys *our* strategically to invoke a sense of unity within the symbolic territory of being *fellow citizens, family members* and kinsmen. Grammatically, the president crates a united nation, an imagined community constructing the eligible listeners as individual members to this totality. The relationship of solidarity with Nigerians is manifested through the use of the possessive *our*, which includes the president, the administration and the people.

#### 6.4.2 Nominal Group with Proper Noun as Thing

The nomination of Nigerians using a nominal group with proper noun as Thing is straightforward in the speeches. This is because Nigerian(s) is the only lexeme applicable in this category. The internal structure of each nominal group that realises Nigerians fall into one of the following categories: Epithet ^ Thing, Deictic ^ Thing and Thing ^ Qualifier. Figure 6.4 below, presents the functional configuration and frequency distribution of these three nominal group structures.

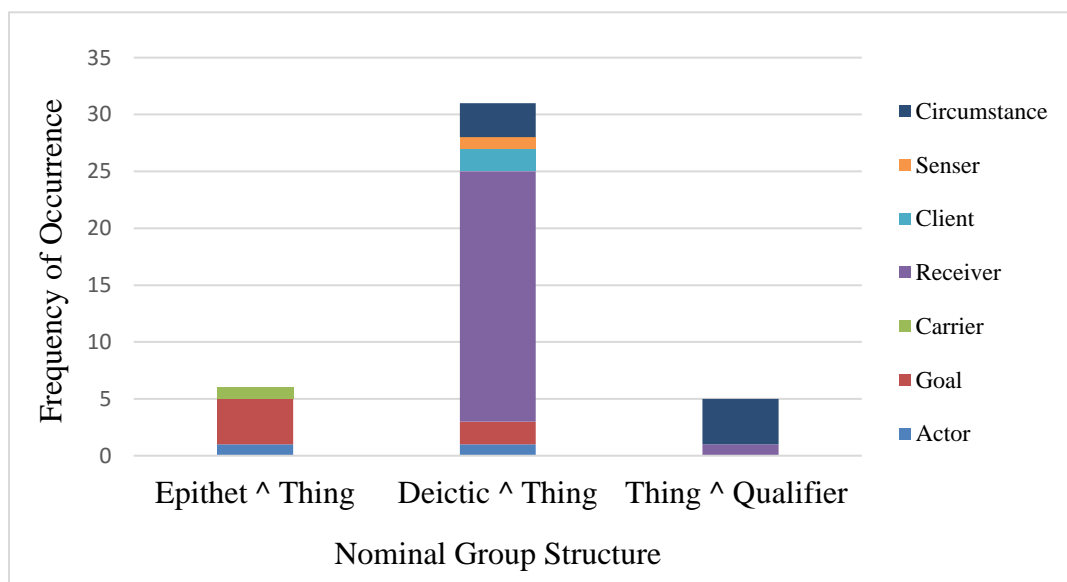


Figure 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Nominal Group Structure with Proper Noun as Head



Figure 6.2 shows a clear dominance of the Deictic ^ Thing nominal group structure over the other two structures. In 31 out of the 42 nominal groups, a Deictic element precedes *Nigerians(s)* as Thing. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) Deictic elements in the nominal group may provide either specific or non-specific determination about the Thing. Demonstrative and possessive determiners typically realise specific Deictics, while non-specific Deictics are realised by “total” and “partial” determiners (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 368). In President Jonathan’s speeches, only non-specific determiners occur as constituents of the Deictic ^ Thing structure, while specific determiners are absent throughout. The excerpt clauses below illustrate the Deictic system for determining Nigerians as Thing in the nominal group.

- (6.63) ||| I urge all Nigerians|| to remain steadfast in prayers for peace and tranquillity in our country. ||| GEJ/21/04/2011
- (6.64) ||| I urge every Nigerian|| to put aside political, sectional or other parochial considerations, and support whole-heartedly the efforts of the government and the military, in checking this evil. ||| GEJ/01/10/2014
- (6.65) ||| Many Nigerians have acknowledged|| that there has been a significant decline in the spate of security breaches.||| GEJ/01/10/2012

In excerpts 6.63 and 6.64, the determiners *all* and *every* convey the sense that the president’s message is directed at the total subset of the Thing. As a nation partitioned across diverse lines such as tribe, religion, political affiliation as well as regions affected by Boko Haram; the need to address his message to the generality of Nigerians seems obvious. The frequency of occurrence data in Figure 6.4 indicates just how obvious the need is, since, the grammatical participant role of Receiver records the highest number of occurrences in the Deictic ^ Thing structure. Excerpt 6.65, shows the use of the partial determiner *many* to convey the sense of an unspecified subset of the Thing. The president’s use of the partial determiner rather than a total one appears to be a coy acknowledgement that some Nigerians may still be in doubt about the successes recorded in the area of security.

The Epithet ^ Thing structure occurs less frequently in the speeches but shows an interesting pattern worth exploring. Figure 6.4 shows that this structure is mainly used to realise Nigerians in the grammatical participant role of Goal. President Jonathan uses *innocent*, *well-meaning*, and *vulnerable* as Epithet in the nominal groups configured according to this structure to represent the vulnerability, non-combatant status and innocence of Nigerians. In this way, he draws sympathy to the plight of those affected by the unfolding of the process. Likewise, it also serves as a means of delegitimising Boko Haram for attacking this subset of Nigerians. The Thing ^ Qualifier occurs least frequently out of the three structures. It mainly occurs in the Circumstance of the clause, thus the meaning conveyed is peripheral to the clause.

### 6.4.3 Vocatives

In addition to realising grammatical participant roles, the proper noun *Nigerian(s)* occurs as vocatives in the speeches. Compared to the other social actors, Nigerians record the highest frequency of inclusion as vocatives. The reason for this high frequency of inclusion as vocatives is traceable to the formulaic opening salutation “fellow Nigerians” that President Jonathan uses in most of the speeches in the corpus. Jaworski and Galasinski (2000) describe vocatives as discursive resources used to express and shape interpersonal relations, power and solidarity between the speaker and audience in public political discourse. President Jonathan deploys vocatives such as *fellow Nigerians*, *my dear countrymen and women*, *my dear brothers and sisters* and *fellow citizens* to express interpersonal relations of solidarity between himself and Nigerians. The vocatives tend to occur at the beginning of each speech thus foregrounding the interpersonal relations and setting the tone for the rest of his speech.

#### 6.4.4 Nominal Group with Common Noun as Thing

In total there are 68 instances in the corpus in which Nigerians are realised by a nominal group with a common noun as Thing. Table 5.7 below summarises all occurrences of the nomination of Nigerians using a common noun as Thing.

Common Noun	Example of Realisation in the Corpus	Frequency
people	<u>Our people</u> are reclaiming their right to live in peace	11
girls	We will reinforce our defence, free <u>our girls</u>	7
women	They have set houses ablaze, and taken <u>women</u> and children as hostages	7
daughters	We will free <u>our daughters</u> and defeat terror.	4
loved ones	I commiserate with all <u>our citizens</u> who lost loved ones in the attacks	4
families	My thoughts and prayers go to the victims and their <u>families</u> .	4
parents	Our hearts go out to their <u>parents</u> , relatives and school authorities.	4
men	A number of young <u>men</u> and women have been kidnapped by these criminals	3
citizens	They killed and maimed innocent <u>citizens</u> .	3
youth	We must not allow anybody to use innocent <u>youth</u> as cannon fodder.	3
students	It has attacked schools, slaughtered <u>students</u> in their dormitories	3
lives	This unconventional war has so far claimed over twelve thousand <u>lives</u> .	3
compatriots	Many of our <u>compatriots</u> have been injured or maimed.	3
residents	killing <u>residents</u> in cold	2
children	They have rendered many <u>children</u> orphans	2
the afflicted	To assist the <u>afflicted</u> , we have launched the Victims Support Fund,	1
precious souls	We remember all the precious <u>souls</u> that have been lost	1
travellers	They intimidated <u>travellers</u> .	1
Christians	<u>Christians</u> have been killed; churches have been destroyed	1
Muslims	<u>Muslims</u> have also been murdered and mosques destroyed.	1
		68

Table 6.6 Nigerians realised in Nominal Groups with Common Noun as Thing

In comparison to proper nouns, common nouns allow more variation in realising the referent. Table 6.6 above shows that the most frequent common nouns for nominating Nigerians are drawn from the lexicon of the family. This suggests that President Jonathan relies heavily on constructing the identity of Nigerians (especially those affected by Boko Haram's attacks) based on family ties. The president's choice may hardly be seen as surprising since the family is a strong institution and an integral nexus in the social life of many Nigerians. In a society characterised by

collectivism as opposed to individualism, one way of driving home the severity of a security threat is perhaps to show how the threat strikes at the members of its revered institution. The excerpt clauses below illustrate the representation of some of Boko Haram's attacks on Nigerians.

- (6.66) ||| Only yesterday, Government Science Secondary School in Yobe State was bombed by insurgents, || killing our promising young children [[who were seeking education to build the country and support their parents]]. ||| GEJ/11/11/2014
- (6.67) ||| It is now 45 days since the horrifying abduction of the college girls of Chibok. || I share the deep pain and anxiety of their parents and guardians|| and I assure them once again|| that government will continue to do everything possible|| to bring our daughters home.||| GEJ/29/05/2014\_37
- (6.68) ||| Once again, I extend heartfelt commiserations to all the families [[who have sadly lost loved relatives in recent terrorist attacks.]] ||| GEJ/20/04/2014
- (6.69) ||| To those who persist in sowing the seeds of discord, I say, || you may hurt and bring grief to some innocent families momentarily, || but you will never succeed in stopping our transformational journey||| GEJ/21/04/2011

In excerpt 6.66, although it is a school that was bombed, the lexicalisation of the victims shifts the frame of meaning from the educational institution to the family. In order to retain meanings associated with education, the president would have had to nominate the casualties as *students, pupils* or *wards*. However, President Jonathan's choice to nominate them as *our promising young children who were seeking education to build the country and support their parents* conveys the sense that the family alongside the institution have suffered the loss. The possessive pronoun *our* serves a dual function here. On one hand, it functions as the Deictic element in the nominal group, and on the other hand it serves as a resource for co-implicating the president and Nigerians in the loss that occurred. The incident that could otherwise have been represented as a tragedy that befell the biological parents, siblings and relatives of the victims is portrayed as a collective loss for the president and all Nigerians. Similarly, in excerpt 6.67, President Jonathan identifies with the grief-stricken parents and guardians of the kidnapped Chibok girls. He portrays himself as the compassionate leader who shares in the pain of his people,

and one who would do what it takes to bring them succour. He also nominates the Chibok girls as *our daughters* to reinforce meanings associated with family ties.

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the representation of Nigerians in the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. The results of the analysis show that Nigerians are frequently included as Vocatives and in the roles of Receiver and Target. The realisation of Nigerians as Receiver presented an opportunity to critically evaluate President Jonathan's message to Nigerians. The Verbal process clauses were mainly tilted towards reported speech providing assurance about what the President and the Government would do for Nigerians. A notable form of exclusion however, is in the details about the social actors involved in the process. This form of exclusion stood out as a strategy for limiting his commitment to any of the assurances he made. When the president was not making assurances, he was calling on Nigerians to support the war on terror. These calls were presented as a noble cause and they evoked nationalist and collaborative fervour by inviting Nigerians to work with the Security Forces in order to "arrest" the Boko Haram situation. I found this to be indicative of a co-implication in matters of their own safety and security

## CHAPTER 7

### Representation of the President and the Government

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the representation of President Goodluck Jonathan and the Government in the corpus of political speeches. Since the President and the Government constitute a homogeneous category of ‘political social actors’ in the discourse (Amer 2017, p. 1), I considered it tenable to discuss their representation in a single chapter of the thesis. The institutional identity that President Goodluck Jonathan projects about himself and his administration is important for understanding his self-representation as a discursive strategy and the legitimisation of the intentions and actions of the government that he heads. By analysing the representation of political social actors in a single chapter, the thesis compares areas of divergence and convergence in the representation of the President, the Government and other social actors acting on their behalf. The findings of the linguistic analysis are interpreted in relation to a social and political understanding of the social actors, the context and the events about which the President speaks.

#### 7.2 Inclusion of the President and the Government

In the speeches, President Jonathan includes representations of himself, representations of the Government and representations of social actors serving in political positions of authority within the government. As such, the inclusion data comprises all references to President Jonathan realised as *I, my, me, President of the Federal Republic and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces* and *my heart*, while the inclusion data for the Government comprises the following realisations, *this government, we, this administration, our government, state Governors* and *political officeholders*. Figure 7.1 below shows the frequency of inclusion data for President Goodluck Jonathan.

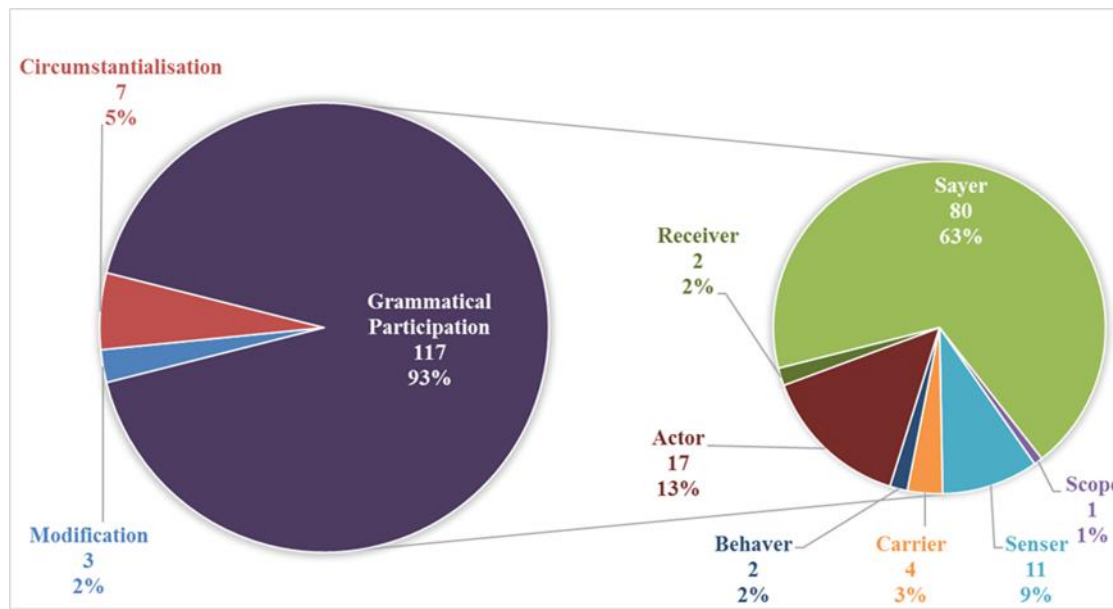


Figure 7.1. Frequency of Inclusion of the President in the Corpus

Figure 7.1 above presents the frequency of inclusion data for President Goodluck Jonathan. The pie chart on the left shows that inclusion by grammatical participation accounts for 93% of the total inclusion of the President in the speeches while circumstantialisation and modification constitute 5% and 2%, respectively. Since circumstantialisation and modification only provide peripheral information and are less prominent means for including the President, this section focuses mainly on the meanings construed when the President is included as a grammatical participant in the clause. In Figure 7.1 above, the pie chart on the right presents the frequency of inclusion of President Jonathan in grammatical participant roles. It shows that he is predominantly included via activated grammatical participant roles of Sayer in 80 clauses, Actor in 17 clauses, Senser in 11 clauses and as Behavior in only 2 clauses. On the other hand, passivation of the President occurs far less frequently. Only three clauses construe the President as a passivated grammatical participant, Receiver (2) and Scope (1). Excerpts 7.1 to 7.3 below illustrate the inclusion of the President in passivated roles, while section 7.2.1 below discusses the inclusion of the President in activated participant roles.

- (7.1) Since I returned to the country after cutting short my visit to South Africa and aborting a planned state visit to Namibia, I have received detailed briefings from our security agencies. GEJ/14/05/2013\_17

I	have	received	detailed briefings	from our security agencies.
S	F	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
Receiver	Verbal	Verbiage	Sayer	

- (7.2) Prime Minister David Cameron and President Francois Hollande and other world leaders have spoken with me; we appreciate their commitment to help us put an end to the crisis. GEJ/08/05/2014\_7

Prime Minister David Cameron and President Francois Hollande and other world leaders	have	spoken	with me;
S	F	P	A
Mood		Reside	
Theme		Rheme	
Sayer		Verbal	Receiver

In Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2, the President is included in the passivated participant role of Receiver. In both clauses, the President is on the receptive end of the process, however, we can observe a difference in the nominal groups that realise the Sayer. In excerpt 7.1, the Sayer is realised by a pluralised nominal group without identity marking modifiers. This realisation genericises the Sayer and distances the referent from the immediate world of experience of the audience. It can be garnered from excerpt 7.1 that the President had received detailed briefings; however, the specific arm of the security agencies from whom these briefings were received is glossed over. On the other hand, excerpt 7.2 realises the Sayer as specific identifiable elite individuals. The elite status of the nominal groups realising the Sayer is foregrounded through the inclusion of the titles *Prime Minister* and *President*. In excerpt 7.1, there appears to be more importance accorded to the briefings received than on the specific source of the briefings, while excerpt 7.2 foregrounds the source and status of the Sayer and makes no reference to



what they said, as excerpt 7.2 has no verbiage. In both clauses the content of the message from the Sayer is not disclosed, however, the representation implies that the President consults with other parties within the nation and internationally. The President is also included in the passivated role of Scope. Excerpt 7.3 below illustrates the realisation of the President as Scope.

(7.3) I call on all Nigerians, irrespective of party or belief, to join me in this fight against insurgency and terror. GEJ/11/12/2014\_9-10

I	call on		all Nigerians, irrespective of party or belief,	to join	me	in this fight against insurgency and terror.
S	F	P	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Material	Scope	Circumstance
$\alpha$				$\beta$		

As Scope, the President is represented as an oblique participant in the  $\beta$ -Material process clause. The Material process *to join* has no impact on the President, realised by the pronoun *me*. The self-representation of the President interpersonally bridges a relationship between him and the addressees but does not involve any material impact. It is more of a call to action than an actual action on the path of the participants. Now let us consider the representation of the Government. Figure 7.2 below shows the frequency of inclusion data for the Government.

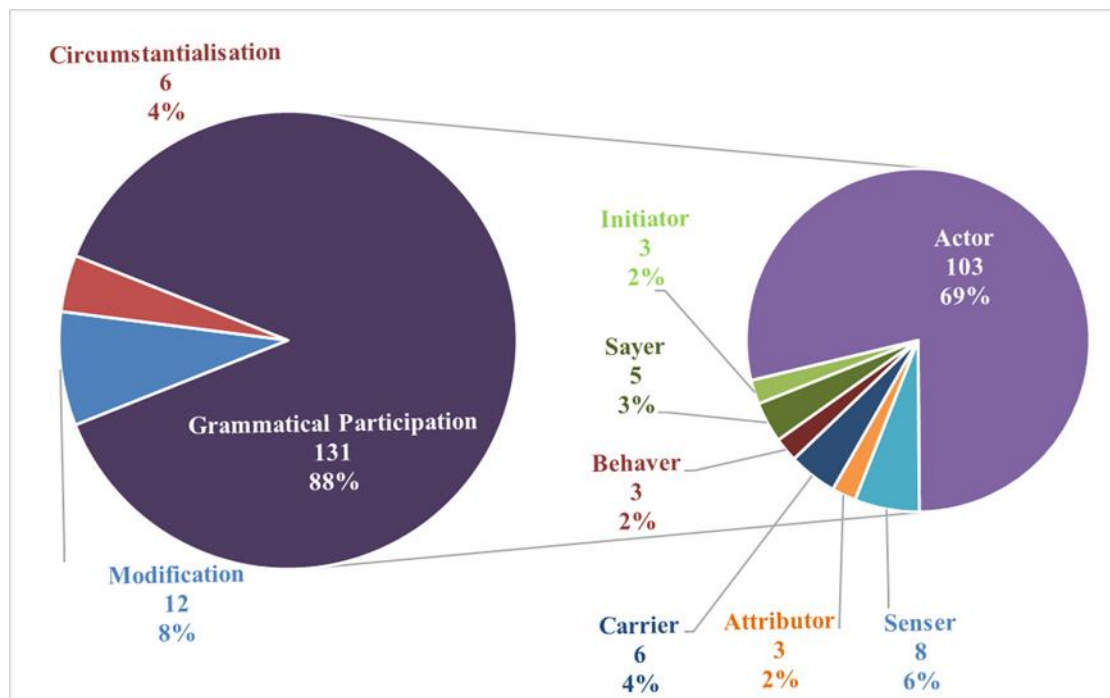


Figure 7.2. Frequency of Inclusion of the Government in the Corpus

Figure 7.2 above shows that inclusion by grammatical participation ranks high at 88% of the total inclusion while modification and circumstantialisation contribute 8% and 4%, respectively. The frequency of inclusion data shows a stark contrast between the realisation of the Government and the President as grammatical participants. As Figure 7.2 shows, the participant role of Actor is the most dominant role for activating the Government. In 103 clauses, the Government is realised as Actor, in 8 clauses as Senser, 5 clauses as Sayer and 3 clauses each as Behavior, Initiator and Attributor. The Government is never represented in a passivated grammatical participant role. Comparatively, the data suggests that “sayings” are personalised through the voice and person of the President, while the Government impersonalises material action in the discourse. As we shall come to see in this chapter, when President Jonathan makes propositions and appeals, issues instructions and solicits support, he does so by self-representing himself as the source of the message. However, for meanings that construe material action, he

represents the Government as the force behind the actions. The next section breaks down the frequency data and discusses the activation of the President and the Government in each of their dominant grammatical participant roles.

## 7.2.1 Activation of the President

### 7.2.1.1 President as Sayer

Table 7.1 below summarises all the activations of the President as Sayer in Verbal process clauses. Due to spatial constraints, I collated verbs with related meanings into a single row of the table. For example, the second row of Table 7.1 comprises the frequency of occurrence of the following related verbal groups ordered (5), directed (4) instructed (2), and authorised (1).

<b>Speech Function: Proposition</b>				
<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Verbal</b>	<b>Receiver/Target</b>	<b>Projected Clause/Verbiage</b>	<b>Freq</b>
I	want to assure, reassure	you all	that the terrorists will not get away with their atrocities	15
I	have instructed, directed, ordered, authorised	our security forces	to launch a full-scale operation to put an end to the impunity of terrorists on our soil.	12
I	commend, applaud salute	our Armed Forces and security agencies	for their dedication and bravery in the face of grave danger	7
I Let me	state, restate, repeat, reiterate make it clear		the commitment of this Administration to ensure the safety of lives and property of all Nigerians.	6
I	want to thank	our brave men and women of the security services for their commitment.		5
For me	to address	you	on the recent spate of terrorist activities and protracted security challenges in some parts of the country	3
I	will like to extend		my heartfelt condolences to the government and people of Katsina State	2
I	hereby declare		a State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states.	2

I	want to pay tribute	to the men and women of our Armed Forces		1
I	tell	you	there are lessons to learn, and every cause to be thankful	1
I	must cite		one example	1
I	did emphasise		that we were in a sober moment in our country.	1
I	promise	the victims of these dastardly acts	that we will continue to stand with you.	1
I	have consulted	traditional, religious and political leaders		1
<b>Total</b>				<b>58</b>
<b>Speech Function: Proposal</b>				
<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Verbal</b>	<b>Receiver/Target</b>	<b>Projected Clause/Verbiage</b>	<b>Freq</b>
I	urge	every Nigerian	to remain law abiding	8
I	appeal to, implore	our countrymen and women	to provide them with the fullest support, and not to fall victim to those who fan the embers of terror.	5
I	call on	all Nigerians	to join me in this fight against insurgency and terror	5
I	ask, affirm to say to	all those waging war against our country	to lay down your arms and embrace peace.	3
let me	crave the indulgence of	all present here	to stand up to observe a minutes silence in honour of these young lads who lost their lives.	1
<b>Total</b>				<b>22</b>

Table 7.1 Summary of Verbal Process Clauses that Realise the President as Sayer

Table 7.1 above shows the different verbal groups in clauses that construe the President as Sayer. It is possible to categorise the verbal groups based on the type of “speech function” that they realise (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, p. 135). The verbal groups *assure* (15), *commend* (7), *state* (6), *thank* (5), *ordered* (5), *directed* (4) *address* (3), *extend condolences* (2), *declare* (2), *instructed* (2), *authorised*, *pay tribute*, *tell*, *cite*, *did emphasise*, *promise* and *consulted* realise propositions, while, *urge* (8), *appeal* (5), *call on* (5), *ask* (3) and *crave indulgence* realise proposals. The difference between these two speech functions is that the former construes the

exchange of information while the latter construes the exchange of service. I used the contrasting functions of propositions and proposals to examine the types of information that the President exchanges with the Receiver or directs at the Target and the types of service that he instructs, orders or solicits from the Receiver.

### **President Goodluck Jonathan's Propositions**

The President uses Verbal process clauses to construe propositions more frequently than he uses them to construe proposals. We can extrapolate this finding from Table 7.1 above, which shows that 58 out of 80 Verbal process clauses realise propositions compared to 22 clauses that realise proposals. The President's propositions are expressed in clause complexes in which a primary Verbal process clause projects secondary Material or Relational process clauses. The propositions are addressed to Security Forces, Nigerians and political social actors that realise the participant role of Receiver. They convey information about the state of security affairs in the country, assurances about the action plan of the President and the Government and promises of solidarity amid adversity. The frequency of occurrence of propositions may indicate a move by the President to be informative with his audience and project himself as a leader that is in touch with the people. This observation is particularly relevant in light of the construal of the Government's action plan for the people. Some of President Jonathan's propositions focus on what the Government will do; others highlight what he will do as president; the third type of proposition state the course of action but background the social actors involved in the process. The discussion covers the different propositions in clauses that realise President Jonathan as Sayer.

### **Propositions Conveying Assurances from the President**

Table 7.1 shows that propositions by the President are predominantly expressed using the verb *assure* or its related variant *reassure*. These are the most frequently occurring verbs in the

clauses that realise the President as Sayer. The excerpt clauses below present the deployment of these verbs to realise propositions by President Goodluck Jonathan. For ease of reference, the clauses have been organised based on the meaning construed in the projected clause. Excerpts 7.4 to 7.7 convey information on what the Government will do, excerpts 7.8 and 7.9 illustrate what the President will do and excerpt 7.10 and 7.11 express Material processes without the explicit agents.

(7.4) I assure all Nigerians that this Government will continue to do whatever is required to provide the security we deserve. GEJ/11/12/2014\_3-5

I	assure	all Nigerians	that	this Government	will	continue to do	whatever is required	to provide	the security we deserve.
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C	P	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Rheme		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope	Material	Scope	
$\alpha$			$\beta$				$\gamma$		

(7.5) It is now 45 days since the horrifying abduction of the college girls of Chibok. I share the deep pain and anxiety of their parents and guardians and I assure them once again that government will continue to do everything possible to bring our daughters home. GEJ/29/05/2014

I	assure	them	once again	that	govt	will	continue to do	everything possible	to bring	our daughters	home
S	F	P	C	Acir	S	F	P	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue			Mood		Residue		Residue		
Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver	Cir		Actor	Material	Scope	Mat	Goal	Cir	
$\alpha$				$\beta$				$\gamma$			

(7.6) I wish to reassure every Nigerian that we will confront this threat against our collective peace and security, and bring the perpetrators to justice. GEJ/29/05/2012

I	wish to reassure	every Nigerian	that	we	will	confront	this threat against our collective	and	bring	the perpetrators	to justice.
---	------------------	----------------	------	----	------	----------	------------------------------------	-----	-------	------------------	-------------

							peace and security,				
S	F	P		S	F	P	C		P	C	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		Residue			
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope		Mat	Goal	Attribute	
$\alpha$			$\beta$					$\gamma$			

- (7.7) I want to reassure you all that those who are directly or indirectly encouraging any form of rebellion against the Nigerian state, and their collaborators; those insurgents and terrorists who take delight in killing our security operatives, whoever they may be, wherever they may go, we will hunt them down, we will fish them out, and we will bring them to justice. GEJ/14/05/2013\_EB5

I	to reassure	you all	that	those who are directly or indirectly encouraging any form of rebellion against the Nigerian state...	we	will	hunt	them	down,	
S	F	P	C		S	F	P	C	C	
Mood		Residue		Resi-		Mood		-due		
Theme	Rheme			Rhe-		Theme	-me			
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Go-		Actor	Material	-al	Attribute	
$1\alpha$			$1\beta$							
we	will	fish	them	out,	and	we	will	bring	them	to justice
S	F	P	C	C		S	F	P	C	C
Mood		Residue			Mood		Residue			
Theme	Rheme			Theme		Rheme				
Actor	Material	Goal	Attribute		Actor	Material	Goal	Attribute		
$1\gamma$				2						

Excerpts 7.4 to 7.7 above contain clause complexes in which a primary Verbal process clause projects secondary Material process clauses. The secondary clauses construe both intransitive and transitive Material processes by the Government. With regards to the former, excerpts 7.4 to 7.6 construe the Government as Actor in intransitive Material processes realised by the verbal groups *will continue to do* and *will confront*. These clauses represent a “doing” on the part of the Actor, but the absence of a Goal indicates that there is no point of impact for the process.

Thus, while the President assures Nigerians about the Government's impending actions, his message obscures the details about these actions. The Scope *whatever is required, everything possible and this threat against our collective peace and security* only specify the domain and entity over which the process takes place. In other words, the Scope highlights the extent that the Government will go in order to execute their action plan; however, the clause is silent on the exact nature of the Government's actions.

In comparison, the second type of assurance that the President makes to Nigerians is that he will be involved in taking action that serves their best interests. In excerpts 7.8 and 7.9 below, the projected clause construes the President as Actor in Material process clauses.

- (7.8) I will defend the right of all citizens to freely express their democratic choice anywhere in this country; to enjoy every freedom and opportunity that this country can offer without let or hindrance. I assure all Nigerians that I will do so with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief. GEJ/21/04/2011

I	assure		all Nigerians	that	I	will	do so	with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief.
S	F	P	C		S	F	P	Acir
Mood		Residue			Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme				Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver			Actor	Material		Circumstance
$\alpha$					$\beta$			

- (7.9) I assure all Nigerians that our security agencies, armed forces and I will continue to fully discharge our constitutional responsibilities for protecting the unity and territorial integrity of this country with all the powers and forces at our disposal. GEJ/13/03/2013

I	assure		all Nigerians	that	our security agencies, armed forces and I	will	continue to fully discharge	our constitutional responsibilities...	with all the powers and forces at our disposal.
S	F	P	C		S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue			Mood		Residue		



Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verba 1	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope	Circumstance
$\alpha$				$\beta$			

The propositions being construed in excerpts 7.8 and 7.9 project the President as being actively involved in matters that concern the safety and security of Nigerians. These excerpts specifically foreground the notion of power as the President affirms that his position as President and Commander in Chief primes him to be in the service of the citizens. However, there are other clauses where this power is not made explicit, such as excerpt 7.10 below. Interestingly, the Material clauses in excerpts 7.8 and 7.9 are intransitive. From defending the rights of citizens and doing so with powers at his disposal to fully discharging his constitutional responsibilities, the President's message conveys the proposition about his actions, however, it also backgrounds the social actors affected by the process. Likewise, President Jonathan's third category of assurances are construed without an explicit grammatical participant in the projected secondary clause. These clauses constitute instances of backgrounding of social actors in the speeches as illustrated in excerpt 7.10 and 7.11 below.

- (7.10) We have already made arrests in the Mubi case, and I want to assure Nigerians that all the culprits will be made to face the full weight of the law.  
GEJ/10/10/2012

I	want to assure	Nigerians	that	all the culprits	will	be made to face	the full weight of the law.
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	C
Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Receiver		Actor	Material	Scope	
$\alpha$				$\beta$			

President Jonathan declares in the  $\beta$ -Material process clause that the culprits will be made to face the full weight of the law; however, the agent initiating this course of action is

backgrounded. This construal appears to suggest that the important information is the action to be taken, not the actors involved in the process. The same effect is echoed in excerpt 7.11 below where President Jonathan finds it sufficient to disclose information about the action plan and background the actors involved in the process. These clauses beg the question “by who?” as it remains to be mentioned who will make the culprits face the full weight of the law or restore calm in troubled parts of the country.

- (7.11) I assure you all that calm is being restored in troubled parts of the country and that the elections scheduled for next Tuesday will go on as planned. GEJ/21/04/2011

### **Propositions Conveying Instructions, Orders and Directives from the President**

Besides making assurances to Nigerians, Verbal process clauses construe the instructions and directives that President Jonathan issues to the Security Forces. Table 7.1 above, shows President Jonathan as Sayer of Verbal processes realised by the verbs *instructed*, *ordered*, *directed* and *authorise*. In these clauses, President Jonathan’s authority is foregrounded as illustrated in the analysis of excerpts 7.12 to 7.15 below.

- (7.12) I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces to take all necessary action to apprehend them including combing the Rugu Forest thoroughly to permanently rid it of the terrorists and armed criminals who have been launching deadly attacks on surrounding states from there. GEJ/13/03/2014\_EB03
- (7.13) I have directed that the perpetrators of these dastardly acts of violence and all those who seek to continue to breach the peace and stability of this nation must be fished out and made to face the full weight of the law.
- (7.14) I have instructed all arms of our security agencies to within the shortest possible time find and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness. GEJ/01/01/2011\_13
- (7.15) I have also authorised the security forces to use any means necessary under the law to ensure that this is done.

Experientially, these clauses construe the President as Sayer while the Security Forces are construed as Receiver. The proposition is realised as a projection domiciled in the secondary clause. Interpersonally, these clauses are similar as they foreground the president's position as Head of the government and the Security Forces as subordinates. The relations between the President and the Security Forces is unidirectional wherein the unmarked representation expresses orders and commands that emanate from the President being directed at the Security Forces. The choice of verbs (ordered, directed, instructed and authorised) realising the Verbal process is equally reflective of this interpersonal relation. He has not told, asked or appealed to the Security Forces, the representation is indicative of the imperative force behind his remarks. The clauses answer the question "what have I ordered the security forces to do?" The clauses also make reference to the rule of law. The President's orders are presented as being pursuant on lawful actions.

### **Propositions conveying Commendation, Appreciation and Commiserations from the President**

Table 7.1 shows that President Jonathan uses Verbal process clauses realising propositions to commend and to thank social actors in the speeches. The verbs *commend* (4), *thank* (5), *applaud* (2) and *salute* (1) realise the process conveying the proposition. The entities realising Target of the process are in-group social actors. Excerpts 7.16 to 7.18 below illustrate the commendation and appreciation of in-group social actors by President Jonathan.

- (7.16) On behalf of us all, I commend our Armed Forces and security agencies for their dedication and bravery in the face of grave danger, and in the name of our collective liberty. GEJ/01/10/2013

On behalf of us all,	I	commend			our Armed Forces and security agencies	for their dedication and bravery in the face of grave danger, and in the name of our collective liberty.
A	S	F	P	C	Acir	
Resi-	Mood		-due			

Textual	Topical	Rheme		
	Sayer	Verbal	Target	Circumstance

- (7.17) I also commend all Nigerians [[who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.]]  
GEJ/01/01/2015\_04

I	also	commend		all Nigerians who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.	
S	A	F	P	C	
Mood		Residue			
Theme	Rheme				
Sayer	Verbal		Target		

- (7.18) I want to thank our brave men and women of the security services for their commitment. I also want to acknowledge and thank the various state Governors for their cooperation and untiring effort to ensure peace in their domains.  
GEJ/10/10/2012

I	want to thank		our brave men and women of the security services		for their commitment.
S	F	P	C		A
Mood		Residue			
Theme	Rheme				
Sayer	Verbal	Target		Circumstance	

In excerpts 7.15 to 7.18, the Security Forces and Nigerians are construed as the Target of President Jonathan's commendation and appreciation. The inclusion of such propositions in the speeches serves to positively appraise these social actors for their contribution to the fight against Boko Haram. In addition to appreciating their support, these clauses are interspersed with markers of in-grouping, which alongside the process of the clause serve to echo the notion that these social actors are working for the collective good of all Nigerians. President Jonathan also deploys Verbal process clauses to pay tribute to the Security Forces that have lost their lives and to commiserate with the families of the victims of Boko Haram's attacks (see excerpt 7.19 and 7.20 below:

- (7.19) On this first day of the New Year, I want to pay special tribute to the gallant officers, men and women of our Armed Forces and other security agencies who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.
- (7.20) Once again, I extend heartfelt commiserations to all the families who have sadly lost loved relatives in recent terrorist attacks.

### President Goodluck Jonathan's Proposals

Table 7.1 above shows that 22 out of 80 Verbal process clauses realise proposals by President Goodluck Jonathan. President Jonathan is construed as the Sayer while Nigerians are construed as the Receiver of the primary clause. The parsed sample clauses in 7.21 to 7.23 below illustrate the deployment of proposals in clauses that construe the President as Sayer.

- (7.21) || Terrorism is a war against all of us. ||| I call on all Nigerians || to join hands with government || to fight these terrorists. ||| GEJ/31/12/2011\_32-34

Terrorism			is			a war against all of us		
S			F			C		
Mood					Residue			
Theme			Rheme					
Carrier			Relational			Attribute		
I	call on	all Nigerians	to join	hands	with government	to fight	these terrorists.	
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue				
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Target	Material	Goal	Circumstance	Material	Goal	
$\alpha$			$\beta$ Non-finite			$\gamma$ Non-finite		

- (7.22) ||| On this day, I implore every Nigerian|| – [[wherever you are]], [[whatever language you speak]], [[whatever your religious persuasion]], [[whichever Political Party you support]] ] ] ] ] let us join together|| to fight this evil of extremism. ||| GEJ/01/10/2013

I	implore	every Nigerian...	let us	join	together	to fight	this evil of extremism		
S	F	P	C	S	F	P	Acir	P	C

Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Target		Actor	Material	Cir		Material	Goal	
$\alpha$				$\alpha\beta$ Finite				$\beta\beta$		

(7.23) ||| We call on the citizenry|| to co-operate with our security agencies|| to ensure a return to normalcy within the shortest possible time. ||| GEJ/14/05/2013

I	call on		the citizenry	to cooperate with	our security agencies	to ensure	a return to normalcy	within the shortest possible time	
S	F	P	C	P	C	P	C	Acir	
Mood		Residue		Residue		Residue			
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	Theme	Rheme		
Sayer	Verbal	Target		Material	Circumstance: Accompaniment	Relational	Carrier	Attribute	
$\alpha$				$\beta$ Non-finite			$\gamma$ Non-finite		

(7.24) I appeal to our countrymen and women to provide them with the fullest support, and not to fall victim to those who fan the embers of terror. GEJ/11/12/2014

(7.25) I implore every Nigerian, wherever you are, whatever language you speak, whatever your religious persuasion, whichever Political Party you support -: let us join together to fight this evil of extremism.

In excerpt 7.21, President Jonathan uses an attributive Relational process clause to define terrorism as *a war against all of us*. This relational clause equates terrorism to a sub-type of war, which is against all Nigerians. This definition of terrorism implies that Boko Haram is a collective problem for all Nigerians, thus making it seem commonsensical, for the president to call on Nigerians, *to join hands with government, to join together* and *to cooperate with security agencies*. What this does is that it hinges the actualisation of a future action on the shoulders of Nigerians. The clauses share in common the notion of collaborative effort is required against a common enemy. They are hypotactic nexuses with a primary Verbal process clause that project secondary

Material process clauses. The secondary clause is a perfective non-finite clause without an explicit Subject and modal operator. The Receiver of the primary clause is the implicit Actor of the Material process clause. For example, in extract 7.23, *the citizenry* which is the Target of the projecting primary clause is the Actor of the Material secondary clause. The absence of modal operators means that the president's remark does not explicitly express the degree of obligation. In other words, the president's message is not about what Nigerians must do, will do or should do, rather it is focused on what he calls on them to do.

Another notable finding from the deployment of proposals is the notion of personalisation. The choice of first person singular pronoun *I* is consistent for realising the President as Sayer. The use of the personal pronoun allows President Goodluck Jonathan to repeatedly index himself in the representation and show a sense of personal commitment towards his proposal. He creates a relationship on a personal tone with his audience and the social actors realising the Material process. Considering that his message construes a call to action, bridging the distance between himself as Sayer and Nigerians as Target appears to be a useful discursive strategy in order to garner a preferred response of acceptance of the proposal. An agnate representation of excerpt 7.21 could read:

The Federal Government appeals to our countrymen and women to provide our gallant armed forces and security agencies with the fullest support.

The variant clause above shows less personal commitment of the president to the command. It also impersonalises him from the countrymen and women to whom the message is addressed. Although the change is only a paratactic replacement of the first person singular pronoun *I* with *the Federal Government*, the latter constitutes a formalised and distant tenor relation between the president and Nigerians. With a high frequency of self-indexicalisation

throughout the speeches, especially in verbal process clauses, personalisation appears to be a preferred rhetorical resource of the president for construing the President's proposals to Nigerians.

Based on the foregoing, the self-indexicalisation and absence of modal operators in the clause nexus portray the president as being touch with the citizens. Likewise, Nigerians are represented as social actors whose material action can contribute towards the success of the campaign against Boko Haram. Herein lies the ideology behind construing Nigerians as collaborators. In addition to personalising his proposal, the president uses the verbal groups: *call on*, *urge*, *implore* and *appeal* to modulate the force and persuasive nature of his message. It is important to point out that all the excerpt clauses above are projections of a non-actualised 'metaphenomenon'. This means that President Goodluck Jonathan sets up a material clause as the linguistic content of the verbal process clause, such that the verbal clause represents the force of actualisation not the material clause. Typically, if a proposal is projected, it may not actually eventuate; hence President Goodluck Jonathan can ask without contradiction 'didn't I call on all Nigerians, irrespective of party or belief, to join me in this fight against insurgency and terror?'

More so, the proposals portray the president as a supplicant to Nigerians in a manner that is atypical of powerful social actors in institutional discourse. If the notion of directionality is used to describe the way in which an appeal would typically flow between two social actors, one is more likely to find social actors in less powerful positions directing their appeals to social actors in powerful positions. What this means is that an appeal in its unmarked form would typically be made by a less powerful social actor to a more powerful one. However, the proposals show a reverse of this order because Goodluck Jonathan, by virtue of his position as president, is more powerful, yet, he directs his appeal for support to Nigerians who are less powerful social actors. This construal masks the asymmetric power relations that exist between the presidency and the



citizens and suggests that both the president and Nigerians can work on equal footing to tackle the Boko Haram phenomenon.

Lastly, the verbal groups: *call on*, *urge*, *implore* and *appeal* mask the imperating function of the clause, which would have been more overt if, for example, President Goodluck Jonathan had chosen to represent the proposal in excerpt 7.22 using an agnate modulated variant like:

Every Nigerian wherever you are, whatever language you speak, whatever your religious persuasion, whichever Political Party you support must join together to fight this evil of extremism.

In the variant above, Nigerians are foregrounded as the Actor of the process while the modal *must* indicates obligation towards the proposal. Comparing President Goodluck Jonathan's choice to the agnate clause above shows a variance in the force of the imperative. In excerpt 7.22, President Jonathan thematises his message with a verbal process clause *I implore every Nigerian*. Unlike the variant above, President Jonathan is foregrounded as Subject, Topical Theme and Sayer of the clause while Nigerians are passivated as Target. This representation deemphasises the agency on the part of Nigerians and foregrounds the president as the active supplicant in the representation. It portrays the president as a considerate leader who requests for support from his citizens rather than one who mandates them to act. Conversely the representation of Nigerians as Target portrays them as secondary participants who are called to act, but, who do not actually carrying out any action themselves.

#### ***7.2.1.2 Government as Sayer***

The Government is represented as Sayer in four clauses presented below as excerpts 7.26 to 7.29.

- (7.26) We condemn all acts of violence and declare that such acts of mindless savagery shall not be allowed to define our country. GEJ/01/10/2014

- (7.27) We totally condemn the attacks which were carried out by unidentified gunmen.  
GEJ/13/03/2014
- (7.28) We commend our law enforcement and security agencies for the admirable work that they continue to do to safeguard and protect the lives and properties of our citizens. GEJ/13/08/2013
- (7.29) Despite the challenges we face, we must commend our security forces.  
GEJ/29/05/2014

The except clauses above show that in Verbal clauses the Government is either construed as commending the actions of Boko Haram or commending the Security Forces. Regarding the former, Boko Haram is backgrounded from the representation and it is their actions that are negatively evaluated and condemned. The inclusive *we* that realises the Sayer suggests that there is agreement in the Government's ranks over the condemnation as it implies a collective in-group. The commendation from the Government to the Security Forces is similar to the expression made when the President is construed as Sayer.

### ***7.2.1.3 President and Government as Senser***

The Senser is by definition a sentient being or any entity that the speaker endows with consciousness to think, feel, desire or perceive (Bloor and Bloor 2004). The construal of the President and the Government as Senser aligns both in the frequency of occurrence and in the forms of consciousness they are endowed in the speeches. In total, the President is construed as Senser in 8 Mental process clauses; likewise, the Government is construed as Senser in 8 clauses. Mental processes relate to thought and present the grammatical participant without agency to accomplish a tangible action (Eggins, 2004). As noted by Machin and Mayr (2012), mental processes suggest busyness with no outcome. Table 7.2 below presents all the Mental process clauses that construe the President as Senser, while Table 7.3 presents all the Mental process clauses that construe the Government as Senser.

<b>Senser</b>	<b>Mental</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>
I	feel	Emotive	the pain and sorrow of affected communities and families
I	admit being overtaken by	Emotive	deep feelings of grief, whenever news reached me of the appalling atrocities in some of our States, especially the North Eastern part of our country.
I	am deeply saddened by	Emotive	their deaths and that of other Nigerians at the hands of terrorists.
My thoughts and prayers	go to	Emotive	the victims of the terrorist attacks, and their families.
I	believe	Cognitive	that together as a people and with God on our side, we shall defeat terror and emerge an even stronger nation
I	believe	Cognitive	that because of your prayers, your courage, hard work, faith and sacrifice, we will ultimately prevail over the terrorists and all other evil forces.
I	am convinced	Cognitive	that with your support and prayers, we shall overcome these challenges and together, we will restore every part of our country to the path of peace, growth and development.
I	welcome	desiderative	the statements of solidarity from patriotic citizens and the global community in support of our efforts to stamp out terrorism.

*Table 7.2. The President as Senser*

The first person personal pronoun *I* occurs as the unmarked nominal for realising the President as Sayer. It personalises the President's message and projects him interpersonally closer to the referents. The President's construal as Senser presents him to the listeners and readers of the speech as a sympathetic leader who shares the pain suffered by the victims of terror. This is noticeable from the frequent construal of President Jonathan as Senser of emotive Mental processes. In this way, President Jonathan constructs himself as a sympathiser with all those that have been victims of terrorist attacks. As for the cognitive Mental processes, President Jonathan expresses that which he knows or believes to be true. It is noticeable from the phenomenon that the president believes that divinity and spirituality in the form of prayers has a role to play in

resolving the Boko Haram problem. Table 7.3 below presents the construal of the Government as Senser in cognitive Mental.

<b>Senser</b>	<b>Mental</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>
We	will not forget	Cognitive	the pain and sorrow of affected communities and families
We	recognise	Cognitive	the great toll the conflict is taking on our people
We	are conscious	Cognitive	of the fact that without security, no meaningful development can take place in our land
We	are conscious of	Cognitive	the impact of security challenges facing the country
Our Administration	remains focused on	Cognitive	efforts to successfully execute the Federal Government's Agenda for National Transformation and achieve sustained development
As a responsible Government, we	felt compelled to declare	Emotive	a State of Emergency in three of Nigeria North Eastern States of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe.
We	must not succumb	Emotive	to blackmail
We	will not tolerate	Emotive	a declaration of war and a deliberate attempt to undermine the authority of the Nigerian state and threaten her territorial integrity

Table 7.3 The Government as Senser

The clauses in Table 7.3 illustrate the cognitive and emotive consciousness of the Government as Sayer. The choice to realise the Government with the pronoun *we* humanises and personalises the representation of the Government. In this realm of meaning, the Government is able to *recognise* (cognitively) and *not tolerate* (emotively).

### **Government as Actor, Boko Haram as Goal**

It is possible to distinguish between two types of transitive material process clauses in which the Government is realised as Actor. The excerpt clauses below are examples of Material clauses that extend to animate Goal.

(7.30) I want to reassure you all that those who are directly or indirectly encouraging any form of rebellion against the Nigerian state, and their collaborators; those insurgents and terrorists who take delight in killing our security operatives, whoever they may be,

wherever they may go, we will hunt them down, we will fish them out, and we will bring them to justice. GEJ/14/05/2013\_EB5

- (7.31) ||We will confront the few misguided persons [[who falsely believe,|| that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.]]||  
GEJ/29/05/2012\_EB2

We	will	confront	the few misguided persons who falsely believe, that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.						
S	F	P	C						
Mood		Residue							
Theme	Rheme								
Actor	Material			Goal					
[[Defining Relative Clause]]									
the few misguided persons who	falsely	believe	that	through violence,	they	can	impose	their agenda of hate and division	on this nation of good people.
S	A <sup>mood</sup>	F	P	Acir	S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue		Resi-	Mood		-due		
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme				
Senser		Mental: Cognitive		Circumstance	Actor	Material		Goal	Circumstance
$\alpha$				$\beta$					

- (7.32) ||We will confront all those [[who think|| they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places.]] GEJ/29/05/2012||

We	will	confront	all those who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places, against the media.						
S	F	P	C						
Mood		Residue							
Theme	Rheme								
Actor	Material			Goal					
[[Defining Relative Clause]]									
all those who	think	they	can	derail	us	by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places and against the media.			

S	F	P	S	F	P	C	Acir
Mood		Residue	Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme			
Senser	Mental: Cognitive		Actor	Material	Goal	Circumstance	
$\alpha$			$\beta$				

As Actor, the Government is realised through the exclusive *we*. This pronoun allows President Jonathan to evoke a sense of human agency in the representation of the Government as Actor. This appears to be corroborated by the choice of *hunt down* and *fish out* as verbal groups to realise the process. The actions construed by these verbs require an individual to carry them out. The choice of *we* over *the government* serves to personalise the Actor rather than impersonalise the Government as the agent of the process. In particular, the choice of *hunt*, *fish out*, and *confront* portray the Government as being in pursuit of the terrorists.

According to President Jonathan, the culmination of this pursuit is to bring Boko Haram to Justice. The Material processes *to bring to book* and *to bring to justice* rank high on the frequency of occurrence table. These processes represent the action plan of the Government against Boko Haram. Regarding the epistemic modality of the president's proposition, the finite *will* describes the volition of future action by the Government. President Jonathan reports about actions that the government will take against Boko Haram, not those that have already been meted out on the group. As the excerpt clauses show, *will* occurs consistently as the modal operator of the process. The president's assurances are about futurist actions, not present or past ones. Regarding actions of the Government that extend to the phenomenon of terrorism, the construal of what the Government has done is less explicit. See excerpt clauses below:

- (7.33) We have done a lot of painstaking planning and work to resolve the current security challenge. GEJ/01/2015\_29

- (7.34) We remain conscious of the impact of security challenges facing the country and are determined to bring the situation under control. GEJ/10/10/2012\_4

Overall, the excerpt clauses indicate some elusiveness when representing the government's actions against Boko Haram. The Government is represented as institutionalising and orchestrating a humane and logical campaign against Boko Haram typified by planning, resolve, consciousness, determination and bringing under control.

### 7.2.2 Passivation of the President and the Government

- (7.35) || Terrorism is a war against all of us. ||| I call on all Nigerians || to join hands with government || to fight these terrorists. ||| GEJ/31/12/2011\_32-34

Terrorism			is			a war against all of us		
S			F			C		
Mood					Residue			
Theme			Rheme					
Carrier			Relational			Attribute		
I	call on	all Nigerians	to join	hands	with government	to fight	these terrorists.	
S	F	P	C	P	C	Acir	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue				
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	
Sayer	Verbal	Target	Material	Goal	Circumstance	Material	Goal	
$\alpha$			$\beta$ Non-finite			$\gamma$ Non-finite		

In the excerpt above, President Jonathan uses an attributive relational process clause to define terrorism as *a war against all of us*. This relational clause equates terrorism to a sub-type of war, one which is against all Nigerians. This framing introduces the metaphor of war into the representation of terrorism and constructs terrorism as a collective problem for all Nigerians. Based on this definition of terrorism, it appears commonsensical for the president to call on Nigerians to collectively respond to the problem of terrorists.

Furthermore, Jonathan's activation of Nigerians portrays them as social actors who ought to work in the service of the government and its security forces. Jonathan uses a subjective, high

modulation to command Nigerians to join hands with government, to provide support and to cooperate with security agencies to fight the terrorists. The activation of Nigerians this way appears to shift the dynamics of power from the institutional powerful social actors to non-institutional less powerful social actors. It is the responsibility of government to support and protect its citizens. However, Jonathan's activation of Nigerians suggests that citizens ought to also act in the same capacity in the interest and benefit of the country. While this construal may be seen as an innocent call to collective action from the president to the citizens, it is worth considering some of the implications that Jonathan's activation of Nigerians has in the representation and the war against terror. The first implication is that it realigns the power relations of institutional social actors and non-institutional social actors. Jonathan's choice of verbal groups such as 'implore' and 'appeal' portray him as the supplicant in the representation. This representation is not a congruent construal of his actual position as the president of the country. The verbal groups appear to mask the imperating function of the clause which would have been more obvious if Jonathan had chosen to represent the same proposal using an agnate highly modulated variant like: *All Nigerians must join hands to fight these terrorists*. Comparing Jonathan's choice to the agnate clause above shows that there is variance in the force of the imperative.

More so, the president's call is vague and open to interpretation and action from listeners. Since the clauses are structured as proposals, they are open to acceptance or rejection by listeners of the speech. However, the mode of the speech is a monologue which does not allow for listeners to immediately respond despite being beckoned to pursue a line of action by the president. In order to examine some of the effects of the president's call, I looked at incidents in which civilians have acted in support of the government against terrorists. The most notable group to have acted in this way is known as the Civilian Joint Task Force. The group was established in 2011 as a group to



tackle Boko Haram. They were never sanctioned by the president nor are they represented anywhere in his speeches however their statements and motives are in line with the call that Jonathan made to Nigerians.

### 7.3 Nomination of the President

President Goodluck Jonathan is the most visible individualised political social actor in the speeches. A high frequency of inclusion of the president is expected in his public speeches, since self-referencing is a common rhetorical strategy used by politicians in such discourses. President Goodluck Jonathan utilises thematised prepositional groups and personal pronouns and for self-referencing in the speeches. Starting with the former, the president explicitly announces himself using his official title in thematic prepositional expressions. The extracts below are examples of prepositional thematic expressions used to self-reference the president.

- (7.36) **As president**, it is my solemn duty to defend the constitution of this country. That includes the obligation to protect the lives and properties of every Nigerian wherever they choose to live.
- (7.37) **As President, and Commander-in-Chief**, I assure all Nigerians that I will defend the right of all citizens with all powers at my disposal. I have ordered the deployment of security personnel to troubled parts of the country. I have also directed the reinforcement of security in all parts of the country.
- (7.38) **As President of the Federal Republic, and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces**, I make this solemn commitment today.

The prepositional groups in bold font serve as the point of departure of President Goodluck Jonathan's message. The accordance of thematic prominence to his official position serves to reinforce the authority, power and responsibility associated with the position rather than his persona. However, more frequently, President Goodluck Jonathan's representation of himself is accomplished through the use of the first person singular pronoun *I* and its related forms *me*, *my*, *mine* and *myself*. The personal pronoun *I* is a term of self-reference and not a substitute for a noun

or name as is the case with third-person pronouns (Comrie 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Lyons 1977). As Sacks (1992) points out, *I* is the way a speaker refers to oneself and not a substitute for the speaker's name. So, [Harvey Sacks] would not say 'Harvey saw it,' or 'Harvey did it, instead, he [Harvey] would say 'I saw it' or 'I did it' (p. 675). This demonstrates that 'I' is not a substitute for 'Harvey' instead, *I* stands alone as a marker of the speaker referring to himself or herself.

In the speeches, President Goodluck Jonathan's use of the first person singular pronoun to achieve a number of functions. Firstly, he anchors his message to the here and now, thereby indexing himself in the realm of experience which he construes. Secondly, the first person personal pronoun *I* shows President Jonathan's personal involvement in the experience which he construes as well as his commitment to the cause for which he advocates. The construal of personal involvement this way suggests that there is some form of interpersonal relationship between the participants in the interaction. Thirdly, the president uses the personal pronoun to place himself above the shared responsibility of other political social actors in his government (Beard 2000). Furthermore, *I* is used in clauses which highlight the president's personal qualities (Håkansson, 2012: 10). Finally, the personal pronoun *I* encodes his personal voice as evidenced by the frequent realisation of the president in the grammatical role of Sayer (see section 7.2.1.1). The next section shows how *I* is used by President Goodluck Jonathan to achieve the aforementioned realisations.

### **7.3.1 President Goodluck Jonathan indexed in the realm of experience**

Muhlhausler and Harre (1990) assert that among personal pronouns, the first and second person pronouns are discursively significant because one of the functions they perform is to index social relations. President Goodluck Jonathan features as the Subject of the clause in all but 2 out of the 114 clauses in which he is realised as a grammatical participant. Halliday (2004) posits that

the subject is the element in the clause upon whom the validity of a proposition rests. By construing himself as the subject, Jonathan indicates to the audience that he is to be held accountable for the assurances he makes. By indexicalising himself this way, the president suggests to his listeners that they can trust what he has to say. For example, in the excerpts below President Goodluck Jonathan expresses his personal commitment towards certain courses of action.

(7.39) I will do everything humanly possible to end this criminal violence in our Nation.

(7.40) I am determined to protect our democracy, our national unity and our political stability, by waging a total war against terrorism.

In the first excerpt, President Goodluck Jonathan shows the extent to which he would go to end criminal violence in the nation. The clause is drawn from Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of intent to run for president speech in which he portrays himself as a strong and committed leader in order to garner support for his candidacy. The pronoun *I* realises Subject, Actor and Theme of the clause and therefore foregrounds the president's involvement in the process while being silent about the involvement of other social actors. The president also backgrounds the perpetrators of the criminal violence, though he nominates them as *insurgents* and *criminal elements* earlier in the speech. Of course, it is part of the president's responsibility to see to the security of the nation, but this responsibility does not entail him personally or singlehandedly carrying it out. Therefore, his representation as the sole Actor of the material process portrays him as a strong and committed leader who would not relent in ridding the nation of criminal violence.

The second excerpt is an extract from the 2014 democracy day speech in which the president asserts that: "Extremist foreign elements, collaborating with some of our misguided citizens, are focused on an attempt to bring down our country and the democracy and freedom we cherish and celebrate today". President Jonathan portrays Democracy as a valued asset for all Nigerians. A little overview of Nigeria's political history shows that since gaining independence

from the British in 1960, democratic governments have been overthrown by military juntas on four occasions. The years under the military are considered to be the dark years of Nigeria's history in which there were abductions, assassinations, human rights violations and several international sanctions. However in 1998, Nigeria returned to democratic rule and the leaders have vowed that never again would democracy be taken from the people again. So what the president does is that he frames Boko as the enemy that seeks to thwart democracy whilst at the same time personifies himself as the determined leader who will protect the nation's democracy. Similar to the first excerpt, the president is the only social actor involved in the process. His sole presence in the clause suggests not only his personal involvement in the act of protection but also reinforces his power in being able to see the process through by waging the war against Boko Haram.

### 7.3.2 President Goodluck Jonathan's Voice in the War against Terror

(7.41) To all those waging war against our country, **I ask** that you lay down your arms and embrace peace.

(7.42) To those who persist in sowing the seeds of discord, **I say**, you may hurt and bring grief to some innocent families momentarily, but you will never succeed in stopping our transformational journey

In clause (1) and (2), President Goodluck Jonathan uses the first person personal pronoun to frame his address interactionally with the nation's antagonists. The personal pronoun serves to reduce the distance between the president and his target addressees thus allowing him to make a direct request in clause (1) and issue a warning to them in clause (2). These two clauses are among the few examples of the president directly addressing Boko Haram members in a public speech, elsewhere in the speeches, he mostly directed his message to Nigerians, other political actors or security forces. The following clauses are examples of the president's message to other social actors.

- (7.43) **I urge** the political leadership in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states to co-operate maximally with the Armed Forces and the Police to ensure that the exercise succeeds.
- (7.44) **I have ordered** our security agencies and Armed Forces to take all necessary action to apprehend them including combing the Rugu Forest thoroughly to permanently rid it of the terrorists and armed criminals who have been launching deadly attacks on surrounding states from there.
- (7.45) **I appeal** to our countrymen and women to provide them (security forces) with the fullest support, and not to fall victim to those who fan the embers of terror.
- (7.46) **I have ordered** the deployment of security personnel to troubled parts of the country.
- (7.47) **I have directed** that the perpetrators of these dastardly acts of violence and all those who seek to continue to breach the peace and stability of this nation must be fished out and made to face the full weight of the law.
- (7.48) **I will defend** the right of all citizens to freely express their democratic choice anywhere in this country.
- (7.49) I have been in touch with all state governors and relevant security agencies. I have consulted with traditional, religious and political leaders who are also very disturbed by this trend of events.

When the president addressed security forces it was mostly to issue directives, while his message to Nigerians was to reassure and urge them about this handling of the matter. President Goodluck Jonathan uses ‘I’ to represent himself as being sympathetic to the plight of the civilians affected by the attacks. He speaks about his personal feelings about the attacks and uses *I* a number of times to express these.

- (7.50) **I lament** the loss of lives; destruction of means of livelihood; the burning of homes and places of worship.

Particularly in the Enough is Enough speech we see Jonathan remark thus:

As president, it is my solemn duty to defend the constitution of this country. That includes the obligation to protect the lives and properties of every Nigerian wherever they choose to live. I will defend the right of all citizens to freely express

their democratic choice anywhere in this country; to enjoy every freedom and opportunity that this country can offer without let or hindrance. I assure all Nigerians that I will do so with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief. I have ordered the deployment of security personnel to troubled parts of the country. I have also directed the reinforcement of security in all parts of the country. I have authorised our security services to use all lawful means, including justifiable force to bring an immediate end to all acts of violence against our fellow citizens. In view of the condemnable attacks on our gallant Youth Corps members, I have directed all state governors to take personal responsibility for their security and safety in the states where they serve. I have directed that the perpetrators of these dastardly acts of violence and all those who seek to continue to breach the peace and stability of this nation must be fished out and made to face the full weight of the law.

***Authority and Power to engage the terrorists in battle***

President Goodluck Jonathan represents Security Forces as social actors that are sanctioned, equipped and supported by the government to engage the terrorists in battle. The clauses below illustrate his depiction of Security Forces in this capacity.

(7.51) We are equipping the armed forces and deploying special forces to engage the terrorist and end this senseless war. GEJ/11/11/2014

We	are	equipping	the armed forces	and	{we}	deploying	special forces
S	F	P	C	A	{S}	P	C
Mood	Residue				Residue		
Theme	Rheme		Structural		Topical Theme	Rheme	
Actor	Material	Goal		{Actor}	Material	Goal	
1			2 $\alpha$				

{special forces}	to engage	the terrorists	and	{special forces}	end	this senseless war
{S}	P	C	A		P	C
	Residue				Residue	
	Theme	Rheme	Structural		Topical Theme	Rheme
{Actor}	Material	Goal		{Actor}	Material	Goal
2β1				2β2		

(7.52) Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battle. GEJ/01/10/2014

Night after night, day after day	our security forces	continue	to engage	the terrorists	in battle
Acir	S	F	Pre-	C	-dicator
Re-	Mood		-sidue		
Theme	Rheme				
Circumstance	Actor	Mat-		Goal	-rial

(7.53) The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders to take all necessary action, within the ambit of their rules of engagement, to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists.

The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations	have	orders	to take	all necessary action,	within the ambit of their rules of engagement,
S	F	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue	Residue		
Theme	Rheme				
Carrier	Relational	Attribute	Material	Scope	Circumstance

to put an end to	the impunity of insurgents and terrorists
P	C
Residue	
Theme	Rheme
Material	Goal

In excerpt (1), the Government is realised as Actor of the Material processes *equipping* and *deploying* armed forces and special forces respectively. As institutions that are established for the defence and protection of Nigerians and the country at large, the primary clause describes the type of support that the Nigerian government provides to the Security Forces; while the secondary clause elaborates on the actions that the government's support enables the Security Forces to carry out. The president's elaboration reaffirms that the power and authority of the Security Forces mainly comes from the Government, at whose behest the Security Forces engage the terrorists in battle. No other social actor in the president's speeches is accorded the mandate to engage the terrorists, therefore, this exclusivity indicates that the president recognises, supports and authorises only the Security Forces to act against Boko Haram. By implication, any other social actors that engages the terrorists does so on their own volition and not according to the orders of the president. Furthermore, the specification of the Actor as *armed forces* forms a lexical cohesive tie with the process of the clause *to engage* (the terrorists) and the Goal *this senseless war*. The inclusion of these motifs of war and contribute towards framing the discourse as warfare wherein the Security Forces are to seek victory over the terrorists. The activation of Security Forces as agents to end the senseless war contributes to portraying them as powerful social actors in the discourse.

Interestingly, the full force of the power of the Security Forces is hidden from the audience through generalisation of the verbal group realising the process rather than specification. For example, the verbal group *to engage*, which realises the process in the three excerpt clauses above does not fully describe the actions of the actor. The Goal of the clause is neither created nor transformed by the unfolding of the process. This type of generalisation obscures the actions of the Security Forces from the scope of the president's representation. Another means for obscuring



the actions of the Security Forces is through the use of intransitive material process clause as illustrated in the excerpts below:

- (7.54) The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders to take all necessary action, within the ambit of their rules of engagement, to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists.

The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations	have	orders	to take	all necessary action,	within the ambit of their rules of engagement,
S	F	C	P	C	A
Mood		Residue	Residue		
Theme	Rheme				
Carrier	Relational	Attribute	Material	Scope	Circumstance
$\alpha$			$\beta$		

to put an end to	the impunity of insurgents and terrorists
P	C
Residue	
Theme	Rheme
Material	Goal

In the clauses above, Boko Haram members do not appear to be affected by the unfolding of the different material processes in which Security Forces are realised as Actor. In the  $\beta$  clause, they are instructed to take necessary action. This expression is rather ambiguous hence open to different interpretations. It is difficult to determine the type of action that is necessary or indeed one that is necessary for security Forces to carry out. Secondly, the absence of a Goal means that the social actor against whom the necessary action is taken is omitted from the representation. This sort of ambiguity and abstraction allows for any and perhaps every action by the security forces to be covered under the purview of being necessary. As such even if casualties result from the actions of the Security Forces they can be viewed as being necessary and as such unproblematic. Even in

the Circumstance of the clauses where President Jonathan adds a caveat to *taking necessary action* there is some amount of abstraction and generalisation. He says that the action should be *within the ambit of their rules of engagement*, but the audience is not told what rules of engagement the Security Forces have been given. The frequent nomination of Boko Haram as terrorists could imply that they are so defined to the security forces and by implication the rules of engagement for terrorist is to be applied to them. I find this representation of how the Security Forces have been told to act problematic because of the ambiguity and different interpretations that it can be subjected to. Ultimately, the clause ends with a message that suggests that the end justifies the means. The end goal is for the security forces to bring an end to the impunity of terrorists. Therefore, the President does not appear to be focused on describing the means by which the impunity is to be brought to an end, what is paramount is that it ends. The President's message therefore be summarised thus: He has ordered the Security Forces to engage the terrorists in battle and use whatever means deemed necessary to bring their reign of impunity to an end.

### **Nomination of the Government in the Corpus**

Following Van Leeuwen (1996), the choice of the term *the government* impersonalises the representation through 'institutionalisation' (abstractly representing a group of people by means of their institutional belonging), whereas the use of the personal pronoun *we* personalises the Government and foregrounds their human semantic properties. The pronoun *we* is a significant strategic element deployed in place of formal lexicalisation of the government to build an inclusive political identity for the Nigerian government. The increasing use of the pronoun *we*, along with other discursive strategies, is part of a general trend in recent decades towards the 'personalisation' of public discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Habscheid, S., and Knobloch, 2008; Petersoo, 2007). In a context where commercial (and political) profitability and success increasingly rely on the 'face'

institutions present to the public, this increases strategic concern with design, presentation and communication techniques. More generally, it may signal what Fairclough (1992) terms a process of ‘democratisation’ of discourse, of which one aspect is a tendency towards more informal language and the removal of explicit textual markers of power asymmetries. I contend that in the realm of politics it has particular significance; by collapsing the distinction between the government and the people, this mode of representation draws citizens into the very processes of governing, thus implicating them in policy decisions.

Based on the frequency of occurrence data, the pronoun *we* is favoured over the more authoritarian term *the government*. This appears to create a discourse that projects the administration as one which is participatory by being more consonant with its claims to participatory democracy, and a ‘stakeholder’ vision of citizenship. However, as Fairclough (ibid.) observes, democratised discourse can in fact simply be a means of disguising power asymmetries, rather than removing them. Moreover, because *we* potentially includes the reader (which at times in the data it does), it allows the government to claim consensus on its vision of things, thereby removing the space for dialogue and alternative voices which one would expect of policy consultations, thereby having a de-democratising effect. In the corpus, the most frequent collocate of *we* is *will*.

It is the intention of those behind the blast to get government and Nigerians to enter into panic mode and begin to react instead of proact. If we do this they have won. So we have to take all necessary steps to bring them to book after swift but thorough investigations while we also allow for no disruption in our plans for a prosperous new year

In the clause above the presupposition is that the president claims to know the intention of the terrorists. That their intention is to cause a reaction from Nigerians. This type of

presupposition then negates any other explanation for Boko Haram's actions. It also presupposes that government and Nigerians have not yet entered into panic mode.

A collective institutional entity, the government can refer to itself with either the third person (the government) or the first person pronoun (we). The former makes a clear separation of the government from the governed; the latter does not. As Wilson (1990: 62) puts it, indicating self-reference by means other than I or we is said to represent a distancing strategy on the part of the speaker, because the choice of pronoun indicates how close or distant the speaker is to the topic under discussion, or the participants involved in the discussion. The first person plural *we* the preferred term for realising the Government in the corpus. The Federal Government of Nigeria is a collective institutional entity which can be represented in a finite set of ways. Broadly, the government can be referred to formally in the third person as *the government* or in the first person as *we*. The frequency data in the corpus shows a clear preference for the latter based on the superior rate of occurrence it has over the former. In agreement with Mulderrig (2012), I consider use of *we* to be indicative of a 'proximisation strategy' to bridge the interpersonal void between the government and the citizens. In recent decades, political discourse analysts have observed an increasing use of the personal pronoun *we* to represent the government in discourse. This may be indicative of a general trend towards the personalisation of public discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Pearce, 2005; Petersoo, 2007). The trend is perceived to have originated from the field of commerce where business institutions project an inclusive corporate identity to the public in order to generate greater affinity and identification with their brand (Pearce, 2001). In terms more suited to the field of CDA, Fairclough (1992) described the trend as a process of 'democratisation of discourse' aimed at removing explicit textual markers of power asymmetries.

Based on the foregoing, President Goodluck Jonathan use of the first person plural pronoun *we* can be interpreted as a way of portraying his administration as being participatory and citizen centered. The exclusive *we* referring to President Goodluck Jonathan and the Government plays an important role in expressing institutional identity (Sacks 1992). An “institutional identity” is achieved when a person speaks on behalf of, or as a representative of, an institution. In other words, the speaker takes on the participation status of a representative of a particular institution (Goffman 1974, 1981). It is typically used to define commitments of the government to the war against terror. In the majority of cases the exclusive *we* has a cohesive function; by referring anaphorically to the government, and fostering the establishment of this referent as thematic. In addition, the representation of the government as an active agent in collaborative action (see excerpt clauses below) enables Jonathan to use a narrative of achievements to cast the present as a natural extension of the past and thus reaffirm the institutional identity of the government. By relating past actions to future expectations Jonathan... However, as Fairclough (1992) observes, democratised discourse can in fact simply be a means of disguising power asymmetries, rather than removing them. In the realm of politics, it has particular significance; by collapsing the distinction between the government and the people, this mode of representation draws citizens into the very processes of governing, thus implicating them in policy decisions.

### ***Nominal Group with Pronoun as Head***

Following Van Leeuwen (1996), the choice of the term *the government* or *this government* impersonalises the representation through ‘institutionalisation’ (abstractly representing a group of people by means of their institutional belonging), whereas the use of the personal pronoun *we* personalises it, foregrounding the human semantic properties that constitutes the group of social actors. In any genre, for a common grammatical word like *we* to be the second highest keyword is

really quite remarkable and suggests that in the discourse this pronoun is a significant element in building a more inclusive political identity.

#### **7.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the homogenous group of political social actors in the corpus of political speeches. The President and the Government constitute a class of social actors that is distinct from the other key social actors. Using self-representation strategies, president Jonathan indexes himself in the discourse and uses pronominalisation to express his commitment to the cause of defeating Boko Haram and sharing in the pain of citizens. The representation of the Government is based on collectivisation to reflect the view that the institution of government is one with the acts and desires of the citizens. The chapter also shows how the authority of the President is used to legitimise in-group action, while moral code is used to delegitimise the actions of others.

## CHAPTER 8

### Representation of Security Forces

#### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the representation of the Security Forces in the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. The Security Forces are the social actors tasked with providing security and protection for Nigeria and its citizens. They represent the military arm of defence of the country and the protagonists who fight Boko Haram on behalf of the Nigerian government. In sub-Saharan Africa, the Nigerian Army has a reputation for being part of successful peacekeeping operations. In particular, they have spearheaded peacekeeping operations to deescalate conflicts in crisis-ridden West African countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone (Shaw, et al., 1996; Scholvin, 2014; Dauda, Ahmad, Keling, 2017). Indeed, they have earned the admiration of their neighbours and the international community, especially the United Nations. However, despite the exploits of the Nigerian army abroad, they have failed to suppress Boko Haram (Dauda, Ahmad, and Keling, 2017). Their methods and operations have come under scrutiny from Amnesty International and they have faced calls for sanctions over human rights violations (Renwick, 2015).

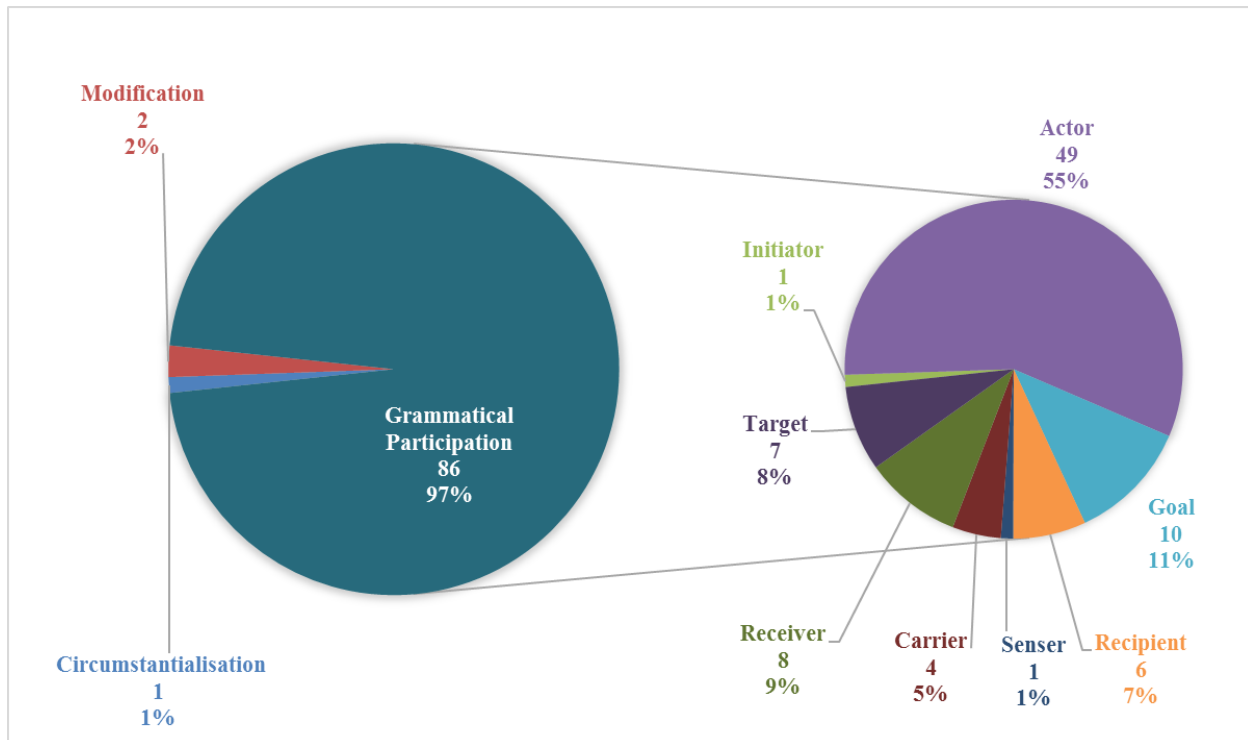
First, this chapter discusses the frequency with which Security Forces are activated in the corpus. Following the discussion of frequency data, the experiential structure of the nominal group realising Security Forces is examined. Then, the results of transitivity analysis of all the clauses in which Security Forces are included as grammatical participants is presented. The aim of this threefold analysis is to examine the different resources that the president relies upon in his portrayal of security forces. Thus, the study's findings extend beyond examining how frequently the security forces are included or what the president calls them, rather it encompasses a discussion

of other aspects such as the representation of their actions and the social actors affected by the represented actions.

## **8.2 Inclusion of Security Forces**

This section discusses the results of my analysis of the transitivity structures in which Security Forces are included as grammatical participants. The section focuses on the representation of actions that the President has instructed the Security Forces to carry out, including the representation of actions that the security forces have already carried out and actions that they intend to carry out. In addition to this, the section examines the representation of the social actors that are affected by the actions of security forces; as well as the circumstances surrounding the unfolding of the process. Section 8.2.1 presents a summary of the frequency distribution of the different processes in which Security Forces are included. The inclusion of Security Forces covers all references to security personnel sanctioned by the Government to respond to the Boko Haram threat. The inclusion data in Figure 8.1 below was generated by collating all references to these individuals in the corpus-based on the following nominal groups: *security agencies, security forces, security operatives, they, them, troops, armed forces, military, Chief of Defence Staff and law enforcement agents*.





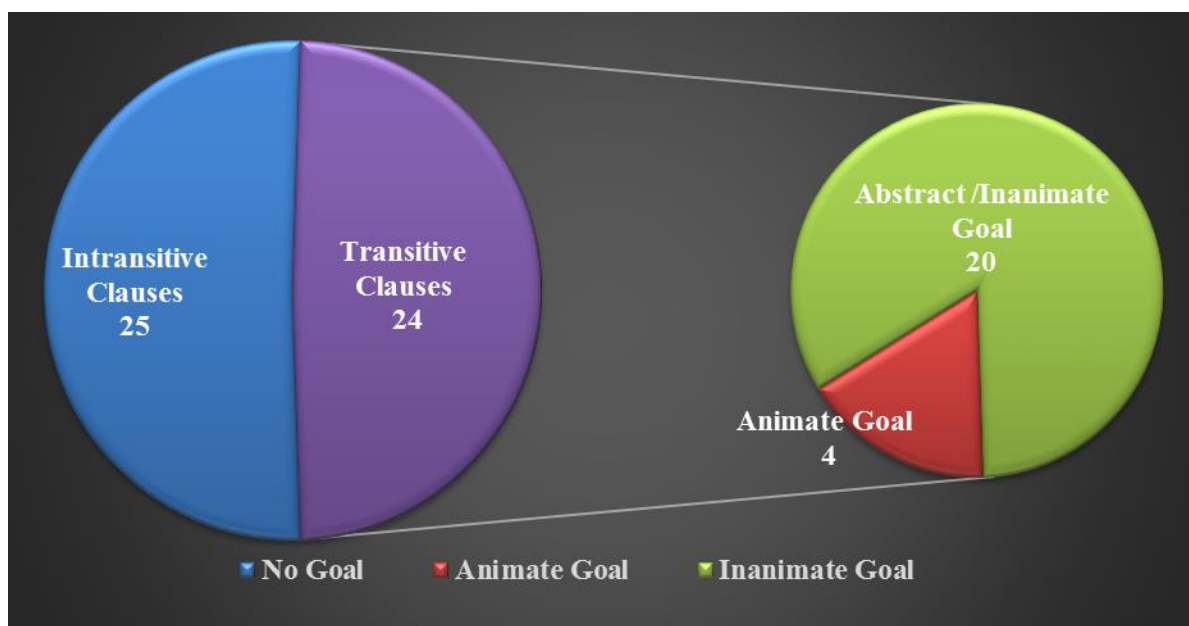
*Figure 8.1. Inclusion of Security Forces*

Figure 8.1 shows that at 97%, grammatical participation is the most dominant means for including the Security Forces in the speeches. Inclusion by modification and circumstantialisation occur in only 3 instances as such these are non-salient means for including the Security Forces. The pie chart on the right shows that the Security Forces are included in both activated and passivated grammatical participant roles. Regarding activation of the Security Forces, the role of Actor records the most activation at 55%, while the role of Initiator and Senser record 1% each. In passivated roles, the Security Forces are included as Goal (11%), Receiver (9%), Target (8%) and Recipient (7%). It is worth noting that the Security Forces are not represented as Behaver and Sayer. The frequent inclusion of Security Forces as Actor indicates that President Jonathan construes them as the force behind physical processes that affect the world or entities in the world in some way. The high frequency of occurrence of Security Forces as Actor is unsurprising since

they are typically involved in active physical processes of law enforcement, protection and defence.

Material processes can broadly be categorised into two sub-types based on the presence or absence of a Goal (see 3.7.2.1 section on the sub-types of Material processes). If the process extends to a Goal, the clause is transitive, while processes that do not extend but rather are confined to the Actor are intransitive. Table 8.2 below shows the activation of Security Forces in transitive and intransitive Material process clauses.

### 8.2.1 Activation of Security Forces



*Figure 8.2 Security Forces as Actor in Transitive and Intransitive Processes*

#### 8.2.1.1 Security Forces as Actor in Transitive Material Process

Figure 8.2 shows some interesting patterns that are worth highlighting. Firstly, it indicates that the processes extend to inanimate or abstract Goals more frequently than to animate Goals. The frequency data suggests that the Security Forces have more agency over abstract entities than animate ones. In light of a barrage of criticisms from Amnesty International (2015) which described highly militaristic response and wanton human rights abuse by Nigeria's Security

Forces, it is difficult not to contend that the transitive processes by Security Forces on animate Goals is being underrepresented in the speeches. The Amnesty report (2015) claims that in the course of its operations against Boko Haram, the Nigerian security forces have “extrajudicially executed more than 1,200 people, arbitrarily arrested at least 20,000 people, and have committed countless acts of torture” (p. 4). Similarly, the United Nations (UN) reported that between January 2013 and March 2019, the Nigerian armed forces unlawfully detained and tortured men, women and children for suspected involvement with Boko Haram (Human Rights Watch, 2019). These reports present an alternative narrative about the actions and involvement of the Security from that which is contained in the President’s speeches. In Table 8.1 below, I present the four clauses that construe the Security Forces as Actor impacting on animate Goal.

<b>Primary clause</b>	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	<b>Animate Goal</b>
I have directed	them	to bring	to justice	all those who had a hand in the killing of the operatives.
I have instructed all arms of our security agencies	{all arms of our security...}	to bring	to justice	all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness.
I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces	{our security agencies...}	to apprehend		them
We commend our security agencies for the work	they	continue to do to safeguard and protect		the lives of our citizens
$\alpha$	$\beta$			

*Table 8.1 Security Forces as Actor (Animate Goal)*

All the Material processes in Table 8.1 are realised as projections of Verbal process clauses. The clause complex realises a proposition in which the President tells the listeners about his directives to the Security Forces. The first three clauses realise Boko Haram as Goal while the fourth clause realises Nigerians as Goal. In the first three clauses, President Jonathan makes it known to the audience that he has sanctioned the Security Forces to carry out only lawful actions

such as *apprehending* and *bringing culprits to justice*. The characterisation of the Goal negatively evaluates Boko Haram such that they fit the category of social actors who ought to be brought to justice. Furthermore, President Jonathan uses positively appraised verbal groups such as *to bring to justice*, *safeguard* and *protect* to realise the process. These verbal groups serve to positively represent the actions by the Security Forces. What appears to be at work is a polarisation between criminals and law enforcement agents in which the former are portrayed as the breakers of the law while the Security Forces as the ones to enforce the law. President Jonathan deems that the actions of the Security Forces are legitimate and in pursuit of justice. He describes the terrorists as being *cowardly* and *wicked* while in response the Security forces seek to bring them to justice. These clauses bring to the fore the contention between law breakers and the law enforcers. Three actions that the Security Forces carry out in pursuit of justice stand out: (1) to find Boko Haram, (2) to apprehend Boko Haram and (3) to bring Boko Haram to justice. The first two actions link to the representation of Boko Haram being on the run. These two acts would typically be carried out by the police. However, the act of bringing to justice is abstract and open to different interpretations. Justice means different things to different people. Just saying that the Security have been instructed to bring Boko Haram to justice without specifying which arm of the security forces does this act implies that justice has a consensus meaning. For example, the police may pursue justice through processes of investigation, interrogation and arrest but justice in the context of 'war' may be different for a soldier who could perceive justice as taking the life of the transgressor on the battle field. What the president's use of justice suggests is that he treats justice as a shared term and that his audience and listeners share a common understanding of what bringing Boko Haram to justice means. Another thing that the president's message suggests is that the Security Forces will act justly even when they are dealing with social actors who by nature are unjust. This portrayal serves

to represent them positively as both law enforcers but also morally upright social actors. In the speeches, Boko Haram is represented as having carried out heinous crimes but according to the President's message, the Security Forces have been instructed to serve justice to Boko Haram for their atrocities. They are not shown to repay Boko Haram's actions with violence or destruction instead they make arrests, apprehend Boko Haram, find them, fish them out of their hideouts. This representation portrays Security Forces as active agents but mainly in the pursuit of justice. This neutral and non-impactful construal of the Security Forces is echoed in the transitive clauses that extend to inanimate Goals. Table 8.2 below presents all the transitive clauses that extend to an inanimate Goal in the speeches.

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	<b>Inanimate</b>
our security agencies	to stem		the scourge of terrorism
our security agencies	enhance		the security of lives and property
Special Forces	to end		this senseless war
They	combing		the Rugu forest
They	permanently rid		it
The troops and other security agencies	are to put	an end to	the impunity of insurgents and terrorists.
Our Armed Forces and security agencies	to curb		such attacks
Security services	to use		all lawful means, including justifiable force
Security services	to bring	an immediate end to	all acts of violence against our fellow citizens.
We	bring	an end to	their nefarious activities
Our gallant Armed Forces	have successfully stemmed		the seizure of Nigerian territories in the North-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram
They	have recaptured		most of the communities and territories formerly occupied by the insurgents,
they	tackle		the new menace of terrorism
security forces	launch		a full-scale operation
security forces	put	an end to	the impunity of terrorists on our soil
Security Forces	use		any means necessary under the law
They	continue to safeguard and protect		the properties of our citizens

for them	to build		a modern security infrastructure that will tackle modern challenges
The Chief of Defence Staff, in collaboration with other Service Chiefs	to set up		a special force unit within the Armed Forces, with dedicated counter terrorism responsibilities.
The Chief of Defence Staff and the Inspector-General of Police	to put	in place	appropriate measures

*Table 8.2 Security Forces as Actor (Inanimate Goal)*

In Table 8.2, we see that the Security Forces are represented as acting positively and somewhat neutrally on the entities that realise the inanimate Goal of the clause. The verbs that realise the process are mostly non-violent and tend to be focused on stopping or affecting the acts of terror not the terrorists themselves. In clauses where the point of impact does not relate to Boko Haram the actions are presented as being in the interest of Nigerians. None of the actions of the security forces bear the semblance of retaliation or outright violence.

### ***8.2.1.3 Security Forces as Actor in Intransitive Material Process***

Security Forces are realised as Actor in 25 intransitive Material process clauses. Table 8.3 below presents all the intransitive clauses in which the Security Forces are construed as Actor.

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Scope</b>
all arms of our security establishment	to find	all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness
our security agencies	are working	No Scope
our security agencies	are working	No Scope
their capacity	to win	the ongoing war against terror and insurgency.
Our security forces	continue to engage	the terrorists
They	are turning	the tide
them	to keep on inflicting	devastating blows
They	fight and win	this war
Our security forces	have made	arrests in the Mubi case
Special Forces	to engage	the terrorists
who	are doing	their best
they	should take	all necessary action
The troops and other security agencies	to take	all necessary action, within the ambit of their rules of engagement

Our Armed Forces and security agencies	will continue to do	their very best
Our Armed Forces and security agencies	restore	full security
They	achieve	more effective protection of lives and property
Security agencies	have done	a lot to contain the threat
Our Forces	have paid	the supreme price
they	face	a different challenge, an unconventional war by terrorists.
they	are adjusting	
they	are being equipped	
they	tackle	the new menace of terrorism
our security agencies, armed forces and I	will continue to fully discharge	our constitutional responsibilities
us	arrest	the situation
them	to operate	
they	were to avoid	any excesses that may amount to a violation of human rights.

Table 8.3. Security Forces as Sayer (Intransitive Clause)

Intransitive clauses are by nature non-impactful. When the Security Forces are construed as Actor it is usually to express what they have done and the domain over which the process extends but not whom is affected by the process. I discuss some of the intransitive clauses below.

(8.1) Our security forces have already made arrests in the Mubi case. GEJ/10/10/2012

Our security forces	have	already	made	arrests	in the Mubi case.
S	F	A <sup>mood</sup>	P	C	A <sup>cir</sup>
Mood			Residue		
Theme	Rheme				
Actor	Material		Scope	Circumstance	

(8.2) Our forces have paid the supreme price in several places at several times. GEJ/29/05/2014

Our forces	have	paid	the supreme price	in several places at several times.
S	F	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		
Theme	Rheme			
Actor	Material	Scope	Circumstance	

- (8.3) I will continue to do all it takes to enable them to keep on inflicting devastating blows at the heart of terror. GEJ/01/10/2014

I	will	continue to do	all it takes	to enable	them	to keep on	inflicting	devastating blows	at the heart of terror.
S	F	P	C	P	C	F	P	C	A
Mood		Residue		Residue					
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme				
Actor	Material		Scope	Material	Goal	Material		Scope	Circumstance

- (8.4) We are re-equipping and re-positioning our armed forces to enhance their capacity to fight and win the ongoing war against terror and insurgency. GEJ/01/01/2015

We	are	re-equipping and re-positioning	our armed forces	to enhance	their capacity	to fight and win	the ongoing war against terror and insurgency.
S	F	P	C	P	C	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	Theme	Rheme
Actor	Material		Goal	Material	Goal	Material	Scope
$\alpha$				$\beta$		$\gamma$	

In the excerpts above, the Security Forces are foregrounded as powerful and proactive agents of the government. For example, in excerpt 8.1, the Mood adjunct *already*, suggests that the Security Forces have been proactive in responding to the Mubi crisis. The Mubi case refers to the gruesome murder of staff and students at the Federal Polytechnic in Mubi Adamawa State (insert reference for Mubi massacre). At the time of delivering his speech, neither the local Police nor the National Emergency Management Agency had declared that attack was the work of Boko Haram. Speculations were still rife in the air that the massacre could have been the result of a dispute between rival groups at the polytechnic. This uncertainty might explain the President's choice of an intransitive representation wherein the focus of the message is on the actions of the security forces without necessarily including those at whom the actions were directed. This choice



therefore allows him to positively appraise the Security forces for already taking action by making arrests, while keeping the identity of the suspects backgrounded.

In excerpt 8.3 and 8.4, the verbal groups *to keep on inflicting* and *to fight and win* portray the Security Forces as powerful agents in the ongoing war against terror. It is implied in these clauses that the Security Forces have taken the fight to Boko Haram and with the backing of the government in the form of enhanced capacity it is envisaged that they will win the war. Although the Security Forces are represented in a grammatical position of agency in the clause, the impact of their action is weakened on two fronts. On one hand, the process extends to a Scope and not a Goal. While on the other hand, the affected participant by this process is relegated into the Circumstance of the clause. Despite the absence of a Goal in the excerpt clauses above, the Security Forces are still represented as proactive and powerful agents in the discourse. Rather than limit the representation of their power, the intransitive clauses have been used to positively extol their proactive response to the current crisis 8.1, their efforts in the past 8.2, and the overall expected victory in the war against terror 8.3 and 8.4.

The verb *to engage* also stands out in Table 8.3. The act of engaging the terrorists in battle introduces the frame of warfare into the president's representation. On one hand, the president asserts that Boko Haram wages a war of terror against Nigeria and Nigerians and in response the Security Forces are charged *to engage* and *confront* the enemy. Stating that the Security Forces engage the terrorists generalises their actions. It does not detail the specific micro parts of what engagement from Security Forces entails. Generalisation of this nature appears to conceal what their military do so on the surface value it shows that they are acting but the full extent of their actions are not accessible to the audience hence it shields them from critic or judgement over the severity of their response to Boko Haram. While the audience may not know the exact details of

what engagement entails what is clear is that it is an act that is backed by the government and President Goodluck Jonathan. He says that government equips the security forces to effect that exact purpose.

### 8.3 Nomination of Security Forces

The choice between generic and specific reference is an important element in the representation of social actors. Van Leeuwen (2008) posits that social actors can be represented as classes, or as specific, identifiable individuals or groups. In this section, I examine the configuration of the nominal groups that realise Security Forces in the activated and passivated grammatical participant roles. The analysis revealed that each nominal group fits into one of the following structures presented in Table 8.4 below.

	Nominal Group Structure	Prototypical examples			
1	Deictic ^ Thing	the	Troops		
		<b>Deictic</b>	<b>Thing</b>		
2	Deictic ^ Classifier ^ Thing	our	security	agencies	
		<b>Deictic</b>	<b>Classifier</b>	<b>Thing</b>	
3	Deictic ^ Epithet ^ Classifier ^ Thing	our	gallant	armed	forces
		<b>Deictic</b>	<b>Epithet</b>	<b>Classifier</b>	<b>Thing</b>
4	Deictic ^ Classifier ^ Thing ^ Qualifier	our	security	agencies	who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community
		<b>Deictic</b>	<b>Classifier</b>	<b>Thing</b>	<b>Qualifier</b>
5	Pronoun	they			

*Table 8.4 Nominal Group Structures for Security Forces*

#### 8.3.1 Deictic Markers for Nominating Security Forces

Table 8.4 above shows that a Deictic marker is present whenever President Goodluck Jonathan nominates the Security Forces in the texts. Based on the nominal group system of determination (Halliday, 2004), the presence of a Deictic element in a nominal group specifies the Thing within the referential space of the text. Conversely, the absence of a Deictic marker amounts to non-specification of the Thing. Table 8.4 shows that two types of Deictic markers tend to be

used to specify Security Forces: the determinative *the* and the demonstrative *our*. The former, which occurs less frequently, serves to impersonalise the Security Forces by stripping them of identity and affiliation to other social actors in the text, while the latter expresses their affiliation with President Goodluck Jonathan and Nigerians. Excerpt 8.1 and 8.2 below illustrate the difference between the deployment of determinative and demonstrative Deictic markers in the corpus.

- (8.1) We have been having some challenges with threats to national security, due to the activities of some misguided and criminal elements in our society. The security agencies have done a lot to contain the threat.
- (8.2) We will continue to support our security services to build a modern security infrastructure that will tackle modern challenges.

While the two Deictic elements in the excerpts above function as reference markers of the Security Forces, the specification provided by the determinative Deictic in excerpt 8.1 is less definitive compared to the demonstrative used in excerpt 8.2. As it is deployed in excerpt 8.2 and elsewhere in the corpus, *our* appears to serve a range of functions which include expressing exclusivity, in-group membership, interpersonal ties and affiliation between the president, the citizens and the country's security forces. During times of conflict, it is paramount that public trust in the country's security forces is built and maintained. This is especially important in Nigeria where the citizen's trust in security institutions has been marred by allegations of widespread corruption, extortion, and human-rights abuses (Hultman, 2007). Therefore, by orienting his nomination of security forces with the Deictic *our*, President Goodluck Jonathan foregrounds their affiliation with Nigerians and agency as patriots working in the interest of the citizens and the country. This is particularly evident in clauses that express the collective involvement of the

President, ordinary Nigerians and the Security forces in responding to the threat posed by Boko Haram as excerpt 8.3 below illustrates.

- (8.3) |||We must remain united|| to win the war against terrorism|||. Christians, Moslems, farmers, fishermen, herdsman, teachers, lawyers, clergy or clerics, the rich, the poor and Nigerians from all sections of the country must work together with our security agencies and armed forces|| to overcome the terrorists [[who now threaten all that we hold dear]]|||.

We	must	remain	united	to win	the war against terrorism
S	F	P	C	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme
Carrier	Relational		Attribute	Material	Goal
$\alpha$				$\beta$	

Christians, Moslems, farmers, fishermen, herdsman...	must	work	together with our security agencies and armed forces	to overcome	the terrorists
S	F	P	Acir	P	C
Mood		Residue		Residue	
Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme
Actor	Material		Circumstance	Material	Goal
$\alpha$				$\beta$	

The  $\alpha$ -relational process clause that orients this excerpt foregrounds the theme of unity and collective action that runs through the entire piece. Nigerians, (realised by the inclusive personal pronoun *we*) are charged by the President to remain united in order to win the war against terrorism. The choice of a high degree of deontic commitment modal verb *must* suggests that the attribute of being united is one which the president considers to be crucial to victory over terrorism. Although the clause is structured as a proposition, it conveys an imperative from the President for Nigerians to be united. The absence of an overt Actor (due to the non-finite verbal group that realises the process) in the  $\beta$ -Material process clause implies that a united citizenry will win the war against terrorism. This theme of unity is carried over to the next clause complex in which the individualisation of ordinary Nigerians from different walks of life emphasises that regardless of

their social class, belief or occupation, all Nigerians must work together to attain a common goal. Although the theme of unity runs through the two clause complexes, the second clause complex introduces the security forces as oblique participants in the Circumstance of the clause, with whom all Nigerians must work. This subtle introduction primes unity among Nigerians and with the country's security forces as an ingredient for success against the terrorists.

Another distinct function of the demonstrative Deictic *our* in the nominal group is to express exclusivity and differentiate the actions of the country's security forces from the actions of other regional security forces that support the Nigerian security forces in the war against terrorism. In April 2012, five member states of the Lake Chad Basin (Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria) commissioned the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to combat Boko Haram. According to its mandate, the taskforce aims to:

create a safe and secure environment in the areas affected by the activities of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups, in order to significantly reduce violence against civilians and other abuses [...]; facilitate the implementation of overall stabilisation programmes [...] including the full restoration of state authority and the return of IDPs (internally displaced persons) and refugees; facilitate, within the limit of its capabilities, humanitarian operations and the delivery of assistance to the affected populations (Casola 2020, p. 14)

It is reasonable to expect that in order for the MNJTF to execute the above mandate they would need to actively engage in battle with Boko Haram. To lend credence to this position, Albert (2017) reports that between 2012 and 2015 the MNJTF launched several operations in North Eastern Nigeria to help push back Boko Haram and curb cross border attacks. Particularly in 2014 and 2015, the MNJTF was actively involved in search and rescue missions to rescue the kidnapped Chibok girls as well support short joint militarised operations with the Nigerian Security Joint

Task Force (Albert, 2017). In view of such active involvement of the MNJTF in waging war against Boko Haram, it is interesting to note that the corpus is silent on the involvement of the MNJTF or any other security force apart from the Nigerian Security Forces. The name of the taskforce as well as other possible related terms such as *regional forces*, *international security forces* or *foreign security forces* is completely suppressed. The MNJTF does not appear on the wordlist generated from the corpus nor does any of the aforementioned nominal groups. Instead, whenever *security forces* or a related nominal group such as *security agencies* or *security operatives* occurs in the corpus, it is premodified by the Deictic *our*. To illustrate this point, Figure 8.3 below shows a concordance plot generated using the query terms *security forces*, *security agencies*, *security operatives* and *security services*. In 29 out of 30 concordance hits for these terms, the Deictic *our* features as premodifier of the nominal group, while only two occurrences of *other security forces* are recorded in 5 and line 6.

Concordance Hits 30		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	us all, I commend our Armed Forces and security agencies for their dedication and bravery in the	01-10-2013
2	ism. I salute our gallant armed forces and security agencies who are doing their best to keep	11-12-2014
3	d material support. Our Armed Forces and security agencies will continue to do their very best	20-04-2014
4	y. We commend our law enforcement and security agencies for the admirable work that they continu	31-08-2013
5	and women of our Armed Forces and other security agencies who have been in the forefront of	01-01-2015
6	al security operations. The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders	14-05-2013
7	interest. I have instructed all arms of our security agencies to within the shortest possible time fin	01-01-2011
8	o do more in 2013 to further empower our security agencies who are working in collaborative partner	01-01-2013
9	o do more in 2014 to further empower our security agencies who are working in collaborative partner	01-01-2014
10	remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.	01-01-2015
11	ling in small arms and light weapons. Our security agencies are constantly being strengthened and re	01-10-2012
12	unidentified gunmen. 3. I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces to take all necessary	13-03-2014
13	I have received detailed briefings from our security agencies. These briefings indicate that what we a	14-05-2013
14	on the citizenry to co-operate with our security agencies to ensure a return to normalcy within	14-05-2013
15	ategy. Coordinated joint action among our security agencies has now assumed greater importance. We	29-05-2012
16	of the country must work together with our security agencies and armed forces to overcome the terrori	29-05-2014
17	among us. I assure all Nigerians that our security agencies, armed forces and I will continue to	30-03-2013
18	ghts violation which may have involved our security forces are always promptly investigated and dealt	17-05-2014
19	them. Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battl	01-10-2014
20	ocent Nigerians including members of our security forces. The recent killing of security opera	14-05-2013
21	law and order as we have equipped our security forces to do. It also involves expanding economic	26-02-2014

Figure 8.3 Concordance plot for Security Forces

The nominal group *other security forces* in line 5 and 6 of the concordance plot above is a vague representation that can ambiguously refer to either the Nigerian Security Forces or to the MNJTF. Excerpt 8.4 shows line 5 in full.

- (8.4) On this first day of the New Year, I want to pay special tribute to the gallant officers, men and women of our Armed Forces and other security agencies who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.

In excerpt 8.4 above it is not explicit whether President Jonathan pays special tribute to Nigerian security forces or if he is referring to other external security forces such as the MNJTF. Although President Jonathan uses terms that could ordinarily refer to the MNJTF, the mere fact that the frequency of usage is scant and vague blurs out their visibility in his speeches. Furthermore, the backgrounding of other security forces does not only occur in the nominal group, it also appears elsewhere as illustrated in excerpt 8.5 below.

- (8.5) As peace and security remain prerequisite conditions for the full realisation of our objectives, we will also do more in 2014 to further empower our security agencies who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria. The allocation of over N600 Billion to Defence and Policing in the 2014 Budget attests to this commitment.

In this clause, President Jonathan makes a direct reference to other social actors providing military support in the war against terror. In terms of their agency however the involvement of these social actors is somewhat backgrounded. Firstly, they are not included as core grammatical participants in the clause. They are included in the Qualifier almost appearing as an after-thought. Transitivity analysis reveals that the focus of the message is on the government, realised as *we* (Actor) *do more to further empower, our security forces* [[who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria]]. Interestingly, President Jonathan does not specify who these friends are and even the choice of the term *friends* which is far removed from the semantic field of security, contributes to the vagueness of the referent because friends could imply other governments or allies not necessarily military or security forces. Based on the foregoing, I consider the deployment of *our* in the corpus as a means of foregrounding the representation of Nigerian security forces and their involvement in the war against terror. The recurrent deployment of this demonstrative Deictic provides specification about the affiliation between security forces and Nigeriens. Coupled with the scant and vague representation of any other forces when they are represented in the corpus suggests that President Jonathan mainly foregrounds the agency and representation of Nigerian security forces in his public addresses. This allows him to attribute more of the acts to Nigeria security forces and fill the audience with confidence in their commitment to the war and their active involvement. Based on the foregoing, I consider the deployment of *our* in the corpus as a means of collectivising the



representation of Nigerian security forces and their involvement in the war against terror. The recurrent deployment of this pronoun provides specification about the affiliation between security forces and Nigeriens. Coupled with the scant and vague representation of any other forces when they are represented in the corpus suggests that President Jonathan mainly foregrounds the agency and representation of Nigerian security forces in his public addresses. This allows him to attribute more of the action and victories to Nigeria security forces and fill the audience with confidence in their commitment to the war and their active involvement.

### **8. 3.2 Generalisation of Security Forces**

Generalisation of security forces mainly occurs in the nominal group. Nominal groups such as *security forces*, *agencies*, *operatives* and *armed forces* are the choices that President Jonathan frequently relies on when he nominates the Security Forces in his speeches. Since 2011, President Goodluck Jonathan had ordered for the mobilisation of personnel from the Nigeria Police Force, the State Security Service, the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Department of State Security and the Nigeria Armed Forces to fight the war against terror (Hansen, 2020). These institutions collectively became known as the Joint Task Force (JTF). They are known to have taken charge of the war against Boko Haram since the issue could no longer be regarded as a domestic police affair and at the same time was not a full-blown war for which the military would had taken full charge of the matter (insert reference for this claim). The number of institutions that make up the Task force presented the president with the choice of representing them collectively or individually. In his speeches, the name “Joint Task Force” does not occur, instead, President Jonathan tends to use the aforementioned collective nominal groups. The effect of this choice is that some institutions are completely suppressed such as the State Security Service, the Nigeria Immigration Service and the Department of State Security that do not record a single occurrence

in the corpus while other institutions enjoy scanty representation or are backgrounded. The Nigeria Police Force and the Nigeria Armed Forces are included twice and nine times respectively. The key to this collective representation of security forces lies in the deployment of the Classifier and Thing. When representing the actions of any of the aforementioned institutions the president collectively represents them as security (Classifier) ^ Forces (Thing). The generalisation of security allows the president to collectively and positively represent these units with the same attributes and qualities. For example, in excerpt 8.9 below *gallant* is used for positive appraisal:

- (8.6) We are also glad that our **gallant** Armed Forces have successfully stemmed the seizure of Nigerian territories in the North-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram.

The President uses the Epithet *gallant* to appraise the security forces positively for their exploits in the war against terror. The Epithet *gallant* is deployed in a somewhat restricted sense to describe only the Armed Forces. Excerpts 8.7 and 8.8 below are the two clauses that contain *gallant* as Epithet and they illustrate the restricted sense in which Epithets are deployed:

- (8.7) We are also glad that our **gallant** Armed Forces have successfully stemmed the seizure of Nigerian territories in the North-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram.

our	gallant	Armed	Forces
Deictic	Classifier	Epithet	Thing

- (8.8) On this first day of the New Year, I want to pay special tribute to the **gallant** officers, men and women of our Armed Forces and other security agencies who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.

the	gallant	officers men and women of	our Armed Forces and other security agencies	who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.
Deictic	Classifier	Epithet	Thing	Qualifier

Next are the defining relative clauses that feature as Qualifier of the nominal group. They tend to provide additional information about the prowess of the Security Forces. For example, in excerpt 8.8 above, President Jonathan uses the Qualifier to elaborate on his reason for paying tribute to the Armed Forces. The Qualifier reinforces the positive appraisal conveyed by the Epithet *gallant* as a way of giving a more vivid description of the gallantry of the Armed Forces. The Thing of the nominal group is realised by a pluralised collective nominal such as agencies, forces and operatives. The choice of collective nominal is unsurprising because there are several security institutions that have been tasked with confronting Boko Haram since 2011. These institutions include the Nigeria Police Force, the State Security Service, the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Department of State Security and the Nigeria Armed Forces. As at 2012, President Jonathan assembled personnel from these institutions into a Joint Task Force. The Thing serves a different function compared to the other constituents of the nominal group. While the others (Deictic, Classifier, Epithet and Qualifier) specify the Security Forces, the Thing genericises them because it backgrounds the individual security institutions and presents them under a general term.

### **8.3.3 Pronouns**

Pronouns occur as the second most frequent form for nominating the Security Forces. They mainly provide anaphoric reference to the nominal group that denotes Security Forces in the corpus. President Goodluck Jonathan uses the pronoun *they* to nominate Security Forces in activated grammatical participant roles. Once a nominal group has been mentioned, a pronoun can then be introduced to refer back to the nominal group rather than repeating the nominal group again. Since the Thing is a pluralised nominal group the pronoun to replace it is the plural first person pronoun *they*. In discourse that deal with polarisation the pronoun *they* is a typical resource for othering when the speaker refers to the opposing group as *they* or *them*. In this case however,

Jonathan uses *they* to refer to an in-group rather than an out-group. The Security Forces belong to the in-group, *they* tells us more about the fact that there is more than one social actor making up the group Security Forces and does not serve as a means of out-grouping them. Except 8.10 below illustrates the deployment of the pronoun *they* in the speeches:

- (8.9) We commend our law enforcement and security agencies for the admirable work that **they** continue to do to safeguard and protect the lives and properties of our citizens.
- (8.10) Despite the challenges we face, we must commend our security forces. We must not forget their gallantry and successes in liberating nations and in peacekeeping, from Liberia to Sierra Leone, Congo, Sudan, Mali, Guinea-Bissau and many places in Africa and beyond. Our forces have paid the supreme price in several places at several times. Today, **they** face a different challenge, an unconventional war by terrorists. **They** are adjusting and are being equipped to tackle the new menace of terrorism.

In the excerpts above, the pronoun *they* is used to refer back to the nominal group denoting security forces earlier in the clause. The thing is that with a high inclusion of *they* as a reference to security forces this pronoun not only performs anaphoric functions is also generalising in a way so it strips any form of identity from the referent.

#### 8.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the representation of the Security Forces and identified an interplay positive in-group representations in contrast with negative other representations. The Security Forces constitute the protagonist of the discourse tasked with protecting Nigerians and Nigeria from Boko Haram. They are construed positively as enforcers of the law, while Boko Haram, in binary opposition, is construed as the breakers of the law. The analysis has shown that while the Security Forces are frequently activated in Material clauses, the full extent and impact of their actions is obscured. Lastly, the Security Forces are fully legitimised to act on the orders of President Goodluck Jonathan to protect the people, their livelihoods and the country at large. They

are equipped and mobilised to carry out this assignment but are also represented as collaborators with Nigerians in attaining peace and security.

## CHAPTER 9

### Conclusion

#### 9.1 Introduction

As stated in the introductory Chapter 1, this study set out to investigate President Goodluck Jonathan's representation of the roles, relations, and practices of Boko Haram and other key social actors in his political speeches delivered between 2010 and 2015. Primarily, the aim of the enquiry was twofold. First, the study sought to explore specific lexicogrammatical and functional structures of the texts. Secondly, it sought to highlight how these linguistic structures and the president's discursive choices played a role in construing certain ideologies, implicit attitudes and legitimise particular socio-political actions. These objectives were guided by the following research questions:

1. Who are the key social actors, and how does the president discursively represent them?
2. What are the dominant transitivity choices for representing the key social actors in the speeches?
3. How are the resources of lexicogrammar drawn upon to construe positive representation of in-group social actors and negative representation of out-group social actors?
4. What ideologies, power relations, and legitimations are revealed, concealed, or reinforced by the president's representation of the key social actors?

The data for the study was a corpus of President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential addresses. The speeches were analysed individually and collectively to reveal the linguistic markers of identity, reference pronouns, lexicalisations, genericised classes, labels, and the categories by which each key social actor was represented in the discourse (see sections 5.3, 6.3, 7.3, and 8.3). The discussion of these features addressed the first research question.

The study combined transitivity analysis from Halliday's (1994) SFL and van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Network (SAN) theory to address the second research question. SAN highlights the identities, transitivity roles, and practices construed in representing each key social actor. Based on the tenets of van Dijk's ideological square, the findings from the transitivity analysis were interpreted as they relate to Us vs Them categorisation of positive-self construction in opposition to the negative-other construction. Finally, the analysis culminated in a discussion of the discursive manifestations of ideology that underlie the representations. To recapitulate, it has not been the study's aim to underestimate the enormity of Boko Haram's violence as being of actual harm to Nigerians. On the contrary, it is the harm caused by Boko Haram that has justified this academic endeavour to critique a dominant political discourse about the group. This position is reflective of my motivation to research the phenomenon in the first place.

The remaining sections of this chapter aim to do several things. It proceeds with a discussion of the study's key findings. The discussion highlights the ideologies enshrined in the speeches and contributes to understanding the federal government's narrative on the Boko Haram debacle. In this way, this chapter brings closure to the different threads running through the previous chapters. Finally, this chapter presents the main challenges and limitations of the study and ends by considering some routes for possible future research.

## **9.2 Findings and Contributions of the Study**

### **9.2.1 Key Social Actors and their Discursive Representation**

Drawing on van Leeuwen's (2008) sociosemantic inventory, this thesis has identified Nigerians, Boko Haram, the Government, the President, and Security Forces as "key social actors" in the discourse (p. 8). In total, 16 social actors are included in the speeches (see Table 4.2), out of which, the aforementioned 5 social actors are classified as key due to their dominance in frequency

of occurrence, their contribution to the experiential meaning in the clause, and the sociosemantic roles they are assigned.

As one might expect in a corpus of political speeches primarily addressed to the citizens of a country, Nigerians are the most included social actors. They are frequently included in the activated grammatical participant roles of Actor, Senser, and Behaver, while they are less frequently included in passivated the roles of Goal, Receiver and Target. In transitive Material process clauses, President Jonathan describes the involvement of all Nigerians in nationalistic actions which include *developing this country for ourselves and our children, building the nation, and renewing our faith and confidence in our ability as a people to overcome all obstacles*. Whereas in intransitive Material clauses, which occur more frequently, the unfolding of the process does not lead to ‘an outcome that is different from the initial phase of the unfolding’ (Halliday, 2004 p. 180). This way, the intransitive construal of Nigerians portrays them as social actors whose actions do not impinge on the social world being represented.

When Nigerians are represented in intransitive Material clauses, they are said to have *lost their lives, lost their relatives, lost loved ones, lost precious souls, flee, return and go about their business* (see 6.2.11). The unfolding of the process in the aforementioned excerpts is self-confined since Nigerians are the sole participants in the clauses construing fleeing, returning (home) and going about their business. In the clauses construing loss, the other grammatical participant (*their lives, their relatives, loved ones and precious souls*) is unaffected. This intransitive representation of Nigerians portrays them as victims, depicts them in flight and distances them from any representation of confrontation with Boko Haram. Similarly, this sense of victimhood is expressed when Nigerians are realised as Goal. President Jonathan asserts that innocent Nigerians *have been maimed, raped, killed and indiscriminately attacked* by Boko Haram. The choice of the Epithets



*innocent, afflicted, unarmed, young and weak* in the nominal groups construing the Goal highlight the non-confrontational and vulnerable nature of the Nigerians that have suffered these attacks. In Mental clauses, the activation of Nigerians occurs in cognitive process types that recount the loss that Nigerians have experienced at the hands of Boko Haram. In like manner, Nigerians' activation in Behavioural processes highlights what President Jonathan deems to be the appropriate physiological behaviour that Nigerians ought to exhibit in the face of provocation and other antics by Boko Haram. He urges them *to show restraint, understanding, confidence in the security forces and lawfulness* in the face of provocation by Boko Haram. Thus, the representation of Nigerians in Mental and Behavioural clauses serves to represent Nigerians as the peaceful and reasonable party in the ongoing conflict.

Boko Haram is a key social actor that represents the antagonist of other social actors in the speeches. The group is predominantly activated as Actor in transitive Material process clauses that construe violence, destruction, loss of lives and property. In these Material clauses, the unfolding of the process tends to affect other social actors or impact the social world in some negative way. This discursive construction is typical of negative othering in discourse and it characterises the representation of Boko Haram in other process types. Boko Haram is said to have *destroyed, attacked, killed, murdered, maimed, slaughtered, and violated* a named entity; in Mental clauses, they *aim to frustrate the nation's general elections and are focused on an attempt to bring down our country*; and behaviourally, they *speak through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction*. Regardless of the process type, Boko Haram is represented as a key social actor whose desires and impact on the world is divisive and destructive. Their actions are portrayed as intentional, leaving little room for doubt about their culpability.

The President and the Government constitute a homogeneous category of ‘political social actors’ in the discourse (Amer 2017, p. 1). The former constitutes President Jonathan’s self-representation, while the latter refers to the institutional identity of the Federal Government of Nigeria. Both social actors tend to feature frequently in Verbal process clauses. As Sayer, President Goodluck Jonathan is activated as an informative leader who is touch with the citizens. The choice of singular first person pronoun *I* closes the interpersonal distance between him and Nigerians while institutionalised variants such a *President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces* seldom occur. Conversely, the nomination of the Government occurs as first person plural pronoun *we* which evokes a collective sense of human agency.

The Security Forces are the fifth key social actors included in the discourse. They are represented as protagonists who engage Boko Haram on behalf of the Nigerian government and protect the country and its citizens. In sub-Saharan Africa, the Nigerian Army has a reputation for being part of successful peacekeeping operations. In particular, they have spearheaded peacekeeping operations to deescalate conflicts in crisis-ridden West African countries such as Liberia, Chad, Sierra Leone (Shaw, et al., 1996; Scholvin, 2014; Dauda, Ahmad, Keling, 2017). Their activation as social actors in the discourse mainly occurs in Material process clauses in which President Jonathan construes them as the force behind physical processes that affect the world or entities in the world in some way. The unfolding of the process in which the Security Forces are participants extends to both animate and inanimate entities functioning as Goal.

### **9.2.1 Polarised Representation of In-group and Out-group Social Actors**

President Goodluck Jonathan’s representations activate binary relations of in-groups and out-groups. Based on the Hallidayan approach to language as a network of options, section 3.8 of

this thesis described van Dijk's ideological square and its four macro semantic strategies for delineating group relations in text and talk. These strategies are to (i) emphasise our good things; (ii) emphasise their bad things; (iii) repress our bad things; and (iv) repress their good things. According to van Dijk (2006), these strategies delineate the fundamental orientations of ideological meta-discourse and reveal the manifestation of bias. Predominantly, binary categorisations were realised through the deployment of pronouns, such as *we*, *us*, and *our* for in-group social actors in opposition to out-group social actors realised as *they*, *their* and *them*. These pronouns enacted and maintained two distinct in-group and out-group orientations in the speeches. Baker (2006) argues that such oppositional orientations are typical of group ideologies in that they create an inherent need to judge one side of the dichotomy in binary opposition to the other. Likewise, Fowler (1991) contends that pronoun usage represents social relations concerning power, distance, formality, solidarity, intimacy and casualness.

Since pronouns constitute linguistic markers of the aforementioned social relations, their deployment in the data expressed the president's affiliation with the in-group social actors and distance from the out-group social actors (see section 5.22). Specifically, by applying collocation and concordance analysis, the study reports that *they* collocates with lexical verbs construing violent and destructive actions by Boko Haram such as (have) *attacked*, *destroyed*, *maimed*, *raped*, *murdered*, *set houses ablaze*, *violated*, *made violence their ideology* and *made widows of our mothers and sisters*. This result agrees with Reyes (2008) that speakers can align their positions to specific goals and political agendas. As suggested by his choices, the president's speeches foreground the stereotypical image of the destructive terrorist other. Conversely, *we* and *our* were the most recurring and salient pronouns that President Jonathan used to identify the in-group social actors. These pronouns collocated with positively inclined lexical verbs.

Besides pronouns, polarised group categorisations were found in the construal of a good vs evil discourse. Positive traits, values and dispositions were used to represent the in-group social actors and the practices in which they were engaged. This representation framed the in-group as inherently good. The Material processes in which they engaged were either neutral, non-impactful, or self-confined. The thoughts, feelings and beliefs expressed in Mental process clauses relate to their recollection of all “the lives that have been lost”, “the challenges”, “suffering”, and “general insecurity occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram”. This portrayal foregrounds the victimhood of the in-group who have borne the brunt of the prolonged crisis. Therefore, the president’s call for collective action against the out-group is anchored on preserving and protecting the lives, livelihood, and values of the in-group.

Conversely, the use of emotive language to describe Boko Haram as a group (*terrorists, killers*), its values (*evil, haters of peace*) and its actions (*destroyed, attacked, killed, murdered, maimed, set ablaze, desecrated*) is indicative of negative othering. This use of language played a key role in constructing Boko Haram’s actions as more than just criminal acts but as evil and inimical to the values of the Nigerian society. Based on the foregoing, this thesis concludes that the President’s focus on the negative, illegitimate, and brutal nature of Boko Haram’s actions implies that it would be illogical, unpatriotic and immoral for any well-meaning Nigerian to support them.

### **9.2.2 National Identity Construction and Rallying behind the National Cause**

This thesis has found that the president’s representation serves as what Alexander and Gao (2011) call a “symbolic vehicle” for (re)constructing national identity (p.1010). This position was reached by analysing how the president constructs national identity using specific triggers of nationhood. Based on these frames, the President rallies the support of all Nigerians against a

common enemy. The speeches construe national identity based on a shared political and cultural heritage, national symbols, and patriotic disposition during a crisis. National identity has long been recognised as a social and discourse mediated construction (Hastings and Manning, 2004; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Wodak, 2009). De Fina et al. (2006) point out that ‘identities are not merely represented in discourse, but rather they are performed, enacted and embodied through a variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic means’ (p. 3). However, the expression of national identity is not necessarily fixed across all text types or genres. As Billig (1995) puts it, national identities can be negotiated, re-negotiated, reproduced, and re-narrated across socio-political and situational contexts at local and global levels. With such fluidity in its conceptualisation and expression, it is hardly surprising that the discursive construction of national identity and expressions of nationhood has been viewed as a type of ideological discourse (Wodak et al., 2009); Malešević, 2011). Analysing President Goodluck Jonathan’s speeches has revealed the macro-strategies by which the president constructs a homogeneous national identity while drawing a distinction between Nigerians and Boko Haram. The analysis reveals that presupposition, inclusion, and assimilation are the most prominent and frequently employed strategies for constructing and expressing national identity in the discourse.

President Jonathan articulates an intra-national homogeneity based on the presupposition that unity exists within Nigeria’s boundaries. Nigeria is home to an estimated 200 ethnic groups (Falola and Heaton 2008), yet this diversity is somewhat backgrounded in the president’s message. The people are seldom identified by their ethnic heritage; instead, national identity is superimposed as their dominant form of identity through lexicalisations such as *citizens*, *Nigerians*, *countrymen and women*, *compatriots*, and *patriots*. When ethnic identity is expressed in the speeches, it tends to be placed into a secondary role, as illustrated in the excerpt below.

Fellow Nigerians, let us continue to build a nation in which we all live in peace. A nation where the bonds of our common aspirations and goals will spur and re-energise our resolve towards greatness. A nation where our children from North and South, East and West will grow with hope and live together as brothers, sisters and friends. Let us always remember that our unity is all part of shared destiny. GEJ/21/04/2011\_87

Ethnicity is hinted in the choice of *North* and *South*, *East* and *West*, which equate to the dominant Nigerian ethnic groups Hausa (North), Yoruba (South and West), and Igbo (East), respectively (Mustapha, 2005; Ukoha, 2005). However, the excerpt simultaneously foregrounds the notion that being Nigerian equates to sharing bonds (including family ties), aspirations, destiny, goals, and building the nation. The President cues his primary target audience to identify as a collective, signalled by *fellow Nigerians*, *us*, *we*, *our common aspirations*, *our unity*, and *our children*. This collectivity articulates a discourse primarily aimed at creating ‘a temporal, interpersonal or spatial homogeneity’ (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 33) of an imagined united Nigerian nation. Elsewhere in the speeches, the president recounts political and historical events as part of the collective memory of Nigerians to forge a sense of nationhood. These events include Nigeria’s centenary, the Nigerian civil war, Nigeria’s independence, transition to democracy, and the value of national symbols such as the national anthem, national pledge and national flag. These events and symbols construe discourses of national pride (independence and centenary), grief (the civil war), harmony (unity in diversity), and solidarity (national flag, pledge and anthem). Furthermore, they serve to articulate a shared history, ancestry, memory, and ultimately national identity.

Contrastingly, President Jonathan describes Boko Haram as the group “whose allegiance is to different flags and ideologies”. He specifies the range of attacks the group has carried out against citizens, infrastructure, values and national symbols. In agreement with Campbell (1998), President Jonathan’s representation of an external threat such as that posed by Boko Haram serves to maintain group identity boundaries in the discourse. Boko Haram is apportioned a violent and

destructive identity against which all Nigerians are opposed. Recurring expressions across the speeches construct Boko Haram members as *outsiders*, *external forces* and *international terrorists* that seek to *destabilise our country*, *undermine our democracy*, *threaten our way of life*, and *go against all prospects of stability in Nigeria*. The othering of Boko Haram sets up the group as a common enemy that has caused national trauma. Governments may use the idea of a common enemy to maintain social control, reinforce values, and garner support for security policies (Keen, 1986; Spillman & Spillman, 1997). As a hegemonic device, a common enemy can serve to direct aggression towards threats defined by the government. As Alexander et al. (2004) have observed, when trauma is framed collectively, it constitutes a rallying call for the nation to act, even if the trauma did not directly affect all members of that nation. Boko Haram mainly operates in Nigerian's North-East; however, the president's representation construes them as a borderless phenomenon that demands national support.

In sum, the study's findings agree with Hardt-Mautner (1995), who posits that national identity emerges very much as a relational construct wherein the construction of the self is often dependent on the construction of the other. In this regard, the president's construction of a collective and united national identity is relational with respect to the antagonist Boko Haram identity. Similarly, Connolly (2002) contends that identity is essentially relational since the emphasis on the shared history, traits, and characteristics of one in-group necessarily distinguishes it from an excluded out-group. Further, Anderson (1983) points out that nations are not only defined by fixed geographical boundaries but also are imagined communities, cognitively and socially constructed as a coherent, unproblematic and homogenous in terms of both time and space. In line with the above conceptualisations of national identity and the study's findings, it is evident that President Goodluck Jonathan's discourse constructs an in-group homogeneity that conceives

national identity based on shared historical and political past, kinship ties, symbols, values and victimhood at the hands of Boko Haram. It has also found that the relational nature of identity constructs an imaginary community that excludes all those who do not fit the construed criteria of nationhood. While previous research on nationalism in Nigeria has mainly focused on historical resources, the present study has illustrated how the identity of the citizen and the nation is construed from the Presidential podium. In doing so, this study makes a significant move away from the exploration of nationhood through the lens of history to that of political discourse.

### **9.2.3 Terror as an External, Global, and International Phenomenon**

President Jonathan is consistent with representing terrorism as an external phenomenon that has befallen Nigeria. Understanding President Jonathan's conceptualisation of terrorism this way is crucial for interpreting his representation of the perpetrators of terror, the protagonists against terror, and the victims of terror. The study's findings indicate naming strategies suggestive of Boko Haram's foreign affiliations and detachment from the local origins. These strategies include the choice of nominal groups such as *foreign elements*, *new challenge*, *international terrorism*, and *global and international terrorists* that portray Boko Haram as a threat that is linked to external forces rather than to domestic ones. In particular, the association of Boko Haram with international terrorism complicates the nature of the group's description. Despite decades of academic literature on international terrorism, no commonly accepted definition of the term has been agreed upon (Badey, 1998). Yet, it is to this vague phenomenon that President Jonathan attributes the threat which he asserts that Boko Haram poses. More so, President Jonathan appears to attribute Boko Haram's potency to the group's collaboration with foreign terrorist organisations. This attribution suggests that Boko Haram does not act on its own accord, thus negating any possible links to the socio-political, ethnic or religious machinations that could have caused the



group to emerge in the first place. The representation thereby shrouds Boko Haram's origin and emergence in mystery and feeds existing narratives about their external ties (Thurston 2016). Such external associations ultimately serve to legitimise Boko Haram's proscription as a foreign terrorist organisation, not simply a Nigerian phenomenon (Blanchard, 2016).

More generally, President Jonathan describes terrorism as a distinctively global menace. While he acknowledges that some local 'misguided elements' perpetrate violence in the name of Boko Haram, he cites the global war on terror as the catalyst for what has taken place in Nigeria. The excerpts below illustrate how President Jonathan draws symmetries between Boko Haram being a potent threat to the country and similar situations experienced worldwide.

- (9.1) The threats we face may be real and immediate. But we are not alone in this regard. It is a difficult season for much of the world: industrialised or developing; rich or poor. GEJ/01/10/2013\_1

There can be no doubt that what we are witnessing in Nigeria today is a manifestation of the same warped and ferocious worldview that brought down the Twin Towers in New York, killed innocent persons in Boston and led to the murder of defenceless people in the Southern Russian city of Volgograd. Terrorist activities have brought war and pains to Mali, Somalia, Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan. These agents of evil continue to brainwash and incite ignorant young men and women to attack the innocent. GEJ/17/05/2014\_16

In this regard, we welcome the support and assistance of all our partners from the region, the continent and around the world in providing technical expertise, training programmes and support to overcome these agents of terror. GEJ/17/05/2014\_56

As indicated in the excerpts above, the president's underlying narrative suggests that we live in the global age of terror. Therefore, his representation of Boko Haram is evocative of these times. However, this thesis notes that President Jonathan's representation of Boko Haram may constitute the very threat that it purports to counter in the long run. The global and lethal status discursively constructed about Boko Haram inadvertently helps the group to keep up its image as a force of terror to be reckoned with, thereby amplifying rather than allaying the fear generated by the group's actions. This finding is somewhat paradoxical as it realigns power relations between

two key social actors in the discourse. When this realignment of power relations was further expressed in the representation of Boko Haram via intransitive Material process clauses, it suggests inadequacy to resolve the crisis internally. As a result, the external, international and global framing of Boko Haram allows for the invitation of support from regional and international allies to solve the crisis.

#### **9.2.4 Legitimation of Social Action**

Political discourse is a site for the legitimisation of social action. Legitimation is an argumentative process by which speakers accredit mental, physical or social behaviour as a basis for their actions or the actions of others. Legitimation affords politicians the opportunity to assert their authority and justify their actions or the actions of others. Concerning the threat of Boko Haram, President Goodluck Jonathan's speeches comprise three broad strands of legitimisation, namely authorisation, moral evaluation, and rationalisation

Legitimation by authorisation occurs when the backing for action comes from the authority of tradition, custom, law, and persons in whom institutional authority is vested (van Leeuwen 2008). The findings show that President Jonathan's speeches contain personal and impersonal authorisation. Regarding the former, an individual's status or role in a particular institution may confer upon them legitimacy to act or to prompt others to act. As President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he exercises personal authorisation over the nation's Security Forces. The president's authorisation is discursively reflected in experiential relations between him and the Security Forces in Verbal process clauses, as illustrated in the excerpts below:

- (9.1) I have ordered the deployment of security personnel to troubled parts of the country. GEJ/21/04/2011
- (9.2) I have instructed all arms of our security agencies to within the shortest possible time find and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness. GEJ/01/01/2011

- (9.3) I have also authorised the security forces to use any means necessary under the law to ensure that this is done. GEJ/21/04/2011

The verbal groups *ordered*, *instructed* and *authorised* evoke the voice of authority in the President's message to the Security Forces. The meaning construed here is that the Security Forces do not act on their own accord; they have the backing of the President to carry out the actions in the projected Material process clauses (i.e. to find and bring to justice, to launch a full-scale operation to put an end to the impunity of terrorists). It should be noted that personal authorisation foregrounds the president's role rather than the role of the Security Forces. The message draws more attention to the President's role in issuing the order than it does to the Security Forces who are presumably carrying it out. Interestingly, President Jonathan does not exercise such authorisation over Nigerians as participants. In Verbal process clauses that construe his message to Nigerians as Receiver, the President uses *appeal*, *call on* and *implore* to invite Nigerians to action. The difference in this construal is due to the interpersonal tenor relations between the parties. The personal authorisation of the President endorses their actions. It sets boundaries on what they have been told to do by the President.

Furthermore, the president uses authorisation by the impersonal authority of laws, rules, and regulations (van Leeuwen 2008). This form of authorisation relies on non-human authority to legitimise action. President Jonathan expresses this type of authorisation in his declaration of a state of emergency, as illustrated below.

- (9.4) Consequently, I have in the exercise of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of section 305(1) of the Constitution, declared a state of emergency in the following parts of the federation GEJ/31/12/2011\_7
- (9.5) Following recent developments in the affected states, it has become necessary for Government to take extraordinary measures to restore normalcy. After wide

consultations, and in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of Section 305, sub-section 1 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended, I hereby declare a State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. GEJ/14/05/2013\_52

- (9.6) The details of this Proclamation will be transmitted to the National Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. . But in the meantime, let me make it clear that within the purview of this Proclamation, the Governors and other political office holders in the affected states will continue to discharge their constitutional responsibilities. GEJ/14/05/2013\_61

The declaration of a state of emergency is a political act as well as a discursive act. In the domain of politics, the declaration limits the scope of authority within the government and grants access and control to the military to temporarily restore law and order. Discursively the state of emergency comes into effect through the President's speech, as illustrated in the excerpts above. The declaration can only be performed felicitously on the authorisation of recognised powers such as the constitution. President Jonathan's declaration of a state of emergency is simultaneously a speech act and a legitimisation of his actions and directives.

### **9.3 Challenges and Limitations Encountered**

Having summarised the main findings and contributions of this thesis, this section briefly highlights some of the limitations encountered while conducting the study. The section also discusses some potential ways to improve upon the analysis and proposes possible avenues for future research. The study set out to investigate the representation of Boko Haram and other key social actors in Nigerian presidential speeches. It employed CDA to analyse the construal of meanings associated with a myriad of representations and interpreted these meanings within the wider Nigeria socio-political space. In doing so, the study contributes towards understanding the Boko Haram phenomenon, especially how these speeches shape the way President Jonathan frames Boko Haram. This academic endeavour has not been without some challenges and limitations; the main ones are discussed below.

The study's data was limited to presidential speeches delivered by Goodluck Jonathan between 2010 and 2015. The speeches were obtained from two web portals, the Nigeria State House website and the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture website. While the thesis has focused solely on texts obtained from these websites, other sources that could have been considered but for the practicality of data collection and management include the National library archive, and news media archive. Similarly, other text types that constitute political discourse, such as campaign speeches, political debates, political interviews, and policy documents (van Dijk 1997; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012) could have been collected to diversify the corpus. A study in future, based on a diversified corpus of political discourse could offer valuable data that enriches this thesis' discussions and even challenge some of its propositions. While the limitations of text type and data source may constrain the extent to which the study's findings can be generalised, the thesis nonetheless still serves as an entry point for enquiring about a hitherto understudied phenomenon.

In terms of the theoretical framework, definitions appeared to overlap, and my innate subjectivity intruded in otherwise objective processes such as identification. As Fairclough (1992) notes, "identification is an interpretative exercise that depends on the analyst's experience and sensitivity" (p. 144). This position puts interpretation of all identified categories firmly in the hands of the analyst. As such, from the outset, the study was limited by a single researcher's interpretative and strategic biases (Fairclough 1992). Learning to manage my own biases on slippery concepts such as language, discourse, social actor network, process types, and ideology was a steep learning curve during the project.

Methodologically, the most daunting limitation was my reliance on manual parsing and annotation methods for data analysis. Manual parsing involves a human researcher making SFL

parsing and classification choices by hand. Systemic functional linguistics is reputed for its versatility in accounting for simple to complex phenomenological diversity in human language. Over the years, manual parsing of texts has been the norm for SFL practitioners as it offers the advantage of rigour and the application of human judgement to delineate borderline lexicogrammatical categories. More recently, however, the growing capabilities and sophistication of computational approaches to language have made computational tools become a typical part of the linguist's world (Bateman et al. 2019). While conducting this study, I had no access to automated SFL parsers or SFL oriented computational tools. As such, I relied completely on manual parsing of all the speeches. On the whole, the exercise had its merits as it honed my skills in parsing and my understanding of the SFL theory, but it was overwhelming, repetitive and significantly time-consuming.

The possibility for researcher error is also high when manual parsing is done singlehandedly. Although Halliday's parsing conventions were followed to ensure consistent annotations of the data, a similar study of this kind in future would benefit if a team of knowledgeable SFL researchers (O'Donnell et al., 2009) worked together to ensure a prominent degree of inter-rater reliability. As this was a self-funded PhD project, funds were limited to cover the cost of hiring additional linguists to review the parsed data. To make up for the limitation, I relied on the availability of my colleagues and supervisors to vet and review the parsed data. I shared transcripts of the speeches with them, and they independently arrived at their parsed results. I compared their results with mine, thus allowing me to see where differences lie and have an idea of categories we parsed differently. Ideally, the entire dataset could have been parsed, but in reality, this was not possible. This limitation is in tandem with the need for automation as it would improve the amount of data that could be parsed and in the near future, improve parsing accuracy. For the

size of the corpus analysed in this study, combining manual parsing with automated methods is likely to become a necessity and not a luxury.

#### **9.4 Opportunities for Future Studies**

This study may be considered as a launch-pad for conducting broader research on the representation of social actors in text and talk. It provides groundwork for studying the representation of violent non-state actors in dominant political discourse from the African continent. There have been many of such actors in Mali, Cameroon, Libya, Chad, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, yet analysis of their representation is still lacking (Varin and Abubakar, 2017). Future studies do not necessarily have to be limited to political discourse; other genres such as media, religion, social media and literature may be considered. For example, future research might find it insightful to study how state-owned, private and international media institutions portray the phenomenon. The findings from these studies will afford the research community basis for comparing the political account and the mainstream media account of the phenomenon. Audience perception of these messages can also be analysed. By using data that is equally prevalent in political science, international relations and mass communication, this study bolsters the connection between CDA and other disciplines. Interdisciplinary research contributes to broadening the field of linguistics other disciplines theoretically and methodologically. Future research can extend these connections even further.

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*Appendix A: List of Political Speeches*

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
		<b>2011</b>
1	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address	01/01/2011
2	President Goodluck Johnathan's "Enough is Enough" Address	21/04/2011
3	President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day Address	01/10/2011
4	President Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of State of Emergency	31/12/2011
		<b>2012</b>
5	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address	01/01/2012
6	President Goodluck Jonathan's National Convention Speech	24/03/2012
7	President Goodluck Johnathan's Democracy Day Speech	29/05/2012
8	President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day Address	1/10/2012
9	President Goodluck Jonathan for 2013 Budget speech	10/10/2012
		<b>2013</b>
10	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address	1/01/2013
11	President Goodluck Jonathan's Easter Message to the Nation	30/03/2013
12	President Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of State of Emergency	14/05/2013
13	President Goodluck Jonathan's Address to UN Assembly	24/09/2013
14	President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence day Speech to the Nation	1/10/2013
		<b>2014</b>
15	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address	01/01/2014
16	President Goodluck Jonathan's Centenary Day Address	26/02/2014
17	President Goodluck Jonathan's Address at Centenary Conference	27/02/2014
18	President Goodluck Jonathan's Katsina State Speech	13/03/2014
19	President Goodluck Jonathan's Easter Message to the Nation	20/04/2014
20	GEJ's President Goodluck Jonathan's World Economic Forum Address	08/05/2014
21	Address by GEJ at the Paris Regional Summit on Security in Nigeria	17/05/2014
22	President Goodluck Johnathan's Democracy Day Speech	29/05/2014
23	President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day Address	01/10/2014
24	GEJ's Declaration of Intent to Run for the 2015 election	11/11/2014
25	President Goodluck Jonathan's Acceptance speech at PDP Convention	11/12/2014
26	President Goodluck Jonathan's ECOWAS Address	14/12/2014
		<b>2015</b>
27	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address to the Nation	01/01/2015
28	President Goodluck Jonathan's National Broadcast b4 Elections	27/03/2015

*Appendix B: Transcripts of Political Speeches*

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address: GEJ/01/01/2011</b>
	My Brothers and Sisters,
1	it is no more news
2	that our country was viciously attacked on both Christmas and New Year's eves by terrorists
EB1	[[who want to manipulate the fate of Nigeria]]
3	as we approach an epochal year of positive change.
4	They spoke to all Nigerians through bombs, deaths, violence and destruction.
5	There was no national interest reason
6	for them to speak that way.
7	I want to assure whoever [[they are]]
EB2	they are
8	that Nigeria and Nigerians will speak to them firmly, effectively and in a manner our present laws allows.
9	We will take justice to them wherever [[they are hiding]]
EB3	they are hiding
10	for our nation's peace and security cannot be sacrificed on the altar of narrow interest.
11	I have instructed all arms of our security establishment
12	to within the shortest possible time find
13	and bring to justice all those behind this cowardly act of utmost wickedness.
14	I repeat:
15	they have spoken through deaths and messages of sorrow,
16	now Nigerians will speak through love, unity and justice.
17	It is the intention of those behind the blast
18	to get government and Nigerians to enter into panic mode
19	and begin to react instead of proact
20	If we do this
21	they have won.
22	So we have to take all necessary steps
23	to bring them to book after swift but thorough investigations
24	while we also allow for no disruption in our plans for a prosperous new year.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Johnathan's "Enough is Enough" Address: 21/04/2011</b>
1	Sadly, some misguided elements do not share in the spirit of our democratic achievements.
2	They formed into groups of miscreants
3	and struck with deadly and destructive force in some parts of the country.
4	They killed and maimed innocent citizens.
5	They set ablaze business premises, private homes and even places of worship.
6	In some cases, they showed utter disrespect to all forms of authority, including our most revered traditional institutions
7	They systematically targeted population groups.
8	They singled out and harassed nationalistic politicians.

9	They intimidated travellers.
10	The mobs also targeted government offices and facilities, especially those of INEC.
11	They waylaid vulnerable Youth Corps members,
12	even though we all know that
13	these young and innocent Nigerians are guests within our communities
14	and are agents of public good and national unity.
15	We are shocked by these horrific acts [[ ]]
EB1	[[which strike at the heart of our nation]]
16	These disturbances are more than mere political protests.
17	Clearly, they aim to frustrate the remaining elections
18	This is not acceptable
19	If anything at all, these acts of mayhem are sad reminders of the events [[ ]]
EB2	[[which plunged our country into 30 months of an unfortunate civil war.]]
20	As a nation, we are yet to come to terms with the level of human suffering, destruction and displacement, including that of our children to far-away countries, occasioned by those dark days.
21	In recent years, we have also witnessed other acts of intolerance, violence and destruction of human life perpetrated by unpatriotic elements for no justifiable reason.
22	Indeed, the nation still bears some of the scars of other similar events like the aftermath of the June 12 1993 elections
23	that brought our polity to the brink
24	It is inconceivable therefore
25	that there are some in our midst [[ ]]
26	[[who seek to re-enact a stalemate in the political process.]]
27	My fellow countrymen and women, ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.
28	Democracy is about the rule of law.
29	It is to its credit,
30	that in recent years our judiciary has demonstrated great courage, fortitude and independence in the discharge of its duties.
31	There are, therefore, no grievances that our laws and courts cannot address.
32	I have been in touch with all state governors and relevant security agencies
33	I have consulted with traditional, religious and political leaders
34	[[who are also very disturbed by this trend of events.]]
35	As president, it is my solemn duty
36	to defend the constitution of this country.
36	That includes the obligation to protect the lives and properties of every Nigerian
EB3	[[wherever they choose to live.]]
37	I will defend the right of all citizens
38	to freely express their democratic choice anywhere in this country;
39	to enjoy every freedom and opportunity
40	that this country can offer without let or hindrance.
41	I assure all Nigerians
42	that I will do so with all powers at my disposal as President, Commander-in-Chief.
43	I have also directed the reinforcement of security in all parts of the country.
44	I have authorised our security services

45	to use all lawful means, including justifiable force
46	to bring an immediate end to all acts of violence against our fellow citizens.
47	In view of the condemnable attacks on our gallant Youth Corps members, I have directed all state governors
48	to take personal responsibility for their security and safety in the states
49	[[where they serve.]]
50	I have directed
51	that the perpetrators of these dastardly acts of violence and all those
52	[[who seek to continue to breach the peace and stability of this nation must be fished out]]
53	and made to face the full weight of the law.
54	In this regard, a Judicial Commission of Inquiry will be constituted
55	to look into the immediate and remote causes of this recent tide of unrest.
56	I urge all Nigerians
57	to remain law abiding.
58	I appeal to parents
59	to take full charge of their wards.
60	We must not allow anybody
61	to use innocent youth as cannon fodder for the ambitions of a few.
62	Let us preserve the sanctity of the lives and future of all of our children.
63	On behalf of all Nigerians, I express heart-felt condolences to the victims of this violence.
64	I lament the loss of lives destruction of means of livelihood; the burning of homes and places of worship.
65	I appeal to all members of the political class, leaders of thought and traditional rulers
66	to continue to put our national interest first at this critical time.
67	Particularly, I call on our religious leaders
68	not to use the sacredness of our places of worship
69	to promote messages that could lead to hate, disharmony and disaffection
70	Rather, we must all at this time join hands
71	and support INEC in ensuring a successful conclusion of the commendable work which they started.
72	I appeal to all communities around the country
73	to show restraint in the face of provocation.
74	I urge all Nigerians.
75	to remain steadfast in prayers for peace and tranquillity in our country
76	I assure you all that
77	calm is being restored in troubled parts of the country
78	and that the elections scheduled for next Tuesday will go on as planned.
79	All Nigerians should therefore go about their businesses without fear
80	and exercise their franchise on April 26
81	to vote for candidates of their choice in the next round of elections.
82	To those who persist in sowing the seeds of discord, I say,
83	you may hurt and bring grief to some innocent families momentarily,
84	but you will never succeed in stopping our transformational journey: a journey that will lead this country, by the grace of God,
85	to emerge stronger, more prosperous and more united.



86	Dear brothers and sisters, let us continue to build a nation in which we all live in peace.
87	A nation where the bonds of our common aspirations and goals will spur and re-energise our resolve towards greatness.
88	A nation where our children from North and South, East and West will grow with hope and live together as brothers, sisters and friends.
89	Let us always remember that we are all part of a shared destiny.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day Address</b>	<b>01/10/2011</b>
1	My administration will spare no effort in fighting crime,	
2	building peace,	
3	and securing our homeland against internal threats and infiltration by violent groups, from outside our borders.	
4	We condemn all acts of violence	
5	and declare that such acts of mindless savagery shall not be allowed to define our country.	
6	We will not be deterred.	
7	Our resolve is strong.	
8	I have put in place a new and reinvigorated national security strategy,	
9	to combat the threat to our safety.	
10	Yet, no matter what I do as your President	
11	and no matter what we do as your elected leaders,	
12	at all levels, the peace and security of our nation rest also on our collective efforts as citizens, in our various communities.	
13	All leaders and citizens, in every community, must therefore make peace the number one priority of their daily routine.	
14	This is because, without peace, no community can realise its objectives	
15	or achieve a happy and productive life for its members.	
16	The current incidents of violence and terror, in parts of the country, will surely be overcome.	
17	We will secure the safety of our citizens	
18	for only when we do this,	
19	will we be able to build the needed peace and tranquillity in all parts of the federation.	
20	Securing our peace and stability will ensure economic growth and prosperity for all.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of State of Emergency</b>	<b>31/12/2011</b>
1	Government in an effort to find a lasting solution to the security threats occasioned by the activities of the Boko Haram sect, constituted a Presidential Committee under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Usman Gaji Galtimari,	
2	to ascertain the immediate and remote causes of the crises.	
3	While efforts are being made to implement the recommendations of the Committee, the crises have assumed a terrorist dimension with vital institutions of government including the United Nations Building and places of worship becoming targets of terrorist attacks	
4	While the search for lasting solutions is ongoing, it has become imperative	

5	to take some decisive measures necessary
6	to restore normalcy in the country especially within the affected communities.
7	Consequently, I have in the exercise of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of section 305(1) of the Constitution, declared a state of emergency in the following parts of the federation, namely:
8	The details of this proclamation will be transmitted to the National Assembly
9	as soon as they reconvene from their current recess, for their necessary action.
10	The Chief of Defence Staff and the Inspector-General of Police have been directed
11	to put appropriate measures in place
12	to ensure the protection of lives and properties of residents in the affected parts of the country.
13	I therefore urge the political leadership in the affected states and Local Government Areas
14	to give maximum cooperation to the law enforcement agencies deployed to their respective communities
15	to ensure that the situation is brought under control within the shortest possible time.
16	The Chief of Defence Staff, in collaboration with other Service Chiefs, has also been directed to set up a special force unit within the Armed Forces, with dedicated counter terrorism responsibilities.
17	As part of the overall strategy to overcome the current security challenges, I have directed the closure of the land borders contiguous to the affected Local Government Areas
18	so as to control incidences of cross boarder terrorist activities
19	as terrorists have taken advantage of the present situation
20	to strike at targets in Nigeria
21	and retreat beyond the reach of our law enforcement personnel.
22	Let me assure our neighbours, especially within the ECOWAS sub-region, of Nigeria's commitment to its international obligations as provided by the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons.
23	The temporary closure of our borders in the affected areas is only an interim measure designed to address the current security challenges
24	and will be reviewed as soon as normalcy is restored.
25	I commend the efforts of our political leaders at various levels as well as our traditional and religious leaders
26	for their support for the various conflict resolution mechanisms and peace building measures
27	that have been initiated by this administration.
28	We call on the citizenry
29	to continue to provide useful information to our law enforcement agencies
30	to enable us arrest the situation.
31	Terrorism is a war against all of us.
32	I call on all Nigerians
33	to join hands with government
34	to fight these terrorists.
35	I wish all Nigerians a very happy New Year.
36	Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/01/2012</b>
	Fellow Nigerians,	
1	Undoubtedly, 2011 was a year laced with challenges.	
2	While we have made progress	
3	and overcame most of the challenges on many fields,	
4	there have been those amongst us who want to impose their will on the majority of us.	
EB1	[[who want to impose their will on the majority of us.]]	
5	This government will lead Nigeria and Nigerians to resist such imposition.	
6	We must not allow the activities of violent individuals to define the year 2011.	
7	Many years from today the story of our democratic and survival enterprise will record the year 2011 as a turning point.	
8	Thus, there has been great progress which we must celebrate.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's National Convention Speech:</b>	<b>GEJ/24/03/2012</b>
	Fellow Nigerians	
1	We have been having some challenges with threats to national security, due to the activities of some misguided and criminal elements in our society.	
2	The security agencies have done a lot to contain the threat.	
3	We are determined to overcome.	
4	The war against terror is a global challenge,	
5	we are resolved	
6	to play our part in tackling this scourge squarely	
7	in order to continue to guarantee the sanctity of human life.	
8	What we need is the collaboration and support of all Nigerians, including the media establishment.	
9	Whenever a country is challenged, the people have an obligation to bond together.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Democracy Day Speech:</b>	<b>GEJ/29/05/2012</b>
	Fellow Nigerians	
1	Terrorism, a new menace, totally alien to our way of life and culture, has reared its head	
2	and is posing a serious challenge.	
3	My thoughts and prayers go to the victims of the terrorist attacks, and their families.	
4	As President, it is my solemn duty	
5	to defend the Constitution of this country.	
6	That includes the obligation to protect life and property.	
7	We are doing everything possible	
8	to check the menace of terrorism.	
9	In this regard, we are determined	

10	to review some of the existing laws,
11	to further strengthen the national counter-terrorism strategy.
12	Coordinated joint action among our security agencies has now assumed greater importance.
13	We have developed a new security architecture
14	to strengthen the security environment.
15	I wish to reassure every Nigerian that
16	we will confront this threat against our collective peace and security,
17	and bring the perpetrators to justice.
18	We will confront the few misguided persons
EB1	[[who falsely believe,
EB2	[[that through violence, they can impose their agenda of hate and division on this nation of good people.]]
19	We must confront all those
EB3	[[who think they can derail us by engaging in indiscriminate violence and mass murder, perpetrated in places of worship, in markets and public places, against the media, and security personnel.]]
20	Nigeria is a nation of resilient people.
21	We will never yield to the forces of darkness.
22	Nigeria will never, ever, disintegrate.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan Independence Day Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/10/2012</b>
	Fellow Nigerians,	
1	in recent times, we have witnessed serious security challenges in parts of our country.	
2	We have taken pro-active measures	
3	to check the menace.	
4	This has included constant consultation and collaboration with our neighbours and other friendly nations on issues relating to internal and cross border security,	
5	and the sharing of information on smuggling and illegal dealing in small arms and light weapons.	
6	Our security agencies are constantly being strengthened	
7	and repositioned for greater efficiency.	
8	Many Nigerians have acknowledged	
9	that there has been a significant decline in the spate of security breaches.	
10	While expressing our condolences to the affected families,	
11	let me reiterate the commitment of this Administration	
12	to ensure the safety of lives and property of all Nigerians.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan Budget Speech:</b>	<b>GEJ/10/10/2012</b>
	Fellow Compatriots	

1	we are conscious of the fact that without security, no meaningful development can take place in our land;
2	and our collective efforts at building the nation would only amount to little.
3	This is why we channelled a great deal of resources to security in the 2012 Budget.
4	We remain conscious of the impact of security challenges facing the country
5	and are determined to bring the situation under control.
6	I commiserate with all our citizens
EB1	[[who lost loved ones in the recent Mubi killings and all the other acts of senseless destruction of lives and properties in the country.]]
8	We have already made arrests in the Mubi case,
9	and I want to assure Nigerians
10	that all the culprits will be made to face the full weight of the law.
11	I want to thank our brave men and women of the security services for their commitment.
12	I also want to acknowledge and thank the various state Governors for their cooperation and untiring effort
13	to ensure peace in their domains.
14	The unity of Nigeria is not negotiable

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/01/2013</b>
1	As peace and security remain pre-requisite conditions for the full realisation of our objectives, we will also do more in 2013	
2	to further empower our security agencies [[who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria.]]	
EB1	[[who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria.]]	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Easter Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/30/03/2013</b>
1	As we celebrate this year's Easter therefore, I urge all Nigerians	
2	to rededicate themselves	
3	to living in peace and oneness with all members of their communities no matter their ethnicity, religious beliefs or places of origin.	
4	By now, it ought to be an accepted fact amongst us	
5	that our immense potential for greatness in the comity of nations derives in the main from our collective strength as a country of close to 170 million people and the acclaimed richness of our diverse human resources and natural endowments.	
6	It follows, therefore, that to successfully achieve our vision of becoming one of the most dominant nations on the global stage in the shortest possible time,	

6	we must stay together as a people
7	and continue to effectively resist by all possible means, the evil machinations of global terrorists and their misguided domestic accomplices
EB1	who seek to provoke turmoil, hatred and harmful divisions among us.
8	I assure all Nigerians
9	that our security agencies, armed forces and I will continue to fully discharge our constitutional responsibilities for protecting the unity and territorial integrity of this country with all the powers and forces at our disposal.
10	We must have peace, security and stability
11	to effectively implement our agenda for national transformation in all parts of the country
12	and we shall continue to work ceaselessly
13	to re-establish the prerequisite conditions for nationwide progress and development.
14	For your part, dear countrymen and women, I urge you
15	to continue to exhibit restraint and understanding in the face of seeming provocations.
EB2	Those who mindlessly and indiscriminately attack churches, schools, health workers, motor-parks, banks and ordinary road users
16	{they} must be seen as they truly are: the brainwashed pawns of international terrorism.
17	They do not represent any true religion or section of the country
18	and we must never play into their hands by succumbing to their nefarious ploys
19	to incite religious, ethnic hatred and division among us.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Easter Message to the Nation GEJ/20/04/2014</b>
	Dear friends,
1	As our Christian compatriots celebrate the Messiah's triumph over death and all that it connotes,
2	let us all renew our faith and confidence in our ability as a people to overcome all obstacles, challenges and threats to national progress and well-being, including terrorism and other criminal attacks on our people in some parts of the country.
3	My belief in our ability to overcome all retrogressive and divisive forces in our midst and build a strong, united and prosperous nation by turning our unique diversity into a source of strength remains unshaken
4	and we will continue to work with all interest groups and stakeholders in the country
5	to achieve the peaceful, secure and politically stable conditions essential for rapid socio-economic development.
6	In spite of the evil machinations of terrorists, criminals and their collaborators, our Administration remains ardently focused on efforts to successfully execute the Federal Government's Agenda for National Transformation
7	and achieve sustained development.
8	Once again, I extend heartfelt commiserations to all the families
EB1	who have sadly lost loved relatives in recent terrorist attacks.
9	Our thoughts and sympathies remain with all those

EB2	who have suffered injuries from the heinous attacks.
10	We pray for their speedy recovery
11	and shall keep on doing everything possible
12	to assist them with required medical services and material support.
13	Our Armed Forces and security agencies will continue to do their very best
14	to curb such attacks
15	and restore full security to all parts of our beloved country.
16	But we must all become more alert and vigilant,
17	and do all that we can to give them the fullest possible assistance, support and cooperation they require
18	to achieve more effective protection of lives and property across the country.

Clause No.	President Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of State of Emergency GEJ/14/05/2013
	Dear compatriots,
1	It has become necessary
2	for me to address you on the recent spate of terrorist activities and protracted security challenges in some parts of the country, particularly in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi, Kano, Plateau and most recently Bayelsa, Taraba, Benue and Nasarawa states.
3	These unfortunate events have led to needless loss of lives and property of many innocent Nigerians including members of our security forces.
4	The recent killing of security operatives by a cult group in Nasarawa state is particularly condemnable.
5	I have directed
6	that no effort or expense be spared
7	in identifying and bringing to justice all those who had a hand in the killing of the operatives.
8	The activities of insurgents and terrorists have been reprehensible,
9	causing fear among our citizens
10	and a near-breakdown of law and order in parts of the country, especially the North.
11	We have taken robust steps
12	to unravel and address the root causes of these crises,
13	but it would appear
14	that there is a systematic effort by insurgents and terrorists
15	to destabilise the Nigerian state
16	and test our collective resolve.
17	Since I returned to the country after cutting short my visit to South Africa and aborting a planned state visit to Namibia,
18	I have received detailed briefings from our security agencies.
19	These briefings indicate
20	that what we are facing is not just militancy or criminality,

21	but a rebellion and insurgency by terrorist groups
EB1	[[which pose a very serious threat to national unity and territorial integrity.]]
22	Already, some northern parts of Borno state have been taken over by groups
EB2	whose allegiance is to different flags and ideologies.
23	These terrorists and insurgents seem determined
24	to establish control and authority over parts of our beloved nation and to progressively overwhelm the rest of the country.
25	In many places, they have destroyed the Nigerian flag and other symbols of state authority
26	and in their place, hoisted strange flags suggesting the exercise of alternative sovereignty.
27	They have attacked government buildings and facilities.
28	They have murdered innocent citizens and state officials.
29	They have set houses ablaze,
30	and taken women and children as hostages.
31	These actions amount to a declaration of war
32	and a deliberate attempt to undermine the authority of the Nigerian state
33	and threaten her territorial integrity.
34	As a responsible government, we will not tolerate this.
35	Previously, we adopted a multi-track approach to the resolution of this problem through actions which included persuasion, dialogue and widespread consultation with the political, religious and community leaders in the affected states.
36	We exercised restraint
37	to allow for all efforts by both State Governors and well-meaning Nigerians
38	to stop the repeated cases of mindless violence.
39	Yet, the insurgents and terrorists seek to prevent government from fulfilling its constitutional obligations to the people
40	as they pursue their fanatical agenda of mayhem, mass murder, division and separatism.
41	While the efforts at persuasion and dialogue will continue,
42	let me reiterate that
43	we have a sacred duty
44	to ensure the security and well-being of all our people
45	and protect the sovereign integrity of our country.
46	Therefore, we shall, on no account, shy away from doing whatever becomes necessary
47	to provide the fullest possible security for the citizens of this country in any part of the country
EB3	they choose to reside.
48	We have a duty
49	to stand firm against those who threaten the sovereign integrity of the Nigerian state.
50	Our will is strong,
51	because our faith lies in the indivisibility of Nigeria.
52	Following recent developments in the affected states, it has become necessary
53	for Government to take extraordinary measures to restore normalcy.
54	After wide consultations, and in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the provisions of Section 305, sub-section 1 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of



	Nigeria 1999 as amended, I hereby declare a State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states.
55	Accordingly, the Chief of Defence Staff has been directed
56	to immediately deploy more troops to these states for more effective internal security operations
57	The troops and other security agencies involved in these operations have orders
58	to take all necessary action, within the ambit of their rules of engagement,
59	to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists.
60	This will include the authority to arrest and detain suspects, the taking of possession and control of any building or structure used for terrorist purposes, the lock-down of any area of terrorist operation, the conduct of searches, and the apprehension of persons in illegal possession of weapons.
61	The details of this Proclamation will be transmitted to the National Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
62	But in the meantime, let me make it clear
63	that within the purview of this Proclamation, the Governors and other political office holders in the affected states will continue to discharge their constitutional responsibilities.
64	I urge the political leadership in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states
65	to co-operate maximally with the Armed Forces and the Police
66	to ensure that the exercise succeeds.
67	We call on the citizenry
68	to co-operate with our security agencies
69	to ensure a return to normalcy within the shortest possible time.
70	I am again approaching our neighbouring countries, through diplomatic channels, as done in the recent past, for their co-operation in apprehending any terrorist elements
71	[[that may escape across the border.]]
72	Nigerians are peace-loving people;
73	these sad events perpetrated by those who do not wish our nation well have not changed the essential character of our people.
EB4	[[those who do not wish our nation well]]
74	I want to reassure you all
EB5	that those [[who are directly or indirectly encouraging any form of rebellion against the Nigerian state, and their collaborators;]]
EB6	those insurgents and terrorists [[who take delight in killing our security operatives,]]
75	whoever they may be,
76	wherever they may go,
77	we will hunt them down,
78	we will fish them out,
79	and we will bring them to justice.
80	No matter what it takes, we will win this war against terror.
81	I am convinced
82	that with your support and prayers, we shall overcome these challenges and together,
83	we will restore every part of our country to the path of peace, growth and development.
84	Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan Independence Day Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/10/2013</b>
1	The threats we face may be real and immediate.	
2	But we are not alone in this regard.	
3	It is a difficult season for much of the world: industrialised or developing; rich or poor.	
4	What matters are the lessons we learn, the wisdom we demonstrate	
5	and the victory we snatch from the jaws of likely defeat.	
6	And I tell you,	
7	more than anything else, there are lessons to learn, and every cause to be thankful.	
8	If I must cite one example, take Syria.	
9	As we all pray	
10	and work for a return to normalcy in Syria,	
11	it would be helpful for us	
12	to reflect on the fact	
13	that Syria was once a peaceful, thriving, multi-cultural nation which played host to a mosaic of religions and ethnicities.	
14	But that once idyllic nation has today become a theatre of human misery of unimaginable proportions as a result of the activities of extremist forces.	
15	Fellow Nigerians, the spectre of extremism haunts every democracy in every corner of the globe.	
16	While we celebrate our independence and good fortune,	
17	our hearts must grieve for [[those who have lost loved ones in numerous terrorist activities around the world.]] [[those who have lost loved ones in numerous terrorist activities around the world.]]	
18	Back home, I admit being overtaken by deep feelings of grief, [[whenever news reached me of the appalling atrocities in some of our States, especially the North Eastern part of our country]]	
EB1	[[whenever news reached me of the appalling atrocities in some of our States, especially the North Eastern part of our country]]	
19	Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State	
20	killing a number of innocent students of the institution and other residents in cold blood, most of them in their sleep.	
21	This act of barbarism is a demonstration of the extent to which evil forces will go to destabilise our nation	
22	But I assure you,	
23	they will not succeed.	
24	My heart goes out to the families of all those who have fallen victim of these dastardly acts.	
25	Our Administration will not rest until every Nigerian is free from the oppression of terrorism.	
26	I reassure you	

27	that no cost will be spared,
28	no idea will be ignored,
29	and no resource will be left untapped in the quest to enable our people live without fear.
30	On this day, I implore every Nigerian wherever you are, whatever language you speak, whatever your religious persuasion, whichever Political Party you support
31	let us join together to fight this evil of extremism.
32	On behalf of us all, I commend our Armed Forces and security agencies for their dedication and bravery in the face of grave danger, and in the name of our collective liberty.
33	Fellow Nigerians, this is a time to pull together behind the national cause: the cause of our freedom, and our future.
34	We must rekindle the spirit of Nigeria,
35	to ensure that every democrat and every lover of peace in this great nation continues to live in a free, peaceful, and secure Nigeria.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/01/2014</b>
1	As peace and security remain pre-requisite conditions for the full realisation of our objectives, we will also do more in 2013	
2	to further empower our security agencies [[who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria.]]	
EB1	[[who are working in collaborative partnerships with our friends in the international community to stem the scourge of terrorism in our country and enhance the security of lives and property in all parts of Nigeria.]]	
3	The allocation of over N600 Billion to Defence and Policing in the 2014 Budget attests to this commitment.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Centenary Day Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/26/02/2014</b>
1	And as I speak,	
2	a part of our country is still suffering from the brutal assault of terrorists and insurgents.	
3	My dear compatriots, as we celebrate our centenary,	
4	the security situation in some of our North-Eastern States, sadly remains a major concern for us.	
5	Just yesterday, young students, full of hopes and dreams for a great future, were callously murdered as they slept in their college dormitories in Yobe State.	
6	I am deeply saddened by their deaths and that of other Nigerians at the hands of terrorists.	
7	Our hearts go out to their parents and relatives, colleagues and school authorities.	
8	We will continue to do everything possible	
9	to permanently eradicate the scourge of terrorism and insurgency from our country.	

10	We recognise//
11	that the root cause of militancy, terrorism and insurgency is not the strength of extremist ideas but corrupted values and ignorance.
12	That is why our counter-terrorism strategy is not just about enforcing law and order
13	as we have equipped our security forces to do.
14	It also involves expanding economic opportunities, social inclusion, education and other measures
15	that will help restore normalcy not just in the short term, but permanently.
16	I want to reassure Nigerians
17	that terrorism, strife and insecurity in any part of Nigeria are abhorrent and unacceptable to us.
18	I urge leaders throughout Nigeria
19	to ensure that ethnicity and religion are not allowed to become political issues.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Address at Centenary Conference: GEJ/27/02/2014</b>
	Dear Friends
1	Terrorism, has extended its tentacles to Africa and Nigeria.
EB1	which is a global menace,
2	In concert with our regional and global partners, we will continue to respond strategically and decisively to this scourge
3	and together with our people we shall end the killings
4	and bring terrorism to an end.
5	Your Excellencies, let us work together across boundaries,
6	not only to coordinate and strengthen our defences,
7	but also to address any socio-economic roots on which these extreme ideologies thrive.
8	Terrorism must be condemned in the strongest possible terms.
9	We all must work together, collectively,
10	to rid our world of haters of peace,
EB2	[[who use terror to maim, kill, instil fear and deny people their rights to peace and security.]]
11	The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is one of such condemnable acts of terror.
12	We have continued to deploy human and military intelligence, in close collaboration with our partners,
13	to bring an end to their nefarious activities.
14	Greater regional cooperation in intelligence gathering and control of insurgents will ensure not only Nigeria's security, but also the security of our neighbours.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Katsina State Speech: GEJ/13/03/2014</b>
1	Before I go further

2	I will like to extend my heartfelt condolences to the government and people of Katsina State, especially the families
EB1	that lost loved ones in the dastardly attacks yesterday on innocent villagers in Faskari and Sabuwa local government areas.
3	We totally condemn the attacks
EB2	[[which were carried out by unidentified gunmen.]]
4	I have ordered our security agencies and Armed Forces
5	to take all necessary action
6	to apprehend them
7	including combing the Rugu Forest thoroughly to permanently rid it of the terrorists and armed criminals
EB3	[[who have been launching deadly attacks on surrounding states from there.]]
8	I have also ordered the National Emergency Management Agency
9	to take immediate action
10	to deliver medical aid and relief materials to the affected communities.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's World Economic Forum Address GEJ/08/05/2014</b>
1	Let me thank all of you for coming to Nigeria at this trying time
2	when we are facing terrorist attacks.
3	Your coming here to support us is a blow on the terrorists.
4	Let me also thank all the countries
5	that have expressed commitment
6	to help us rescue the abducted girls.
7	Prime Minister David Cameron and President Francois Hollande and other world leaders have spoken with me;
8	we appreciate their commitment
9	to help us put an end to the crisis.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>GEJ Address at the Paris Regional Summit on Security in Nigeria GEJ/17/05/2014</b>
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	Dear Compatriots,
1	Without doubt, your concern and empathy with the government and people of Nigeria is a clear demonstration of true solidarity and brotherhood in ensuring that the current security challenges facing our country are addressed in a definitive and conclusive manner.
2	But let me state clearly from the outset
EB1	that what started as a local insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria
3	has now evolved into the new frontier of the global war of terrorism against our civilisation, our way of life, and against the many prospects of stability in our region.
4	This is not anymore a challenge to Nigeria alone;
5	it is a threat to each and every one of us in this room.
6	The Boko Haram Sect emerged in 2002
7	while its insurgency phase started as far back as 2009.
8	Officially known as the Jamaatu Ahlis Sunna Liddawati Wal Jihad, which in English means people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad,
9	the group is more commonly identified with its motivating principle,
10	and referred to as Boko Haram which literally means, Western or non-Islamic education is prohibited.
11	The group is hostile to democracy;
12	it uses every means to indoctrinate its members;
13	its ultimate objective is to destabilise the country,
14	and take over Nigeria in order to turn it into a base of operation in West Africa and the entire continent.
15	Since 2009, we have had to contend with many attacks and killings,
16	which have now developed into a full-scale war targeting the stability and integrity of our Nation.
17	Boko Haram has launched a vicious guerrilla-style campaign against the government and the people of Nigeria.
18	It has attacked schools,
19	slaughtered students in their dormitories,
20	destroyed villages, communities and government infrastructure
21	and has wreaked havoc on the economic and social life of our people.

Clause No.	President Goodluck Jonathan's Democracy Day Address:	GEJ/29/05/2014
	Dear Compatriots,	
1	It is a sad fact	
2	that as I address you today, all the gains of the past 15 years of democratic governance in our country are threatened by the presence of international terrorism on our shores.	
3	Our dear country, Nigeria is facing a new challenge.	
4	A war has been unleashed on us.	

5	Extremist foreign elements, collaborating with some of our misguided citizens, are focused on an attempt to bring down our country and the democracy and freedom
EB1	[[we cherish and celebrate today.]]
6	The despicable abduction of school girls from Chibok in Borno State has brought to the awareness of the entire world, the heartless brutality of these terrorists
7	[[who want to instigate a descent into anarchy and balkanise our nation.]]
8	In recent years, terrorist attacks have claimed the lives of several of our compatriots,
9	many have been injured or maimed,
10	whole villages and communities have been destroyed
11	and the economy of some of our states is in jeopardy.
12	There can be no doubt
13	that what we are witnessing in Nigeria today is a manifestation of the same warped and ferocious world view that brought down the Twin Towers in New York,
14	killed innocent persons in Boston
15	and led to the murder of defenceless people in the Southern Russian city of Volgograd.
16	Terrorist activities have brought war and pains to Mali, Somalia, Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan.
17	These agents of evil continue to brainwash and incite ignorant young men and women to attack the innocent.
18	We cannot allow this to continue.
19	I welcome the statements of solidarity from patriotic citizens and the global community in support of our efforts to stamp out terrorism.
20	I applaud the understanding
21	that in a democracy, such as we are building,
22	people can have differences
23	while sharing worthy values and standing together in opposition to the scourge of terrorism.
24	Nigeria is the only country we have
25	and we must all work to preserve it for present and future generations.
26	Despite the challenges we face,
27	we must commend our security forces.
28	We must not forget their gallantry and successes in liberating nations
29	and in peacekeeping, from Liberia to Sierra Leone, Congo, Sudan, Mali, Guinea-Bissau and many places in Africa and beyond.
30	Our forces have paid the supreme price in several places at several times.
31	Today, they face a different challenge, an unconventional war by terrorists.
32	They are adjusting
33	and are being equipped to tackle the new menace of terrorism.
34	We must show confidence in their ability.
35	I have no doubt
36	that, with the support of Nigerians, our neighbours and the international community, we will reinforce our defence, free our girls and rid Nigeria of terrorists.
37	It is now 45 days since the horrifying abduction of the college girls of Chibok.
38	I share the deep pain and anxiety of their parents and guardians

39	and I assure them once again that government will continue to do everything possible to bring our daughters home.
40	I am determined to protect our democracy, our national unity and our political stability, by waging a total war against terrorism.
41	The unity and stability of our country, and the protection of lives and property are non-negotiable.
42	I have instructed our security forces
43	to launch a full-scale operation
44	to put an end to the impunity of terrorists on our soil.
45	I have also authorised the security forces
46	to use any means necessary under the law
47	to ensure that this is done.
48	I assure you
49	that Nigeria will be safe again,
50	and that these thugs will be driven away
51	it will not happen overnight,
52	but we will spare no effort to achieve this goal.
EB2	For our citizens [[who have joined hands with Al Qaeda and international terrorists in the misguided belief]]
EB3	that violence can possibly solve their problems,
53	our doors remain open to them for dialogue and reconciliation,
54	if they renounce terrorism and embrace peace.
55	My government, while pursuing security measures, will explore all options, including readiness to accept unconditional renunciation of violence by insurgents,
56	and to ensure their de-radicalisation, rehabilitation and re-integration into the broader society.
57	Dear Compatriots,
58	We must remain united to win the war against terrorism.
59	Christians, Moslems, farmers, fishermen, herdsmen, teachers, lawyers, clergy or clerics, the rich, the poor and Nigerians from all sections of the country must work together with our security agencies and armed forces
60	to overcome the terrorists
EB4	[[who now threaten all that we hold dear.]]
61	The war against terror may be difficult,
62	but the days of peace will come again.
63	Terror is evil;
64	nowhere in history has evil endured forever.
65	The menace of Boko Haram will surely come to an end.
66	I believe that
67	because of your prayers, your courage, hard work, faith and sacrifice,
68	we will ultimately prevail over the terrorists and all other evil forces.
69	We are a strong, resilient and courageous people.
70	We will continue to partner with the civilised world,
71	to confront international terrorism and every other challenge that comes our way with patriotic zeal and determination.



72	Fellow Nigerians,
73	Yes, we have challenges
74	but we will surely overcome.
75	Nigeria is our country.
76	Nigeria is blessed.
77	We will all collectively protect, defend
78	and develop this country for ourselves, and our children.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan Independence Day Address:</b>	<b>GEJ/01/10/2014</b>
	Fellow Nigerians,	
1	In my address to the nation last year, I did emphasise	
2	that we were in a sober moment in our country.	
3	We are still in that mood in spite of the many accomplishments of our administration.	
4	Our sombreness has to do with the crises of nationhood occasioned by the activities of terrorist elements	
EB1	[[who have done the unimaginable to challenge our unity as a people.]]	
6	On an occasion like this, it is important	
7	that we remember all the precious souls	
EB2	that have been lost in the unprecedented war of terror unleashed on some parts of our country by these individuals	
EB3	who want to compel us to live our lives their way.	
5	They will not succeed!	
6	In their mission, they have maimed	
7	they have raped.	
8	They have killed men, women and children,	
9	rendering many children orphans	
10	and made several women widows.	
11	They have made violence their ideology	
12	and are bent on destroying our country.	
13	Dear countrymen and women, we will not allow them.	
14	Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battle.	
15	My gratitude goes out to our armed forces	
EB4	whose will has been greatly challenged by this insurgency more than any other time, since the civil war.	
16	Yet, they have remained undaunted	
17	and unwearied in the face of constant challenge and mortal danger.	
18	Driven by patriotic zeal, they are turning the tide by their prowess and determination.	
19	As Commander-in-Chief, I will continue to do all it takes	

20	to enable them to keep on inflicting devastating blows at the heart of terror.
21	Fellow Nigerians, it is our collective duty as patriots
22	to avail our men and women in uniform of all the support they need
23	to fight and win this war.
24	This Administration is committed to making Nigeria safe for all Nigerians, irrespective of our places of birth, how we worship God and our political persuasion.
EB5	[[how we worship God and our political persuasion]]
25	To all those waging war against our country, I ask that
26	you lay down your arms
27	and embrace peace.
28	To those who have genuine grievances, I affirm
29	that Nigeria will listen to you,
30	if you bring your grievances to the table of dialogue.
31	To the good people of Nigeria, let me restate
32	that our task of building a better and greater country must not waver.
33	While we continue to deploy our resources in the fight against the terrorists,
34	we do recognise the great toll the conflict is taking on our people.
35	This is why, to assist the afflicted, we have launched the Victims Support Fund, an independent multi-sectoral charity,
EB6	which will aggressively solicit resources to augment Government's statutory intervention, in bringing succour to the injured, the displaced and the bereaved.
37	In partnership with Nigerian business leaders and international partners, we have also introduced the Safe Schools Initiative
EB7	which is aimed at promoting safe environments for education nationwide, starting with the North East region.
38	The Presidential Initiative for the North East, a comprehensive programme to fast-track the economic restoration of this region, which has been the epicentre of terrorist activity, has been set up.
39	Our overall objective is to do all we possibly can,
40	to sustain in the North-East, the momentum of economic advancement,
41	which is on-going in other parts of the country, despite the machinations of the terrorists and their sponsors.
42	It should now be clear to anyone who was ever in doubt
43	that these terrorists do not mean well for anyone, of whatever religion or dispensation.
44	Their persistent choice of the weakest and most vulnerable in society, for gruesome attack, provides an insight into their abnormal mind-set.
45	I urge every Nigerian
46	to put aside political, sectional or other parochial considerations,
47	and support whole-heartedly the efforts of the government and the military, in checking this evil.
48	We are grateful to the international community, and especially our neighbours
49	who are working closely with us in confronting this challenge, for their increased partnership and solidarity.
50	Our steady progress in weakening the insurgency has certainly justified our cooperation.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>GEJ's Declaration of Intent to Run for the 2015 election</b>	<b>GEJ/11/11/2014</b>
1	Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our stewardship has not been without challenges.	
2	We have had to deal with the wave of insurgency	
3	that has swept through some parts of our dear country.	
4	Only yesterday, Government Science Secondary School in Yobe State was bombed by insurgents,	
5	killing our promising young children	
EB1	who were seeking education to build the country and support their parents.	
6	Many Nigerians have lost their lives and property to these mindless killings.	
7	Let me crave the indulgence of all present here	
8	to stand up	
9	to observe a minutes silence in honour of these young lads	
EB2	who lost their lives.	
10	Clearly, this has cast a dark cloud on our Nation	
11	but we will surely win the war against terror.	
12	A number of young men and women have been kidnapped by these criminal elements including our daughters from Chibok.	
13	We will free our daughters and defeat terror.	
14	We are equipping the armed forces	
15	and deploying special forces to engage the terrorist and end this senseless war.	
16	We must protect our country.	
17	We must save our people.	
18	I will do everything humanly possible	
19	to end this criminal violence in our Nation.	
20	To ensure the long term stability and development of the affected areas,	
21	government has launched three programmes: The Presidential Initiative for the North East, the Victim Support Fund and the Safe School Initiative.	
22	The Presidential Initiative for the Northeast is focused on improving infrastructure and economic growth in the region.	
23	The Safe School Initiative is centred on creating a safe environment	
24	to encourage our children in the communities to acquire education.	
25	The Victim Support Fund, a partnership with the Private Sector, has raised about 60 billion Naira,	
26	which will help to empower and rehabilitate victims of terror.	
27	I promise the victims of these dastardly acts	
28	that we will continue to stand with you.	
28	I am grateful to all Nigerians for standing with us.	

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Acceptance Speech at Convention</b>	<b>GEJ/11/12/2014</b>
1	On my watch, the security of all citizens shall continue to be of utmost priority.	
2	With the exception of the civil war, never before in the history of our country have we faced the level of threat	

EB1	we see today
3	I assure all Nigerians
4	that this Government will continue to do
EB2	whatever is required
5	to provide the security, we deserve
6	It is encouraging
7	that the security situation is improving
8	and by the grace of God, elections will be conducted in all states of the federation.
9	I call on all Nigerians, irrespective of party or belief,
10	to join me in this fight against insurgency and terror.
11	We must be united.
12	Bickering and quarrels only serve to send the wrong signals to terrorists and insurgents
13	that we are divided in this fight.
14	More importantly it can also demoralise our dedicated and brave armed forces
15	This would be wrong.
16	For this reason, we must remain united.
17	I believe that
18	together as a people and with God on our side, we shall defeat terror and emerge an even stronger nation.
19	The experience in many countries shows that there may be a tendency for the escalation of violence in an election year.
20	We must not succumb to blackmail.
21	We must be vigilant every one of us
22	Only by united action, can we defeat terrorism.
23	I salute our gallant armed forces and security agencies
EB3	who are doing their best to keep our people safe.
24	We shall continue to ensure that they have the best in terms of equipment, training and conditions.
25	I appeal to our countrymen and women
26	to provide them with the fullest support,
27	and not to fall victim to those who fan the embers of terror.

Clause No.	President Goodluck Jonathan's ECOWAS Address:	GEJ/14/12/2014
1	Equally worrisome, Your Excellencies is the rising scourge of terrorism	
EB1	which now threatens the peace and security of our sub-region.	
2	In the Sahel Region, we have witnessed the increasing proliferation of small arms and light weapons.	
3	As a result, countries in the region are today threatened by insurgents and terrorists.	
4	Their actions have dire consequences for the continuing peace, stability and prosperity of the region.	

5	In the Gulf of Guinea, the increasing incidence of piracy has reached a worrisome dimension.
6	This is compounded by drug trafficking, oil bunkering and human trafficking.
7	All of these require urgent and concerted actions from all of us.
8	Nigeria calls for stronger and more effective regional, continental and global alliance to rid our region of terrorism, piracy and violent extremism.

Clause No.	President Goodluck Jonathan's New year Address:	GEJ/01/01/2015
1	We have contended with the normal challenges of nation-building and the unusual challenges of terrorism.	
2	But we have continued to vigorously confront [[those who seek to destroy the bonds of unity that hold us together.]]	
EB1	[[those who seek to destroy the bonds of unity that hold us together.]]	
3	On this first day of the New Year, I want to pay special tribute to the gallant officers, men and women of our Armed Forces and other security agencies [[who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.]]	
EB2	[[who have been in the forefront of the war against terrorism and violent extremism in our country and sub-region.]]	
4	I also commend all Nigerians [[who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.]]	
EB3	[[who have remained vigilant and cooperative with our security agencies in the fight against the common enemy.]]	
5	We are re-equipping	
6	and re-positioning our armed forces	
7	to enhance their capacity	
8	to win the ongoing war against terror and insurgency.	
9	Regrettably, terrorists have unleashed much pain and agony on our land.	
10	They have made widows of our mothers and sisters	
11	And {made} orphans of our children	
12	They have shut down businesses,	
13	desecrated places of worship	
14	and brought untold hardship to both men and women.	
15	They have violated the culture and peaceful way of life in our country, [[which took generations to build.]]	
16	which took generations to build.	
17	They have destroyed countless schools	
18	and displaced people from their communities	
19	driving them into exile.	

20	I want to assure you
21	that the terrorists will not get away with their atrocities:
22	they will not win;
23	they will be routed.
24	As President, I feel the pain of all affected communities and families.
25	I hear their cries
26	and share their sorrow and pain.
27	We will not forget;
28	we will not look the other way.
29	We have done a lot of painstaking planning and work
30	to resolve the current security challenge.
31	We will bring justice to the savage terrorists known as Boko Haram.
32	They will be defeated.
33	That is the solemn commitment I make today as President of the Federal Republic, and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces.
34	By the Special Grace of God, the Federal Government, under my leadership, has continued, in the past four years to lead our country forward, even under the most trying circumstances.
35	The progress we have made in priority areas bears us testimony.

<b>Clause No.</b>	<b>President Goodluck Jonathan's Pre-Election Broadcast</b>	<b>GEJ/27/03/2015</b>
1	We are also glad	
2	that our gallant Armed Forces have successfully stemmed the seizure of Nigerian territories in the North-East by the terrorist group, Boko Haram.	
3	They have recaptured most of the communities and territories formerly occupied by the insurgents,	
4	making it possible for thousands of internally-displaced Nigerians to begin returning to their homes and communities.	
5	I heartily commend the very courageous men and women of our Armed Forces for the immense sacrifices	
6	which they continue to make in defending the nation and protecting its citizens.	

*Appendix C*

List of Material process clauses with Boko Haram as Actor.