



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE ETHIOPIA
PRESIDENT SAHILWORK ZEWDE'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

By

GESIT ASSEGIDEW

A thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in Journalism (Meltimidea)

June, 2019

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Advisor: Dr. Agaredech Jemane

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Gesit Assegidew, entitled “**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT SAHILWORK ZEWDE’S INAUGURAL SPEECH**” is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication ,complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality, credibility and quality.

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Examiner Signature.....Date.....

Advisor SignatureDate.....

Chair of Department or Graduate Coordinator

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CA	-	Conversational Analysis
CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
PD	-	Political Discourse
PDA	-	Political Discourse Analysis
SFL	-	Systemic Functional Linguistics

ABSTRACT

Critical Discourse Analysis on President Sahlework Zewde's Inaugural Speech.

Gesit Assegidew

Addis Ababa University, 2019

Political speeches used to communicate the political ideology or political agenda. This study critically analyses the critical discourse of political addresses namely, the Inaugural Speech of President Sahlework Zewde that delivered on Oct 25, 2018. In carrying out the analysis, Norman Fairclough three-dimensional analytical model has adopted. Based on Fairclough model of CDA the speech was subjected to description (text analysis), interpretation (processing/analysis) and explanation (social practice and analysis) Moreover, it explicates the terms like social, political inequalities in the light of inaugural speech and framework.

The study made use of qualitative research design. Data for the study drawn from selected representative excerpts stated in President Shellwork Zewde's inaugural Speech. The result of the study found out that the inaugural speech is a revelation of plan by the president intends to operate. In addition to this, the results showed the importunacy of good governance, strengthening of enteral relations, true democracy, working on unity and working enteral and external peace, ensuring women's empowerment, working on gender equality.

The results of the keyword analysis also have shown that the most prominent words employed by the president are peace, unity and women, and an overall dominance of the personal pronoun we, and which are an evidence of president's inclusive perception of the Ethiopian society and a need for unity, understood as necessary in the time of disunity.

Modality choices used in the selected speech shed more light on the Principles and power relations in the text; the end drive of which is to characterize the speaker as optimistic and to make reference of particular and shared responsibilities in running of the new government office.

Keywords: CDA, Luck of peace, Gender Discrimination, Patriarchal Dominance, Social inequalities, Peace, Unity, Democracy, inclusiveness, women's empowerment, unfair treatment of women, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity.

AKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I want to thank God for His protection, guidance, and everlasting love.

I would like to express my wholehearted thanks to my advisor, Dr. Agaredech Jemaneh, for her unreserved supervision and remarks that fashioned this thesis. Moreover, I would like to thank the whole staff of Graduate School of Journalism and Communication for all their support and academic protocol throughout the two years academic period.

Again I greatly appreciate the contribution of my family to this study. I specifically thank my beloved wife Tsedey Wolde, for her great support, patience, and understanding.

Finally I greatly thank my older sister and friend, Dr Abeba Beyene for being my academic role model and source of motivation in all moves I have made so far.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the subject of the study, establishes the background of the study and statement of the problem. Then, states research objectives, research questions, significance, and limitation of the study, methodology, and sampling techniques.

1.2 Background to the Study

Discourse defined in various ways by different scholars. Van Dijk (1998:23) who suggests that a large portion of his new book is an attempt to define discourse supports this view. In addition to Van Dijk, Woodilla defines discourse as the general habit of talking and writing. Again, Chaliaby's (1997:208) summered discourse as follow:

- (a) Texts do not have meanings in isolation but rather depend on other texts to generate their meanings.
- (b) The nature of the production, distribution, and consumption of discourse is an important consideration in establishing its definition of a text and speech Put differently, it implies that discourse is inter-textual.

Hardy (2001:5) adopts a similar view and argues that the interest of discourse analyst is in trying to find out its constitutive effects: a process done through well-structured and systematic study of texts.

This study, intended to approach the study of discourse along the three dimensions set by Fairclough: Firstly, that discourse connects texts to discourses. Secondly, that discourse is concerned with the link and the relationship between language and society. Thirdly, that

discourse is concerned with the characteristics of everyday communication.

In other words, a discourse action involves specific reference to given characters, to evaluate how they relate to each other and the nature of the condition that environs the communication. Such examination helps one to move beyond seeing at language only as a means of communication but rather as something expressive in a governmental, societal, and historical setting .

The researcher's view of Critical Discourse Analysis fixed on Fairclough's declaration that a CDA analyst seeks to out both the unseen relations between discourse actions and the social layers. Fairclough's view supported by van Dijk who argues that political campaign speeches are characterized by opposing groups holding dissimilar conceptual influences. Based upon this evidence, the researcher adopted Fairclough's view that political discourses are decision and action oriented.

The study adopted President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural Speech as its data. The research intends to contribute towards a better understanding of the issues raised by the speaker two respects: (a) in terms of experiential meaning. (b) In terms of interpersonal meaning. This has done by investigating the process types, participant roles, as well as modality choices used in the inaugural speech. Critical discourse analysis has a grate connection with socio political and socio economical aspects of a country. This discourse analysis is done by presedent Sahilwork Zewde at the parlement hole on 25 October 2018. The government system of the country is priministriyal rather than presidential. However the president is consider as the head of the state.

1.3 Introduction to Sahlework Zewde

According to information from the ministry of foreign affairs of Ethiopia, Sahlework Zewde was born and raised in the capital Addis Ababa, 68 years back. Moreover, she attended her elementary and high school education at Lycee Gebremariam in Addis Ababa and after successfully completing of her high school education; she received a scholarship and went to France at the age of seventeen to study natural science in the University of Montpellier (Montpellier, France).

After nine years of stay in France, Sahlework came back to Ethiopia with a need to help and work in her country. She then started working at the Ministry of Education in the Public Relations Department as a Public Relations Officer, where she later on led the Sector. After her service in the Ministry of Education, she decided to get on a new task and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Her diplomat carrier started in 1989 at the end period of Ethiopian military government Derg. At the Ministry, Sahlework served on different positions. She is among the few women in the history of the Ministry to hold an ambassadorial position following Ambassador Yodit Emiru and Ambassador Konjit Singiorgis. Her first assignment was to Dakar, Senegal where she served there from 1989 to 1993 with an accreditation to Mali, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Gambia and Guinea. From 1993 to 2002, she served as Ethiopia's Ambassador to Djibouti and Permanent Representative to Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Later on in 2002, she again assigned to France as an Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) while accredited to Tunisia and Morocco until 2006. From 2006 to 2009, she was the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the African Union (AU) and

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and Director-General for African Affairs in the Ministry.

Before she holds the presidential office, she appointed as Director General of the UN representative in Nairobi by former UN secretary General Ban ki-moon. In addition, on June 27, 2018 the current UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres announced the appointment of Sahlework Zewde as his special representative to the AU and Head of the UN to the AU (UNOAU) at the level of under- secretary –General.

1.4 Statement of the Study

There are enough reasons to work on critical discourse analysis on the inaugural speech of president Sahle-work Zewde. The first reason is that she is the only woman holding the office of the president in the history of modern Ethiopia political history and in current African politics. The second reason is she is a well-known senior diplomat with reach experience in diplomacy. The third reason is that the social conception among Ethiopian related to women leadership is very low than other European countries. Ethiopian social conception is based on male dominance. Therefore, the study will attempt to see how speech meaning has communicated through her modality choice and how she understood.

In addition, Inaugural speech is Presidents' first chance to frame her terms and her first impression. Above all, inaugural speeches are part of a ceremony. The inaugural speech has historically, well attended by the public, including “attending” via radio, television, and the internet. This shows that Inaugural speech represents a diverse and large captive audience and gives an opportunity for the President to select only the most important messages she wants to convey. In this study, the researcher wants to bring out some expressive and interpretive part of President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech.

Since inaugural speech socially, politically, and economically inspired and progressively significant, it is vital to try to find out how these unseen meanings should be understood. Fairclough (1989) points out the subsequent facts that need to be recognized in mind when dealing with the idea of representation. 1) Whose representations are they? 2) Who gains from them? 3) To what social relations do they draw people? 4) What is their ideology effect? What alternative representations are there?

1.5 Objective of the Study

This study aims to carry out the Critical Discourse Analysis on President Sahlework Zewde's Inaugural speech. To find out the major or the dominant message transmitted through the speech.

1.5.1. Specific objective

- 1) To find out how the experiential meaning realized through participant roles and process types.
- 2) To find out how the interpersonal meaning realized through modality choices,
3. To What social relations does she draw her audience?
- 4) To find out how different social agents have been represented or addressed by President Sahlework Zewde.

1.6 Research Questions

The study has answered the following questions:

1. How the experiential meaning realized through modality choices and participants role?
2. What are the predominant political messages of the speech?

3. To What social relations does she draw her audience?

4. How different social agents represented discursively in this inaugural speech of the president ?

1.7 Significance of the Study

In Ethiopia, to the researcher's knowledge studies' regarding the critical discourse analysis of President Sahilework Zewde inaugural speech in particular is almost absent. The rationale behind this study is to analyze the discursive framework of speech text as original and translation form of it and to reach a conclusion for analytical framework and approach of Norman Fairclough. In this study, analysis of original and translated text, text production, consumption, and perception about has examined in detail. In addition to the above significance, those who are interested to conduct a research on the inaugural content analysis research this paper can serve, as a reference material will use this research paper, moreover this research paper benfites individuals, women, researchers and politicians who want to conduct research on same topic.

1.8 Methodology and Procedure

This study applied a quantitative content analysis of the inaugural speech made by President Sahlework Zewde. Moreover, the texts analyzed in terms of their discourse practice, interpretation, and effects on social practice. Information have explained and interpreted by the researcher to have a clear understanding of the inaugural speech made by President Sahlework Zewde.

1.8.1. Sampling Techniques

This research adopted purposive sampling to find complete and accurate answers to research questions and presenting the big picture. The selection of the data continued throughout the transcribed data.

1.8.2. Research Design

This research involved the following steps: step one; collections of speech from reliable sources and check the accuracy of the speech by re listening to the actual speech which recorded by the time and compare with the transcription. In step two: analyzing the repeated theme. In step three: coding the speech into clauses and reducing the themes into manageable numbers following the logical sequence of the speech.

1.8.3. Specific Approach Designed for this Study

During the inception stage of this study, the researcher expected conducting qualified studies on the inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde. The objective of such a study would have been to examine the main themes covered by president through the distribution of discourses.

For such a research, the *Discourse Historical* approach associated with Ruth Wodak would have seemed the right path to follow. However, due to lack of historic data that of the president sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech this research topic had to be abandoned.

Van Dijk's *Socio-Cognitive Model* also considered for this research. Especially in relation to the idea of investigating the role, that inaugural speech could play in constructing and shaping an ideology intended at reproducing unequal power relations. However, this approach rejected as well because the discourses in the speech do not seem to establish any ideology in the actual sense of the word as in the case of "racism," "feminism," "anti-

Semitism,” “anti-communism” etcetera that the socio-cognitive approach is keen to investigate.

Fairclough’s first level of textual analysis would give this research too much of a linguistic character as this feature of analysis is concerned with syntax and lexical analysis. Of the second and third level of analysis that is sociocultural and discursive practices in Fairclough’s approach, only socio-cultural practices have somehow incorporated in the study but not as part of the approach to conduct CDA.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher uses a Critical Discourse Analysis Framework designed by Norman Fairclough. This research approach is designed for this study consists of analyzing the inaugural speech that have been released during the time span indicated above and making inferences based on their informative and linguistic content.

In order to *synthesize* discourses from mere information, the analysis should start from the micro-level and proceed to the macro-level. The first level analysis has allowed extracting the information rooted in the speech, while the second level has led to the thematic categorization of this information into discourses. The last chapter of this research focuses wholly on the addresses shaped in the macro analysis to reveal what was the speech position during the presidential operation and what was the role it played while informing the audience.

1.8.4. Data Collection Method

The nurture of data collection method for this research was following both semantic and pragmatic category naturally occurring in texts transcribed from officials inaugural speech. The inaugural speech collected from government web sites and from written documents. For the primary data the verbal word (audio) transcribed into text, the text translated into target language, and it used as primary data

1.8.5. Model of Analysis

Fairclough's Model and Analytical Frameworks employed for this study. Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012) believe that Fairclough's analytic outline comprises three levels of analysis, such as the text, the discursive practice, and the socio-cultural practice. In other words, each of these discursive events has three proportions:

1. The text is a spoken or written text,
2. The discursive practice is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of texts, and
3. The socio-cultural practice is a part of social practice. The analysis of the text consists of the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event-an analysis of the discursive reproduction of the texts. Finally, the examination of socio-cultural practice contains of an enquiry of what is fashionable in a certain socio-cultural context. Fairclough's second measurement, based on discursive practice, as stated previously, includes the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption.

This measurement is concerned with how people recognize and replicate or adapt texts. The third measurement, socio-cultural practice, is concerned with topics of authority or power. Analysis of this dimension includes investigation of the behaviors in which discourses work in several parts of humanity" and the result of the combination of second and third measurement is typescript that is the key one here. In fact, CDA for Fairclough is worried with the examination of the relation between two models about language use that says language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping.

He then states, "An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of

linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and styles" (Fairclough, 2003:24). He further contends that orders of discourse are not static, but may change over time. Changing the power relations in a social interaction determines these changes. Fairclough then asserts that: How discourses structured in a given order of discourse, and how structuring change over time, are determined by changing relationships of power at the level of the social institution or of the society.

1.9. Scope of the Study

The study mainly adopted the theory of Ruth Wadak's,(1997) Fairclough's (2010) by Halliday and Van Dijk's(1991,2001) of CDA . The study only focused on the ideologies of CDA in line with the study questions. The research also adopted methodical practical linguistics to offer logical tools. The study examined the main procedure type such as material, psychological and social process, behavioral, verbal, and modality in the text of the inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde.

1.10. Limitation of the Study

The main limitation of the study was lack of access to get the copy of the inaugural speech made by the president from both president office and from print Medias. In order to get the inaugural speech I dawn loaded the video from the president office official website. The other limitation is lack of previous study on the subject. More importantly, the study would have suffered from the nature of CDA as criticized for its subjective nature. Nevertheless, the researcher tried his best not to approach the texts subjectively. To minimize the subjectivity the researcher tried to remove the subjective errors by getting familiar to the text. In addition as a researcher, the researcher tried to reduce bias through the designing of proper questions.

1.11. Organization of the Study

The study has five chapters. The first chapter is dedicated to, background and statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, research questions, design of the study, limitation of the study, delimitation of the study, key words and abbreviations. The second chapter is dedicated to the theoretical framework and literature review. The third Chapter is dedicated to design of the study, sample selection, key coding category and definition, and coding process. The fourth Chapter presented the data in the form of analysis discussion. The fifth chapter presents analysis and the conclusion and recommendation par.

1.12. Definitions of Terms

CDA (Critical discourse analysis) = analysis that aims to bring out both the hidden and impervious relationship between discourse activities, text and the wider contexts.

Context of culture = the cultural factors that influence text.

Channel = use of written and spoken language.

Discourse = a series of texts which are only related but are also produced, received and distributed.

Discourse semantics = the interference between discourse and semantics.

Discursive = an instances of language use event.

Hegemony = a form of control realized through the influence of mind of the dominated group in such a way that they accept dominance out of their will.

Interpersonal meaning = the function of language when it represented the speaker's meaning as impostor.

Inter-textual = the presence within a text of features of other text which suggests the integration of history into a text that contributes to a wider process of power.

Material process = is the process of doing and denoted by action verb.

Participant = entities (human or non- human) in the clause which are realized through the nominal group.

Phonology - Refers to the sound systems of language

Political Discourse= language of political forums such as campaign speeches, parliamentary debates and so forth.

Power = is a form of control exercised by individuals, groups or institutions over others.

Power Relations=the social organizations between the speaker and the audience particularly, with regard to authority, social control and economic dominance.

Process = the element in the clause that expresses what is going on in the world.

Process = these are experienced events, actions that cover anything that can be expressed by the verb.

Proposition= the language form used to exchange information.

Relational Process = these are processes of 'being' expressed by linking verbs such as: is, was, were, and so forth.

Social Practice= the human behaviors which entail conforming to socially established conventions.

Subject Position= A set of socially recognized roles in which people participate in discourse.

Text =the spoken or written language produced in a discursive event.

Textual =concerned with the organizational structure and the significant themes president Sahlework conveys in her inaugural speech Speeches.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Literature Review

This chapter focuses on review of related literatures, which give the presentation a pinpoint for the overall study under investigation. It discusses background, basic tenets, principles and cornerstone of CDA and discursive practices and it provides the underpinning theoretical frame work of the study.

In this section of the study, the researcher has reviewed literature related to the main topic and the research questions. The researcher tries to knit a strong hypothetical foundation in this area to make additional grounds for the study. As it is known CDA has been elaborated vividly through the works of various scholars' in different inter-disciplinary fields. Van Dijk (1998a:193-4) believes that:

CDA predominantly focuses on the analysis of any discourse whether it is written or spoken from the standpoint of discursive practices in a society like hegemony, domination, inequality of basic rights and racial discrimination. Its emphasis is to observe the effort of these practices with reference to socio-economic and political standpoint.

In addition to Van Dijk, Fairclough, (1993) highlight that “CDA is a kind of analysis of discourse which brings forth odd relationships among different social and ethnic groups.” He emphasizes on text and consecutive actions and then associates them with larger socio-cultural viewpoint of the discourse of publics that discloses their understanding and philosophy formed by power relations. He discovers how power implemented among the public through hegemonic approach and philosophical manuscript of the elite.

Fairclough (1992) highlight three phases for the analysis of a discourse: according to him, the first phase of CDA analyses involves “the personal experience and knowledge of the speaker and his beliefs. The second phases of the CDA is concerned how social relations affect the discourse and the third phase of the CDA involves, speaker’s understanding of the reality and identity.” He believes that linguistic choices in a discourse like lexical selection and syntactic patterns disclose the community background and personality of a presenter or a speaker. In addition to his three phases, he argues that language has huge potential to shape discourse and different socio-political opinions, which lead towards the application of power relations.

Fairclough (1992) believes that “people belonging to same social category may have unlike relational and communicative rules which are manifested through their dialogues.”

This proves that there is solid tie among the social and linguistic variables. As to Fairclough, the main objective of CDA is to examine the text in the light of social theory of language, operational aspects of ideological and political processes. In addition to Fairclough Brown and Yule (1985) states that “ language is not only used for the description of things rather it is also used for doing things as well” .Additionally they stated that CDA analyses is used in a real context and helps to see how language reveals a specific community cultural, social and ethnic background.

Halliday’s (1978:33) stated, “Language is considered to be a social act because people communicate in a social arrangement.” He also believes that language and society are dependent on each other. According to him, it is the language (text) that forms and shapes our behaviors. The same is true in our setting. People who are fluent in the certain languages socially viewed as a powerful people because they speak the language of that society and the

society considered them as dominant people. In this case, language considered as the identity of that specific social class.

2.2. Recent Research Findings

CDA is an academic discipline, which has different approaches that provide it different systems to conduct a study, but on the sum up it is an approach that is problem oriented and inter-disciplinary toward social phenomena. Thus, it lays its investigation on institutions. These institutions could be media, public services, governmental or non-governmental and so on. The common ground of CDA; moreover lies on societal inequalities, access to discourse, racism, power, marginalization and political issues enacted in public institutions which societal issues benefit the participants during communication in valuable decision making whereas affects others in undetermined way.

CDA focuses on political bias, for instance; Mellanen (2012), study called "It's Barack Obama Who's Soft" Political Bias on BBC, CNN, and Fox News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Websites, have tried to address political biases motivate within texts on these websites. However, the goal of this research and its outcome is not focusing on political bias.

Different researchers made many CDA research attempts. I have listed some of them below:

- Kosun Birhanu, (2016) Critical Discourse Analysis on Ethiopian Media Coverage of Anti-ISIS Demonstration Held in Addis Ababa. The focus of the study was identifying how the Ethiopian media cover the issue of Anti- ISSIS.
- By Rezen Hagos,(2017) A critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Newspaper stories on the 2015 Nigerian President Campaign. The focus of the study was to examining how selected Newspaper story portrayed on the 2015 Nigerian President Campaign.

- By Dejene Sojato (2014) A Discourse analysis of Aljazeera's Documentary 'Straggle over the Nile'. The focus of the study is examining Aljazeera's documentary portrayal of the upstream and downstream countries in their struggle to make a point on the use of the Nile River.

More studies haven made on president's inaugural address abroad. For example, CDA on president Obama's, President Mohammed Buharie's and President Donald Trumps can considered as example among others.

These studies accepted that, CDA is eclectic academic discipline in a way that it shares different ranges from other disciplines. However, it is common to observe CDA using a combination of models. The present study uses Fairclough (1992), Three-dimensional model.

2.3. Theoretical Foundations

This section discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the argument that 'language is the primary domain of ideology and has always been the stake in struggles of power'(Fairclough, 1989).Therefor it is recommendable to see different types of theories related to CDA. Among different theories, the researcher has seen the Norman Fairclough, Ruth wodak and Van Dijk's theories to determine the theoretical foundations suitable to this study.

According to Titscher et.al (1998: 42) the term discourse, by itself, is a general term with numerous definitions, which "integrates a whole palette of meanings" that emanate from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. In addition, he put discourse as action and process.

Wodak and Meyer (2001:66) explain discourse as "a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social

fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral, or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types that is genres.”

On the other hand Van Dijk (1977: 3) view discourse as text in context, seen as “data that is liable for empiric analysis.” Among the theoreticians and the academicians of the field of discourse linguistics, Van Dijk contributed “many articles and books that found CDA as an area of research, and that focus on several angles of influence. Norman Fairclough (1989: 24) on his part describe discourse as a wider term than text by saying “I shall use the term discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part”

2.4. What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as Widdowson (2000:195) puts it, is the uncovering of philosophies in texts. It interprets the essential philosophical aspects exist in. In order to understand ideological, discursive and sociological features of texts, CDA provides a deep-insight to the internal and overall construction of them. Widdowson further addresses that:

Political texts have acceptable connotations other than what is recorded or said. Inaugural speech implied philosophies in a political discourse, examining media manuscripts in terms of socio-cultural and linguistic approach would donate to some degree that empowers the addressees or the reader to have a better knowledge about inner and complete setting of the source

According to Fowler (1996:46) the aim of CDA is “to produce the information of exploitation and understanding, attentive increasing of the societal concern any discourse in socio-cultural background.” He also believed that political discourse analyst should focus on the

representation of critical direction instead of criticism of discourses. Analysis from CDA perception needs to represent the socio- economic and political backgrounds of discourses.

Corson (1995:86) also mention the three procedures critical discourse analysis applies; these are “textual and stylistic features to discover the social relations,” identities from the linguistic perspective.

According to Blommaert (2005:158) critical discourse analysis is “considered to be wider and broader which analyses the relation of language within a society and its impact on the discourses”. Ruth Wodak (2001) and Meyer (2001) interpret the term ‘Critical’ in CDA with the idea of language embedded in social, political and commercial position. CDA tries to develop connections between the powers exerted through language with a wider socio-political context. The focus seems to be on text primitively because it reflects the ideological and identity basis that are constructed and produced through the social relations.

Norman Fairclough (1992:77) also introduced the important concepts such as "discourse, power, ideology, social practice, and common sense. He says that language should analyze as a social practice through the eyes of discourse in both dialogue and script. He also developed a three-dimensional framework that helps to study discourse; these are analysis of spoken or written texts, analysis of discourse practice that is the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice. In addition to these, he combines micro, meso and macro-level interpretation. At the micro-level, the analyst considers various aspects of textual or linguistic analysis, for example syntactic analysis, use of metaphor and oratorical devices. The meso-level or "level of discursive practice" comprises the study of production and consumption, for instance, which institution produced a text, who is the target audience, etc. At the macro-level, the

analyst is concerned with inter-textual and inter-discursive components and tries to take into account the broad, social conditions that are moving the speech being studied.

Ruth Wodak has developed a basis grounded on the systemic collection of sample scripts on a topic to better comprehend the interrelationship of discourses that exist within the field. This basis allows for the argument and analysis of thoughts related any discourses. The macro level of analysis is helpful in understanding how macrostructures of variation persist through broad practices through various sites and texts.

2.5. A Short Summary of Established CDA Approaches

Though its used in social scientific research has extremely respected in the last few years, CDA is not really a research method in the conventional sense because it does not consist in a set of procedural sequences (a technique). Critical Discourse Analysis is rather an approach used in social scientific research that attempts to identify practical solutions to different social problems (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Among the most used approaches to conduct CDA one finds the Socio-Cognitive Approach associated with Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historic Approach Norman Fairclough's Approach which is a combination of textual analysis along with the consideration of socio-cultural and economic practices. In Fairclough's view critical discourse is a theoretical perspective on language that relates "trans-disciplinarily" with other social theories and methods Fairclough,(2000;99) of "Discourse and Society" Van Dijk refers to it as "a perspective in doing scholarship" while Ruth Wodak calls it a "research paradigm". The principal approaches to conduct CDA are briefly overviewed bellow.

2.5.1. The Discourse Historical Approach

The discourse historical approach actually established to touch in detail the composition of an anti-Semitic labeled image that in the German language becomes known as “Feindbild” meaning a stereotyped “enemy image”. This stereotyped image emerged in public discourses in the Austrian Presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in 1986. Ruth Wodak and her team of scholars examined the linguistic manifestations of bias in discourse deep-seated in the linguistic and social context such as newspaper reports of news bulletins in Austria (Wodak & Meyer, 2002: 70). The approach delimited in challenging stories available in newspaper reports with facts and context wonders to investigate if the reports were biased. The news stories have compared with old facts and in this method Ruth Wodak and her group were able to notice and portray the defacing of facts and truths.

2.5.2. Furlough’s Three-Dimensional Model

This approach emerged from Critical Theory (Chouliariki and Fairclough, (1999 34), which was developed by the Frankfurt school. This framework, through deconstructing society, aims at critically investigating possible social inequalities as expressed, constituted, legitimized by discursive practices.

Fairclough’s (1992; 27) in his book *Discourse and Social Change* offers the social discourse framework which is a blueprint for CDA and makes its emphasis on the social aspect. It is also a condensed theoretical account of CDA. This model presupposes tripartite method of discourse analysis and has founded in the assumption that discourse constitutes the social practice and constituted by the social practice, meanings created by both language production and conception, the connection between text and social practice seen as being mediated by discourse practice. The approach asserts that each discursive event has three dimensions. These three dimensions are distinct stages but intrinsically reciprocate levels of analysis.

These are: discourse as text (description), discourse as discursive practice (interpretation) and discourse as social practice (explanation). Fairclough (1995a:97) argued that, the method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. The diagram below illustrates Fairclough's (1995a:98) tripartite model:

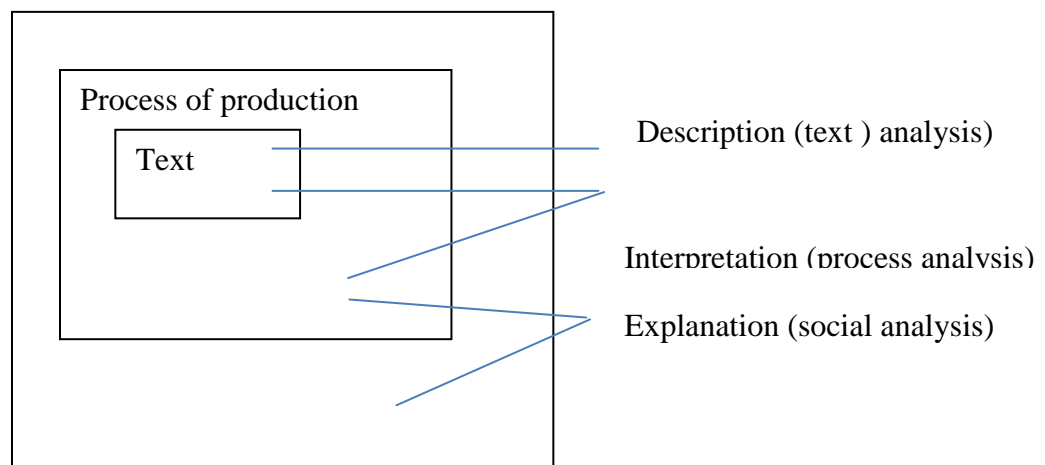


Figure 1 Fairclough's CDA model 1995:98

2.6. Principles and Tenets of CDA

The well-known scholars of the field such as: (Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2001) offer the main tenets of CDA. The following explanation are taken from Fairclough and Wodak's summary of the principals of CDA (1997: 271-80):

2.6.1. Critical discourse Analysis Addresses Social Problems

This approach is problem-oriented approach, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. It focuses on Social problem items of research, such as racism, identity, injustice, public relation and so on, which in turn are and could studied from various viewpoints since problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single viewpoint.

2.6.2. Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture

This is a shared tenet with Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA), with some grounded differences in CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2001:141), asserts that MDA takes it that discourse is among the means by which society and culture constituted. MDA also argues that society and culture have constituted in the material products of that society as well as in its non-discursive practices. However, cultural knowledge shared by all competent members of a society or culture. In addition, forms the basis or common ground of all social practices and discourses .The salience of discourse in contemporary social processes and power relations makes sense by recognizing that discourse constitutes society and culture by dialectical relationship. This entails that every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations. That the power of discourse; that is why worth struggling over.

2.6.3. Discourse does Ideological Work

Van Dijk (2000:4) argues: “The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society.” Furthermore, as Locke (2004:1) puts, CDA views discourse as “colored by and productive of ideology” (however, ‘ideology’ conceptualized). Thus, in our use of language, whatever communicative event is recorded, “is influenced by our ideological positions, the value, belief, the biases and perspectives (consciously or unconsciously) we adopt.”

2.6.4. Discourse is Historical

Wodak and Meyer (2001:65) views; “the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the

social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded.” Likewise, (Carvalho, 2008: 163) states; “the historical nature of discourse is one of its most fundamental characteristics”. Texts always develop on preceding ones, taking up or challenging former discourses.

2.6.5. Discourse Analysis is Interpretative and Explanatory

Fairclough (2003:3) viewed “CDA oscillating ‘between a focus on specific texts and a focus on order of discourse’” the relatively durable social structuring of language, which is itself, one element of comparatively long-lasting organizing and networking of social practices. Thus, DA is in favor of describing language where it initially originated in the context of human interaction. Thus, interpreting the discursive events helps to explain the structure between these systems and language. However, interpretations and explanations are never finished and authoritative; they are active and open to new settings and new evidence.

2.6.6. Discourse is a form of Social Action

The vast majority of social actions within do involve discourse as important way. In another words, social actions will have direct impact on raising and shaping a particular discourse in focus. Discourse guides social actions and vice versa. In this sense, discourses and social actions are to suffice to be constitutive.

Fairclough (2003:124), stated that,

Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather it seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds, which are different, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular direction. Discourses also constitute part of the resources that people deploy in relating to one another, cooperating, competing,

and dominating and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another.

From the above view of Fairclough, one can understand that discourse has the power of changing a particular direction. In general, discourse dominates the societal activities and seeks change in all social relations.

2.6.7. The link Between Text and Society mediated:

The link between sociocultural practice and text mediated by discourse practice; how the text is produced or interpreted, in what discursive practices and conventions and how do texts articulate together depending on the nature of sociocultural exercise in which the discourse is a part of. In this sense, each other (discourse practice, text production and discursive practices) shaped together. Locke (2004:2) asserts, “CDA views reality as textually and intertextually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems, and texts as sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses.”

2.6.8. Power Relations are Discursive

Power relations negotiated, imposed, legitimized and performed through discourse (language use). As Locke (2004:1) “CDA views power in society not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable effect of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others.” Wodak (2006:4) added that power relations are “in texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and genre”. Thus, language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power within hierarchical social structures.

2.7. Cornerstone of CDA

Many scholars believe that, Ideology, power and history are the central notions that CDA has founded. Wodak and Meyer (2001:3) assert that,

Consequently, three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology. In the interplay, language (use) or discourse is a medium that these concepts are interrelated. In turn, discursive nature of discourse takes prominent role in communicating these concepts consciously or unconsciously.

As quoted in Wodak and Meyer (2001:6), (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a) and (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999) explain and elaborate some advances in CDA, showing not only how the analytical structure for examining language in relation to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is valuable in revealing the discursive nature of much modern social and cultural change.

2.7.1. Power

An important viewpoint in CDA is the concept of power. A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power of groups or organizations. Thus, in this respective study, power refers to social power of groups or institutions. Van Dijk (2001:354) defines social power in terms of control. He stated that ‘groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups.’

This ability assumes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, culture, or indeed several procedures of public address and communication. Thus, discourse contact to or govern over public discourse forms fertile ground for a group or organization an important resource for generating power base. More importantly, van Dijk (1993:255) asserts, “CDA is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules, and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power.”

Such condition encourages, CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse reproduces social power, that is, the power manipulate of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively fight such manipulation. In the same manner, Wodak (2006) added; “the defining features of CDA are its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language that incorporates this as a major premise” Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures.

Wodak (2006:19) also assert that the constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language interwoven in social power in a number of ways:

Language indexes and expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures.

This idea of Wodak used as indication for the relationship between language and social matters. In other word language is a social means to take an action related to all social matter.

Fairclough (1989:73) also argued that,

Power is exercised and enacted in discourse, and on the other hand that there are relations of power behind discourse. In both cases power is won, held and lost in social struggles.” We might say that, in terms of 'power in discourse', discourse is the place of power struggles, and, in terms of 'power behind discourse', it is the stake in power struggles - for control over orders of discourse is a powerful mechanism for sustaining power.

In this sense, language is not dominant on its own - it gains power by the use influential persons make of it as well as it's a tool for struggle. Additional significant component in public discourse that assisted by media is that the media constituted by those on power in which media are more interested in powerful sources of information that is vital for their credit. This explains why CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and abused, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities, injustice and marginalization and who at the same time, also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions.

2.7.2. Ideology

Unfortunately, a proliferation of definitions available for the term Ideology is numerous. These definitions either hold a neutral or pejorative connotation. Nevertheless, many of these definitions are contingent on the political framework favored by the analyst in media

discourse studies. Simpson (1993: 156) describes ideology from critical linguistic perspective that “ideology is the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society.” An ideology therefore originates from the taken-for-granted conventions, opinions and value systems that shared mutually by societal groups. Moreover, when an ideology is the ideology of a predominantly influential social group, it believed to be prevailing. Thus, governing ideologies are interceded through powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and the medical profession and media as well. Our insights of these organizations, furthermore, will molded in part by the specific language practices of the social groups who encompass them.

The most noticeable focus of Van Dijk (1998a:191-192) in formation of discourse is in relation with ideology. That is the special status of discourse in the reproduction of ideologies. The vital point to comprehend the special significance of discourse and ideology can illustrate as follows:

Discourse, language use, and communication do play a special role in such processes of reproduction, but ideologies are also being expressed and reproduced by social and semiotic practices other than those of text and talk. In addition, discourse has a special status in the reproduction of ideologies. Unlike most other social practices, and in a more explicit way than most other semiotic codes (such as photos, pictures, images, signs, paintings, movies, gestures, dance and so on), various properties of text and talk allow social members to actually express or formulate abstract ideological beliefs, or any other opinion related to such ideologies.

As language is in the heart of CDA there is a principle that language reproduces ideology. Thus, language is unavoidably tight up with the socio-political context in which it functions as a combined arrangement of social behavior. Many scholars believe that language not used in a context less vacuum: rather, it used in a crowd of discourse settings, contexts that infused with the ideology of social systems and organizations. Their ideology emerged from the belief that language operates within this social domination.

More importantly, Van Dijk (2000:4) offers a multidisciplinary introduction to the notion of ideology, in which he takes three dimensions, “ideology in cognition, society, and discourse.” The cognitive definition of ideology given in relations to the social cognitions that shared by the supporters of a group. The social dimension clarifies what kind of groups, relations between groups and organizations are involved in the progress and reproduction of ideologies.

The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society. In other words, language use and discourse are vital social activities dominated by ideologies, which in turn also influence how one acquire, react, maintain, or change ideologies discursively. Ideology as a general notion can understand as fundamental belief of a group and its members. The conception of ideology here takes either negative or positive connotation.

For example, one can be considered as extremist or freedom fighter which depends on the context and the belief one has or shared with group members ‘or schema. In this regard, Wodak (2006:17) argued, “both the words used and the meanings of the words vary accordingly to the class struggle position from which they are used in accordance with the discursive formation ‘they are located within.” For instance the word struggle‘ itself is

particularly associated with a working class political voice, and its meaning in that discursive development is dissimilar from its meanings when used from other positions.

In this sense, ideologies emerge from group struggle, interest, or fight, and thus naturally create fever field against them and vis-à-vis. More importantly (van Dijk, 2000:8) asserts that” ideologies and social practices of group members are closely interrelated.” Fairclough (1995a:25) views ideology ‘as both “structures (discourse conventions) and events”. The convention draws upon in actual discursive events, which are structured within order of discourse ‘associated with institutions, are ideologically invested in particular ways. On the other hand, ideologies generated and transformed in actual discursive events. The conception of ideology here focuses on the effects of ideologies rather than truth and features of texts are seen as ideological in so far as they affect (sustain, undermine) power relations.

In this respective study, the term ideology is taken from Van Dijk (2000:4) view that have a multidisciplinary approach which guides to comprehend ideology from three-layered dimensions which is ideology in cognition, society and discourse, where offered previous in this subdivision.

2.7.3. History of CDA

The basic notion of history for CDA takes a position of understanding contextualized nature of discourse within its present form and its historical continuum that it has constructed through speech or text. Thus, CDA studies should also trace the historical context of the discourse of which they are concerned to address whether written, oral, or visual of particular discourse as well as its present occurrence. As Wodak and Meyer (2001:65), address “CDA’s discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice.”

Regarding this, Ruth Wodak is famous scholar associated with this approach that can called discourse-historical approach. Wodak and Meyer view the discourse-historical approach as ‘an attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ embedded.”

Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. Moreover, Wodak, (2006:19) Summarizes that,

The connection of discourse and history as, every discourse historically embedded, and has repercussions on current and future discourse. In addition to the above levels, the structure of discourse may be dissected into; discursive events and discursive context, discourse positions, overall societal discourse and interwoven discourses; themes, bundles of discourse strands, history, present and future of discourse strands.

Regarding this complexity of discourse-historical approach of CDA, (Huckin et.al, 2012:111) argued,

Indeed, CDA’s marriage of text and context, and its ability to consider history as part and tract of analysis, provides an excellent methodological basis for archival work and ethnographic study that doesn’t sacrifice either theory or practice.

This shows that more importantly discourse-historical approach in CDA burdened with combining history, text, context, inter-textuality, discourse, message, and discursive structures of events as link practices that gives scientific expertise to understand the historical/social background in which they created.

2.7.4. Discourse as Text

The first level of Fairclough's (2003:4) approach is discourse as text.

Text is perceived in this level of analysis in a broader sense that texts are written or spoken languages but also transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews and may include visual images and sound effects the analysis of text is form-and-meaning analysis. The text characterized by a configuration of heterogeneous and contradictory properties. This level entirely focuses on the contents of a text.

In other word Fairclough, s (2003:4) addresses that text is not limited to written documents rather it encompasses spoken language, transcript of video, interviews, visual images and sound effects in general. In this case the inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde, which is under, research one type of discourse.

He farther added that:

text analysis can be organized under four main headings: "vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure" Vocabulary deals mainly with individual words (e.g., wording, lexicalizing, signifying), grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences (e.g., transitivity, modality), cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together (e.g., conjunctive words, schemata), and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of texts (e.g., monologue, dialogue, turn taking-system, conventions) and should be analyzed in this level.

Another dimension of text is inter-textuality which sees texts historically as transforming the past - existing conventions and prior texts - into the Present. In other words, how texts articulate prior texts and conventions, linked to, or interpreted in terms of other texts or other discourses.

Pasha, (2011:132) assert the analyst, basically, looks for what is represented in the text in terms of actors, recipients, benefactors, etc. What represented in the theme and rhyme of the sentences composing the text and collocations and, patterns of co-occurrences of words in text, which simply means looking at which other words most frequently precede and follow any word, which is in focus.

Fairclough (2003:15), stress that “textual analysis is also inevitably selective: in any analysis, one chose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and no other possible questions”. Thus, the general point is that there are always particular motivations for choosing to ask certain questions about texts and not others. For these reasons, textual analysis/ description of the language text in this study analyzed focusing on the research question, which draws account on Fairclough (2003: 190-4):

1. Discourses: what discourses are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured together? Is there a significant mixing of discourses? What are the features that characterize the discourses, which drawn upon (semantic relations between words, collocations, metaphors, assumptions, grammatical features)?
2. Difference: which (combination) of the following scenarios characterize the orientation to difference in the text? An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power or Consensus,

a normalization and acceptance of difference of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and over norms

In addition to the above Fairclough (2003: 194) raised the following questions:

1. Assumption: what existential, propositional or value assumptions are made? Is there a case for seeing and assumptions as ideological.
2. Representation of social actors: what elements of represented social events are included or excluded, and which included elements are more salient? Are there instances of grammatical metaphor in the representation of processes? How social actors are represented (activated/ passivized, personal/ impersonal, named/ classified, specific/ generic)

These four elements are the most important questions that need to address in researches to find out what the text is all about and to understand the value assumption, things that represent and neglected.

2.8. Discourse and Political Relation

According to Fairclough (1989-210), there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and society. This infers that the social structure shapes discourse while discourse represents the value and believes of the people. In other word, discourse reflects the linguistic choices used to represent and sustain reality.

2.9. Discourse and Power Relation

In this respect, CDA looks at the way elements of both spoken and written texts are organized. This implies that the political views or ideologies can reside in the text and word of mouth.

The top known scholars such as Van Dijk (1993:249; Fairclough 1989; Wadak 2001; Holmes 2005:33) agree with the idea of power in CDA by indicating that power is an integral part of CDA. They add that CDA enable the appearance of power difference made worth and reinforced by both implicit and explicit references.

2.10. Discourse and Social Relation

This principle based on the role discourse plays in the construction of identity. Fairclough (2010) who posit that discourse is a reflection of people's identity supports this view. He adds that participants in discourse constant construct and reconstruct different identity through the discursive choice they make in different contexts.

2.11. Discourse and Ideology

Fairclough (2010:305) adopts the view of hegemony and he points out that such political discourse analysis examines how language used to communicate the attention of the governing group. In addition to Fairclough Van Dijk's (2000:4) ideology is relates to use of language us a means of communication because it controls which matters are elevated and which issues are subordinated.

2.12. Criticism of CDA

The most vocal critics of CDA involve scholars from Text linguistics and Conversational Analysis. Among the prominently known critics of CAD, Schegloff (1997) quoted in

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1997:7) and Paltridge (2006:195). Firstly, Schegloff suggests that CDA makes use of groups that are sociological in nature and as such are unknown to recognized analysis (Conversational Analysis) Further, he argues that CDA hypothetically plants itself on discourse; an imposition that challenges the concern of discourse participants.

However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough are not in line with Schegloff's view by pointing out that formal analysis prevents the theoretic concern of the analyst. To them, whereas the attention of Conversational Analysis is in adopting how a discussion by itself makes logic, CDA is concerned with societal hiccups. CDA does this by carrying out the role of discourse participants (conversational analysis inclusive) in management of power.

Fairclough further points out that although CDA and CA vary in their methods, they are not in conflict. His supposition supported by some studies in CDA, which engaged conversation as their data.

Secondly, CDA is seen as clearly political fabrication and as such lacks objectivity' and 'scientificity'. Widdowson (1995) points out that CDA analyst can interpret data based on his or her own linguistic biases. Although this is true, as is the case with both qualitative and quantitative research, a purely objective research hardly exists. This view is supported by Fairclough who claims that research on social issues is mostly persuaded by people's insights, the subject of choice and their societal knowledge (inclusive of world views, values and political obligations).

However, Lazar (2005:2) disagrees with this view by pointing out that a politically motivated approach to CDA is a basis to social problems. Similarly, Lazar adds, it is linguistically approachable to issues of social equity. In response, Chouliaraki and

Fairclough (1999) point out that neutrality in research fails to recognize the social, historical and value based nature of all facts.

2.13. Political Discourse

Political discourse is an umbrella term for several partisan talks made at unlike political settings such as political campaign meetings, party manifestoes, official speeches, and the like. Political discourse is one of the types of speech among different types of political speeches in general. Political discourse is a result of political affairs and it is factually and socially firm. It achieves different purposes due to dissimilar political events. It is thematic because its topics mainly connected to politics such as political actions, political thoughts, and political relations.

Teun A. Van Dijk(1993: 209) in his paper entitled' 'Political Discourse'' opines that the easiest, and not altogether misguided, answer is that political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, and politicians. Certainly, the enormous unpackaged studies of political discourse is all about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers , house of the federation , house of people's representative / parliament/, different political parties, both at the local/domestic/ and global levels.

Van Dijk (1993:255) reflects, "Political discourse has actors and authors who commit a mistake for the reason that politicians are not the only actors in political fields." Political environment includes various beneficiaries in political outgoing actions, such as the community, the societies, citizens, and the masses at large.

2.14. Values of Formal Features of Text

One of the founders of Critical discourse analysis as applied to the socio-linguistics, Norman Fairclough, distinguishes between three types of the values formal features of text supposed to have. These values are experiential, relational, and expressive. These values are better creating connection between the actual text features and the discourse communicated in it. Fairclough, (2015; 110) Stated that a feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the values in which the text producer's experience of the nature and world represented.

2.14.1. Experiential value

As to Fairclough, (2015:110). Experiential value has to do with contents knowledge and beliefs, what we commonly call background knowledge. With this value, anyone can easily understand how this world, things or items (covering wide range of abstract things) that represented in the discourse. On the other hand, a feature with relational value is a trace of and a cue to the relationships, which enacted via the text in the discourse.

2.14.2. Relational Value

The relational value is to do with relations and social relationships .Fairclough,(2015:110), Clearly mentions that this value is helpful as it sheds the light that discourse deals with social relations.

2.14.3. Expressive Value

Expressive value links the reality and the discourse as evaluated by the producer of the text, the speaker in our case. As to Fairclough, (2015:110). "Expressive, value is to do with subjects and social identities, though only one dimension of the latter concepts is to do with subjective values."

2.14.4. A-Lexical Choice: Experiential Value of Word

This is, in fact, what Norman Fairclough asserts as an important aspect of the discourse. He apparently underlined that words have chosen by the speakers in accordance with their preferred way of representing the world, which could regarded as ideological struggle. Fairclough puts it this way: “The aspect of experiential value of most interest in the context of this book is how ideological differences between texts in their representations of the world are coded in their vocabulary.”

Having this in mind, we can refer to some wordings or expressions, which in one or the other way indicate the power struggle of the speakers from the inaugural speech of the two prime ministers. Looking at this issue closely needs the one who is analyzing examining the packages that Fairclough put. As to him, there are sections of the speech, which are subject to examination that ultimately entail the experiential value better.

2.14.5. A Rewording

As Fairclough stated ‘rewording is an existing, dominant, and naturalized, wording is being systematically replaced by another one in conscious opposition to it. In short rewording is ‘oppositional’ wording. There is a word or an expression previously or now spoken, the one, which catches the opportunity to develop his /her own, re-words or replace it with oppositional but strategic one.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This study assumed qualitative research model. Qualitative research used in analyzing the research questions for there are many explanations and clarification of the text, its discursive practice, and social practice was required.

3.2. Research Design

The research design went through different stages: the first stage is down loading the video of the speech and transcribe it into a text. The second stage was coding the speech into the clause and sentence to focus on the repeated themes in the inaugural speech. Moreover, the data has subsequently tabulated to capture the frequency of transitivity method and the modality choice. Finally, the data has interpreted and discussed on how transitivity system and modality choice used in the clause.

3.3. Sampling Methods.

Purposive sampling method adopted to select the data. The data for the study are in the form of clause are selected from the inaugural speech that was made at the House of People's Representative on 25th October 2018. The speech in the form of video were changed to written text as it was collected from the president office website www.ethiopia.gov.et and <http://m.youtube.com>. A comparison has made between a text and a video of President Sahle work Zewde's inaugural speech to make sure that the selected text is in line with the original speech on video.

3.4. Data Analysis

The 15 paragraphs speech subjected to analysis using qualitative approach. The analysis guided by Fairclough's three dimensional models -description, interpretation and described in the previous section. The analysis has conducted according to the structure and content of explanation of the speech.

3.5. Analytic Techniques

Having in mind that CDA approach of a subject under investigation in a different way within diverse disciplines gives insight on the framework, to hit the objective and focus of difference within. Thus, CDA is a program with diverse theoretical and methodological approaches to study a particular discourse, i.e., media discourse. This affirm Wodak and Meyer (2009) view those different approaches of CDA with theoretical pieces of very different origins are employed to build their castles. As to them neither is there any guiding theoretical view point that is used coherently within CDA, nor do the CDA protagonist proceed consistently from the area of theory to the field of discourse and the way back to theory.

Accordingly, this study used CDA approach, which incorporates Fairclough's three-dimensional analytic tools that the researcher hopes to come up in line with the objective and research questions of the study. In other words, CDA is approaching the discourse with the specifics of research questions to be answered by positioning the theoretical frameworks indebted. That is identifying discourses of news reports in which where their ideological tendencies are marked and at the same time the discursive representation of social actors. Therefore, this study goes through analytic techniques as follows:

3.6. Description

In this level, description of sample speech is which analysis of texts mainly focuses on the content of texts. Identifying the discourses mapped on speech, the study looked at detailed linguistic items of speeches. This includes, discovering discourses drawn upon speech and features that characterize them. Thus, semantic relations, lexis, collocations, discursive difference, and metaphors have analyzed. After identifying the discourses in video, the study attempts to analyze differences in speech.

As, Thompson (2004) asserts, theme can be realized by almost any clause element, and, because in English what is considered given information comes first in the clause, the theme can reveal differences of opinion through highlighting certain parts of the message as what is already known or obvious (quoted in Mellanen, 2012:37). Theme-Rheme analysis in the present study used to analyze headlines and news reports respectively and as the very interest of the study to uncover and mark ideological tendencies of news agencies as well. Thus, lexical analysis in line with collocations and thematic structures have employed to analyze the news reports as well as for analyzing the discursive representation of social actors in which subjects are positioned and what word choices are used to represent them.

3.7. Interpretation or Discourse-as-Discursive Practices

Interpretation of sample news reports, once the description has done and as discussed earlier CDA is integrated form of discourse analysis so do the results of textual analysis is analyzed in which how texts are produced and interpreted in the news reports. Therefore, it is important to analyze inter-textual contexts by examining speech reporting such as news source and reporting verbs. Representation of subjects and presuppositions of text producers, foregrounding and backgrounding aspects of participants, which text producers can affect the interpretation of the reading of the situation on subjects, also analyzed in the news reports.

As Fairclough (1989: 154) points, presuppositions can be sincere or manipulative. However, they can also have ideological functions, when what they assume has a character of „common sense in the service of power’. More importantly, analyzing inter-textual contexts in the news reports must also include/trace the historical perspective of a particular discourse and texts. Discourses and the texts, which occur within them, have histories; they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of inter-textual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore, what has taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed. Therefore, this study tried to take into account the broader sociocultural context specifically related to the place of Political demonstration and the context of discourse analysis in Ethiopian culture. In this regard, the researcher hopes to answer ideological tendencies and discursive representation of social actors observed in the news reports in detailed context in order to offer an explanation to the third level.

3.8. Explanation- Discourse-as- Social Practice:

Fairclough (1992; 1995) commented that the explanation of the inaugural speech is more concerned with the broader ideological context within it occurs: situational, institutional, and societal contexts. The concern of tracing explanatory connection for particular instances of discourse lies between the nature of the social practices of which they are a part, and the nature of their discursive practice, including socio-cognitive aspects of their production and interpretation. Therefore, it is explaining the set of conditions that provides the particular discourse in which how it develops and come at contextualized form of such discourse.

Fairclough (1992:25), says that:

It is specifying how this instance stands in relation to these structures and relations (is it conventional and normative, creative and innovative, oriented to restructuring them, oppositional, etc.?) Moreover, what effects it donates

to, in terms of reproducing or changing them and the association of the instance of social and discursive practice to the instructions of discourse it draws upon, and the effects of repeating or transforming orders of discourse to which it donates.

From the above ideas of Fairclough, explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes addressed by examining the discourses that what important influences exist between structures of texts, ways in which texts are composed and understood in relation to the nature of the social practice. Thus, it is important to pay attention at its course. As an element in social procedures at the institutional and societal levels, and to show how it is ideologically determined by, and ideologically determinative of, power relations and power struggle at this level

Fairclough,(1989 :26) Summarizing the analytic techniques, at the microstructure level, the analysis of this respective thesis is focused on, thematic structures, language in line with collocation elements and rhetorical elements; quotations and reporting speeches, and verbs embedded in the news reports. At the macrostructure level, the analysis has focused on examining the context of social structure and ideology. Based upon this foundation both micro and macrostructure analysis is done on selected president Sahlework Zewde discourses.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concentrated on analysis of the level of discourse practice, which involves various aspects of the process of text production, distribution, and consumption. The speech analysis has based on Fairclough's approach to CDA as it stated in the research framework. This approach consist three interrelated analysis parts of which each level required different kind of analysis. Text analysis,(description) ,Discourse practice (interpretation) and socio-cultural analysis (explanation).This approach is very useful for it enables the analyst to focus on signifiers that makes up the text, the selection of specific linguistic items and their usage and manipulation. President Sahlework Zewde has considered as the author of this text and she is the speaker of the text.

4.2. Description of the Text / Text Analysis

In this section, the researcher presents analysis of the inaugural speeches delivered by President Sahlework Zewde on 25 October 2018. The analysis has done based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional models. The first step of Fairclough's three-part model is text that includes language analysis in terms of morphology, semantics syntax's, and the sound system and unity organizations in the sentence level. The transcribed version of president Sahlework Zewde,s inaugural speech comprise of more than **65** sentence and **1095** words. Lines to make it manageable for the analysis contextually classify this speech/text/.

The sentence structure is declarative, in which she imparts information to make her speech more persuasive. She used first person narrative including " I" for about **15** times," we" for about **10** times "our" for about **6** times to show her collective approach towards formulating opinion to general mass.

As Fairclough, asserts, description of text, being one aspect of the whole discourse analysis, covers a range of linguistic features - features of vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, turn-taking, types of speech act and the directness or indirectness of their expression, and features to do with the overall structure of interactions - as well as examples of nonlinguistic textual features ('visuals') (Fairclough, 2015; 109). In general, text analysis identifies text, interaction, and social context as three elements of a discourse. Therefore, the researcher in this section tries to cover some of the features contributed to the respective discourses.

President Sahlework Zewde in her Announcement speech explored the importance of relationship between people and among parties. Majorly, she focused on the issues gender equality, national unity and issues of peace with in oneself , peace with family , peace with neighbors , peace in our village, peace among government administration, peace among regional states, peace among neighboring countries and peace with diaspora. For the purposes of the present study, I focus on the issues of gender equality, peace, and national unity.

In terms of organizational structure, the Announcement Speech president Sahlework Zewde thanking the government for giving her chance to serve a country as head of the state. She then proceeds to thank former president Dr Mulatu Teshome for volunteer stepping down. Further, she points out the following excerpts:

የጀመርነው የለውጥ ጉዞ በሴቶችም ሆነ በወንዶች እኩል ተሳታፊነትና ዜጎችን ከዶታ ክብሄር፣ ከሃይማኖትም ሆነ ከሌሎች መድሎ በፀዳ መልኩ በእኩልነት የምንኖርባትን ኢትዮጵያ እውን እንደሚያደርግ እተማመናለሁ። Excerpt 8: *if both men and women head the current change in Ethiopia equally, it can sustain its momentum and realize a prosperous Ethiopia free of religious, ethnic and gender discrimination.*

Here she address the issue of gender equality is important for all aspects of development or change. Not only has this she told that. **በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም።** Excerpt 31: *There is no country, nor a family, that built by men only.* Here is where she stresses the need for gender equality.

Additional she addressed that **ሴቶች ሲጎዱ ቤተሰብ ይጎዳል ከሁሉ በላይ የወደፊት ሀገር ተረካቢ ይጎዳል ስለዚህ ሴት ቤተሰብ ነች ቤተሰብ ደግሞ የሃገር ምሳሌ ነው።**

Excerpt 33 *when there is no peace in the country, mothers will suffer, and therefore we need to work on peace for the sake of our mothers.* በሰላም እጦት ምክንያት ዋና ተጎዲዎች እናቶች ናቸው ። ስለዚህ ስለ እናቶቻችን ስንል ስለ ሰላም ልንሰራ ይገባናል።

In addition, she urges everyone to uphold peace, in the name of a mother who is the first to suffer from absence of peace. In her address both government and the opposition parties she said Excerpt 10 *that government and opposition parties have to understand that we are living in a common house and focus on things that unite us ,not what divide us, to create a country and a generation that all of us proud.* መንግስትም ሆነ ተጭካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን በማተኮር ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮሩ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

From the excerpt above, it can conclude that the recurring themes in President Sahlework Zewde’s Announcement Speech include gender equality, national unity, and issues of peace.

4.2.1. Existential Process and Participants

According to Halliday & Matthiessen,(2014:307) the existential processes suggest that something exists or happens as in the sentence. It referred to as existential because it represents phenomenon of existence. The process stands in the border line between Material

and Relational processes. The existential clauses include the use of imitation subject; *There* as in the sentence: *There is no country... there is hope.*

The word '*there*', is neither a participant nor a circumstance because it has no functional representation in the transitivity structure of the clause. Rather, it serves to bring out the feature of existence interpersonally as a subject. A single participant, no country, an inanimate entity, that said to exist, characterizes this process. For instance, 'country' is the *existent* in the sentence above.

Fontaine, (2013: 78) also indicated that:

Existential processes similarly are characterized by the verb 'be' or a verb that expresses existence such as: remain, come about and arise followed by insignificant group that functions as existent. The object supposed to exist can be a thing, person, abstraction, person, or any other phenomenon.

The present study suggests that what is essential to a CDA analyst on Transitivity is the way participants allocated different levels of agency or power based on the process type chosen. The type of process used can also help the analyst determine how each participant represented. The study mainly focuses on the three major process types namely: the material process, the mental process, and the relational process.

4.2.2. Material Process

Material processes are processes of "doing" and "happening". According to Halliday (2004:179) in material process the actor is expected to "perform an action and to occasion change over what refers to as input of energy". Similarly, the actor expected to touch the

flow of actions of another member in the clause known as the Goal or Beneficiary. Material processes employed to bring out different views as evidenced in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 21 ... during my tenure I will emphasize women role in

ensuring peace and dividends of peace for women.

..... የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሰላም ወዳድ ወንዶችን እንዲሁም በመላው ዓለም የሚገኙ ሰላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሰላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

The president describes her role using material processes thereby giving prominence to the action she will performs. Word ‘Emphasize’ for example, is a concrete and directional action. This casts the president as an agent that changes the role of women in ensuring peace.

Excerpt: 21 during my tenure my focus will be center on ensuring peace in the country.

This excerpt also indicated her future action and determination to bring peace in the country.

Not only bring peace in the country the president also promised to work with all peace loving men and women to insure the peace in country.

በዚህ አጋጣሚ የእስከ አሁኑ የስቶች ትግል እውን እንዲሆን ሃላፊነት ከተቀበልኩበት ጊዜ አንስቶ እስከዛሬዎ ቀን ድረስ በተግባር እያሳዩን ለሚገኙት ለክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የከበረ ምስጋናዎን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Excerpt: 48 I would like to thank His Excellency Dr Abiy Ahmed who has shown me that the previous straggle of women has bear fruit from the day I have received this responsibility to this day.

በየለቱ እንዲህ አይነት አዳዲስ እና አስደማሚ ትእይንቶች በመቀጠል ላይ የሚገኘው ለውጥ በመምራት ላይ የሚገኙትን ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድን መላ ቤተሰባቸውን ከስራ ባልደረባቸው ጋር ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Excerpts 50, allow me to thank prime minster Abiy Ahmed, his family and his colleague who is leading such spectacular change.

አዲስ የተጀመረውን እጅግ ተስፋ ሰጪ በየለቱ እንዲህ አይነት አዳዲስ እና አስደማሚ ትእይንቶች በመቀጠል ላይ የሚገኘው ለውጥ በመምራት ላይ የሚገኙትን ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድን መላ ቤተሰባቸውን ከስራ ባልደረባቸው ጋር ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Here she positioned Prime Minister Abiy as a committed leader who is working hard to ensure women’s political participation. He also represented as spectacular change leader. Not only the Prime Minister but she also represented the officials who are working with him in ministerial position as change agents. Here the president reflected the ideology of positive him/Abiy/ and his colleagues are also positively represented in the speech.

4.2.3. Values of Formal Features of Text

One of the founders of Critical discourse analysis as applied to the socio-linguistics, Norman Fairclough, (2015; 110) distinguishes between three types of the values formal features of text supposed to have. These values are “experiential, relational, and expressive values” these values are better creating connection between the actual text features and the discourse communicated in it. A feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the text /speech/ producer’s experience of the natural or world around him.

4.2.4. Experiential Value

Fairclough (2015:110) tells that experiential value has to do with content knowledge and background knowledge of the issues under discussion. He clearly stated that experiential value:

Is to do with contents knowledge and beliefs, what we commonly call background knowledge. With this value, anyone can easily understand how this world, things or items (covering wide range of abstract things) represented in the discourse. On the other hand, a feature with relational value is a trace of and a cue to the relationships, which enacted via the text in the discourse.

The inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde has seen in light of the above idea. Some words are gender-contested words like those that men and women repeatedly used in the speech.

ዛሬ የኢትዮጵያ ፍዴራላዊት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሪፑብሊክ ፕሬዚዳንት ሆኜ ከፊታችሁ ስቆም ከእኛ በፊት ለህይወታቸው ሳይሳሱ ለሴቶች እኩልነት ለሃገራቸው ነጻነት ለታገሉ ሴቶችና ወንዶች ውጤት መሆኔን ለአፍታ ያክል የማልስተው መሆኔን ነው።

Excerpt 46 *as I stand before you as the President of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia today, am not forgetting that I am a product of people who fought for equality and political freedom in this country,*

Here the president is acknowledging the people who fought for equality and political freedom. Words like equality and political freedom shown her knowledge of political issues and her determination to work hard to serve those people. In addition to this, the above excerpts indicate that there was an equality and absence of political freedom in the country.

In other word, this excerpt is an indication of the existence of unfair relationship between genders, between the people and political leaders and the straggle that has made to gain the present freedom.

The president addresses the past based upon her background knowledge and her experience. It seems she remembers the inequality and the fight in the past from her mental horizon. She classifies past as negative the present time as positive.

Line21. The absence of peace victimizes firstly women, so during my turn I will emphasize women's role in ensuring peace and the dividend of peace for women.

በዚህ የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሰላም ወዳድ ወንዶችን እንዲሁም በመላው ዓለም የሚገኙ ሰላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሰላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

Since the *agency* or the dower of the action is one of the grammatical features that marks the hidden intention of the discourse, it is to see the use of agency in the speech. As it is seen in the above excerpts all the speech of the president the agencies are clearly stated in the speech. Therefore, it is clear that the president hides noting from her audience. She makes use of agencies frequently to show who performs what. In the above excerpt, she put herself as an agent who brings about peace for women.

4.2.5. Relational value of the word

Relational value of the world is to do with relations and social relationships (Fairclough, 2015; 110). Clearly, this value is helpful as it sheds the light about relationship, which the center of discourse as seen by scholars like Fairclough; discourse deals with social relations.

Excerpts 10... *focus on things that unite us, not what divides us...* የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ.....

In the above and in other excerpts or in the whole speech in general the relational values of the word is reflected through the use of pronouns **I, We, Us, my** and **our** are used pervasively in the speech more and more to express personal feelings, personal responsibility or self-reference and to show collective responsibility and unity.

4.2.6. Expressive value of the word

Expressive value of the word links the reality and the discourse as evaluated by the producer of the text, the speaker in our case. Fairclough, (2015; 110), stated “Expressive, value is to do with subjects and social identities, though only one dimension of the latter concepts is to do with subjective values” in other word it is the question of what expressive value do the words have? There are many examples in the speech where the speaker used both positive and negative expressive values.

Excerpts: *31 there is no country, nor a family, that built by men only.* በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም:: *the absences of peace victimize firstly women...*

In these excerpts, the words used to express the countries on going experiences in relation to gender discrimination and the absence of peace and its consequence. The words carry negative meaning about the publics on going experience of conflict and unchanging masculine dominance over women. Lack of peace also expressed negatively as a blocking stone to development. The president evaluated publics past experience negatively by pointing out that the public’s understanding of gender equality is very weak. She also evaluated and presented the past and present scenarios with negative light by pointing the ongoing conflict among the nation.

4.2.7. Lexicalization and Collocation Analysis

Lexical analysis is applied here specifically to analyze representation of social actors (Fairclough, 2003), says that also there are “choices in the representation of social actors as they are usually participants in clauses, though they may not be (they may be within circumstances instead), and not all participants are social actors, they may be physical objects.” Thus, prominent social actors selected from the inaugural speech of the president. The frequently addressed social actors in the speech are, *women, government, opposition parties, young generation*, and the public at large.

The **government** represented as dreamer and responsible entity for the eradicating poverty and insuring continues development. ደስታችን ሙሉ የሚሆነው ሰላማችንና እድገታችን የሚፈጸምበት ሴቶችም ሆኑ ወንዶች እኩል እድል ሲያገኙ እና እኩል ተጠቃሚ ሲሆኑ ነው።

Experts: 42 I call upon the government to eradicate poverty with the full participation of women, as it is source of instability. Our dreams of building a great, prosperous Ethiopia cannot achieved without peace. The lexical analysis of the government does not show negative words. The government lexicalized as the smooth state that works hard towards development and gender equality. The president indicated that gender equality has a direct influence poverty redaction and on ensure long lasting peace. In addition to gender equality the president, indicated the importance of equal right to use of resources as base for long lasting peace and sustainable development. Moreover, the president is reminding the government that it is not possible to bring about long lasting peace and sustainable development without equal participation and mutual use of recourses.

ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ይህ የጀመሩት አካታች ፖሊሲ ለሴቶች ብቻ ሳይሆን ለወንዶች ብሎም ለቤተሰብና ለሀገር መልካም በመሆኑ አጠናክረው እንዲቀጥሉበት አደራ እላለሁ። እርግጠኛም ነኝ።

Expert :49 *I urge Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to continue applying this inclusive policies for it is very important not only for women but for men , family and country. Moreover, I am very confident that you will do it.*

The president extends her apprication to the Prime minister Abiy Ahmed for his inclusive policy and she urged him to keep this inclusive policy to the end. The government inclusive policy lexicalized as the best alternative solution for men, women and the country at large. In addition to this, in excerpt 27 the government lexicalized as a responsible body to ensure good governance, sustainable peace, democracy and freedom of speech. የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዙም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ዲሞክራሲ ስር እንዲሰድ ዜጎች ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት በመግለፅ ሰላማቸውን ማስጠበቅም ሆነ ለልማት እንዲተጉ በኃላፊነት መንፈስ መስራት ይገባቸዋል።

Women represented as hard working, victim and pillar of the country and pillar of the family.

Excerpt 31 *There is no a country, nor a family that built by men only. በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም።*

Excerpt 32 *Women are the pillar of country as well as the family. ሴቶች የቤተሰብም የሃገርም ምሰሶ ናቸው።*

Excerpt 33 *When Women is hurt; the family hurt, the country hurt....ሴቶች ሲጎዱ ቤተሰብ ይጎዳል ከሁሉ በላይ የወደፊት ሀገር ተረካቢ ይጎዳል ስለዚህ ሴት ቤተሰብ ነች ቤተሰብ ደግሞ የሃገር ምሳሌ ነው።*

Excerpt 36 Women are the first victim there for we need to build a generation that should not accept the violation against women.

የሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

Words like “victim,” “hurt” and “pillar” shows how the women is represented in the speech they are represented both as a pillar, venerable to hurt and forgotten. Women lexicalized both as pillar and as hopeless victims respectively. The word “pillar” used to lexicalize woman as the foundation of country and family. However, the word “hurt” used to indicate that women are the first victims of violence and lack of peace. The president is indicating that the present generation is not taking care of women. Generally, women lexicalized both as a pillar of the family and country and as the first victims of in case of all kinds of violence. The president also recommended that building “*a generation that should not accept violation against women*” as a solution to stop any form of violence against women.

The victimization and discrimination of women over lexicalized in the speech in repetitive and clear manner to evoke the need of gender equality, equal participation, and peace. In addition, the appointments of women in cabinet position lexicalized to show societal progress regarding gender.

The **opposition party** is represented co-worker and who has opposite idea with the government.

Excerpt 10 Government and opposition parties have to understand that we are living in a common house and focus on the things unit us not divide us.መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድይል ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ.....

Words like unity and divide shows that the opposition parties are not in line with government and that they are different in their ideology. In addition to this, in excerpt 27 the opposition party lexicalized as equally responsible with the government body to work and ensure good governance, sustainable peace, democracy, and freedom of speech

የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዙም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ዲሞክራሲ ስር እንዲሰድ ዜጎች ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት በመግለፅ ሰላማቸውን ማስጠበቅም ሆነ ለልማት እንዲተጉ በኃላፊነት መንፈስ መስራት ይገባቸዋል።.

The opposition parties are also lexicalized to draw the ideology of positive us and negative others is reflected in the speech concerning them.

Peace lexicalized as a crucial matter that everyone need to protect and cultivate it. Moreover, it lexicalized as a pre requisite for sustainable development.

Excerpt 26 since peace is the pre requisite of development and prosperity and for it is not possible to ensure sustainable development in the absence of peace, all women, and men, young and adult need to work hard to maintain peace to get its benefits.

ሰላም ለልማትና ብልፅግና ቅድመ ሁኔታ በመሆኑ ዘላቂነቱ ያለ ልማትና ብልፅግና ስለማይረጋገጥም ዘላቂ ልማት እንዲኖረን ሴቶችም ሆነ ወንዶች፤ ወጣቶች ሆነ ጎልማሶች ሁላችንም የጥረታችን ተጠቃሚ ልንሆን ይገባናል።

In excerpt 11 peace lexicalized as a pre requisite of building grate nation. ትልቅ ሀገር የመገንባት ህልማችንን እውን ለማድረግ ከሰላም ውጭ ምንም አቋራጭም ሆነ አማራጭ የለንም። the president asserts that there is no other short cut to nation building other than peace. Peace with oneself, family members, our neighbors, in our villages, wordas, regional states and neighboring countries lexicalized as a very important topic of the speech.

Additionally, the absence of peace lexicalized more and more to express the need of peace for development and for co-existence. Moreover, the president does not address the cause of the conflict and the responsible body. However, the president viewed conflict as internal problem rather than external problem.

Excerpt 43 since Ethiopia is our common home for both men and women we need to build it in oneness. ኢትዮጵያችን የወንዶችም የሴቶችም የጋራ ቤታችን ስለሆነች በጋራ ልንገነባት

ይገባል። in the above excerpt Ethiopia lexicalized as common home for her children and its habitant asked to build her in oneness understanding that Ethiopia is there common home.

4.2.8. Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Speech /Discourse

In this speech, the government and representatives of the government and all social actors directly mentioned.

Excerpt 50 Allow me to thank prime minster Abiy Ahmed, his family and his colleague who is leading such spectacular change.በመቀጠል ላይ የሚገኘው ለውጥ በመምራት ላይ

የሚገኙትን ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድን መላ ቤተሰባቸውን ከስራ ባልደረሳቸው ጋር ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Excerpt 3 Dr Mulatu Teshome is a respected person who whole-heartedly served his country for several years. ክቡር ዶ/ር ሙሉቱ ተሾመ የሚወዱአትን ሀገራቸውን ለበርካታ

ዓመተት ደከመኝ ሰለቸኝ ሳይሉ ያገለገሉ ትልቅ የሀገር ባለውለታ ናቸው።

Governmental representative Former president Muatu Teshome and Prime Minister Dr Abiy Ahmed directly mentioned. These two government political leaders mentioned positively and highly appreciated for what they have been doing for their country. The speech has arranged

only in direct speech feature. However, there is no direct quotation of people's idea or any historical speech of the past at all throughout the speech.

4.2.9. Use of Pronouns

There are some ideological uses made of the personal pronouns in the speech. The essence of using a pronoun in an utterance or writing is to substitute a noun in order to avoid monotony and boredom when it repeated. Wales (1996 in Chimbarange et al 2013) refers to a personal pronoun as a substitution of a noun. Pronouns can be used to refer back to something thereby avoiding repetition. In political speeches, personal pronouns are often used as a form of address, either to refer to an audience or to the speaker. The use of pronouns in political discourse goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar to self-emphasis, self-responsibility, inclusiveness, solidarity and unity of purpose among others. Irimiea (2010) cited in Al-Fakai (2014) is of the view that "the pronouns that political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. They can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency." Politicians who give speeches usually do it as representatives of political groups such as political parties, governments or nations, rather than as individuals. What they are allowed to say and how is often very limited, because one of the main goals of giving a political speech is to enhance the credibility of the politician in question.

The analysis carried out on the inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde on the 25th October 2018 exhibits universal use of personal pronouns. The pronouns **I**, **We**, **Us**, **my** and **our** are used pervasively in the speech more and more. Pronoun "**I**" is used to express personal feelings, personal responsibility or self-reference.

Excerpt 1. *Above all, I want express my heart felt delight and honor for being nominated to serve my country and its people as a head of the state.* ከሁሉም አስቀድሜ ሀገራንና ህዝቦቿን

እንዳገለግል ርዕሰ-ብሄር ሆኜ በመመረ የተሰማኝ ላቅ ያለ ክብርና ደስታ ለመግለጥ እወዳለሁ።

In this excerpt pronoun, I is used to express her personal feelings over president Mulatu Teshome’s displayed statesmanship. However, it echoed to “us and our” involving that the precedent set a role model for all Ethiopians at large.

Excerpt 46. As I stand before you as head of the state, I do not forget that I am the product of people who fought for equality and political freedom in this country. ዛሬ የኢትዮጵያ ፍዴራላዊት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሪፑብሊክ ፕሬዚዳንት ሆኜ ከፊታችሁ ስቆም ከእኛ በፊት ለህይወታቸው ሳይሳሱ ለሴቶች እኩልነት ለሃገራቸው ነጻነት ለታገሉ ሴቶችና ወንዶች ውጤት መሆኔን ለአፍታ ያክል የማልስተው መሆኔን ነው።

In this excerpt, “I” used to show the president’s belongingness, determination, and personal responsibility to insure the participation of women.

Excerpt. I call on the government to eradicate poverty with the full participation of women, as it is a source of instability.

Excerpt 37 if you thought I spoke too much about women already; know that I am just getting started. ስለሴት አብዝቼ የተናገርኩ የመሰላችሁ ገና ምኑ ተነክቶ።

In these excerpts pronoun I is used as personal reference of the president.

Excerpt 21 Me during my tenure my main focus will center on ensuring peace in the country. በዚህ የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሰላም ወዳድ ወንዶችን እንዲሁም በመላው ዓለም የሚገኙ ሰላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሰላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

The excerpts above portray President Sahlework Zewde as the right person for the position. She projects her personality as the only one who focuses on ensuring peace without the help of others.

Pronoun “We” is used to create shared sense of responsibility and group cohesion. It means that the speaker and the audience belong to the same team, have the same assignment/ purposes, or show solidarity.

Excerpt 4... what we have learned from this is that the hope of voluntarily stepping down from state power is flourishing. ከዚህ የምንማረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሃገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

Excerpt 36 we must build a generation that will not accept violence against women... የሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

Excerpt 10 the government and opposition parties have to understand we are living in a common house and focus on things that unite us, not what divide us, to create a country and generation that all of us proud. መንግስትም ሆነ ተጭካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድከወዲሁ በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

In the excerpts above, the president used the personal pronoun “We” which is in the subjective case is also used to show inclusive, solidarity and togetherness or collectivism. The parallel structures introduced by we in the above excerpt prompt feelings of strong hope for women right in the new government. We are, we must, and we can are all affirmative and

assertive. **We** in the above context have little referential meaning but it expresses unity of purpose and collectivism, which is attributes of new government, underlay its use.

My and **our** also used in possessive case to show belongingness and togetherness.

Excerpt 26 our dreams of building a great, prosperous Ethiopia cannot achieve without peace.

Excerpt 21 in my tenure, my focus will center on ensuring peace in the country.

Excerpt 21 the absence of peace victimizes firstly women, so in my tenure I will emphasize women's role in ensuring peace and the dividends of peace for women. በሰላም እጦት ዋነኛ ተጠቂ ሴቶች በመሆናችን በዚህ የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሰላም ወዳድ ወንዶችንሰላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሰላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

4.2.10. Rhetorical devices

This section focuses on the use of rhetorical devices that the president used to construct and strengthen her message. Bloor (2007:67) mentions that, rhetoric device used for the purpose of persuasion. President Sahlework used the following rhetorical devices to persuade her audience.

4.2.10.1. Paradox

Paradox refers to a statement contain two contradictory ideas that seem impossible but probably true.

Excerpt 10.....When someone builds, someone destroys, when one straggle in peaceful way, other should not straggle in violent way. ከነዚህም ፈተናዎች አንዱ ሲገነባ ሌላው በማፍረስ

ሳይሆን አንድ በሰላማዊ መንገድ ሌላው በትጥቅ ትግል ሳይሆን፤ መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድደልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ.....

The above excerpt shows the paradox that clearly seen in speech through the contradictory words *when someone builds, someone destroys*, The clause when someone builds signifies the ongoing effort of building the country by government while clause *someone destroys* signifies the distraction by the opposition party or the mass.

The country that once became the *pride of black people*, and ancient *civilization*, now became the symbol of *poverty and backwardness*. The president indicated this as an odd problem faced by the Ethiopian. The paradox pushes audiences to think how and why this country became the symbol of poverty and backwardness.

4.2.10.2. Metaphor

A metaphor used to perceive one kind of thing in terms of other kind of thing. *Women are the pillar of the country and a family*. In this *excerpt*, woman presented as a pillar of the country and a family. The rational house and a modern building are standing because of the pillars upholds them. If there is no pillar, there is house or a building. In much similar manner, it is the mother or a woman that uphold the country and the family. If there is no a mother or a woman, there is no family or country. This metaphor refers to the importance of a woman in all aspects of life and for building the country. As it is not impossible to build a sustainable house or building without a pillar, it is not possible to build a family and the country in the absence of women.

4.3. Interpretation / discursive practices/

This section has dedicated to the discursive practice and used to reconstruct the President Sahlework Zewde's production process in order to show how problems arise and how she tries to resolve them. Moreover, it used to reconstruct the interpretative processes of members of the audiences, to have knowledge about the resolutions work for the audience. To make the interpretation work the available data used from her production process with her own rationalizations of the textual choices she made.

4.3.1. Interpretation of Situational Context

In the level of interpretation, the most important and determining aspect of the interpretation is the situations that comprise the issue arise by the president in the process of production. The interpretation based up on the inaugural speech of President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech. In terms of 'what's going on', who is involved and in what relations, the subject positions for participants are: (i) speaker, addressee, and hearers (speaking and listening positions associated with the situation);

What is going on? This question needed to closely look in to the activity the topic and the purpose of the speech. The president delivered her political message in face level neither receiving some information nor having a discourse with the participants and members of the parliament. She effectively bound as a politician to see the institutional environment for the discourse as politics, to see discourse as a vehicle to pass political message, hearers as primarily associates of the public, and her as mainly a political leader. Her strategic purpose is to make a diplomatically promising impact on the members of the civic through the inaugural speech.

Who is involved? This is the question of the institution ascribes social identities to the subjects who function within it. The speech indicated that there is dual institutional status, there are two sets of identities ascribed to participants by institutions: the parliament/political institution or political leader and the audience/ social institute members of the public. Other relevant aspects of the participants are that president Sahlework Zewde is a woman speaking to both male and women listeners or to a mixed audience. Moreover, that the audience is likely to be socially and politically diverse though within limits given that this is a public discourse which covered in all media outlets. The hearers are primarily members of the parliament, TV viewers and the radio hearer, the journalist, the diplomats, and invited guests from different social institutions.

In what relation? This is the question of relation we look at the subject position and social distance. The president adopts relational elements of political discourse that express solidarity (let us work together etc.) with relational elements of a more traditional political discourse type that express authority climaxing on behalf of the people. She claims solidarity and declare her authority. She kept her social distance very close with the governing body and not with public in terms of procedure. Fairclough (2015) warns that there is a risk in claiming solidarity; one will be unable to sustain authority, which makes this a problematic mix to achieve. It is particularly problematic for the president Sahlework because of the traditional exclusion of women from political positions. Prior to Prime Minister Abiye the subject position of a political leader was a male position, including her presidential position. The president herself witnesses that Prime Minister Abiye Ahmed who has started appointing women on ministerial and presidential position.

4.3.2. The inter-textuality

The concept of inter-textuality founded on the notion that text cannot be viewed alone since texts are not produced or consumed alone but all texts must be understood in relation to other texts.

The president did not involve any citation from any other book or from known people's say to support her conviction or to attack political opponents, though in the texts used as references to opponents. There are, however, a small number of covert suggestions to them, which she regard in accordance with as references to oppositional texts in the inter-textual context.

Excerpt 11 “*The ongoing lack of peace... Apart peace, there is no option or short cut to build a big country.*” ትልቅ ሀገር የመገንባት ህልግችንን እውን ለማድረግ ከሰላም ውጭ ምንም አቋራጭም ሆነ አማራጭ የለንም። This clause indicated that the speech is string up the past lack of peace and the present scenario of peace. “*The ongoing lack of peace*” indicated the bad condition of the country while “*there is no option or shortcut to peace...*” indicated the importance of peace. These clauses show that the level of conflict and the ongoing process. The existences of these utterances are used as reference to the past to reawaken the fresh memories of the near past and remote past conflict that took the life of dozens of Ethiopians.

ስለዚህ ሁላችንም ሰላማችንን አጥብቀን እንድንጠብቅ ከሁሉም በላይ ሰላም ሲታወክ በምትሰቃየው እናት ስም አጥብቄ እጠይቃለሁ። this clause also indicated the presidents urge to all public to uphold peace and avoid conflict. The issue of peacekeeping is not expected form some group or government only but it is an assignment given to public at

large. The president again urges the public to end conflict and uphold peace for the sake of their mother who suffers in the absence of peace.

Fairclough suggests that to understand inter-textuality, one need to ask what traces are there in the features of the text of struggle between the producer and opponents by looking at negative sentences. Based upon the fact the inter-textual use of negative sentence has investigated as follow: Negative assertions evoke and reject corresponding positive assertions in the inter-textual context.

Excerpt 16 *the government and opposition parties have to understand we are living in a common house and focus on things that unite us, **not** what divide us, to create a country and generation that all of us proud.*

This excerpt is rather more difficult than this recommend in the case of the negative assertions of excerpt 16 and 17 “*our journey to development is expected to be complicated. Among this complication, one is that when someone builds, someone destroys, when one straggle in peaceful way, other should **not** straggle in violent way.*”

The point is that in alluding to opposition texts in the inter-textual context, the president standardly reformulate them, replacing for the wording of their opponents an ideologically contrasting wording of their own. In this case, for instance, the president is alluding to and arguing against positive assertions, which are more likely to be, expressed, as something like people need guidance or people are agreeable to receive direction.

Excerpt 31 *There is **no** country, nor family that built by men only. በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም::* the president also emphasized about societal progress regarding gendered aspect as oppose to the above idea. In excerpt 38 and 39 she point out that at list few men are start changing their mind about women. She supported this truth

with evidence by referring to the historic appointment of 20 women ministers in different ministerial office. ... ጥቂት ወንዶች ስለ ሴቶች መገንዘብ የጀመሩበት ጊዜ በመሆኑ ይህንን መልዕክት ለመስማት ልባቸው ቅርብ የሆነበት ሰዓት እንደሆነ ስለተገነዘቡኩ ነው። ለዚህ እንደማሳያ የሚያግዘኝ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ከ20 የካቢኔ ሚኒስትሮች ሃምሳ በመቶ ሴቶች እንዲሆኑ መደረጉ የእኔም ለዚህ ትልቅ ክብር መብቃት ተጠቃሽ ናቸው። some of the female ministers were appointed to portfolios traditionally considered as men's domain, including the ministry of defense and the newly established ministry of peace. The president appreciated Prime Minister Abiye for ensuring gender parity in the political system.

ይህም በየክልሉ በየደረጃው ባሉ እርከኖች በየማህበሩ ሊቀጥል እንደሚችል እተማመናለሁ ይህም በቀጣይ የጋራ ትግል ሊደገፍ ይገባዋል።

Moreover, she shared her expectation that this kinds of gender parity should experience in all regional states levels of ranks. She also indicated that this idea should supported by all stakeholders' continuous effort to make it happen

Excerpt 36 we need to build a generation that will not accept violence against women.

የሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

Here the president also used the negation to show the gender discrimination that exists in the society and to emphasize the role and the importance of peace to build a big country. The president did not use negation to reject some party but to evoke an action and acceptance of facts. The president did not make anybody accountable for the existence of gender discrimination. Generally she used in the elements of inter-textuality in her speech to explain the existing and the ongoing lack of peace, the importance of peace and the existence of gender discrimination. The president also underlined the importance of women's and young

people's participation in building a democratic culture. She address that the current appointment gives women the opportunity to influence policy and political agendas in a way that reflects their needs and aspirations. The president also address the chance to development and prosperity and gender equality should not be left to women alone, but it should be given to young generation so that they can have equal chance to use the recourses and to fight against poverty. ስለ ዕድገትና ብልፅግና ስናወራደግሞ ስለሴቶችና ወጣቶች እኩልነት ተሳታፊነትና ተጠቃሚነት እያነሳን መሆኑን በመረዳት መላው የሃገራችን ሴቶችና ወጣቶች በርትታችሁ የልማቱ ተሳታፊበመሆን ድህነትን በጋራ እንድናስወግድ አደራ እላለሁ።

The future has viewed as complicated and challenging.ገዛው ውስብስብና በርካታ ፈተናዎች ያሉበት እንደሚሆን ይጠበቃል ...the president has emphasized the future will be complicated and challenging due to ongoing violence across the country. In addition, the president has suggested the need of unity between opposition party and government and between nations to avoid un necessary dispute that affect the peace process. Moreover, she suggested focusing on what unite us rather than focusing on what separates us. Further, she suggested the use our homegrown religious and cultural conflict solving methods and developing common house mentality to address problems and to enhance the current change.

4.3.3. Sensationalization

An examination of how the speech is used to effect of the use words indicated that the president presented women in hyperbolic manner by sensationalizing women's non-stop struggle to overcome life. She used words like, “without having proper sleep”, “without having enough food”, “without having enough rest,” and “without having enough income.” The above excerpt shows that the president used Words that arises emotion and consideration to overstate women straggle to overcome the challenges of life. The president women's

representation is uniform. Its message seems to encourage the women to keep their struggle up until they see change. However, associating women with suffering only can be considered as exaggeration as oppose to the new environment that accept women's leadership.

An unpremeditated listener would attempt to accept that the old day's type of male dominance over women is still same. In this regard, the aim of the speech is to attract the mass of unpremeditated audience.

4.3.3.1. Quantification

There is an adoption of different discursive strategy for emphasizing concerns on the importance of the issue. Quantification used to attain trustworthiness with the audience. However, it is not dominant style in the President Sahlework Zewd's inaugural speech. The basic propositions that mentioned were the years of Dr Mulatu's service, African countries, the new political journey, and mysteries of Ethiopian poverty.

- Excerpt 3..... Dr Mulatu has served his country for many years...
- Excerpt 4..... Things, which could not been applied in many African countries....
- Excerpt 9 Our journey is surrounded with plenty of challenges...
- Excerpt 23the mystery why Ethiopia stay poor for many years...

The discursive practice of quantification applied in this speech is to emphasize the deep-rooted lack of peace and to appreciate Dr Mulatu Teshome for his exemplary action.

4.3.4. Nominalization

According to Fowler (1991:79), nominalization is a process of a sentence that converted into a nominal group. Some of the sentential components, like tense, modality, agents, etc., are deleted in the nominal group. Nominalization encompasses two verbal groups that can divide into simple sentences. As Fowler (1991:80) points out, "nominalization is a radical syntactic

translation of a clause which has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities.” He believes that nominalization is “inherently, potentially, mystificatory”

President Sahlework nominalized ideas like *‘Ethiopian women long struggle for equality, Ethiopian victory over Italian and Ethiopian oldest civilization , lack of peace as potential reason for poverty and back wardens , the absence of peace, eradication of poverty, and political freedom, Religion and ethnic discrimination.*

In the inaugural speech of the president, there is a usage of non- human participants constructed as agent. *The absence of peace ... no option or a shortcut to peace ... eradicates poverty... lack of peace.*

These clauses, indicated that there are internal factors that affect the countries development, and they presented balanced than exaggeration. However, the speech does not answer why conflict, gender inequality and religious and ethnic inequality happened in the country. In addition to this, the agency or responsible bodies for all these are not clearly mentioned.

In sum, the president was strategically bounced responsibility to keep her from invited risk that occurs as a result of accusing others. The possible actors involved could be government authorities and others. Therefore, the nominalization holds much ideological attachment to those who play active role as an actor in those days.

4.3.5. Presupposition

According to Richardson, (2007, 63) “A presupposition is a taken-for –granted, implicit claim embedded within the explicit means of a text or utterance. Presuppositions are marked in a variety of ways in texts.”

According to Yule (1996:27)

Presupposition can be considered in linguistics form as indicators of potential presupposition, which can only become actual presupposition in context with speakers. Based on theory that revealed by Yule, presupposition divided into six types. They are existential presupposition, factive presupposition, lexical presupposition, structural presupposition, non-factive presupposition, and counterfactual presupposition. Existential Presupposition Existential presupposition is the assumption assumed to be committed to the existence of entities named by speaker and assumed present in noun phrase.

The inaugural speech made by president Sahlework Zewde presupposed meanings caused by negation, like no, and nor.

There is no country, nor a family that was built by men only women are the pillar of the country, as well as the family.I will emphasize women's role in ensuring..... dividence of peace for women. ...excerpt 45.... the majority of men still need to be told about gender equality. ይህ አውነት እንደሆነ የሚረዱ ወንድሞቻችን እንዳሉ ባውቅም ሰፊ ቁጥር ያለው ህዝባችን ግን በዚህ ጉዳይ ተደጋግሞ ሊነገረው ይገባል።

The above excerpt shows how president presupposed meaning related to the gender inequality in Ethiopia. Clauses like; there is no country, nor a family, I will emphasize women's role, and majority is used to voice the experience of unfair gender discrimination in Ethiopia.

In addition to gender inequality, the president presupposed meaning related to absence of peace or conflicts in the country, which presupposed by the following clauses:

The absence of peace.....focus on the things that unites us not divides us....I urge you to uphold our peace....prosperous Ethiopia cannot be achieved without peace.....my main focus will center on ensuring peace. Words like unite, divide, and absence of peace.

These excerpts show that the president presupposed the meaning related to increased conflict in the country. She addressed the issue of conflict through definite articles *the absence of peace, the things that unit us not divide us.*

In sum, in the speech discourse just examined, presupposition is associated to share evidence about indirect ideological statements that communicated to the audience without being openly declared and justified. The analysis of President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech has shown that the speaker presupposed some vital bits of evidence related to gender inequality and increasing conflict all over the country. The drawn presuppositions in the speech permitted to find out the ideology of masculine domination in Ethiopia and the current absence of peace.

4.4. Social Analysis (Explanation)

This part is concentrated on the socio- cultural practice which text or speech emerges or happens to emerge. The explanation of the inaugural speech is more concerned with the broader ideological context within it occurs: situational, institutional, and societal contexts. Thus, in this level, the institutional matrix of the discourse processes explained in relation to power, which they are ideologically determined, and what discourse they belong to in relation to the mass public they constitute in her speech.

4.4.1. The Relations or Representation of Different Social Groups

According to (Hailliday, 2004:214; Simpson 2004:25-26) the relational process are key grammatical tools for classifying, assessing, identifying, and evaluating people concepts and

objects. In this section, relational process examined to discover how the former president, women's, men, young people, leaders of political parties has classified in the speech. Further the analysis seeks to find out whether there are particular negative attribute associated with the above social group.

Excerpt 3 and 4 Dr Mulatu Teshome is a respected person who whole heartedly served his country for several years. His volunteer stepping down teaches us those things, which were not been possible for many African countries, became possible in Ethiopia. ክቡር ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ የሚወዱአትን ሀገራቸውን ለበርካታ ዓመተት ደከመኝ ሰለቸኝ ሳይሉ ያገለገሉት ልቅ የሀገር ባለውለታ ናቸው። ከዚህ የምንማረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሀገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

The relational process in this excerpt develops positive approach towards the former president. The president appreciated Dr Mulatu's past service, his present action and his future carrier. In this sentence we can see that the attitude of positive us and negative others.

Excerpt 4 “Words like things which have not been possible for many African countries....”

This sentence represents the ideological change in Ethiopia and a moral decay in most of the African countries with leaders with regards to a voluntarily power transfer. In addition to the above, this sentence represents an ‘otherizing’ discourse in which other African countries have portrayed as carriers of negative attribute. President Sahlework Zewde implicitly portrayed Dr Mulatu Thshome in positive light through the declarative sentence:

Excerpt 4, His voluntarily stepping down teaches us that there is the hope of things, which were not been possible for many African countries starting possible in Ethiopia. ከዚህ

የምንግረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሃገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

There is additional ideology of positive past and negative present. “Which were not been possible for many African countries starting possible in Ethiopia” this very sentence shows the ideology of positive us and negative others. The president for their faller to volunteer stepping down blames African countries leaders. She considered the volunteer stepping down of former president Dr Mulatu Theshome as unusual steep compared to other African leader.

Politicians are always presenting themselves or their group in positive light while shading negative light on others. They do this by adopting socially shared mental models. However, the president appreciates the past by condemning the present scenario as it has indicated in excerpt below:

Excerpt 23 In my view, the very reason why the country that once used to be the Symbol of freedom for the black people, the beginner of ancient civilization, and the home of all Africans, now became the symbol of backwardness and poverty is because of lack of peace. ለጥቁር ህዝቦች የኩራት ምንጭ የጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ መነሻና የአፍሪካዊያን መሰባሰቢያ ምሳሌ ሆና የቆየችው ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የደህንነትና የኋላ ቀርነት ምሳሌ ሆና ለዘመናት የመቆየት ሚስጥር በእኔ እምነት ዋነኛው የሰላም እጦት ነው።

In this excerpt, the president indicated that our past was better than our present. She shaded positive light on our past and negative light on our present. The ideology of positive past and negative present has captured in the way she projects both past and present.

The country that used to be a symbol of freedom for the black people.... indicates how the president shades positive light on past while the clause *now became the symbol of backwardness ...* shows the negative light the president shades on the present.

4.4.2. The Relational Process Attributed to Women and men

Excerpt: *There is no nation, nor family, that has built by men only. Women are the pillar of a nation and a family.*

The relational process in this sentence develops a positive sense towards women. Women represented as pillar of a nation and a family. It is possible to see the ideology of positive self. The reason for this information seems to indicate the subtle influence of men over women's promotion to power. The idea of positive self-further showed in excerpt below:

Excerpt 47 If we women are learned / educate ourselves/, we can take any form of responsibility.

This excerpt is additional excerpt that affirms positive self. It encourages women to aspire any form of position by being qualified themselves through education. The president further affirmed this idea by using her own experience and perception as an example.

Excerpt 31 there is no country, nor a family that was built by men only. We need to build a generation that does not accept violence against women. በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም። የሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

In these excerpts, men attributed as dominant and violent people that do respect women's right. The president may attribute this idea to show her commitment to promote women's role. Men negatively presented in the speech while few of them admired for their work to insure women's role. The president also indicated that the massive male mind is not changing.

Excerpt 45 though there are few brothers who understand the issue of gender equality the majority of the people need to be told repeatedly. ይህ አውነት እንደሆነ የሚረዱ ወንድሞቻችን እንዳሉ ባውቅም ሰፊ ቁጥር ያለው ህዝባችን ግን በዚህ ጉዳይ ተደጋግሞ ሊነገረው ይገባል።

In this excerpt also the men are characterized negatively for not believing in women's equality and for not accepting in women's equal participation..

Excerpt10 Both government and oppositional political parties have to understand that we are living in common house..... መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድይልቅ....በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

In this excerpt both government and oppositional political parties were represented as responsible parties in building the nation and country. Moreover, the president also addressed to aside their difference to work for common goal.

4.4.3. The Relations of President Sahlework and the People

To understand the relation of the president it is wise to ask and answer what relation values the text feature have and to pay attention to the speaker's use of pronoun.

“We.” The president use the pronoun “we” mainly in excerpt (4) and (36) both inclusively and exclusively. The inclusive use of pronoun “we” is indicated in excerpt 4” *what we have learned from this is that the hope of voluntarily steeping down form state power is flourishing in Africa.*” ከዚህ የምንማረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሃገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

This utterance is relationally significant in that it represented her audience and everyone else in the same boat.

“We.” Again, the president used pronoun *we* inclusively in excerpt 36 “*we must build a generation that will not tolerate violence against women.*” የሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

This use also has relational value in that it represented the public and the men in particular. In its inference it address that there is still a male dominance in the country. However, she does not want to point it out exclusively.

The president assimilated herself with the public. However, it is not clear that whom exactly being claimed for the un volunteer stepping down from power. As pronoun *we* refers to the people of Ethiopia in general claims has to made about the collective which do not necessarily hold for any particular members of it.

“You”.The pronoun *you* is mainly used as indefinite pronoun referring the people of Ethiopia in general, and the women of Ethiopia exclusively. It occurs most in excerpt (29), (30), and (41) the relational value of the pronoun *you* partially to do with the significance choosing it rather than *one*.

Excerpt 46 “those of *you* who are testifying that the women are equal with men through your hard working in different field....” በተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ከወንዶች ወንድሞቻችሁ እኩል ወይም በላይ ደፋ ቀና የምትሉ እህቶቼና ልጆቼ ሁሉ... On other hand, the president used the pronoun “*you*” to show solidarity and communality in working class women as indicated in above sentence. By using the pronoun *you*, the president is able to pass on her practice and her perception as those of the people in general. In addition, by implication she claims herself the states she hold.

4.4.4. The Relational Values of the Vocabulary

The type of vocabulary used by the president is very understandable by the audience. It seems that she oriented to her hearer rather than the politicians out there. She selected words, which show her solidarity with the public. Example;

Excerpt 33 *When women suffer, family will suffers, when family suffers a young generation will suffer, woman is a family and a family is the smallest unit / foundation /of a country.*

ሴቶች ሲጎዱ ቤተሰብ ይጎዳል ከሁሉ በላይ የወደፊት ሀገር ተረካቢ ይጎዳል ስለዚህ ሴት ቤተሰብ ነች ቤተሰብ ደግሞ የሀገር ምሳሌ ነው።

These words are very familiar words with all ordinary people. She did not use sophisticated political language to address the public though the speech is political discourse. This helps her to be specific about her vision and aspiration. She did not engage in abstract debate in politics. Her vocabulary usage shifts from technical political term to an ordinary language. Her subject is also not populist but feminist. In most cases, she addresses women rather than the whole public in general. Perhaps this is because of her gender and past experience she has been passed through and the present hope of assigning women in political leadership.

4.4.5. President’s Assertion about the People

According to fairclough (2010:183), it is very important to raise questions about the significance of this assertion in terms of relationship the speaker has with his / her audience. Based upon this fact the researcher try to see the relationship the president has to the audience in the parliament, political leaders and to the people in general. It is also important to see if she used authority to tell people what they are like or if she assimilates herself with the public. The president made an assertion about the people.

Excerpt 12 I urge you all, to keep our peace, in the name of a mother who is the first to suffer from the absence of peace. ስለዚህ ሁላችንም ሰላማችንን አጥብቀን እንድንጠብቅ ከሁሉም በላይ ሠላም ሲታወክ በምትሰቃየው እናት ስም አጥብቄ እጠይቃለሁ።

This excerpt shows that the president made assertion to all her audience in the parliament and to the public in general. Though she believes that there is lack of peace, in all the country she did not tell people what they are like or she did not say you are violent, but she simply urge her audience to uphold their peace. She is not authorizing her audience as a president or as a leader but she asks for corporation.

The other assertion has made to the government and oppositional parties in excerpt 25 and 27

Excerpt 25 I call up on the government to eradicate poverty with the full participation of women, as it is a source of instability. Here she claims she is the right person to tell the government bodies about the action they should carries on. She used word *I call on* as a reference to her authority.

Excerpt 27the government official and leaders of opposition parties need to work together towards democracy so that citizen should exercise freedom of speech and works towards peace... ስዘላቂ ሠላም መረጋገጥ ዋስትና ያለው ዲሞክራሲ እጅግ ተፈላጊ በመሆኑ የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዙም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ዲሞክራሲ ስር እንዲሰድ ዜጎች ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት በመግለፅ ሠላማቸውን ማስጠበቅም ሆነ ለልማት እንዲተጉ በኃላፊነት መንፈስ መስራት ይገባቸዋል

In this excerpt, the president made assertion towards the government and oppositional party leaders to work together towards democracy. Generally, the textual feature has values of both solidarity and authority there is no much distinction between social relations and social identity.

4.4.6. Subject Position of Women Political Leaders.

Excerpt: line 37 *if you thought I spoke too much about women already; know that I am just getting started.* ስለሴት አብዛኛዬ የተናገርኩ የመሰላችሁ ገና ምኑ ተነክቶ።

The president was in dilemma to tell that she has committed herself to put particular emphasis on the need of uncompromised women political leadership. However, she managed to position herself as apolitical leader who has this quality and ability of leadership.

The excerpt shows that the president has a lot of things or topics to say about women in general but her speech and reality on the ground shows that only few women have achieved position of prominence in the politics and in other professions. Additionally she addresses that women face different challenges inside and outside home and strategically she condemn the masculine society that does not allow feminine dominance and all the systems arranged in masculine way.

She further placed herself as apolitical leader in excerpt 6 and 7: *above all, I want to express my heart felt delight and honor for being nominated to serve my country as a head of the state.* This is additional excerpt where the president poisoned herself as a political leader.

In line 47: *I am the product of people who fought for equality and political freedom in this country. Moreover, I will work hard to serve them.*

This excerpt is also an indication that the president has positioned herself as apolitical leader where she can serve the people who fought for equality and political freedom.

4.4.7. Modality Choice and Recurrent Theme

As Fairclough (2010:127) stated the concept of modality is an important one for both relational and expressive values in grammar. Modality is to do with speaker or writer

authority, and there are two dimensions to modality, depending on what direction authority is oriented in. Firstly, if it is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others, we have relational modality. Secondly, if it is a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality expressive modality, the modality of the speaker or writer evaluation of the truth.

Fairclough (2010:183) also suggests that modality helps to answer question about what values do textual feature have in terms of the subject position of the producer. The president used modality in her speech. The modality predominantly shown in excerpt 10, 12, 36 the relational meanings of obligation expressed by the modal auxiliaries like have *to*, *and*, *must* and the expressive modality of categorical truth expressed by present tense. The president used all modalities in an authoritative position to show what must be done.

Excerpt 12 *we **need to** work on peace for the sake of our mothers.*

Excerpt 36 *we **must** build a generation that will not accept violence against women.*

Excerpt 10 *the government and opposition parties **have to** understand we are living in a common house and focus on things that unite us, not what divide us, to create a country and generation that all of us proud.*

The president used some modal auxiliaries such as **Must**, **have to**, and **will**. Both **must** and **have to** used to show obligation and strong recommendation in the speech. In addition, **will** as future tense auxiliary. *Must* convey the personal authority of the president and *have to* conveys obligation based upon some external compulsion that may be the rule of an institution or government. Here speech implies that the obligation is not just based up on her speech but in some unspecified way based in the nature of government as if the claims she making about government were matter of rather than an opinion. In the excerpt, the president enlists

her audience into her team. The president did not use modals of probability, modals of ability modals of possibility and advice.

4.4.8. The Ideological Use of the Modal “will” in the Selected Text

The modal ‘will’ according to Fairclough (2010) is a high affinity modal used to mark futurity. It involves the addresser making a high level of commitment to the proposition he is making.

‘*Will*’ is also used as a tool for Personality Profiling. The modal ‘*will*’ used 5 times as shown in the extracts below:

- a. ‘My focus will center on ensuring peace.’
- b. ‘I will work hard to serve them’ “Ethiopia”
- c. ‘..the next generation that will inherit the country.’
- d. ‘..When there is no peace in the country mothers will be suffering.’
- e. ‘..a generation that will not accept violence against women.’

The examples given above show the use of the Modal verbs in the selected text. Significantly, ‘will’ has used by President Sahlework Zewde to demonstrate her political will and commitment. She uses the modal ‘will’, which signals a relatively higher degree of certainty about the validity of the proposition, to show her strong desire and determination to ensure peace and gender equality.

The modal ‘will’ in (a) indicates her personal commitment to serve women. This exemplifies an instance of Ideology of personality profiling, that is, the speaker portrays herself as very committed to work on gender equality. In (b and c) the modal ‘will’ is followed by the

lexical verb ‘inherit ‘and ‘suffer” which shows the commitment of the president to fix the issue of violence against women and children or young generation.

Greenbaun (1973:48-53) shall foregrounds certainty and not probability of the promises enumerated and, as such, politicians not only use it to assure the constituency of the certainty of their promises but also to indirectly encourage and persuade women. Her choice of ‘will’ instead of ‘shall’ can, therefore, be viewed as strategy to help her to across as more diplomatic and reliable in the eyes of the audience while at the same enable her escape in case her promise may not come true in any case.

4.4.9. The Appearance of the President

As it known, different societies and cultures are likely to have different dress codes. Dress codes are symbolic indications of different social philosophies, including social class, cultural identity, and attitude towards well-being, tradition, political or religious associations. We Ethiopians also have our dressing code called habesh libse that make as different from others.

The president dressed herself with handmade Ethiopian cultural close /habesha kemis / she wears an eyeglass, necklace, and earnings and her gray hair carefully groomed. The appearance of the president was very much appropriate for the place. She did not westernize herself through her dressings. She did not reflect any political and religious association. However, she associated herself with long existing cultural dressing style.

4.4.10. Subject position: the people

Fairclugh (2010:185) stated that

any political party or political tendency needs to have a social base, some section or sections of a population whom it can claim to represent and can look

to for support; it is commonplace for parties to project this social base onto the whole population, claiming that 'the people' have the properties of their own supporters. However, social bases do not necessarily exist readymade; they (and by implication 'the people') often have to be constituted by welding together diverse social groupings into a coherent political constituency.

To understand the subject position of the people it is important to ask question about what values do textual feature have with respect to the subject positions of the members of the audience. Excerpts in line 14 indicated the subject position of the people that implicitly contributes to the character of the people.

Excerpt eight, if the current change in Ethiopia headed equally by both men and women, it can sustain its momentum and realize a prosperous Ethiopia free of religious, ethnic and gender discrimination. የጀመርነው የለውጥ ጉዞ በሴቶችም ሆነ በወንዶች እኩል ተሳታፊነትና ዜጎችን ከፆታ ከብሄር፣ ከሃይማኖትም ሆነ ከሌሎች መድሎ በፀዳ መልኩ በእኩልነት የምንኖርባትን ኢትዮጵያ እውን እንደሚያደርግ እተማመናለሁ።

The excerpts indicated the current change and the quality of the people: this excerpt shows that there is a religious discrimination, ethnic discrimination, and gender discrimination among the people. The public is not positioned as discrimination free society in the speech.

Excerpt 31 *There is no country, nor a family, that was built by men only. Women are the pillars of a country, as well as a family.* In this excerpt, the people have positioned as traditionally conservative patriarchal society that hurt women. Moreover, there male are positioned as dominator over the women in the speech.

Excerpt 12 *.When there is no peace in the country, mothers will be frustrated, and therefore we need to work on peace for the sake of our mothers.*

The excerpt positioned the public as peace-less. It implicitly contributes to the conflict and lack of peace among the people. The clauses *we need to work on peace* indicate the stage of the conflict among the people.

4.5. Summary of the Analysis

The inaugural speech generally has different parts: protocol, appreciation, declaration of intention, and the first lines of the speech consists protocol. In addition, it is following the standard structure of the formal speech like this. The president expresses her filling over the election. In this part of the speech following the protocol, the president acknowledged, appreciated, and thanked her precedsored Dr Mulatu Teshome for his past service and voluntarily stepping down from the power to smooth the transition. She raised several issues in the body and in the conclusion she gives acknowledgment to the concerned body and thank God for giving her this chance.

4.5.1. Appeal for Unity and Peace

Following the protocol and the appreciation, in the opening speech the president appeals for unity.

Excerpt 10 government and opposition parties have to understand we are living in a common house focus on the things that unite us, not what divide us , to create a country and a generation that all of us proud. መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ ከወዲሁ በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

In addition to this, she appeals for gender equality: *Excerpt, eight if both men and women head the current change in Ethiopia equally, it can sustain its momentum and realize a prosperous Ethiopia free of religious, ethnic, and gender discrimination.* የጅመርነው የለውጥ ጉዞ በሴቶችም ሆነ በወንዶች እኩል ተሳታፊነትና ዜጎችን ከፆታ ከብሄር፣ ከሃይማኖትም ሆነ ከሌሎች መድሎ በፀዳ መልኩ በእኩልነት የምንኖርባትን ኢትዮጵያ እውን እንደሚያደርግ እተማመናለሁ።

The above excerpts are an indication of the fact that the president asked both government and oppositional parties to work together towards national unity to strengthen the new change that the new administration steps in. The president is indicating that the lack of peace, conflict, and inequality are inherited challenges. The President assured all Ethiopians the determination of her administration to work towards peace.

From appealing for unity the president, pick up the home challenging issues of gender, religion and ethnic discrimination among the nation. She mentioned of these challenges as sensitive area that needs solution. Moreover, she assured the public that she will work towards peace and security of women. She urged the public, to uphold their peace in the name of all mothers who is the first to suffer in the absence of peace.

4.5.2. Analysis Inauguration plan and Ideology

It is very common for the new political leaders to highlight their tasks ahead and strategies to embark upon them. “*I feel great honor that am elected to serve my country and its people.*” The excerpt above shows that how the president intends to obtain the new presidential office. “*Our dreams of building a great prosperous Ethiopia.....*” the pronoun “*we*” resounded that the president believes in unity of purpose and collective responsibilities to solve home

problems. In order to face the great task ahead, the president declared some new measures chosen by new administration.

The analysis of the ideological aspect of President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech attempts to link social process and make sense of hidden ideology of speech. **ሆላም ለልማትና ብልፅግና ቅድመ ሁኔታ በመሆኑ ዘላቂነቱ ያለ ልማትና ብልፅግና ስለማይረጋገጥም ዘላቂ ልማት እንዲኖረን ሴቶችም ሆነ ወንዶች፤ ወጣቶች ሆነ ጎልማሶች ሁላችንም የጥረታችን ተጠቃሚ ልንሆን ይገባናል።** the president addressed the sustainable development and prosperity. She focused on what Ethiopian will share together in the future when they can uphold their peace. This excerpt “We need to be a beneficiary of our labor” is a clear indication of her preference of a kind of discourse that spotlight on common benefit, common contribution to peace and development. The president refers inclusive discourse rather than divisive discourse, which is indicative a shift of discourse. The president also addressed the role and participation of all people to build long lasting peace.

In addition to this, the president addressed **Ethiopia** as **poor and peace less** country. *...”the country that once became the source of pride for black people... source of ancient civilization... and home of African” has become poor and example of backwardness is only because of lack of peace,* **ለጥቁር ህዝቦች የከራራት ምንጭ የጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ መነሻና የአፍሪካዊያን መሰባሰቢያ ምሳሌ ሆና የቆየችው ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የደህንነትና የኋላ ቀርነት ምሳሌ ሆና ለዘመናት የመቆየት ሚስጥር በእኔ እምነት ዋነኛው የሰላም እጦት ነው።**the president appreciated **Ethiopian** past as a time of civilization and pride while she indicated the Ethiopian present as time of poverty and as time of continues dispute. In addition, she reasoned out lacks of peace as the source of poverty and urges public to aspire peace and contribute to suitable peace.

4.5.3. Conceptual Analysis

The president expressed two concepts in her speech. The first one is historical allusion meant to draw the attention of the people to unity and hardworking left by founding fathers of the country. Secondly, the personal pronouns were used to make reference of personal and shared responsibilities in leading of the new government and to express positive us and negative others especially African leaders.

4.5.4. Historical Allusion

The president used historical allusion to draw the attention of the public to the standard of patriotism, social justice, and co-existence and work hard towards civilization that established by our great ancestor in good golden old days, which established a progressive nation.

Excerpt 23 the country that once became the source of pride for black people... source of ancient civilization... and home of African... ለጥቁር ሀዘቦች የኩራት ምንጭ የጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ መነሻና የአፍሪካዊያን መሰባሰቢያ ምሳሌ ሆና የቆየችው ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የደህንነትና የኋላ ቀርነት ምሳሌ ሆና ለዘመናት የመቆየት ሚስጥር በእኔ እምነት ዋነኛው የሰላም እቦት ነው።

Here it shows that the president disposed the present day government's failure of building unity and harmony between citizens and failure of building hardworking generation that strives for civilization.

4.5.5. Ending

The president ended her speech by restoring her protocol, which used in the beginning of the speech. She acknowledged all the Ethiopian the martyred that fought for the right of women, her father and mother, His excellence Dr Abiy Ahmed and his family as well as his

colleagues. Finally, she concluded her message by praising God, the public and the government for getting the opportunity to serve as head of the state.

4.5.6. Institutional Process

Fairclough stated that the institutional matrix of the discourse is complex, for politics actually cuts across a number of social institutions, political parties, political institutions, governmental institutions, and the media. The institutional matrix for President Sahlework Zewde is the parliament. The straggle for political support that indicated in her speech is to ensure peace in the country and to ensure dividends of peace for women by closely working with government and international organization who work on peace. In this regard, the speech reflects authority in some way and solidarity and unity among political parties, among men and women in other hand. Therefore, it is wise to classify the speech of the president as ideologically determinative to social relationship.

4.5.7. Societal Process

The societal process marked by the struggle between different forces like government and opposition parties. The president viewed the current situation as challenging due to dis unity and lack of peace. ከነዚህም ፈተናዎች አንዱ ሲገነባ ሌላው በማፍረስ ሳይሆን አንድ በሰላማዊ መንገድ ሌላው በትጥቅ ትግል ሳይሆን፤ መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ ስር የሰደደ ጥላቻና መናናቅን አልፎ አልፎ የሚታውን ጠብ በኢትዮጵያዊ ጨዋነት እና በዳቦረ የቤተ-ሰብዎች ጥበብና የሽምግልና ስርዓት ከወዲሁ በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

There is a very deep-rooted hostility, violence and undermining among the nation, politicians, government authorities, and ethnics. The public are organizing themselves based on their ethnic background. There are bad hostile environments in all ethnic groups against each other. Still the relation of power holders is very authorities and segregating. However, the president urges all the public, the government and the oppositional political parties to work towards unity and peace. In addition to this, the political parties expected to promote co-existence and nationalism by applying both the long existing cultural and religious conflict-solving methods to create a country all generation proud of it.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMERY OF FINDING

5.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the major findings of the study, makes conclusions, and presents the implications from the findings of the study. It begins by discovering the summary of objectives and the method adopted in the study then into the major findings of the study. Then it goes ahead to present the conclusions of the study and the implications for further research. The chapter is close with recommendations for further research.

5.1.1. Summary of Aims and Methods

The major objective of the study was to ask how the Modality choices help realizes both experiential and interpersonal meaning in relation to socio- political setting of the target speech. This has done by questioning ideologies and power relations brought out through the stated linguistic choices. The study has guided by four key postulations. First that our words, written or spoken, express a broad sense of meaning which can be recognized based on speakers social, political and historical backgrounds.

Secondly, that speaker's words are never neutral but carriers of ideology that reflects and supports interests of the speaker. Thirdly, that those who granted institutional governance play an important role in determining and legitimizing discourses and social relations since the words of those in power often taken as absolute truth. Fourthly, while discourses used for declaration of power and control, they can also use to assess, challenge, and even challenge the same power relations. In line with the above opinions, the study required to answer the following queries:

1. How the interpersonal meaning realized through modality choices?
2. What are the predominant political messages of the speech?

3. To What social relations does she draw her audience?

4. How different social agents represented discursively in this inaugural speech of the president?

The study adopted qualitative research method. Data obtained from President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural speech. The study was informed by the theoretical tenets of Fairclough's (2014, 2003, 1992 & 1981) Critical Discourse Analysis which view language as a central tool in the reflection, reinforcement and sustenance of irregular power relations.

In order to expose the ideologies and power relations, Fairclough's three-dimensional model of analysis adopted to describe, interpret and explain the grammatical choices and discourse strategies used in the speech. This implies that the study was descriptive in nature focusing on both micro and macro discourse analysis. At the micro level, the analysis based on the examination of transitivity patterns through the choices of process types and participant roles. The modality choices interrogated at this level to find out the relational representation of participants, particularly to find out whose views represented as more authoritative and whom the modal markers alleviate.

5.1.2. Key Findings of the Study

The study has shown a number of instances where argumentative idea of gender inequality represented as factual.

Investigation of the inaugural speech has indicated that the discourse dominated by the messages such as peace, gender equality and notional unity.

Investigation of the inaugural speech has indicated that the discourse address the need of true democracy for sustainable pace.

The investigation of the discourse indicated the president's preference discourse that spotlight on common benefit, common contribution to peace and development.

Investigation of the inaugural speech has indicated that the president refers inclusive discourse rather than divisive discourse, which is indicative a shift of discourse

The investigation of the speech showed that the use of pronoun "we" resounded that the president believes in unity of purpose and collective responsibilities to solve home problems.

The issue of Agency and nominalization was of particular interest as the study found out that the president placed herself in certain initial positions of the sentence, the position of greatest emphasis, which in the researcher speculation portrays her as important person in the speech.

The past openly and secretly portrayed in negative light. For instance, the speaker used negative collocates and transitivity systems that place women as disadvantages. The speaker implicitly blames the past government for this.

The future openly portrayed as complicated and challenging due to ongoing violence across the country.

The president openly portrayed Ethiopia as poor and peace less country.

Men also openly and secretly portrayed in negative light. For example, the president used negative collocates that presented male as violent.

Women positively portrayed. For instance, they are not only celebrated as carriers of attributes of accomplishment of achievements but also in material and mental sections of physical action and cognitive ability implying that they able to do anything that men's

do.....ሴቶች ከወንዶች እንደማያንሱ በየተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ...በገጠርም ሆነ በከተማ፣ በእርሻ ስራ ወይም በንግድ፣ በህክምና ወይም በመምህርነት ኑሮአችሁን ለማሸነፍ ሌት ተቀን የምትተጉ በቂ እንቅልፍ ሳታገኙ፣ በቂ ምግብ ሳትመገቡ፣ በቂ እረፍት ሳይኖራችሁ፣ በቂ ገቢ ሳይኖራችሁ.... ልፋታችሁ ከንቱ ሆኖ ስለማይቀር ከጥረታችሁ ወደኋላ እንዳትሉ አደራ ልላችሁ እፈልጋለሁ።

In terms of national unity, the study found out that there is a need of national unity among nation, among government bodies and opposition parties.

In terms of power relations, the study found out that it is not just possessed; it uniformly enacted in the selected speech. For instance, different members of the society categorized by diverse ranks of power. A case in point is the government body, which brought out in material clauses portrayed as peace agent while others/ opposition parties/ portrayed as violent. This kind of representation reproduces the ideology of negative ‘other’ representation where the present administration is portrayed as an agent of peace throughout the country.

Modality choices used in the selected speech shed more light on the Principles and power relations in the text; the end drive of which is to characterize the speaker as optimistic and to make reference of particular and shared responsibilities in running of the new government.

5.2. Conclusion

The study has demonstrated that using Fairclough’s (1989; 152) CDA framework it is possible to pinpoint features which influence in some way the perceptions and actions of the electorate without them being conscious of this influence. As Van Dijk (1997:4) points out, discourse control of people’s minds seems very effective “way to reproduce dominance and

hegemony.” This is definitely an area of concern for the ordinary public as well as political actor:

The results of the first part of the analysis have shown that the key ideological components of president’s speech summarized into the following concepts: *inclusiveness, women’s empowerment, unfair treatment of women, equally share, long lasting peace and Democracy, and unities*. Based on this speech analysis, the framework drew the following conclusions.

The results of the keyword analysis have shown that the most prominent words employed by the president are *peace, unity and women, inclusiveness* and an overall dominance of the Personal pronoun *we*, and which are an evidence of president’s inclusive perception of the Ethiopian society and a need for unity, understood as necessary in the time of disunity.

The modality constructions used to bring out social actors who on the face of it seem mutual and normal when in principle they preserve gender inequality and used to indicate personal and political commitment to serve women. Additionally exemplifies an instance of Ideology of personality profiling, that is, the speaker portrays herself as very committed to work on gender equality and peace,

Furthermore, the uses of pronouns in the inaugural Speech have proven the relationship the president has with participants and her believes in unity of purpose and collective responsibilities to solve home growing problems.

The pronoun “we, our and us” together found to be the dominant figures of the speech. The president utilized these pronouns in her speech that attributed to her perseverance, which inclusive approach and her effort to bring harmony and togetherness among different groups to ease the existing pressure.

The president speech highlights Ethiopian golden past to build up on the current Ethiopian

and to overcome the complicated future of the country.

The speech intention found to be diverting people attitudes from the idea of my way or division to the idea of unity aiming to change the Ethiopian ethnic based assumption to common house assumption.

The idea of unity narrated, from the perspective of creating sense of strong nationality, citizenship, and from the orientation of common home and inclusiveness discourses. Finally, the critical discourse analysis result shows that the president draws her audience to harmonious and inclusive social relations.

5.3. Recommendations for Further Research

The present study has investigated President Sahlework Zewde's inaugural Speech with the view of unpacking the hidden ideologies and power relations.

Secondly, a similar study can be conducted on the Announcement Speeches of other political party leaders in the Ethiopia to find out the extent to which the research findings of the present study can be generalized.

Thirdly, other studies could adopt a comparative method to examine whether the use of Modality choices in the inaugural Speeches of the former or future Ethiopian candidates are habituated by their party precise inclinations.

Finally, since a lot of work in Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the one-sided treatment of the conquered groups, it may be fascinating to study how the message of the dominated groups shows domination.

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Appendix 1

ጥቅምት 15/2011 ዓ.ም

አ/አ ኢትዮጵያ

የተከበሩ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ፕሬዚዳንት ሳህለ ወርቅ ዘውዴ በበአለ ሲመታቸው ወቅት ያደረጉት
ንግግር

የተከበሩ ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ

የተከበሩ የሀዘብ ተወካዮች አፈገባኤ

የተከበሩ የፌዴሬሽን ምክር ቤት አፈገባኤ

የተከበሩትሁ የኢትዮጵያ የተወካዮች የፌዴሬሽን ምክር ቤት አባላት

የተከበሩትሁ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶች ክቡራትና ክቡራን

ከሁሉም አስቀድሜ ሀገራችን ህዝቦቿን እንዳገለግል ርዕሰ-ብሄር ሆኜ በመመረጤ የተሰማኝን
ላቅ ያለ ክብርና ደስታ ለመግለጥ እወዳለሁ።

ከዚህ በመቀጠል አቅማቸው በፈቀደ ሁሉ የበኩላቸውን ሲወጡ የነበሩ ዛሬ ስልጣናቸውን
በገዛ ፍቃዳቸው ለለቀቁ ለክቡር ፕሬዚዳንት ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን
እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

ክቡር ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ የሚወዱአትን ሀገራቸውን ለበርካታ ዓመተት ደከመኝ ሰለቸኝ
ሳይሉ ያገለገሉ ትልቅ የሀገር ባለውለታ ናቸው።

ከዚህ የምንማረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሃገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

ይህም ባደጉትና ዲሞክራሲ በዳበረባቸው ሀገሮች እንደተለመደው ከያዘነው ስልጣንና ኃላፊነት በፊትም ሆነ በኋላ ህይወት የሚቀጥል መሆኑን መረዳታችንን ያሳያል።

ይህ ሌሎች እድል የመስጠት አርአያነት ለለውጥና ተስፋ ሲባል በክልሎች በየደረጃው ባሉትም ሆነ በሌሎች ማህበራዊ ተቋማት ጭምር ተጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥል እተማመናለሁ።

እኔም እንደተተኪ አደራ ተቀባይ ብቻ ሳይሆን እንደቀድሞ የቅርብ የስራ ባልደረባ ለክቡር ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመና ለመልካም በቤተሰባቸው መልካሙን ሁሉ እመኝላቸዋለሁ።

የጀመርነው የለውጥ ጉዞ በሌቶችም ሆነ በወንዶች እኩል ተሳታፊነትና ዜጎችን ከዎታ፣ ከብሄር፣ ከሃይማኖትም ሆነ ከሌሎች መድሎ በፀዳ መልኩ በእኩልነት የምንኖርባትን ኢትዮጵያ እውን እንደሚያደርግ እተማመናለሁ።

ጉዞው ውስብስብና በርካታ ፈተናዎች ያሉበት እንደሚሆን ይጠበቃል።

ከነዚህም ፈተናዎች አንዱ ሲገነባ ሌላው በማፍረስ ሳይሆን አንድ በሰላማዊ መንገድ ሌላው በትጥቅ ትግል ሳይሆን፤ መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድ ይልቅ አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ ስር የሰደደ ጥላቻና መናናቅን አልፎ አልፎ የሚታውን ጠብ በኢትዮጵያዊ ጨዋነት እና በዳበረ የቤተ-ዕምነቶች ጥበብና የሽምግልና ስርዓት ከወዲሁ በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

ትልቅ ሀገር የመገንባት ህልማችንን እውን ለማድረግ ከሰላም ውጭ ምንም አቋራጭም ሆነ አማራጭ የለንም። ስለዚህ ሁላችንም ሰላማችንን አጥብቀን እንድንጠብቅ ከሁሉም በላይ ሠላም ሲታወክ በምትሰቃየው እናት ስም አጥብቄ እጠይቃለሁ።

- ሠላም ከራሳችን ጋር
- ሠላም ከቤተሳባችን ጋር
- ሠላም ከጎረቤቶችን ጋር
- ሠላም በመንደራችን
- ሠላም በወረዳዎች
- ሠላም በክልሎች
- ሠላም ከጎረቤት ሀገራት ጋር
- ሠላም፣ ሠላም፣ ሠላም፣ ሠላም እላለሁ እጅግ ከጠበቀ አደራ ጋር

ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ከሠላም ጋር አንድነት ያለው ለማድረግ በጋራ እንስራ በሰላም እጦት ዋነኛ ተጠቂ ሴቶች በመሆናችን በዚህ የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሠላም ወዳድ ወንዶችን እንዲሁም በመላው ዓለም የሚገኙ ሠላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሠላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

የተከበሩት የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦችና የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላት ከጎኔ እንደሚሰለፉ እተማመናለሁ።

- የተከበራችሁ የምክርቤት አባላት
- የተከበራችሁ የሃገራችን ህዝቦች
- የተከበራችሁ ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶች

-ክቡራትና ክቡራን

ለጥቁር ህዝቦች የከራት ምንጭ የጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ መነሻና የአፍሪካዊያን መሰባሰቢያ ምሳሌ ሆኖ የቆየችው ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የደህንነትና የኋላ ቀርነት ምሳሌ ሆኖ ለዘመናት የመቆየት ሚስጥር በእኔ እምነት ዋነኛው የሰላም እጦት ነው።

ስለሆነም የጀመርነውን የለውጥ ጉዞ የሠላማችን ጠንቅ የሆኑትን በሙሉ በማሰውገድ የብልፅግናችንን አይቀሬነት ማብሰር ይኖርብናል።

ስለ ዕድገትና ብልፅግና ስናወራ ደግሞ ስለሴቶችና ወጣቶች እኩልነት ተሳታፊነትና ተጠቃሚነት እያነሳን መሆኑን በመረዳት መላው የሀገራችን ሴቶችና ወጣቶች በርትታችሁ የልማቱ ተሳታፊ በመሆን ድህነትን በጋራ እንድናስወግድ አደራ እላለሁ።

ሠላም ለልማትና ብልፅግና ቅድመ ሁኔታ በመሆኑ ዘላቂነቱ ያለ ልማትና ብልፅግና ስለማይረጋገጥም ዘላቂ ልማት እንዲኖረን ሴቶችም ሆነ ወንዶች፤ ወጣቶች ሆነ ጎልማሶች ሁላችንም የጥረታችን ተጠቃሚ ልንሆን ይገባናል።

ለዘላቂ ሠላም መረጋገጥ ዋስትና ያለው ዲሞክራሲ እጅግ ተፈላጊ በመሆኑ የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዙም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ዲሞክራሲ ስር እንዲሰድ ዜጎች ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት በመግለፅ ሠላማቸውን ማስጠበቅም ሆነ ለልማት እንዲተጉ በኃላፊነት መንፈስ መስራት ይገባቸዋል።

ህዝቡም የፖለቲካ ሃይሎች ዲሞክራሲያዊ በመሆን መንገድ ብቻ እንዲመሩ በጀመረው መልኩ ድጋፍን አጠናክሮ እንዲቀጥል አደራ እላለሁ።

እናንተ ሴት ልጃሁን ከወንዶች ባላነሰ ሁኔታ ትልቅ ደረጃ እንደሚደርሱ ለራሳቸው ለቤተሰቦቻቸው ለወገኖቻቸው የተስፋ ምልክት እንደሚሆኑ ሳትታክቱ እየመከራችሁ

በፀሎት በሞራል እንዲሁም አቅማችን በፈቀደው ሁሉ ፍቅር የሰጣችሁ የደገፋችሁ ወላጆች እኔ የዚህ ድጋፍ ውጤት ስለሆንኩ እንኩዋን ደስ አላችሁ።

ሴቶች ከወንዶች እንደማያንሱ በየተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ወይም በቤት ውስጥ ልጆቻችሁን በተለየ ትጋት የምታሳድጉ በገጠርም ሆነ በከተማ፣ በእርሻ ስራ ወይም በንግድ፣ በህክምና ወይም በመምህርነት ኑሮአችሁን ለማሸነፍ ሌት ተቀን የምትተጉ በቂ እንቅልፍ ሳታገኙ፣ በቂ ምግብ ሳትመገቡ፣ በቂ እረፍት ሳይኖራችሁ፣ በቂ ገቢ ሳይኖራችሁ አንድ ቀን ያልፍልኛል ለልጆቹ ያልፍላቸዋል ለሀገራዊ ያልፍላታል በሚል ጉልበታችሁን ጊዜያችሁን ገንዘባችሁን ሳትሰስቱ ትግል ለምታደርጉ ሁሉ ልፋታችሁ ከንቱ ሆኖ ስለማይቀር ከጥረታችሁ ወደኋላ እንዳትሉ አደራ ልላችሁ እፈልጋለሁ። እኔም የዚህ ትግል ውጤት እንደሆንኩ ጠንቅቄ አውቀዋለሁ።

በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም።

ሴቶች የቤተሰብም የሃገርም ምሰሶ ናቸው። ሴቶች ሲጎዱ ቤተሰብ ይጎዳል ከሁሉ በላይ የወደፊት ሀገር ተረካቢ ይጎዳል ስለዚህ ሴት ቤተሰብ ነች ቤተሰብ ደግሞ የሃገር ምሳሌ ነው።

ስለዚህ ሴት ሃገር ነች ሃገርን ደግሞ ሴቱም ወንዱም ሊንከባከበው ይገባል።

ወንድም ሆነ ሴት ለራሱ ሲል ሃገሩን ለራሱ ሲል እናቱን ፤ሚስቱን፤እህቱ የሆነችውን ሴት ሊከባከብ ይገባል።

ሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

ስለሴት አብዝቼ የተናገርኩ የመሰላችሁ ገና ምኑ ተነክቶ።

ይህንን ያደረኩት ሴት በመሆኔ ብቻ ሳይሆን ካለፈው ክፍለ ዘመን መሸጋገር ሳይገባው ያልተጠናቀቀ የቤት ስራ በመሆኑና ጥቂት ወንዶች ስለ ሴቶች መገንዘብ የጀመሩበት ጊዜ

በመሆኑ ይህንን መልዕክት ለመስማት ልባቸው ቅርብ የሆነበት ሰዓት እንደሆነ ስለተገነዘቡኩ ነው።

ለዚህ እንደማሳያ የሚያግዘኝ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ከ20 የካቢኔ ሚኒስትሮች ሃምሳ በመቶ ሴቶች እንዲሆኑ መደረጉ የእኔም ለዚህ ትልቅ ክብር መብቃት ተጠቃሽ ናቸው።

ይህም በየክልሉ በየደረጃው ባሉ እርከኖች በየማህበሩ ሊቀጥል እንደሚችል እተማመናለሁ ይህም በቀጣይ የጋራ ትግል ሊደገፍ ይገባዋል።

በዚህ አጋጣሚ ለመላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶች የማቀርበው ጥሪ በትምህርት ላይ ያላችሁ በትጋት እንድትማሩ በተለያዩ የግልም ሆነ የህዝብ አገልግሎት ስራ ላይ የምትገኙ በየተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ከእስካሁኑ የበለጠ በርትታችሁ እንድትሰሩ በየአካባቢው ጠብ የሚያስነሳ ጉዳይ ሲገጥም ፈጥናችሁ እንድትረባረቡ፤ እንድታበርዱ ሰላማችን እንዲረጋገጥ ግንባር ቀደም ሚና እንድትጫወቱ በርተትተው ከሚሰሩ ወንድሞቻችን ጋር በጋራ በመስራት ኋላቀርነትንና ድህነትን ከሀገራችን ምድር ለማጥፋት እንድንረባረቡ ነው።

ደስታችን ሙሉ የሚሆነው ሰላማችንና እድገታችን የሚረጋገጠው ሴቶችም ሆኑ ወንዶች እኩል እድል ሲያገኙ እና እኩል ተጠቃሚ ሲሆኑ ነው።

ኢትዮጵያችን የወንዶችም የሴቶችም የጋራ ቤታችን ስለሆነች በጋራ ልንገነባት ይገባል።

የሴቶችንና የወንዶችን መብቶች በእኩልነት ሊረጋገጡ የሚችሉት በሁለቱም ያላሳለሰ ትግልና የጋራ ጥረት ብቻ ነው።

ይህ አውነት እንደሆነ የሚረዱ ወንድሞቻችን እንዳሉ ባውቅም ሰፊ ቁጥር ያለው ህዝባችን ግን በዚህ ጉዳይ ተደጋግሞ ሊነገረው ይገባል።

በተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ከወንዶች ወንድሞቻችሁ እኩል ወይም በላይ ደፋ ቀና የምትሉ እህቶቹና ልጆቹ ሁሉ ልገልጽላችሁ የምፈልገው ዛሬ የኢትዮጵያ ፍዴራላዊት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሪፑብሊክ ፕሬዚዳንት ሆኜ ከፊታችሁ ስቆም ከእኛ በፊት ለህይወታቸው ሳይሳሱ ለሴቶች እኩልነት ለሃገራቸው ነጻነት ለታገሉ ሴቶችና ወንዶች ውጤት መሆኔን ለአፍታ ያክል የማልስተው መሆኔን ነው።

ዛሬ ያገኘሁት ክብር የኢትዮጵያን ሴቶች መብት ለማስከበር መስጠት የሆኑትን ወንዶች ሆኑ ሴቶች ሁሉ እንዲሁም ለዚህ ላብቁኝ ለሁለት ወላጆቹ ሴትልጅ ከተጋች ለየትኛውም ሃላፊነት እንደምትበቃ ነብስ ካወቅኩበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ሲመክረን እና ሲያንጸኝ የነበረው የአራት ሴት ልጆች አባት አባቴ እንዲሁም የስራን ክቡርነት እና ታታሪነት ምሳሌ ሆኖ ላሳየችኝ የጽናት ተምሳሌት ለሆነችው እናቴ ላደረጋችሁት ሁሉ ምስጋናዬ ካላችሁበት ይድረሳችሁ።

በዚህ አጋጣሚ የእስክ አሁኑ የሴቶች ትግል እውን እንዲሆን ሃላፊነት ከተቀበልኩበት ጊዜ አንስቶ እስከዛሬዎ ቀን ድረስ በተግባር እያሳዩን ለሚገኙት ለክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የከበረ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ይህ የጀመሩት አካታች ፖሊሲ ለሴቶች ብቻ ሳይሆን ለወንዶች ብሎም ለቤተሰብና ለሀገር መልካም በመሆኑ አጠናክረው እንዲቀጥሉበት አደራ እላለሁ። እርግጠኛም ነኝ።

በመጨረሻ ይህን እድል እንዳገኝ ላብቁኝ ለመላው የኢትዮጵያ ሰማእታት እንዲሁም አዲስ የተጀመረውን እጅግ ተስፋ ሰጪ በየሰቱ እንዲህ አይነት አዳዲስ እና አስደማሚ ትእይንቶች በመቀጠል ላይ የሚገኘው ለውጥ በመምራት ላይ የሚገኙትን ክቡር ጠቅላይ

ሚንስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድን መላ ቤተሰባቸውን ከስራ ባልደረገባቸው ጋር ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

እኔም ከመላው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጋር በመሆን ይህንን ለውጥ ለማስቀጠል እና ኢትዮጵያዊያን በእኩልነት ለማገልገል ቃል እየገባሁ፤ እንዲህ ያከበረኝን ፈጣሪን ህዝቤንና መንግስቴን በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁ።

የሁላችንንም የግልና የጋራ ጥረት ፈጣሪ ይባርክልን። አመሰግናለሁ።

APPENDEX 2

የተከበሩ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ፕሬዚዳንት ሳህለ ወርቅ ዘውዴ ንግግር ለትንተና እንዲያመች ተደርጎ የተከፋፈለው ክፍል

የተከበሩ ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ

የተከበሩ የህዝብ ተወካዮች አፈጉባኤ

የተከበሩ የፌዴሬሽን ምክር ቤት አፈጉባኤ

የተከበሩትሁ የኢትዮጵያ የተወካዮች የፌዴሬሽን ምክር ቤት አባላት

የተከበሩትሁ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶች ክቡራትና ክቡራን

Line 1 ከሁሉም አስቀድሜ ሀገሪንና ህዝቦቿን እንዳገለግል ርዕሰ-ብሄር ሆኜ በመመረ

የተሰማኝን ላቅ ያለ ክብርና ደስታ ለመግለጥ እወዳለሁ።

Line 2 ከዚህ በመቀጠል አቅማቸው በፈቀደ ሁሉ የበኩላቸውን ሲወጡ የነበሩ ዛሬ ስልጣናቸውን በገዛ ፍቃዳቸው ለለቀቁ ለክቡር ፕሬዚዳንት ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Line 3 ክቡር ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመ የሚወዱአትን ሀገራቸውን ለበርካታ ዓመተት ደከመኝ ሰለቸኝ ሳይሉ ያገለገሉ ትልቅ የሀገር ባለውለታ ናቸው።

Line 4 ከዚህ የምንማረው በብዙ የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ከተለመደው ውጪ ሀገራችን በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው ስልጣን በመልቀቅ ለለውጥ እና ተስፋ እድል መስጠት መጀመሩን ነው።

Line 5 ይህም ባደጉትና ዴሞክራሲ በዳበረባቸው ሀገሮች እንደተለመደው ከያዘነው ስልጣንና ኃላፊነት በፊትም ሆነ በኋላ ህይወት የሚቀጥል መሆኑን መረዳታችንን ያሳያል።

Line 6 ይህ ሌሎች እድል የመስጠት አርአያነት ለለውጥና ተስፋ ሲባል በክልሎች በየደረጃው ባሉትም ሆነ በሌሎች ማህበራዊ ተቋማት ጭምር ተጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥል እተማመናለሁ።

Line 7 እኔም እንደተተኪ አደራ ተቀባይ ብቻ ሳይሆን እንደቀድሞ የቅርብ የስራ ባልደረባ ለክቡር ዶ/ር ሙላቱ ተሾመና ለመልካም በቤተሰባቸው መልካሙን ሁሉ እመኝላቸዋለሁ።

Line 8 የጀመርነው የለውጥ ጉዞ በሌቶችም ሆነ በወንዶች እኩል ተሳታፊነትና ዜጎችን ከጾታ ከብሄር፣ ከሃይማኖትም ሆነ ከሌሎች መድሎ በፀዳ መልኩ በእኩልነት የምንኖርባትን ኢትዮጵያ እውን እንደሚያደርግ እተማመናለሁ።

Line 9 ጉዞው ውስብስብና በርካታ ፈተናዎች ያሉበት እንደሚሆን ይጠበቃል።

Line 10 ከነዚህም ፈተናዎች አንዱ ሲገነባ ሌላው በማፍረስ ሳይሆን አንድ በሰላማዊ መንገድ ሌላው በትጥቅ ትግል ሳይሆን፤ መንግስትም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ ፓራቲዎች የጋራ ቤት እንደሚገነባ ቤተሰብ የሚለያዩን ጉዳዮች በማስፋትና ወደ ጠብ አጫሪነት ከመሄድይልቅ

አንድነታችንን ለውጡ በጀመረው መንገድ አንድነታችንን እያጠናከርን እንድንሄድ ስር የሰደደ ጥላቻና መናናቅን አልፎ አልፎ የሚታውን ጠብ በኢትዮጵያዊ ጨዋነት እና በዳበረ የቤተ-ዕምነቶች ጥበብና የሽምግልና ስርዓት ከወዲሁ በመግባባት ለራሳችንም ሆነ ለትውልዱ የምታኮራ ሀገር መፍጠር ይኖርብናል።

Line 11 ትልቅ ሀገር የመገንባት ህልማችንን እውን ለማድረግ ከሰላም ውጭ ምንም አቋራጭም ሆነ አማራጭ የለንም።

Line 12 ስለዚህ ሁላችንም ሰላማችንን አጥብቀን እንድንጠብቅ ከሁሉም በላይ ሠላም ሲታወክ በምትሰቃየው እናት ስም አጥብቄ እጠይቃለሁ።

Line 13 ሠላም ከራሳችን ጋር

Line 14 ሠላም ከቤተሰባችን ጋር

Line 15 ሠላም ከጎረቤቶችን ጋር

Line 16 ሠላም በመንደራችን

Line 17 ሠላም በወረዳዎች

Line 18 ሠላም በክልሎች

Line 19 ሠላም ከጎረቤት ሀገራት ጋር

Line 20 - ሠላም፣ ሠላም፣ ሠላም፣ ሠላም እላለሁ እጅግ ከጠበቀ አደራ ጋር።

Line 21 ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ከሠላም ጋር አንድነት ያለው ለማድረግ በጋራ እንስራ በሰላም እጦት ዋነኛ ተጠቂ ሴቶች በመሆናችን በዚህ የኃላፊነት ቆይታዬ ዋነኛው ትኩረት መላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶችን እና ሠላም ወዳድ ወንዶችን እንዲሁም በመላው ዓለም የሚገኙ ሠላም ወዳድነትን ሁሉ ከጎናችን በማሰለፍ ሠላምን በማስፈን ላይ እንድንረባረብ ማድረግ ይሆናል።

Line 22: የተከበሩት የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦችና የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላት ከጎኔ እንደሚሰለፉ እተማመናለሁ።

-የተከበራችሁ የምክርቤት አባላት

-የተከበራችሁ የሃገራችን ህዝቦች

-የተከበራችሁ ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶች

-ክቡራትና ክቡራን

Line 23 ለጥቁር ህዝቦች የኩራት ምንጭ የጥንታዊ ስልጣኔ መነሻና የአፍሪካዊያን መሰባሰቢያ ምሳሌ ሆና የቆየችው ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የደህንነትና የኋላ ቀርነት ምሳሌ ሆና ለዘመናት የመቆየት ሚስጥር በእኔ እምነት ዋነኛው የሰላም እጦት ነው።

Line 24 ስለሆነም የጀመርነውን የለውጥ ጉዞ የሰላማችን ጠንቅ የሆኑትን በሙሉ በማሰውገድ የብልፅግናችንን አይቀሬነት ማብሰር ይኖርብናል።

Line 25 ስለ ዕድገትና ብልፅግና ስናወራ ደግሞ ስለሴቶችና ወጣቶች እኩልነት ተሳታፊነትና ተጠቃሚነት እያነሳን መሆኑን በመረዳት መላው የሃገራችን ሴቶችና ወጣቶች በርትታችሁ የልማቱ ተሳታፊ በመሆን ድህነትን በጋራ እንድናስወግድ አደራ እላለሁ።

Line 26 ሰላም ለልማትና ብልፅግና ቅድመ ሁኔታ በመሆኑ ዘላቂነቱ ያለ ልማትና ብልፅግና ስለማይረጋገጥም ዘላቂ ልማት እንዲኖረን ሴቶችም ሆነ ወንዶች፤ ወጣቶች ሆነ ጎልማሶች ሁላችንም የጥረታችን ተጠቃሚ ልንሆን ይገባናል።

Line 27 ለዘላቂ ሰላም መረጋገጥ ዋስትና ያለው ዲሞክራሲ እጅግ ተፈላጊ በመሆኑ የመንግስት ስልጣን የያዙም ሆነ ተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ዲሞክራሲ ስር

እንዲሰድ ዜጎች ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት በመግለፅ ሠላማቸውን ማስጠበቅም ሆነ ለልማት እንዲተጉ በኃላፊነት መንፈስ መስራት ይገባቸዋል።

Line 28 ህዝቡም የፖለቲካ ሃይሎች ዲሞክራሲያዊ በመሆን መንገድ ብቻ እንዲመሩ በጀመረው መልኩ ድጋፍን አጠናክሮ እንዲቀጥል አደራ እላለሁ።

Line 29 እናንተ ሴት ልጃሁን ከወንዶች ባላነሰ ሁኔታ ትልቅ ደረጃ እንደሚደርሱ ለራሳቸው ለቤተሰቦቻቸው ለወገኖቻቸው የተስፋ ምልክት እንደሚሆኑ ሳትታክቱ እየመከራችሁ በፀሎት በሞራል እንዲሁም አቅማችን በፈቀደው ሁሉ ፍቅር የሰጣችሁ የደገፋችሁ ወላጆች እኔ የዚህ ድጋፍ ውጤት ስለሆንኩ እንኩዋን ደስ አላችሁ።

Line 30 ሴቶች ከወንዶች እንደሚያንሱ በየተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ወይም በቤት ውስጥ ልጆቻችሁን በተለየ ትጋት የምታሳድጉ በገጠርም ሆነ በከተማ፣ በእርሻ ስራ ወይም በንግድ፣ በህክምና ወይም በመምህርነት ኑሮአችሁን ለማሸነፍ ሌት ተቀን የምትተጉ በቂ እንቅልፍ ሳታገኙ፣ በቂ ምግብ ሳትመገቡ፣ በቂ እረፍት ሳይኖራችሁ፣ በቂ ገቢ ሳይኖራችሁ አንድ ቀን ያልፍልኛል ለልጆቼ ያልፍላቸዋል ለሀገሬ ያልፍላታል በሚል ጉልበታችሁን ጊዜያችሁን ገንዘባችሁን ሳትሰስቱ ትግል ለምታደርጉ ሁሉ ልፋታችሁ ከንቱ ሆኖ ስለማይቀር ከጥረታችሁ ወደኋላ እንዳትሱ አደራ ልላችሁ እፈልጋለሁ። እኔም የዚህ ትግል ውጤት እንደሆንኩ ጠንቅቄ አውቀዋለሁ።

Line 31 በወንዶች ጥረት ብቻ የተገነባ ሃገርም ሆነ ቤተሰብ የለም።

Line 32 ሴቶች የቤተሰብም የሃገርም ምስሶ ናቸው።

Line 33 ሴቶች ሲጎዱ ቤተሰብ ይጎዳል ከሁሉ በላይ የወደፊት ሀገር ተረካቢ ይጎዳል ስለዚህ ሴት ቤተሰብ ነች ቤተሰብ ደግሞ የሃገር ምሳሌ ነው።

Line 34 ስለዚህ ሴት ሃገር ነች ሃገርን ደግሞ ሴቱም ወንዱም ሊንከባከበው ይገባል።

Line 35 ወንድም ሆነ ሴት ለራሱ ሲል ሃገሩን ለራሱ ሲል እናቱን ፤ ሚስቱን ፤ እህቱ የሆነችውን ሴት ሊከባከብ ይገባል።

Line 36 ሴቶች ማንኛውም ጥቃት የማይቀበል ትውልድ ልንገነባ ይገባናል።

Line 37 ስለሴት አብዝቼ የተናገርኩ የመሰላችሁ ገና ምኑ ተነክቶ።

Line 38 ይህንን ያደረኩት ሴት በመሆኔ ብቻ ሳይሆን ካለፈው ክፍለ ዘመን መሸጋገር ሳይገባው ያልተጠናቀቀ የቤት ስራ በመሆኑና ጥቂት ወንዶች ስለ ሴቶች መገንዘብ የጀመሩበት ጊዜ በመሆኑ ይህንን መልዕክት ለመስማት ልባቸው ቅርብ የሆነበት ሰዓት እንደሆነ ስለተገነዘብኩ ነው።

Line 39 ለዚህ እንደማሳያ የሚያግዘኝ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ከ20 የካቢኔ ሚኒስትሮች ሃምሳ በመቶ ሴቶች እንዲሆኑ መደረጉ የእኔም ለዚህ ትልቅ ክብር መብቃት ተጠቃሽ ናቸው።

Line 40 ይህም በየክልሉ በየደረጃው ባሉ እርከኖች በየማህበሩ ሊቀጥል እንደሚችል እተማመናለሁ ይህም በቀጣይ የጋራ ትግል ሊደገፍ ይገባዋል።

Line 41 በዚህ አጋጣሚ ለመላው የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶች የማቀርበው ጥሪ በትምህርት ላይ ያላችሁ በትጋት እንድትማሩ በተለያዩ የግልም ሆነ የህዝብ አገልግሎት ስራ ላይ የምትገኙ በየተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ከእስካሁኑ የበለጠ በርትታችሁ እንድትሰሩ በየአካባቢው ጠብ የሚያስነሳ ጉዳይ ሲገጥም ፈጥናችሁ እንድትረባረቡ፤ እንድታበርዱ ሠላማችን እንዲረጋገጥ ግንባር ቀደም ሚና እንድትጫወቱ በርተትተው ከሚሰሩ ወንድሞቻችን ጋር በጋራ በመስራት ኋላቀርነትንና ድህነትን ከሀገራችን ምድር ለማጥፋት እንድንረባረቡ ነው።

Line 42 ደስታችን ሙሉ የሚሆነው ሰላማችንና እድገታችን የሚረጋገጠው ሴቶችም ሆኑ ወንዶች እኩል እድል ሲያገኙ እና እኩል ተጠቃሚ ሲሆኑ ነው።

Line 43 ኢትዮጵያችን የወንዶችም የሴቶችም የጋራ ቤታችን ስለሆነች በጋራ ልንገነባት ይገባል።

Line 44 የሴቶችንና የወንዶችን መብቶች በእኩልነት ሊረጋገጡ የሚችሉት በሁለቱም ያላሳለሰ ትግልና የጋራ ጥረት ብቻ ነው።

Line 45 ይህ አውነት እንደሆነ የሚረዱ ወንድሞቻችን እንዳሉ ባውቅም ሰፊ ቁጥር ያለው ህዝባችን ግን በዚህ ጉዳይ ተደጋግሞ ሊነገረው ይገባል።

Line 46 በተሰለፋችሁበት መስክ ከወንዶች ወንድሞቻችሁ እኩል ወይም በላይ ደፋ ቀና የምትሉ እህቶቼና ልጆቼ ሁሉ ልገልጽላችሁ የምፈልገው ዛሬ የኢትዮጵያ ፍዴራላዊት ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሪፑብሊክ ፕሬዚዳንት ሆኜ ከፊታችሁ ስቆም ከእኛ በፊት ለህይወታቸው ሳይሳሉ ለሴቶች እኩልነት ለሃገራቸው ነጻነት ለታገሉ ሴቶችና ወንዶች ውጤት መሆኔን ለአፍታ ያክል የማልስተው መሆኔን ነው።

Line 47 ዛሬ ያገኘሁት ክብር የኢትዮጵያን ሴቶች መብት ለማስከበር መስጠት የሆኑትን ወንዶች ሆኑ ሴቶች ሁሉ እንዲሁም ለዚህ ላበቁኝ ለሁለት ወላጆቼ ሴትልጅ ከተጋች ለየትኛውም ሃላፊነት እንደምትበቃ ነብስ ካወቅኩበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ሲመክረን እና ሲያንጸኝ የነበረው የአራት ሴት ልጆች አባት አባቴ እንዲሁም የስራን ክቡርነት እና ታታሪነት ምሳሌ ሆኖ ላሳየኝና የጽናት ተምሳሌት ለሆነችው እናቴ ላደረጋችሁት ሁሉ ምስጋናዬ ካላችሁበት ይድረሳችሁ።

Line 48 በዚህ አጋጣሚ የእስከ አሁኑ የስቶች ትግል እውን እንዲሆን ሃላፊነት ከተቀበልኩበት ጊዜ አንስቶ እስከዛሬዎ ቀን ድረስ በተግባር እያሳዩን ለሚገኙት ለክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የከበረ ምስጋናዎን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Line 49 ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ይህ የጀመሩት አካታች ፖሊሲ ለሴቶች ብቻ ሳይሆን ለወንዶች ብሎም ለቤተሰብና ለሀገር መልካም በመሆኑ አጠናክረው እንዲቀጥሉበት አደራ እላለሁ። እርግጠኛም ነኝ።

Line 50 በመጨረሻ ይህን እድል እንዳገኝ ላበቁኝ ለመላው የኢትዮጵያ ሰማእታት እንዲሁም አዲስ የተጀመረውን እጅግ ተስፋ ሰጪ በየለቱ እንዲህ አይነት አዳዲስ እና አስደማሚ ትእይንቶች በመቀጠል ላይ የሚገኘው ለውጥ በመምራት ላይ የሚገኙትን ክቡር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድን መላ ቤተሰባቸውን ከስራ ባልደረባቸው ጋር ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋናዬን እንዳቀርብ ይፈቀድልኝ።

Line 51 እኔም ከመላው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጋር በመሆን ይህንን ለውጥ ለማስቀጠል እና ኢትዮጵያዊያን በእኩልነት ለማገልገል ቃል እየገባሁ፤ እንዲህ ያከበረኝን ፈጣሪን ህዝቤንና መንግስቴን በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁ።

APPENDIX 3

