Exploring Multiple Identities in Barack Obama's Speeches to the African and Arab Audience

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Abstract: Presidential speeches aside, being a type of political discourse is a viable expression of the different types of identities purposively constructed and negotiated to achieve intended communicative outcomes. Using two Barack Obama's speeches to the Arab and African communities, the study seeks to investigate how political actors construct their identities to a wider audience. Using an eclectic theoretical dimension of Stance Taking, Audience Design Theory and drawing insights from Discourse Pragmatics, the study notes that the discursive features of intertextuality, metaphor, rhetorical questions, pronouns, if conditionals, multiple audience, epistemic stance are deliberately deployed to reveal their individual, social, national, and racial identities of political actors to achieve both self and communal positionings. The study concludes that identity is consciously deployed in every form of language used to show both alignment and distinctiveness.

Keywords: African, Arab, Audience, Identity, Discursive Features, Political Discourse, Stance

Introduction

The concept of identity is described in various ways namely: perceptual, idiosyncratic, habitual, flexible, evolving, dynamic, and interactional. These nuanced vocabularies might rehash the elusive phenomenon of identity and identity politics due to its different manifestations', associations, and connotations. R. Bassiouney (2014) and J. Edwards (2009) both agreed that identity is influenced by multifaceted factors such as community, ethnic and national affiliation, race, and other indexes-cum-variables like language, history, geographical positions, religion, and locality. This justifies S. Hall's (1996) conception of identity as the nexus of different variables.

Language is an intrinsic aspect of identity formation and reconstruction as linguistic choices and practices are encoded within our identity (the co-constitutive relationship of language and identity). This reveals the different strands of identity including individual, social, collective, national identities (internal and external identities). Thus, reaffirming R. Baumen (2000) notion that when people choose from their linguistic repertoires, it reflects the 'identities' that they are constructing and negotiating depending on contextual and situational use, influencing linguistic practices and choices. This perspective underscores the viewpoint that identity comes in different forms, this article will briefly explain the four types of identity as they relate to the discourse under investigation.

Individual Identity

This type of identity is also referred to as 'ego, personal, and self-identity' relating to the evaluation of self (Bassiouney 2014) which explains its inherent subjectivities and self-perception in relation to the outer world. It is all-encompassing of personal traits, and characteristics usually signalled through specific language use, especially the use of the first-person pronoun or the distinctive/unique realization(s) of specific phonemes and suprasegmental features like stress, and (discourse) intonation. It is also manifested through asserting hybrid identities by codeswitching, code-meshing, and code mixing, or through appropriation. J. Edwards (2014) notes that moral values, character traits, and unique dispositions are all submerged in individual identity. The construct of individual identity is also dependent on the context of language use which is usually determined by social practices thus, another form of identity called social identity.

Social Identity

Identity is derived through membership to a certain social group(s) which clearly defines in-group and out-group affiliations. According to one's social identity, language use reflects social practices and social contexts. H. Giles/ P. Johnson (1981, 1987) note that in-group members tend to deploy certain linguistic features to achieve group distinctiveness and to realize the binary polarization or binary exclusivity (Woodward 1997) of 'WE' and 'THEY'/ 'US' and 'THEM' identities (Gumperz 1986). This emphasises the idea that language is an emblem of identity in specific social settings and it is used to establish solidarity, alignment, and group identity that index social meanings. Similarly, shared habits and linguistic practices are usually the defining attributes of members of this group. Hence, choices of language use reflect in-group solidarities and allegiances and distinguish outgroup memberships. Looking beyond social and collective identity, national identity lends focus to a broader idea of identity.

National Identity

It is believed that language has a homogeneity force, establishing an outlook of national integration and cohesion which brings people under a unified linguistic umbrella. According to J. Zwisler (2018), national identity encompasses political construct shaped by public discourse. Usually, the nation decides on a common lingua franca to be used for wider communication(s) especially in certain domains: education, media, courtroom etc. Thus, speaking a common national language is a legitimizing claim to national identity. Hence, the facilitation of English Language is a distinctive feature- of all Americans (Pavlenko 2002) and it is argued that to be considered Australian, Dutch, and Japanese, the person must speak English, Dutch and Japanese respectively (Pavlenko 2002; Stokes 2017). This might not be the case for tribal and strong regionally based countries whose citizens have profound regional affiliations' and use regional languages to emphasize that. For example, in Nigeria, there are three main ethnic groups. Each group speaks different languages that are totally exclusive of one another. Speaking a national language does not necessarily translate to collective national integration. Without proper consideration for minority languages, people may speak the forced national language for instrumental purpose(s) and not for integrative purposes. This explains G. Breakwell's (2001) perception that national identity is not absolute, thus influencing M. Bryam (2006) advocacy of a pluri-ethnic identity that integrates all languages in a country. R. Bassiouney (2014) sees

national identity as being vulnerable and impressionable which is frequently constructed through public discourse such as media, and everyday practices. R. Bassiouney (2014) notes the national and collective image or identity of Egyptians, that are believed to be calm, sympathetic, compassionate and generous. This reflects a generic identity that is stereotypical and perceptual, revealing the overlap between (social) collective and national identity. Another form of generic identity is racial identity.

Racial Identity

Race is believed to be a social construct. As language is used to project, refute, and challenge racial subcategorizations (Green 2002; Kubota/Lin 2006). P. Eckert (2012) sees race as an important demographic property where people are placed into a predetermined bin. K. Von Esch/ S. Motha/ R. Kubota (2020) see race as phenotypical differences that perpetuate racial inequalities and hierarchies. The relationship between race and language has been explored within raciolinguistics (how language and race shape one another). This includes studies that reflect hyper-racial and post-racial ideologies in different text types (King 2020). For instance, it was noted that the speeches of American presidents reflect their racial orientation(s) (Alim 2016). For example, American presidents strive to accommodate all races in their speeches through code switching between different linguistic varieties and paying attention to their audiences and contexts of interactions. Alim (2016) notes that Barack Obama's language use in political discourse identifies him as being transracial, consistently and strategically choosing lexis from his speech repertoire based on his audience (speech mobility). In some instances, his speech appeals to the African American community through frequent use of the discourse pattern of intertextuality (of Martins Luther King) in his speech. This explains why his speech style is referred to as 'the black preacher style' which typically does not use standard English variants (Alim 2016). This non-standard use of language is believed to be a characteristic feature of the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and other labels like Black English and Black Folk Speech, which is believed to reflect a specific racial identity and subsequent solidarity (ethnolinguistic identity theory).

1. Language and Political Discourse

J. Gee (2014) defines discourse analysis as language in use. This definition foregrounds how context, themes, and issues influence discourse construction, interpretations, and analysis which rehashes the primary conception of discourse analysis as the study of linguistic meanings within social contexts and situations. M. McCarthy (2005) describes discourse analysis as the analysis of institutional talk and political text. This can be spoken or written, thus institutional intentions, functions, and goals are constructed and manifested within discourse and exposed through discourse analysis. B. Paltridge (2012) sees discourse as language use at the sentential level beyond the micro levels of word, phrase, and clause. This definition distinguishes the different ideologies, identities, and stances encoded in discourse by language users. R. Scollon and S. Scollon (2001) opine that genre types and other socio-psychological constructs such as behaviour, thoughts, and perceptions can be analysed and observed using the approach of discourse analysis.

Instances of language use are expressed/signalled in different forms of public discourse. An example of this in public discourse is seen in political speech(es), a type of discourse that revolves around language use by different political actors (Schaffner 1996; Van Dijk 1997). In discourse analysis, political discourse is significant as stance, positioning, and other discourse features are expressed implicitly and explicitly by political actors, showing alignment or disalignment which index different forms of identity constructions (Berlin 2020; Parini/Granato 2020). Political discourse is loosely concerned with forms of interactions within politics; this involves investigating language use in political processes, activities, interactions, participations and in the behaviours of political actors. Political discourse encompasses how different political institutions and actors use language to realize their political agendas; how different political communications are framed by different stakeholders including the general masses. Examples of political discourse- include speeches, interviews, and campaigns. This foregrounds political discourse as concerned with text productions and social interactions within political domains. Thus, political discourse is a type of public discourse demonstrated through one of its aims to convince the public. This highlights how media discourse is intertwined in political and public discourse. Both journalists and politicians are active co-participants in media, public, and political discourses – hence, the different realisations of political discourse such as printed, electronic, audio, and audio-visual texts. This demonstrates the mediated genre of political discourse with specific discourse goals, social settings, and relations. Different stances, identities, and positions are expressed in political discourse because political actors use positive, negative, and neutral value judgments and positions in their political communication to perform evaluative functions. These positions are expressed explicitly or implicitly using different appraisal resources like emotions, attitudes, and ideologies relating to attitudinal, emotional, and ideological categories of identity types (Bednarek 2015).

The United States has been viewed as the powerhouse of the world and its presidents regarded as one of the most powerful in the world (Pleasance 2020). Consequently, it is important to understand how US (past) presidents and key (political) figures manifest identities in their speeches. Political discourse in the United States (such as US presidential speeches) have been examined from different linguistic purviews to investigate identity representations and construction. C. Pu (2007) the term construction of Americanism in Bush's speeches which he defines as the rhetorical devices used by President Bush to express Americanism and the American values. C. Pu (2007) states that President Bush uses parallel structures in his presidential speeches for two different reasons. The first is as a persuasive strategy used to convince the audience that the negative representations of Americans in the media are unfactual. The second is a constructive strategy used to disseminate American values of equality and liberty. Similarly, J. Duran (2018) investigated acceptance speeches delivered by President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry to the Republic and Democratic National Conventions before the 2004 Presidential Election in the United States of America. He notes that these political actors use counter addressees, anecdotes and portrayal/positioning of self as democratic candidate, and candidate of action. Another study by A. Reyes (2011) notes that political actors use numerous linguistic resources in their political speeches to establish legitimacy. Using the political speeches of President George W. Bush's and President Barack Obama's speeches in 2007 and 2009 which revolved around aid deployment in the conflicts of Iraq and Afghanistan.

The study suggests that these political actors use five legitimizing strategies as positive stance-taking mechanism(s). The first, is appealing to the audience emotions to elicit specific behavioural or mental responses. The second is the use of hypothetical future constructions to project the future based on current realities and past actions. The third is the use of the voices of expertise to support their position on specific events or issues. The fourth is the use of rational constructs to evaluate why an action was undertaken and finally altruistic constructions to prove that every action taken is for the well-being of the public. These legitimizing strategies are all geared to project a positive self-representation to their intended audience.

2. Methodology

This present study focuses on Barack Obama's speech to the African and Muslim communities by investigating the linguistic toolkits used by President Obama to project a positive self-image and identity. This study also lends focus to the discursive strategies that characterize the two speeches. The findings of these two studies would compare and contrast the prevailing and specific linguistic resources in the two speeches as they relate to identity constructions. J. Du Bois' (2007) stance taking approach and A. Bell's (1984) audience Design are the deductive approaches used to analyse the data. J. Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle has three components. The first is the subject or participants. The second is the stance object. The last is alignment which includes positioning (either be epistemic, which is attitude towards the propositional content of a message' or interpersonal stance which is commitment to a proposition), and evaluation (including assessment and appraisal). J. Du Bois notes that alignment can be implicit (expressed non-verbally through nod, head shakes, and stance markers like yes or no) or explicitly through different linguistic levels and sub-levels such as adjectives, adverbials, verbal and nominal items and modal verbs/modality. J. Du Bois' (2007) perception of stance-taking revolves around evaluation, positions, and alignments of participants. A. Bell's (1984) audience design itemizes four types of audiences. Addresses (audience known by the speaker and addressed directly); auditors (listeners who are not directly addressed but acknowledged by the speakers); over hearers (they are neither acknowledged or addressed but the speakers are aware of them); and eavesdroppers (speakers are unaware of this group). Audience design theory takes into consideration accommodation instances, code-switching, variation, code selection (formal or informal), bilingualism, topics, and audience types. The discursive strategies of pronominals (inclusive and exclusive) and pronominal juxtapositions, proverbs, intertextuality and interdiscursivity, lexical items, metaphors, rhetorical questions, if conditionals, and their different indexes and interpretations are examined in addition to the analyses anchored on the identified deductive approaches.

3. Data

The data consists of two Barack Obama speeches. The first speech is entitled 'President Obama Speaks to the People of Africa' and is 47 minutes and, 44 seconds long delivered on July 29th, 2015 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia at an African Union event. The second speech is entitled 'President Obama Speaks to the Muslim World from Cairo, Egypt'. This is 54 minutes, and 29 seconds long delivered at the Cairo University on October 15, 2009. The two speeches were selected based on the idea that Barack Obama sees himself as an

African, because of his paternity which is Kenyan, hence, it would be important to see how he positions himself in this light despite being an American and an American president. In the second speech, it is important to decipher how he addresses the Muslim audience despite being non-Muslim and also in light of the protracted animosity between America and the Muslim communities as a result of terrorist activities.

4. Data Analysis

4.1. Intertextuality

Barack Obama is fully aware of his audience, using external references that are inclusive to the African and Arab experiences and stories that his African and Muslim audience can relate to or have witnessed first-hand. This discourse strategy is effective, as it represents his sensitivity, awareness, and consciousness to African and Arab history, appealing to the African and Muslim audiences who responded with applause and cheers to this interdiscursive strategy (appealing to the audience emotions according to Reyes 2011). Barack Obama's intertextuality is all-inclusive- as he draws references from different African and Muslim countries demonstrating how he is representative and proud of the African and Muslim successes and heroes (evocation of historical references to boost audience positive faces). To the African audience, Obama draws his textual references from different African countries such as South Africa, Senegal, Kenya, Somalia, Burundi, and Nigeria. Also, using African anecdotes and idioms used by African heroes is his subtle-yet-forceful way of communicating his stance and position(s) of identifying with the African communities and successes. For his Muslim audience, Obama extensively cross-references and makes connections to the Quran (partly to drive home his personal and American ideologies), which is a text wholly revered by Muslims (hence, its use). Also, he alluded to noteworthy Muslims' achievements (positive collective identity) to demonstrate the significance of the Muslim community to the world. Furthermore, Obama demonstrates his American identity using quotations from religious texts and alluding to American heroes who have shown a keen interest of the Muslim community and also to demonstrate how invested the past American system is with the Muslim community (which represent voices of expertise according to Reyes 2011) Examples include:

1. Nelson Mandela taught us, "to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others".

2. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth".

'Our second President, John Adams, wrote: The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquillity of Muslims'.

3. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as – it is as if he has killed all mankind. And the Holy Quran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind.

4. The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace".

5. The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God".

6. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

7. I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco.

4.2. Discursive strategies of metaphor, rhetorical questions, if-conditionals, and adverbial clauses

Looking beyond intertextuality, Obama uses metaphoric constructions (such as cancer of corruption, tree of humanity, root etc.) to create graphic images in the minds of his audiences, to convey his stance and positioning of being anti-graft and pro-diversity. Rhetorical questions are used to probe the thoughts of the audience while also serving as an indirect way of conveying his evaluative stance and disalignment with certain practices. Specifically, Obama uses rhetorical questions to convey how invested and committed the United States is to African and Muslim progress and growth. If-conditional is used by Obama to convey his personal affective disposition and American ideologies. It is also used to state the conditions of American partnerships to African and Muslim needs (sometimes as hypothetical future constructions). Furthermore, Obama uses extended adverbial constructions to express his negative stance towards terrorism. Examples are shown below:

8. Nothing will unlock Africa's economic potential more than ending the cancer of corruption.

9. In this tree of humanity, with all of our branches and diversity, we all go back to the same root.

10. So how can we stand by when it's happening to somebody else?

11. If you want your country to grow and succeed, you have to empower your women.

12. If African governments and international partners step up with strong support, we can transform how we work together to promote security and peace in Africa.

13. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience.

4.3. Stance taking

Barack Obama shows alignment to his audience by appealing to their respective faces through positive evaluation of the object, in this case the African and Muslim audience. Furthermore, he appraises their unique strengths, historical milestones, and celebrates their present and past victories. In an instance, Obama highlights the numeric strength of the African continent as a strength rather than a weakness. He also shows how invested he is towards the African continent with a self-positioning of himself as someone who has genuine interest in the African experience and development. An instance of this is the use

of the positive affective lexical item- great. Similarly, he identifies with the African struggles and history which shows an intentional awareness to the black history of past and present realities. To his Muslim audience, he alludes to their historic human and monumental milestones. These are shown thus:

14. It is a great honour to be the first US president to address the union.

15. I am grateful for this opportunity to speak to representatives of more than one billion people of the great African continent.

16. For those of us of African descent, because we've known what it feels like to be on the receiving end of injustice. We know what it means to be discriminated against. We know what it means to be jailed.

17. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement.

18. Africa and its people have helped shape who I am and how I see the world.

19. African kingdoms were home to great libraries and universities.

20. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

21. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country.

Barack Obama also positions himself and the entire American system as being Pro-Muslim and those who prioritises Muslim values and ethos. This positioning is demonstrated through highlighting how invested America is to the Muslim community. Examples are shown below:

22. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders. That's why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it.

23. So, let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America.

24. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America.

25. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition.

Stance taking is also displayed through the use of inclusive pronouns by Obama, showing affiliation to the African and Muslim communities and to demonstrate identification to their respective experiences (a sense of altruism, according to Reyes 2011). Examples include:

26. We are all one family.

27. We are all one tribe.

28. Our girls have to be treated the same.

29. We'll all be better off when women have equal futures.

30. We're all one family – we're all one tribe.

31. Your dignity depends on my dignity, and my dignity depends on yours.

Furthermore, Obama uses the inclusive pronoun as a positioning move to demonstrate his expertise with mitigated control and dominance. This is shown below:

32. We need only to look at the Middle East and North Africa to see that large numbers of young people with no jobs and stifled voices can fuel instability and disorder.

33. We can't let old traditions stand in the way.

34. And we must call groups like al Qaeda, ISIL, al-Shabaab, Boko Haram – we must call them what they are – murderers.

35. Our nations must all raise our voices when universal rights are being denied.

36. We must face these tensions squarely.

4.4. Double identities as a stance taking mechanism

Obama shows alignment to his audiences by emphasising his dual identity to boost the positive face of his audiences and to demonstrate a sense of belonging and inclusion. An example is realised in the phrasal construction 'son of an African' in the extended construction 'I stand before you as a proud American. I also stand before you as the son of an African.' While this shows in-group identity to the African audience experience, his American identity seems to override the African identity through the use of the positive adjective 'proud' which contrasts the construction 'son of an African'. This gives credence to his legitimacy and authenticity as an American whilst demonstrating awareness to his African ancestry. Some examples are:

37. In the villages in Kenya where my father was born, I learned of my ancestors, and the life of my grandfather, the dreams of my father, the bonds of family that connect us all as Africans and Americans.

38. And I'm also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and agreeing of peace from Muslim communities in my country.

Double identities are shown in his final statements -God bless Africa and; God bless the United States of America. This re-emphasises his conscious American identity on African soil. However, while Obama identifies as an African which appeals to the positive faces of the African audience, his American identity (as he seems to be aware of his American audience despite addressing the African Union and the Muslim audience) remains pronounced and dominant through his use of pronominals. This suggests exclusivity from the African community. An example is:

39. So we've taken our daughters and stood with them on the shores of West Africa, in those doors of no return, mindful that their ancestors were both slaves and slave owners.

There is a contrast in the use of pronouns. While 'our' is used to accentuate his filial relationship with his daughters, he uses the distant spatial pronoun 'their' to refer to Africans. Absence of the pronoun 'our' suggests his subtle stance from the African experience of slavery. An example is:

> 40. *Colonialism skewed Africa's economy and robbed people of their capacity to shape their own destiny. Only Africans can end the corruption in their countries.*

Another example *is* '*That's how your nations won independence – not just with rifles, but with principles and ideals*'. However, in the construction '*This is not the African way*' using this construction suggests that Obama knows what it means to be African, what African values mean and represent (expert positioning). Thus, he positions himself as an expert who understands the nuances of what it means to be an African. Another example is:

> 41. *And when someone has to pay a bribe just to start a business or go to school, or get an official to do the job they're supposed to be doing anyway – that's not "the African way".*

4.5. First person pronominal

Aside from representing the American government and system, Obama explicitly express his personal viewpoints and perspectives to accentuate his authorial agency and personalised views. He also uses this pronoun to share his personal experiences as a legitimatizing strategy of being invested in African and Muslim progress and communities. This is expressed through the use of the first-person pronominal 'I' which he uses to separate his presidential perspective from his individual stance. He also uses the first personal person pronoun 'I' to introduce personal reassurance to the African and Muslim audience. This is expressed through:

> 42. *[…] I said that Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions.*

> 43. *That is what I will try to do today – to speak the truth as best I can. I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.*

> 44. *That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.*

4.6. Presidential or official stance

Obama switches dexterously between these two identities. He, uses the official identity to highlight how invested the US with the African and Muslim audience and communities aimed at erasing any stereotypes and prejudices they must have harboured. Also, to highlight the American ethos and core values. The inclusive pronoun 'we' is also used to show this collective American identity and investment in Africa and Muslim communities. Examples of his official identity are:

> 45. *So America is proud to partner with the AU and African countries in this mission.*

46. So America also stands with you in the fight against wildlife trafficking.

47. We're working to help more Africans get their goods to market.

48. America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

However, there are instances where his personal and official stances are revealed simultaneously:

49. I believe we can bring electricity to more than 60 million African homes and businesses and connect more Africans to the global economy.

50. I urge Africa to join us in rejecting old divides between North and South so we can forge a strong global climate agreement this year in Paris.

4.7. Audience recognition

While Barack Obama is aware of the collective identity of his audience (African and Muslim) and also seems to know their individual compositions, which suggests the level of English Language (formal but accessible) used to address the union. He uses Arabic ('*Assalaamu alaykum*') to show recognition of his Muslim audience. He also specifically targets the youths (in both audiences), African leaders and government and African girls and women in his African audience. However, he acknowledges other professionals from different walks of life. An example is shown below:

51. We are joined today by citizens, leaders of civil societies, by faith communities, and I am especially pleased to see young people who embody the energy and optimism […].

Obama addresses the AU with the intention of addressing African leaders directly. Thus, his speech takes into consideration this specific audience by addressing African perennial issues like overstaying in offices, corruption, lack of press freedom and democracy values and African internal strife and aggressions. Also, he cited practical African challenges in specific countries and countries that have turned around their situations for African leaders to learn from and to engage in collaborative cooperation. Examples are:

52. When a leader tries to change the rules in the middle of the game just to stay in office, it risks instability and strife – as we've seen in Burundi.

53. In Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, we've seen conflicts end and countries work to rebuild. But from Somalia and Nigeria to Mali and Tunisia, terrorists continue to target innocent civilians.

Similarly, Obama addresses crucial issues that are recurrent in the two audiences and specific to Muslim audience. In addressing these issues, he revealed his stance and attitude. The theme of female emancipation was addressed in the two. However, there are specific themes addressed to the Muslim audience such as terrorism, America interest in the Jews, and the investment of America in the Muslim community. The personal attitude of Obama is demonstrated through how invested he is to the girl child emancipation. He tries to appeal not only to the female African and Muslim audience but also to sway the emotions

of the Male African and Muslim audience to become involved in the female child development. He conveys his stance through vocative, clarion calls, extended imagery, lexical items of negative and positive stance, among others. While Obama was vague about ascribing terrorism to the Muslim audience, he intentionally addresses terrorism in the Middle East and the perceived negative attitude Muslims might have to the Jews. Examples include:

54. I believe that my two daughters have to have the same chance to pursue their dreams as anybody's son.

55. Let's lift up the next generation of women leaders who can help fight injustice and forge peace and start new businesses and create jobs.

56. Look at the amazing African women here in this hall.

57. Nobody would put out a football team and then just play half the team.

58. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead.

59. They have been killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths – but more than any other, they have killed Muslims.

60. America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable.

61. At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's.

62. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements.

Conclusion

Intertextuality and first-person pronoun 'I' and 'we' are recurring discourse features used in the speeches discussed used to refer to the historical references related to the audiences (addresses) to signal alignment, a sense of belonging and inclusion within the audience experiences which makes him either Pro-African and/or Pro-Muslim (Individual, social, and racial identities). However, it was only to his African audience that he manifested dual identities (of being simultaneously African and American). To his Muslim audience, Obama asserts only his American identity. Also, while Obama was explicit in his stance towards the African audience, he was implicit to his Muslim audience which he does by tip-toeing around the conversation area through the use of rhetorical questions, if-conditionals, and intertextuality. Additionally, there are instances of bilingualisms/code-switching in both speeches, for example using greetings from the audience's local languages as well as the display of evaluative language in the two speeches. In the US audience and among general youths, it seems that they are the auditors and over hearers in the two speeches which Obama shows awareness of. In terms of stance taking, Obama demonstrated the use of epistemic stance when talking to a predominately African audience and explicit interpersonal stance to a Muslim audience. Overall, Obama's two speeches reaffirm A. Reyes' (2011) legitimatising strategies of political actors as his two speeches appeal to audience emotions, use hypothetical constructions through the use of if-conditionals, make use of voice of expertise and rational construction and sounded altruistic to achieve a positive stance-taking posture/position.

Furthermore, Obama's stance taking and audience design strategy are a persuasive strategy used when addressing an African audience, perhaps living up to their expectations and improving their potentials. When addressing a Muslim audience, Obama uses a constructive strategy to dismantle the negative stereotypes that Muslim communities have previously had towards the United States, legitimatize US social behaviour, achieve social acceptance, and prolonged American-Muslim-community relationships. Further studies can explore how suprasegmental features and multimodal features like gestures, posture, accentuation, semantic prosody, pitch, tone, and rhythm influences and/or complement the roles and identities in political and public discourse which are some of the limitations of the present study. Also, while it is not the intention of the current study to generalise findings, it's aim is to present an illustrative attempt of identity construction of a single political actor in specific political contexts. Hence, further studies can compare historical-political data with current political contexts and activities to highlights similarities and differences.

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