

**A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S
SPEECHES DURING NIGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS**

By

OBITUBE, KELVINFRANCIS OLISAEMEKA

PG/M.A./13/65189

**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, IGBO AND OTHER NIGERIAN
LANGUAGES**

UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA

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APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved for the Department of Linguistics, Igbo and Other Nigerian Languages, University of Nigerian Nsukka

By

Dr. B. M. Mbah
Supervisor

External Examiner

Internal Examiner

Prof. R. I. Okorji
Head of Department

CERTIFICATION

Obitube, KelvinFrancisOlisaemeka with the registration number PG/M.A./13/65189, a postgraduate student in the Department of Linguistics, Igbo and Other Nigerian Languages, University of Nigeria, Nsukka has satisfactorily completed the requirements for the award of Masters Degree in Linguistics. The work embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or whole for any other diploma or degree of this or any other university.

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Dr. B. M. Mbah (Supervisor)

é é é é é é é é é é é é é é

Name of Candidate

é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é

Date

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Date

DEDICATION

To my family and all peace-loving people of all races

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENT

Approval Page é .é é é é é ..i

Certification é .é é é é é é ii

Dedication
é .é é é é ..iii

Acknowledgement é .é é é .é iv

Table of Content é ..é é év

Abstract
é .é é é ..vii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é é .1

 1.1. Background of the study é .1

 1.2. Statement of the problem é .3

 1.3. Purpose of the study é .4

 1.4. Research Questions é4

 1.5. Scope of the Study é ...5

 1.6. Significance of the Study é .é 5

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW é7

 2.0. Preamble é7

 2.1. Theoretical Studies é .é ..7

 2.2. Empirical Studies é .é é é é 19

 2.3. Summary of Literature Review é .é ..é é .33

 2.4. Theoretical Framework é ..é ..34

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....37

 3.0. Preamble é .é é é é é é é .37

 3.1. Research Design and Procedure é ..é é é ..37

 3.2. Area of Study é ...é é é é é é .37

 3.3. Population for the Study é ...é é ...38

 3.4. Sampling é ..é é é é é .38

 3.5. Instrument for Data Collection é38

 3.6. Method of Data Collection é ..38

 3.7. Method of Data Analysis é ..é ...39

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS é .41

Abstract

This research is on discourse analysis of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan during the celebration of Nigeria's Independence in 2012, 2013 and 2014. It studies the structure of these speeches, the ideologies of the President reflected through them, their information strength and their contemporary relevance. The work adopts Grice's co-operative principles, which incorporate the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner, for analysing its data. The study observes that the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan are structured into five sections, which include greetings and introduction of the occasion; incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeria's history and current status; highlighting the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them; messages of hope and promises and call for collective responsibility; conclusion with compliments. It observes that these five sections fulfil the co-operative maxim of quantity but have some statements which do not fulfil the maxims of quality, relation and manner. The ideological analysis shows that the President gradually realised the extent of his power and autonomy. He prefers collective responsibility of the nation's affairs. The speeches are contemporarily relevant during their delivery. Finally, the research observes that the speech in 2014 is more informative than that of 2012 and 2013. The research recommends the use of discourse analysis for the President for analysing and assessing his speeches before delivery and that Nigerians should pay attention to the Independence Day speeches in order to take adequate advantage of the information in them.

Key words: Independence Day, President, speech, discourse analysis, co-operative principle, ideology, contemporary relevance, information strength.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.7. Background of the study

Every country is defined by its history. All past and current events taking place within a country accumulate to make-up its history. These, therefore, follow that there is no country, be it an American country like the United States of America, a European country like England, an Asian country like China or an African country like Nigeria that does not have its own peculiar history. The history of a country, sometimes, dates back to its official recognition as an independent group or its official recognition as collection of people with a given or identified political structure. The history of Nigeria however, predates her independence which she won from her British colonialists on 1st October, 1960. This history, indeed, defines Nigeria.

It is in this regard that the researcher wishes to state that the success of every country involves building upon its own peculiar history. Countries come together to celebrate their history during certain days or periods of the year in the forms of national celebrations. For countries that had experienced colonialism (the forceful taking-over and control of a country by another superior country, especially, politically), the date they earn their independence/freedom from their colonial master(s) often becomes the greatest and most remarkable of their national days. Nigeria is not left-out in the practice of celebrating their independence day, which has now become an annual ritual.

On 1st October, 1960, Nigeria gained her independence from her colonial masters; and so, October 1 of every year is the most remarkable of all national day celebrations of the country. On this day, usually, the incumbent president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria delivers a speech to all the citizens of the country. In the speech, issues relating to or affecting the country are highlighted and homage is paid to its famous freedom fighters and leaders, who inspired the country's independence struggle. This equally serves as a veritable opportunity for the president to make promises of good governance and creation of a better country for the citizens, as well as making maximum effort to win the

confidence and support of the masses. To achieve this, the immense power of language is greatly employed and systematically used.

There is always the incidence or need of one to talk to a group or crowd of people just as there is equally the incidence or need to listen to a group or crowd of people (the public). In the end, what matters is the result obtained from each speech delivery. A speech is, thus, measured by its relevance or value. This is because every speech is delivered with an aim and, so, when the aim of a speech is achieved, the speech is said to be effective. Conversely, a speech that fails to achieve its aim or purpose is regarded as lacking in value; thus, it is ineffective. Consequently, the value of a speech can be viewed from two angles. The first angle is the intention of the speaker who delivers the speech while the second angle is the impact on the party being addressed.

From the first angle, which is the angle of the speaker, a delivered speech should be able to convey the thoughts and ideas, which the speaker possesses in his mind. Any other message(s) conveyed by the speech that falls short of these thoughts and ideas of the speaker cannot, in any way, be adjudged to have served its purpose. From the second angle, if the speech delivered evokes from the hearer, the kind of response anticipated by the speaker, the speech is said to possess value. It is, therefore, important to note here that the response exhibited by the hearer can be in certain forms. It can be in the form of possessing and believing in the words/message of the speech in the form of expressing or performing an intended or anticipated action.

It is, therefore, necessary to critically study and analytically discuss the language employed in the delivery of Nigeria's Independence-Day speeches by President Goodluck Jonathan, the President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in 2012, 2013 and 2014, in an attempt to manipulate the opinions of the Nigerian citizens in his favour, and to equally win their support. How meaning is conveyed through these speeches in order to create the desired effect for the president, is a concern of discourse semantics which is a branch of linguistics concerned with the study of meaning. So, it is expected that every word/utterance uttered within a linguistic context must not be devoid of meaning. Based on this, the extent of

consciousness, which the President exhibits in his choice and use of language while delivering his speeches will be x-rayed in this research work.

1.8. Statement of the problem

Over the years, several political speeches have been delivered across various places concerning various events in Nigeria and studies have been carried out by several scholars and researchers on these speeches. Some of these scholars include Ugwu (2013), Ibiere (2013), Waya (2012), Agbedo (2010), Agbedo and Akaan (2012), Aghalino (2004), Okorie (2011), Obitube (2014), Ndubuisi and Chinenye (2012). These scholars explored the various speeches of people who have been influential on their listeners or audience within the social, economic, cultural political and religious circles.

Studies conducted by these various scholars, though expansive and extensive in some areas, failed to pay attention to what this researcher sees as the cradle of all political speeches within a nation, which are the Independence Day speeches. The Independence Day speeches in celebration of Nigeria's independence from the white colonial masters are speeches, which define the political, social, economic, cultural and educational situation of the country at their various times or periods of delivery. Thus, the current state of affairs of any nation, especially the country Nigeria, is always depicted in the speeches delivered in the memory of, and celebration of the country's heroes and heroines as well as the several years of existence of the country.

Furthermore, these Independence Day speeches, which are avenues for the citizens to gain more knowledge about the state of affairs and the workings of the machinery of their country have been speeches, which many citizens of the country have failed to critically pay attention to, through careful studies, in order to decipher some semantic (meaningful) elements worth taking advantage of. The fact that every speech reveals the ideology or views of the speaker is equally a fact that many Nigerians have not realised. This has resulted in the inability of many Nigerian citizens to fully understand the hidden and overt contents of these Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan

and many citizens equally show ignorance of the existence of various laws, policies, as well as benefits which are highlighted in these speeches. Consequently, this research work seeks to adequately fill these gaps which have been identified.

1.9. Purpose of the study

The major aim of every speech is to communicate to an audience effectively, the intention(s) of the speaker. This researcher has set out to study the 2012, 2013 and 2014 speeches of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria during the celebration of the country's Independence Day. The content of these speeches, the ideas these speeches give us about the president himself, as well as how these speeches were delivered are key concerns of this research. Thus, the research aims to:

- find out the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan.
- expose the ideological perspectives of President Jonathan as reflected in his Independence Day speeches
- reveal the information strength of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan.
- find out the contemporary relevance of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan.

1.10. Research Questions

Sequel to the aim and objectives of this research, the researcher proposes the key research questions, which guide the progress of the research effort. These research questions are therefore vital as the success of this work is dependent on its ability to comprehensively answer them. The research questions are therefore outlined below:

- a. What is the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan?
- b. What are the ideological perspectives of President Goodluck Jonathan as reflected in his Independence Day speeches?

- c. What features of the speeches reveal the information strength of the Independence Day speeches?
- d. What is the contemporary relevance of the Independence Day speeches?

1.11.Scope of the Study

Content constraint is highlighted here because of the researcher's ability to put into consideration the expectations of some audience who may be anticipating some lines of discussion and analysis, as well as the incorporation of theories and frameworks other than what has been set out to achieve specifically. Some of these anticipated views may not be available within the content of the speeches under study as the researcher is very much limited to the content of the data available in order to do a thorough research work, rather than embark on analysis that has no empirical data or evidence within the speech.

Thus, the scope of this research work is discourse analysis. McCarthy (2011) states that discourse analysis is fundamentally concerned with the relationship between language and the contexts of its use. Consequently, the study is limited to finding out the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan, exposing his ideological perspectives as reflected in the speeches, revealing the information strength of the speeches, as well as finding out the contemporary relevance of the speeches.

Therefore, based on the purpose of the research highlighted above, this research work is limited to conducting a precise study of the 2012, 2013 and 2014 Independence Day Celebration speeches of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, within the framework of discourse analysis.

1.12.Significance of the Study

The utterances of political leaders have the performative force to persuade or manipulate the public (Ayoola 2005). This is a key point or factor that motivates the researcher to embark on this research as he seeks to study, analyse and reveal information, through the findings that he made about those speech indicators that reveal what listeners

or audience to political speeches ought to be paying attention to. I would like to first identify the parties that will benefit from the result(s) or findings of this research work.

The first party comprises the general public who include the citizens of Nigeria. The second party comprises the various scholars, writers and researchers, as well as the media who record these Independence Day speeches and transcribe them into various media of communication and make them as well as their own discussions available to the general public to read and assimilate. These are the two parties who will benefit from this research work.

By providing answers to what the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan is, any reader who picks up this work to read will get to understand the various issues that characterise speeches and know what to expect as well as what not to expect. Providing answers to what the ideological perspectives of President Goodluck Jonathan as reflected through his speeches are will help the reader to develop an objective and critical mind to enable him/her to evaluate the President's speeches better. Again, providing answers to the features of the speeches revealing their information strength will help the reader to develop the urge to pay attention to the Independence Day speeches of the President to know if there are pieces of information, which may be valuable to him/her. Finally, providing answers to whether the speeches possess contemporary relevance will help the reader, especially a Nigerian audience, to understand the need to develop interest in either listening to the President's Independence Day speeches or not to do so.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Preamble

The works of several authors, writers and researchers are found relevant to this research work. These relevant works are reviewed. To achieve this, the review is organized as theoretical studies, empirical studies and theoretical framework. A summary of these reviews is equally provided within this section.

2.5. Theoretical Studies

Language, according to Ndimele (1999:2), ñé is the vehicle by means of which human beings effect communication, and communication is concerned with the interaction (vocal or non-vocal) between or among human beings. According to Anagbogu, Mbah and Eme (2010), language is a means which humans use for communicating their ideas, feelings, emotions and desires, through complex vocal or written symbols. Agbedo (2007) also sees language as a medium for interaction and communication between people. He further asserts that the use of language equally reflects the infinite complexity of human relationship.

Language is a vehicle of speech delivery. Thus, according to Block, Amiot, Johnson, Nimmo, Von Almen, White and Zeno (1993), the components of speech production include phonation, producing sound, resonance, fluency, intonation, variance of pitch, voice and aeromechanical components of respiration. These authors contend that the components of language include phonology, manipulating sound according to the rules of a language, morphology and understanding and using minimal units of meaning. They maintain that the components equally include syntax, constructing sentences by using languages' grammar rules; semantics, interpreting signs or symbols of communication to construct meaning and pragmatics, social aspects of communication. These components of language all work together to produce the speaker's desired information.

Thus, according to Ayoola (2005:2), the utterances of political leaders have the performative force of persuading or manipulating the public. This is why the period of the celebration of Nigeria's Independence Day is always a crucial opportunity every

president uses to ensure that he sends his desired message(s) across to the citizens and, consequently, gain their support. This is done in various ways. The president can inform the public about the events going on in the country and can as well persuade the people to follow his desired course of action; knowing that his speech is always listened to by the majority of Nigerian citizenry through various media channels. These media channels can be situated within and outside the country such as televisions, radios, newspapers, the internet, etc. In line with this, Winterwood (1981:235) notes that the goals of persuasion are to move people to some action or to convince them to change an opinion. This is in line with the words of Adebisi (2006) that public oratory is a genre of public speaking designed to inform and persuade the audience. He maintains that the purpose of public speaking is to motivate, mobilise, educate, inform and, sometimes, to entertain the target audience. He further identifies four issues of interest in the speeches of Nigerian presidents as unity, national issue, international issue and Nigerian tradition.

It is based on these principles about speeches that the foregoing discussion justifies the words of Van Dijk (1998), that power is control and people who control most influential discourse also have chances to control the mind and action of other characters. The Independence Day celebration, therefore, serves as an event providing an opportunity, which no president is willing to miss out upon. However, care ought to be taken whenever attempts are made to take advantage of opportunities like this to deliver speeches to the general public. This is because speeches are not only the way people measure public men. Speeches have, also, been how people tell others who they are (Noonan, 1980). Care ought to be taken while composing speeches since presenting an address is to engage in a kind of social interaction (Lyons, 1977). According to Toolan (1998), an utterance involves a transfer rather than an exchange, as reciprocity may not be a permanent feature of talks. Thus, the president delivers his speeches while the citizens listen without feedback. The impact of his speeches is rather felt from the actions of the citizens in the immediate future.

Gee (2011) states that language allows people to do things; it enables people to engage in actions and activities, make promises, open committee meeting, propose to

their lovers, argue over politics, and ñtalk to Godò (pray). These are among the myriads of things done with language beyond giving and getting information. He further states that language allows people to take on different socially significant identities- speaking as experts- as doctors, lawyers, carpenters or as óeveryday peopleô Thus, he notes that to take on any identity at a given time and place, people have to ótalk the talkô not just ówalk the walkô He further states that when people are being gang members, they talk differently from the way ðhonour studentsô do, when they are playing their roles as students. Furthermore, he maintains that one and the same person could be both things at different times and places. Thus, the choice one makes about language expresses these facts.

According to Agbedo (2007:50), ñCertain languages can be perceived as soft, better, able to express emotions and feelings, whilst other ðhardô languages may be thought more capable of expressing concepts and ideas.ò From the words of this writer, one can understand that language choice can be made by a person in terms of changing a language entirely for another in a given situation (for instance, switching from the English language to the Igbo language), depending on how it is perceived by oneôs listeners, or making the choice of changing the stress pattern, tone or intonation of oneôs voice; that is, changing the pattern in which oneôs voice rises and falls, the loudness or mildness of one, the length of sentences, as well as, the complexity or simplicity of the words contained within the sentences of oneôs language of choice, etc.

Furthermore, Agbedo (2007) states that language choice may be affected by utilitarian considerations. Thus, a speaker may feel that the use of a particular language places him in an advantaged position either within a group or within a wider social context. He further states that it should be clear that a large number of factors influences language choice, and many factors may work either with or against each other, producing a complete web of interaction, which makes a task of describing any one language-choice event extremely difficult. Thus, man makes his choice of language according to the series of occurring events that arise as long as it yields him a desired result. The reasons for speaking can be positive or negative. The reasons for which anyone makes this choice is

always dependent on the ability of that chosen language to enable one to achieve whatever one aims or sets out to achieve within a given speech community.

Based on the foregoing, Swales (1990:29) states that a discourse community has ñ...mechanisms of intercommunication among its members, has acquired some specific lexis, possess one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims and has a broadly agreed set of common public goals. From these words, it is understood that Swales (1990) projects the characteristics of what can be described as a society of people. This author establishes that members who make up a given society must have a means and the inclination to communicate, noting that they must have a language or medium of interaction that is knowledgeable to them. Swales (1990) equally went on to assert that these people who make up a society do possess preferred style(s) with which to communicate with each other or one another and as always the case with any unit of people, whether political, social, economic or cultural, they must have common goal(s) that they aim to achieve. A review of some theories is done to help shed more light on this present work.

i. Ethnography of speaking

Based on the need to achieve effective speech, Hymes (1962) puts forward a theory of language study, which he titles ‘Ethnography of speaking’. Most ethnography of communication researchers still tend to pay greater attention to speaking as it is generally considered to be a more prominent means of communication among several other means, which include non-verbal means (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Lenore (2000) posits that ethnography of communication rests on the basic premise that linguistic items cannot be understood without reference to the context; both linguistic and extra-linguistic, in which they are used.

According to Duranti (2011:201), ethnography of speaking studies language use as displayed in the daily life of particular speech communities. Thus, this approach to language study aims to point out the codes, which a speech community employs that are essential to their need of actualising communication activities. Thus, it pays attention to

the types of meaning associated with various kinds of communication event. Ethnography of communication also concerns itself with how the members of a group get used to or internalise or learn those codes which, in turn, provide information about the speech community in particular. Information provided by this approach helps to promote knowledge of the various groups or speech communities within an area and, thus, enhance communication among individuals within the community.

According to Littlejohn & Foss (2005), Dell Hymes, with his proposition of the ethnography of communication, suggests that cultures communicate in different ways, but all forms of communication require a shared code, communicators who know and use the code, a channel, a setting, a message form, a topic, and an event created by transmission of the message. These have come to symbolise what scholars of ethnography of communication regard as the 'Paradigms of Ethnography of Speaking/Communication'. This means that for any communication event to be actualised, there must be a common language or code that all the parties involved must understand or share in common. There are 'interactants' or communicators present. There is, also, a channel through which the codes/language are passed through; which can be through speech/voice, written channel, etc. Also, it is recognised that there is a place where any communication event takes place and there is, equally, a context within which same occurs. Finally, there is a message or information passed or exchanged during any communication event.

According to Durant (2011), the method of ethnography of speaking is ethnography, supplemented by techniques developed in other areas of study such as developmental pragmatics, conversation analysis, poetics and history. This assertion is a strong one as it categorically points out the various fields, which influenced the ideas that formed the methodology adopted by ethnography of speaking/communication in conducting its studies. While developmental pragmatics is concerned with how a child acquires the competencies underlying the rule-governed employment of speech in interpersonal situations (Ninio and Snow 1999), conversation analysis concerns itself with the various techniques that are adopted while discussions are in progress in order to

ensure that the parties in the discussion adequately participate without infringement or distortion of a linguistic interaction or communication. History is concerned with the origin of a phenomenon or how a thing came into existence while poetics is concerned with the theory of poetry of literature in general.

According to Abrahams and Bauman (1971), the theoretical contributions of ethnography of speaking/communication are centred on the study of situated discourse, that is, linguistic performance as the locus of the relationship between language and socio-cultural order. From the words of these authors, ethnography of speaking/communication is chiefly concerned with studying the way the speakers of a language express their prowess in the use of their language for speaking or communicating with each other or with one another. In showing their prowess, they express their knowledge of the language in relation to how certain peculiar ideas, thoughts, views and opinions are best expressed, which of course may differ from the way they are expressed in another linguistic community, society or setting.

ii. Pragmatics

Pragmatics is another field of study that scholars of discourse express great interest in. According to Agbanusi (2010:463), "pragmatics is an American philosophy, which seeks to relate philosophy to practical life by making practical relevance and usefulness the criteria for truth and meaning." He also notes that pragmatism is a philosophical theory, which attempts to provide a method for determining the meaning and value of an idea. It was founded by Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). In one of his formulations of the basic principle of pragmatism, continues Agbanusi, Peirce has it that to ascertain the meaning of an intellectual conception, one should consider what practical consequences might conceivably result by necessity from the truth of the conception and the sum of these consequences will constitute the entire meaning of the conception.

According to Agbanusi (2010), the development of pragmatism was engineered by John Dewey and William James who lived between 1859-1952 and 1842-1910 respectively. William James, whose efforts were more significant to the development of

pragmatics notes in his various collections of essays that whatever is true is what works in practice or what is simple and convenient in the way people think. In other words, pragmatics concerns itself with those aspects of meaning that are easily practical and verifiable, as well as have obvious value or significant presence in a given human society.

Yule (1996:127) on his own part sees pragmatics as ñe the study of intended speaker meaningò. Thus, this author tries to clarify the thin line between semantics narrowed within language studies and a broader application of semantics. He thus identifies the field of pragmatics as a field that goes beyond the study of meaning as it reflects within words used in phrases and sentences, which semantics is concerned about. He therefore states thus (1996:127),

Pragmatics is the study of ñinvisibleò meaning, or how we recognize what is meant even when it isn't actually said. In order for that to happen, speakers (and writers) must be able to depend on a lot of shared assumptions and expectations. The investigation of those assumptions provides us with some insight into how more gets communicated than is said.

From the postulations, one understands that pragmatics represents a broader application of the study of semantics which is concerned with ñthe study of meaningò as one is able to make several meanings deductively from a stretch of utterances based on the society or context in which they are uttered. It is based on these assumptions and expectations which one anticipates from a speaker within a society or context that one is able to derive additional meanings, which may not be found within a word, phrase or sentence.

Mey (1993) notes that pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics and semiotics (the study of the meaning of signs and symbols), which studies the ways in which context contributes to meaning. By extension, context here encompasses the manner, the place and the time a speech is made. He maintains that it is in this way that the speakers and listeners in a speech activity are able to overcome ambiguity. He equally states that pragmatics encompasses speech act theory, conversational implicature, talk in interaction and other approaches to language behaviour in philosophy, sociology, linguistics and anthropology.

Ninio and Snow (1999:2) maintain that the proper concern of pragmatics is the description of phenomena related to the use of meaningful linguistic forms for communicative purposes. In all, the interest of pragmatics is the study of the meaning a speaker projects with regard to his beliefs and intentions, the context upon which meaning is derived (as context influences the meaning of any message conveyed), the shared knowledge about the identity of the speaker, time and place of the speech event, the study of the underlying meaning expressed (i.e., implicatures of statements), the determinants of a speaker's language choice, as well as, the demarcation between what a speaker says and the meaning(s) he intends to express or the meaning(s) which he does not intend to pass through to the listener(s).

iii. Speech act theory

Another theory known as the speech act theory accounts for an utterance that has performative function in language and communication. According to Bach (1987), "Almost any speech act is really the performance of several acts at once, distinguished by different aspects of the speaker's intention: there is the act of saying something, what one does in saying it, such as requesting or promising, and how one is trying to affect one's audience." Acts such as promising, ordering, greeting, warning, inviting and congratulating are commonly incorporated within 'Speech Acts' as they are regarded or described as actions performed by speakers and in most cases, they equally compel responses on the part of the addressee which can be in the form of verbal or attitudinal response, where movement involving the performance of an action is compelled.

According to Bach & Harnish (1979), speech act theory was developed from the philosophical theories of Wittgenstein. Wittgenstein believes that meaning derives from pragmatic tradition, demonstrating the importance of how language is used to accomplish objectives within specific situations. Littlejohn (2009) asserts that by following rules to accomplish a goal, communication becomes a set of language games. Thus, utterances do more than reflect a meaning, they are words designed to get things done. Based on this fact, speech act theory has three levels of analysis introduced by Austin (1962). These

include the locutionary act, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act. According to Ndimele (1999), a locutionary act is an act of producing a grammatical and meaningful utterance, recognisable from the point of view of the hearer. Illocutionary act/force is the intended effect that an utterance ought to have on the hearer from the point of view of the speaker. The speaker may want his hearer to understand his utterance as a question, warning, threat, command, request, an invitation, etc. Perlocutionary act/effect is the actual effect which the words of the speaker has on beliefs and attitudes (behaviour) of the hearer; intentionally or not.

Oishi (2006:3) presents an account of Austin's (1962) views about speech act theory in his statement that runs thus:

Austin specifies performativity, formerly introduced as an intuitive idea of (performing an act). He introduces the concept of illocutionary acts, and carefully distinguishes them from locutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts include phonetic acts, phatic acts, and rhetic acts. Phonetic acts are acts of pronouncing sounds, phatic acts are acts of uttering words or sentences in accordance with the phonological and syntactic rules of the language to which they belong, and rhetic acts are acts of uttering a sentence with sense and more or less definite reference. Perlocutionary acts are, on the other hand, acts attributed to the effect of uttering a sentence. Austin says that in uttering a sentence, the speaker performs an illocutionary act of having a certain force, which is different from the locutionary act of uttering the sentence, which is to have a meaning, and also from the perlocutionary act performed by uttering the sentence, which is to achieve certain effects. By these distinctions, Austin shows that, unlike locutionary acts, illocutionary acts have a force, and, unlike perlocutionary acts,

illocutionary acts are valid and complete without being reduced to the effect of it.

The above presents a clear explanation about speech act theory and these explanations represent a summary of what the speech act theory is all about.

iv. Discourse analysis

Another theory that is relevant is Discourse Analysis (DA). According to Bowles (2008), Discourse analysis is concerned with meaning in use, that is, the meaning which is produced by speakers/writers and understood by listeners/readers in everyday life. This theory analyses both spoken and written texts in order to reflect the intrinsic meaning of their content. Wodak and Meyer (2008) distinguish Critical Discourse Analysis from Discourse Analysis by stating that the significant difference between Discourse Structure (DS) or Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Structure (CDS) or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) lies in the constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach of the latter, apart from endorsing all of the above points. CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena, which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach; that is, CDA is concerned with studying language and how it reflects societal problems. This is the theory which this research has adopted for achieving its research objectives.

Another theory similar to the discourse analysis is critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis arose from 'critical linguistics' (CL) and both terms are now interchanged quite often. It equally states that CDA was first developed by the Lancaster school of linguistics of which Norman Fairclough was the most prominent figure. According to Fairclough and Holes (1995), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced in text and talk. Being interdisciplinary means that it is an approach that can be applied in various fields of study. According to Van Dijk (2007:352),

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus, want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Van Dijk (2007) equally contends that critical research on discourse focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions, and that rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure. He equally has it that more specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Van Dijk (1993) claims that CDA's aim is to investigate the role of discourse in the production or reproduction and challenge of dominance. Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by the elites, institutions or groups that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality.

2.5.1. Speech/Discourse Structuring

According to Bowles (2008), there are a number of terms for the way in which discourse is organised – staging / thematisation / topicalisation. These terms refer to the way the speaker/writer controls perspective (*point of view / empathy*) on what is said. Staging can occur at the level of sentence or the level of discourse. “Every clause, sentence, paragraph, discourse is organised around an element that is taken as its point of departure” (Grimes, 1975). This “point of departure” can be regarded as a sense of focus which speakers/writers and listeners/readers possess. The discourse analyst needs to be able to identify what this point of departure is and how it is managed by speakers/writers.

Based on the above statements, the structuring of speeches is done in a way as to reflect the various intentions and information that are meant to be disseminated; a speech sometimes, can contain more than one topic or issue of discussion. In most cases equally, contemporary issues affecting a given society at a given time comprise the content of a speech, especially, a political speech. These contents, which can be incorporated within a speech spring up the issue of speech structuring. The way one carries out the act of speaking to the public is one that is consciously articulated and structured, especially when it is politically motivated.

Thus, Denecke (1999) describes the action of structuring speeches by stating that one considers the performative aspect of a speech act to be limited to an update of the discourse, including models of intentions. He further states that the information provided by some speech act may contribute to the information available in the discourse in different ways. He also maintains that incoming information may be compatible with the information available in the discourse and that it increases the specificity towards a goal. One can understand that the organisation or structuring of speech, which he sees as a performance of a speech act, to be dependent on the content and emerging information which are meant to be incorporated within the speech.

The author equally portrays that one's mind is always set on the achievement of the intent for a speech while structuring the speech. Denecke (1999) also portrays this by stating thus, "The relations between information in the discourse and the intentions of the user help us to infer a hierarchical structure of discourse. Each level in the hierarchy consists of a list of possibly underspecified feature structures and references to levels below the current level". The structure is inferred as information enters the system. If a new speech act is classified as opening a sub-dialogue, a new level below the current one is created. If a communicative goal is reached, the current level is closed and the level above the current one becomes the current level again.

Burhanudeen (2006), in his own view, highlights the content of speeches and the pattern in which they are structured. According to the author, political speeches, particularly, diplomatic speeches often contain sections of greetings, praise, the

summoning cooperation section, and finally, conclusion. He equally states that it is in this way that the speeches are often structured alongside any other components a speech intends to incorporate. No matter the form a political speech takes, there is always a structure formulated for it. As Burhanudeen (2006) states, it is indeed the fact that every properly planned political speech is structured to offer greetings to its audience before embarking on the intentions of the speech. A speech, also, always has a conclusion.

2.5.2. Multi-ethnic and multilingual situation of Nigeria

This section sheds light on the socio-political structure of Nigeria for a better understanding of the background of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches. According to Odinye and Odinye (2012:169), "The name Nigeria did not exist before because the regions (that make up the country) were never one. They (each of the regions) had their own defined and distinguished territories that were marked by their different cultures, unique languages, kingdoms and systems of rural leadership. However, the intrusion of the British as a result of their interest in slave trade and palm oil business, made them bring these regions with no common features together as a nation". Thus, Nigeria is a country made up of several ethnic and religious groups. The citizens in the southern hemisphere of the country are predominantly Christians while those in the northern hemisphere are predominantly Muslims. These divisions, which are both ethnic and religious form the strong base on which the Nigerian nation arose and is composed of.

According to Anita and Haruna (1997:137), ethnicity is "a dynamic set of inherited and acquired identity markers (such as creed, mores, language, occupation, territory, skin, colour, etc.) by which membership of a group is evaluated and/or by which this collectivity distinguishes itself from an out-group with which it interacts". From the words of these authors, one can understand that an ethnic group is identified by the fact that the individuals who make it up form a homogenous group. There are several factors they share in common as identified above. Consequently, anyone who is not part of the ethnic group is often conspicuously identified by lack of one or some of these factors or

qualities with which the members of the speech community are identified. One major conspicuous factor distinguishing the various ethnic groups in Nigeria is language.

There are many languages that are spoken in Nigeria. According to Ifechelobi (2010:504), "Nigeria is a thoroughly multilingual nation having over four hundred different languages. A community-based definition of multilingualism, according to Agbedo (2007), suggests the existence of speech communities where more than two languages are used for communication purposes. This is in contrast to monolingualism, which describes the state or situation of using a single language within a given speech community, and bilingualism, which suggests a situation where two languages are used in a given speech area. Being a multi-ethnic and multilingual nation-state, Nigeria is faced with a lot of challenges, which are deeply rooted in variations of cultural identity.

Okeke (2010:248) categorically asserts, "That the cultural entity called Nigeria is an amalgamation of peoples with different cultural and religious backgrounds would be stating an obvious fact". He goes on to write that "...it is pertinent to emphasise that the fact that the diversity in culture, traditions and religion of the peoples of Nigeria is the cause(s) of ethno-religious violence that the nation has been witnessing in the last five decades of her independence, although historical evidences show that such cases predate Nigeria's independence." This fact prompts Odinye and Odinye (2012) to state that the very act by the British government to forcefully merge various largely heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic groups/nations together into one country has been seen by Nigerians as the real cause of the political, religious and cultural tension in the contemporary Nigerian society.

2.6. Empirical Studies

Over the years, several writers and researchers have conducted studies aimed at analysing the speeches of various individuals and groups of individuals. Some of these

writers and researchers include Ugwu (2013), Okorie (2011), Waya (2012), Ken-Maduako (2013), Nwankwere (2012), Ahamefula and Okoye (2012), among others.

In a research conducted by Okorie (2011) on the various communicative strategies that are employed by political campaigners in Enugu State, he adopts a descriptive approach to language analysis with the aim of informing people about the forms of language which are usually employed by politicians and political campaigners in the state. In his study, he observes that there are regularly occurring words, which he notes, tend to captivate the minds of the listeners, when they are spoken or expressed. He lists some of these words and the meaning they send across to the minds of the listeners or audience thus:

Lexicon Meaning

Roads: New constructions and rehabilitation of road network

Light: Power steadiness

School: U.B.E. - Universal Basic Education for all

Security: Defence against attacks

Water: Pipe-borne water

Job opportunities: Building of industries

The researcher equally observes that the word 'negotiation' is always evident in the communicative strategies of political campaigners in Enugu State as they use the word to mean an agreement arrived at by the political parties and the citizens on the course of voting, which would be expected to fulfil once the term is arrived at.

The similarities between this research by Okorie (2011) and the current research is the interest both works have in political speeches. The differences lie in the fact that while the work of different people were analysed in his work, this research analyses the speech of one individual- President Goodluck Jonathan. The objectives equally differ, in that, while Okorie (2011) aims to and points out the various communicative strategies employed by campaigners in Enugu state to draw people's attention, this current research aims at finding out the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President

Goodluck Jonathan, exposing his ideological perspectives as reflected in them, revealing their information strength and finding out their contemporary relevance.

Igwedibia (2011) is a study on selected political speeches of Barack Obama. The researcher's aims were to discover the extent to which the co-operative principles of quantity could be applied to the political speeches of Obama, to find out the degree to which his political speeches violate the principles of quantity and quality, as well as to discover the extent to which his political speeches violate the principles of manner and relation. To achieve these objectives, the researcher adopted Grice's conversational implicature. In conducting this study, the researcher analysed five speeches of Barack Obama. These speeches were entitled: *Race to America*, *Political Reform*, *Religion*, *Education Reform* and *Economic Renewal*.

From the study, the researcher observes that using pragmatic principles to analyse speeches is very important, 'especially when political speeches are involved' as it reveals the extent of cooperation and understanding between the interactants in the speech context. Another observation made is that Mr. Barack Obama's political speeches are better understood and appreciated with the application of Grice's principle, which encompasses the maxim of quantity, manner and relation as their application make it clear and easy to notice where there are conformations as well as deviations from the maxims, and the drawing of both the entailment and implied meanings in those speeches. The researcher equally observes that the political speeches of Mr. Barack Obama obeyed the Grice's co-operative principle by generally being as informative as possible, well founded, extensively relevant in their respective contexts, and have the posture of perspicuity or clarity.

The research by Igwedibia (2011) and this current work are similar in their interest studying the speeches of world leaders as they look at the speeches of Mr. Barack Obama and that of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan respectively. Both researches equally employ Grice's co-operative principle in their analysis of their respective data. However, the two researches have their differences. In Igwedibia (2011), the aims of the study were limited to discovering the extent to which the co-operative principles of quantity could be applied

to the political speeches of Obama, finding out the degree to which his political speeches violate the principles of quantity and quality, as well as the principles of manner and relation. The researcher's observation shows that he does not violate, but rather, obeys them. On the other hand, the current research has a broader purpose of study as it studies the structure of President Jonathan's speeches, his ideologies reflected through the speeches, as well as, the information strength and contemporary relevance of his speeches, as well as, provides an in-depth analysis of the President's personality evidenced through the ideological analysis of his speeches.

Ugwu (2013) is a research on language use among the clergy in the Anglican Communion with the purpose of drawing attention to the manipulative use of language by the clergy in the Anglican Communion, which is in contrast to the teachings and doctrine of Jesus Christ. The researcher adopts the critical discourse analytical framework. To do this, he particularly chose two Anglican churches which are St. Emmanuel Anglican Church and Our Saviour's Anglican Church, both at Obudu in Cross-River State of Nigeria. He conducted his study by distinguishing the various aspects that make up a service session in these churches and studying the speech of the clergy in each session of church-service such as 'message preamble', 'message', 'announcement' and 'rejoinder' sessions. In doing so, he was able to observe that in the speeches of the clergy in Anglican Communion, declaratives in the message preamble, message, announcement and rejoinder sessions with the following respective percentages: 10.73%, 11.94%, 12.64% and 11.90% were much higher than grammatical questions and imperatives that were employed.

According to this researcher, the declarative statements employed in the message preamble session are introduced with expressions such as: 'You know', 'We don't', 'This is', 'It is', 'I know', 'Man of God appealed', 'I am', 'Each person is', 'You don't', 'God is', 'God says', 'God inspired', 'Let us agree', 'You are', 'Let's remove', 'Writing that says', etc. He also identified expression used for introducing declarative statements employed in the message sessions to include: 'People desire', 'You know', 'We are', 'A brother called', 'You see', 'We are seeing', 'They look up', 'People weydey do', 'House

of God must not be, ‘‘Houses that are,’’ ‘‘We are saying,’’ ‘‘The work of God is,’’ etc. For expressions which introduce or begin declaratives used during the announcement session, the researcher identifies them to include ‘‘I know,’’ ‘‘I will not like,’’ ‘‘Humble appeal was,’’ ‘‘You help,’’ ‘‘We can now come,’’ ‘‘We are appealing,’’ etc.; while expressions which begin declaratives used during the rejoinder session are identified to include ‘‘Some of us,’’ ‘‘Our small group is,’’ ‘‘Nobody should alter,’’ etc.

The researcher finds out that there was a greater use of declarative statements in ‘‘Message preamble,’’ ‘‘Message, Announcements’’ and ‘‘Rejoinder’’ sections of the church service than grammatical questions and imperatives with which the clergy assume the position of ‘‘a giver of information while the congregation assume the position of ‘‘receiver of information.’’ He further observes that the information focus or ‘‘subject of the theme’’ on ‘‘the rejoinder’’ is the issue of money (which is dubbed- Tithe) which the addresses are to bring/give to the church. This is the same with the ‘‘Message,’’ ‘‘Announcement’’ and ‘‘Rejoinder’’ sections of the church service. He equally observes that for the ‘‘Rejoinder’’ section, focus was placed on authority and power exercise. He equally observes that having placed themselves on a perceived sanctimonious level, whatever information from the clergy were viewed sanctimonious and responses to any question from the pulpit was mainly an affirmation, but never a disagreement.

The similarities between this research by Ugwu (2013) and the current research is the adoption of discourse analysis as theoretical framework and the analysis of speeches made by individuals. However, the different speeches of different clergymen were analysed by the researcher while the current research analyses the three different speeches of an individual. The objectives equally differ. While Ugwu (2013) aims and points out the various discourse strategies employed by the clergy to draw people’s attention to their manipulative use of language for purposes, which are in contrast to the teachings of Jesus Christ, the current research aims at finding out the structural pattern of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan, exposing his ideological perspectives as reflected in them, revealing their information strength and finding out their contemporary relevance.

In another research, this time by Ken-Maduako (2013), the various speeches on the Niger-Delta Crisis in Nigeria were studied with the key objectives of:

- investigating and determining the discourse strategies employed by the different groups and stake holders in the Niger Delta crisis
- exposing the use of non-literal communication by Nigerians in conflict situations, and
- highlighting the applicability of pragmatics in communication during crisis situations and problem resolution

To achieve this, the researcher adopts the discourse analytical framework. The researcher identifies the various sides which she picked as her research population. The first population is the in-group, made up of those for resource control, the Niger Delta activists, host communities, academic militants (through protest literature), and their supports; the second is the out-group, that is, those against resource control, comprising the federal government, the multi-national oil companies and their supporters; while the third population comprise the neutral parties both within and beyond Nigeria, comprising those that are neither for nor against resource control.

By analysing the speeches of former Nigerian Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida; Isaac Boro; Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa, Emeritus Professor of History in the University of Port Harcourt; and Ken Saro-Wiwa, the researcher observes that the out-group population, especially the individuals or groups of individuals within the government circle, employ propaganda in the form of name calling such as *árebelô*, *áraitôrô* and many other names, which resulted in the conviction and killing of some Niger Delta leaders and the consequent face threats and the escalation of the conflict. The researcher also observes, from her study, that the in-group on their own part, resorted to this propagandist strategy in their condemnation of government. Thus, they also resorted to name calling such as *átyrantsô* (Boyloaf), *áterroristsô* (student activist), *áexploiterô* and so on.

The researcher also observes that the use of deictic expression, such as the inclusive *óweô* along with its different grammatical derivations to pragmatically connote collective ideologies of the in-group as well as the use of linguistic structures that appear in the

forms of exaggerations and generalisations. A mixture and interchange between the collective *óweô* and the personalised *ôlô* was equally observed in the use of pronouns by the former Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida. Also, the researcher observes the predominant use of the structure *ñgovernment willò, ñgovernment will set upò* by the out-group, especially the government officials in their bid to persuade, make promises and plead with the people of Niger Delta. She equally observes that the use of the modal auxiliary *ówillô* produced the pragmatic implicature of an unfulfilled promise and an unfinished task.

This work is similar to this work on the basis of the adoption of the theoretical framework of discourse analysis and observed the use of different discourse structures in order to achieve the intention of speaking by the various speakers. However, there are significant differences between the research by Ken-Maduako (2013) and the current work. The difference stems from the fact that while she paid attention to the speeches of several individuals, this current research pays attention to the speeches of an individual-President Goodluck Jonathan. Her attention was on the various speeches made on the Niger Delta conflict while the current research looks at the Independence Day speeches of President Jonathan. Again, while the researcher aimed and achieved the purpose of investigating and determining the discourse strategies employed by the different groups and stake holders in the Niger Delta crisis, exposing the use of non-literal communication by Nigerians in conflict situations, and highlighting the applicability of pragmatics in communication during crisis situations and problem resolution, this current research goes an extra mile to reveal the information strength of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan and their contemporary relevance.

Burhanudeen (2006) is a study on diplomatic language with the aim of revealing the components that characterise such speeches as being diplomatic. To do this, he adopted discourse analytical framework also, to examine the various speeches which had been delivered in international diplomacy. Such speeches include Thabo Mbekiô (Then President of South Africa) opening address during the Non-Aligned Movement conference on 24 February 2003; Hamid Karzaiô (President of the Transitional Islamic

State of Afghanistan) opening salutations during the 10th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference; and that of President Vladimir Putin, President of Russia, during the same Islamic Summit Conference. From the outcome of his study, he observes that speeches in the international diplomacy domain generally have four sections. The first section is the opening salutation. This section is then followed by the greetings and praise section, the summoning cooperation section, and finally the conclusion.

Burhanudeen (2006) presents Thabo Mbeki's (Then President of South Africa) expression in the greeting section, thus:

Your Majesties

Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government

Your Excellencies Ministers, High Commissioners and Ambassadors

Distinguished Delegates, Observers and Guests

Ladies and Gentlemen

Burhanudeen (2006) in his analysis, notes that the example above shows that royalty is always given precedence followed by Heads of State, Ministers, Ambassadors, High Commissioners and finally all others as ladies and gentlemen. This is the expected convention when there are many dignitaries to mention by name.

In analysing Hamid Karzai's (President of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan) opening salutations during the 10th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference (OIC) where the leader of the host country, the Honourable Prime Minister, Mathathir Mohammad, is acknowledged before other members which runs thus:

Our Gracious host, Honourable Prime Minister, Mathathir Mohammad,

Chairman of the 10th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference

Your Majesties

Your Royal Highnesses

Your Excellencies

Brothers and sisters

Assalam o Alaikum! (Peace be upon you),

the researcher notes that the example above has ‘brothers and sisters instead of ‘dadies and gentle-men’ and a greeting common in the Islamic world, ‘Assalam o Alaikum!’ (Peace be upon you) which were considered unconventional for general use in the diplomatic discourse community internationally. This arises from the fact that though the conference was largely made up of Muslim delegates, there were also those of the non-Islamic faith in attendance. The researcher further notes that it is, however, accepted in the Islamic discourse community.

In analysing President Putin’s opening salutation which was simply:

Mr. Chairman

Meeting Participants,

the researcher notes that President Putin’s opening salutation simply acknowledged the Chairman, the Prime Minister of Malaysia in this case, followed by Royalty, Ministers, High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Heads of state all subsumed under Meeting Participants. He maintains that although this type of salutation was regarded by the interview team as unconventional in the international diplomacy context, it reflects the vestige of an egalitarian communist society where everybody is considered equal; hence, possibly, the salutation ‘Meetings Participants’ as transposed from comrades.

The reviewed research by Burhanudeen (2006) is similar to this current work with respect to similar adoption of the discourse analytical theory. However, the two researches differ conspicuously. The research, just like the previously reviewed researchers, study different speeches of different individuals, the current research studies only the speeches of one individual. Again, the current research goes beyond studying the structure of the speeches by the various world leaders. It studies the structure adopted in the three speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan and the ideological perspectives of the President Jonathan as reflected in them. It equally reveals the information strength of the speeches and also finds out the contemporary relevance of the speeches.

Nwankwere’s (2012) research on the possible influences of affective expressions on government officials in Nigeria is another empirical work. Her purpose for the research includes revealing the linguistic form of affective expressions used by the ‘Subject’

(godfathers, personal assistants, servants and stooges of politicians, as well as sycophants) and Object 1ô (political or government officers/officials) in a discourse and the outcome of their relationship. To achieve this, she employs the theoretical framework of discourse analysis too. In her study, the researcher identifies the following affective expressions:

Onyeeze/eze -	king, Royalty
Onyenwe m/mmadu -	My/Our Lord/Master
Nna m/Nnaanyiukwu -	My/Our Lord/Master
Ugoeze/Ugweze -	Queen
Oso di eme/achi -	Queen
Igolo (gbakaraonwa) -	Shooting star/Epitome of beauty
Onye m/Onye (n)ke m -	My own/personal person
Opelenge (Yoruba) -	A slim and beautiful/handsome man

This researcher goes on to give examples of affective expressions in the forms of statements or sentences and praise names employed for instance in the Igbo land such as in Anambra state, Nigeria. They include expressions such as:

i di anyimma -	You are good for us.
ina-ewetaoku -	You make things happen
Anukporonkuna-ejuonu -	You are very strong, hard, insurmountable, indestructible, and so on
Aka jiigweô among others -	Formidable; Pillar of the people/sky.

In her findings, the researcher observes that affective expressions are employed while addressing political office holders, and most negatively, in government circles in Nigeria and that the purpose for which the 'Subject' (speaker) uses them in communicating with 'Object 1ô (listener/hearer) is for selfish gains. She notes that in situations where Object 1 are 'wolves in sheep clothing' (bad leaders), they collude with the Subject to loot the treasury (public fund).

The similarity between Nwankwere's (2012) research and the current work lies in the adoption of the discourse analytical theory. However, the two researches differ

conspicuously. The research studies different speeches of different individuals without specifically identifying who said what while the current research studies only the speeches of one properly identified individual-President Goodluck Jonathan. Again, the current research goes beyond studying the structure of the speeches. It studies both the structure adopted in the three speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan, and also exposes the ideological perspectives of the speaker. It equally reveals the information strength of the speeches and also finds out the contemporary relevance of the speeches.

Waya (2012) in his own study, conducts a pragmatic analysis of victory and inaugural speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. The aim of his research is to explain the roles, which the speech act theory plays in 'the status of governance and good governance' as reflected through the speeches being studied. To achieve this, he adopted the 'Speech-Act' theoretical framework. In these speeches, he recognises some kinds of expression he categorises as 'assertive speeches' such as:

This is a new dawn! Our nation has spoken;

At the end of intense and hard fought campaigns by all the political parties, our people spoke through the ballot.

He also presents expressions, which he identifies as 'commissive speeches' such as:

I will continue to fight for your future because I am one of you;

I want to assure you, that I will do my utmost at all times to continue to deserve your trust.

He also identifies the following 'directive speeches' such as:

We must develop its vast resources to tackle poverty and under-development;

Now is time for all Nigerians to reach out to their neighbour;among others

From his analysis, he observes that through the roles of speech-act, one can easily understand through the speeches that democratic government places premium on the interest of the people, noting that in his victory and inaugural speeches, President Goodluck Jonathan made less use of 'overdictive speeches' that were used in the commanding sense and more use of 'assertive speeches' He also observes that speech acts, in a work, portrays the personality of a speaker and that the President as a political

leader, at every point, acknowledges his family background and the circumstances that brought him to power.

Wayas (2012) research and this current work show similarity in the study of the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan as a political leader and also his personality. However, the two researches have their differences. The study by Waya (2102) aims at explaining the roles which the speech act theory plays in the status of governance and good governance and equally highlights that speech acts reveal the President's personality, while the current research studies the structure of his speeches, his ideologies reflected through the speeches, as well as, the information strength and contemporary relevance of his speeches, as well as, provides an in-depth analysis of the president's personality evidenced through the ideological analysis of his speeches. Again, while his research adopts the 'Speech-Act theoretical framework, this current research adopts the discourse analytical theory. Also, Waya (2012) paid attention to the study of the President's victory and inaugural speeches while the current research studies his Independence Day speeches of 2012, 2013 and 2014.

In the study by Ahamefula and Okoye (2012), they look at the use of language by the then president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. Their aim is to find out if he obeys or violates the laid-down rules for a successful speech act. They adopt the theoretical frameworks of Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle. Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle states that there is a general agreement of cooperation between a speaker and a hearer during a conversation and he expresses them as Quantity (speech to be as informative as possible), Quality (one should not say what you believe to be false or lack evidenced of), Relation (one to be relevant in conversation) and Manner (one should be articulate and clear enough). Thus, they point out the following expressions in the then president's words, which they observe from their findings to buttress their point:

This idiot, go get a job- a statement he used against the media chiefs to express his frustration towards their attempts to analyse and broadcast his words and actions as the President;

Shut up- his outburst to the victims of Ikeja Military Cantonment Bomb blast when they cried out to him for mercy;
Go to Hell- a statement he made referring to an Igbo lawyer during a visit to Atlanta

From their analysis, these researchers point out that the then President violates the basic tenets of the Gricean co-operative principle and Austin's felicity conditions which propagate the need for good communication between and among people and groups of people.

The research by Ahametula and Okoye (2012) and this current work are similar in their interest in the study of speeches of Nigerian Presidents as they look at the speeches of former President Olusegun Obasanjo while the current research looks at the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. Both equally employ the co-operative principle in their analysis of their respective data. However, the two researches have their differences. Their study employ the speech-act theory in their analysis while the current research does not. Also, their purpose of study is limited to finding out if former President Obasanjo obeys or violates the laid-down rules for a successful speech. Their observation shows he does not. On the other hand, the current research has a broader purpose of study as it studies the structure of President Jonathan's speeches, his ideologies reflected through the speeches, the information strength and contemporary relevance of his speeches, as well as an in-depth analysis of the president's personality evidenced through the ideological analysis of his speeches.

2.7. Summary of Literature Review

The review of literatures done in this work is one that proves very relevant in enabling one to understand the research better. In the theoretical studies, the views of several authors and writers that relate to the focus of this research work are discussed. These views border on language, speeches, discourse and their relationship or interplay within the Nigerian society as well a review of some theories, which are relevant in analysing speeches or discourse such as the 'Ethnography of Speaking/Communication'

“Pragmatics”, “Speech Act theory”, “Critical Discourse Analysis” and “Discourse Analysis”

The empirical studies provide discussions on some of the research works, which other researchers have conducted on several speeches, which have been delivered in various places or contexts and by various individuals, which reflect their own personal views as well as the speeches of individuals that reflect the views of a group of people. The various approaches and theoretical frameworks, which these researchers adopted for their various works such as the Austin’s (1962) speech Act Theory and Grice’s (1975) Cooperative Principle, Critical Discourse Analysis as well as the Discourse analysis, which is employed in this research, were identified. The review equally reveals how they were able to help in analysing the data obtained by the researchers, and provided findings from them.

One thing that is very significant from all these literatures reviewed is the fact that none of them has been able to take a look at the Independence Day speeches of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan- the President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in recent the years. These Independence Day speeches are speeches, which provide a history of the country, remember the nation’s heroes and also reflect the true and contemporary situation of the country at a given period, which the citizens crave to have knowledge about. A review of these Independence Day speeches by President Goodluck Jonathan delivered in 2012, 2013 and 2014 is what this research therefore aims to conduct.

2.8. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this research is “Discourse Analysis”. The term first came into general use with the publication of a several papers by Zellig Harris. McCarthy (2011) states that at a time when linguistics was largely concerned with the analysis of single sentences, Zellig Harris published a paper with the title 'Discourse analysis' (Harris 1952). Harris was interested in the distribution of linguistic elements in extended texts, and the links between the text and its social situation. He also traces the

development of discourse analysis to the emergence of semiotics and the French structuralist approach to the study of narrative.

McCarthy (2011) further states that in the 1960s, Hymes provided a sociological perspective with the study of speech in its social setting (e.g. Hymes 1964). He equally states that the linguistic philosophers such as Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975) were also influential in the study of language as social action, reflected in speech-act theory and the formulation of conversational maxims, alongside the emergence of pragmatics, which is the study of meaning in context. Thus, it is pertinent to state that discourse analysis grew out of works which were conducted in different disciplines in the 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology (McCarthy, 2011).

According to Tannens (2002:36), discourse analysis is 'the analysis of language beyond the sentence, which contradicts with types of analysis more typical of modern linguistics, which are chiefly concerned with the study of grammar'. This means that discourse analysis does not merely seek to account for the phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of an expression but equally goes ahead to study the usage of the language by a given speaker and the possible impact of the language, as well as the use of the language within context or society. Thus, McCarthy (2011) notes that discourse analysis is, thus, fundamentally concerned with the relationship between language and the contexts of its use.

Claims of discourse analysis

The analytical framework of discourse analysis, according to Bowles (2008), views discourse as a social phenomenon rather than a purely linguistic one. He further states that discourse analysis influences and is influenced by a number of other disciplines. It is highly practical and is used in all areas of communication (especially institutional areas such as medicine, law and education) and with all forms of talk – speech and written texts, everyday language, specialised language, formal and informal language. Discourse analysis also examines how language is used to sustain social institutions and manipulate

opinion; how it is used in the expression of ideology and the exercise of power. Discourse analysis can also be used to develop awareness of linguistic features in the interpretation of literary texts.

The above named author sums up his ideas about discourse analysis by stating that it examines spoken communication (talk/speech/spoken texts/spoken messages) between speaker(s) and listener(s) and written communication (texts/messages) between reader(s) and writer(s). It stresses the need to see language as a dynamic, social interactive phenomenon. He further states that meaning is conveyed not by single sentences but by more complex exchanges, in which the participants's beliefs and expectations, the knowledge they share about each other and about the world, and the situation in which they interact, play a crucial part.

Methodology/Procedure of analysing data

In terms of methodology, Brown and George Yule (1983) contend that discourse analysis employs theoretical perspectives and analytical approaches which include: applied linguistics, conversation analysis, cognitive psychology (which has to do with studying the production and comprehension of discourse), critical discourse analysis, discursive psychology, emergent grammar, ethnography of communication, functional grammar, interactional sociolinguistics, pragmatics, response based therapy (counselling), rhetoricstylistics (linguistics), sublanguage analysis, text linguistics, as well as variation analysis. They also note that although these approaches emphasise different aspects of language use, they all view language as social interaction, and are concerned with the social contexts in which discourse is embedded. Consequently, it is the fact that discourse analysis has no laid down procedure of analysis; but rather, it adopts any approach such as descriptive approach, statistical approach, etc., which are suitable to enable it reflect the meaning associated with a social context in a given discourse activity.

Strengths of discourse analysis

The strength of discourse analysis as a theoretical framework is its ability to incorporate the use of several theoretical perspectives and analytical procedures as earlier highlighted. These various perspectives and procedures handle the analysis of different kinds of speeches in different ways; safe to say that discourse analysis is an all-encompassing theoretical framework for the analysis of speeches of various kinds. There are a lot of information hidden in speeches, which can be made bare when analysed with a suitable theoretical framework such as discourse analytical framework. Information in a speech, which can be revealed with its use include the ideology of a speaker as well as speaker's and listener's status. Thus, Yatsko (2013) notes that discourse analysis is capable of revealing socio-psychological characteristics of a person/persons. Other pieces of information that can be revealed by discourse analysis include the relevance and information strength of a speech, as well as information on many other factors that relate to speech and its usage in various contexts. These facts constitute the strengths of discourse analysis that make it the suitable analytical framework for this research; and in this research work, Grice's conversational analysis which operative within the ambit of discourse analysis will be greatly employed.

According to Grice (1975), the 'calculation' of conversational implicatures is grounded on common knowledge of what the speaker has said, the linguistic and extra linguistic context of the utterance, general background information, and the consideration of what he calls the 'Cooperative principle'. Based on this, Grice emphasizes that cooperative principle is implemented in the plans of speakers and understanding of hearers by following the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner, which are explained thus:

- Quantity: This maxim stipulates that one should speak as informative as required based on the topic at hand and should not be more informative than required.
- Quality: This maxim stipulates that a speaker should try to make sure that his information provided is true and should not say what is believed to be false or what one lacks adequate evidence
- Relation: This maxim stipulates that one should be relevant in one's speech, and

- Manner: This maxim stipulates that a speaker should express his speech clearly, as well as make it transparent and easy to understand. Thus, this maxim emphasizes that one should avoid obscurity of statement, avoid ambiguity, be brief and be orderly as well.

The summary of these maxims is that one should make one's statement as required as possible, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged (Grice, 1989). It is on these maxims of cooperative principle which form the core of conversational analysis that the analysis of data for this research will be based.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.8. Preamble

This chapter explains the procedures and methods adopted for conducting this study on the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan of 2012, 2013 and 2014.

3.9. Research Design and Procedure

Relevant works of literature, which help to shed more light on the nature of the research work are then discussed, as well as the review of similar researches, which have been conducted. These reviews helped the researcher to identify the gaps that have been created or gaps, which still exist in this line of enquiry. The laid-down systematic plan for

the work is presented, followed by the collection and presentation of data, as well as analysis of data based on the theoretical framework of discourse analysis. The work then ends with the summary of its findings or observations made from the study.

3.10. Area of Study

The area of study for this work is discourse analysis which is concerned with studying the usage of language by a given speaker, the possible impact of the language as well as the use of the language within a context or society. In other words, semantics is the branch of linguistics which deals with the study of meaning. In this study, therefore, discourse analysis, which is the theoretical framework employed in this research work enables the researcher to reflect the meanings of those aspects of discourse that relate to the enquiry of the work. That is, based on the area of semantics, the theoretical framework of discourse analysis invaluablely helps in the analysis of the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan during the celebration of Nigeria's Independence Day, to help reflect some hidden meanings or information expressed in some expressions of the president.

3.11. Population for the Study

The population for this study comprises three of the five Nigeria's Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. The president delivered Nigeria's Presidential Independence Day speeches in 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014. Out of these five speeches, the ones delivered in 2012, 2013 and 2014 are selected to constitute the research population for this study.

3.12. Sampling

President Goodluck Jonathan had presented a total of five Independence Day speeches. These include the Independence Day speeches of 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014. Out of these five speeches, the researcher seeks to study the most contemporary or recent speeches among them. To achieve this, the research adopted a purposive sampling technique.

Thus, a sampled size of three separate Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan were selected for this research. These three speeches include the 2012, 2013 and 2014 Independence Day speeches of the President during the celebration or commemoration of Nigeria's Independence from the British colonial rulers.

3.13. Instrument for Data Collection

The instrument employed for this research include pen, paper, CD recorder, CD player, photocopying machine, calculator, computer and printer. These instruments were handy for the collection, duplication, statistical calculation, organization of data writing and producing copies of the research.

3.14. Method of Data Collection

The research took to the internet to obtain audio-visual copies of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan's speeches during Nigeria's Independence Day celebrations of 2012, 2013 and 2014, particularly from the website- www.youtube.com. After obtaining these audio-visual copies, the researcher undertook a careful and accurate transcription of these speeches, as well, in order to ensure that the audience is not mislead or given false information.

3.15. Method of Data Analysis

Conducting a discourse analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential speeches of 2012, 2013 and 2014 was done by adopting the conversational implicature framework by Paul Grice. Five sections were recognized in the Independence Day Speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan and each of these sections are analysed separately using the maxims of quantity, quality and manner. Their analysis, based on the maxim of manner, is collectively done in order to reflect the ability of the entire speeches to either fulfil or violate the maxim.

In addition, simple statistics will be employed for calculating and obtaining figures and percentages of various kinds of data during their comparison. The comparison shall enable the researcher to investigate and reveal the differences and similarities between the various

kinds of data in order to achieve a clear and successful analysis. Simple description shall equally be employed for the description of certain presented data and analysis of observations made from them.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

The maxims of co-operative principle, which form the core of conversational analysis are employed for the analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential speeches of 2012, 2013 and 2014 in this chapter.

4.1. Analysis of the sequence/Structure of the speeches

The data obtained, which are in the appendix, show that the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan are structured to follow a particular pattern and the question one may tend to ask is, "Does the structuring of these speeches fulfil

the 4 maxims?ò The structure of the speeches consists of 5 sections which, however, do not have strict lines of demarcation. These sections are presented in the table below, include:

Table 1

Sections of the Speeches	Topical contents of the speeches
Section A	Greetings and introduction of the occasion
Section B	Incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeria's history and current status
Section C	Highlighting the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them
Section D	Messages of hope and promise, and call for collective responsibility
Section E	Conclusion with compliments

4.1.1. Greetings and introduction of the occasion

The data obtained shows that greetings and introduction of the occasion (Example, 52nd/53rd/54th Independence Day celebration of the country) characterise the first sections of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches, though with different kinds of expression.

4.1.1.1. Data presentation: In 2012, this section began with the expression:

Beloved country men and women, on this day, fifty-two years ago, our founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of our people when they won independence for our great country **(1)**

That of 2013 began with the expressions presented below:

Fellow Nigerians, today marks 53 years of our independence as a nation. (85) First and foremost, I would like to say congratulations to us all (86)

while that of 2014 began with the statement below:

Fellow Nigerians, today marks the 54th anniversary of our country's independence as a sovereign nation. (92)

4.1.1.2. Analysis of Section A of the speeches using the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality and manner

i. Maxim of quantity

This maxim stipulates that one should be as informative as required based on the topic at hand and should not be more informative than required. Looking at the data above, it is clear that President Goodluck Jonathan was informative in his speeches as much as was required. This owes to the fact that he simply offered greetings and introduced the occasion in 2012 with the statement

Beloved country men and women- (1)

In 2013, he went an extra mile to congratulate the citizenry (sentence 86). However, he simply went straight to introduce the occasion in the 2014 speech. Thus, in the three speeches, the President avoided being more informative than required in this section. Importantly, therefore, the manner in which these greetings and introduction of the occasions are made are as informative as required. This shows that the maxim of quantity is fulfilled by President Goodluck Jonathan in section A of his Independence Day speeches.

ii. Maxim of quality

This maxim stipulates that a speaker should ensure that one's information is true and should not say what one believes to be false or lacks adequate evidence. Section A of the speeches fulfils the maxim of quality with the information provided, in each case, being the truth. In his 2012 Independence Day speech, he says:

é on this day, fifty-two years agoé . **(1)**

Being that Nigeria gained her independence on 1st October, 1960, calculating from then shows that the day of his speech was the 52nd year after Nigeria's independence. Thus, his statement fulfils the maxim of quality, which stipulates that one should make statements that are true and have adequate evidence. His statement in 2013 below also fulfils the maxim of quality since it is the truth, rather than being a false statement.

Today marks 53 years of our independenceé . **(85)**

For his speech in 2014, he notes:

Today marks the 54th anniversary of our country's independenceé . **(192)**

This statement equally fulfils the maxim of quality as it is a statement that one believes to be the truth and nothing but the truth, judging from calculation of years past, since the day of Nigeria's independence.

iii. Maxim of manner

This maxim stipulates that a speaker should make his speech clear, transparent and easy to understand. Thus, this maxim emphasises that one should avoid obscurity and ambiguity but be brief and orderly as well. Section A of the speeches are observed to have expressions that are clear and brief. There are expressions, which are equally ambiguous. Evidences are shown by the statements in this section which are clear, straight to the point and well ordered. In terms of orderliness, the speeches start with the President offering greetings to the citizens and/or stating the occasion of the speech before any other statements.

Beloved countrymen and women, on this day, 52 years ago, our founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of our people when they won independence for our country **(1) – 2012,**
Fellow Nigerians, today marks 53 years of our independence as a nation **(85).** First and foremost, I would like to say congratulations to us all **(86)- 2013,**

Fellow Nigerians, today marks the 54th anniversary of our country's independence as a sovereign nation **(192)**. This is also the 10th month of our journey into a new country, having marked the centenary of our nation in January this year **(193).- 2014**.

However, the expression below is ambiguous as the words and the syntax of the sentences do not yield one semantic value:

Beloved countrymen and womené (1)

This is because he uses the expression- 'country' to qualify the male citizens of the country and fails to do the same with the female counterparts. It is possible for 'country' to qualify 'women' as well. Thus, if the countrymen are dear to him, are the women who are dear to him, female citizens of the country or other groups of women? Semantically, therefore, the statement is ambiguous. On the other hand, 'Fellow Nigerians' simply gives the listener the idea that the President acknowledges his being a citizen of the country too, and so, is unambiguous

Again, the expressions '52 years ago' and '53 years ago' are adverbial phrases (of time) which tell us when something happened, while '54th anniversary of our country's independence' and '10th month of our journey' are noun phrases, which simply name their respective events briefly and without ambiguity.

4.1.2. Incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeria's history and current status

An observation of the speeches also shows that expressions that depict the President's incorporation or recognition of every Nigerian as contributing to the country's history and current status features in the 2nd sections of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches.

4.1.2.1. Data presentation: In 2012, section B contains the following excerpt:

Nigeria made a clean break with more than six decades of colonial

rule, and emerged as a truly independent nation (2) Those who witnessed the lowering of the Union Jack and the emergence of the Green White Green flag continue to relish the memoryé (4) That future is here; we are the inheritors of a great legacy that goes even much farther into the past (5).

That of 2013 has the following expressions:

First and foremost, I would like to say congratulations to us all (86). Through thick and thin, we have built this country together (87). Through triumphs and trials, we have developed a Nigerian identity in our own way (88).

That of 2014 has the following excerpt:

This is also the 10th month of our journey into a new country, having marked the centenary of our nation in January this year (93). We made some far reaching advances in building a strong, united and prosperous nation. (195).We have proven that we are truly a resilient nation. (198)

4.1.2.2. Analysis of section B of the speeches using the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality and manner

i. Maxim of quantity

Section B, which is áthe incorporation of every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeriaôs history and current statusô also fulfils this maxim. In being the 2nd section in the speeches, it is informative, as much as is required, as perceived in the excerpt below:

That future is here; we are the inheritors of a great legacy that goes even much farther into the past (5)- 2012,
we have built this country together (87). Through triumphs and trials, we have developed a Nigerian identity in our own way (88)- 2013,
We made some far reaching advances in building a strong, united and prosperous nation. (195).We have

proven that we are truly a resilient nation **(198)- 2014.**

The information provided in this section is, equally, adjudged to be as informative as required as it draws the attention of Nigerians and makes them possess the feeling of being part of the country and being the people whom the speeches are meant for.

ii. Maxim of quality

Section B of these speeches also fulfils the maxim of quality. This is based on the fact that even though those at the corridors of power make the policies and endeavour to enforce them, the successes and failures of the implementation of these policies largely depend on their perception and application by the citizens. It should be noted that 'the citizens' as used here, comprise both those who lived, experienced, and contributed to the country's independence, and those who are part of the country's citizenry currently. For instance, the policy of increase in the minimum wages of workers across the country instituted by the federal government is yet to be implemented by several states and private employers of labour (Appendix 2) and this affects the economic/financial well-being of the citizens, as well as the future of the country. This, indeed, shows that in truth, Nigeria's history and current status is a collective responsibility. Thus, the statements below are all expressions, which justify or fulfil the maxim of quality in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan:

The future is here; we are the inheritors of a great legacy
that goes even much farther into the pasté **(5)** We weathered the
storm of the civil war, we refused to be broken by sectarian
crisesé **.(17)- 2012,**
Through thick and thin, we have built this countryé **.(87).** Through
triumphs and trials, we have developed a Nigerian identity in our
own way **(88).** - 2013, and
we made some far reaching advances in building a strong,
united and prosperous nation **(195).** We also overcame the forces of

disunity that culminated in a debilitating civil war (196). – 2104

iii. Maxim of manner

Section B of these speeches have statements which fail to fulfil the maxim of manner as some of them fail to meet up with one or another of the requirements of the maxim. The major flaw of this section of his speech is the inability to be brief. In 2012, he went through recounting the glorious deeds of the country's founding fathers in winning the independence, and how happy and proud of it the present citizens are, over and over again. The excerpt below are evidence of this:

Our founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of our people when they won independence for our great country. (1) Those who witnessed the lowering of the Union Jack and the emergence of the Green White Green flag continue to relish the memory, because the ceremony was not just about the destiny of a nation, but the future of a people (4). That future is here; we are the inheritors of a great legacy that goes even much farther into the past. (5)

These statements or series of sentences reflect only one idea (heroics of Nigeria's founding fathers in winning the independence and the pride, joy and hopes of Nigerians about it). More statements in this speech reflecting the same idea run thus:

In 1960, our diversity became a source of strength, and the new leaders resolved to carry the flag of independence for the future generations. (9)
We also celebrate the patriotism of our heroes past and several others who made the case for our independence (12).

The same can be observed in the expressions made in 2013 below:

Through thick and thin, we have built this country together. (87)
Through triumphs and trials, we have developed a Nigerian identity.
(88)

These statements above share the same idea; which is, Nigeria has faced challenges and triumphed in them. With these expressions above, therefore, it is easy to observe

that, indeed, the President fails to fulfil the cooperative maxim of manner by not being brief.

In the speech of 2013, some expressions yield a contradictory result (this is attributed to his inability to be brief in his speeches). Let us take a close look at these statements:

Our strength has been in our adversity . (90)

I admit that these may not be the best of times for our nation.

Our people are divided in many ways- ethnically, religiously, politically and materially. (99)

An examination of these two statements show that the President contradicts himself. First, he expresses positively that the diversity (ethnically, politically, socially, religiously, etc.) has been from where she draws strength, and at the same time, in the same speech, expresses negatively that the country's problems are attributed to her diversity. However, this section of his speech in 2014 is observed to fulfil this maxim as it is brief enough because it is straight to the point and is expressed in 6 meaningful sentences with different ideas.

4.1.3. Highlighting the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them

An observation of the speeches also shows that the expressions depicting the President's attempts to highlight the achievements of the country or those of his administration in particular, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them, characterise the third sections of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches.

4.1.3.1. Data presentation: In 2012, this section contains the following excerpt:

é we are working hard and making progress on many fronts. (24) ...our elections are now globally acclaimed to be free and fair. (25) Nigeria's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has grown by 7.1 percent on average. (29) Our country's power supply situation is improving gradually. (52) ...the fight

against the scourge of corruption is a top priority of our administration. (59)

That of 2013 has the following excerpt:

Our people are divided in many ways- ethically, religiously, politically, and materially. (100) Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State. (137) On May 29th this year, I presented to the nation a mid-term report of my administration's Transformation Agenda (150) aimed at reconstructing effective and efficient service delivery. (151)

That of 2014 has the following excerpt:

Our somberness has to do with the activities of terrorist elements who have done the unimaginable to challenge our unity as a people (201). Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battle (208). Our power sector reform is on course. (250). We are making giant strides in the agricultural sector. (251)

4.1.3.2. Analysis of section C of the speeches using the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality and manner

i. Maxim of quantity

Section C, which is the highlighting of achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and the efforts being made to handle them, contain expressions that are as informative as required in the speeches. This is also justified by the fact that the importance of every political speech to the citizens of any country is to give an account of the activities of the leaders. The following excerpts provide such expressions that are as informative as required in D sections of the speeches:

we are working hard and making progress on many fronts (24)...our elections are now globally acclaimed to be free and fair (25).- 2012

Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State (137). On May 29th this year, I presented to the

nation a mid-term report of my administration's Transformation Agenda (150) aimed at reconstructing effective and efficient service delivery (151).- 2013

Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battle (208). Our power sector reform is on course (250).

We are making giant strides in the agricultural sector (251).- 2014.

This section, thus, briefly highlighted these achievements made by the country, the challenges facing it, as well as the efforts in tackling them. Therefore, in being as informative as is required by accounting for the successes, failures and efforts being made to solve the nation's problems, section C of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014 fulfils the maxim of quantity.

ii. Maxim of quality

The content of his speeches that reflect the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and the efforts being made to handle them, which form sections C, however, do not all fulfil the maxim of quality as some statements can be said to have violated the requirement of the maxim, which stipulates- "Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence". This means that one should make statements that are properly verified and authenticated. First, let us look at the statements that fulfil the maxim of quality as stipulated by the cooperative principle.

Our elections are now globally acclaimed to be free and fair (25)

The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) has disclosed that, as at July 2012, 249 new members across the country have joined the Association (49), ...in recent times, we have witnessed serious security challenges in parts of our country (53)- 2012

Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture, Gujba, Yobe State killing a number of innocent students (137) it would be helpful for us to reflect on the fact that Syria was once a peaceful, thriving, multi-cultural nation which played host (132)- 2013

‘ we have launched the Victims Support Fund.’ (219) Presidential Initiative for the North East, a comprehensive programme to fast-track the economic restoration of the region,’ (221) ...earlier in the year, we launched the Nigeria Industrial Revolution Plan (NIRP) (259) – 2014.

These statements fulfil the maxim of quality because they are truthful and the speaker has adequate knowledge about the issues, being either directly involved, or having first-hand and authenticated information about them (as evidence shows in Appendix 2). On the other hand, a statement which fails to meet the maxim of quality is his statement regarding the place of politicians in the history and status of the country. Let us take a look at the sentence below.

Politicians do not make a nation; ordinary folks do. (119)

This expression fails to fulfil the maxim of quality as the President in this instance, is faulted to have made a statement which he, himself, believes to be false. This is shown by his familiarisation with politicians and acclaims of their efforts in contributing to the country’s progress, which are always highly publicised in the country’s politics (Evidence in Appendix 2).

iii. Maxim of manner

Section C of his Independence Day speech in 2012 has sentences that breach the maxim of manner. This is attributed to the fact that the President tries to make enough effort in highlighting his achievements and those of his administration, challenges facing the country and efforts in handling them, within a limited time. Thus, as he goes from highlighting one achievement briefly, he moves to the other. So this strategy fulfils the maxim of manner. Example are the statements below:

Nigeria is now on a higher pedestal regarding elections’ . (26)

‘ the Nigerian economy has done appreciably well despite the global financial crisis’ . (28)

Our country’s power supply situation is improving gradually’ . (32)

Also, let us take a look at the following sentence obtained from sentences **29** and **30**:

Nigeria's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has grown
by 7.1. per cent on average **(29)**.

It is also significant that the GDP growth has been driven
largely by the non-oil sector **(30)**.

The information above are not detailed. Thus, the statistical data- 7.1 per cent (7.1%) and the concept of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) are not easy to understand by the lay man or common Nigerian; as evidences show that majority of Nigerians lack access to quality education. Thus, if this speech is, indeed, made for the illiterate and semi-literate Nigerians (which, of course, is the case), then, it is right to state that this section of the speech does not fulfil the CP maxim of manner, which emphasises that a speaker should be clear and easy to understand. His providing clear explanation of the statistics and the technical concept for the benefit of his audience is necessary.

That of 2013 records a lot of flaws, which fail to fulfil the maxim of manner. This is because, its section C is poorly ordered. The President goes through one topic and, half-way, abandons it to highlight another, only to return to the previous topic once more at some point into the speech. This is a sign of a poorly ordered speech, which violates the CP maxim of manner. The excerpt below are instances:

My Compatriots, history has proven that nations take time to
evolve. **(125)**

We should rejoice in our democracy because it enables us to
be united by our differences. **(126)**

The threats we face may be real and immediate. **(128)**

Fellow Nigerians, the spectre of extremism haunts every democracy
in every corner of the globe **(134)**

Fellow Nigerians, this is a time to pull together behind the national
cause **(144)**

Our Transformation Agenda, which is part of the overall vision of making Nigeria a land of greatness, has been delivering positive and encouraging results. (149)

In my address to the UN General Assembly last week, I emphasised the crucial role of democratization in improving the fortunes not just of this country, but of our entire continent. (163)

Democratic values encourage diversity. (164)

From the data above, the President applauds the values of democracy in sentences **125** and **126**, from which he jumps to issues relating to terrorism, which constitute sentence numbers **128-134**. In sentence **144**, he calls for the support from every Nigerian and, in **149**, goes into highlighting the success of his administration's Transformation Agenda. Interestingly, after going through these other various issues or topics, he reverts to discussing democracy in sentences **163** and **164**.

Another observation made in this speech which fails to meet the maxim of manner is his use of ambiguous expressions regarding the place of the politician in the history and status of the country. Let us take a look at the sentences below.

It is the individual and collective heroism of these regular folks that has placed our nation on the path of greatness (122). Politics and politicians sometimes distract the people and create unnecessary tension(123). But our independence is about the same people, the people of Nigeria (124).

Ambiguity in the statement arises from the inability of the reader or hearer to understand who and who the president refers to as being included when he says "But our independence is about the same people". Thus, one is left to ask, "Are the politicians also included among this 'same people' being referred to above?" This statement therefore, is ambiguous.

Section C, in his Independence Day speech of 2014, sees the President fail to fulfil the maxim of manner, which advocates briefness of expressions. This arises from

the fact that he spent a lot of time on issues relating to terrorism; expressing them in various ways and in various sentences, which in the end send one message which is ñTerrorism is evil to the country and humanity, a bane to development and a menace which has to be ended by any possible means- embracing of peace and dialogue by the perpetrators, or by military might.ò Thus, his words on terrorism span from sentences 199- 227; over two dozens of sentences.

4.1.4. Messages of hope and promise, and call for collective responsibility

Observation of the speeches shows that messages of hope and promise, and call for collective responsibility, characterise the 4th sections of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches.

4.1.4.1. Data presentation: In 2012, this section contains the following excerpt:

We must continue to work together, confidently and faithfullyé .(75)

Let me reiterate that our administration is committed to the pursuit of fundamental objectives of an open societyé (76) I have no doubt that by the time I address you on our next independence anniversary, many of our reform efforts would have yielded even better results. (78)

That of 2013 has the following excerpt:

Fellow Nigerians, this is a time to pull together behind the national causeé .(144) é I re-dedicate completely myself to the service of this great country. (146) é another 53 years from now, our children and grand-children will look back on our effort and be thankful that we kept the faith. (188)

That of 2014 has the excerpt presented below:

We must remain committed to a united and indivisible Nigeriaé .(291)

As we look forward to another year in our national life, I am more than confident that our tomorrow will be better than our yesterday and today. (302)

4.1.4.2. Analysis of section D of the speeches using the Analysis of section C of the speeches using the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality and manner

i. Maxim of quantity

The future of any country rests on the shoulders of every citizen, highly or lowly placed. Thus, section D which comprises messages of hope and promises, and call for collective responsibility is considered a required or important information in the speeches. These sentences show evidence of expressions that are as informative as required:

We must continue to work together, confidently and faithfully (75)- 2012

é another 53 years from now, our children and grand-children will look back on our effort and be thankful that we kept the faith. (188)- 2013

As we look forward to another year in our national life, I am more than confident that our tomorrow will be better than our yesterday and today (302).- 2014

Thus, section D in these President's Independence Day speeches is considered to have fulfilled the maxim of quantity as well.

ii. Maxim of quality

Section D which constitutes messages of hope and promise, and calls for collective responsibility in all the speeches cannot be analysed to find out whether they fulfil the maxim of quality. For instance, let us take a look at the statements below:

We must continue to work together, confidently and faithfully, to ensure that our country's potentials are realised to the fullest é . (75) I am confident that Nigeria will continue to be a source of

pride to its citizens; to Africa and the Black Race and to humanity

é . (82) – 2012

é let me assure you that if we do not despair, we shall reap the reward of our labour in due season. (187), It is my prayer that another 53 years from now, our children and grand-children will look back on our effort and be thankfulé .(188) –2013

Let us, therefore, unite with one heart and one mindé . (283), All our people must be empowered to pursue the gift of the life with happiness(287)é .we must stand together in love and unity, as one people under God (304) - 2014.

An observation of these statements provides us with the result that they are statements whose truth(s) cannot be verified. They cannot be subjected to truth verification because they are futuristic non-assertive statements or statements of events which have neither taken place nor describe a phenomenon.

iii. Maxim of manner

Sections D of the speeches of President Jonathan are equally observed to have instances of expressions, which either fulfil or violate the maxim of manner. In 2012, the President ensured he was clear, easy to understand, brief and unambiguous. Sentences 75-84 provide evidence of this fact. In 2013, the speech has examples of unordered expressions and statements, which are superfluously repeated rather than brief. Let us look at the sentences below.

Fellow Nigerians, it is time to pull together behind national cause: the cause of our freedom, and our future (144). We must continue to buildé by remaining a nation and a people committed to idealse and the rule of law (159).

The statements contain ideas or expressions that are repeated. ãto pull together behind national causeò and ãto buildé by remaining a nation and a peopleò express the same idea, which is a call for Nigerians to be unite for a better country.

Again, contradiction is observed in this section (Section D) of his speech. The sentences below are contradictory.

Fellow Nigerians, this is the time to pull together **(144)**

é we are, in every sense, a united nation **(182)**

We must stand as oneé . **(184)**

In the statements above, sentence **184** gives the sense that Nigeria is already a united nation while sentences **144** and **184** give the reader a different idea- that Nigeria is a nation which is not yet united and are fighting or struggling to get united. Consequently, the President in this speech, based on this instance, does not fulfil the maxim of manner.

Poor organisation is equally observed in this section of the 2014 Independence speech. It is observed that the President edged towards ending his speech with messages of hope, encouragement and promises to the people, preceding his concluding greetings when he brings in the comment regarding the case of ébola virus diseaseô(EVD) which was brought into the country and had claimed some lives before the curtailment of its spread. Thus, in sentence **291** the president begins part of his concluding statements with

We must remain committed to a united and

indivisible Nigeriaé .**(291)**

and then, in sentence **293**, he begins to comment on the case of the EVD. His comment on EVD ought to be discussed when commenting on the achievements of the country and the challenges facing it. This is, indeed, an instance of poor orderliness which violates the maxim of manner.

The sentence below also violates the maxim of manner. This is because, it constitutes so much repetition of the same idea or ideas in different sentences. Thus, it fails to be brief as stipulated by this maxim.

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters, in all our plans, and in all our words and our actions, we must stand together in love and unity, as one people under God (304). We are one people from the womb of one Nigeria (305). We are brothers and sisters (306). We are one family (307).

The repetition of the words ‘brothers and sisters’ in sentences number 304 and 306. Again, ‘one people from the womb of Nigeria’ and ‘one family’ still provides the same idea of people with common origin, which the President intends to communicate and ends up communicating. Thus, the repetition is considered unnecessary and, therefore, violates the maxim of manner.

4.1.5. Conclusion with compliments

An observation of the speeches also shows that statement of conclusion with ‘God bless’ wishes characterise the 5th sections of President Goodluck Jonathan’s Independence Day speeches.

4.1.5.1. Data presentation: In 2012, this section contains the following excerpt:

May God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.(83)

May God bless you all.(84)

That of 2013 has the following conclusion:

May God continue to bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.(189)

I wish you all a very happy 53rd Independence Celebration. (190)

I thank you. (191)

That of 2014 has the following conclusion:

God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (309)

4.1.5.2. Analysis of section E of the speeches using the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality and manner

i. Maxim of quantity

Section E, which is a conclusion with compliments, in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014 fulfils the maxim of quantity. This is because the sentences or expressions are as informative as required and avoided being more informative than required. This evidence is shown in the data presented.

ii. Maxim of quality

Section E in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan, which is a conclusion with compliments, cannot be subjected to truth verification in order to find out if they fulfil the maxim of quality. Therefore, his statements below neither fulfil the cooperative maxim of quality nor defy it:

May God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **(83)**

May God bless you all **(84) – 2012**

May God continue to bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **(189)**

I wish you all a very happy 53rd Independence Celebration. **(190)**

I thank you **(191) – 2013**

God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **(309) – 2014.**

iii. Maxim of manner

Section E in the three speeches comprise expressions that fulfil the maxim of manner as they are clear and easy to understand, brief and unambiguous. These statements include:

May God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria **(83)**; May God bless you **(84)**; May God continue to bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria **(189)**; I wish you all a very happy 53rd Independence Celebration **(190)**; I thank you **(191)**; God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria **(309)**.

4.1.6. Employing the cooperative maxim of relation in analysing the structuring of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014

In any conversational analysis, what topics the speaker dwells on and how he switches his topics of discussion or speech in order to still remain within the lines of discussion is what counts under the cooperative maxim of relation. Thus, analysing these speeches in accordance with the maxim of relation will not just be done in accordance with the sections identified earlier as done in the previous analyses so far. They will be selected in their entirety and analysed in order to find out how these sections are switched in the course of the speech delivery by the President in order to find out the extent to which the speeches fulfil this maxim individually.

President Goodluck Jonathan in his 2012 Independence Day speech dwells on the topics which have been grouped into 5 sections during the course of this analysis so far. The President makes maximum effort to remain relevant in his speech as he glides through his points. As a matter of fact, he strictly follows his sections or parts of discussion judiciously. Again, the maxim of relation is fulfilled in the structural pattern of the speeches since the first attempt in establishing interaction between two individuals or groups, especially in most African societies (example Nigeria) is always with the aid of greeting(s). So, the structure sees the president begin with greetings to Nigerians and introducing the occasion, which the speech is meant for, and this is what 'Section A' in all the speeches incorporate. Thus, after his introductory greetings, he shifts focus to making his audience understand that they are part of Nigeria's history through their actions and steadfastness. Here, one can understand how he expresses this fact; highlighting the roles of those who experienced the period of independence or early periods of Nigeria's history, then, gradually to the roles of the citizens in the contemporary Nigeria. This can be noticed in the excerpt below:

é on this day, 52 years ago, our founding fathers brought joy and hope
to the hearts of our peopleé (1). We also celebrate the patriotism of our

heroes pasté (12). We remember as always, their contributions to the making of the Nigerian nation, and the efforts of their successors since 1960 (13). We also celebrate the unfailing optimism and resilience of Nigerians who remain proud of our national identity (14).

After this, he equally redirects his speech to another angle; which is the discussion of the achievements the country has made in various sectors, the challenges facing the country and the efforts being made to handle the challenges. Since no country exists without challenges and attempts to solve or handle them, section C, which is the highlighting of the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and the efforts being made to handle them, is therefore considered a necessary inclusion in the speeches. Here, one can observe how the President glides through these achievements and challenges, without full details, as shown below:

We have cleaned up our electoral process; our elections are now globally acclaimed to be free and fair (25). Nigeria is now on a higher pedestal regarding elections (26). Over the past five years, the global economy has been going through a weak and uncertain recovery (27) During the same period and particularly in the last two years, the Nigerian economy has done appreciably well despite the global financial crisis (28). Nigeria's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has grown by 7.1 per cent on average (29).

From the statements above, one can observe how brief the President tries to highlight his points in order to touch several other points and still ensure he remains relevant, rather than dwelling so much on a point which can be monotonous and hinder his level of relevance. Similar examples span throughout the speech, although at various degrees, as one can notice that he paid attention in enumerating his achievements and making statements of hope, encouragement and promises than any other of the topics or sections of his speech. As a matter of fact, even in discussing other aspects of his speech, these points keep recurring. For instance, even in the opening stages of this

speech, involving introduction and applauding of every Nigerian as being part of the country's history and current status, expressions of encouragement, promise and recounting of achievements are observed. Examples include:

On this day, I call on every Nigerian to remain steadfast, because our nation is indeed making progress **(15)**. I call on every Nigerian to rediscover that spirit that enables us to triumph over every adversity é **(16)**. Nigeria, I assure you, will continue to grow from strength to strength**(22)**.

Based on the fact that the future of any country rests on the shoulders of every citizen, highly or lowly placed, and the fact that no country can push forward for success without hope and belief, section D which comprises messages of hope and promises, and call for collective responsibility is considered a necessary or important information in the speeches. Thus, it follows section C immediately. These are then followed by section E. Every speech ought to have a conclusion. Thus, the incorporation of section E, which is 'conclusion with compliments' in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014 as the last section of the speeches fulfil the maxim relevance. These statements are all geared toward ensuring that he (the President) continues to remain relevant during the course of his speech delivery.

In his speech of 2013, it can be observed that there is a greater switching across issues during the course of the delivery. As a matter of fact, it is safe to state, based on observation made, that all 5 sections of the President's speech inter-weave into one another such that without thorough observation, it would be difficult to recognise these highlighted categories of the speech. Following this inter-weaving of issues, one observes that even as he introduces the occasion and makes statements incorporating everyone as being part of the country's history and current status, the President switches topics by stating some achievements made by his administration as well. This can be seen in the excerpt below:

In our journey to greatness as a nation, we have built an

economy that is robust and erected enduring infrastructure and institutions of democracy (107). Our sense of community, solidarity and shared expectations is strong and capable of withstanding the present social, economic and political challenges that still confront us (110)

Thus, one observes that, still within this same paragraph, in which the President recounts some of the achievements of his administration, he switches into the topic of calling upon solidarity from the citizens and giving them messages of hope as well.

Another observation that can be made from this 2013 speech is his use of popular quotations from James Freeman Clarke, whom he introduces as ‘the American theologian and author, and former Nigerian Prime Minister- Tafawa Balewa (can be seen in the appendix) to stress his points on the need for the unity and the spirit of statesmanship (thinking about the good of the country ahead of one’s own interest) and for everyone to join hands in solidarity toward achievement of the country’s goals. However, all these are geared towards maintaining and fulfilling the maxim of relation, so that his speech remains relevant to the audience.

The 2014 Independence Day speech of President Goodluck Jonathan also fulfils the maxim of relation. The way with which he switches topics of discussion is evidence of that. Thus, one can notice how he switches his topic of acknowledging the contributions of all Nigerians and the fact that he views the country as still being in a sober moment in spite of the achievements made in the excerpt that runs below:

We have proven that we are truly a resilient nation (198). In my address to the nation last year, I did emphasise that we were in a sober moment (199). We are still in that mood in spite of the many accomplishments of our administration (200).

With the statement above, the President delved into discussing the acts of terrorism being carried out in the country. This switching between these topics or issues were aimed at remaining relevant in his speeches, which is better achieved when different expressions of ideas are made to link properly with one another or when an introduction

of a new topic or issue of discussion is preceded by proper linking expressions engineered through the discussion of the previous topic or issue.

His discussing the acts of terrorism and the harmful economic effects they have caused Nigerians can equally be noticed to have acted as the springboard for his introduction of the topic on his launching of a programme to help alleviate pains and sufferings of the victims. The excerpt below shows evidence of this:

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 **(218)**. This is why, to assist the afflicted, we have launched the Victims Support Fund, an independent multi-sectoral charityé **(219)**.

To be observed, also, is the fact that the President did not fail to talk on his achievements and those of his administration in order to ensure, still, that his speech remains relevant. Thus, he highlights the launching of áa special support programme for micro, small and medium enterprises with an initial intervention fund of N220billionô establishment of the Nigerian Mortgage Re-finance Company to address Nigeriaôs housing deficitô áthe making of efforts to eliminate the graft in fertiliser procurement system for agricultural purpose, among others. The pattern in which these issues are linked in this speech, is observed to have fulfilled the cooperative maxim of relation.

4.2. Ideological Analysis of the speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan during the celebration of Nigeria's Independence Day

According to Jimoh (2012:124), ñé ideology is a set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular social group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices. Ideology can also be the socially shared representations of members of a particular social group, which influences the goals, interests, perceptions, norms or values of members of the group. The manifestation of ideology is usually observed in group membersô selection of self-serving fundamental socio-cultural values in (their)

viewpoint, argument and worldview. It is based on this definition, that the ideology of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan are analysed.

4.2.6. Analysis of the use of pronouns and pronominals

The use of pronouns were employed by President Goodluck Jonathan in ways that reflect his ideology in the delivery of his 2012, 2013 and 2014 Independence Day speeches. His use of personal, impersonal and demonstrative pronouns are used to create different effects.

4.2.6.1. Use of personal pronouns

In these speeches, it can be observed that he employed the 1st person singular pronouns- *ami* (subject) or *ame* (object), second person plural- you (plural), the 1st person plural pronoun- we (subject) or us (plural), as well as the 3rd person plural- they (subject) or them (object) in his independence day speeches of 2012, 2013 and 2014. However, the functions which they were used to perform differ in each of these speeches. We shall look at these functions and analyse the data presented according.

A. Use of 1st person singular pronoun

The use of the 1st singular pronoun was employed in several sentences to play a number of functions in the Independence Day speech of President Goodluck Jonathan. These sentences reflecting the functions are presented and analysed.

(I) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun in offering encouragements and their sentence numbers include:

2012

I call on every Nigerian to remain steadfasté . (15)

I call on every Nigerian to rediscover that special spirité . (16)

I bring to you today, a message of renewed hope and faithé . (18)

2013

I implore every Nigeriané let us join together to fight this evil of extremism. (142)

2014

I enjoin the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), all security agencies, politicians and the electorate to work conscientiously and peacefully, together, to consolidate on the gains of the recent elections (247)

I therefore enjoin all our citizens to continue to adhere strictly to all the guidelines that have been given by our health officials (297)

(II) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun in personalised statements and their sentence numbers include:

2012

I have an unshaken belief in the future of our great Country (19)

I consider it a priority and sacred duty to continue to strengthen the bond of unity (20)

2013

I admit that these may not be the best of times (99)

I cannot hide from this reality; I cannot hide from my own responsibilities. (101)

I admit being overtaken by deep feelings of grief, whenever news reached me of the appalling atrocities in some of our States (136)

I have been consistently mindful of the weight of public expectation (153)

I recognise that it is not easy to keep believing in the possibilities of our greatness when our faith is constantly challenged. (186)

2014

To me, the National Conference is the greatest centenary gifté . (236)

I am more than confident that our tomorrow will be better than our yesterday and today (302)

(III) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun in making assurances and their sentence numbers include:

2012

Nigeria, I assure you, will continue to grow from strength to strength (22)

I want to reassure all affected Nigerians that I share in their grief (72)

I am confident that Nigeria will continue to be a source of pride (82)

2013

But I assure you, they will not succeed. (138)

I reassure you that no cost will be spared (141)

I am pleased to affirm that, no matter the challenges we face, we are
on the right path to greatness. (148)

I want to assure everyone that Nigeria, under my leadership, will not fail. (155)

I can reassure you that Nigeria's place on the world stage today is
strong and safe (158)

2014

Let me restate that our task of building a better and greater country
must not waver. (217)

I have made a firm commitment that we would act on the
recommendations of the conference (232)

Every promise I make, God willing, I will see to its fulfilment. I assure
you, we shall implement the report. (234)

(IV) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun to reflect his status or high position and their sentence numbers include:

2012

Since I assumed office as President of our dear country on the 6th of
May 2010, I have continued to work with our countrymen and
women to enhance our nation's growth and development. (23)

I have given my commitment of non-interference in the work of the
relevant agencies and I am keeping my word. (65)

I have received the interim Report of the Presidential team that I set up
to assess the flooding situation across the country. (73)

In the next few days, **I** shall lay before the National Assembly the 2013
Federal Budget Proposal **(77)**

I am pleased with the feedback from across the country, of improvements
in power Supply **(35)**

2013

Presidential address on this symbolic day has served two purposes **(94)**. It has also
allowed my predecessors and **I** to comment on our stewardship to the nation and
make political capital out of a state occasion. **(96)**

I am reminded of the comments **I** made a week ago to a cross-section of Nigerians
in New York during the 68th United Nations General Assembly **(111)**

I was elected President to continue the process of building a prosperous nation **(147)**

I presented to the nation a mid-term report of my Administration's
Transformation Agenda. **(150)**

2014

In my address to the nation last year, **I** did emphasise that we were in
a sober moment **(199)**

I have started by setting up the Ministerial Committee **(233)**

(V) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun in making

promises stat

2012

é by the time **I** address you on our next independence anniversary, many
of our reform efforts would have yielded even better results **(78)**

2013

But this year, **I** will noté **(97)**

2014

I will continue to do all it takes to enable them to keep on inflicting
devastating blows at the heart of terror. **(212)**

Again, it can be observed that the President in rare cases, also employs the pronoun **me** (object) with the first person plural **we** (subject) in making assurances too. Examples are:

- Let **me** assure all Nigerians that **we** shall not fail. **(81)**.
- But let **me** assure you that, if **we** do not despair, **we** shall reap the reward of our labour in due season **(187)**

(VI) Instances of his use of 1st person singular pronoun in making salutations and wishes and their sentence numbers:

2013

I would like to say congratulations to us all. **(86)**

Today, I salute the people of Nigeria. **(124)**

I wish you all a very happy 53rd Independence Celebration. **(191)**

I thank you. **(191)**

2014

I particularly thank the medical personnel **(300)**

I thank all Nigerians for working together to prevent what could have become a major epidemic. **(299)**

(VII) Instances of the use of 1st person singular pronoun in making requests and their sentence numbers include:

2014

I ask that you lay down your arms and embrace peace. **(215)**

I urge every Nigerian to put aside political, sectional or other parochial considerations **(225)**

(VIII) Instances of the use of 1st person singular pronoun in making assertions and their sentence numbers include:

2014

To those who have genuine grievances, **I** affirm that Nigeria will
listen to you **(216)**

Table 2: Tabulation of results obtained

Year	Number of roles performed with the 1st person singular pronoun	Percentage increase in the Number of roles performed with the 1st person singular pronoun
2012	5	-
2013	6	20%
2014	8	33.3%

Formula for obtaining the percentage:

$$\frac{\text{Difference between the initial and final figure}}{\text{The initial figure}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

From the data presented above, one glaring observation to be made is that the roles which the President plays with his use of the 1st person singular pronoun increased progressively from 5 in 2012, to 6 in 2013, and then, to 8 roles or functions in 2014. In 2013, he adds the function of using this pronoun to reach out to the citizens in salutation, commendation and making of wishes as the “Head of State and Commander-In-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria” talking to his subjects while in 2014, he adds the functions of using it to make requests and assertions towards the

terrorists in Nigeria. This sends one signal which is- that the president is gradually realising the extent of power and autonomy attached to his office as the President in the exercise of his functions or duties as the Head of State and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

B. The use of 1st person plural pronoun- ‘we’

The use of the 1st person plural pronoun- *óweô* (subject) or *úsô* (object) is one that is well employed within the speeches. He employs it in two ways: as an in-group expression (referring to all Nigerians, including himself and his administration) and as an out-group expression (referring to only himself and his administration). Instances of their use are presented below.

(I) Instances of his use of 1st person plural pronoun as an in-group expression and their sentence numbers include:

2012

é **we** are the inheritors of a great legacy that goes even much farther into the past. (5)

It is that resolve, and that glorious moment that **we** celebrate today. (11)

We also celebrate the patriotism of our heroes past (12)

We remember as always, their contributionsé (13)

We also celebrate the unfailing optimism and resilience of Nigerians (14)

We weathered the storm of the civil war, **we** have refused to be broken by sectarian crises; **we** have remained a strong nation (17)

...**we** have witnessed serious security challenges (53)

We will sustain the effort in this direction (64)

We must continue to work together (75).

2013

First and foremost, I would like to say congratulations to **us** all. (86)

é **we** have built this country together. (87)

we have developed a Nigerian identity in our own way. (88)

Other examples can be found in sentences **89-92, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109-111, 114, 117, 118, 124, 126-130, 132, 135, 148, 153, 156, 157, 159, 162, 168, 182, 184, 187 and 188**
2014

We made some far reaching advances in building a strong, united and prosperous
nation. **(195)**

We also overcame the forces of disunity that culminated in a debilitating civil war
(196)

Other examples can be found in sentences **197-200, 202, 207,214, 226, 235, 236, 238-243, 246, 258, 282, 283, 286, 387, 298, 301-307 and 308.**

(II) Instances of his use of 1st person plural pronoun as an out-group expression, and their sentence numbers include:

2012

We are working hard and making progress on many fronts. **(24)**

We have cleaned up our electoral process **(25)**

Sentences **33, 34, 36, 41, 45-48, 51, 52, 54, 60-62, 64, 66 and 81.**

2013

we should not be scoring political points **(97)**

weshould be addressing our future as a Nation and a people **(98)**

We should rejoice in our democracy because it enables **us** to be united **(126)**

2014

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. **(218)**

This is why, to assist the afflicted, **we** have launched the Victims Support Fund **(219)**

Other examples can be found in sentences **220, 222, 228-230, 232, 233, 244, 251, 252, 259, 262, 264, 266, 268, 272, 273, 276 and 280.**

The data above is presented in the table below:

Table 3: Data 2012 vs Data 2013

Year	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an in-group expression	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an out-group expression
2012	10	19
2013	36	2
Percentage Increase	260%	-
Percentage Decrease	-	850%

Table 4: Data 2013 vs Data 2014

Year	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an in-group expression	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an out-group expression
2013	36	2
2014	33	21
Percentage increase	-	950%
Percentage Decrease	8.3%	-

An Observation based on the data above shows that the President in his Independence Day speech in 2012, paid greater attention in using the 1st person plural pronoun- *we* (subject) or *us* (object) as an out-group expression than as an in-group expression (19 against 10). However, this drastically reduced in 2013 to 260% with increase in the use of the pronoun as an in-group expression, while its usage as an out-group expression decreased greatly by 850%. In the 2nd table, observation equally show that the use of this pronoun as an in-group expression decreased a little by 8.3% while his use of it as an out-group expression increased greatly by 950%.

This shows the extent these two factors (giving account of stewardship to the Nigerian citizenry and scoring political points by highlighting the achievements of his administration) have greatly affected his focus in the speeches. 2012 was a period of lesser activities of extremism while 2013 was the reverse as it recorded immense cases of terrorist activities. The change in the result of the usage of this pronoun in 2014 can be attributed to the balancing of his focus on the two factors influencing his speech.

(C) The use of the 3rd person plural pronoun- ‘they’

The use of the 3rd person plural pronoun- *they* (subject) or *them* (object) is very much limited. It is used in the following instances:

2012

Beloved countrymen and women, on this day, fifty-two years ago, our founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of our people when **they** won independence **(1)**

They worked together to restore dignity and honour to the Nigerian people **(7)**

They had their differences, but **they** placed a greater premium on the need to come together to build a new nation **(10)**.

2013

We should rejoice in our democracy because it enables us to be united by our differences, not destroyed by **them**. **(126)**

Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in
Gujba, Yobe State killing a number of innocent studentsé most of
them in their sleep (137)

But I assure you, **they** will not succeed. (138)

Nigerians, home and abroad, want a country **they** can be proud to call their own (148)

They encourage discourse (165)

They encourage disagreement (166).

2014

They will not succeed! (203)

In their mission, **they** have maimed and raped. (204)

They have killed men, women and children, rendering many children orphans (205)

They have made violence their ideology and are bent on destroying our countryé
(206)

Dear countrymen and women, we will not allow **them**. (207)

é **they** have remained undaunted and unwearied in the face of constant challenge
(210)

é **they** are turning the tide by their prowess and determination (211)

I will continue to do all it takes to enable **them** to keep on inflicting devastating
blows at the heart of terror (212)

é 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 (213)

é political leaders would be reminded at all times that there is a day of reckoning
when **they** have to go back to the people at the polls. (244).

The data show that the President uses this pronoun only four times in his speech of 2012 to create an effect on the listener- which is, to place the founding fathers of the country on one side, and the rest of the citizens on another hand, and in-between, create a point of aspiration, which the citizens ought to always work to attain (sentences 1, 7 and 10). It was, on the other hand, employed only six times in 2013 to

refer to the differences that disrupt the country's unity (sentence 126), separate the true Nigerians from the terrorists (sentence 137 and 138), the people who have developed belief in Nigeria from the people who have not and are hoping to do so (sentence 148), as well as, the values of democracy from undemocratic values (sentences 165 and 166). In 2014, it is employed to separate Nigerians whom he reckons as 'faithful' from those he reckons as 'unfaithful' (sentences 210, 211, 213) and the politicians from the rest of the citizenry (sentence 244). He equally employed it only 10 times in 2014 to imply a separation of the terrorists from the people who are 'true' Nigerians (sentences 203-207 and 212).

The use of this pronoun is, thus, very much limited in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan as it implies divisibility. That is, it creates the idea of a person or persons as separated from the rest of the citizenry. Thus, since it is observed that the President prefers the use of pronouns that denote 'collective responsibility', the use of this pronoun is limited in his speeches; it occurred only 16 times throughout the three speeches.

It is also based on this fact that he equally makes less use of the 2nd person plural pronoun- 'you' in referring to the citizens who mainly constitute his audience. Thus, in the entire speech, the use of 'you' or its possessive counterpart/equivalent 'your' is limited as their collective usage only occurred 24 times in his entire expressions in the three Independence Day speeches.

4.2.6.2. The use of possessive pronouns

The use of possessive pronouns such as 'our/ours' and 'their' is observed in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. The pronouns are presented and analysed also.

(A) Use of possessive pronoun- 'my'

The use of the 1st person singular possessive pronoun- *ômyô* was also employed in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014. However, its usage is employed in various degrees. Instances are shown below.

2012

I have given **my** commitment of non-interference in the work of the relevant agencies and I am keeping **my** word **(65)**

2013

It has also allowed **my** predecessors and I to comment on our stewardship to the nation and make political capital out of a state occasion. **(96)**

I cannot hide from **my** own responsibilities. **(101)**

My clarion call therefore, on this special day, is that we should begin to align our political utterances and conduct solely to the nobler passions that unite our people. **(118)**

My Compatriots, history has proven that nations take time to evolve **(125)**

My heart goes out to the families of all those who have fallen victim of these dastardly acts. **(139)**

On **my** part, I re-dedicate myself completely to the service of this great country **(146)**

...I presented to the nation a mid-term report of **my** Administration's Transformation Agenda. **(150)**

I want to assure everyone that Nigeria, under **my** leadership, will not fail. **(155)**

In **my** address to the UN General Assembly last week, I emphasized the crucial role of democratization **(163)**

In demonstration of **my** avowed belief in the positive power of dialogue I have decided to set up an Advisory Committee **(174)**

It is **my** prayer that, another 53 years from now, our children and grand-children will look back on our effort and be thankful that we kept the faith **(188)**.

2014

In **my** address to the nation last year, I did emphasize that we were in a sober moment**(199)**

My gratitude goes out to our armed forces whose will has been greatly challenged by this insurgency (209)

Fellow Nigerians, in **my** independence anniversary address last year, I informed you that we had taken cognizance of the suggestion over the years (228)

My dear countrymen and women (249)

My directives to the Federal Ministry of Health saw the ministry leading the charge in curtailing the spread of this deadly scourge (294).

The examination of the data above shows that the President employs the possessive pronoun *ómyô* in very rare cases as it is a pronoun, which refers to himself and also indicates a personalisation of affairs, issues or phenomenon. He used it only in a sentence in his speech of 2012 to create an effect on the listener- which is, to emphasise his proposed personal action of not interfering in the duties of agencies set up to fight corruption (sentence 65). It was, on the other hand, employed in 11 sentences in 2013 and, then, employed in the only 5 instances in 2014. Thus, its usage is limited and only employed to achieve the single obviously identified purpose personalising affairs, issues or phenomenon. Thus, the very limited usage of this possessive pronoun, *ómyô*, buttresses the earlier made observation that the president shows more preference of pronouns which imply collectivism, rather than individualism.

(B) Use of the possessive pronoun- ‘our/ours’

The use of the possessive pronoun- *óour/oursô* was also employed in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014 to perform desired functions. Instances of the usage are shown below.

(I) Instances of his use of the possessive pronoun ‘our/ours’ as in-group expression and their sentence numbers include

2012

é **our** founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of **our** people (1)

That turning point was a new beginning for **our** nation. (3)

Other instances can be found in sentences **9, 11-15, 19, 20, 23, 25, 32, 39, 41, 45, 53, 55, 58, 60, 69, 71, 75, 77** and **78**

2013

é today marks 53 years of **our** Independence as a nation (85)

é we have developed a Nigerian identity in **our** own way. (88)

Other instances can be found in sentences **90, 92 95, 98, 100, 102-104, 107, 108, 110-112, 117, 108, 120-122, 124, 126, 135, 136, 143, 144,156,160, 163, 171, 180-182, 184-187** and **188**

2014

Today marks the 54th anniversary of **our** country's independence (192)

This is also the tenth month of **our** journey into a new century (193)

Other instances can be found in sentences **197,199, 201, 202, 206, 208, 209, 213-215, 217, 226, 229, 235-237, 241, 246, 251, 252, 258, 261, 267, 268, 272, 280, 286, 288-290, 292, 293, 296, 297, 301-303** and **304**

(II) Instances of his use of the possessive pronoun 'our/ours' as out-group expression, and their sentence numbers include:

2012

This is a central objective of **our** administration's Transformation Agenda. (21)

Our vision is encapsulated in the Transformation Agenda (24)

Other instances can be found on sentences number **25, 36, 41, 42, 50, 59, 72, 76, 78, 79** and **80**

2013

It has also allowed my predecessors and I to comment on **our** stewardship (96)

Those who are elected to govern at all levels must focus on improving the lives
of **our** people (115)

Other instances can be found on sentences number **118, 140, 141, 149, 152** and **171**

2014

We are still in that mood in spite of the many accomplishments of **our**
administration(200)

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. (218)

Other instances can be found on sentences number 222, 238, 242, 248-250, 261, 264,
268, 269, 271, 272, 284, 285 and 297

Table 5: Tabulation of result obtained

Year	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an in-group expression	Number of usage of 1st person plural pronoun as an out-group expression
2012	25	13
2013	38	8
2014	40	17

From the data above, it is observed that the President adopts more of the use of possessive pronoun as in-group expressions- *óur/oursô* than as an out-group expression with 25 instances against 13 in 2012, 38 instances against 8 in 2013, and 40 instances against 17 in 2014. This, indeed, reflects the ideological attempts of the President to prefer collective responsibility to individualistic or group-restricted one. This is, it portrays the President as unwilling to take full responsibility of the state of

the nation together with his administration; rather, he prefers to place the responsibility in the hands of every Nigerian.

(C) Use of the possessive pronoun- ‘their’

The President also employed the use of the possessive expressions ‘their’
Instances are presented below.

2012

I want to reassure all affected Nigerians that I share in **their** grief (72)

2013

But our independence celebration is about the same people, the people of Nigeria:

their industry, sense of mission and purpose, and **their** patience (124)

é terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State killing a
number of innocent studentsé , most of them in **their** sleep (137)

I commend our Armed Forces and security agencies for **their** dedication and
braveryé (143)

Nigerians, home and abroad, want a country they can be proud to call **their** own (148).

2014

é 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 (202)

In **their** mission, they have maimed and raped (204)

They have made violence **their** ideology (206)

é they are turning the tide by **their** prowess and determination (211)

Our overall objective is to do all we possibly cané despite the machinations
of the terrorists and **their** sponsors (222)

Their persistent choice of the weakest and most vulnerable in society, for
gruesome attack, provides an insight into **their** abnormal mind-set (224)

We are grateful to the international communityé for **their** increased partnership
and solidarity (226).

The examination of the data above shows that the President employs the possessive pronoun ‘their’ in rare cases as it is a pronoun, which implies ‘out-group’ rather than ‘in-group’. He used it only once in his speech of 2012 to create an effect on the listener- which is, to place the ‘grieving citizens’ on one end and ‘himself’ on the other end and create the idea of ‘his caring charisma’ existing in-between (sentence 72). It was, on the other hand, employed in 2013 mostly to separate the efforts of ordinary Nigerians, which he views as ‘positive’ from those of the politicians and terrorists, which he views as negative (sentence 124, 137, 143 and 148), and, then, employed in the most recurring instances in 2014 to connote a separation of the terrorists from the people who are ‘true’ Nigerians (sentence 204, 206, 211, 222 and 226). Thus, its usage is limited and only employed to achieve specific effects using the separatist result, which the pronoun creates. Apart from this, the president shows more preference of pronouns, which connote ‘unity’ and ‘collective responsibility’.

4.2.6.3. Use of demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns ‘this’ and the plural form ‘these’ are noticed to occur in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. These pronouns can be found in the instances below:

2012

‘on **this** day, fifty-two years ago’ . (1)

The worthy patriots who made **this** possible were young men and women’ . (6)

Other instances can be found on sentences number 15, 21, 36, 50, 52, 55, 58, 64, 67 and 68.

2013

our Administration is taking steps to address **these** incidents (72)

Through thick and thin, we have built **this** country together. (87)

‘the Presidential address on **this** symbolic day has served two purposes’ (94)

Other instances can be found on sentences number **97-99, 101, 111, 117, 118, 121, 122, 128, 138, 139, 142, 144-146, 150, 151, 154, 159, 161-163, 167, 181,183 and 185.**
2014

This is also the tenth month of our journey into a new century, having marked
the centenary of our nation in January **this** year. **(193)**

On an occasion like **thisé** **(202)**

Other instances can be found on sentences number **209, 213, 214, 219, 221, 223, 225, 226, 233, 249, 258, 260, 263, 265, 267, 269, 273, 278-280, 286, 293-295 and 301.**

An important observation to be made from the President's use of the definite pronouns 'this' and 'these' is that aside the regular job of a pronoun by replacing of a noun in a sentence, President Jonathan employs it also in making emphasis; emphasising a situation, a day, a fact, a phenomenon, etc. thus, we observe expressions such as 'this Administration' **(58)**, 'this scourge' **(64)**, 'this country' **(87)**, etc.

Another demonstrative pronoun which the President equally employed is the demonstrative pronoun- 'those' In the three speeches, he employed it in a miserly 8 instances as in the sentences below:

2012

Those who witnessed the lowering of the Union Jacké . **(4)**

Those challenges should not deter us. **(70)**

2013

Those who are elected to governé **(115)**

é **those** in the creative industry **(121)**,

also in sentences number **135 and 139.**

2014

é **those** waging war against our country **(215)**

...**those** who have genuine grievances **(216)**

The examination shows that, just as in the case of his general choice of pronouns, the President also avoids much use of this demonstrative pronoun ('this' and 'those')

since it does not portray a sense of collectivism; recording only 11 instances, collectively, in the all the three speeches.

4.2.7. Analysis of the use of declarative expressions

Of the four types of sentence that are known to exist in the English language (declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and exclamatory sentences), it is observed that declarative sentences are common in these speeches under analysis. Thus, it is safe to say that throughout the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014, the use of declarative expressions span through the entire lines and paragraphs, from sentences **1** to **309**.

Declarative sentences are sentences that state things the way they are. It can be said to be a statement of fact. Thus, they state what has taken place. They are used to define or explain a phenomenon. Declarative sentences are simply used to make statements. Examples of declarative sentences drawn from these speeches include:

2012

Over the years, several leaders have built on the foundation laid by our Founding Fathers **(79)**

The baton is now in our hands **(80)**

May God bless you all.**(84)**

2013

Fellow Nigerians, today marks 53 years of our Independence as a nation. **(85)**

If we look back over the years, we can say confidently that there is every reason to celebrate. **(91)**

2014

The first one hundred years were marked by triumphs and tribulationsé **(194)**

We have proven that we are truly a resilient nation. **(198)**

The preference and use of declarative sentences in these speeches are attributed to the attempts by the president to ensure that his speeches reflect what he wants or

needs them to reflect; that they are informative and viewed as authentic rather than vague and questionable. These indeed, are not the attributes a leader would like to be known for. Consequently, he resorts to the use of these declarative sentences in order to assume the right personality of a strong, confident and reliable leader.

4.2.8. The number of words contained in the speeches

Observation of the speeches reveals that the Independence Day speech of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012 comprises 1781 words. That of 2013 constitutes 2266 words while that of 2014 comprises 2608 words. The data is shown in the table below:

Table 6: Tabulation of results obtained

Year	Number of words contained in each of the speeches	Percentage increase in the number of words contained in each of the speeches
2012	1781	-
2013	2266	27.2%
2014	2608	15.1%

Observation of the result in the table above shows that President Goodluck Jonathan increased the number of words he utilizes in his Independence Day speeches as the years went by. This can be attributed to the increase in the number and intensity of issues that arise and affect Nigeria and the fact that his knowledge of the political, religious, economic, environmental and social happenings in the country deepened as

roles roll by. Consequently, he makes constant effort to address the major issues that affect the country as much as possible.

4.3. Analysis of the contemporary relevance of the speech

Every speech delivered in any event ought to be relevant by addressing issues that affect the contemporary times. Based on this, it is expected that any Independence Day speech of a President ought to be contemporarily relevant by addressing issues that are current and currently affect the country and her citizens.

Here, the sentences or expressions used by the President are analysed to find out those sentences that highlight or address the contemporary issues affecting the country, as well as the extent of each of the speeches in addressing contemporary issues affecting the country.

2012

I bring to you today, a message of renewed hope and faith
in the immense possibilities that lie ahead. (8)

This sentence is contemporarily relevant. Based on the CP of relation, the relevance of the statement above is drawn from the fact that the Independence Day speeches are often aimed at reaching out to the citizens to make attempts at renewing their faith in the government and the country at large, especially as Nigeria is currently faced with challenges of terrorism and persistent underdevelopment. Other sentences that show relevance include:

é to continue to strengthen the bond of unity that holds our nation
together and to promote and nourish the creative energies of our
people (20), We have cleaned up our electoral processé (25),
Our country's power supply situation is improving gradually (32).

These sentences border on issues regarding the promotion of unity (20), the state of the country's electoral system (25) and the persistent erratic power supply (32). Other statements which show contemporary relevance include statements on the creation of wealth and millions of job opportunities for the youths and the general population (39),

improvement on investment in the Nigerian economy by foreigners and other business organisations **(41)**, providing answers to the questions on how the resources under the Subsidy Reinvestment Program (SURE-P) are utilised **(52)**, the high rate of security challenges in parts of our country (including terrorist activities) **(53)**, the fight against the scourge of corruption in various sectors of the country **(59)**, and the issue of many of Nigerian communities being ravaged by floods, resulting in the loss of lives and property and the displacement of persons **(71)**. Thus, based on their relevance in addressing the issues affecting the country during the period of speech delivery, these sentences fulfil the maxim of relation.

2013

Whether we are Muslims or Christians; rich or poor; from the North or the South; East or West; regardless of our political affiliations, this is the time for every one of us to be a statesman! **(117)**é we should begin to align our political utterances and conduct solely to the nobler passions that unite our people. **(118)**
Politicians do not make a nation; ordinary folks do. **(119)**

These statements are observed to have been necessitated by the knowledge that the persistence of terrorism in Nigeria is due to sponsorship by some politician who are bent on making the country ungovernable for the political head. Consequently, the President employs the contemporary relevance of these sentences to make the politicians feel less of themselves, rather than less of the majority of Nigerian citizens.

Someother sentences contribute to the contemporary relevance of the speech by calming the people's anxiety by notifying them of the fact that nations take time to evolve **(125)** , urging them not to lose hope/faith in the country's democracy **(126)** (as such terrorist activities in a country due to opposition of leadership from some quarters can lead to coup or toppling of a government by another force), and making the families of victims of terrorism not to feel abandoned **(139)**. Some other sentences show contemporary relevance by convincing Nigerians of the resilient commitment of his

administration to combat terrorism (140), encouraging Nigerians to play their active roles against terrorism irrespective of who they are, their languages, religious persuasions or political parties (142), encouraging the armed forces (who at that point, were getting demoralised) (143), and assuring the citizens of eventual triumph if they did not despair (187).

2014

They (the terrorists) will not succeed. (203); Dear countrymen and women, we will not allow them. (207); My gratitude goes out to our armed forces whose will has been greatly challenged by this insurgency more than any other time, since the civil war. (209); To all those waging war against our country, I ask that you lay down your arms and embrace peace. (215); To those who have genuine grievances, I affirm that Nigeria will listen to you, if you bring your grievances to the table of dialogue. (216).

The sentences above are, indeed, contemporarily relevant as they address the issue of terrorism, which is at the moment of the speech delivery, posing serious challenge to the peace of the nation. It, thus, adds to the speech's relevance by proffering a solution which is calling upon the perpetrators to shun their terrorist activities and embrace dialogue with the government.

Some other sentences contribute to the contemporary relevance to this speech as they address the issue of the implementation of the report of the 2014 National Conference which was just concluded with Nigerians wondering whether the outcome will be implemented (234), highlight the major lesson of the 2014 National Conference which many are oblivious of (235), and address the issue of violence and malpractices during elections, and need to uphold good governance by politicians, as electoral activities kick-off (245 and 246, 288 and 289). Some other sentences prove contemporarily relevant by addressing the issues regarding the swiftness and effectiveness with which the case of Ebola disease was curtailed in Nigeria and urging the retention of the same spirit (293-301); then the re-emphasising of the need for unity and unified efforts by Nigerians (304-

308). Thus, based on their relevance in addressing contemporary issues affecting the country during the period of the speech delivery, these sentences fulfil the maxim of relation.

4.4. Analysis of the Information Strength of the Speech

Here, the Independence Day speeches by the President are analysed to find out the level of their information dissemination; that is, the extent of their respective information strengths.

2012

Those who witnessed the lowering of the Union Jack and the emergence of the Green White Green flag continue to relish the memory**(4)**... The worthy patriots who made this possible were young men and women in their twenties and thirties. **(6)**... Their resolve united a multicultural and multilingual nation of diverse peoples, with more than 250 distinct languages and ethnic groups **(8)**.

The sentences above provide information on the type of flags that were exchanged during the independence (flag bearing the Union Jack and the Green White Green flag). It also provided information on the age category of those who fought for the country's independence, as well as the multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nature of the country. Other sentences adding to the information strength of the speech provide information on the year of independence **(9)**, the heroes of the independence attainment period and the early stages of the country after the independence **(12)**, the year the President assumed office **(23)**, information on his 'Transformation Agenda' **(24)**, the state of the country's electoral system **(25 & 26)**, the challenges facing the global economy **(27)**, Nigeria's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) **(29)**, oil sector reforms**(30, 36-38)** and power sector reforms **(32-35)**.

Furthermore, the speech provides information on such programmes as **You-Win** that provide jobs **(40)**, gains of the Investment Climate Reform Programme **(41-43)**, Nigeria's current ranking as the first in the top 5 host economies for Foreign Direct Investment

(FDI) in Africa (44), goods clearing period in the ports (45 & 46), new and improved visa policy (47), increase in the number of registered companies (48), more members joining the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) (49 & 50), and information on the utilisation of resources under the Subsidy Reinvestment Program (SURE-P) which has boosted the country's health sector (52). Some other sentences provide information on the strengthening and repositioning of the country's security agencies (59), fighting of corruption in various aspects of the country's life and Nigeria's rating in that regard by the Transparency International (TI) (60-66), introduction of a Performance Contract System for all Ministers and other officials of government for the first time in Nigeria's history (67), handling of issues affecting flooding (71-74), and the President's submission of his 2013 Federal Budget Proposal to the National Assembly (77).

2013

On January 1, 2014, Nigeria will be 100 years old as a country, following the amalgamation of the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914. (93) é traditionally, the Presidential address on this symbolic day has served two purposes. (94) It has, quite rightly, been used to remind all Nigerians about our heritage. (95) It has also allowed my predecessors and I to comment on our stewardship to the nation and make political capital out of a state occasion. (96)

The sentences provide information about the then approaching centenary celebration of Nigeria's existence and the purposes of Independence Day speeches. Some other sentences provide information on the cause of division or disunity in Nigeria (ethnically, religiously, politically, and materially motivated causes) (100), his attending the 68th United Nations General Assembly in New York during which he addressed a cross-section of Nigerians the previous week preceding the Independence Day (111), that every country, rich or poor, has teething problems and not just Nigeria (128-130), and that Syria, which was once a peaceful country, has become a theatre of human misery due to

the activities of extremists (132 &133). The speech equally provide information that he (the President) grieves for Nigerians who lost their lives due to acts of terrorism (135), that these acts of terrorism mostly take place in the North Eastern part of Nigeria (136), that two days preceding the Independence Day, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, YobeState killing a number of students while most of them were asleep (137), and that his administration's Transformation Agenda encapsulates his overall vision for Nigeria (149).

Other pieces of information include that on May 29th 2013, he presented, to the nation, a mid-term report of his administration's Transformation Agenda (150), that Prime Minister TafawaBalewa had addressed the citizens of Nigeria during the country's independence also (156), that Nigeria is still a force on the world stage today (158), that Nigeria's Constitution is anchored ultimately on the idea of freedom and fundamental rights: freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination; freedom to vote and be voted for, and the right to human dignity (160), and that the previous week, he had addressed the UN General Assembly (163). The speech equally provides the information that over the years, well-meaning Nigerians have been suggesting a National Dialogue to address the future of the country (171), his setting up of an Advisory Committee to establish the modalities for a National Dialogue or Conference (174), that the Committee will also design a framework and come up with recommendations as to the form, structure and mechanism of the process (175), and that the Committee will be chaired by Dr. Femi Okurounmu while Dr.AkiluIndabawa will serve as the Secretary (176). Furthermore, the speech informs the listener(s) that the full membership of the Committee will be announced within a short time (177), that he expected the report of the advisory council of the Conference/National Dialogue modalities one month from the day of his speech (178), and that the Independence Day celebration marked Nigeria's 'Fourth Republic' which had lasted longer than all the previous three 'Republics' put together (181).

é today marks the 54th anniversary of our country's independence as a sovereign nation **(192)**. This is also the tenth month of our journey into a new century, having marked the centenary of our nation in January this year**(193)**. We also overcame the forces of disunity that culminated in a debilitating civil war **(196)**.

The sentences above provide information about the celebration in which the speech is being delivered; the time of the year in relation to the country's existence; the time Nigeria had celebrated her centenary, as well as the information that the country had experienced a civil war in the past. Some other sentences, which provide information that he (the President) had addressed the nation the previous year **(199)**, that the country has been in sombreness due to acts of terrorists **(200&201)**, that the terrorists had maimed and raped several Nigerians **(204)**, that they had killed men, women and children **(205)**, that the terrorists are bent on destroying Nigeria **(206)**, that the security forces fight the terrorists both day and night **(208)**, that he as Commander-in-Chief will always play his part **(212)** and that his administration had launched the Victims Support Fund to help the victims of terrorism **(219)**. The speech also provides information that a Safe Schools Initiative had been introduced to promote safe environments for education nationwide, starting with the North East region **(220)**, that the Presidential Initiative for the North East had been set up to help the economy of the region **(221)**, that other parts of the country are advancing economically **(222)**, that the terrorists have sponsors **(222 also)**, that these terrorists target the weakest and most vulnerable members in society **(224)**, and that the international community, and especially Nigeria's neighbours were helping Nigeria confront terrorism **(226)**.

Some other sentences in the speech provide information that the previous year, the President had, on the advice of several Nigerians, announced the convening of a National Dialogue on the future of the country **(228 &229)**, that the National Conference had been concluded **(230)**, that the 2014 National Conference was headed by Justice LegboKutigi**(230 also)**, that the conference faced challenges, but notwithstanding, had concluded and handed its report to him after several months **(231)**, and that the President

promised to act on the recommendations of the conference headed by the Honourable Attorney General of the Federation **(233)**. The speech also informs the audience that the country is in her sixteenth year of uninterrupted democracy **(241)**, that the international and local observers had praised the country's electoral system **(243)**, that the time of Independence celebration is always an opportunity to thank God for the country and to report on the country's journey so far **(249)**, that the power sector reform was in progress **(250)**, and that the agricultural sector was being re-positioned to diversify the economy **(251)**.

Other pieces of information provided in the speech include the continuous upgrade of infrastructure **(252)**, the implementation of the Nigerian Content Act in the Oil and Gas Sector over the last four years, to ensure increase in the participation of indigenous Oil and Gas companies in the industry **(253)**, increase in the level of indigenous asset ownership **(255)**, as well as information regarding increase in the manufacture of equipment components and parts within the country **(256)**. It also provides information on the massive growth in indigenous participation in the provision of goods and services to the upstream sector from 10% to 60% within the last four years **(257)**, the rebasing of Nigeria's economy resulting in her being ranked the largest economy in Africa, with a Gross Domestic Product \$510 billion and her being the 26th largest economy in the world **(258)**. In addition, the speech provides information on the launching of the Nigeria Industrial Revolution Plan (NIRP) and the National Enterprise Development Programme (NEDEP), earlier that year, to fast track growth, job creation, enterprise development and industrialisation **(259)**, and information about encouraging the production of made-in-Nigeria vehicles and making Nigeria a regional hub for the automobile industry, resulting in a number of foreign auto manufacturers establishing plants in Nigeria **(261)**. It also provides information on the launching of a special support programme for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises with an initial intervention fund of N220 billion; the existence of Presidential Job Creation Board inaugurated recently; and the establishment of the Nigerian Mortgage Re-finance Company to address housing needs and job creation **(264)**.

Furthermore, the speech provides information on the reduction of extreme hunger with the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) formally presenting the country with an award for achieving the Millennium Development Goal on Hunger three years ahead of the 2015 target date set for the Millennium Development Goals (266), and information on increased capacity in the agricultural sector (267). It equally provides information on the elimination of graft in fertiliser procurement system (267 also), expansion of irrigation infrastructure to ensure sufficient water supply for dry season farming (268), reduction of national food import bill, which has declined from 1.1 trillion naira (6.9 billion dollars) in 2009 to 684.7 billion naira (4.35 billion dollars) by December 2013, and that this figure was constantly in decline (269). Information provided by the speech also include the construction of modern hybrid schools resulting in increase in the national school enrolment figure (270), and the construction of fourteen new Federal Universities (271), introduction of a Presidential Scholarship Scheme based strictly on excellence and merit. (271 also), and the building of roads and new rail lines (272).

More information provided in the 2014 Independence Day speech by President Goodluck Jonathan include the commencement of the process of building the Second Niger Bridge (273), the construction of the Loko-Oweto Bridge over River Benue in Nasarawa and Benue States (274), the on-going dredging of the River Niger up to Baro in Niger State (275), the on-going Zungeru and Mambilla Hydro-electric power projects and the construction of the Kashimbilla dam which was started a few years earlier and which was nearing completion(276). The speech also informs the audience about the re-construction and re-equipping of airports across the country (281), and the recent prompt handling of the deadly Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) following his directives to the Federal Ministry of Health, which had seen some medical practitioners pay the ultimate sacrifice (death) (293, 294 and 300).

Table 7: Tabulation of result obtained from the data

Year	Number of differing information generated from the speeches	Percentage of Information Strength
2012	26	31%
2013	21	20%
2014	52	44%

From the table, it is observed that the 2012 Independence Day speech by President Goodluck Jonathan provided 26 differing information which represents 31% of the entire sentences in the speech. It is equally observed that the 2013 speech yielded 21 varying information representing only 20% of the entire sentences contained in the speech while 2014 speech yielded 52 different messages which represent 44% of the total number of sentences contained in the speech. Based on these observations, the 2014 Independence Day speech of President Goodluck Jonathan best fulfils the maxim of relation, which demands that one should be relevant in speech while 2013 Independence Day speech least fulfils the maxim.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary of findings and conclusion

This research set out to study Nigeria's Independence Day speeches by President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014. To do this, a systematic procedure was adopted with the objectives of finding out the sequence/structural pattern of the speeches, exposing the ideological perspectives of President Jonathan as reflected in the speeches, revealing the information strength of the President's Independence Day speeches, and finding out the contemporary relevance of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan. From the study and analysis of data conducted, the research establishes the following findings:

That the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan are structured/patterned into five sections which include:

- Greetings and introduction of the occasion
- Incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeria's history and current status
- Highlighting the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them
- Messages of hope and promises, and call for collective responsibility, and
- Conclusion with compliments.

The research also observes that the entire structuring of the speeches meet the cooperative principle maxim of quantity as they provide the required information in the speech. On the maxim of quality, the research observes that sections A, which dwell on greetings and introduction of the occasion fulfil the maxim as his identification of the occasions of his speeches yield truthful statements. With regard to the maxim of manner, it is observed that sections A of the speeches fulfil the maxim by being clear, unambiguous, brief and unobscured.

Sections B, which include his statements incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigeria's history and current status, also fulfil the CP maxim of quality because they are true and the speaker does not lack evidence of his expressions. With regard to the maxim of manner, sections B of his speeches in 2012 and 2013 repeated same ideas in several sentences, and this fails to fulfil the requirement of being brief while some of his expressions are equally observed to be contradictory. However, in 2014, his expressions in section B of his speech fulfilled the maxim of manner as the statements were clear, unambiguous, brief and unobscured.

In sections C, which dwell on the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and efforts being made to handle them, the research however, observes that the President made some statements, which do not fulfil the maxim because he did not provide adequate evidence of the statement or that the statement is adjudged untrue, such as in sentence **119**. With regard to the maxim of manner, section C in 2012 contains only few sentences which fail to fulfil the maxim because they do not provide clarity of information for the average Nigerian with many illiterate and semi-literate individuals. In 2013, the speech also records sentences which fail to fulfil the maxim of manner, resulting from poor orderliness of ideas/topics of discussion, as the President went through one topic, and half-way, abandoned it to highlight another, and then, returned to the previous topic once more at some point into the speech. He equally made several ambiguous statements, especially statements, which show sentential ambiguity with examples from sentence numbers **122-124**. His speech in

2014 equally fail to fulfil the maxim of manner because of his failure to be brief. This arose from his unending outcry against terrorism.

In sections D, which constitute his messages of hope and promises, and call for collective responsibility, research observes that sentences cannot be analysed to find out whether they fulfil the maxim of quality as they are neither declarative/assertive statements nor statements of facts. With regard to the maxim of manner, the research observes that in 2012, the President ensured he was clear, easy to understand, brief and unambiguous; thus fulfilling the maxim of manner. The same cannot be said about the same section of the 2013 speech due to his poor orderliness and inability to be brief, as well as the use of contradictory expressions as he described Nigeria as a united country in some sentences, and in some others, as a disunited country fighting to attain unity. In 2014, this section equally failed to fulfil the maxim of manner because of poor orderliness and superfluous repetition of ideas in different sentences.

In sections E, which dwell on the conclusion of speech with compliments, the research observes, just as in sections D of President Goodluck Jonathan's Independence Day speeches, that his statements cannot be analysed to find out whether they fulfil the maxim of quality as they are neither declarative/assertive statements nor statements of facts. With regard to the maxim of manner, the research observes that, in the three Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan, this section comprises expressions that fulfil the maxim of manner as they are clear and easy to understand, brief and unambiguous.

The analysis based on the maxim of relation shows that the president, in 2012, made maximum effort to remain relevant in his speech. It is observed that he strictly followed his sections or parts of discussion judiciously and emphasised his achievements and those of his administration quite often across the various sections of the speech, in a manner that promoted the relevance of his speech. In 2013, however, he did not follow his inter-change and introduction of topics judiciously. In fact, his switching of topics was poor, roaming from one topic to another, and even employing the use of popular quotations, which were unpopular with him in his Independence

Day speeches. Thus, the 2013 Independence Day speech contains structures which do not meet the maxim of relation. Then, speech 2014 fulfils the maxim of relation with thorough switching of topics and relevance of statements as well.

On the attempt to investigate the ideological perspectives of President Jonathan as reflected in his Independence Day Speeches, the research observes that he employed the 1st person singular pronouns- *ô* (subject) and *ôme* (object) to personalise some statements, to reflect his status or high position, to state activities he solely undertook, to offer encouragements and make assurances and promises in 2012. The use of this pronoun, however, increased to six in 2013, as he added to the previous functions/roles, the offering of greetings or making of wishes. In 2014, the role of this pronoun equally increased to eight as he employed it in making requests and in making assertions, among the other previously highlighted purposes. The result shows that the President gradually realised the extent of power and autonomy attached to his office as the President in the exercise of his functions or duties as the Head of State and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as the day went by; knowing he did not always need to rely on his cabinet and administrative cohorts.

The research equally observes that the President employed the pronoun *we/us* to either refer to himself and his administration (out-group), or to the entire Nigerian citizenry (in-group). In 2012, he used it to refer to himself and his administration rather than the entire Nigerian citizenry. This drastically changed in 2013 as he used it to refer more to the entire citizenry, while in 2014, there was a relative balance in its usage for both functions. This showed the extent to which two factors of *ôgiving account of stewardship to the Nigerian citizenryô* and *ôscoring political points by highlighting the achievements of his administrationô* greatly affected his focus in the speeches.

Furthermore, his use of *ôourô* as an incorporating pronoun for the entire citizenry than for just himself and his administration highlighted his (him and his administration) unwillingness to take sole responsibility of the situation or current

state of Nigeria and the events happening there-in. This research equally establishes that the president did not like to incorporate the use of pronouns such as *my, you/your, they/them, their*, and the demonstratives *this/these* and *those* and their likes because they reflect division or separatism, class/status differentiation, which do not reflect unity and collectivism of the Nigerian citizens. The research also observes that the President utilised more of declarative sentences to ensure that his speeches were informative and viewed by listeners to be authentic, rather than being viewed as sceptical and questionable; as well as, to enable him to assume the right personality of a strong, confident and reliable leader through his speeches. This is also revealed in his increase of the number of words employed in his speeches as the years rolled by; also depicting increase in his knowledge of facts, events and happenings in the country.

In seeking answers to the contemporary relevance of the speeches, the research observes that several sentences of President Goodluck Jonathan were relevant and, indeed, provide answers to and information on the current questions and current issues respectively. Consequently, the success of these three speeches in addressing contemporary issues affecting the country during the period of the speech delivery means that they fulfil the maxim of relation.

Finally, on the information strength of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014, the research observes that that of 2013 was the least informative with meagre information strength of 20%, followed by the 2012 speech with 31% information strength, while that of 2014 had the best information strength 44%. Thus, the Independence Day speech of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2014, best fulfilled the maxim of relation by proving more relevant than that of 2012 and 2013.

5.2. Recommendation

The investigation undertaken by this research work is, indeed, one that exposes a lot of hidden facts and information which are embedded within the sentences contained in the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2012, 2013 and 2014.

The findings established have proved that effort needs to be made by the President in ensuring that his speeches are, as much as possible, well-prepared and well delivered. The research recommends the use of discourse analysis to the President, along with the principles of conversational analysis as a great tool, which he can employ in analysing and assessing his speech before delivery in order to achieve maximum effect on his audience.

Also, the research recommends that Nigerians, who constitute the audience of the President's speeches during the celebration of the country's Independence Day should always endeavour to pay adequate attention to the speeches. Paying attention to these speeches enables one to grasp the ideas there-in and take necessary advantage of the information disseminated by the President, which are beneficial as the speeches provide information on social, political cultural and economic/financial policies guiding the country as it forges towards its sustenance and its future.

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Appendix I

Independence Day speeches by President Goodluck Jonathan.

2012

1. Beloved countrymen and women, on this day, fifty-two years ago, our founding fathers brought joy and hope to the hearts of our people when they won independence for our great country. 2. Nigeria made a clean break with more than six decades of colonial rule, and emerged as a truly independent nation. 3. That turning point was a new beginning for our nation.

4. Those who witnessed the lowering of the Union Jack and the emergence of the Green White Green flag continue to relish the memory, because that ceremony was not just about the destiny of a nation, but the future of a people.

5. That future is here; we are the inheritors of a great legacy that goes even much farther into the past.

6. The worthy patriots who made this possible were young men and women in their twenties and thirties. **7.** They worked together to restore dignity and honour to the Nigerian people. **8.** Their resolve united a multicultural and multilingual nation of diverse peoples, with more than 250 distinct languages and ethnic groups.

9. In 1960, our diversity became a source of strength, and the new leaders resolved to carry the flag of independence for the benefit of future generations. **10.** They had their differences, but they placed a greater premium on the need to come together to build a new nation.

11. It is that resolve, and that glorious moment that we celebrate today. **12.** We also celebrate the patriotism of our heroes past: Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Michael Okpara, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Herbert Macaulay, and several others who made the case for our independence.

13. We remember as always, their contributions to the making of the Nigerian nation, and the efforts of their successors since 1960. **14.** We also celebrate the unfailing optimism and resilience of Nigerians who remain proud of our national identity.

15. On this special day, I call on every Nigerian to remain steadfast, because our nation is indeed making progress. **16.** I call on every Nigerian to rediscover that special spirit that enables us to triumph over every adversity as a people.

17. We weathered the storm of the civil war, we have refused to be broken by sectarian crises; we have remained a strong nation. **18.** I bring to you today, a message of renewed hope and faith in the immense possibilities that lie ahead.

19. Fellow citizens, I have an unshaken belief in the future of our great Country. **20.** I consider it a priority and sacred duty to continue to strengthen the bond of unity that

holds our nation together and to promote and nourish the creative energies of our people.

21. This is a central objective of our administration's Transformation Agenda. **22.**

Nigeria, I assure you, will continue to grow from strength to strength.

23. Since I assumed office as President of our dear country on the 6th of May 2010, I have continued to work with our countrymen and women to enhance our nation's growth and development.

24. Our vision is encapsulated in the Transformation Agenda, We are working hard and making progress on many fronts. **25.** We have cleaned up our electoral process; our elections are now globally acclaimed to be free and fair. **26.** Nigeria is now on a higher pedestal regarding elections.

27. Over the past five years, the global economy has been going through a weak and uncertain recovery. **28.** During the same period and particularly in the last two years, the Nigerian economy has done appreciably well despite the global financial crisis. **29.**

Nigeria's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has grown by 7.1 per cent on average.

30. It is also significant that the GDP growth has been driven largely by the non-oil sector. **31.** In pursuance of the main goals of the Transformation Agenda, a number of reforms and initiatives are being pursued in key sectors of the economy with a view to consolidating the gains of the economic growth.

32. Our country's power supply situation is improving gradually. **33.** We are successfully implementing a well-integrated power sector reform programme which includes institutional arrangements to facilitate and strengthen private-sector-led power generation, transmission and distribution.

34. We have also put in place a cost-reflective tariff structure that reduces the cost of power for a majority of electricity consumers. **35.** I am pleased with the feedback from across the country, of improvements in power supply.

36. We are continuing to improve and stabilize on our crude production volumes; our 12-month gas supply emergency plan, put in place earlier this year, has produced more than the targeted volumes of gas for power generation. **37.** A robust Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB) has been placed before the National Assembly. **38.** Its passage into law will

ensure far-reaching reforms, transparency, accountability, increased government revenue and predictability for investors in the Oil and Gas sector.

39. Several government programmes and projects are creating wealth and millions of job opportunities for our youth and general population. **40.** Such programmes include: ***You-Win***, both for the youth and for the women, Public Works, the Local Content Initiative in the Oil and Gas Sector, and the Agricultural Transformation programme.

41. We have improved on our investment environment; more corporate bodies are investing in the Nigerian economy. **42.** Our Investment Climate Reform Programme has helped to attract over N6.8 trillion local and foreign direct investment commitments.

43. Nigeria has become the preferred destination for investment in Africa. **44.** It is ranked first in the top 5 host economies for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Africa, accounting for over 20 per cent of total FDI flows into the continent. **45.** We have streamlined bureaucratic activities at the ports to ensure greater efficiency in the handling of ports and port-related businesses. Specifically, we have drastically reduced the goods clearing period in our ports from about six weeks to about one week and under. **46.** We have an ultimate target of 48 hours.

47. We have put in place, a new visa policy that makes it easier for legitimate investors to receive long stay visas. **48.** We have achieved a 24-hour timeline for registration of new businesses, leading to the registration of close to 7, 000 companies within the second quarter of 2012.

49. The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) has disclosed that, as at July 2012, 249 new members across the country had joined the Association, and that capacity utilization has also improved. **50.** The multiplier effect of this development on our job creation programme cannot be over-emphasized.

51. In the last two years, we have put in place structures for an upgrade of the country's health sector, to promote in every respect, the individual citizen's right to quality, affordable and accessible healthcare.

52. In this regard, we are devoting resources under the Subsidy Reinvestment Program (SURE-P) to reducing malaria incidents, dramatically reducing maternal and child

mortality, and eradicating polio.

53. Fellow Nigerians, in recent times, we have witnessed serious security challenges in parts of our country. **54.** We have taken pro-active measures to check the menace. **55.** This has included constant consultation and collaboration with our neighbours and other friendly nations on issues relating to internal and cross border security, and the sharing of information on smuggling and illegal dealing in small arms and light weapons. **56.** Our security agencies are constantly being strengthened and repositioned for greater efficiency. **57.** Many Nigerians have acknowledged that there has been a significant decline in the spate of security breaches. **58.** While expressing our condolences to the affected families, let me reiterate the commitment of this Administration to ensure the safety of lives and property of all Nigerians. **59.** Even as we remain focused on the issue of security, the fight against the scourge of corruption is a top priority of our Administration. **60.** We are fighting corruption in all facets of our economy, and we are succeeding. **61.** We have put an end to several decades of endemic corruption associated with fertilizer and tractor procurement and distribution. **62.** We have exposed decades of scam in the management of pensions and fuel subsidy, and ensured that the culprits are being brought to book. **63.** In its latest report, Transparency International (TI) noted that Nigeria is the second most improved country in the effort to curb corruption. **64.** We will sustain the effort in this direction with an even stronger determination to strengthen the institutions that are statutorily entrusted with the task of ending this scourge. **65.** I have given my commitment of non-interference in the work of the relevant agencies and I am keeping my word. **66.** What we require is the full cooperation of all tiers of government, and the public, especially civil society and the media. **67.** This Administration has also introduced for the first time in Nigeria's history, a Performance Contract System for all Ministers, and other officials of government. **68.** This is to further place emphasis on performance, efficiency, and service delivery.

69. Fellow Nigerians, our determined efforts on several fronts notwithstanding, our country still faces a number of challenges.

70. Those challenges should not deter us. **71.** In the last few weeks, for example, many of our communities have been ravaged by floods, resulting in the loss of lives and property, and the displacement of persons.

72. I want to reassure all affected Nigerians that I share in their grief, and our Administration is taking steps to address these incidents, in collaboration with the States and Local Governments.

73. I have received the interim Report of the Presidential team that I set up to assess the flooding situation across the country.

74. The Federal Government has taken measures to assist the affected States, while considering long term measures to check future reoccurrence.

75. We must continue to work together, confidently and faithfully, to ensure that our country's potentials are realized to the fullest; that our dreams are translated into reality; and that our goals are achieved.

76. Let me reiterate that our administration is committed to the pursuit of fundamental objectives of an open society: the pursuit of freedom, security and prosperity for the Nigerian people, and the rule of law.

77. In the next few days, I shall lay before the National Assembly the 2013 Federal Budget Proposal so that deliberations can commence in earnest on the key policies, programmes and projects that will mark a decisive year for our development and transformation.

78. I have no doubt that by the time I address you on our next independence anniversary, many of our reform efforts would have yielded even better results.

79. Over the years, several leaders have built on the foundation laid by our Founding Fathers. **80.** The baton is now in our hands. **81.** Let me assure all Nigerians that we shall not fail.

82. I am confident that Nigeria will continue to be a source of pride to its citizens; to Africa and the Black Race and to humanity; a land that is known for progress, freedom,

peace and the promotion of human dignity.

83. May God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.**84** May God bless you all.

2013

85. Fellow Nigerians, today marks 53 years of our Independence as a nation. **86.** First and foremost, I would like to say congratulations to us all. **87.** Through thick and thin, we have built this country together. **88**Through triumphs and trials, we have developed a Nigerian identity in our own way.

89. In truth, Nigeria is still a work in progress and we are challenged every day to keep building in spite of the various obstacles that we face. **90.**Our strength has been in our diversity. **91.** If we look back over the years, we can say confidently that there is every reason to celebrate.

92. Today's Independence anniversary is unique because it is the last before we mark our centenary. **93**On January 1, 2014, Nigeria will be 100 years old as a country, following the amalgamation of the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914.

94. Beloved country men and women, traditionally, the Presidential address on this symbolic day has served two purposes. **95.** It has, quite rightly, been used to remind all Nigerians about our heritage. **96.**It has also allowed my predecessors and I to comment on our stewardship to the nation and make political capital out of a state occasion.

97. But this year, I will not because, today of all days, we should not be scoring political points. **98.** On the contrary, in this last year of the first century of our Union, we should be addressing our future as a Nation and a people!

99. I admit that these may not be the best of times for our nation. **100.** Our people are divided in many ways ï ethnically, religiously, politically, and materially. **101.** I cannot hide from this reality;I cannot hide from my own responsibilities.

102. As we prepare to mark the centenary, therefore, today offers us an opportunity to reflect on our long journey to nationhood and the progress we have made so far. **103.** Whatever the challenges that we may face, we have every reason to be proud of our national accomplishments; we have every reason to remain proud and optimistic. **104.**

Our collective national journey has witnessed great watersheds, thanks to our spirit of endurance, perseverance and sacrifice. **105.** Getting the rest of the job done with determination and courage is just a matter of time. **106.** We are Nigerians, a nation of talented people, endowed with resources, potentials, and Divine Grace.

107. In our journey to greatness as a nation, we have built an economy that is robust and erected enduring infrastructure and institutions of democracy. **108.** Our social system is now more inclusive, open and compassionate. **109.** We are waging a steady battle against poverty, unemployment, and corruption. **110**Our sense of community, solidarity and shared expectation is strong and capable of withstanding the present social, economic and political challenges that still confront us.

111. In saying this, I am reminded of the comments I made a week ago to a cross-section of Nigerians in New York during the 68th United Nations General Assembly; I declare now as I declared then: we have a duty as Nigerians, whatever may be our differences or prejudices, to always put Nigeria first.

112. Our politics should be an art of patriotic labour and selfless service to the community, particularly by the political elite who are placed in positions of great trust and responsibility. **113.** Politics has its own high moral principles which abhor distracting and divisive rhetoric. **114.** As men and women in leadership, we must continually focus on service, duty, responsibility, and the next generation. **115.** Those who are elected to govern at all levels must focus on improving the lives of our people, not selfish ambition.

116. In the words of the American theologian and author, James Freeman Clarke, “a politician thinks of the next election; a statesman of the next generation” **117.** Whether we are Muslims or Christians; rich or poor; from the North or the South; East or West; regardless of our political affiliations, this is the time for every one of us to be a statesman!

118. My clarion call therefore, on this special day, is that we should begin to align our political utterances and conduct solely to the nobler passions that unite our people. **119.** Politicians do not make a nation; ordinary folks do.

120. Our nation is made great by the big and small efforts of regular citizens **121.** these are the teachers and men and women in academics who inculcate the knowledge and wisdom that transform into tomorrow's wealth; the traders and market women who tend to our everyday needs; the farmers whose labour feeds the nation; the artisans whose work ensures that our homesteads are well maintained; the doctors, pharmacists, nurses, accountants, bankers, engineers, and other professionals who add value to our lives; the sportsmen and women and those in the creative industry who bring honour and fame to our nation; and the men and women of our armed forces and security services who toil day and night so that you and I may live in a safe and secure nation.

122. It is the individual and collective heroism of these regular folks that has placed our nation on the path of greatness. **123.** Politics and politicians sometimes distract the people and create unnecessary tension.

124. But our independence celebration is about the same people, the people of Nigeria: their industry, sense of mission and purpose, and their patience and perseverance as we navigate historical turns in our march towards prosperity and self-sufficiency; today, I salute the people of Nigeria.

125. My Compatriots, history has proven that nations take time to evolve. **126.** We should rejoice in our democracy because it enables us to be united by our differences, not destroyed by them. **127.** And, there is no more crucial time for us to be united than now.

128. The threats we face may be real and immediate. **129.** But we are not alone in this regard. It is a difficult season for much of the world: industrialized or developing; rich or poor. **130.** What matters are the lessons we learn, the wisdom we demonstrate, and the victory we snatch from the jaws of likely defeat.

131. And I tell you, more than anything else, there are lessons to learn, and every cause to be thankful. If I must cite one example, take Syria. **132.** As we all pray and work for a return to normalcy in Syria, it would be helpful for us to reflect on the fact that Syria was once a peaceful, thriving, multi-cultural nation which played host to a mosaic of religions and ethnicities.

133. 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.

134. Fellow Nigerians, the spectre of extremism haunts every democracy in every corner of the globe. **135.** While we celebrate our independence and good fortune, our hearts must grieve for those who have lost loved ones in numerous terrorist activities around the world.

136. 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. **137.** Just two days ago, terrorist elements attacked the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State killing a number of innocent students of the institution and other residents in cold blood, most of them in their sleep. **138.** This act of barbarism is a demonstration of the extent to which evil forces will go to destabilize our nation. But I assure you, they will not succeed.

139. My heart goes out to the families of all those who have fallen victim of these dastardly acts. **140.** Our Administration will not rest until every Nigerian is free from the oppression of terrorism. **141.** 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.

142. On this day, I implore every Nigerian ï 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.

143. 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.

144. Fellow Nigerians, this is a time to pull together behind the national cause: the cause of our freedom, and our future. **145.** 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.

146. On my part, I re-dedicate myself completely to the service of this great country. **147.** I was elected President to continue the process of building a prosperous nation where hopes, dreams and aspirations would be fulfilled. **148.** Nigerians, home and abroad, want a country they can be proud to call their own. I am pleased to affirm that, no matter the challenges we face, we are on the right path to greatness. **149.** Our Transformation Agenda, which is part of the overall vision of making Nigeria a land of greatness, has been delivering positive and encouraging results.

150. On May 29th this year, I presented to the nation a mid-term report of my Administration's Transformation Agenda. **151.** This was conceived as an integrated policy aimed at reconstructing not only institutional governance for effective and efficient service delivery, but also a re-orientation of national norms and values. **152.** The document captured the essence of our agenda in relation to core objectives and achievements.

153. I have been consistently mindful of the weight of public expectation to find solutions to the challenges that confront us because the mandate we have is a free and sacred one. **154.** In all that I have done, I have been guided by this sacred obligation, to work hard for the good of Nigeria and to make life better for Nigerians. **155.** I want to assure everyone that Nigeria, under my leadership, will not fail.

156. Exactly 53 years ago today, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa urged us to 'move with quiet dignity to our place on the world stage' **157.** I am sure that there have been times when every one of us must have questioned how closely we have followed that injunction.

158. But again, I can reassure you that Nigeria's place on the world stage today is strong and safe, and it is certainly a place of dignity and respect. **159.** We must continue to build on this by remaining a nation and a people committed to ideals, the noblest humanitarian values, and the rule of law.

160. Our Constitution is anchored ultimately on the idea of freedom and fundamental rights: freedom of expression; freedom from discrimination; freedom to vote and be

voted for, and the right to human dignity. **161.** These are the core values of a true democracy. **162.** These are the values of which we must never lose sight.

163. In my address to the UN General Assembly last week, I emphasized the crucial role of democratization in improving the fortunes not just of this country, but of our entire continent. **164.** Democratic values encourage diversity. **165.** They encourage discourse. **166.** They encourage disagreement. **167.** This is the joy of democracy.

168. It enables us to have an opinion and ultimately, the ballot box gives us all the opportunity to instigate change. **169.** When democracy works, it does not destroy a nation. **170.** It unites and defines it.

171. Fellow Nigerians, our Administration has taken cognizance of suggestions over the years by well-meaning Nigerians on the need for a National Dialogue on the future of our beloved country. **172.** I am an advocate of dialogue. **173.** When there are issues that stoke tension and bring about friction, it makes perfect sense for the interested parties to come together to discuss.

174. In demonstration of my avowed belief in the positive power of dialogue in charting the way forward, I have decided to set up an Advisory Committee whose mandate is to establish the modalities for a National Dialogue or Conference. **175.** The Committee will also design a framework and come up with recommendations as to the form, structure and mechanism of the process.

176. The Committee will be chaired by Dr. Femi Okurounmu while Dr. Akilu Indabawa will serve as the Secretary. **177.** The full membership of the Committee will be announced shortly.

178. I expect the Report to be ready in one month, following which the nation will be briefed on the nomenclature, structure and modalities of the Dialogue.

179. Fellow Nigerians, the past 53 years have seen Nigeria evolve on an epic scale. **180.** Our progress since independence has not always been smooth. **181.** This is, after all, our Fourth Republic; but despite all its flaws, it has lasted longer than all the previous three put together. **182.** That is progress and it proves that, our differences – real and imagined – notwithstanding, we are, in every sense, a united nation.

183. This is no time for the harmful clutches of parochial sentiments and the politics of bitterness, impunity, arrogance and unhelpful indiscipline. **184.** We must stand as one, with absolute commitment and resolve to resist any force that threatens us and the sanctity of our union.

185. I want to thank all our country men and women who have stood by this Administration in the midst of mounting challenges and enormous expectations.

186. I recognize that it is not easy to keep believing in the possibilities of our greatness when our faith is constantly challenged. **187.** But let me assure you that, if we do not despair, we shall reap the reward of our labour in due season.

188. It is my prayer that, another 53 years from now, our children and grand-children will look back on our effort and be thankful that we kept the faith.

189. May God continue to bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

190. I wish you all a very happy 53rd Independence Celebration.

191. I thank you.

2014

192. Fellow Nigerians, today marks the 54th anniversary of our country's independence as a sovereign nation. **193.** This is also the tenth month of our journey into a new century, having marked the centenary of our nation in January this year.

194. The first one hundred years were marked by triumphs and tribulations, benefits and burdens, opportunities and challenges. **195.** We made some far reaching advances in building a strong, united and prosperous nation. **196.** We also overcame the forces of disunity that culminated in a debilitating civil war. **197.** We have also renewed our faith in one another, and in our country. **198.** We have proven that we are truly a resilient nation.

199. In my address to the nation last year, I did emphasize that we were in a sober moment in our country. **200.** We are still in that mood in spite of the many accomplishments of our administration. **201.** 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.

202. 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. **203.** They will not succeed.

204. In their mission, they have maimed and raped. **205.** They have killed men, women and children, rendering many children orphans and several women widows.

206. They have made violence their ideology and are bent on destroying our country.

207. Dear countrymen and women, we will not allow them.

208. Night after night, day after day, our security forces continue to engage the terrorists in battle. **209.** My gratitude goes out to our armed forces whose will has been greatly challenged by this insurgency more than any other time, since the civil war.

210 Yet, they have remained undaunted and unwearied in the face of constant challenge and mortal danger. **211.** Driven by patriotic zeal, they are turning the tide by their prowess and determination. **212.** As Commander-in-Chief, I will continue to do all it takes to enable them to keep on inflicting devastating blows at the heart of terror. **213.** 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.

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

216. To those who have genuine grievances, I affirm that Nigeria will listen to you, if you bring your grievances to the table of dialogue. **217.** To the good people of Nigeria, let me restate that our task of building a better and greater country must not waver.

218. While we continue to deploy our resources in the fight against the terrorists, we do recognize the great toll the conflict is taking on our people.

219. This is why, to assist the afflicted, we have launched the Victims Support Fund, an independent multi-sectoral charity, which will aggressively solicit resources to augment Government's statutory intervention, in bringing succour to the injured, the displaced and the bereaved.

220. In partnership with Nigerian business leaders and international partners, we have also introduced the Safe Schools Initiative which is aimed at promoting safe environments for education nationwide, starting with the North East region.

221 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.

222. Our overall objective is to do all we possibly can, to sustain in the North-East, the momentum of economic advancement, which is on-going in other parts of the country, despite the machinations of the terrorists and their sponsors.

223. It should now be clear to anyone who was ever in doubt that these terrorists do not mean well for anyone, of whatever religion or dispensation. **224.** Their persistent choice of the weakest and most vulnerable in society, for gruesome attack, provides an insight into their abnormal mind-set.

225. 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.

226. We are grateful to the international community, and especially our neighbours who are working closely with us in confronting this challenge, for their increased partnership and solidarity. **227.** Our steady progress in weakening the insurgency has certainly justified our cooperation.

228. Fellow Nigerians, in my independence anniversary address last year, I informed you that we had taken cognizance of the suggestion over the years by well-meaning Nigerians on the need to focus attention on rebuilding and strengthening the ligaments of our union.

229. It was in that regard that we announced the convening of a National Dialogue on the future of our beloved country.

230. We have successfully delivered on that promise as we established the 2014 National Conference headed by Justice LegboKutigi. **231.** After months of deliberations, which did not come without its challenges, the conference concluded its assignment and has handed its Report to me.

232. I have made a firm commitment that we would act on the recommendations of the conference. **233.** This, I have made a firm commitment that we would act on the recommendations of the conference headed by the Honourable Attorney General of the Federation to work out the modalities for implementing the Report. **234.** Every promise I make, God willing, I will see to its fulfilment. I assure you, we shall implement the report.

235. One major lesson which the 2014 National Conference has taught us as a country is that, a multi-ethnic country like ours, must learn to embrace painstaking dialogue until consensus is established.

236. To me, the National Conference is the greatest centenary gift to our country that we must cherish and sustain.

237. Fellow Nigerians, our 54 year-journey as a nation has not been easy. **238.** There have been tough periods, but the Nigerian spirit and the unflagging resilience of our people have seen us through. **239.** We will continue to march forward to greater heights.

240. We have been able to sustain a big, strong and influential country with a robust economy. **241.** We are currently in our sixteenth year of uninterrupted democratic rule, daily improving on the consolidation of our democratic process.

242. Our Administration has made a commitment to ensure that we build and sustain a democratic infrastructure anchored on free and fair elections. **243.** International and local observers have attested to the positive evolution of electoral credibility and we cannot afford to relent.

244. We will continue to ensure that the will of the electorate prevails so that political leaders would be reminded at all times that there is a day of reckoning when they have to go back to the people at the polls. **245.** Election days must not be days of violence and

death. **246.** We must remain vigilant to ensure that our electoral process is characterized by peace, security and transparency.

247. I enjoin the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), all security agencies, politicians and the electorate to work conscientiously and peacefully, together, to consolidate on the gains of the recent elections. **248.** Free and fair elections have come to stay; nothing else will be acceptable to our people.

249. My dear countrymen and women, occasions such as this present an opportunity to thank God for our country and to report to you, on our journey so far.

250. Our power sector reform is on course with the ultimate objective of generating enough electricity to power our homes, industries and businesses. **251.** We are making giant strides in the Agricultural Sector which we are re-positioning to diversify our economy. **252.** We will continue to upgrade our infrastructure to make life easier for all and create an enabling environment for enterprise to flourish.

253. Over the last four years, the implementation of the Nigerian Content Act in the Oil and Gas Sector has ensured major increase in the participation of indigenous Oil and Gas companies in the industry. **254.** Several critical infrastructure projects have been commissioned and commenced. **255.** The level of indigenous asset ownership has greatly increased and utilization of Nigerian-owned and built assets such as marine vessels and rigs is being progressively enforced.

256. There has been maximised local value addition by encouraging the manufacture of equipment components and parts within the country. **257.** There has also been massive growth in indigenous participation in the provision of goods and services to the upstream sector from 10% to 60% within the last four years.

258. Today, following the rebasing of our economy, every international monitoring and ratings agency now acknowledges Nigeria as the largest economy in Africa, with a Gross Domestic Product of five hundred and ten billion dollars (\$510 billion) which also places us as the 26th largest economy in the world. This is progress.

259. Earlier in the year, we launched the Nigeria Industrial Revolution Plan (NIRP) and the National Enterprise Development Programme (NEDEP) with the stated objective of fast tracking inclusive growth, job creation, enterprise development and industrialisation.

260. The success of these policies is already evident in the increased value addition in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

261. In line with our objective of encouraging the production of made-in-Nigeria vehicles and making Nigeria a regional hub for the automobile industry, a number of foreign auto manufacturers have established plants in Nigeria, complementing the laudable efforts of our local vehicle manufacturers who have also demonstrated great innovation and competitiveness.

262. We have also launched a special support programme for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises with an initial intervention fund of two hundred and twenty billion naira (N220 b). **263.** This is in addition to the Presidential Job Creation Board which I inaugurated recently with the charge to create three million jobs annually.

264. In demonstration of our Administration's commitment to addressing Nigeria's housing deficit, we have commenced the new mortgage re-finance programme with the establishment of the Nigerian Mortgage Re-finance Company. **265.** It is expected that, in addition to creating additional housing units across the country, this initiative also represents a huge job creation opportunity.

266. We have recorded notable success in the social sector. Nigeria has been globally acknowledged for reducing extreme hunger by more than half, with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) formally presenting the country with an award for achieving the Millennium Development Goal on Hunger three years ahead of the 2015 target date set for the Millennium Development Goals.

267. This progress is as a result of the deliberate policy of government to increase capacity in our agricultural sector of which the first step was to address and eliminate the graft in our fertilizer procurement system and ensure that the product gets directly to the farmer. **268.** We are expanding our irrigation infrastructure to ensure that our farmers have sufficient water supply for dry season farming.

269. A benefit of these combined actions is that our national food import bill has declined from 1.1 trillion naira (6.9 billion dollars) in 2009 to 684.7 billion naira (4.35 billion dollars) by December 2013, and continues to decline.

270. Modern hybrid schools are being provided for less privileged children across the country, resulting in significant increase in the national school enrolment figure

271. In order to further enhance access to education at the tertiary level, fourteen new Federal Universities have been established; and, to encourage persons of exceptional abilities, our Administration has also introduced a Presidential Scholarship Scheme based strictly on excellence and merit.

272. On infrastructure, we are building roads, bridges, and new rail lines to make it easier to traverse Nigeria and increase the integration of our people and our ability to do business with each other. **273.** In this regard, we have commenced the process of building

the Second Niger Bridge. **274.** The Loko-Oweto Bridge over River Benue in Nasarawa and Benue States, will significantly reduce travel time by road between Northern and Southern Nigeria. **275.** The on-going dredging of the River Niger up to Baro in Niger State is opening up large parts of the Nigerian hinterland to maritime activity.

276. The Zungeru and Mambilla Hydro-electric power projects are on course, and the Kashimbilla dam which we started a few years ago, is nearing completion. **277.** The successful privatisation of our power sector will in the long run enhance industrial growth. **278.** Policies such as this and others have raised Nigeria to the enviable status of being the number one recipient of Foreign Direct Investment in Africa in the past year.

279. The result of this infrastructure drive is that two and a half million jobs have been created over the past two years. **280.** This is a record, which we are committed to improve upon to continue to provide jobs for our youth.

281. An unprecedented number of Airports across the country, are not only being reconstructed at the same time, but being re-equipped and reassessed with emphasis on maintaining global standards.

282. Fellow Nigerians, the goals we set to achieve for our country involve expanding the frontiers of economic freedom. **283.** Let us therefore unite with one heart and one mind.

284. All our people must have access to the good things of life. **285.** All our people must be empowered to pursue the gift of life with happiness. **286.** This is our country; we must build it for our common posterity.

287. As we move into an election year, desperate moves to overheat the polity are becoming a regular occurrence. **288.** Our political leaders in particular must know that the contest for power should not translate to the destruction of the polity.

289. The contest for the leadership of our country must yield good governance, and not ungovernable spaces. **290.** The love of country should rank higher than our individual ambitions.

291. We must remain committed to a united and indivisible Nigeria within democratic parameters. **292.** The protection of individual rights, liberty, equality before the law, freedom of thought, and a progressive pursuit of a sound economy must be our goal.

293. I cannot end this address without commenting on the deadly Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) which was sadly brought into our country recently. **294.** My directives to the Federal Ministry of Health saw the ministry leading the charge in curtailing the spread of this deadly scourge and managing its impact. **295.** This is how it should be: swift, effective and comprehensive action in defence of citizens.

296. It must be pointed out that the Ebola battle is still raging elsewhere in our sub-region. **297.** I therefore enjoin all our citizens to continue to adhere strictly to all the guidelines that have been given by our health officials to keep Ebola out of our country.

298. I appreciate and welcome the spirit of collaboration, unity and partnership with which we confronted the threat of the Ebola Virus Disease. **299.** I thank all Nigerians for working together to prevent what could have become a major epidemic. **300.** I particularly thank the medical personnel, some of whom made the ultimate sacrifice.

301. This is the spirit which we must demonstrate at all times as we face up to our challenges as a nation: one people, united by a common resolve, in the pursuit of one common national interest.

302. As we look forward to another year in our national life, I am more than confident that our tomorrow will be better than our yesterday and today. **303.** Nigeria has got the

human and material resources to excel and we shall lead the way in that journey to our manifest destiny.

304. Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters, in all our plans, and in all our words and our actions, we must stand together in love and unity, as one people under God.

305. We are one people from the womb of one Nigeria. **306.** We are brothers and sisters.

307. We are one family. **308.** We are Nigerians.

309. God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Appendix 2

Jonathan Felicitates With Akande On 70th Birthday

Posted by: [daniel](#) on November 1, 2014



President Goodluck Jonathan has felicitated with a former Minister of Industry, Chief (Mrs.) Nike Akande, on the occasion of her 70th birthday.

In a congratulatory letter signed by his special adviser on media and publicity, Reuben Abati, and addressed to Mrs. Akande, President Jonathan commended her remarkable achievements, which he said emanated from her unwavering commitment to professional excellence and the highest ideals.

The letter read, "As you celebrate your 70th birthday anniversary on Saturday, November 1, 2014, it is with a profound sense of joy that I, on behalf of the government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, felicitate with you and your family.

“Your noteworthy accomplishments have spanned the worlds of business, finance and administration up to the level of the membership of the highest decision making body of our nation, the Federal Executive Council”.

The president also commended the ex-minister for her worthy legacies which he said had become sources of inspiration to many people.

Data 2

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Jonathan felicitates with Uduaghan at 60 ... Kukah, Falae at birthday event, blame elite for insurgency

October 22, 2014 [1 Comment](#)



President Goodluck Jonathan has applauded Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan's exemplary dedication to the service of Delta State ahead of his 60th birthday.

According to a congratulatory letter to Uduaghan contained in a statement by his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, Dr. Reuben Abati, the President, also commended his commitment to the ideals of diligence, humility and perseverance.

“On behalf of my family, the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I write to express warm felicitations to you on the glorious occasion of your 60th birthday anniversary.

“I join your family, friends, well-wishers and the entire people of Delta State in celebrating a life that vividly epitomizes triumph against all odds emanating from the circumstance of birth, while also symbolizing the assured reward for single-minded commitment to the ideals of diligence, humility, perseverance, focus and dedicated service.

“As you deservedly mark this landmark anniversary, it is my prayer that Almighty God will continue to grant you good health, even as He guides, guards and prospers you in the many more years of fulfilling service ahead of you,” the statement read.

The rise in insurgency in Nigeria has been blamed on the refusal of the elite and ruling class to fully implement the provisions of Chapter II of the 1999 Constitution.

At a special lecture in Asaba, Tuesday organized to mark the governor's birthday, Catholic Bishop of Sokoto, Rt. Rev Mathew Kukah, blamed the rise of insurgency and other social ills on the nation's ruling class, saying their failure to fully implement the provisions of Chapter II of the 1999 Constitution is responsible for the unfortunate trend.

Kukah who spoke on the topic, “Managing Anger” said anger is a concealed and disguised emotion, which if not properly managed can become a weapon of mass destruction.

He said Chapter II of the Constitution, which contained the directives of state policy made the provision of education, social and economic rights the duty of government.

“The implementation of that chapter captures the heart of everyone whether Christian or Moslem.

“Unfortunately, those rights are not justiciable and government cannot be compelled by the courts to implement them.

“There is something congenitally wrong with us that a man should have more than six houses in Nigeria, let alone the ones he owns abroad when he sleeps in just one at a time,” he wondered.

“Citizens have a right to get angry with the way public funds were spent especially now that they have become enlightened about how much money is available to government.

“The anger rises from righteous indignation,” he said.

The bishop wondered why it was taking Nigerian political office holders eternity to learn how to manage public resources, while it hasn’t taken them any time at all to learn how to loot the same resources.

Since 1999, Nigerian leaders are always saying ‘we are still in a learning process’ But they are not still in a learning process when it comes to steal public funds,” he said.

Kukah, who advocated a revision of schools syllabus to provide for studies that will train pupils and students on how to appreciate and make the most of plural societies also urged Nigerians not to see the religiously and ethnically plural nature of the country as a cause for bitterness but see the benefits of such pluralism as it is in other parts of the world.

He urged civil servants to go recreational and take time off their work to relax and holiday instead of earning bonuses in lieu of their vacations.

Also speaking at the event former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief OluFalae who was a discussant, also blamed the elite for creating the window that gave vent to insurgency and other social upheavals in the country.

Falae called for the reintroduction of economic planning in Nigeria so that every fund would be accommodated in a project already planned. That way, he said, it would be difficult to find public officers thinking any grant given to their departments as surplus funds that can be sidetracked.

The Sultan of Sokoto, AlhajiSa’adAbubakar III, who presided over the lecture called for religious tolerance. He particularly asked for the provision of worship centres for Christians in the North and worship centres for Moslems in the South.

The celebration of the governor’s birthday continues in Warri on Wednesday.

On minimum wage

Minimum wage implementation: Putting govt sincerity to task

By BimbolaOyesola: bimbeechampion@yahoo.com

Monday, August 15, 2011

The count down for the implementation of the new minimum wage as far as the labour movement is concerned began in March when President Goodluck Jonathan in the heat of political manoeuvring and overtures signed the new minimum wage bill into law.

It would be recalled, however, that the new minimum wage right from its evolution has been bedeviled with several upheavals and hiccups created by the governments who supposed to translate it into payment that would bring succour to the groaning Nigerian workers.

In 2008, when the struggle commenced, labour represented by the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) had sent in a proposal of N52,200 as the least minimum wage to the Federal Government and by extension to all employers of labour.

The Justice Alfa Belgore Commission which deliberated on the wage with inputs from all stakeholders sat for almost two years before finally coming up with N18,000 as the minimum wage. The president of the NLC, Comrade Abdulwahed Omar, had said then that labour agreed on N18,000 though it fell short of workers expectation to salvage the country's economy.

In spite of the anticipation of workers on the new wage, the National Assembly considered it the least important. It could be recalled that late last year, it took a nationwide strike threat from labour before the National Assembly was prodded into action to enact the new Wage Act. That was after the government had sought and obtained the endorsement of the National Council of State comprising government officials, past heads of state and state governors.

Federal and state governments had waited until last month when labour threatened a three-day nationwide strike that would have crippled the economy before accepting to pay the new wage though the Federal Government had earlier promised to commence payment in June.

The NLC president, after the National Executive Council (NEC) meeting of the two labour houses has announced that the strike was in protest of the non-implementation of the new minimum wage by the federal, states and local governments, as well as the private sector.



• Jonathan

Photo: Sun News Publishing

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Besides defending the Minimum Wage Law, the labour leader also believed that the strike was aimed at protecting the fundamental rights of the Nigerian populace to live above poverty line.

Nevertheless, in line with the agreement reached with the Federal Government and state governors, the organised labour resolved to suspend its proposed three-day warning strike after 10 hours of discussion with the government on July 19, 2011.

It was quite a marathon meeting as the labour leaders earlier held a separate meeting with the state governors led by the River State Governor, Rotimi Amaechi, before launching into another one with the Federal Government which ended few minutes to midnight on that fateful Tuesday. Among the demands of the NLC, TUC and the Civil Society Coalition was a signed agreement between the federal and state governments on one hand and the NLC and TUC on the other stating that:

- ð The New National Minimum Wage of N18,000 will be implemented across board based on salary relativity that will not distort the payment table at the federal, state and local government levels.
- ð The payment of the new minimum wage will take effect from March 23, 2011, the day President Goodluck Jonathan signed the New National Minimum Wage into law.
- ð The arrears from the minimum wage will be paid within three months.
- ð Workers will not be victimised over the minimum wage by way of mass retrenchment, increase in tax or any other form of punishment.

Between July 19 till date, labour has had over 10 meetings with the government on the contentious issues based on the implementation of the new wage. Though the implementation of the agreement, it was discussed at the meeting would not be later than August 1, 2011 and the effective date of the implementation of the new wage paid in arrears of the difference, Federal Government on several occasion during the discussion proved a major threat and stumbling block to the actualization.

After the earlier agreement which led to the suspension of the strike, Federal Government in one of the first meetings on implementation had stuck to her gun that only Level 1 to 6 would be accommodated, while other levels would only be considered in the next year budget. Specifically in the meeting between Labour and government on Thursday July 28, Labour accused government of unilaterally repudiating the agreement.

In a press conference addressed by the leadership of the two labour houses, labour accused government of deliberately violating nation's Constitution, the National Minimum Wage Act. Specifically, they say government acted in bad faith when its delegation at the meeting said government would only implement the N18,000 minimum wage from Grade Level 1 to 6 and that non-civil servants would not benefit from the new wage.

For good measure, the government team threatened that unless Labour accepted this, even Grade Levels 1 to 6 in the civil service will not be paid the national minimum wage. Of course, Labour refused to be intimidated.

It is clear that the Federal Government deceived Labour and the populace into believing that it will implement the minimum wage, the labour leaders at the meeting has stated. In the same vein, an earlier meeting had been inconclusive and the two parties decided to inaugurate a technical committee that would work out the nitty gritty of the full implementation across all board. The report which was rejected at the July 28 meeting.

Another meeting fixed for Sunday, July 31, also ended without a clear direction as both parties failed to reach consensus on the figure worked out by the Technical Committee.

At the meeting held in the office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation in Abuja, the labour leaders had demanded 5.43 per cent increase in wages across board from levels one to 17 above the N17,000 the least paid government worker was earning before the introduction of the N18,000 minimum wage.

But this was rejected by the Federal Government delegates who were of the opinion that the wage bill would swell by N54 billion to accommodate such percentage.

As far as government was concerned, acceding would imply undertaking another wage review as well as drawing up a supplementary budget. The two options, government considered not favourable.

Government, however, agreed that all workers across board would be paid the new wage, while public sector workers would equally benefit. A shift from the old position.

The meeting, however, could not be conclusive as government was only offering N10 billion per annum which was a far cry from Labour's demand. Not until the last meeting on Tuesday August 2 that both government and labour representatives finally reached a pact. Government at the meeting offered N11 billion, one billion higher than the N10 billion it offered earlier.

The TUC president, Comrade Peter Esele, had commented after the meeting: 'I think today we have a more conducive atmosphere and the presentation was made and we have an offer on the table, which will be considered by the National Administrative Council of the NLC and TUC and whatever come out of those meetings would also be communicated accordingly and hopefully we can have a closure on this.'

Though Labour is still awaiting the report of the Technical Committee who is expected to translate the N11 billion offered by the Federal Government into a table, there seem to have been some kind of contentment from Labour on the new offer by government.

Comrade Amina Danesy, Deputy President, Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions (ASSBIFI), also NAC member of the NLC who spoke with Workforce after the emergency NAC meeting last Wednesday, August 3 said Labour might consider Federal Government offer after the Technical Committee might have submitted its report.

But she noted that Labour problem was never about the offer but willingness to implement.

'We all know how Labour due to the state of our economy came down to N18,000, how to pay the money is now the problem we have been hearing different discordant tunes from all tiers of governments. It is always the willingness to pay that is the issue here,' she said.

Comrade Danesy might not be far from the truth as several states governors have come out to reiterate the fact that they cannot pay the new wage despite the earlier agreement reached in the heat of the aborted strike. One of the governors has equally stated that even if Labour should go on one year strike, his state could not afford to pay.

Observing the foot-dragging attitude of respective governments, NLC was swift to remind them that the suspension of the earlier proposed warning strike should not be seen as mistaken to imply that Labour has shelved the strike option.

According to Comrade Abdul Gafar Mohammed, the National President of Chemical and Non-Metallic Products Senior Staff Association (CANMPSSA), who is also a NAC member of TUC, government sincerity is in question in relation to the issue of minimum wage.

The Labour leader who was part of the Labour negotiating team said that government insincerity was apparent throughout several meetings held on the implementation. "When you say a law is passed, it should be applicable to all, once there is no respect to that, there is no sincerity. The implementation supposed to commence on August 1, that is our agreement, but several days into the month, we are still deliberating," he said.

He lamented that the political class used the minimum wage as a bait to win election, warning that failure to respect the law of minimum wage might lead to anarchy. The Labour leader also challenged the state governors to prepare for the battle ahead as no state would be spared from respecting the law. Comrade Mohammed wondered why the state governors could get money to buy jets, but have no money to pay their workers. He advised: "If Federal Government has been sincere, the governors would have followed the paths of honour to do what is right.

"We know getting the state to pay is a complex situation, but we will deal with the complexity as it unfolds both in the state and local government. Any state that cannot pay should recapitalise, merge with those who can pay as we have in the banking sector."

The CANMPSSAN president stressed that government should respect the agreement as there has been a great compromise on the part of Labour to agree on the paltry offer being offered by the government. The General Secretary of the Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria (MHWUN), Comrade Marcus Omokhuale, who also was in the Labour team for the negotiation confirmed that Labour only acceded based on patriotism.

"If the people on the seat are telling you that economy is so bad, security situation, Ramadan, then going on strike would portray us as insensitivity," he said. On government sincerity, he noted that no one can see through a man's heart but advised the government to live up to their promises.

Over the past three weeks, lots of manhour that could be geared towards productivity would have been wasted on meetings. It would be an understatement what it could be if the whole nation or state is shut down due to failure to respect agreement earlier reached between Government and Labour. There is no doubt that a worker deserves his/her wage. All the same, the interest of the

nation should be paramount, hence those in the position of authority should do what is right for the workers and nation.

Problems With Minimum Wage Increases

<http://smallbusiness.chron.com/problems-minimum-wage-increases-2691.html>

by Osmond Vitez, Demand Media

Business owners often deal with several external factors that have significant impacts on their business. Government regulation is a powerful external force that creates difficult business environments. Minimum wage is a national economic policy responsible for many business decisions. Business owners must pay individuals the minimum wage according to federal or state guidelines. Although federal guidelines set the standard national minimum wage, states have the ability to go above and beyond this level if they choose.

Minimum wage increases can have severe effects for small businesses. Increases in payroll expense often require small business owners to raise consumer prices on goods and services or reduce business costs. Payroll is often the highest expense for most small businesses. An increase in minimum wage may result in small businesses laying off employees. Employee layoffs are usually the first option as consumers may react negatively to an increase in product prices.

Minimum wage increases can also create negative situations for employees. Wage increases can push the employee's annual income into a higher tax bracket, of imposing a higher marginal tax rate on the individual. Minimum wage employees usually have lower wealth than other individuals in the economic marketplace. Tax liability increases can quickly erode the wealth of an individual living on minimum wage. Employees will also face higher payroll taxes, such as Social Security or Medicare, which can also reduce their immediate income.

Related Reading: [Economic Implications of Minimum Wage Implementation](#)

Governments increasing minimum wage levels often create a distortion in free market economies. Free market economies are usually driven by the economic theory of supply and demand. Businesses have a demand for employees and attempt to fill this demand from the available supply of individuals in the economic marketplace. Each party agrees to specific wages for a certain level of service. Minimum wage laws can create higher wages than companies are willing to pay for specific employee services.

Small businesses may also face increasing wages across the board. Minimum wage increases often bring unskilled or lower-level employee wages closer to the pay for individuals with

technical or expert abilities. Business owners may need to consider raising these individual's wages to compensate for minimum wage increases. Higher-paid employees may also feel slighted by the government's ability to increase the minimum wage and leave other wage levels to free market standards.

Significant minimum wage increases can drive companies into dangerous financial situations. Retail stores, fast food restaurants, hotels and similar industries often rely on minimum wage individuals for completing several business tasks. Governments that continually increase minimum wage require businesses in these industries to pay more money for the same amount of employee service. If companies are unable to increase prices or reduce expenses, they may face liquidation or bankruptcy as a result from the wage increase.

On credible election

European Union lauds Nigeria over Voter Registration

Sunday, February 13, 2011

THE recently concluded voter registration in the country has received endorsement by a European Union delegation. However, it urged the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to consolidate successes recorded to ensure the April elections are conducted with a high degree of credibility.

Speaking in Abuja at a one-day forum organised by INEC for civil society organisations to review challenges of the voter registration and proffer solutions at the weekend, head of the delegation, Ambassador David McRae, described credible voter education as first step towards free, fair and transparent polls.

McRae said he was happy that the voter registration passed off well, despite initial hiccup. According to him, "we are happy that INEC rose to the occasion and everything went well.

"We are encouraged by the way INEC overcame the challenges and we hope that it would consolidate on achievements recorded and replicate similar feat during the April general elections.

"To do that, we believe it is the collective responsibility of all stakeholders in Nigeria to join hands and work towards attaining the objective."

The envoy also commended the high turn out of voters during the exercise, describing it as a demonstration of the wish of Nigerians to send a clear signal that, this time, they want to use their votes to elect leaders that would deliver quality leadership, devoid of corruption and other forms of vices.

McRae said the April elections would mark a watershed, as it would show the international community that Nigeria is ready to take its place in the comity of nations.

In his words, “The world is watching Nigeria, and West Africa as represented by Nigeria because of its size and endowments. Therefore, the EU believes CSOs hold the key to attainment of credible elections in Nigeria. The EU values the role of CSOs and their collaboration with INEC to safeguard the vote of the people.”

Source: The Guardian

On Terrorism

[The Punch - Nigeria's Most Widely Read Newspaper](#)

Boko Haram can overrun Nigeria, says Atiku

November 4, 2014 by John Alechenu [31 Comments](#)



Former Vice-President, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar

| credits: File copy

A former Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, has said the Boko Haram sect can overrun Nigeria, unless Federal Government wakes up to its responsibility of protecting the citizens.

Atiku said this at a media briefing in Abuja, on Monday.

He was speaking on the humanitarian crisis caused by the recent territorial gains made by the insurgents.

Atiku noted that it was pathetic that the Nigerian military which fought a civil war and achieved a total reconciliation and reconstruction within 30 months, was today unable to deal with a five-year-old insurgency.

The former Vice President argued that the nation was suffering from a leadership deficit because five years was more than enough to re-equip the entire military.

According to him, the extremist sect currently controls two local government areas in Yobe, five in Adamawa and about nine in Borno states.

He said, "Ever since these terrorists have been taking over territories, there was never a time the Nigerian military has recovered one inch of any lost territory in these five years.

"Can you imagine a whole country like Nigeria with its armed forces? Not one inch of territory recovered from the terrorists? How can you now convince me that this government has the capacity to recover an inch if in the last five years they have not recovered one inch? Government must rise up to its responsibility of protecting its citizens otherwise the whole of this country can be overrun."

The APC Presidential aspirant who was flanked by legislators from both chambers of the National Assembly; including a former Governor of Yobe State, Buka Abba-Ibrahim, accused the Federal Government of failing to rise to the occasion.

He also accused the Federal Government of not telling Nigerians what they were entitled to know about what had become of the foreign help to recover the Chibok schoolgirls.

He also said Nigerian had a right to suspect when government was not forthcoming with information, arguing that unless government dealt with the security challenge, other things would suffer.

"For me, I don't believe really that the government has exerted itself in trying to contain this situation because even if it means the government should move in 10,000 troops to a location to deal decisively with this situation, it should not be shy to do so," he added.

While berating the Jonathan administration, he said, "This is a government which has allowed a small bunch of small terrorists group for close to five years in this country to operate freely.

"We fought a full blown civil war in 30 months in Nigeria and we achieved total reconciliation and reconstruction in 30 months.

"I also recall when we were in office, such an insurgency arose in Yobe State and the former governor of Yobe State is here, when he was in office, it took us just a few weeks to flush out those insurgents, we dealt with them."

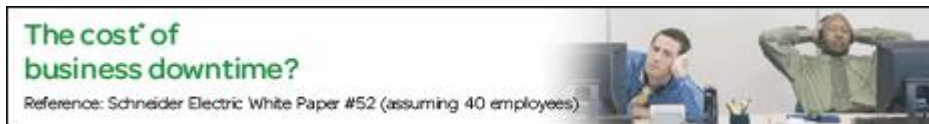
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BUSINESSDAY



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Manufacturing sector now Nigeria's major economic driver, says Rencap

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35



The manufacturing sector is now the major driver of economic growth in Nigeria, the latest economic report by Renaissance Capital, reveals.

According to the report, with Nigeria's rebased Gross Domestic Product,(GDP) the manufacturing sector is currently growing faster than the telecommunications, oil and gas and agricultural sectors.

The report, titled, “Nigeria’s GDP: Bigger but slower – Manufacturing is the engine of growth,” was released on Monday.

The report further strengthens recent figures by the Manufacturing Association of Nigeria, which showed that there was an increase in manufacturing capacity utilisation from 46.3 per cent recorded in the first half of 2013 to 52.7 per cent in the 2nd half of 2013.

Notably, the Rencap report stated that the manufacturing sector recorded 22 per cent growth in 2013, as against the 14 per cent it recorded in 2012, noting that the growth was largely driven by the textile, cement and food sub-sectors, among others.

The growth recorded by the manufacturing sector within the period under review, it said, accounted for one third of the total growth in the economy.

The report said, “Manufacturing is growing strongly, despite power deficit. The manufacturing sector is a much bigger, faster-growing sector under the new series (nine per cent of GDP as against the four per cent previously). In 2013, it recorded substantial growth of 22 per cent (as against 14 per cent in 2012), comprising one-third of total growth. Food, beverage and tobacco producers account for half of the manufacturing sector. The sub-sector’s growth accelerated to 12 per cent in 2013, against 7 per cent in 2012.

“An analysis of the growth drivers shows that telecoms is a maturing and slower-growing sector. The growth sectors are manufacturing (particularly food, cement and textile producers) and real estate.”

The report further revealed that the cement sub-sector, which accounts for about one per cent of the country’s GDP, recorded phenomenal growth in 2013, as it posted a 39 per cent growth as against the 14 per cent recorded in 2012.

It stated, “Several of the smaller manufacturing sub-sectors are growing even faster than food producers. Cement, which only comprises one per cent of GDP, grew by a sizeable 39 per cent in 2013, up from a strong 14 per cent in 2012.

“Nigeria’s large population of upwardly mobile consumers, particularly in the south-west, coupled with investments in power, implies the strong growth of manufacturers, including food producers and breweries, is sustainable.”

Conversely, the report revealed that in 2013, the oil and gas sector experienced a decline in growth as the sector contracted by 13 per cent, while trade and real estate sectors overtook agricultural and financial services to emerge as the top three growth drivers of the Nigerian economy.

“The trade and real estate sectors trumped agriculture and financial services in 2013, to become among the top three growth drivers, together with manufacturing. The decline in agriculture’s growth contribution in 2013 was partly due to the 3Q12 floods. The upside is a smaller agriculture sector (23 per cent, as against 36 per cent) that reduces the economy’s exposure to it,” the Rencap report said.

According to analysts, the level of capacity utilisation in the manufacturing sector is an index of the health of the sector. When it is low, it indicates poor growth and vice-versa. The Rencap report therefore reflects the improving health of the Nigerian manufacturing sector just as the rising capacity utilisation has shown.

Manufacturers in Nigeria had attributed the remarkable increase recorded in capacity utilisation within the last year to favourable government policies, especially with respect to industry, trade and investment.

Olusegun Aganga, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Investment, reacting on the new research findings, said the analyses, done by the reputed Renaissance Capital, corroborated the fact that the manufacturing sector was being transformed under the Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan.

“It is a good thing that the manufacturing sector is breathing well under this administration. Figures are there as proof. All we need do now is further improve the situation through consistency in policy as we continue to work hard towards continuously improving Nigeria’s non-oil revenue,” Aganga noted.



Nigeria-Biafra Civil War

Republic of Biafra

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Biafra, Republic of

secessionist state of W Africa, in existence from May 30, 1967, to Jan. 15, 1970. At the outset Biafra comprised, roughly, the East-Central, South-Eastern, and Rivers states of the Federation of Nigeria, where the Igbo people predominated. The country, which took its name from the Bight of Biafra (an arm of the Atlantic Ocean), was established by Igbos who felt they could not develop-or even survive-within Nigeria. In Sept., 1966, numerous Igbos had been killed in N Nigeria, where they had migrated in order to engage in commerce. The secessionist state was led by Lt. Col. Chukumeka Odumegwu Ojukwu and included some non-Igbo persons. Biafra's original capital was Enugu; Aba, Umuahia, and Owerri served successively as provisional capitals after Enugu was captured (Oct., 1967) by Nigerian forces. Seeking to maintain national unity, Nigeria imposed economic sanctions on Biafra from the start of the secession, and fighting between Nigeria and Biafra broke out in July, 1967. After initial Biafran advances, Nigeria attacked Biafra by air, land, and sea and gradually reduced the territory under its control. The breakaway state had insufficient resources at the start of the war-it was a net importer of food and had little industry-and depended heavily on its control of petroleum fields for funds to make purchases abroad. It lost the oil fields in the war, and more than one million of its civilian population are thought to have died as a result of severe malnutrition. At

the time of its surrender on Jan. 15, 1970, Biafra was greatly reduced in size, its inhabitants were starving, and its leader, Ojukwu, had fled the country. During its existence Biafra was recognized by only five nations, although other countries gave moral or material support. Civilian groups were organized in a number of countries to publicize the case for Biafra and to raise funds for the secessionist state.

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