



Pragmatic Analysis of Conceptual Mappings in Inaugural Speeches of Nigerian Presidents

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Abstract: This work examines the pragmatics of conceptual mappings in the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive presidents between 1979 and 2015. The study adopts the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Chartens-Black's (2004) critical metaphor theory and modified model of Mey's (2001) *pragmeme*. The findings reveal that Nigerian Presidents' inaugural speeches are characterised by several metaphorical mappings such as characterizing an election as a battle, or a sport or a journey. Mappings in the text are used as pragmatic strategies for appealing, remembering, thanking, warning and promising. The paper concludes that understanding cognitive metaphors in the text requires the knowledge of the participants' shared cultural knowledge and world view.

Keywords: pragmatics, inaugural speech, cognitive metaphor, context, meaning

Introduction

A presidential inaugural speech is a type of political discourse in which a newly elected political leader explains his or her plans on how he or she intends to rule a nation and ultimately improve the living standards of the electorate. This political discourse is generally designed to shape people's opinions and beliefs in

favour of the new government (Odeunmi and Oni, 2012). According to Cheng (2016) a presidential inaugural speech seeks to unify the audience by reconstituting its members... rehearsing communal values drawn from the past, and setting forth political principles that will govern the new administration (p.585). In Nigeria, presidents also

deliver public speeches to mark specific occasions such as workers' day, New Year, or Independence Day. A presidential inaugural address is often characterised by rhetoric and tropes such as indirectness, circumlocution, symbolism and metaphor among others (Bosman, 1987; Taiwo, 2010; Yusuf, 2003).

In Nigeria, scholars have applied stylistic and discourse methods to study the speeches of Nigerian military and civilian leaders. For instance, Aremu (2000) carried out a speech act analysis of the maiden addresses of Gen. Sanni Abacha and Gen. Abdusalami Abubakar, while Ayeomoni (2005) examined the stylistic features of the Nigerian military heads of state. Yusuf (2003) studied dysphemism in the speeches of Nigeria President Olusegun Obasanjo, and Adetunji (2009) analysed the rhetoric in the second inaugural speeches of Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush. Odebunmi and Oni (2012) investigated the lexical choices and cognition in Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo's inaugural speeches, while Taiwo (2010) explored metaphors in Nigerian political discourse. Taiwo's work examined different types of speeches such as president's inaugural addresses, Independence Day speeches and May Day addresses of notable Nigerians like Presidents, Vice Presidents, President's spokespersons, and journalists.

The present study examines the conceptual mappings in the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive presidents. This study differs from the existing works on metaphor in Nigerian

political discourse because it attempts an in-depth analysis of cognitive metaphors, by analyzing the pragmatics of conceptual mappings in Nigerian presidential speeches between 1979 and 2015. The study adopts a combination of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), Charteris-Black's (2004) critical metaphor theory and Mey's (2001) pragmeme as theoretical framework.

Political Discourse

According to Chilton (2004), politics is a struggle between individuals who want to assert and maintain power and individuals who want to resist it. It is also a struggle for power among people in government, parliament and parties. Politics is conducted in and through talk and texts and such talk and texts enact political actions (Bayley, 2010). Political actions are limited to the activities of institutions such as political parties, government and parliament in the fulfillment of political obligations (Taiwo 2010). Politics is also conceived of as a struggle to gain and retain power among members of these institutions (Beard, 2000:35).

Bayley (2010) points out that political discourse is a wide and diverse set of discourses, genres or registers such as policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases, party manifestos, or electoral speeches. It also includes campaign speeches, political cartoons, campaign posters and political interviews, and is often spoken or written by political actors or the opposition, leaders of political parties and candidates for political offices.

Chilton and Schaffner (1997) explain that political discourse is often

characterised by coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, legitimisation and delegitimisation as well as dissimulation. These features have been narrowed down by Chilton (2004) to coercion, legitimisation and delegitimisation and misrepresentation. According to Demjankov (2002:33), “political discourse differs from other discourse because of its polemics, which permits military actions to be transferred from the battle-field to the ‘theatre’ stage.” Thus, the main function of political language is the fight for power (Sheigal, 2000).

The goal of political discourse analysis is to examine the ways in which discourse or language use is manipulated to achieve political effects (Wilson 2001). Schaffner (1996:201) posits that political discourse analysts often study the linguistic structures used to get politically important messages across to the addressees so as to fulfill a specific political function. In doing this, the political discourse analysts must understand the broader social and political framework which serves as the background to the discourses or texts being examined. According to Van Dijk (2002:203), “a study of political discourse is theoretically and empirically relevant only when discourse structures can be related to properties of political structures and processes.” Hence, the critical linguists analyse social meanings in language and how language or discourse has been used to reinforce ideologies.

Political Discourse in the Nigerian Context

The Nigerian political discourse has been shaped by different social, political

and economic events and situations that characterise the nation. Issues such as election rigging, resource control, religious and ethnic crisis, security problems among others have shaped political discourse in Nigeria. In recent times, discourses around corrupt public office holders, President Muhammadu Buhari’s ill health, and the threat of Igbo secession have characterised the political discourse in the nation, and these are expressed through the traditional and social media.

Different linguistic studies have been carried out on different genres of Nigerian Political discourse such as cartoons, campaign speeches, presidential speeches, political debates, parliamentary discourse, and editorial comments. For instance, Awonuga (2006) studied the linguistic features of the broadcast to the nation by Olusegun Obasanjo on August 25, 2002. His analyses revealed that the text was characterised by the use of personal pronouns, coupling, strings of words, analogy, repetition and eight types of metaphor. Opeibi (2006) studied negative campaigning in Nigerian political discourse. The study described the emerging trends in negative advertising during political campaigning in Nigeria. According to the study, Nigerian political aspirants often apply different rhetorical strategies of launching direct vituperative attacks on their opponents. Furthermore, Taiwo (2007) identified political lampooning of the opposition through newspaper advertisements as one of the major campaign strategies of Nigerian politicians. Opeibi (2007) studied how Nigerian politicians often demonstrate

their multilingual creativity in the use of English and indigenous languages alongside pidgin to drive home their messages. While Odebunmi (2009) examined politeness and relational work in print media political interviews in Nigeria, Adetunji (2009) studied speech acts in the second inaugural addresses of Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo and America's George Bush. Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) examined the pragma-rhetorical strategies in selected speeches of President Obasanjo, and Alo and Ebuka (2009) studied style in Major Nzeogwu's coup speech of 1966. Aremu (2014) carried out a critical discourse analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's national broadcast of April 21, 2011, and revealed that the broadcast was characterised by dysphemism, expletive, commissives, and the use of the inclusive 'we'. Ademilokun (2015) studied discursive strategies in selected political rally campaigns of 2011 elections in Southwestern Nigeria.

Metaphors in Political Discourse

Right from the publication of *Metaphor We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), cognitive linguistic approach has become common in the analysis of political texts and talk. Lakoff (1996) studied the world-views underlying political thinking in the United States of America. According to the study, the conceptual metaphor of the family stands at the centre of a system of conceptualisation of society in the US politics. He posited that in the US politics, "the nation is mapped as a family, the government as a parent and citizens as children" (p.154-155). The study revealed that there are two

competing versions or models of fathers in the United States: "a Strict Father and a Nurturant Parent." Similarly, Mazrui (1998) explored the metaphors of blackness and whiteness as used in the English language to map or depict evil or goodness. The study condemned the act of depicting the devil as black and angels as white.

Musolff (2004) examined the conceptual metaphors in political debates about Europe. According to him, "if our social experiences and conceptualisations are organised in terms of metaphors, then politics as part of the social domain must also be constructed metaphorically," (p.2). Musolff (2006) then investigated the metaphor scenarios in public discourse by utilising materials that comprise examples from a bilingual corpus of British and German public debates about European Union. His findings revealed the scenarios of EU as a family while France and Germany were mapped as a couple and parents in the marriage scenarios of the EU. His findings also showed the love and marriage separation scenarios. Furthermore, Musolff (2007) examined the impact of the metaphorical in the word 'body' to map or conceptualise a state or society in the political discourse of texts in the first and second world wars. This was observable in the expressions such as "body politic," "three arms of government," "the government mouthpiece," and so forth. Wei (2001) studied metaphorical expressions in Taiwanese political discourse and concluded politics is mapped as war and love, and election as a journey. Vestermarck (2007) studied the metaphorical personification of

America in political discourse. She utilised Lakoff and Johnson's approach to examine the first inaugural addresses of American Presidents Ronald Reagan (1981), George H.W. Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1993) and George W. Bush (2001). The study showed that that in America's political discourse, there were mappings of the world as a community, nation as a person and nation as a human. Similarly, Steen (2008) compared the inaugural speeches of Martin Luther King and Barack Obama to distinguish between the deliberate and conscious metaphor and the conventional, unconscious and non-deliberate metaphor. The study argued that it was a default assumption to state that metaphor was non-deliberate. Deliberate metaphor, according to the study, implied "to consciously set up a cross-domain mapping in our speeches." Perspective changing is the main communicative motive for deliberate metaphor, which in turn may have different rhetorical goals like persuasion, instruction and so on.

Silaski and Durovic (2010) studied the animal metaphoric imagery in the conceptualisation of inflation in English through the framework of CMT. According to Kovecses (2002:124), "much of human behaviour seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour." For instance, inflation is mapped as a horse and described with animal attributes as "trotting" or "run-away" inflation (Silaski and Durovic, 2010:8).

Taiwo's (2010) study of metaphors of Nigerian political discourse revealed that Nigerian political texts and talk are characterised by the mappings of a

political leader as a builder and a savior; politics as a journey and nation as a family and person.

Theoretical Perspectives

Our analysis of the mappings in Nigerian Presidential inaugural address is hinged on the theoretical framework of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Charteris – Black's (2004) CMT and modified model of Mey's (2001) pragmememe. The conceptual metaphor theory began with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphor We Live By* in which they posit that "metaphors are linguistic tools used in everyday communication and are not figures of speech" as opined by literary scholars. In cognitive linguistics (CL), which is Lakoff and Johnson's background, metaphors are viewed as mappings or projections between conceptual domains that are used to shape our views of life in the present and set up the expectation of life for the future (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphors are also perceived as unconscious, non-deliberate and conventional expressions that are used in daily communication in all genres of discourse – religion, politics, commerce, etc. However, the notion that "metaphors are unconsciously and non-deliberately used" has been negated by Steen (2008) who argued that "not all metaphors are unconsciously and non-deliberately used." He cited the deliberate use of metaphor in the inaugural speeches of Obama and Martin Luther Kings in the USA as examples of occasions when metaphors are consciously and deliberately employed.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors are not mere decorations or stylistic devices used in communication but they are the reflections of our encyclopedic and socially-shared world knowledge. (Lakoff, 1992) argued that metaphors are not ordinary emblems in our discourse but they often reflect our thought processes. In CL linguistic knowledge is viewed as part of general cognitive ability that allows mental processes of reasoning, memory and attention. Metaphor in CL implies the conceptual mappings of the source domain with the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Besides, Charteris-Black (2004) developed on the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) cognitive metaphor theory. Charteris – Black's critical metaphor theory is a corpus-based approach to the analysis of metaphor, linked with CL, CDA and corpus linguistics. This approach also incorporates "the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic," dimensions of metaphor analysis and its definition of metaphor is guided by these criteria (Charteris-Black 2004:21). The linguistic criteria will enable the identification of metaphor by establishing the existence of semantic tension in a word or expression and reification. This semantic tension reflects on the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic levels, resulting in a shift in domain use. The major distinguishing feature of critical metaphor analysis and conceptual metaphor is that the former's emphasis is on corpus-based approach. The method to be used in selecting a corpus of a text must be both qualitative

and quantitative. The approach in this study is qualitative since the study is only concerned with the cognitive meanings in the selected data.

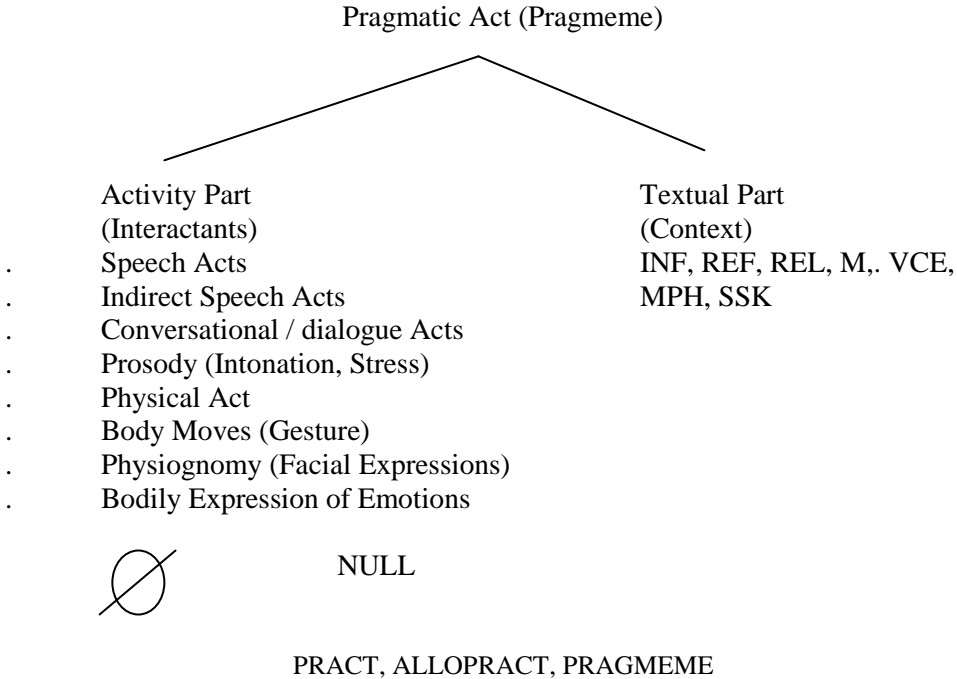
Mey's (2001) theory of pragmeme serves as a substitute to Austin's (1962) speech act, which Mey condemns to be non-situated and lacks the theory of action. Mey (2001) argues that "if speech act has the theory of action, it emanates from individuals," and asserts that "pragmatic acting implies adapting oneself linguistically to one's world" (p.215). He further argues that, in pragmatic act, an individual is not to "set goals" or chart the course of action but the individual is situated in a context, and a pragmatic act, often has an agent and an act. According to Mey pragmatic acts deal with situating our discourse in a context, since no discourse can be understood unless it is being situated within a context in which it could be understood. Pragmatic act is performed when participants communicate implicitly and involves "adapting oneself to context," as well as "adapting context" to oneself (p.220). Thus, the meaning of a text must be inferred from "the environment in which participants find their affordances" (Ibid).

Pragmatic act explains language from "outside in" and not from "inside out" as done by the Austin's (1962) speech act. Kecskes (2010) in his situation bound utterance explained that Mey was right in emphasizing the importance of situation, environment and extra linguistic factors in meaning construction and comprehension. He further stressed that the working of linguistic expressions is as important in

shaping meaning as the situation in which they are used; hence, the interpretation of any discourse should be done from both the “outside in” and

from the “inside out.” Mey (2001) gives a framework of pragmeme which is in two parts: activity (or interactants) and the textual (or context).

Fig 1: Mey’s (2001) Model of Pragmeme



Explanation:

Pragmeme is the generalised pragmatic acts. Allopract is the different realisations of pragmatic act. Activity part shows what participants use in communications, while textual part contains the contextual features that influence communication. These are inference (INF), reference (REF) voice (VCE) situational shared knowledge (SSK), and relevance (REL). Both the textual and activity parts of pragmeme

are used in decoding the contextual meaning of any communication.

Methodology

The data for this study comprise six inaugural addresses of five Nigerian executive presidents from 1979 and 2015. This period marked the era stable democracy in Nigeria. The Nigerian presidents being studied are Shehu Shagari, Olusegun Obasanjo, Umaru Yar’Adua, Goodluck Jonathan and Mohammedu Buhari. A simple

percentage statistical tool was used in analyzing the frequency of mappings in the data. To understand metaphors used in the inaugural speeches the modified model of Mey's (2001) pragmeme was used in analysing practs in the data. Inaugural speeches are semi-dialogic, and the electorate often responds to it through the electronic and print media. Hence, Mey's (2001) pragmeme and Kecskes' (2010) situation bound utterance (SBU) are relevant in examining contextual usage of conceptual mappings in Nigerian presidents' inaugural addresses, as they examine contextual use of metaphors in semi-dialogic presidents' speeches from "inside out" and "outside in."

Going by Mey's pragmeme model, a political leader (PL) often has the socio-political encounter with political actors (PA) and the masses (M) in the country. This enables the participants to have similar world knowledge. The encoder (E) often rides on his mental model (MM) and socially-shared knowledge to air his party manifestoes (PMs) and personal political ideology (PPI) through the text of his inaugural address to the decoders. The encoder also rides on the shared situational knowledge (SSK), shared linguistic knowledge (SLK) and shared socio—cultural knowledge (SSCK) to engage in an

ontological correspondence or mapping of the source domains with the target domains through the text of the political discourse of his inaugural address. Besides, the modified Mey's (2001) model used in the analysis reflects that reification (Reif), personification (pers) and depersonification (dep) are the linguistic tools often used by Nigerian presidents in their use of conceptual metaphors. The interpretation of contextual meanings and practs in metaphors in Nigerian presidents' inaugural addresses must be done from both the "outside in" and "inside out," which means that both the "wordings" used in the text as well as the extra-linguistic factors like environment and situations in which the text is used must be considered in interpreting metaphors in Nigerian president's inaugural addresses. The encoder hinges on the cognitive mappings in the text to instantiate practs.

Findings and Discussion

The findings reveal that the inaugural speeches of Nigerian executive Presidents between 1979 and 2015 mapped a political leader (president) as a father, manager, builder, servant, etc. The various mappings and their frequencies in the data are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of Mappings in Nigerian Executive Presidents' Inaugural Addresses

S/N	MAPPINGS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	Political leaders is a father	03	4.62
	Political leader is a manage	03	4.62
	Political leader is a builder	05	7.69
	Political leader is a servant	01	1.54
	Political leader is a sailor	01	1.54
	Political leader is a driver	03	4.62
	Political leader is a puritan		
2	Ethnic Politics is a beast	01	1.54
	Ethnic Politics is a disease	01	1.54
3	Democracy is a journey	04	6.5
	Democracy is a war	02	3.08
	Democracy is a power	01	1.54
	Democracy is a child	01	1.54
	Democracy is a machine	01	1.54
4	A nation is a human	01	1.54
	A nation is a family	02	3.08
	A nation is a building	04	6.15
	A nation is a vehicle	01	1.54
	A nation is a ship	01	1.54
	A nation is an aircraft	01	1.54
	A nation is a tree	01	1.54
5	Governance is a journey	02	3.08
	Governance is a war	07	10.77
	Governance is a building	01	1.54
	Governance is a business	02	3.08
6	Election is a war	05	7.69
	Election is a sport	02	3.08
	Election is a journey	01	1.54
7	A Political Party is a family	01	1.54
8	Corruption is a cancer	01	1.54
9	Eradicating corruption is a war	01	1.54
10	Economy is a plant	01	1.54
11	Poverty is a disease	01	1.54
12	Maintenance of security is a war	01	1.54
	Total	65	100%

Table 1 shows that the mapping of governance as a war takes the highest frequency (i.e. 07/10.77%). This implies that Nigerian executive presidents used their inaugural speeches to state their readiness to face the challenges of political governance. This is followed by the mappings of the leader as a builder which takes the second highest frequency (i.e. 7.69%) in the data. The samples of these mappings are discussed below.

There are thirty-four (34) mappings in the sampled texts that are regrouped into six broad categories.

(i) Mapping of a Nation as a House and Political Leader as a Head

In the inaugural speeches, a political leader is mapped as a head and a nation as a family. The political leader is also mapped as a builder, manager, and father. Citizens of the nation are mapped as the children. These mappings as shown in Texts 1 to 3 derive from the shared African cultural belief that a father is the head of a family.

Text 1: I ask you, fellow citizens, to join hands with me in building our Nigerian family (Ex- president Yar'Adua's Inaugural Speech)

Text 2: We will create greater access to quality education and improve health care delivery (Ex-President Jonathan's Inaugural speech of May 29, 2011)

Text 3: I offer myself as a servant-leader. I will be a listener and doer and serve with humility (Yar'Adua's inaugural speech).

As the head of a house or family (nation), he is also mapped as a puritan who sanitizes the family through his

patriotism, virtues and role model. Governance is mapped as a part of the house controlled by the head (the political leader). And the Nigerian economy is constructed as a growing child or a tender plant being nurtured to maturity by the political leader.

The speaker (ex-President Jonathan) in text 1 rode on the shared linguistic and socio-cultural common ground between him and the audience (Nigerian public) to pract promising, commanding and appealing. 'Pract' is the use of the linguistic and extra-linguistic features of a text to send a message. It is also a pragmatic resource for constructing, negotiating and understanding meaning in a text from both the inside-out and outside-in (Mey 2001: Kecskes 2010). Texts 2 and 3 also pract promising. The speakers make an attempt to assure and convince Nigerians of the responsibility of the incoming leadership.

(ii) Mappings of a Nation as Motion Engines and a Political Leaders as a Controller

A nation is also mapped as motion engines (e.g. an aircraft, a ship and a vehicle), while a political leader is mapped as the pilot, the sailor, or the driver. Examples are shown in Texts 4 and 5 below.

Text 4: All Nigerians deserve commendation for their patience with a learning curve began with the transition from the darkest episode of our history to the dawn of hope...There have been numerous bumbs in the process but we have taken them by our strides (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

Text 5: Let us acknowledge with deepest appreciation the National Assembly who have put their best to legislatively steer the ship of nation over uncharted waters (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

In Text 4, the former Nigerian President Obasanjo was recounting his achievements as the pilot of the nation and sailor of the ship (Nigeria). He made reference to series of 'bumps' (socio-economic and political problems) his government encountered during the four years of his first term (1999-2003). This text was utilized by the speaker to practice thanking and congratulating. He also used the text to praise himself. The 'uncharted waters' in Text 5 represents political turbulence that had characterized his leadership. The speaker used the text to practice thanking. The use of deliberate metaphor (Steen 2008) in Texts 5 and 6 is common in the other samples and was used here by Obasanjo to map a political leader as a sailor, pilot, and driver.

(iii) Mapping of Election, Governance and Democracy as Journeys

Inaugural speeches of the Nigerian presidents also map election, governance and democracy as different kinds of journeys. The speakers also relied on the shared socio-cultural belief that the human life is a journey. The speakers in texts 6 and 7 used this metaphorical mapping to practice appealing.

Text 6: Fellow Compatriots...Join me as we begin the journey of transforming Nigeria (ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 29, 2011).

Text 7: Let us praise Almighty as we continue on our political journey towards sustainable democracy (Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 30, 2003).

The deliberate metaphor in the use of the word 'journey' instead of 'way' or 'movement' in these texts illustrates Steen's (2008) reification. Reification, personification and de-personification are discursive resources used to deliberately map the source domain with the target domain in the political discourse. By inviting the citizens to join in the journey to sustainable democracy, the speaker implies that democracy takes time to achieve; hence, the citizens should not expect quick results. Unfortunately, political leaders have often utilized this type of political rhetoric to hide from their responsibility as the supposed 'fathers' and leaders of the nation, and have systematically schooled the citizens to believe that they have to wait endlessly for sustainable economic growth, while politicians themselves live above their legitimate means.

(iv) Mappings of Election, Governance and Democracy as Sports

In Text 8, the speaker used simile in his deliberate mapping of governance and democracy as sports.

Text 8: The first thing is for all those who participated in the recent elections to work together, whether they won or lost (Ex-President Shagari's inaugural speech of October 1, 1979)

Text 9: Now that elections are over, we must act as good sportsmen in nation building (Ex-

President Shagari's inaugural speech of October 1, 1979)

The speaker deliberately used the expression 'act as good sportsmen' to map elections as sport. According to Steen (2008), metaphor can be used consciously, intentionally and deliberately, although some are used unconsciously (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). By asking politicians to demonstrate good sportsmanship, the speaker refers to the fact that athletes or sportsmen take defeat in good faith. In text 8, the ex-president Shagari specifically called for the acceptance of a loss in the elections as sportsmen do, unlike the usual conflict and fight that characterize political electioneering. He expected that sportsmanship disposition would support government efforts to building cohesion and sustainable growth.

(v) Mappings of Election and Governance as War

In the inaugural speeches of Nigerian presidents, there is also the mapping of elections and governance as war. Governance, in this context includes democratization process, poverty eradication and security. The fight against corruption is also mapped as war. This is shown in texts 10 - 11.

Text 10: I assure the wider international community of our readiness to combat threat to cross-border terrorism, sea piracy... (Inaugural speech of President Buhari of May 29, 2015).

Text 11: The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist (Ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 30, 2011).

Interestingly, the speaker in text 11 suggests that there was already a fight against corruption, probably begun by previous presidents. And the fight against corruption is comparable to the fight against terrorism and piracy. Significantly, the speakers imply that the fight against corruption, which had characterized previous governments, is as serious as the war on terror. Unfortunately the Nigerian government have often been associated with serious political fraud and high-profile corruption that had crippled the nation's economy and promoted poverty. Ironically, the Jonathan's government has also been accused of serious corruption cases, which exceeded the ones before it. This implies that the speech that pledged corruption fight was a mere political propaganda to attract political supports for the People's Democratic Party (PDP) led government.

(vi) Mapping of Corruption, Poverty and Ethnic Politics as Beast and Cancer

The texts of the inaugural speeches also mapped corruption, ethnic politics, and poverty as cancer and beast. These are shown in texts 12 to 14 below.

Texts 12: No society can achieve anything if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. (Ex-President Obasanjo's inaugural speech of May 29, 1999).

Text 13: By fighting poverty, we fight disease... (Ex-President Jonathan's inaugural speech of May 30, 2011).

Text 14: These last general elections have finally laid to rest the beasts of ethnic politics (Ex-

President Shagari's inaugural Speech of October 1, 1979).

Former President Obasanjo admitted in texts 12 that corruption actually developed to 'full blown cancer,' in Nigeria. Mapping of corruption as a 'disease' or cancer constructs its endemic and destructive nature and the fact that it has been in the Nigeria for so long. Both cancer and beast are dangerous and destructive. The Obasanjo government is credited for creating two agencies for combating corruption – the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). However, these commissions have been accused of being used to fight Obasanjo's political opponents rather than the purpose for which they were established (Chiluwa, 2015). The speaker in Text 14, erroneously believed that the 'beasts of ethnic politics' had been defeated. Unfortunately, about 38 years after that claim was made, ethnic politics had grown worse in Nigeria, especially with the emergence and growth of ethnic militias, separatist/secessionist and terrorist groups in Nigeria, all seeking separate political governments.

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However, the speakers succeeded in their political rhetoric in the use of reification as tools in their deliberate ontological mappings of the source domains (corruption, poverty and ethnic politics) with the target domains (beasts and cancers) in their inaugural speeches.

Conclusion

The findings show that the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian presidents are characterized by the mappings of a nation as family and motion engine and the political leader as the head of a family and driver among others. The mappings generally derived from the shared socio-cultural linguistic beliefs or common grounds that were used to construct, negotiate, and interpret meanings in the mappings. The metaphorical mappings were used to pract promising, appealing, thanking, commanding and condemning. This study expands research in pragmatics, cognitive semantics, and political discourse analysis as it explains the role of language in the construction of peaceful co-existence and social cohesion.

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