

Analysis of Cohesive Reference in President Buhari's 2020 End-SARS Speech

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Abstract

For a text to pass across intended meanings and to be understood, it must encode the meanings properly through achieving cohesion. In essence, this paper aims to identify, describe and examine the necessity of the cohesive reference used in president Buhari end-SARS speech. This speech is analysed based on the Halliday and Hasan (1976), Eggins (2004), and Imtiaz & Ghufraan (2020) cohesion theory. This is because individuals communicate their ideas, feelings and thoughts through language in which speech is crucial. Library research approach is used as a means of collecting required data. In the process, all the materials used were gotten from the library and the internet. The speech shows clear evidence of cohesion and demonstrates the use of cohesive reference devices. The results reveal that there is sufficient indication of using categories of reference devices which include the use of homophoric, exophoric and endophoric reference. The usage indicates that the speech writer addresses the issue in both immediate context and general context. Among them, the exophoric reference, as a cohesion marker, is mostly used in the speech. This reflects what is considered as consistent degree of context-dependency for a text which is apparently about events in the real world. Thus, this paper forms an input to the study of the ways in which various forms of reference between sentences within texts contribute to the insight of cohesion which such texts produce to audiences.

Key words: Language, Cohesion, Cohesive Reference, Protest, Persuasive Speech

1.1 Introduction

Language is a bridge between sender and receiver whereby ideas are communicated by sounds/text which function as the vehicle for communicating the relevant message (Akmajian, et al 2008). Thus, Language is the medium through which humans express their ideas, emotions, experiences and expectations. Individuals involved in protest are communicating to authorities concerned and are

responded to through spoken or written medium. Therefore, writers need to have capability to use the lexical and grammatical cohesions.

A text is cohesive when the elements are tied together and considered meaningful to the reader. Cohesion occurs when the interpretation of one item depends on the other, i.e. one item presupposes the other (Bahaziq 2016). These imply that cohesion is the technique use to show the coherence of a text through relating the

meaning within a text. Similarly, for Brown and Yule (1983) text cohesive relationships are made where the interpretation of certain element in the text is reliant on interpretation of another element. Cohesion refers to situation through which ideas of sentence and paragraph are connected into a unified whole so that the flow of information is assured and a text is easily read Siregar (2015). This indicates that cohesion is an element of text which contains grammatical and lexical aspect to connect the meaning or points of the text. The linguistic items that have the tendency of relating sentences or texts are used to make a reference for an item and are studied for their function in the sentence (Awwad 2017). These items are instructions that indicate the presence of information that should be gotten back from the text or even the context (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

Cohesion is the semantic relation between one element and another in a text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). According to Taboada (2014) Cohesion is a semantic relation in the system of a language which is expressed through the sections organization of language. Elements of a text should be related specifically by connecting what is being written into the semantic environment because it conveys meanings (Tenri & and Basri 2019). This indicates that cohesion and coherence have important roles in maintaining interconnectedness, so that the sentences in a text become integrated. Accordingly, cohesion as a term use for the quality of a text such that it appears as a single unit, is a structural property of the text that holds and binds a text together which can be understood as the unity within sentences on the level of grammatical structure (Ghufran 2020). Likewise, cohesion is realised when the interpretation of some components in a text is dependent on that of other. When this is achieved through speech or written medium, proper communication is possible to take place.

Therefore, speech as a medium of communication involves conveying a particular message to a specific audience at a given time in such a way that the said audience decoded the

message clearly (Sunday 2012). Speech is crucial in a number of social activities which allows us to communicate with each other at a much more complicated level (Hudson 2001). This implies that speech has remained an indispensable component of human live and interaction. Hence, people use language to communicate one form of meaning or another at different levels, with different people, in different ways and for different reasons (Ambrose 2018). Persuasion is an attempt to get a person to behave in a manner, or embrace a point of view related to values, attitudes, and beliefs, that he/she would not have done otherwise. In daily communication, we are constantly being persuaded and persuading others. The goal of this persuasive speech is to change the behavior of individual listeners, protesters who walked and expressed their worries rally to inform and influence the public about something happening in society.

Thus, the protest is a demonstration to influence public opinion, voice displeasure, draw attention to injustice, or share information about something happening around. Thousands of Nigerian youths took to the streets, in October, 2020, to protest against police brutality after a video went viral of a man allegedly being killed by the notorious Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) which became the ENDSARS demonstrations. The demonstrations disturbed activities in the country for two weeks so the government agreed to and disbanded SARS and set up judicial panels of inquiry to investigate the widespread allegations of abuse by officers Jones, M. (2020). The protest began on Tuesday and on 22 October, 2020 the president address the protesters in particular and the Nigerian youths in general. Consequently, written speeches provide research opportunities into the morality and practices of people (Sunny & Ofulue 2008). So, cohesive reference can play vital role to investigate the way this presidential End-SARS speech enclosed the meanings that persuade and change the behaviour of the Nigerian youths.

1.2 Problem Statement

Language can be used to achieve both positive and negative goals. Consequently, it can

help to condense emotions in some instances; but it can also provoke anger and hatred in other situations, leading violence and destruction of lives and property. Consequently, the use of language can have positive or negative impacts on End SARS Protest depending on the way it is encoded by the sender and decoded by the receiver(s). According to Awwad (2017), processing a text in a foreign language appears harder for students than processing the same text in their native language. Accordingly, text processing in second language seems difficult for audience/readers. Barkute (2005) postulates that a text is made of semantically and syntactically related elements and it is this relation that either facilitates comprehending a text or impedes it. Though, scholars have written about crises and protests in Nigeria particularly during the present Nigerian Third Republic, direct communication from the Government to protesters like this one has not been analysed through this approach. Therefore, this paper sets to analyse the peculiar features of language used by President Muhammadu Buhari in addressing the Protesters in the year 2020.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The aims of this paper is to apply Cohesive Reference, an aspect of Halliday and Hasan (1976), Eggins (2004), and Imtiaz & Ghufraan (2020) Cohesion Theory, in the analysis of President Buhari's End SARS Address so as to identify and describe the referential devices used in the speech to pass across the intended meaning. Specifically, the objectives of the paper are to:

- i. identify the cohesive devices used in president Buhari end-SARS speech based on the Cohesion Theory
- ii. describe the cohesive devices used in president Buhari end-SARS speech based on the Cohesion Theory
- iii. examines the necessity of the cohesive devices used in president Buhari end-SARS speech based on the Cohesion Theory

2.0 Theoretical Framework- Cohesive Reference

Reference is the act of preferring to a

preceding or following element which deals with a semantic relationship. It refers to the situation in which an element cannot be semantically interpreted unless it is referred to another element in the text. Therefore, pronouns, articles, demonstratives, and comparatives are used as referring devices to refer to items in linguistic or situational texts (Bahaziq 2016). Goldman and Wiley (2004) define reference as the existence of particular element in a text which is turned to. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Thompson (2004) reference is the set of grammatical resources that permit the text producer to indicate whether something is being repeated from somewhere earlier in the text or whether it has not yet appeared in the text. When participants are first introduced into a text the reference is called a presenting reference whereas when they are subsequently referred to the reference is called presuming reference (Haig 2013). Cohesion involves the creation of semantic ties between items in a text so it is only the presuming type of reference which is counted as being cohesive. The most common presuming reference elements in English are the definite article (the), demonstrative pronouns (this, that, those etc.) and personal pronouns (he, she, it, they etc.). Reference may either be exophoric or endophoric (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). However, Imtiaz & Ghufraan (2020) posit that reference is categorized into: homophoric, exophoric and endophoric.

2.1 Homophora

Homophora refers to the self-specifying reference to an item of which there can only be one or only one that makes sense in the particular context (Imtiaz & Ghufraan 2020). In Homophoric reference, the identity of a presuming item cannot be arrived at just by relying on the textual or grammatical interpretation of the language. It is similar to exophoric reference, but unlike exophora, the referent can never be retrieved from the situational context in the same way. However, a decoder has to transcend to the immediate situational context to the general context. For example, The moon is so bright today. I will talk to the man. The moon referred

to here is the specific one that we have in the universe. And the man is the only man in the situation. Here, the identity of the moon or the man can neither be arrived at through the grammar nor through the immediate situational context. Hence, one needs to depend on general context to identify the reference or on the singularity of the object in the immediate context. Similarly, Homophora refers to elements outside of the text in the context of specific sense which includes lexical such as naming head of the country or naming the only thing recognized entirely in the world (Mutia & Linda 2018). Equally, Homophoric reference is where the identity of the item can be retrieved by referring to cultural background rather than to specific context of the text (Kamal 2017).

2.2 Exophora

Exophora refers to the elements outside the text precisely in the context of situation (Mutia & Linda 2018). Similarly, Exophora refers to linguistic expressions that are used to refer to situational elements that are non-verbal and excluded from the text but not from the context whereas their presence facilitate reflective comprehension (Awwad 2017). To point outwards the text is known as exophoric reference which presents the language pinpointing to the external context Thompson (2004). These denote that Exophora is a situational reference generally associated with the context of the text, speech, or conversation in which the referent may be anything related to the outside world of the text that is clearly known by the producer and the receiver. Thus, Exophoric reference is used to describe generics or abstracts without ever identifying them. In exophora rather than introducing a concept, the writer refers to it by a generic word such as "everything" which cannot identify any specific referent, so, the person/occasion referred to will never be identified by the writer (Imtiaz & Ghufuran 2020).

Exophoric reference requires the reader to infer the interpreted referent by looking beyond the text in the immediate environment shared by the reader and writer. For example in the sentence: That is an excellent performance! To

retrieve the meaning of that, the reader must look outside the situation.

2.3 Endophora

Endophora is reference to an expression with another expression within the text. That is Endophoric reference lies within the text itself where the identity is to be arrived at through looking into the text. Thus, in Endophoric reference, the identity of a presuming item can be retrieved from elsewhere within the text itself (Imtiaz & Ghufuran 2020). Endophora, as inner reference, refers to linguistic expressions that are verbal and regarded as textual reference included in the text to connect main parts of the text together. The presence of these elements is indispensable as they give clarity to the text and assist in comprehending the text as well as writing a meaningful message (Awwad 2017).

However, endophoric reference denotes pointing inward the text which links the message to its textual context and contains the meaning that is repetitive in the text Thompson (2004). Similarly, Crystal (2003) opines that endophoric relations signifies relating referents to their references within a text which make parts of the text connected by their ability to retrieve the referential meaning within the text. Endophoric cohesion is classified into two classes: Anaphora and Cataphora (Halliday & Hasan 1976)

2.3.1 Anaphora

Anaphora refers to the previous participant. According to Paltridge (2012), Anaphoric reference is wherever a word or phrase refers back to another word or phrase used before in the text. It is the backward reference to something that has been mentioned before which occurs when a writer refers back to someone or something that has been previously identified to avoid repetition (Imtiaz & Ghufuran *ibid*). Accordingly, Anaphoric reference is the type of reference in which the item referred to has previously appeared in the text, usually within one or two sentences but sometimes further away (Haig 2013). Anaphora is a type of endophoric reference which is pointing backward towards a concept or word accessible in a previous sentence (Crystal 2003). Thus,

Anaphora is co reference of one expression with its antecedent in which the antecedent provides the information needed for interpretation of the expression (Awwad 2017). These show that it is commonly understood as an expression referring back to the antecedent. For example, James went to the party. He danced with Grace. Here, 'he' refers back to James; therefore, he is an anaphoric reference.

2.3.2 Cataphoric

Cataphora relate to the subsequent participants. Thus, Cataphoric reference looks forward to another word or phrase mentioned later in the text. As a reference that is opposite of anaphora, it is a reference forward as opposed to backward in a text where a referent is introduced in the abstract before it is identified. According to Crystal (2003), cataphora is a term used for a situation in which a linguistic unit is referring forward to another unit. That is a cataphora refers to something not yet mentioned. Similarly, Cataphoric reference is type of reference where the item referred to has yet to appear in the text (Haig 2013). This implies that the presuming reference appears before the presenting reference. For instance, As he landed from Abuja, Isah visited his grandfather first. Here, 'he' is a

cataphoric reference that looks forward to Isah.

3.0 Analysis of Cohesive Reference in President Buhari's End SARS Address

The research is designed as a textual study in which instruments such as questionnaire, interview and recording were not used. In the process, a library-based research is conducted where all the materials used were obtained from the library and the internet. Accordingly, it is a text-based linguistic research where the data was gathered directly from the selected speech. This is because, in descriptive analysis, it is more exciting to examine some characteristics of English in depth rather than to give superficial categorization of texts (Stubbs 1980). The technique adopted for this study is purposive also well-known as judgmental sampling through which the relevant parts are selected and analysed (Akuezilo & Agu 2012). In due course, complete text of the selected speech was obtained from the internet for the research aim. Thus, for the purpose of analysis, the speech is divided into four parts where four extracts are extracted then specific expressions containing cohesive references are considered and analysed. In the course of data presentation and the analysis, the elements are bolded in the expressions.

3.1 Extract One: Acknowledgement of the Genuine Protest

In this extract, the speech writer highlights on the necessity of the address and acknowledges the initial protest to audience/readers of the speech.

Fellow Nigerians, **It (exophoric reference)** has ... to address **you (endophoric- anaphora reference)** having heard from **many (exophoric reference)** concerned Nigerians ... with **all the (homophoric reference)** Security Chiefs

I (homophoric reference) must warn **those (exophoric reference)** who have hijacked ... **the (exophoric reference)** initial ... protest of **some (exophoric reference)** of our youths in ... **the (homophoric reference)** country, against **the (exophoric reference)** excesses of **some (exophoric reference)** members of **the (homophoric reference)** now-disbanded ... (SARS)

On Monday... **I (endophoric- anaphora reference)** acknowledged **the (exophoric reference)** genuine ... of **the (exophoric reference)** public regarding ... by **some (endophoric- anaphora reference)** members of SARS.

The (exophoric reference) choice to ... Section 40 of our Constitution and **other (exophoric reference)** enactments; but **this (endophoric- anaphora reference)** right to ... imposes on **the (endophoric- anaphora reference)** demonstrators **the (exophoric reference)** responsibility ... **the (exophoric reference)** rights of **other (exophoric reference)** citizens, and **the (exophoric reference)** necessity to ... **the (homophoric reference)** law.

As a democratic government, **we (exophoric reference)** listened to, and ... **the (exophoric reference)** five-

point demands of **the** protesters. ...accepted **them** (**endophoric- anaphora reference**), **we** (**endophoric-anaphora reference**) immediately ... to address **the other** (**exophoric reference**) demands of **our** youth. On approving **the** (**exophoric reference**) termination of SARS, **I** (**endophoric- anaphora reference**) already made **it** (**exophoric reference**) clear that **it** (**exophoric reference**) was ... to **the** (**exophoric reference**) implementation of extensive Police reforms.

3.1.1 Homophoric, Exophoric and Endophoric References in Extract One

In this extract, the dominant reference is exophora. This is because the speech writer/presenter relates the speech to the immediate context which is the worrying situation of youth protest in some important parts of the country. The Exophoric references are fourteen in number in the extract referring to external context and facilitating reflective comprehension of the text. Likewise, the eight endophoric references- *you, I, some, this, the, them, we, and I*, are used to refer back to earlier mentioned referents in the text to avoid repetition thereby referring to: *Nigerians, I (writer-presenter), SARS members, rights, demonstrators, five-point demands, democratic government and writer-presenter* respectively. Thus, the presenting elements serve as antecedents to the presuming reference providing information needed for interpretation of the expression. Moreover, the four homophoric references in the extract, *all the, I, the and the*, are used to address *Security Chiefs, identify Mr. President as the writer-presenter, identify Nigeria as a nation and identify disbanded SARS* respectively. Accordingly, each of this elements signifies the only element entirely, or only one that makes sense in this particular context so the decoder need to move from immediate situational context to the general context for proper comprehension of the text.

3.2 Extract Two: Condemnation/warning against bad Acts and consequent Tragedies

Sadly, the promptness with which **we** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) have acted ... twisted by **some** (**Exophoric reference**) for their selfish unpatriotic interests.

The (**Exophoric reference**) result of **this** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) is clear to **all** (**Exophoric reference**) observers: ... or vandalised; **the** (**Exophoric reference**) sanctity of **the** (**Exophoric reference**)

Palace of a Peace Maker, **the** (**Homophoric reference**) Oba of Lagos has been violated. ... and in **the** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) process disrupted **the** (**Exophoric reference**) travel plans of

All these (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) executed in **the** (**Exophoric reference**) name of ... protests.

I (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) am indeed deeply pained that innocent lives have been lost. **These** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) tragedies are ... whatsoever to connect **these** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) bad acts to ... of **the** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) youth of our country.

The (**Exophoric reference**) spreading of ... through **the** (**Homophoric reference**) social media in particular, that **this** (**Endophoric- anaphora reference**) government is oblivious to **the** (**Exophoric reference**) pains and plight of **its** citizens is a ploy to mislead **the** (**Exophoric reference**) unwary ... into unfair judgment

3.2.1 Homophoric, Exophoric and Endophoric References in Extract Two

In this extract, exophoric references are eleven, endophoric references are nine whereas homophoric references are two. Thus, exophoric reference and endophoric reference are very close as regard to number. However, exophoric references are referring to immediate displeasing context of the protest and participants who took part in the evil acts that lead to tragic consequences. These are referred to so that the audience/readers can be convinced to the inappropriateness of the terrible moments resulted. Besides, endophoric references serve as means of connecting parts of the text to give it clarity and assist in comprehending it. Thus, these presuming expressions are used in the sense that their identity is retrievable elsewhere in the text to facilitate understanding without repeating the expressions. Further, the two homophoric references have their referents as the only in the general context / knowledge shared by the

writer/presenter and readers/audience. These are: 'the' identifying Oba of Lagos and 'the' as presenting reference to social media.

3.3 Extract Three: Initiatives and Actions for the welfare of citizens and the Police

On **the (Exophoric reference)** contrary, both our deeds ... committed **this (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** administration has been to **the (Exophoric reference)** wellbeing ... even with **the (Exophoric reference)** steadily dwindling revenues, and **the (Exophoric reference)** added responsibilities ... due to **the (homophoric reference)** Coronavirus pandemic.

Government has ... and **the (Exophoric reference)** most vulnerable **These (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** included our ... poverty in **the (Exophoric reference)** next 10 years; **the (homophoric reference)** creation of N75 billion ... opportunities for **the (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** youths and ... (MSME) ...

These (Endophoric- anaphora reference) are in addition to many **other (Exophoric reference)** initiatives

...
No Nigerian Government in **the (Exophoric reference)** past has ... poverty-alleviation like **we (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** have done.

With regard to... **the (homophoric reference)** National Salaries, Income and Wages Commission has ... on **the (Exophoric reference)** finalization of **the (Exophoric reference)** new salary ... of **the (homophoric reference)** Nigeria Police Force. **The (Exophoric reference)** emoluments of **other (Exophoric reference)** paramilitary services ...

In order to underscore **the (Exophoric reference)** importance of ... youths for **the (Exophoric reference)** future, **this (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** administration has ... salary structure and **other (Exophoric reference)** incentives for our teachers.

Let **me (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** at this point reaffirm **the (homophoric reference)** Federal Government's commitment to preserving **the (Exophoric reference)** unity of **this (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** country.

We (Endophoric- anaphora reference) will continue to... and our democratic process, ...

We (Endophoric- anaphora reference) shall continue ... as well as **the (homophoric reference)** fundamental rights of **all (Exophoric reference)** citizens are protected.

...government also has **the (Exophoric reference)** obligation to ... as well as **the (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** right of citizens to go about their daily businesses freely ... violence.

To our neighbours ... members of **the (Exophoric reference)** international community, **many (Exophoric reference)** of whom have ... about **the (Exophoric reference)** ongoing development in Nigeria, **we (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** thank you and urge you **all (Exophoric reference)** to seek to know **all the (Exophoric reference)** facts available before ...and making hasty pronouncements.

3.3.1 Homophoric, Exophoric and Endophoric References in Extract Three

In this extract, exophoric reference is the dominant for the speech writer/presenter relate the speech to the immediate context through which he mention as well as refer to considerable initiatives and actions done by the present administration for the welfare of citizens and the police. Exophoric references are twenty-three in number in the extract referring to external context and enabling thoughtful comprehension of the text and persuasion as well. Similarly, the twelve endophoric references are used to refer back to previously mentioned referents in the text to avoid reappearance. Thus, the presenting elements serve as antecedents to the presuming reference providing information needed for interpretation of the expression. In the extract, the six homophoric references that occur in form of definite article 'the' are used to identify elements that signify the only element that makes sense in this particular context or the only one entirely. Therefore, for appropriate comprehension of the text, the decoder need to shift from immediate situational context to the

general context.

3.4 Extract Four: Call to Nigerians and Appreciation to Stakeholders

In **the (Exophoric reference)** circumstances, **I (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** would like ... take advantage of **the (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** various well-thought-out initiatives of **this (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** administration ... and resist **the (Exophoric reference)** temptation ... by **some (Exophoric reference)** subversive elements ... with **the (Exophoric reference)** aim of truncating our nascent democracy.

For **you (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** to do otherwise ... security and **the (Homophoric reference)** law and order ... will **this (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** be tolerated.

I (Endophoric- anaphora reference) therefore call on our youths to discontinue **the (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** street protests ... in finding solutions. Your voice has been heard loud and clear and **we (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** are responding.

And **I (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** call on **all Nigerians** to go ... properties of **all (Exophoric reference)** law-abiding citizens ... harm to **those they (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** are meant to protect. Let **me (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** pay tribute to officers of **the (Homophoric reference)** Nigeria Police Force ... lost their lives in **the (Exophoric reference)** line of duty.

I (Endophoric- anaphora reference) would like to thank **those (Exophoric reference)** state Governors ... who have appealed ... and restraint. **I (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** also thank youth leaders who have restrained their followers from taking **the (Exophoric reference)** law into their hands.

This (Endophoric- anaphora reference) government respects and will continue to respect **all the (Exophoric reference)** democratic rights and civil liberties of **the (Exophoric reference)** people, but **it (Endophoric- anaphora reference)** will not allow anybody or groups to disrupt **the (Exophoric reference)** peace of our nation.

Thank **you all (Endophoric- anaphora reference)**. God bless **the (Homophoric reference)** Federal Republic of Nigeria.

3.4.1 Homophoric, Exophoric and Endophoric References in Extract Four

In this extract, exophoric references are eleven; endophoric references are sixteen whereas homophoric references are three. Thus, exophoric reference is less than the endophoric reference as regard to number. This can be attributed to the content of the extract being a call to Nigerians and appreciation to stakeholders which has less relation with immediate environment. Thus, line 22 to 27 are passing information as well as convincing the audience/readers so internal linking is more important than external. Accordingly, these presuming expressions are used in the sense that their identity is retrievable in the text to aid accepting the point of the writer/presenter. As usual, the three homophoric references have their referents as the only in the general context/knowledge shared by the encoder and decoders. These are: 'the' use to identify law and order, 'the' identifying Nigerian Police Force and 'the' as presenting reference to Federal Republic of Nigeria.

4.0 Findings

As noted in the analysis, the most commonly used form of reference in this text is exophoric. This reflects what is considered as consistent degree of context-dependency for a text which is apparently about events in the real world. Thus, the information about the protest and the need to end it extend the chains of cohesive reference beyond the end of the

Presidential Address and into other discussions.

The exophora is followed by anaphora in which subsequent items refer back to previously mentioned head items and other items in the chain for the purpose of proper understanding of the text. This adds to the claim of Haig (2013) that anaphora is the most common type of reference in almost all sorts of continuous prose texts because of the cognitive ease with which

such links can be constructed by encoding speakers and understood by decoding listeners. In addition, when a reference to a particular cultural or situational person, place or entity is made more than once, it allows for an endophoric reference between the first and subsequent instances.

However, cataphora is not visible in this text. This may be because it requires more pre-planning to produce and more cognitive effort to decode therefore becoming less relevant to a persuasive speech like this. Consequently, this paper put in an input to the study of the ways in which various forms of reference between sentences within texts contribute to the perception of cohesion which such texts produce in their audiences.

5.0 Conclusion

The identity of the item to a presuming reference is located in three main kinds of context. Firstly, it occurs as shared common knowledge in the culture and situation in which

the text is encoded or decoded which is termed homophoric reference. Secondly, the reference may be to something in the immediate context of situation where such reference is called exophoric. Thirdly, the identity of the referent may be retrieved from elsewhere in the text itself, usually because it has been mentioned earlier. This kind of reference is called endophoric. All the three kinds of reference contribute directly to the cohesion of the text. This is realised through the semantic ties created between the reference and the item to which it refers. Accordingly, the analysis reveals that text-external referencing exceeds the text-internal reference which reflects what is considered as consistent degree of context-dependency for a text which is apparently about events in the real world. Thus, boundaries of texts may not be as absolute as they seem when trans-sentential features such as reference or cohesion are analysed.

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Appendix

Full text of Buhari's speech on #ENDSARS protests

Bayo Wahab October 22, 2020 7:46 PM

Two days after soldiers shot at #ENDSARS protesters in Lekki on Tuesday, October 20, 2020, President Muhammadu Buhari finally addressed the nation.

Since the incident happened, Nigerians have been calling on the president to address the nation as hoodlums and arsonists took advantage of the crisis to set public and private properties on fire.

Despite the curfew put in place by Governor Babajide Sanwo-Olu of Lagos State, destruction of properties went unhindered in the state. However, the president in his speech acknowledged the agitations of the protesting youths, saying it is their fundamental rights to protest against the excesses of the disbanded Special Anti-Robbery Squad. The president also highlighted all the initiatives his administration has put in place for youths and women but failed to say anything about Lekki toll gate shooting on Tuesday, October 20, 2020.

Below is the full speech.

Full text of Buhari's speech on #ENDSARS protests

Fellow Nigerians,

It has become necessary for me to address you having heard from many concerned Nigerians and having concluded a meeting with all the Security Chiefs.

2. I must warn those who have hijacked and misdirected the initial, genuine and well-intended protest of some of our youths in parts of the country, against the excesses of some members of the now-disbanded Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS).

3. On Monday 12th October, I acknowledged the genuine concerns and agitations of members of the public regarding the excessive use of force by some members of SARS.

4. The choice to demonstrate peacefully is a fundamental right of citizens as enshrined in Section 40 of our Constitution and other enactments; but this right to protest also imposes on the demonstrators the responsibility to respect the rights of other citizens, and the necessity to operate within the law.

5. As a democratic government, we listened to, and carefully evaluated the five-point demands of the protesters. And, having accepted them, we immediately scrapped SARS, and put measures in place to address the other demands of our youth.

6. On approving the termination of SARS, I already made it clear that it was in line with our commitment to the implementation of extensive Police reforms.

7. Sadly, the promptness with which we have acted seemed to have been misconstrued as a sign of weakness and twisted by some for their selfish unpatriotic interests.

8. The result of this is clear to all observers: human lives have been lost; acts of sexual violence have been reported; two major correctional facilities were attacked and convicts freed; public and private properties completely destroyed or vandalised; the sanctity of the Palace of a Peace Maker, the Oba of Lagos has been violated. So-called protesters have invaded an International Airport and in the process disrupted the travel plans of fellow Nigerians and our visitors.

9. All these executed in the name of the ENDSARS protests. I am indeed deeply pained that innocent lives have been lost. These tragedies are uncalled for and unnecessary. Certainly, there is no way whatsoever to connect these bad acts to legitimate expression of grievance of the youth of our country.

10. The spreading of deliberate falsehood and misinformation through the social media in particular, that this government is oblivious to the pains and plight of its citizens is a ploy to mislead the unwary within and outside Nigeria into unfair judgement and disruptive behaviour.

11. On the contrary, both our deeds and words have shown how committed this administration has been to the wellbeing and welfare of citizens, even with the steadily dwindling revenues, and the added responsibilities and restrictions due to the Coronavirus pandemic.

12. Government has put in place measures and initiatives principally targeted at youths, women and the most vulnerable groups in our society. These included our broad plan to lift 100 million Nigerians out of poverty in the next 10 years; the creation of N75 billion National Youth Investment Fund to provide opportunities for the youths and the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) Survival Fund, through which government is:

a. paying three months salaries of the staff of 100,000 micro, small—and medium—enterprises,

- b. paying for the registration of 250,000 businesses at the Corporate Affairs Commission,
- c. giving a grant of N30,000 to 100,000 artisans; and
- d. guaranteeing market for the products of traders.

13. These are in addition to many other initiatives such as;

- a. Farmermoni,
- b. Tradermoni,
- c. Marketmoni,
- d. N-Power,
- e. N-Tech and
- f. N-Agro.

14. No Nigerian Government in the past has methodically and seriously approached poverty-alleviation like we have done.

15. With regard to the welfare of police personnel, the National Salaries, Income and Wages Commission has been directed to expedite action on the finalization of the new salary structure of members of the Nigeria Police Force. The emoluments of other paramilitary services are also being reviewed upwards.

16. In order to underscore the importance of education in preparing youths for the future, this administration has come up with a new salary structure and other incentives for our teachers.

17. Let me at this point reaffirm the Federal Government's commitment to preserving the unity of this country.

18. We will continue to improve good governance and our democratic process, including through sustained engagement.

19. We shall continue to ensure that liberty and freedom, as well as the fundamental rights of all citizens are protected.

20. But remember that government also has the obligation to protect lives and properties, as well as the right of citizens to go about their daily businesses freely and protected from acts of violence.

21. To our neighbours in particular, and members of the international community, many of whom have expressed concern about the ongoing development in Nigeria, we thank you and urge you all to seek to know all the facts available before taking a position or rushing to judgment and making hasty pronouncements.

22. In the circumstances, I would like to appeal to protesters to note and take advantage of the various well-thought-out initiatives of this administration designed to make their lives better and more meaningful, and resist the temptation of being used by some subversive elements to cause chaos with the aim of truncating our nascent democracy.

23. For you to do otherwise will amount to undermining national security and the law and order situation. Under no circumstances will this be tolerated.

24. I therefore call on our youths to discontinue the street protests and constructively engage government in finding solutions. Your voice has been heard loud and clear and we are responding.

25. And I call on all Nigerians to go about their normal businesses, and enjoin security agencies to protect lives and properties of all law-abiding citizens without doing harm to those they are meant to protect. Let me pay tribute to officers of the Nigeria Police Force who have tragically lost their lives in the line of duty.

26. I would like to thank those state Governors, traditional and religious leaders who have appealed for calm and restraint. I also thank youth leaders who have restrained their followers from taking the law into their hands.

27. This government respects and will continue to respect all the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people, but it will not allow anybody or groups to disrupt the peace of our nation.

Thank you all. God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

BAYO WAHAB

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