

**A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF
NIGERIAN MILITARY COUP
ANNOUNCEMENTS**

BY

**ABAYA, ANGULU SAMSON
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me and that it is a record of my own research. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and all sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

SIGNED.....

ABAYA, ANGULU SAMSON

DATE.....

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study entitled: A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN MILITARY COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS, carried out by ABAYA, ANGULU SAMSON, meets the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary quality.

Chairman, Supervisory Committee

Date_____

Member, Supervisory Committee

Date_____

Head of Department

Date_____

Dean, Postgraduate School

Date_____

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty, the source of my strength and wisdom; to the memories of my late father and mother, Mr. Johnmark Abaya and Mrs. Julia Amba, Abaya who taught me how to persevere in 'Kuso Asunwa' (Asunwa forest); to my wife, Grace and children Mopa, Made, Majiyebo and Mawo.

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None of these people however is to be blamed for the lapses that may remain in the work. I therefore take full responsibility for any such lapses.

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the analysis of Nigerian military coup announcements within the ambit of pragmatics. It adopts the speech acts theory as developed by Austin (1962) and revised by Adegbija (1982) and (1999). The study demonstrates that despite their military background and format, the coup announcements have some elements of political language ingrained in them for specific purposes. Consequently, the data was subjected to textual and opinion analyses. For the textual analysis, the pragmasociolinguistic concept of theory of pragmatics was applied. In the opinion analysis however, three instruments were employed. The instruments are: questionnaire, sampled opinions from newspapers and oral interviews. The result shows that at the pragmatic context level, the speech acts in each coup event depend largely on the context that gave birth to them. The analysis at the social context level reveals that the social relationship between the interlocutors is both asymmetric and symmetric depending on the audience that is being addressed by the coupists. At the linguistic level, we found that diction is used to enforce or

attenuate illocutionary force. Also, most of the sentence constructions are in the passive as the coupists do not want to create the impression of arrogance or brute force. However, a few sentences in the active voice are employed to suggest that the coupists would apply brute force if need be. The conclusion of the study is that despite its peculiarities, the Nigerian Military Coup Announcement is essentially a subset of political language. Finally, the coup announcements are themselves a composite of direct/indirect speech acts.

TABLE OF CONTENT	Page
TITLE PAGE.....	1
DECLARATION.....	2
CERTIFICATION.....	3
DEDICATION.....	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	5
ABSTRACT.....	6-7
TABLE OF CONTENT.....	8-11
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	12
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.0 Preamble.....	13-14
1.1 Background to the Study.....	14-19
1.2 An Overview of Military Coups in Nigeria.....	19-30
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	30-31
1.4 Aims of the study.....	31-32
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	32-33
1.6 Scope and Delimitation.....	33

1.7 Definition of Terms.....33-34

**CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

2.0 Introduction.....35

2.1 Political Language as a concept..... 36-48

2.2 Forms of Political Language..... 48-83

2.3 Characteristics of Political Language.....83-117

2.4 Military Language.....117-120

2.4.1 Functions of Language in the Military.....120-123

2.4.2 Official Military Language.....123-137

2.4.3 Parade Language.....137-141

2.4.4 Barracks Language.....141-148

2.4.5 War Language.....148-154

2.5 Military Coup Speeches.....154-170

2.6 Political/Military Language.....170-174

2.7 Issues on Pragmatics.....175-199

2.8 Theoretical Framework.....199-202

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0	Introduction.....	203-206
3.1	Data Collection.....	206-207
3.1.1	Problems Encountered and How They Were Overcome.....	207-208
3.2	Non- Participant Observation.....	208
3.3	Analytical Procedure.....	209
3.4	Textual Analysis.....	209
3.5	Opinion Based Analysis.....	209-212

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSES AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0	Introduction.....	213
4.1	Textual Data Analysis.....	213-289
4.2	Discussion of the Textual Analysis Based on Statement of the Problem	289-290
4.2.1	Discussion of Research Question 'A'.....	290 - 291
4.2.2	Discussion of Research Question 'B'.....	292-294
4.2.3	Discussion of Research Question 'C'.....	294-297
4.2.4	Discussion of Research Question 'D'.....	297-298
4.2.5	Discussion of Research Question 'G'.....	298-306

4.3 Opinion Data Analysis.....306-335

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction.....346

5.1

Summary.....346-348

5.1.1 Summary of Textual Analysis.....348-350

5.1.2 Summary of the Opinion Based Analysis.....350-352

Conclusion.....352-356

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....357-368

APPENDICES.....369-375

LIST OF APPENDICES

- I. A sample of questionnaire for the elicitation of data from respondents

- II. A sample of questions used in eliciting information from respondents

- III. A sample of seven texts of coup broadcasts used for the textual analysis (Texts A-G)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since January 15 1966, Nigeria and Nigerians alike have gone through coups d'état several times. On each occasion, the phenomenon was followed by an announcement directed at the Nigerian audience. In all, these announcements have common purposes and common illocutionary force such as to sensitize, appeal or persuade the Nigerian public to support such coup de'tat as *fait accompli*. In most respects, these acts can be regarded as a subset of political language. However, since in most cases the speeches are couched and delivered by the soldiers themselves, it is inevitable that they would be formally characterized by some aspects of military language. These speech acts therefore seem to be in conformity with the cultural relativity theory, which holds that language forms reflect their environment (Hudson, 2001). Besides, a coup announcement is not only an aspect of political/military language but a manifestation of the relation of language and

power because the military use a particular language style to bring about a regime change. This is so because they are ostensibly in-charge in every coup event and know that nobody can challenge them (See Austin 1962, Fairclough 1989:2-3 and Thomas & Wareing 1999:34). By and large, the Nigerian military coup speeches can be said to be a product of the military socio-political pedigree. The aim in this study therefore is to demonstrate that despite their military peculiarities and background, Nigerian coup speeches have some elements of political language ingrained in them. Consequently, the task in this thesis is to devise a suitable framework to capture the pragmatic properties of this form of discourse. In the opinion of the investigator, the speech act theory developed by Austin (1962) and revised by Adegbija (1982) could provide a sound basis for doing so.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

As far as we know, no research work has been done on coup announcements at the level of pragmatics. The security implications involved may be adduced as a probable reason for

the supposed vacuum. This daunting task, to all intents and purposes, provides a challenge to the researcher. We shall start by looking at the definitions of the phenomenon, 'coup', in order to give the study a clearer perspective.

According to *the Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics vol.2*, the word coup, originally French literally means a blow. But generally, it means a “highly successful stroke, act or move; a clever action or accomplishment”. The term coup d'état, also French, literally means a “a blow, or stroke, concerning the state” But in politics, it means a “sudden and decisive action in politics, especially one affecting a change of government illegally or by force” In other words, a coup d'état, as given in this definition, is characterized by 'suddenness', 'decisiveness', 'illegality' and 'force'. According to Madunagu cited in Omogui (2002) a coup d'état is a sudden change of government by force, brought about by those who already hold some governmental or military power. He goes further to differentiate between a coup d'état and a revolution. In his views, whereas a coup is effected from above, a revolution involves the participation of the masses.

We can still distill some statements from the foregoing. A coup d'état is a political act; it is armed politics.

A coup speech, on the other hand, as posited by Adegbija (1995), is “strictly speaking an anomaly from the point of view of discourse”. To him, there is no major difference between the speech and the event it ushers in, due to their ambivalent nature. He goes further to describe its discourse attributes thus:

As a speech genre, it is strictly not a monologue. Nor can it in every sense of the word be considered a dialogue even though it is normally intended as one. It is delivered in an unusual context of interaction, normally with a divided addressee: those who support the coup, with whom cooperative interaction has to be carried, and those completely against the coup, for whom the cooperative principle cannot be assumed. (P.253-254)

Akanbi (1999:1) on the other hand, defines a coup speech as “an address prepared by coup plotters and read by their representative usually over the radio and on television to announce a change in government”. In a similar fashion, Abaya (2004:4) also defines a military coup speech as “a broadcast to the nation on military intervention in the

government of the day through illegitimate and violent means”.

The common features among these definitions are: -
First, a coup speech is considered as an utterance vis-à-vis a means of communication to the public. Second, it is meant for public consumption. Third, it is ambivalent, though a political speech and it cannot be safely situated among the conventional political speeches such as: presidential address, campaign speech, or even parliamentary address, hence, its uniqueness. It is this tendency that provoked the zest for this research.

There are different kinds of coup speeches just as there are different kinds of coups. Thus they can be categorized into two. There is the civilian coup speech in which the civilians initiate the coup with the salient backing of the military. A typical example was the coup that ousted Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines in February 1986, and most recently that of Georgia in 2004 when the citizenry stormed the parliament under the watchful eyes of the military. Another type of coup speech is one in which the coup is greatly sponsored and executed by the military, also with the support of the civilians.

In this case, the address is presented by one of the military protagonists. In whichever setting, military or non-military, the purpose is political, hence it becomes imperative that the theme of the announcement must reflect it. Our study, the Nigerian military coup speeches, is concerned with the latter type: those that ushered in military regimes between 1966 and 1993 but strictly executed by the military.

The phenomenon, Nigerian military coup speeches, is situated within the socio-cultural and political setting of Nigeria. Hence, to fully construe it as such, we need to invoke a contextual linguistic factor in order to explicate the intended and inferred meanings that are located in the text. These meanings are supposedly drawn from the cumulative world and personal experiences of the interlocutor. The speech acts theory, a hallmark of pragmatics, as reviewed by Adegbija (1982) we feel, can provide some good explanation for this.

The study of coup announcements is neither historical nor political in the true sense of it. Rather, it is an application of the theory of linguistics to explain a political phenomenon. In other words, the study focuses on 'how' coup speeches are

used to perform actions (speech acts). Studies on speech acts have focused on the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of verbal exchanges in the context of natural communication, (Adegbija, 1988). Hence, in order to capture the intended and inferred meanings adequately, we feel there is need to highlight why the military intervened in the first place. This will give us an insight into the study proper.

1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF MILITARY COUP D’ETAT IN NIGERIA

The pathway for the precipitative arrival of the military in Nigerian politics was paved by the disturbing events that took the centre stage of the political arena of the country following the 1959 elections, although, Haruna (cited in Omoruniye et al 1992) traced the problems to 1949. According to him:

Although the political squabbles for power and tribalization of politics can be traced to 1949. It found an inroad into the Army where western education and ethnic representation became the criteria for recruitment. (P: 135)

This idea of quota system, he went further “tended to establish careers in the army along ethnic lines”. And with its attendant consequence and “its inherent difficulties, the southern officers were continually frustrated in their bid for speedy advance to higher ranks and more powerful posts”. Going by the ‘frustration - aggression theory’, little wonder, the first coup was staged by those who felt aggrieved with the status quo.

Another remote but endemic factor that results in military intervention in Nigeria according to Maj. Gen. D. Jemibewon was the structural imbalance of the federation. To him a situation in which the northern region by sheer population, expanse of geographical territory and representation in parliament, was powerful enough to hold the rest of the federation to ransom was a miscalculation. Corollary to this, were unhealthy inter-ethnic, inter-regional and inter-governmental rivalries and animosities, which were accentuated by the politics of revenue allocation/population census and which flowed largely from this structural imbalance. These assertions were echoed in the book/ *The*

Military in Politics from Aguiyi Ironsi to Ibrahim Babangida, edited by Agedah Dickson, that ‘Regional Politics was rife and no one amongst the political actors bothered about national unity’, regional sentiment and loyalty took precedence over national unity. All these paved way for the final explosion later.

Coming to the immediate cause of the fall of the first republic was the constitutional stalemate following the 1964 general elections and the violence that attended the 1965 Western Nigeria’s’ parliamentary elections. The politicians did not play the political game according to the constitutional and regulatory rules. It was the winner-takes-all and always –the winner syndrome. This state of affairs apparently angered the five majors and with their cohorts who felt there should be a change of government so as to correct the anomalies. The political tension was further aggravated by the Tiv riot that threatened the corporate existence of the country. Hence on 15th January 1966, the civilian government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was ousted in a dawn coup announced from Kaduna by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu.

Unfortunately, some of the military officers that staged the coup seemed to have allowed tribal sentiments and prejudices to becloud their sense of judgment. There was a heavy concentration of victims from the northern region while the southern region recorded virtually no death. This lopsided execution of the coup gave the feelings within the aggrieved region and a large section of the military of an attempt at political domination. In the end, the coup was aborted and on January 16, 1966 the Majors' Coup was put down by a new military government led by Major General J.T.U Aguyi Ironsi. Ironsi also frittered away his chances of reconciling the aggrieved section and building a strong unified Nigeria as he promised to do. He promulgated Decree 34 abolishing the Nigerian federation, and replacing it with a unitary system. This move by Ironsi confirmed the fear of the northern elites about a possible scheme by the Igbo to dominate the rest of country. Writing in his book *No Place to Hide – Crises and Conflicts Inside Biafra*, Benard Odogwu, then a Nigerian diplomat at the United Nations in New York, observed that:

... granted that he is such a good soldier as he is reputed to be, the question is: Are all good soldiers necessarily good statesmen? Again how well prepared is he for the task he has just inherited? I do hope that he is also as wise as he is reputed to be bold, because if you ask me, I think the General is sitting on a time bomb, with the fuse almost burnt out. We shall wait and see what happens next, but from my observations, I know the present state of affairs will not last long. A northern counter action is definitely around the corner and God save us all when it explodes.

Cited in Omogui (2002)

Indeed, his prediction was apt and absolute. Consequently, the northern officers staged a retaliatory coup on July 29, 1966 and Ironsi was assassinated.

The counter coup led by young northern army officers saw the demise of Aguyi Ironsi and the emergence of Yakubu Gowon as Nigerian Head of State on August 1, 1966. Gowon promised the people an early return to civil rule on which he later reneged in 1974. Besides, Gowon was accused of allowing a dangerous class of indigenous exploiters in close collaboration with foreign marauders emerging on the Nigerian scene. Omogui (2002:20) in his analysis of series of military interventions in Nigeria, asserts that, "But the main grouse was that officers who 'fought the war' felt excluded from

patronage” confirming the frustration – aggression theory. But, Gowon too was eventually overthrown in a bloodless palace putsch of July 29, 1975.

This brought Murtala Mohammed onto the helm of affairs of the nation. The coup was greeted with joy by the Nigerian populace. General Murtala justified Gowon’s overthrow thus: “The nation has been groping in the dark and the situation would inevitably result in chaos and bloodshed if not arrested” (*Daily Times* August 4 1975). The Murtala Mohammed administration emphasized probity and in the end found ten out of Gowon’s twelve Military Governors guilty of corruption. A number of public officers were dismissed. Although his regime endeared itself to the hearts of many Nigerians by its sweeping reforms and temporary restoration of sanity into the public service, there were still some in the military that were aggrieved. Unfortunately, on February 13 1976, he was assassinated in an abortive coup d’état led by Lt. Col. B.S. Dimka. The reason given was that the government was too harsh, but subsequent research uncovered a possible foreign involvement in the coup, although unsuccessful.

General Olusegun Obasanjo, as second in command, took over the mantle of leadership. He was in office for a period of three years. During the time, General Obasanjo endeavored to build a new pro-civilian political culture. After a peaceful conduct of elections, Alhaji Shehu Shagari took over on October 1, 1979 and between then and 1983, it was alleged that there was an abuse of office, coupled with apparent mismanagement of the economy. The scenario in some peoples' view was reminiscent of the first republic hence he too was overthrown. On 31st December 1983, the news of the coup against the Shagari administration was announced by Brigadier Sani Abacha. Among other things, they were accused of corruption, inefficiency, maladministration and indiscipline. The new government was headed by Major General Mohammed Buhari.

Major General Mohammed Buhari enjoyed a great deal of support from Nigerians. His regime attempted to address the problems of indiscipline and the ailing economy. But the approach in some quarters was considered too harsh and rash. Justifying this assertion, Babangida had this to say, "Major

General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance” (*Punch Newspapers* August 29, 1985). In fact it was an issue of personality clash. Hence, by August 27, 1985, the regime was replaced by General Babangida. Babangida’s arrival on the scene was greeted with joy but his achievements were analyzed and characterized from polarized standpoints. Some schools of thought saw it as unrivalled especially for his socio-economic and political programmes. But another school of thought believed that his regime did not only glorify corruption but also sponsored it. Some however, accused the administration of encouraging the domination of one ethnic group over the others. Four months into his administration, December 17th 1985 to be precise, it was rumoured that a coup was nipped in the bud. It was alleged to have been sponsored by Major General Mamman Vatsa. After investigations, the purported would- be plotters were executed.

Major Gideon Orkar’s abortive coup of April 22, 1990 was predicated on the issue of marginalization and corruption, domination and self-succession by Babangida’s administration.

The abortive coup raised fundamental questions. According to Major General Mohammed Ali, former Chief of Army Staff, as cited in Omogui (1995):

The 1990 coup like its predecessor in 1966 opened a more precarious and frightening chapter, pointing to and crying for fundamental changes in the nation's political structure and the basis of existence and control of the Armed forces. However, as soon as it was subdued and suppressed, the nation went back to business as usual.

Some Nigerians saw Orkar as a hero while others saw him as a villain. Whatever side of the fence one found oneself, history will tell. The attempted coup was adjudged as the bloodiest. It marked the beginning of the rise of Gen, Sani Abacha who was then increasingly being referred to in the press as 'the Khalifa' i.e an heir apparent or would-be successor.

All schools of thought on power agree that no ruler is completely disinterested in the issue of succession or power inheritance. There is a unique agreement on the desire for power perpetuation either through self or through acknowledged surrogates. Little wonder, Babangida had to

affirm that the regime did not know who would succeed it but was conscious of those who would not. After the annulment of June 12 1993 election, which was publicly considered the fairest in the history of Nigeria, he was unwilling to handover to Abiola. The political climate in Nigeria after the annulment compelled him to relinquish power to Ernest Shonekan on August 27, 1993.

Shonekan after eighty two (82) days in office was sidelined in what was tagged 'The Generals' Coup'. There was a prolonged argument in the country on whether it was Abacha or he, (Shonekan) that really was in power under the guise of keeping the military together, strong and united. Shonekan himself did not help matters. There was nationwide protest over the increment in petrol price. Most of all, Abacha said he could no longer guarantee security because there was restiveness in the rank and file of the military, hence on November 18, 1993 Shonekan was persuaded to handover the government to General Sani Abacha.

Having consolidated power, Abacha started clamping down on oppositions and even planned to succeed himself

through an endless transition programme. Consequently, in March 1995, it was alleged by the government that a coup was again truncated. The leader was said to be Col. Gwadabe in association with General Olusegun Obasanjo and General Shehu Musa Yar'adua. They faced a military tribunal and later were sentenced to various prison terms.

Again, in August 1996, the government alleged that there was a plan to overthrow it. This time it was alleged to have been spearheaded by the second in command to Abacha, General Oladipo Diya and some Generals. In his defence, Diya said it was a set up by General Musa Bamaïyi. This was the status quo in the country when the nation woke up on June 8, 1998 to hear that Abacha had died of natural causes.

General Abubakar Abdulsalam took over the leadership and after a transition of barely one year he handed over to a democratically elected government of retired General Olusegun Obasanjo on May 29, 1999.

From the foregoing, it is evidently clear that the reasons for the incessant military interventions in the Nigerian body polity can be summed up in three words namely: ineptitude,

maladministration and corruption on the part of the leadership. Thus, the need for coup speeches, a channel through which the coupists would have to explain to the Nigerian populace why they had to take over the reins of governance, became imperative on each occasion. In the speeches that heralded the military governments, it is assumed that much of political and military parlance are demonstrated just as it is illustrated in *Animal Farm* by George Orwell in which Comrade Napoleon, in order to assume leadership of the animal kingdom, discredits Snowball through propaganda and threats.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Nigerian military coup speech, as shall be argued, depicts a political language as well as mirrors the military institution. Much as the political culture will influence the speeches, so will the military culture. The thesis in this study is to show that despite its peculiarities, the Nigerian military coup speech is essentially a subset of political language. The task is to reveal the intended and inferred meanings that are located in the speeches used on each occasion within the ambit of pragmatics. To arrive at this, the following questions must be answered:

- (a) What features of political discourse are manifested in Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (b) What attributes of the military are reflected in the Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (c) What pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts of coup speeches seem to determine the speech acts performed?
- (d) What illocutionary acts are implied in the speeches?
- (e) Are the speech acts direct or are they indirect?
- (f) What perlocutionary effects did the speeches actually perform?
- (g) What common discourse patterns can be detected among the different coup speeches?

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

Essentially, a military coup speech is intended to declare the demise of an incumbent regime i.e. changing the world through utterance (declarations). It is also intended to serve as an instrument of awareness and of persuasion for the new regime. This study explicates the Nigerian military coup speech both as a political language and as a military language within the ambit of pragmatics. And as a political discourse the speech will manifest features of political language in order to

show that a gun is not all it takes to change a regime. Also as a military language, the text will reflect the society within which it is couched.

The aims of this study therefore include:

- (a) assessing whether despite their military background and format, coup speeches have some elements of political language ingrained in them for specific purposes.
- (b) gauging the substance or emptiness in military coup d'état speeches put out by military leaders in Nigeria.
- (c) stimulating further research using other linguistic parameters.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Ever since independence, the Nigerian nation has witnessed eleven military coups including those that were alleged or aborted. The speeches made on the occasion of these coups have had great impact on both the political life of the country and the world at large. However, not many people understand the underlying pragmatic import of the speeches. Therefore, there is need for a study like this in order to throw more light on the underlying tapestry of the speeches to better

understand both the Nigerian Military and its impact on the political life of the nation. Therefore, in this research, we set out to find out what the thinking behind these coup attempts were as they are expressed in the language.

1.6 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

Between January 1966 and May 1999, the beginning of the Third Republic, Nigeria had experienced eleven coup d'état including those that were alleged. For this study, these coup attempts will be grouped into two viz:

1. Those that were announced namely: Nzeogwu (1966), Garba (1975), Dimka (1976), Abacha (1983), Dogonyaro (1985), Orka (1990) and Abacha (1993).
2. Those that were either not announced or were alleged namely: Gowon (1966), Vatsa (1986), Gwadabe (1987) and Diya (1996).

The focus in this study is the first group since our scope is coup announcement speeches. The study, in the main, is strictly pragmatic. The Speech Acts theory, as revised by Adegbija (1982) is adopted to explicate the data.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following key terms are hereby defined as they are used in this study.

1. Military Institution- A coercive force set up to protect a country against internal secession and external aggression.
2. Military language- a register that reflects attributes of the military, in speech or in writing.
3. Military coup speeches/military coup announcements- speeches made by the military in the event of a regime change.
4. Coup – an overthrow of government through illegal means, actors may or may not necessarily be military.
5. Coupists- Coup plotters
6. Politics – issues that border on the art of governance.
7. Political language/discourse/speech-used interchangeably as actual verbal production in the form of what politicians say or as represented in writing.
8. Political agenda – political plan that is concealed but known only to the executor(s)
9. Pragmatics- accounts for the specific meanings of utterances in particular social and situational contexts
10. Pragmasociolinguistics - a composite of pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts
11. Speech Acts – accounts for how and why words are used in natural communication.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Since a coup speech, among others, is designed to persuade the general public to support the regime change, it therefore to a large extent manifests features of political language. However, the researcher wants to show that a coup speech is distinct in many respects. Hence, the purpose of this literature review is to justify this position. In this chapter, the researcher reviews available and relevant literature which has a bearing on the current effort in order to give the study a clearer perspective. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviews literature on political language. The second section focuses on the existing literature on military language and military coup speech. The final section concentrates on issues in pragmatics and the main theoretical thrust for the study.

2.1 POLITICAL LANGUAGE AS A CONCEPT

The word political is an adjectival derivation of the noun politics. It is a concept that has been conceived differently. According to the *Dictionary of Government and Politics*, politics is the art and practice of running a country. (P: 154) In the word the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, cited in *Encyclopedia Britannica vol 25(p: 3214)*, “man is by nature a political animal.” It means, man engages in one level of politic or the other. David Easton cited in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics vol:vi₂(p:3215-3217)* defines politics as the authoritative allocation of resources. It can be observed from this definition that politics concerns the struggle to get one’s portion from the so called general belongings. Hann (1998:2) sees politics as a process of solving problems...and that the process takes place through communication.

According to Perloff (1998:7) politics is “the science of how, who gets what and why”. He goes further that, “It is a process whereby a group of people, whose opinion or interest are initially divergent, reach collective decisions which are generally regarded as binding on the group, and enforced as

common policy.” Wareing et al (1999:36) opine that politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people’s behavior and often to control their values. And that it is all around us all the time. It should be noted that every definition of the concept points towards the direction that politics has to do with human rivalry in an attempt to meet one’s individual or group aspirations. By and large, politics is a highly interactive activity that is solely dependent on language. That brings us to what language is all about.

Several scholars have defined language differently to suit the context of their presentation. Therefore, language will be defined to cater for the purpose of this study. Accordingly, Sapir (1921), cited in Oyeleye (2004) defines language as a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols. Similarly, Block and Trager (1949) define language as a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates. However, Chomsky (1957) cited from Oyeleye (2004) posits that language enables us to

influence one another's behavior and to influence it in great detail and thereby makes human cooperation possible. The possible interpretation of these definitions is that language is human and serves as instrument of interaction. In other words, both language and politics have a symbiotic relationship. It is therefore our belief that politicians including coupists use language to achieve their aim of winning political support of the people.

Having examined the key words, politics and language as entities, it is pertinent to look at political language as a concept from the perspective of authorities and scholars alike. First, political language can be traced to the theory of linguistic determinism which states that not only does our perception of the world influence our language but also that the language we use profoundly affects how we think. Safely put, language is perceived to provide a framework for our thought. Thorne (1997) upholds the view that:

Many people believe that language influence thought: therefore if language is manipulated, so are the processes of thought. In other words, politicians can influence the way we think about the events

around us, and the words they choose are a social part of that process. (P: 369)

Here, we can see that language is considered as an instrument of manipulation by politicians in order to achieve their individual set goals. Hence, it is assumed that politicians have a particular way of perceiving the world or a particular ideology. Because they (politicians) have different ideologies, they approach political issues from different perspectives, and often find contrasting solutions to the same political problems. Consequently, through their use of language, politicians persuade the electorates to identify with their own ideology or worldview.

The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics vol. ix, defines political language as “the terminology and rhetoric of political activities and of politicians acting in their professional capacity which is comparable to the discourse of other occupations such as the law, medicine and religion”. The understanding of the above definition is that users of language have different ways of communicating ideas. Such differences to a large extent are often prompted by profession, human

activities, age, sex and status among others. Orwell (1945) observes that the whole tendency of modern prose was away from correctness and also that in our time, most political speech was the defense of the indefensible. Orwell's' genius was for interpreting portent and what he foresaw was perhaps to grow even worse in Nigeria than in England. Edem (1988:105), cited in Rasheed (2004) maintains that political language is the perfect example of mismatch between "the map and the territory" because in his words, "It is not reality in any testament or observable sense that matters in shaping political consciousness and behavior but rather the beliefs that language helps evoke about the causes of discontent of satisfaction and about policies that bring about a future closer to the heart's desire and about other observables". The issues emerging here are very clear. Political language is susceptible to manipulation by politicians as it is not a neutral instrument that we can use to interpret the world impersonally and objectively. The consequence of language misuse in the political sphere for Orwell(1945) is 'viciously cyclical'. According to him, "If thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt

thoughts”. Orwell was equally saddened to find that political speech and writing are deceitful. Hence to him, “This political language has to consist of euphemism, question begging, and sheer-cloudy vagueness. Political language...is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and give an appearance of solidity to pure minds” In Nigeria for instance, the politics of language and the language of politics are hardly distinguishable. In the first instance, English, (the language of politics) is not an indigenous language and it is employed for essential documents delivery including coup announcements. Therefore, it is easy for politicians and pseudo politicians to employ it deceitfully.

The negative attributes of political language are equally corroborated by Mohammed (2001:10) He describes political language as “language manipulation”; which in his opinion is “widely used to acquire and regain power. He added that, “Political language is in particular used to rationalize operational excesses and shortcomings and to over magnify achievements if any”. He also describes Nigerian political language as ‘Tokunbonness’(something that is not genuine), a

phenomenon that lacks sincerity. Our understanding of this assertion is that the concept of political language is universal, one bedecked with complexities and awe. One wonders, whether political language can be associated to a particular time frame. Hershell (2001:125) sheds more light thus, “Political language has become so familiar to us that it can easily be taken for granted.” Because, according to her, “We hear politician’s speeches on television, on the radio and at public addresses. And... the terrain of political language is also unlimited”. In her words, “Ideas and beliefs in political language extend beyond political rhetoric and into the practical realities of everyday life.” On the validity of political language, she opines that the approval of political speeches is most obviously and immediately demonstrated through applause. In other words, “a political speech can only be legitimized by the people.”

Lakoff (200:8) equates political speech with what he calls ‘Framing’. Political language or framing according to him is a situation where every word is defined relative to a conceptual framework. Put differently, political language is

context based. The idea is in consonance with the components of situation presented in various ways by linguists like Firth (1962), Ellis (1988), Halliday (1978) and Hymes (1962).

Another aspect of political language that we found interesting is that which shows the manifestation of political experiences as individualistic and societal. Zheng (2000) offers an incisive explanation thus, “Political language is a mixture of personal development and the relevant social environment in which an individual grows”. According to him, any individual political discourse is the result of personal development in certain social settings which includes processes in which the individual develops his/her personality, the individual's educational experiences, parental influences, social circles, political party, economic status among others. He further asserts that these instances can be found in the individual speech patterns many years later.

President Wilson brought to the presidency an innate propensity to moralize overlaid by professional training in academic exposition. In other words, political speech pattern is a matter of individual's wealth of experience from and across

all spheres of life. This position corroborates favorably with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that our perception of the world influences our language. But this must be complemented with personal effort so to speak. Robinson (1979:65) seems to be in a dilemma regarding the dynamism in political language. According to him “I am not sure whether it is better to say that the English of politics is changing, or the politics of England.” This is evident from his assessment of parliamentary expressions. He realizes that there is a great departure from the status quo. In his words:

The interruptions, formal and informal, are much more dramatic than in printed record; hear-hears and non-verbal noises that do not get into the printed record show the important continuity between the high court of parliament and the non-linguistic expressiveness of a football crowd. This is I think, far from a cause for regret, and the immediacy of this whole element of parliament does suggest that there is life in the old place yet. It would be going a little far to say that there will always be an England so long as one member can raise as a point of order that another is attempting to speak and eat peanuts simultaneously, but I do feel that all is not lost in the House while there is so much immediately effective critics by way of rude noises, of the nonsense occasionally uttered, and as long as there is the judgment of good healthy laughter and applause....What it does mean, quite unpleasantly, is the great speed, and the informality, of most of the speeches.(1979:65)

Though the above observation is a serious one, indeed, we need to examine the context of situation of a particular speech event before one could make an utter condemnation of the use of language. Political language is usually a product of tensed, emotive and rowdy pedigree, little wonder, the above remark.

Pole (1979:421-431) describes American political language as unique due to the complexity of American society. According him (the language) “resembles low murmur in many dialects of a single language” (P: 421). This remark indicates that political expressions in America are to some extent articulated with caution due to the heterogeneity of the society. Hence, “they are reflected sometimes subtly, sometimes clearly in the speech of political leadership.” He also believes that events affect the language in which they are described.

Wilson (1990) looks at political language from the pragmatic angle. His concern therefore is to look at what politicians do not say, as well as with what they say and with implications and underlying assumptions associated with what

is said and what is not said. In doing this, he shows that preconceptions we might have about political talk being manipulative are not unfounded. He also demonstrates how listeners bring unstated assumptions with them in their interpretation of political discourse. Wilson also agrees with Robinson (1979) that to understand a political speech, the content/ form in the context of production must be taken into account. In his words:

If we want to understand what politicians are up to when they make use of the linguistic system for particular political purposes or functions, and if, in one sense, we wish to redress the balance of power, we must pay attention not only to content but to form as well, and indeed the interaction of these two in specific contexts of production.

This suggests that an overall discernment of political language will require a measure of pragmatic input.

Powell (1979) feels political language is a difficult concept to define because of its fluidity. He remarks thus:

Where does political English begin and end? Is it restricted to speech in parliament, or does it include speech at political public meetings and on the hustings? Is it restricted to that used by politicians themselves? Or does it include leading articles in newspaper when they are on political topics? (P: 433)

Going by this understanding, it is rather presumptuous to place the concept of political language on a particular scale. He goes with the same conviction that it is also difficult to do any objective or scientific analysis of political language. We do not subscribe to this claim as examples of linguistic stylistic analysis of political discourse abound severally. Little wonder, he claims he could not find anything new in his analysis of four political speeches he did. According to him:

When all is done, one is forced to admit that the attempt to find anything specifically political in the selected specimen has ended in a negative, whether ancient' or 'modern', whether great oratory or run-of-the-mill discourse, the English remains undifferentiated, the English of the day; such as would have been spoken by contemporaries, or by the speakers themselves, on any other subject or any work of life. (P: 439)

Harris (1979) in his own contribution to the issue of language and politics, opines that “language is the means by any walk of life which political ideas are transmitted to the community”, and John Locke in Harris (1958) believes that the strength of language in politicking is enormous. And in another setting, Ranney (1975) submits that:

Four hostile newspapers were the equivalent of 100,000 enemy troops on the field of battle underlining the extent to which political language is itself a weapon. He further claims that: Every political authority will lead to justify itself by an appeal to language in its symbolic or realistic sense. It is apparent from the legion of opinions stated above that language is the key factor in political behavior concerning mobilizing people for support and acceptance.

In all these, we can see that political language as a concept is fluid, complex and dynamic just as the phenomenon politics is. Little wonder Mohammed (2001) describes it as ‘Tokunboness’ (an insincere phenomenon)

2.2 FORMS OF POLITICAL LANGUAGE

Since our aim in this study, among others, is to assess whether despite their military background and format coup speeches have some elements of political language ingrained in them for specific purposes, it is therefore imperative to identify the major forms of political language with the view to justifying their relevance to our corpus.

Political language to a large extent can be likened to propaganda. According to “The Free Encyclopedia-Wikipedia”, the actual Latin stem propaganda conveys a sense

of “that which ought to be spread” and that originally the term was not intended to mean misleading information. The Encyclopedia also asserts that the modern political sense dates from World War I and was not originally pejorative. However, it is a common belief that the modern sense of propaganda connotes deliberately false or misleading information that supports or advances a political course or interest of political institutions and politicians alike.

The Heretical Press (1996:2) defines propaganda from linguistic determinism perspective. Consequently, according to them propaganda is “a phenomenon intended to alter the way people think and feel about the society they live in and its governing values and priorities”.

The Free Encyclopedia identifies some of the characteristics of propaganda to include the following:-

- i. Intended message is suggested through indirect means.
- ii. Influencing people’s opinions actually rather than to merely communicate the facts about something.
- iii. The message shapes opinions in a subtle often insidious way.
- iv It appeals to one’s emotions.

- v. It maintains the range of debate that appears inclusive of different points of view so as to suggest fairness and balance.
- vi. A message does not have to be untrue to qualify as propaganda.
- vii. The message must be heard as many places as possible.

The Encyclopedia also asserts that propaganda can either be used to refer to political or nationalistic views or used to promote a set of ideas. On the contrary, Wikipedia classifies propaganda according to source and nature of the message thus:

1. White Propaganda: It generally comes from an openly identified source and characterized by gentler methods of persuasion, such as standard public relations techniques and one sided presentation of argument.
2. Black Propaganda: This often pretends to be from a friendly source, but is actually from an adversary. It is characterized by its presentation of false information to elicit a desired response and often used in covert military psychological operations and large networked organization such as terror networks or government.

3. Gray Propaganda: this may come from an adversarial source pretending to be friendly or neutral and presents misleading information in a more insidious manner. (P: 10)

From the foregoing, we have observed that the present day concept of propaganda is largely pejorative and traceable to linguistic determinism theory which holds that language determines thought. This position is in sharp contrast with the classical definition which portrays propaganda as spreading of false information. Coincidentally, the intended illocutionary force of coup announcements is multifarious. It is both intended to ‘determine thought’ and to bring about awareness to the public. Although the above contributions do not have direct bearing on the aim of the study i.e. to highlight the linguistic properties inherent in coup speeches, it has given us useful insight into the pejorative disposition of propaganda and its relevance to our study.

Propaganda manifests in the form of newspeak, political correctness, doublespeak, language of deception, language of persuasion and language of diplomacy. They all have similar

pragmatic import. We shall highlight each form with a view to justifying their relevance to our study.

(i) **NEWSPEAK**

According to Thomas and Wareing (1999:194) Newspeak is a term coined by George Orwell in his novel, *Nineteen Eighty Four*, where it referred to a special vocabulary invented by totalitarian regime to manipulate peoples' thinking. They however observed that the term has now passed into common usage to mean loosely, new words or use of words, but more specifically new words or uses of words in political jargon or propaganda. Carter and Durow (1987) see newspeak as a prescribed language called 'Newspeak' which all citizens must communicate with, to control the system. As against adding of words in new edition in traditional dictionaries each succeeding edition of the newspeak dictionary contained fewer words. The vocabulary is not only reduced but the words in use are stripped of detailed connotation. In Orwell's words, "The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible"

(1949:270). The principle of Newspeak can therefore be aligned to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which claims that language determines our perception of the world. (See appendix in 'Nineteen Eighty Four')

Orwell further explains,

It was intended that when Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak forgotten, heretical thought that is, a thought diverging from the principles of Ingsoc-should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words. Its vocabulary was so constructed as to give exact and often... subtle expression to every meaning that a party member could properly wish to express, while excluding all other meanings and also possibility of arriving at them by indirect methods. This was done partly by the invention of new words, but chiefly by eliminating undesirable words and by stripping such words as remained of unorthodox meanings, and so far as possible of all secondary meanings whatever

{(1949) 1984:270-271 }

Newspeak was intended to render independent thought and dissent next to impossible and Orwell ends with a more ominous prediction that,

There would be many crimes and errors which it would be beyond his power to commit, simply because they were nameless and therefore unimaginable. And it was to be foreseen that with the passage of time the distinguishing characteristics of Newspeak would become more and more pronounced- its words growing fewer and fewer, their meanings more and more rigid and the chance of putting them to improper uses always diminishing. (p.280)

In the light of this observation, Chomsky, the founder of Transformational Grammar, (1987) cited in Mohammed (2001) criticizes the US government for its bias in the protracted and endless Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East. He opines that the US Government tries to control or influence the way the American think about the situation by deliberately appearing vague in its choice of words. For example, ‘extremists’ and ‘moderates’ to him, are newspeak terms used generally to differentiate between those who are against the US policy and the main victims who have refused to bow to US pressure. Chomsky sees all these as part of the American strategy of ‘Manufacturing Consent’ both at local and at international level. He concludes thus:

The record of deceit concerning terrorisms is so extensive that it cannot even be sampled here. The relevant point is that a proper history and appropriate form of ‘newspeak’ have been contrived in which terrorism is the province of Palestinians, while Israelis carry out retaliations, sometimes in legitimate pre-emption, occasionally reacting with regrettable harshness, as any state would do under such circumstances. Liberal censorship barely exists in the United States but thought control is a flourishing industry, indeed an indispensable one in a society built on the principle of elite decision and public endorsement of passivity. Cited from Mohammed (2001:5)

Though Newspeak is a language of a supposed fictional world, some of the features and principles abound in our present day use of English.

Gee (2001) writing under the title ‘Decoding Bush’s Newspeak’, opines that the use of Newspeak has become rampant in recent years especially in the political circle. He goes further to cite some of President George W. Bush’s Newspeak, which in his words are intended to “Rally the subjects to America’s New War”. We shall now sample a few of these examples and their corresponding interpretation thus:

NEWSPEAK: America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause.

INTERPRETATION: We saved your bacon in two world wars, so now it’s your turn to send your sons and daughters off to all corners of the globe to die in order that we may both expand our power.

NEWSPEAK: Americans have known wars but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941.

INTERPRETATION: War is only unacceptable when it occurs within our borders. Hey, that Pearl Harbour metaphor sure comes in hardly.

NEWSPEAK: Americans have known surprise attacks but never before on thousands of civilians.

INTERPRETATION: Surprise attacks by our military have killed thousand of civilians, but you won't hear about it.

NEWSPEAK: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.

INTERPRETATION: Get in line, or else-That means you, too, lowly subject support your government, it knows what's best for you.

NEWSPEAK: We ask every nation to join us.

INTERPRETATION: We demand that every nation join us. To repeat, you are either with us, or you are with the terrorists, Gee (2001:4-6).

One thing stands clear from the above examples. The language is devoid of aesthetics or coloration in order to achieve brevity and precision which obviously is the hallmark of Newspeak.

The principle of Newspeak suffers wide condemnation from its opponents owing to the fact that it is meant to control peoples thought, it has in no small measure helped in shedding light on the language of politicians as they embark on their political escapades. The question which arises from the idea of Newspeak is how much of the concept is evident in Nigerian military coup speeches?

(ii) POLITICAL CORRECTNESS

Political correctness according to Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, is a term used in English-speaking countries to describe real or perceived attempts by a populace to self-impose limits on the acceptable language. And it is also a term used in public discussion typically for the purpose of countering open social acceptance of ethnic and sex discrimination. In other words, political correctness has both political and social connotation However, Jones & Wareing (1999), perceive political correctness as a benign attempt to improve the world. On the contrary, Philip (1999) opines that political correctness is intended to prevent people and to compel everyone to avoid using words or behaviour that may

upset homosexuals, women, non-whites, the crippled, the mentally impaired, the fat or the ugly. Political correctness covers areas such as race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, religion and political views. The earliest cited usage of the term according to Philip (op cit) comes from the United States Supreme Court decision Chisholm V. Georgia (1793) where it calls for a clearer interpretation due to the political status of the United States as it was understood at that time.

Lind (2000) traces the origin of Political Correctness to what he refers to as ‘totalitarian ideologies’ which in his view are most revealed on the college campuses. According to him, political correctness is all about discrimination. Jernigan, (2001:1) himself a blind, opines that political correctness is a perfect example of pretentious euphemisms that characterize anything they (the blind) do and say to further the cause of discrimination.

The views of scholars on political correctness vary. Whereas some support the idea, certain proportions are opposed to it. The proponents argue that the goal of political correctness is to bring peoples’ unconscious biases into

awareness, allowing them to make a more informed choice about their language and making them aware of things different people might find offensive. They also identify the goal of changing language and terminology as consisting of four parts such as:

1. Certain people have their rights, opportunities or freedom restricted due to their categorization as members of a group with a derogatory stereotype.
2. This categorization is largely implicit and unconscious and is facilitated by the easy availability of labeling terminology.
3. By making the labeling terminology problematic, people will be made to think consciously about how they describe someone.
4. Once labeling is a conscious activity, rather than their perceived membership of a group, will become more apparent.

Wikipedia (P: 4)

The opponents on their parts argue that:

1. Political correctness appears to have an agenda, concerned with changing the way people thought.

- 2 Political correctness is equal to censorship and is a danger to free speech.
3. Limits placed on language and the boundaries of public debate will inevitably lead to limit to conduct
4. Others see it as linguistic cover for an evasion of personal responsibility, for instance, when Juvenile delinquents, become “children at risk”.
5. It puts well-meaning people in the position of speaking for others without asking their opinion.

One outstanding advantage to the divided opinion on political correctness is its dynamism. A clear indication is that the concept is subject to change, which is one of the attributes of language.

Examples of language modification i.e. Political Correctness includes, gender, disability, race, religion and other areas. We shall sample few of these under each of the following titles:

1. **Gender-related**

- Chairman was replaced by chair, chairperson
- Policeman became policewoman when referring to females; then the form police officers was introduced for both gender
- ‘Man does not live by bread alone’ became “people do not....

- The word 'sex' replaced by 'gender'
- Miss and Mrs. supplemented by Ms
- Feminine equivalent of bachelor no longer spinster but bachelorette

2. **Disability related**

- A cripple now proceeds through a long sequence of euphemisms, including disabled, handicapped, people with disability, differently abled and physically challenged which is the current term in the United States.
- Backward, imbecile, moron and idiot became mentally retarded, then mentally disabled, then mentally challenged
- Blind people become visually impaired
- Deaf people become hearing impaired

The arguments against the physically challenged; however, are:

- (a) The form has changed but the old notions of inferiority second class status still remains
- (b) That the euphemisms contain a message that subliminally tells the person so-labeled that they should feel resigned to their fate.

3. **Race and ethnic related**

- Blacks became Negroes, then blacks, again, then became Afro-Americans, then became African-American which is the current term.
- Eskimo was viewed as pejorative and replaced by their own nuances namely Inuit, Yupik, and Aleut.
- Orients Asian American, Chinese American, and Korean American to refer to the 'Eastern'
- Hispanic replaced by Latino or in some cases Chicano
- Indians became Native Americans, or Indigenous people in the US

4. **Religious Related**

- Merry Christmas often replaced with Happy Holiday or Season Greetings
- Anno Domini (AD) and Before Christ (BC) are replaced by Common Era (CE) and Before Common Era (BCE)

5. **Others**

- The elderly became Senior Citizens
- Old Person became elder (elderly person)
- The ghetto replaced with inner city.

- Alms replaced with poor relief, then welfare, then public assistance.
 - Foreign students became international students
 - Problem or conflict became issue
 - Hospital became health care centre
 - Doctor or nurse became health care provider
 - A heart attack became a cardio vascular event
 - The Department of Prison became the Department of Correction
 - The War Department became Defence Department in 1947, asserting that the United States does not initiate wars, its only defence against those who do.
 - Civilian death became collateral damage
 - Mistakenly shooting one's own troop became friendly fire
- Wikipedia (P. 6-11)

Although political correctness is not explicitly trying to control peoples' thoughts in the way it is assumed in Newspeak, critics feel it represents an attempt to alter peoples' perception of certain 'signified' by replacing old 'signifiers' with new ones. Hence the conclusion that political correctness

has an agenda that concerned with changing the way people thought through the use of euphemism.

(iii) **DOUBLESPEAK**

According to *Webster's Dictionary*, doublespeak can be defined as evasive, ambiguous, high-flown language intended to deceive or confuse. Wikipedia defines it as language deliberately constructed to disguise or distort its actual meaning often resulting in “communication bypass” which is associated with governmental, military and corporate institutions. In the words of Lutz cited by Damron (1998) doublespeak is not a slip of tongue; instead, it is deliberate, calculated misuse of language”. One basic and common feature in the foregone definitions is the fact that the language is a misnomer.

The features of doublespeak are made explicit when Damron (1998), says it:

- misleads
- distorts – pretends to communicate
- makes the bad seem good
- avoids or shifts responsibility

- makes the negative appear positive
- limits, conceals, corrupts and present thoughts
- makes the unpleasant appear attractive or tolerable (P. 1 of 25)

In his views, Doublespeak can be seen as analogous to Doublethink and Newspeak concepts created by Orwell in his novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*.

Using doublespeak would mean holding two opposing ideas in one's mind at the same time fully believing in both ideas which amounts to deception. The following are examples of doublespeak in current usage in different walks of life.

Corporate

- Layoff, downsize, right size, headcount, adjustment, Rif (reduction in force) realignment: mass dismissal of employee, usually due to business restructure or economic conditions.
- Job flexibility: lack of job security
- Outscore: dismissing in-house employees to hire cheaper labour provided by another organization.
- Replacement of workers: scabs or strike-breakers in labour disputes
- Reliability enhancement: fix for a software bug

Espionage

- Classified: in general use 'secret, in governmental image, information which has been evaluated and possibly assigned a security clearance
- Intelligence: information and sources of information (spies and spying)
- Asset: a secret agency's recruited clandestine human source in a foreign country (foreign spies)
- Wet work: assassination

Military

- Defence: War, as in the United States, Department of defence
- Neutralize or service: to kill or disable a target
- Friendly fire: being inadvertently and mistakenly attacked by your allies.
- Collateral Damage: unintentional killing or damage; bystander deaths and injuries
- Area denial munitions: landmines
- Incontinent ordinance: bombs which kill civilians
- Preemptive War: to invade a foreign country so that the invading nation will not be invaded itself.
- Pre-hostility: Peace
- Casualty: death or injury

- Engage: attack, fire upon enemy
- Surgical strike: bombing attack by plane
- Target killing: assassination

Political

- Final solution: the Holocaust
- Concentration Camp: labor/death Camp
- Ethnic cleansing: genocide
- Freedom fighter: armed political rebel (positive term) the same person might be described as a “guerilla” if we are neutral towards him or “terrorist” if we disagree with him.
- Internment facility: Prison
- Protective custody: imprisonment with due process of law
- Intervention: invasion
- Executive Action: assassination
- Public donation, shared sacrifice: taxes
- Other person: slave (used n the united states constitution)

Law enforcement

- Aggressive enforcement: harassment, racial profiling
- Fines on the spot: bribes taken during traffic stops
- Gain access: jimmy a window, pick a lock, break down a door

- Pacify: subdue by force
- Person of interest: suspect, material witness

Social

- Job seekers: the unemployed
- Asylum seekers: refugees, immigrants
- Undocumented aliens: illegal aliens
- African-American-born-black man/woman
- Person of colour: Blackman/woman
- Full figured: fat
- Unsavory character: criminal or suspected criminal
- Involuntary conversion: plane crash
- Differently abled or crippled
- Health care centre: Hospital
- Sales advisor: shop assistant
- Senior citizens: old person
- Learning difference: learning disability in some cases
stupid
- Slow: stupid
- Motivationally challenged: lazy
- Comfort woman: prostitute

Sports

- Cost certainty: salary-cap
- Incident: fight
- Scratch: a player taken off the roster for a game due to injury
- Objects: things thrown on the field resulting in the disruption of a game
- Seeking a trade: a sign that a player badly wants out of his current team for various reasons.

Others

- Terminated: Mafia-style killings
- Spontaneous energetic disassembly: explosion
- Deactivating satellite receiver: doing malicious damage to firmware in response to widespread pirate description problems.

Wikipedia (P.2-7)

From the foregoing, we can see that doublespeak has much in common with euphemism and jargon peculiar to a specific field. More so, we can also observe that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between doublespeak and political correctness. The only difference we can make claim of is that whereas doublespeak is all encompassing, political correctness

is limited to certain fields of life. In differentiating euphemism and jargon outside doublespeak, Damron (op cit), remarks:

When jargon is used to show meaning off to others or hide meaning or to deceive, that usage is clearly doublespeak. When euphemism is used not to be tactful or polite but to hide meaning or deceive that usage is clearly Doublespeak (P. 4 of 25)

As usual, doublespeak enjoys both followership and critics. The views of each of these camps are outlined below.

The proponents of doublespeak feel that:

1. Successful introduction of doublespeak overtime becomes part of general language, thereby shaping the context in which it is used.
2. It is important in the context of classified material (security)
3. It is used in doublespeak argument, debate where one or more sides put forth purposely false reasoning for its point of view to disguise its true intention
4. Construction of words to disguise meaning is now an accepted and established practice both in the military, politics and corporate organizations.

The opponents of doublespeak on the contrary feel that:

1. Doublespeak corrupts thought because in their views the language we hear and use in our everyday lives influence us and helps

shape our opinions to a greater degree than we probably realize. Hence, they are resolute that if the language we hear and read is corrupt and misleading, it will corrupt and mislead our thought process

2. Doublespeak destroys communication as in discussing issues intelligently; we must use the language that we all agree on. Hence, if some people or groups use their own language of Doublespeak that hides the truth and mislead the receivers of the message, then open, honest discussion cannot take place.

3. Doublespeak erodes trust. Most societies of the world are founded on the idea of free speech of ideas and issues. Hence, when people hear doublespeak from all sides-government, education, the advertising industry, the media-people will begin to be cynical and distrustful towards these institutions, which in their news add yet another barrier to true open communication

(iv) LANGUAGE OF DECEPTION

In the words of George Orwell (1949) as cited in Thomas and Wareing (1999:36) political language is “largely the defense of the indefensible”. In other words, it is a language of deception. Mohammed (2001), refers to it as ‘language manipulation’, or

‘misapplication of language’. Rank (2005) holds the view that political deception and lies are analogous. But whereas a lie is an explicit statement known by the speaker to be untrue and said with the intent to deceive, deception, a broader term, includes all kinds of omissions, suggestions and non-verbal communication. In his opinion, language of deception is part of the human condition such that anyone can deceive or be deceived. Hence successful deception gives the deceiver an advantage. Thus, President Bush’s Pre-war statement in 2003 about Iraq’s’ WMD may not have been lies, technically but many people believe they were deceptive because of their suggestions, innuendoes, evasiveness and omissions.

In his days, Orwell believed that most politicians are ‘corrupt confidence swindlers’. Beside this moral judgment, he further expressed his disgust in the kind of language the politicians used describing it thus :

Political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the country side, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called pacification (1946:7)

Offering reasons why politicians use the trend of language, Rank (op cit) opines that they are benefit seekers hence they make promises, which are usually, more general and more related to common good. Hence in domestic politics we can hear the politicians making promises on peace and prosperity, which are usually based on generalizations such as better roads, stronger defense, and lower taxes as opposed to specific promises that are considered vague. He is however of the view that the specific promises such as: “three military bases will be closed” are not appropriate but vague as things change and compromise have to be made in order not to be accused of breaching promises.

Mohammed (Op cit) identifies the features of language of deception in the context of Nigerian political pragmatics thus:

- i. Such texts are usually produced by well-educated bureaucrats or special assistants (i.e. not the personality who read them)
- ii. One finds less grammatical errors ... but greater use of loaded or inflated language or sheer gobble-degook
- iii. They are made up as usual of lots of jargons, stale metaphors and other euphemisms purposely intended to misdirect, misinform or to hide the truth from the reader or listener. (P. 11)

Consequently, he cites the following as some of the deceptive language found within the Nigerian political pedigree.

- “Will leave no stone unturned”.
- “all hands must be on deck”
- “X will be a thing of the past as in:
 - a. “with this new budget/water shortage in Zaria will be a thing of the past
 - b. “Our teaching Hospitals will be well equipped so that going overseas for treatment will be a thing of the past”

He describes such lip-service expressions as “empty naira-guzzling promises” which in his words “never fully materialize and have been repeated ad nauseam by all previous government in this country, yet the problem remains”. As a result “people have become so disillusioned....”

This ugly attitude of Nigerian politicians has spurred one of the daily newspapers to react thus:

The truth, it is said, shall set you free. But it seems our government feels that Nigerians are best governed through carefully dressed half truths. Nothing illustrates this better than the current debate on deregulating the oil sector. And in Professor Jerry Gana, the Obasanjo government has found a spokesman with long experience in defending policy somersaults with seeming conviction. As a result, simple facts have become obscured in a deluge of word. All these posturing leave the ordinary Nigerians confused and concerned Daily Trust, February 26, 2001), cited from Moahammed (2001)

Finally, Mohammed has the following advice for the politicians and the citizenry alike:

So it is in the interest of both the government and the people of this country to cultivate better lines and forms of communication free of Orwellisms and other deceptive strategies as much as possible to promote better mutual understanding to work together for the survival of their so-called “fledgling democracy” (2001:13)

According to Rank (2005) election campaign rhetoric, reflecting deception, can be summarized in one single sentence as in “I am competent and trustworthy; from me you’ll get more good and less bad”, in his opinion, the statement has three claims about the virtues of the speaker. Whereas the two obvious ones are “competent” and “trustworthy” the hidden claim, however, is that of

being a “benefactor”- benefit giver as in “from me, you” get... He goes further to stress that in political attacks this sentence with three dimensions is reversed stated regularly thus, “my opponents are incompetent and untrustworthy; from them, you’ll get more bad and less good”. This is a clear manifestation of how language is manipulated in order to deceive the electorates. Rank goes further to explicate what he assumes politicians mean by competency, trustworthy and benevolence.

Competence according to him includes intellectual virtue, physical ability, not power, determination, experience, past achievements and accomplishments. Trustworthy includes being honest and truthful, straightforward and sincere, fair and just, brave and courageous moderate and temperate, reliable and predictable, dependable, loyal and faithful. Benevolence, the third claim of the one sentence, means that the person is a benefit giver or a benefit promiser. The claim according to him is the active link between the speaker and the audience-a cause of a desired effect as in “I (my party, my plans, my policy) will be the cause of these good effects.” He makes a clear distinction between politicians as benefit promiser

and we, their audience, as benefit seekers. Hence it is not a one-sided affair, it is rather a transaction or a mutual relationship.

(v) LANGUAGE OF PERSUASION (RHETORIC)

According to Rank (2005) “Persuasion is an act meant to make someone decide to do something”. It is a transaction between the benefit giver (politicians) and the benefit seeker (the electorates). Safely put, persuasion involves two individuals or group of individuals. According to Jones and Wareing (op cit) the use of implicature is one of the means by which persuasion can be achieved since it allows the audience to make assumptions about the existence of information not made explicit in what is actually said. Implicature in their views is information that might be deduced as it helps to manufacture ‘common sense’ by communicating the speaker’s opinions without spelling them out.

Rhetoric is a synonym of Persuasion, spoken or written to inform, educate, persuade or move an audience. Aristotle (quoted in Ajadi 1990:76) defines rhetoric as “the faculty of discovering all the available means of persuasion”. Corroborating this view, Campbell (quoted in Ajadi 1990:76) submits that,

all the ends of speaking are reducible to four: every speech is intended to enlighten the audience, to please the imagination, to move the passion or to influence the will.

The three definitions quoted above consider persuasion as a tool for social interaction. Rank's 'mutual benefit' and Campbell's fourth purpose, "to influence the will", are both relevant to this study.

Broadly, classic speech or rhetoric could be categorized into deliberative forensic and epideictic. Deliberative oratory deals with the future and seeks to win assent or dissent from the audience about some matters of public policy. Deliberative rhetoric is concerned with facts. It has war or peace, national defence, commerce and legislation as its major focus. Forensic oratory is called courtroom oratory. It is concerned with the past as in the case of alleged criminality. It is mainly about prosecution, defence, law etc.

Epideictic oratory is rhetoric of display. It has praise or blame of persons or institutions as its objectives. Its temporal province is the presentation of farewell speeches; dedication speeches, ceremonial address, etc, are forms of epideictic oratory. Our study, coup speeches, from all indications, belongs to the deliberative category.

Jones and Wareing (1999) posit that rhetoric is the ancient form of aesthetic and persuasive speech, but in modern times,

politicians are not constrained to communicate using those patterns. They (the politicians), have adopted certain manner of speech in order to create the impact of the ideas. Jones and Wareing, (op cit) identify three basic approaches to persuasion. They are namely; figures of speech, the three parts of statement and the rhetorical pronouns.

On the approach to persuasion, Fairclough (1989) posits that it is often much more effective to persuade people to act voluntarily in the way you want, that is, to ‘exercise power through the manufacturing consent... or at least acquiescence towards it, instead of having to continually arrest them for wrong doing.

Similarly, Rank (op cit), asserts that politicians can persuade or down play their own “bad” (and in aggression) the others “good” by means of omission, diversion and confusion. In his views, these are elements of persuasion.

VI. LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMACY

Language of diplomacy or put differently, diplomatic language is a repertoire that is associated with diplomacy.

Diplomacy, according to *Microsoft Encarta Premium* (2006) refers to “practices and institutions by which nations conduct their relations with one another”. Safely put, diplomacy involves bilateral relationship mostly between nations. At a personal level, it may involve two people or sides that engage in negotiations. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language*, “diplomatic language is using or marked by tact and sensitivity in dealing with others”. In other words, the language must be seen to have considerations for others. *Microsoft Encarta Premium* (op cit), describes diplomatic language as one that tends towards understatement and devoid of emotionally charged words. And that in tense hours of crisis, a cool head tact and good humor are necessary in diplomatic language. Our understanding here is that diplomatic language is a soothing balm in period of crisis. Morgenthau (1948) cited in *Microsoft Student (2007 DVD)*, sums up the ideals of modern diplomacy to include the following:

- (i) Diplomacy must be divested of its crusading spirit.

- (ii) The objects of foreign policy must be defined in terms of the national interest.
- (iii) Diplomacy must look at the situation from the point of view of others.
- (iv) Nations must be willing to compromise in all issues that are not vital to them.
- (v) The armed forces are the instrument of foreign policy, not its master, and
- (vi) The government is the leader of public opinion not its slave.

This observation indicates that since these are the values of diplomacy, it therefore follows that in any bilateral dealings the language should be seen to reflect such.

Gita cited in Rana (2004) posits that diplomatic language should be marked with the following qualities in ordered priority such as:

- (i) It should not disturb the mind of the listener.
- (ii) It should be precise with correct use of language.
- (iii) It should be truthful.

- (iv) If possible, it should be pleasing to the listener.
- (v) It should be of utility to the listeners.

The conclusion we can draw from the above observation is that diplomatic language should not be the prerogative of the speaker alone but that of the listener as well.

In explaining the need for ambiguous wording in peace agreement, Pehar (2007) remarks in the following words:

If two parties have strong and contradictory interest, and if it seems that neither side is ready to concede part of its maximum demand, and/or if the negotiations are running short of time and the parties cannot discuss such concessions in more details, then the issue of conflicting interest can be resolved.... The mediator may come up with a formula which is open to at least two different interpretation, which can carry at least two meanings.(P:4 of 20)

Bearing in mind that ambiguity most often serves deceitful purposes, here we can see that it is aimed at a breakthrough of an impasse where both parties involved in negotiations are seen to resolve their difference through the instrumentality of language. This is the positive aspect of ambiguity in language use.

Having looked at the different forms of political language, the need for the examination of the characteristics of political language cannot be overemphasized as this will afford us the opportunity to see how diverse and stereotypical the phenomenon is.

2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL LANGUAGE

There are copious examples of political language in our everyday life. See Carter (1969) Robinson (1979), Powell (1979), Pole (1979), Thorne (1997), Wareing and Jones (1999), Mohammed (2001), and Ayoola(2005) among others.

If language is human and politics is interactive, it then follows that both must interplay such that the former must and should be used according to and within the context it is intended. Consequently, Pole (1979) posits that political language is used to translate statistics and economic facts into human terms and in talking to people, politicians never condescended to them. Our observation from this assertion is that political language can be considered as an instrument of illustration. Little wonder, Orwell cited in Powell (1979) says that political language is full of “homely images”.

Basically, political language is intended to persuade the public in order to win their support. Though Zheng (2000) acknowledges this fact, he posits that beside persuasions, political language is purposed for summon and guide to the public in classic periods. Central to Thorne (1997) is ‘Euphemism and Political Language’; in her view political language is employed by politicians and governments alike to concede the truth such that harsh realities are presented in a palatable manner. She classifies political language into three functions:

- (i) Informative (referential functions).
- (ii) Persuasive (connotative function).
- (iii) Rhetorical function.

In order to comprehend the niceties of political language, she suggests that the speaker, the audience, the purpose, and the context of the discourse should be considered as each of these factors could change the nature of the language used in politics. Similarly, she identifies some types of political language such as, manifestos, campaign statements, presidential address, parliamentary exchange and motion for debate. Though they differ in context, we believe they have the same purpose of garnering support of the listener.

Political language can be studied either with the aim to describe or prescribe. If it is intended to describe, it is realized through highlighting some of the ways politicians make use of the available linguistic system in their day-to-day communication. Prescriptive study however, pertains how political language influences political thoughts. Here, according to Wilson (1990) emphasis is on hidden or underlined truths to lay bare the illogicality or unfairness of political rhetoric.

Politicians, world over, are known for saying one thing and meaning another at the same time. Mohammed (2001) describes their language as “tokunbonness”. A popular lexical item in the Nigerian economic parlance to denote something that is not genuine. In other words, to him, political language can be associated with something that is faked. Even Orwell cited in Wareing and Jones (op cit) corroborates this fact in the following words’ “Political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question begging and sheer cloudy vagueness....”

Despite the quantum cynicism of political language, Powell (op cit) considers it as dynamic and accommodating. In his words:

Changes in fashion, in scientific knowledge, in popular prejudices are almost bound to produce their effects upon vocabulary and diction, and because politics is peculiarly realm where what is favorable hold sway, these changes will often be luxuriantly exemplified in political speeches. (P: 433)

Political language can be recognized in a variety of forms. Robinson (1979) opines that lexical, syntactic and semantic choices are directly linked to the audience, purpose and context of the discourse. Ayeomoni (2005) sides with the assertion when he examines, the speeches of past Nigerian political leaders. According to him, “syntax...is highly connected with the speakers’ political intention.” In other words, there is a close link between form and the pragmatic import of the speaker. This assertion is favourable to one of the hypotheses of this study as indicated in 1.3.

Powell (1979) admits that American political discourse is made up of lots of metaphor, bureaucratic choices, proliferation of situational periphrases, quotation or conscious allusion, circumstantial citation, and tendency to greater brevity but remarkably standard. Such peculiarity is not independent of context as pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts in all play a role in any communicative act, Adegbija (1982).

Describing Nigerian political language however, Ayoola (2005:6-7) says, it is laden with “high-sounding words, excessive platitudes and chains of synonyms, hyponyms and antonyms.” And, those speeches are often copiously bedecked with chains of lexical collocation functioning especially as the complement in the sentences where they occur. Ayoola identifies Nigerian English political lexical item to include contentious collocations such as ‘resource control’ ‘rotational presidency’, ‘democratic dividend,’ ‘national cake’, ‘hidden agenda,’ ‘due process’ among others. Pseudo politicians are not left out in the use of political registers. According to Illah-Attah (1998:89) “a soldier whose primary duty is to defend his land against external aggression, but who deliberately or consciously finds himself exercising political power will perfect the register of administration after some time.” He goes further thus:

At the level of language, one of the effective ways is the choice of appropriate diction i.e. the choice of words that suggest even in the most insincere way, collectivity and begging: the choice of words that appeal to the conscience of the people by captivating and mystifying nature(sic) not only necessary but imperative.(p:90-91)

Carter (1968: 418-423) identifies the devices of language and the nuances of meaning that make President Kennedy's most celebrated inaugural speech on January 20 1961 effective, memorable and distinctive. According to him, just like any other political speech, Kennedy's speech is persuasive in intention and relies heavily on emotional appeal. Much of the force of that appeal in his word is achieved through "the skillful arrangement of carefully selected words." These words based on Carter's analysis can be classified broadly into four namely: phrase making, word choice, figurative expression and variety of appeals. We shall now examine how each of these strategies was employed in the context of Kennedy's speech based on Carters analysis.

i. **Phrase Making**

Commenting on President Kennedy's ingenuity on political rhetoric, Carter (op cit) states thus, "it is as a phrase maker that Mr. Kennedy has made his strongest mark in both his formal and informal speeches' (P: 419). Those phrase making strategies according to Carter, are exemplified through the following:

(a) *Inverted Sentence*

Here, the writer uses few and simple words. He changes the order or alters the wording only slightly, hence the sentence is short, witty and precise with a memorable effect. The following in his views are good examples:

- Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate
- Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.

(b) *Definition by Elimination*

This device welcomes simplicity of argument regardless of its position; it is tidy, balanced and easy on the ear. The following linguistic patterns are indices for definition by elimination; not because but because or not as a call... but a call. They are exemplified thus:

- We observe today not a victory of party but a celebrating freedom.
- If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

(c) *Repetition*

Kennedy's use of repetition, in the opinion of Carter, is not only for elegance but for clarity and emphasis especially those that

are intentional. According to him, Kennedy uses repetition to give order and balance to a series of thoughts as in:

- To those old allies.... To those new states, etc.

Another significance of repetition as noted by Carter is that such repetition of minor words in the construction allows the listener to rest as he follows the steps in the speaker's programme and at the same time organize his proposals so that the audience can follow the speaker easily.

i. *Word Choice*

Under this, the speaker chooses a variety of words to suit the contexts of his speech. In President Kennedy's address, there are lots of 'reality connotative words' such as 'unleashed powers of destruction' as against "to release". He also uses the word 'pledges' seven times in a row with the last two with slight variation to avoid monotony.

ii. *Figurative Expressions*

Carter identifies the following figurative expression as inundating in the speech. They are: alliteration, paradox, parallels, antithesis and metaphor.

In his words, Kennedy uses alliteration not just for its aesthetic value but to draw attention to a particular point he is making as in:

- (i) “Civility is not a sign of weakness and sincerity is always subject to proof”.
- (ii) “Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed”.

This to him is a typical example of a paradox in Kennedy’s speech which goes to explain how futile any massive defensive effort can be. As for the use of parallelism, Carter points out that President Kennedy describes the new generation of Americans as “born in this country, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage....” Again, Kennedy’s fondness for antithesis is exhibited in his opening speech thus: “We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom”. This, in Carter’s view can be alluded to Shakespeare’s “I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him” More so, throughout the address Kennedy relies on metaphor: as in “The bond of mass misery.... ” a beach head of cooperation”

- the jungle of suspicion
- the torch has been passed to a new generation. The torch here is meant to represent a traditional value according to Carter.

iii. *Variety of Appeals*

The subject matter of Kennedy's address is foreign policy, but the aim according to Carter is not only to reassure other nations of the plan but to encourage Americans to implement them. Here, he makes his cause a crusade by appealing to the following senses of the citizenry

(a) **Sense of religion**

Kennedy makes allusion to religious motif throughout the speech from the reference to "Almighty God" and "the hand of God" to the quotation from the Bible.

(b) **Sense of tradition**

It can be noted from the opening paragraph where the speaker urges a new unity, a closing of ranks after the campaign by reference to the common tradition of Presidents taking office in the last 171 years. The President speaks of "Our fore bearers... nearly a century and three quarters ago". Just as Mr. Lincoln cited "Our forefathers... fourscore and seven years ago...".

(c) **Appeals to stoicism and courage**

The Presidents speaks of Americans as "tempered disciplined and proud; as men willing to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe".

(d) Sense of Community Ideals

Carter claims that in over two third of the speech, Kennedy speaks only of “We” from the opening words as in “We observe today” to “But let us again”. And that when Kennedy’s sense of American unified strength has been well established he switches to “in your hands” and “will you join in that historic effort”. Thus, he uses the first person singular pronoun “I” in order for encouragement as in:”I do not shrink from this responsibility

- I welcome it”

Although Carter expresses fear in his conclusion that these devices put together will attract the tongue lashing of cynicists as they would describe political speeches as ‘hokum’, political propaganda or ‘fourth of July Oratory’, he however sounds optimistic that the address (President Kennedy’s) offers an appealing entry into the world of word choices, sentence construction and emotional appeals. In our view, Carter’s analysis offers an insight into the trappings of political language as it is both a linguistic and rhetoric dimension of political discourse.

Maiyanga (1989) describes Nigerian past political leaders’ speeches thus:

Nigerian Presidents do a number of things in their speeches. As they speak to us, they carry out acts which include, locutionary acts, and illocutionary acts, whose aim, often times is to seek 'perlocutionary effects' on their hearers. Also, the meaning relation among words in the sentences used contains a unique and intricate tapestry of political discourse. (P: ii)

In other words, Presidential address is a unique kind of political language, which is incontestable. Coincidentally, a coup speech, as we observed earlier, is also a form of address but with a different pragmatic import as we shall demonstrate later.

The characteristics of Nigerian Presidential address, according to Maiyanga (1989:253-258) can be summarized as follows:

1. The politicians use the denotative and connotative power of words to convince, persuade, inform, commit themselves, declare, assert etc.
2. The speeches have depended heavily on the use of lexemes peculiar to the semantic field of politics
3. Whereas Balewa's and Zik's speeches contain very few simple sentences, all others are written in very long sentences through the use of cohesive devices.

4. Presidential speeches are gamut of illocutionary acts of promising, directing, advising, warning, appealing, declaring, asserting, entreating and personal commitment. (commissives)
5. The most rampant performance of the presidents is the performing of the illocutionary act of commissives to some future course.
6. Grice's four maxims of Quantity, Quality, Reference and Manner tend to be faulted by some presidents.
7. All the presidents faulted the maxim of Quality since most of their assertions are found to be false given the country's state of affairs
8. At times presidents speak wholly for themselves expressing their minds using the first person pronouns in form of giving order, pleading, hoping, committing themselves, prophesying, describing events etc. This is quite in contrast with how President Kennedy uses the same first person pronouns 'I' and 'We'.
9. At times, 'We' is used to speak the minds of his lieutenants. At other times, it is used to mean or assert that he and the citizens are involved in a joint enterprise of governance. This is what Carter (1968: 420) earlier, referred to as "sense of appealing to community".

10. Political lexicon is a conglomeration of economics, defence, mass media and religion. Again, Carter corroborates this claim by referring to it as “appealing to sense of religion and tradition” (p: 423).
11. The civilian presidents use more purr words than the military rulers whose speeches are strewn with snarl words.
12. National day speeches are bereft of proverbs, aphorisms and allusion to witty statement.

Anifowoshe (2006) corroborates some of these claims. She asserts that Nigerian political reportage has a high display of assertives because in her words, “politicians are more involved in ‘stating’ ‘alleging’ ‘asserting’ and ‘denying’”. According to her, this explains why locutionary verbs such as ‘said’, ‘noted’, ‘maintained’, ‘stated’ are repeated so often by politicians” She also opines that politicians hardly commit themselves to the course of action which is why they resort to devices such as vagueness and ambiguity She however differs with Maiyanga item no, 5 as indicated above.

Iornem (1995:35-49) makes a foray into political language and its ubiquities. According to him, political speeches are meant to influence behaviour towards desirable directions. In other words,

political speeches are meant to persuade the listener to come on board. Little wonder, Ayeonimi (2005) remarks that, “political language can be used to play the game of politics”. Iornem is however quick to warn that a politicians would pay for it if his speech fails to impress the audience. In his opinion, an effective political speech must take into account the following considerations: the audience, the issue at stake, ones credibility, emotional tone, organization and, the language and style.

Thorne (1997:368-397) identifies four basic linguistic characteristics of political language. They are register, lexis, grammar, and metaphorical and rhetorical language. She, however, warns that they are but a checklist that can be used to identify key characteristics of political language. She was also quick to note that there might not be examples of all the features listed in every text or transcription. The characteristics so identified are guided with some questions that are quite instructive. In the following, we shall identify each of the characteristics thus:

1. Register

Under this, she proposes three variables namely: mode, manner and field. For mode, we are interested in whether the speech is

spoken or written, written to be read, written to be spoken or spontaneously spoken answer. The manner is the relationship between the participants: is it formal or informal, the same or different ideology, supporters or opposers? For the field, which is the subject matter, does it reflect political variety or not?

2. Lexis

Under lexis, the following are identified

- a. Are there any examples of subject specific vocabulary or general, 'typical of a certain ideological stance?
- b. Are there any abstract nouns reflecting beliefs or political policy?
- c. How are the participants named? Use of titles, use of forenames or surnames, focus on the mode of the individuals, the relationship between speakers, topic and audience?
- d. Is there anything significant about the connotation of words, positive or negative?

3. Grammar

According to her, the grammar of a political language varies, depending upon whether the utterances are spoken or written. She acknowledges that written statements tend to be more complex than speeches that have been written to be spoken or oral replies to

questions. Hence in her views, the following features can be applied in the analysis of a political language written or spoken.

(a) Are there any pronouns creating a sense of distance, dividing the speaker and audience by using those, dehumanizing the reference and making it seem faceless and threatening by using it and them, conveying a sense of opposition by using they, creating a very formal tone often associated with high social class by using one as the first person or second person personal reference, distancing the speaker from an action or conveying a sense of authority by using one?

(b) Are there any pronouns bringing the speaker and audience together, giving an individual tone and suggesting a sincere attitude by repeating or “blocking the I, particularly within mental process verbs (think, feel or believe), establishing a rapport with the audience by using the I, linking issues and policies to a particular person by using his, hers and theirs thus are placing an emphasis on people rather than policies, focusing on the institution as well as the individual by using ‘we’, thus including the speaker and suggesting support for actions or policies drawing the audience in by using you?

(c) Are there any pronouns conveying degrees of responsibility by using, marking the speaker as the instigator of an action or process by

using I, showing an acceptance of responsibility by using I, making the degree of responsibility, less clear by using 'we' allowing speakers to subtly alter their personal responsibility for certain acts by using we exclusively rather than inclusively, placing responsibility at a distance explicitly excluding the speaker by using they?

(d) How are the questions framed? negatives allowing questioner to lead addressee to a particular answer by suggesting that their propositions are undeniable modal verbs like 'will' suggesting that any rejection will seem unacceptably rude, structures aiming to make the addressees commit themselves to action, closed yes/no questions attempting to force the addressee to accept or deny any proposition directly, wh – words requiring a more focused answer, embedded statements within the question, enabling the speaker to establish a context or view point?

(e) Are there any examples of the passive voice,– refocusing the audience's attention on certain elements, concealing the person(s) responsible for an action by omitting by + agent, is the sentence structure varied simple sentences making direct an emphatic statements, compound sentences balancing arguments, complex sentences exploring abstract concepts?

Metaphorical and rhetorical language: The following questions are raised.

- (a) Are there any metaphors, establishing a direct link between abstract theories and concrete examples, helping the listeners to understand, extended metaphors emphasizing a particular message?
- (b) What is the focus or theme of key sentences, – re-ordering of sentences to bring key elements to the attention of the audience?
- (c) Are there any examples of repeated words, phrases or clauses, – emphasizing important concepts helping to establish a core topic or attitude?

Hann (1998) examines politics as a process that takes place through communication. He is of the view that political language is usually a reflection of the basic ideologies of the society. Hence it is not a surprise to see that American political discourse centres on the two basic American ideologies liberalism and conservatism: Whereas the liberals believe in freedom in the context of rights and order in the context of economics, the conservatives take the opposite track: Order in the civil rights and freedom in economics. As a result, American politicians are always liable in the use of these two ideologies in their every day political discourse.

Hann also believes that governmental power is based more on persuasion than on the vast physical (en) force decision. In other words,

politics is to some extent about persuasion. In his views, government is able to convince the public so often to follow society along the path it has enunciated partially based on personality, demographic factors such as age, gender, and relative wealth but much more on the influences of language. He stresses the importance of language in politics in the following words: “For language is powerful. It soothes us when we are upset, but can ruffle us out of calmness. It can persuade us to admire a person or idea, or hold them up to contempt...” (P: 51)

Hann believes that one of the major ways in which language can accomplish some of the feats he has noted is through ‘definitions’, Definitions according to him, are like blinders on a horse: they focus attention on some aspects while blinding us to others. The overall function of definitions, in his view, is to control the societal dialogue by persuading others to “see the world as they see it - to know as they know, to value as they value.” By extension, there is also what he calls “government defining via naming and renaming” This can be likened to euphemism whereby bitter words are presented in a palatable manner.

Hann (Op cit) classifies the features of political language from a perspective of form of rhetoric, which according to him concerns how the elements of the art are combined, the way they are put together, the

pattern and the style of presentation. The classification is done under the following identification: Action, Emotional Involvement, Logic, Rational strengths, Honesty, Grandeur and Ideological Correctness.

Closely knitted to this is Hann's position as regards the main thrust of political language. He has this to say:

Political language depends upon ambiguity because politicians need the ability to place their own interpretations on what they have said, to deny others interpretations, to change their emphasis without changing their words, to allow their audience members to hold different interpretations simultaneously without offending those who hold any one interpretation, and perhaps for other reasons yet to be identified.
(P.89)

He, however, suggests some mechanisms that facilitate political ambiguity. These mechanisms are: Euphemisms, Simplification, Generalizations, and the Art of saying nothing.

In their own contribution to the characteristics of political language, Jones and Wareing (1999) acknowledge that politician nowadays would not adopt into-to the ancient skills of elegant and persuasive speaking following the original Greek rules, but would often adopt identifiable habits of speech in order to increase the impact of ideas. Hence they identify three basic approaches that can facilitate political discourse. The approaches are: use of figures of speech, three part

statement and the rhetorical pronouns. We shall expatiate on each of these as in the following;

1. *Figures of speech*

According to them, one of the challenges politicians face is that they often have to talk about abstract concepts in a way that won't bore people too much. In order to gain the audience attention and as well sustain it, figures of speech are employed. This is because many people find concrete entities easier to think about and discuss than abstract concepts. Hence, as a result, it is common place to find concrete images in political discourse.

This position can be equated to Carter's (1968) figurative language in his analysis of President Kennedy's inaugural speech. In the views of Jones and Wareing, such figures of speech are usually ideologically packaged in order to link with experiences about which we have strong feelings.

2. **The three part statement**

This is the linguistic device of referring to things in groups of three. It is one of the best known features of political rhetoric. Speakers, particularly politicians, in their opinion of the scholars, find things that are grouped in three aesthetically pleasing. According to them, political orders all over the world recognize the

importance of the three part statement as rhetorical device. A typical example and one of the most famous three-part statement as cited by the scholars is the French “Liberte’ Fraternite; “Egalite” (Liberty, brotherhood equality).

3. The rhetorical use of pronoun

Under this, the way a political speaker refers to themselves and to their audience can also be very significant in a political discourse. The pronouns applied to the speaker to their allegiance and to the audience can be used to foreground or hide agency (the person or party) who commits a certain action and responsibility, depending on what the politician is talking about.

A good example is President Bush’s varying use of the pronouns below:

As we announced last night we will not attack unarmed soldiers in retreat. We have no choice but to consider retreating combat units as a threat and respond accordingly.... From the beginning of the air operation nearly six weeks ago, I said that our efforts are on course and on schedule. This morning I am pleased to say that coalition efforts are ahead of schedule. The liberation of Kuwait is close.

(The Guardian, 27 February, 1991) cited from Jones and Wareing (1999).

Commenting on the above, Jones and Wareing are of the opinion that one explanation for the shift from 'we' to 'I' would be that President Bush uses 'we' when the focus of his speech is relatively controversial, as it is unclear who 'we' refers to and "I" when he is on safer ground and wanting to claim responsibility for positive achievements. Again Carter (1968) refers to the use of pronouns "we" in political discourse as "appeals to sense of community ideals" but depending on the subject matter.

Zheng (2000), on a website, carried out an in-depth analysis of political speeches of three eminent Australian politicians. He begins by positing that any individual political discourse is the product of personal development and the relevant social environment in which the individual grows. Hence, such political traces could be found in the individual speech pattern many years later even when such individual becomes a dominant public figure. This position in our view is not far from the cultural relatively theory we have been hammering on previously. More so, this claim conforms with our study because in chapter one, we hold the view that the Nigerian Military Institution is a product of Nigerian Society hence, the Political discourse of the institution must reflect same.

Zheng goes further to highlight the features of Australian Political discourse as basically three, namely: Targeting strategy, Enforcement strategy and Avoidance strategy. Each of the strategies has sub-units referred to as ‘techniques’ or ‘devices’.

From the foregoing, we can deduce that the Australian political discourse is a privileged language which comprised predominantly of slogan and propaganda rather than statement of facts. This indeed has exposed us to the ubiquities of political discourse. Indeed it is quite illuminating.

Writing under the caption, *Howard Way: Naturalizing the New Reciprocity Between the Citizen and the State*, Hershell (2001:126-134) classifies a number of linguistic and discursive devices that politicians use in order to gain support from different audiences. She uses Australian prime minister; John Howard’s pre-scripted speeches for her analysis. These devices are classified into six namely:

1. Three part lists
2. Pronominal choice
3. Contrastive devices
4. Constructing credibility
5. Re-defining ‘Deserving’
6. Doing what comes naturally

We shall attempt to examine the substance of each of these devices thus:

1. Three Parts Lists

According to her, the three parts list is simply some point made via the use of three specific components. To corroborate this assertion Hutch and Woofit (1998) maintain that, in ordinary conversation, when one speaker is producing a list, a co-participant can anticipate that when the third item is produced, then the list is likely to be complete. They are emphatic that the third items are treated as possible completion points in speeches. Jones and Wareing (1999) earlier refer to this device as “the three part statement” which in their view is appreciated by speakers for their aesthetic values. One good example as exemplified in Howard’s speech is “These have been a year of remarkable consolidation, strengthening, and reform of Australian economy.” (P: 128). In her words, Howard uses this device in an attempt to “strengthen or affirm a broader overarching position or claim” and in the opinion of Atkinson (1984:159) “three part list provides a snappy way of summarizing and simplifying quite complicated argument.”

2. Pronominal Choice

This is what Jones and Wareing refer to as ‘the rhetorical pronoun’. Wilson (1990) cited in Hershell, claims that aspects of the pronominal system of English can be manipulated for political effect such that they can be employed both to distribute responsibility and to distinguish the individual view. Carter (1968) calls this ‘appeal to sense of community’. In furtherance of his stand, Wilson portends that politicians are able to manipulate the pronominal system to good effect in order to:

Indicate, accept, deny or distance themselves from responsibility for political action; to reveal ideological bias, to encourage solidarity, to designate and identify those who are supporters (with us) as well as those who are enemies (against) and to present specific idiosyncratic aspects of the individual politicians own personality
(2001:128{1996:76)

Quoting Chafe (1982) Hershel maintains that they are more first person singular pronouns in unscripted speeches having compared scripted and non-scripted speeches. However she notes that the prime minister uses pronouns in the following ways to achieve his set goals.

- a. He uses the inclusive ‘I’ to personalize the sentiments, making them of John Howard ‘The man’ rather than as prime minister

or as a party leader. This according to her, allows the prime minister to align himself with Australian ‘tradition and old fashioned values’. More so, she maintains that the first person is used to established rapport and when attached to mental process verbs, to communicate sincerity.

- b. Howard shifts to an inclusive ‘we’ to refer to his political party. This allows him to state the policy goals of the party, while at the same time distancing himself personally. In her view, this device is aimed at protecting individual politicians from potentially unpopular decisions made by the party they belong to.
- c. As Howard moves from the hypothetical, (as he describes his intention) to the practical (something that has actually been done), he shifts from using ‘I’ to ‘we’ thereby including his government and the relevant ministry as in “we are resolved to pursue policies that are likely to maintain our remarkable rate of economic growth and strength”.

3. **Contrastive Devices**

Zheng (2000) earlier refers to it as ‘Contrastive expressions’.

Herschell asserts that through their use, politicians could positively

evaluate their own position in a much more explicit way while, at the same time, still criticizing another position or set of policies as it's exemplified by Howard that, "Where some would scrap work for the dole-I remain passionately committed to extending the principle of asking people to give back something to the community in return for assistance in time of need (P: 130). In her views, (P: 131) the views of the unnamed "some who would scrap work for the dole", sit in contrast to Howard's passionate commitment to extending the programme.

4. Constructing Credibility

This is when politicians make what may be boastful claims which have an "election-fighting" familiarity. She cites Howard's claims as a case in point:

In pursuing our goals for the coming year, we build on the strong foundations of what has been achieved over the past three years. These have been years of remarkable consolidation, strengthening and reform of the Australian economy. "Then". And just as the economic reforms of today and tomorrow that will deliver the higher economic growth, employment and living standards of the future. (P. 131)

The purpose of this in her view is an attempt to showcase the credibility of Howard's and his government prior to his

commencement of a new policy initiative. We can call this a propaganda sort of. This fits into Zheng's (op cit) 'avoidance strategy'

5. **Refining 'Deserving'**

It is a device by politicians to announce the extension of the party's mutual obligation policies. Howard shows this in the following statements: "We know that a school child without basic reading and writing skills will not be able to realize his or her full potentials". He then shifts his argument and then to 'your, unemployed'.

That is why I commit my government to requiring unemployment young people who lack basic literacy and innumeracy tests to undertake remedial courses if they are to receive their full dole. Previously, young people on the dole were able to satisfy their obligation by taking up one of a number of options. But I believe and most Australians would agree that reading and writing properly are the most fundamental prerequisites for getting job. So to enhance our mutual obligation policies this government will require young people who lack basic literacy and numeracy skills to undertake training in those areas as a condition of receiving their full unemployment benefit. Refusing to learn how to read and write will deny young unemployed the full dole. Further work is being undertaken on improving compliance and extending the coverage of mutual obligation (P: 132)

According to (Hershell op cit p: 132) Howard has accomplished several things through these discursive shifts.

- a. In his statement that young children require literacy and numeracy skills, he is appealing to the common sense of the audience.
- b. He distances his audiences' sympathy by shifting the reference to "young unemployed as opposed to children.
- c. He further distances this group from the sympathies of his audience by referring to them as 'young unemployed who are 'refusing to learn', thus positioning this group as actively resisting their duty to become independent and potentially economically useful citizens.
- d. Portraying the children as young unemployed who are refusing to learn is the idea that they have already wasted the educational resources provided to them.
- e. It firmly places, the responsibility for young people's unemployment upon themselves. Consequently, in order to turn the new reciprocity into common sense', 'need' is redefined as 'resistance' as those previously seen as 'needy' or disadvantage' are now targeted as persons requiring moral training. Hence punishment in the form of removal of the full rights to welfare

from those who have failed to attain certain level of education can be seen as a new innovation of governance.

6. Doing What Comes Naturally

This is also a device employed by politicians in pre-scripted speech to indicate tradition. It normally comes at the beginning of the speech. Hershell cites an example from Howard's speech as in:

In conception and practice, our policies have mirrored the Australian character, Australian priorities in short- the Australian way (P: 133)

So in her words, Howard creates the foundation to naturalize the policy he announces toward the end of his speech. He creates the condition, under which any policy announced is not necessarily liberal party policy, but dictated and reflects something called the "Australian character" Though a purely Australian experience, these features both from the linguistic and rhetoric perspective, have given us insights into a political discourse – a universal phenomenon.

Reacting to questions put to him at the Free Speech Movement Café, Lakoff (2003) reveals how the Conservative parties use language to dominate politics in the United States through the technique he tags 'Framing'. Framing, according to him, is when

words are defined relative to a conceptual framework. It is also a phrase used to discredit the opponent in order to gain the support of the public. A typical example he cites is the word 'revolt'. As a frame, it would imply that a population that is being ruled unfairly or assumed is being ruled unfairly, and that they are throwing off their rulers, which would be considered a good thing. Hence, adding "voter" in front of "revolt" would equal a metaphorical meaning, saying that the voters are the oppressed people, that they have ousted him and this is a good thing and all things are good now.

Another example according to Lakoff is Arnold Schwarzenegger's acceptance speech when he said "when the people win, politics as usual loses". What this means in his opinion is Schwarzenegger knows he was going to face a democratic legislature, so he frames himself and also Republican politicians as the 'people', while framing Democratic politicians as 'politics' in advance. The Democratic legislative are framed as enemies of the people.

Another good example of framing illustrated by Lakoff is 'Tax Relief'. The frame for 'relief' – for there to be relief, there has to be an affliction, an afflicted party, somebody who administers the relief

and an act in which you are relieved of the affliction. The reliever is the 'hero' and anybody who tries to stop them is the 'bad guy' intent on keeping the affliction going. So to add 'tax' to 'relief', you get a metaphor that taxation is an affliction and anybody against relieving this affliction is a villain. The framing technique is both ideological and economically based. Whereas the Conservatives moral system is anchored on 'strict father' i.e. painful discipline to bring about self reliant, the Liberals conceptual system is based on 'nurturant parent' with its highest value helping individuals who need help. Hence, the Conservatives are considered better at framing because in his views, they have made a long time investments on ideas and in language by setting up foundations and give grants year after year to their think tanks in order to create their world perspectives. But the progressive world is modeled on a nurturant parent family. It assumes that the world is basically good and can be made better and that one must work forward. This is in contrast with the conservative who assumes that the world is dangerous and difficult and that children are born bad and must be made good. And to them the good people are the disciplined people.

Brotz and Wilson (1946: 371) consider the following as distinguishing characteristics of a military, that is, it:

- (a) is a command society “where power is sublet from top to bottom”
power is subject to abuse but procedures are uniformed ordered and precise for combat effectiveness.
- (b) is a rigidly stratified society where rank is defined.
- (c) is a self contained society or complete way of life (P: 374).

This is what Stone (1946: 394) refers to as “total social system” organized around a set of values different from those values around which central society is organized.

- (d) Produces an atomizing effect through the savory of civilian ties and emphasis on anonymity and impersonality.

Eisenhart (1975:13) is of the opinion that,

The psychological experiences of combat training may be understood as having three interlocking components: the acceptance of psychological control, the equating of masculine identity with military performance and equating of the routine military mission with raw aggression.

He contends that “military training makes the soldier adopt the mood of instant unquestioning obedience to authority.”(P: 15) and an extreme macho-posture since the objective is “close and destroy the enemy” (p:16).

Amafah(1990) in describing the Nigerian Army, corroborates this assertion thus:

...a hierarchical social system where authority and discipline are absolute. It is a social system whose goal-orientation and approximation to a large extent hinges on speed, surprise and precision made possible by an unquestioning execution of orders and commands. (p:35).

Hence, “being a command society, the dominant speech function is the command”. (p:266)

From the sociological perspective Odetola (1982:23) describes the military as possessing, “the value of puritanism, discipline, rationality and achievement orientation. These values, he argues, “are assumed to be the much more directly relevant to change and development than the indulgent, “superstitious” and “ascriptive”orientation of the larger part of the rest of the traditional society He goes further to add:(and this is important for a balance view) that though the expressed military ideals “might not be honest intentions and motive, they serve the symbolic functions of systematically reassuring the masses, and including political quiescence (achieved) in part by the use of consciously expressed symbolic rhetoric that has universal appeal. (1978:40)

At this point, it necessary to have an understanding of what military language is. Just like in other domains, military language is the

terminology and expressions found within the terrain of the military institution. The military language is the embodiment of the values of the military institution which makes it unique. Ilah-Attah (1998) corroborates this fact thus:

The register of the military would be characterized by force, command, order and coercion among other things. It should not be a language of negotiation or appeal but that of absolute obedience and loyalty to authority, rules and regulation. It should be a language of strictness and rigidity, a language devoid of sentiments and emotions. It does not and should not have provision for questioning or doubting or even challenging the integrity of the calling.(p:89-90)

We agree to some extent with Illah-Attah's submission. However, we differ in the place of context in language use.He fails to understand that the choice and usage of language is situationally or contextually determined. The issue of context directly leads us to language use in the military. This would sharpen our perspective of the phenomenon.

2.4.1 FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN THE MILITARY

If “individual fulfilling different roles use different registers”, Hammerstrom (1976:27) and if, according to Ervin-Tripp (1973:328) each “human activity brings with it objects, concept, and values which are talked about by specialists in that activity and indeed may be known to them”

because language is sensitive to situation of use, what then are the language functions that can be said to be characteristic of the military? Earlier, we showed that the military is a regimental society which places premium on masculinity, speed and mechanical obedience to commands absolute leadership, comradeship to make the supreme sacrifice in the interest of the nation. The question is, are these values reflected in the military language use? Mazrui (1975) identifies two functions which Swahili served in the King's African Rifles as the Inspirational and the Organizational with the first succeeding the second. This two would be examined along with Hallidayan framework-Personal and Interactional functions of language. Whereas the first two dominates official military language, the last two predominate the informal.

The organizational function

This is similar to Halliday's regulatory function, Hymes directive function and Buhler's conative function. In the military, orders are, according to Colby (1926:222) not discretionary and "exact conformity to proper military principles may never be discretionary", since it is a "totalitarian society."According to Norman (1954:108), the tradition that "An order is an order positive and compulsory", makes official language use in the military rigidly coercive .Hence, officers and men occupying

positions of authority use words to mobilize men and material to approximate set institutional goals. Because such orders generate instantaneous obedience, we see military orders as performative in nature, Austin (1962).

Inspirational function

This is a composite of Halliday's instrumental and interactional functions. When it is intended to boost the morale of soldiers, those in commands and those being commanded use inspirational language. That is, the soldiers are mobilized towards the attainment of a goal through an appeal to some corporate ideals such as masculinity, esprit de corp., and national survival among others. This means that language, according to Mazrui (1975:144) becomes "an additional military resource". This language is in use in competitions such as games and shooting exercise.

Interactional function

This language use predominates activities in the mess. Here, soldiers feel free and there is apparently no limit to which soldiers are allowed access to each others' lives. This is where they let off pent up tensions of military service and at the same time share the spoils of existence.

Personal function

These usages are realized in unofficial military language as profane, obscene and generally crude utterances. These “creative language uses”, shared by the group show, in Elkin’s view, the soldiers self image (i.e. the usage of solidarity, freedom from certain restraints of civilian society, of strength and virility) and his attitude and adjustment to authority, which displays “varying degrees of bitterness, resignation and caricaturing acceptance,(1946). Cited from Amafah (1990).

Now effort will be made to examine the four domains of military language namely: official military language, parade language, barracks language and war language.

2.4.2 OFFICIAL MILITARY LANGUAGE

By official military language, we mean language used in official communication i.e. circulars, public notices, print publications among others within and across military institutions. Hence, Colby (1936) describes official military language as “fixed by official regulation and definition” and is characterized by:

1. Brevity achieved through abbreviation. (i.e. “the habit of calling everything by its initials)”
2. Special meanings even for common place terms.

Though it might have been true in 1936 that military terms did not have textbook meanings, this could be modified by stating that today, the situation has changed significantly since many military terms have acquired standardized meanings and so have gained entry into dictionaries of everyday English.

3. Predominance of Orality i.e. soldier language is by and large, a spoken rather than a written language (P: 34)

Earlier in 1925-26, Colby described the rhetorical decisions that had to be taken when the United States Army publications had to be revised during the winter of 1921-22. Reviewing, in retrospect, the decisions that were taken on the use of modals-shall, will, should and must- in the framing of army orders/institutions/command, he highlights the peculiarity of language usage in the army thus:

Whatever may be the textbook interpretations the scholastic rulings and the current writers written, printed and spoken practice regarding these, there have been for many years in the military service certain definite conventions concerning the use of 'will' in connection with orders of commanding officers and there are definite factors in the character of military administration that imply meanings somewhat different from those commonly met with in civilian life. (P. 221)

Whereas military orders are mandatory, he points out that ‘should’ (and more so ‘shall’ were seen as discretionary) and so were not used in military orders. Also, although ‘must’ was seen as definitely mandatory, it was reserved for rules that needed special emphasis. This left ‘will’ which was seen as sufficient to convey the mandatoriness of commands without the officer giving the command having to display force unnecessarily. He concludes:

The statement of what is to be done is sufficient in military service when the officer making the statement is in authority... the practice has grown of issuing orders in the simple future. It is courteous and it is dignified. It is also well understood (P.24)

The situation in the Nigerian Air force however, differs significantly in the use of modals as discussed by Colby. ‘The Nigerian Air force Officers’ Promotion Examination Service Writing Reference Book’ (undated) gives the following as the meanings of these some modal auxiliaries and some other main verbs.

1. “‘Is to’ and ‘Are to’ ... are used to convey direct orders”
2. “‘Should – “When used in directive or instructions, expresses the requirement of a higher authority and leaves a measure of discretion to the local commanders.”

3. “‘Propose’ Is used to suggest a course of action which will be carried out if approved by higher authority.”
4. “ ‘intend’ ...is used to signify an intention which will be carried out unless higher authority says it should not be”
5. “‘Will’ ... is used to express future tense and to convey information. It is not used to convey orders.
6. ‘Request’ – “when used by a senior to a junior is a polite way of conveying an order and is interpreted accordingly”.

He believes that the use of “is to” and “are to” to convey orders in the Nigerian Air force reflects Colby’s position that “the statement of what is to be done is sufficient in military service” to express order. Also, the use of “is to”, “are to”; and request, rather than “will” to communicate orders appears to reflect a democratization of military language in Nigeria.

In consonance with Colby, Berger (1945: 258 & 264), characterizes military language as ranging “from the formal language of the official manuals to the uninhibited (or much less gentle) talk of the barracks and the field”. Commenting on official army language, he is of the view that it is stereotyped.

Partridge (1948), in his introductory remarks to ‘A dictionary of Forces Slang ‘1939-45, states that; “Among members of a service, there is

a kind of freemasonry, which expresses itself in many ways: not least in a speech of their own.” The richness of military language, he argues is a function of the excitement of military life and the fact that the dangers of active service sharpen the wits of soldiers and therefore their vocabulary.”

(P. 14) He concludes that:

Such conditions of life, such activities, such sterling adventures lead inevitably to rejuvenation, refreshment, and tonic bracing of language. They lead to vividness and vigour and picturequeness service. Man’s language becomes truthful, energetic and often quite delightful (P. 9-10)

Whitehead (1965:35) corroborates this view of the soldiers’ linguistic creativity when he asserts that “outside the norms of educational establishments, the best “School” for the coining and teaching of word or phrase is undoubtedly the British Army”. Though the above phenomenon of military language according to Partridge is more characteristic of war situations, it cannot but be rudimentarily present in peace time military usage.

Writing on “Army speech and the future of American English”, Norman (1956) argues that for the soldier, the “use of army language can’t represent an ego-satisfying device which permit him to identify with the topsy-turvy regimentation of which he is a part.” (P.107) Norman describes

army speech as made up of orders, special ways expressions, euphemisms, ephemeral idioms and alphabetic abbreviation.

With the aid of the Ervin-Tripp type (1969) Jonz presents the following results as the roles of the variables identified in military official language. The audience variable (i.e. who else is present is found to be the most important in the choice of address form)

1. Dispensation plays a role only in non-audience influenced settings with the right to initiate the charge unequivocally (belonging) to the (rank) superior (P. 22)
2. The degree of familiarity (i.e. whether the addressee's first name is known minimally but surely influences the form of address.
3. Ascribed status (i.e. the rank work) is found to be "the predominant factor in predicting address form toward rank seniors P. 73.

Jonz finds the following forms of address used among his subjects:

1. The third person address form is used in a formal setting and connotes extreme formality or ceremony.
2. Title (including "Sir") is by far the most widely used form of address. It "is generally a safe way to address either a junior or a senior in audience – influenced settings (P. 74)

3. Middle Name (MN), Last Name (LN) and First Name (FN) are rank – equal form especially in non-audience influenced setting.
4. Title plus last name (TLN) versus non-audience influence is found in non-audience influence settings between rank inferior and rank superior.
5. Condescending form: such as “Lad”, “Marine” and “Son” are used by rank superiors downwards “only when addressee’s name is not known.
6. No-naming (\emptyset) is used for rank inferiors by rank superiors when addressee’s name is not known.

Amafah (1990:254) categorizes military official language into what he calls ‘indexical items’ whereby according to him, language does not only vary across occupation but even within an occupational group. Hence in the military, different units employ different registers to carry out their specialized function. We shall sample a few of these. For example,

- i. The intelligence corps employs the following words among others in the discharge of its duties: espionage, security breach, surveillance, report, interview, interrogation, collection, collation, evaluation etc.
- ii. The military police employs items such as:

Nil returns, close arrest, open arrest, cooler (guard room) escort, apprehend, search warrant, repudiate, finding etc.

iii. In the finance and administrative department, the following expression can be noted. P.A (put away), B.U (bring up) K I V (keep in view), FYN A (for your necessary action) WEF (with effect from) process (the document) please, actioned, pending, open file, secret requesting, not recommended, noted, for approval, for your comments please, referred for your perusal , directives please.

He also identified what he calls ‘lexical innovations’ which are instances of creativity. According to him they fall into three groups.

- (a) Civilian (non-military) words which are borrowed and recontextualized
 - (i) durbar in military parlance is a question and answer session between a commander and all the soldiers in his cover
 - (ii) interview – a meeting with the commander
 - (iii) to sentence – to declare unfit for use
 - (iv) half card - a deformed soldier
- (b) Essentially military words which are polysemic
 - (i) detail- is an assignment- to detail, is to assign a soldier to some work
 - (ii) pass – ‘leave’ or written permission for a soldier to go on leave.

- (iii) picquet – refers to a team of ten soldiers assigned to some specific duties
- (a) Other unique military expressions include:
 - (i) WILCO meaning I will comply
 - (ii) AJUWAYA- meaning as you were (before)
 - (iii) AWOL – absent without official leave
 - (iv) SOS – struck off strength

In all these, the military macho identity and values are reflected. These variables are responsible for its militariness.

Bill (2002) opines that military language is full of doublespeak.

According to him:

Doublespeak is language that evades responsibility, tries to make something unpleasant seem pleasant, and something common seems uncommon. Basically it's language that pretends to communicate when it really doesn't. It is language that's designed to mislead while pretending to lead you someplace (P.3 of 3)

He goes further to categorize doublespeak into four types. The first type is Euphemism, which according to him is out of sensitivity for the feelings of another person, which may be misleading or not depending on the context. The second type is Jargon. In his words, it “is the specialized

language of a trade, profession or group”. He stresses further that “doctors, lawyers, plumbers, carpenters and everybody in a special group has a jargon, and there’s nothing wrong with this jargon when people in the group use it to talk to each other. But when a member of the group uses it to talk to a person outside the group, knowing that the person will not understand this language, then you have doublespeak. The third type of doublespeak is what he calls gobbledygook meaning the doubletalk. This is the endless number of words that politicians use when they don’t want to answer a question.

The fourth type however is in his words ‘inflated language’. By inflated language he means “trying to put up things, make something ordinary seem extraordinary”. A good example according to him is “it wasn’t a common ordinary steel nut that costs 16 cents, it was a ‘Leva a form rotatable surface compression unit, which is why it costs \$20.43 a price of them.

Corollary to these views, John (1993) opines that the euphemistic force of a word is often heavily dependent on its context. In other words, what is euphemistic in one context may be a taboo in another. According to him, even in societies which promote themselves loudly to be ‘open’ it is the nature of government to be secretive. On the contrary, the military

institution, which is considered highly structured and secretive, would rather remain illusive, hence the use of language that portrays this status quo. The vocabulary of strategy and tactics in his view must be carefully weighed to avoid any unnecessary negative overtone. In his opinion, the American populace was deceived by the military, having made them believe that Americans were involved in the Vietnamese war, strictly on American ideas. But to him it was sheer propaganda.

Kester (1999) explains the language use in the military, specifically in written official communication i.e. minutes, circulars and written public announcements. Languages use in the military according to him “is by its nature not just discreet, internalized codified, but also dictatorial and sometimes persuasive” (P. 13). Consequently, there is the presence of features like, command, and authoritarianism’ which is borne out of the fact that it is “a highly organized internalized and professional institution that attaches premium to discipline’, respect and order.” In his words “the primary aim of ‘militarese’ (another word for military language) as a functional variety of language is to evolve effective communication both within and beyond military boundaries”. Thus, he classifies the language of the military into two basic functions: the internal and external functions. This is in contrast with Amafa’s formal and informal categorization. These

dual functions in his view will serve “as a collective efforts for the fulfillment of the military objective,” which will “achieve organizational solidarity and collectivity, what is in military parlance referred to as ‘esprit de corp’

As an internal function, the language is used “for consistent routine organizational purposes reflecting hierarchical relationship between the addresser and addressee emphasizing rank and position and emphasizes expertise and professionalism. This view is echoed by Amafa previously. Kester sums up the characteristic of the military language with its attendant internal functions thus:

A. Grammatical

- i. There are use of peculiar lexical items, abbreviation and restricted expression as grammatical features. Colby (1936) and Amafah (1990) share the same view.
- ii. The use of passive voice is common as in “I am directed to inform you to report to the headquarters immediately”.

According to him, the use of the passive is intended to, “absolve the junior officers of any responsibility.” Inversely the superior officer would often be represented in circular as “I hereby direct you to report immediately to the headquarters”. In other words, the use of

active voice is common among the superior officers when dealing with the junior officers. Amafah made a similar observation earlier.

- iii There is a measure of passive voice in public pronouncements.

There is a high degree of care and depersonalization particularly in the use of the 1st and 2nd person singular, so as to avoid personal responsibility for actions taken in the course of performing formal functions.

B Semantic

- i. In circulars and minutes, precision and conciseness are noted as major semantic features.
- ii. Written public pronouncements are observed to be typically vague. He gave this example: “This government would not stay a day longer than necessary.” According to him it is vague, unspecific and ambiguous as it fails to give a definite date for the anticipated handover process.

C. Tone

- i. The tone is very formal and depersonalized.
- ii The tone of a circular letter often indicates the direction the message is Coming from. The address of a circular is peculiar as it shows which direction of the hierarchy the message is affected.
- iii. The external function of military language is in form of public pronouncements.

The data, military coup speeches can be considered as one of such. The external function according to him is aimed at informing, educating, (more so, instructing) the general public of the services of the military. In the context of external communication in military circle, he comments thus:

In the military, language use is always so very often devoid of blunt promises fluid and or commitments, but rather ‘militarese’ is seemingly diplomatic. Most especially, when employed beyond military boundaries. That is essentially when the civil public would often perceive ‘Militariese’ as deceptive. (P. 15)

According to him, though the external language of the military as a sub-variety is characterized by diplomacy, depersonalization and vagueness, the designed intent is to conveniently pass on to the public only that which the military deems as essential information for public consumption. Consequently, an interaction with the civil populace is guarded, as the military tactically avoid making statements that are implicative. This avoidance is achieved by employing various linguistic stylistic devices. As a policy therefore, the military, he says: “Except where the prevailing action has clear precedence, the military officer must seek recourse to appropriate quarters before commenting on development.’ However, if the military is constrained to make a public pronouncement, in his words “the military

creates room for fluidity and maneuver in the event of unfulfilled communications and severed relationship with the public”.

2.4.3 PARADE LANGUAGE

The Encarta Dictionary defines ‘parade’ as “a formal gathering of a troop of soldiers in a regimented formation for a ceremonial march, inspection, or training. Parade, according to Okongor (2006), “is a formal or ceremonial muster of troops for inspection.” Our deduction here is that parade is a ceremonial display of the military. Since the military institution world over maintains a culture that places premium on macho identity, masculinity, speed and precision realized through verbal economy and questioning compliance with orders, there is no doubt that these values would stamp their identity on the language use during parade.

According to Depot Nigerian Army (2001) different drills make up different parades. Hence, there are foot drills at the halt, marching, drill in line, rifle exercise, submachine gun drill, funeral or exercise, drill with cane (cane used by non-commission officers NCOS), sword drill, guard and sentries drills. These are the inseparable components of a parade which can be referred to as types of parades. Earlier, in Nigerian Army Drill All Arms (1974) it is noted that different parade have different uses of language or terminology, i.e. quick march and slow march are two types of

march in a military parade. In quick march, men on parade respond to instructor's command –left-right, left-right in very rapid succession. It is referred to as 'forty movements to the minute', i.e. forty march in a minute also referred to as quick time. The same regulation pace governs the slow time march. It is twenty movements to the minute. The instructor's command goes out left-right, left-right at a slower pace than quick time. In all these, we can see that command, speed/precision which are either shouted or uttered with force to enforce instantaneous compliance are brought to bear on the use of parade language. In other words, military values are reflected in their use of language.

According to Amafah (1993) military language consists predominantly of orders most of which are either shouted or uttered with force to enforce instantaneous compliance. Hence, at the phonological level, shouting involves a lot of acoustic intensity which creates the prominence and it also affects the quality of the segment. This was first mentioned by Colby in 1936, that orality predominates other aspects of speech in military language.

Amafah opines that the phonological descriptions of parade language are basically two: segmental and supra-segmental features. Under the segmental features, items such as substitution involving raising, elision,

elision and substitution, elision substitution and aspiration, complex transformation, simplification of terminal cluster and segmental lengthening are found. For supra-segmentals however, two peculiar phonological features stand out. These are the use of rising and falling intonation. At the level of grammar, Amafah(1990) notes that Nigerian Army English is in the active voice since the commands have the necessary and sufficient authority to do so. He asserts that the adverbials direct the respondent on how and what direction to move as they spell out minute detail of coercive military mobilization. Since in the military commands are absolute, or non-discretionary, Amafah asserts that, the mandatoriness is marked by the verb used, as in 'Parade will form three ranks'. He also notes some morphological innovations which include deletion of words which are conditioned by the reality of shouting and the need for verbal economy. It also includes, base form deletion in which the base carries most of the meaning deleted leaving the grammatical morpheme to carry the burden meaning of the whole word as in Attention---'tion' Parade---prade'.

The following parade jargons were observed by the researcher during some sessions of parades. We observed that the military values of command/order, speed/precision and request among others were reflected

in the language of parade. This is done with a view to corroborate and validate some of the claims in the literature.

1. Command/Order

- (a) Prade – tion!
- (b) Halt – fall in!
- (c) Order arms!
- (d) To your duties fall in!
- (e) Stand at ease!
- (f) Fall in! Fall out!
- (g) Prade, prade will form three ranks, from these ranks!
- (h) Keep still!
- (i) Eyes right!
- (j) One guard, left wheel!
- (k) Prade will advance in review
- (l) Prade will remove head dress!
- (m) Move to the right in three. By the right, quick march!
- (n) Prade will march pass in slow and quick time. Division into colours right wheel, by the right quick march!

2. Speed/Precision

- (a) As you were before – “Ajuwaya!”
- (b) Parade –“Prade!”
- (c) Attention – “tion!”
- (d) Sir – “SAH”

3. Requests

- (a) May I have your permission to carry on with the prade?

- (b) May I have your permission to carry on with the parade
'SAH?'
- (c) SAH, may I have your permission to march off the
parade?
- (d) May I have your permission to file pass (sic) the parade
of passing out cadets 'SAH?'

We observed that the greater forcefulness and its phonoaesthetic effects set in the motion the response to the order i.e. banging the leg in one fell-swoop forcefully. On request, however, it was observed that it is unusual for rank-superior to use politeness makers to rank-inferiors. But the rank-inferior on his part cannot give a command or issue orders. What he does instead is to request for permission to get things done. Such requests are usually couched in polite language to receive the desired favorable attention. The uniqueness of parade language as we can see revolve round the values represented by the military.

2.4. BARRACKS LANGUAGE

The barracks, according to Wikipedia, is a type of military housing. In other words, it is a building in which soldiers live. Military barracks language is characterized by official or informal army language which

according to Colby (1936), is “not fixed by regulation and is rarely written”. In his words:

It is the military vernacular, the slang which is direct, brief, vivid, figurative and in successive generation of soldiers, lasting. it is a living language often reckless of regulations and their formal phraseology... it passes from mouth to ear among men who read little in the books and pamphlets of formal orders and interactions

He shows informal military language as satirical of all aspects of the soldier and soldiering and as essentially formless (i.e. unsystematic spontaneous), colloquial, figurative, descriptive and idiomatic but enduring. His conclusion is the “scenes may alter”. New generations of recruits may come and go: regulations may be revised, orders superceded, but soldiers talk the same”. The Nigeria pidgin version of this is “Soja go, Soja come, barrack no move”.

Safely put, the situation in the barracks is fluid and dynamic such that whoever finds himself in this domain must be conscious of this reality.

According to Kachru (1965), the most dominant speech function in both formal and informal settings of the military society is the command, which is rarely realized as commands, orders and instructions depending on the degree of formality, of setting and the length of the utterance. The

second dominant speech function is the request. In his views, the dominance of these two speech functions reflects the hierarchical nature of the army where whoever is ranked superior spends most of his time ordering people round while the rank inferior is often making requests for favours and permissions for things to be done. In other words, the dominant speech function in the barracks is a blend of commands, orders, instructions and requests depending on the participants and the situation. Our observation of Nigerian military language both at the informal level has made us to some extent agree with this position.

According to Amafah (1990) “Pidgin/Broken English” is popularly believed to be the language of the barracks in Nigeria such that, it is the most effective medium of communication across the ranks in both formal and informal settings. According to him, barracks language shows evidence of borrowing from three sources namely:

- (a) Standard English
- (b) Indigenous Nigerian languages
- (c) International military language

In contrast, we found from our observation of some military barracks expression that Pidgin English is the most potent vehicle for expressing

camaraderie especially among other ranks and the fact that the organization of military society is based on rank was found to be reflecting in the language used in the barracks.

Kiagba (1987) comments on how barracks language has encroached into the Nigerian popular English such that, “we bloody civilians in Nigeria now believe that the only way we can show that one is no- nonsense disciplinarian etc is by (adopting) military rhetoric” Examples of such are lexical items such as adopting names like Commander, General and Chief among others. Also the use of non-verbal realization of military rhetoric is common. This includes situations where soldiers and sometimes civilians respond ‘YES’ SAH’S salute rather than greet in essentially civilian setting.

From our observation, we noticed that the dominance conformation of the Nigerian Army barracks is found to be complex and multilinguistic since all the ethno linguistic groups are relocated to fenced barracks, there they are closely co-located. Hence, the inter-language between English and the indigenous languages ‘pidgin/broken’ English is found to be the language of Nigerian military barracks. Amafah is also of the view that the various languages forming the Nigerian soldiers’ sociolinguistic repertoire are not identically used by all soldiers, especially in the barracks. In his opinion, because officers have higher formal educational qualification,

standard Nigerian English dominates their language repertoire. The officer in the Nigerian Army according to him has the tendency to use Nigerian English more than other languages in both formal and mess settings. Next in the hierarchy is popular, Nigerian English while last on the scale are the indigenous Nigerian languages. He, however, warned that this is not to suggest that officers are evenly competent as there are near illiterate officers who feel more at home using Pidgin English, and there are also those whose English language competence will compare favourably with any Nigerian variety of English. For the other ranks, especially the 63 NAS whose formal educational qualification are generally lower than those of officers, they use “pidgin broken” English more than the other language in the barracks. For the illiterates however, pidgin broken English is used indifferently in both formal and informal settings especially when they cannot revert to either their mother tongues or some indigenous lingua franca i.e. Hausa. Based on our observation, however, by and large, soldiers are more at home when they interact in Pidgin English irrespective of their rank.

The following are samples of language we elicited from both the mess and ‘mammy’ market i.e. outside the office setting. The utterances are derived from different spots and contexts. Again, our concern is to

illustrate the extent to which these expressions are located within the military values.

1. **Macho Identity/Masculinity.**

- (1) Na me be guard, driver and orderly.
(I am the guard, driver as well as the orderly)
- (2) I go kill this man, he go die today.
(I will kill this man he will die today)
- (3) I just dey for your territory.
(I am just in your territory)
- (4) I wanna kill man (singing)
- (5) Agatu go kill man (singing too)
- (6) That girl, I don arrest am many times
(Meaning he had an affair with her)
- (7) a. The guy is a strong soldier.
b. How many enemy he catch?
- (8) Soldier wey get mind – move and you move.
- (9) a. I enter jungle and brought unripe paw paw.
b. Why?
c. You see food ney? Mango wey never ripe, we cook am and eat like pear.
- (10) War is sweet when it favour you.
- (11) a. I never see officer wey get mind like him (referring to their commander)
b. Malu is a strong man.

- c. Ishaya is a strong man too - he slap his batman and the boy slap am back .If he no get mind, he no go like am.

2. **Command/Order**

- (a) My friend comes here! Double!
- (b) Wait now – yes sir!
- (c) I don't have anything to tell you, till tomorrow, you can go!
- (d) Course mate, Report!
- (e) Go and get the change
- (f) Oya, climb machine, lets go!
- (g) Don't 'tawaye' for me or I will smash your head.

3. **Discipline**

- (a) If you go UN (United Nations Peace Corp) and failed to decorate your room, you are more than dog.
- (b) 'Wanna shine', chop and die.
(If you must enjoy life now, later you will suffer)
- (c) I dey wait for pass
(I am waiting for permission)
- (d) I no comot because no body go guard my house.
(I could not go out because there was no body to look over my house)

4. **Life as Fleeting**

- (a) This beer, I want to drink am that's why I am here.
(I need to enjoy my life)
- (b) Life no get certificate. (Life has no duplicate)
- (c) Money is nothing na human being pass.

(Human is more valuable than money)

From the foregoing, we can at least have insights into what constitutes barracks language. However, we would want to note that our study is not entirely a study of military language but to show how military values are depicted in Nigerian military coup speeches which qualify it as an aspect of military language. To this end, the non-participant observation as shown above would serve as a complement to the few materials we could lay our hands on regarding barracks language.

2.4.5 **WAR LANGUAGE**

From antiquity to the modern time, war is synonymous to the military. Military according to *Encarta Dictionaries* is a term relating to matters of war or the armed forces. Also, according to Dawes (2002) war is maximized and universalized such that during war language is made to reflect violence. He captures it in the following words:

During war, language is censored, encrypted, euphemized, imperatives replace dialogue, and nations communicate their intentions most dramatically through the use of injury rather than symbols...threats and lie elevated to the status of communicative paradigms. (P: 3)

In all this, we can deduce that both the military and the politicians alike are influenced by the course of war. Specifically, soldiers

communicate with one another and different formations. This form of expression, to all intents and purposes, is unique. The uniqueness often carries the import of keeping the enemies at bay or at least for the purposes of maneuvers. Illah Attah- (1998:89) corroborates this assertion thus:

...language of gimmicks, manipulation and maneuvers since, in war situations, these are the essential ingredients used to overcome enemies.

This observation indicates that war language is essentially secretive or coded. Amafah (1990) refers to it as indexical items. This is a situation where a functional specialization triggers off specialized terminology as in war situations where the signal man employs the following words among others, Message Over, Send Over, Roger Over, Roger Out Call Sign, Message Relayed, Alfa, Bravo, Charlie, etc. Because he is engaged in the transmission of sensitive information, the language is highly specialized.

Based on his Vietnam War experience, Jonz (1975) examines the applicability of the result of Brown and Gilman's (1960), and Brown and Ford's (1961) findings to the dynamic of forms of address among soldiers in a war theatre. (i.e. an area immediately after the line of fighting). To make the framework of his research more reflective of his subject and their circumstances, he points out that in addition to the dimensions of intimacy, status and that of power and solidarity, "it seems also necessary to add

setting, audience, dispensation and acquired status versus ascribed status to adequately account for current form of address in the United States Marines Corps (P.68).

Though Jonz's study does not cover other settings (those directly under fire and those farther in the rear), he is of the view that the nearer soldiers are to the war front, the greater the solidarity between rank unequal and vice versa. He concludes that if the variables of military status (ascribed versus earned) pre-military status and variation in setting are considered, "the influence of social interaction on forms of address...would seem to be very significant indeed" (P.76) Jonz's contribution is significant in that it brings into sharp focus the rather simplistic nature of the power and solidarity and intimacy and status dichotomies in handling the complex variables of choice of address forms.

Murray (1986) in his glossary of naval fighter pilots agrees with John Mason that "each crisis creates its own vocabulary". He extrapolates this view to the language use situations among his subjects by stating that the crisis of flying sophisticated jet bombers and all the risk it involves makes this subculture "especially prone to linguistic creativity". (P.126) He points out that the referents of their language come from their immediate reality of maneuvers, personnel names, enemy-related referents; leisure and non-

duty related referents, non-air plane equipment, non air-duty and various other miscellaneous categories.

He also discovers from his data that nominals were in the majority (about three quarters) while the rest were adjectives and verbs. This predominance of nominals he attributes to the fact that his subjects “name things almost three times as often as they name events or characterize things and events”. (P.127). He identifies the following along the lines of Mencker (1963) as the operative word formation strategies:

1. reactivating obsolescent words with new meanings
2. entirely new coinages
3. compounds from common mother tongue materials

Commenting on the functions of naval fighter pilot jargon, he concludes:-

... the terms recorded here help to distinguish their users as members of a unique social group, helps to communicate complex concepts with a minimum of linguistic cases and perhaps even help to relieve some of the Psychological tension that naval fighter pilots incur as they go about their daily routine (P. 128)

Summers (2004) emphasizes the effect of the use of euphemism as rhetoric of the U.S. Army during the Vietnam war. He aptly observes thus:

I would argue that one of the things that made the Vietnam war complicated is that we used all these euphemisms directly from political pressure in my view ... and they've been fairly well-documented now by historians... from Lynden Johnson's effort, to make sure this kind of ambiguous war effort, on his part, palatable.

Put differently, the government of the United States influences or censors what should get to the American public from the battle field as information. Such information must be made acceptable to the public. This position is not far from the rigid nature of the military institution where orders from above must always be obeyed.

Strup (1990), identifies some war euphemisms to include the following:

EUPHEMISMS

DENOTATIONS

air supports -		dropping of bombs
warfare -		defence or peace dept.
war office -		ministry of defence
peace keeping -		military occupation
pacifying -		attacking
conflict -		war
fighting -		armed confrontation
incursion -		invasion

intervention	-	invasion
police action	-	war
ethnic cleansing	-	mass killing

Similarly, in the recent Gulf War, much of the euphemisms were couched by the Americans to suit the contexts of these wars. We are going to sample a few examples from the contributions of Wah, McCarthy and Shanker(cited in the internete) on the subject 'Language in Extreme Situations' as highlighted on the Internet. They are words or phrases with the following interpretations.

- i. Embedding – a metaphor for the US military's new approach to handling journalists in a war with Iraq.
- ii. Hot Contact Point- a phrase used to describe the uncomfortable business of casualties in a low-key way.
- iii. Fixing -Is to seal off the perimeters in order to neutralize the Iraq troops
- iv. Mouse Holing: – to blow holes inside walls to avoid triggering trip wires from the front door.
- v. Strike Package - meant to describe the vast array of hardware and technology supporting the bombing raids

- vi. Regime Target:- Striking Saddam Hussein and the infrastructures that support his regime.
- vii. Collateral Damage- describes the deaths of innocent people in conflict
- viii. Catastrophic Success- Is using a negative adjective – catastrophic to emphasize the positive to mean sweeping triumphantly into Baghdad
- ix. Kinetic:- Physics term for motion to describe actual combat.
- x. Spared Bump- to describe anything that slows down the progress of war including skirmishes (P: 1-6 of 7)

In all these, we can see that military language is characterized by masculinity, command, force, order, speed, and precision and in special cases such as war doublespeak.

2.5 MILITARY COUP SPEECHES

The position here has been that language is heterogeneous. And that if usage and the environment of use manifest their identities on the language we use, hardly is there anywhere that this is more strikingly foregrounded than in the military. To this end, the examination of use of language by the military in this context is quite appropriate.

Amafah (1990) and Akanbi (1999) both note the uniqueness of the linguistic repertoire of the military as exemplified in coup speeches. Both scholars agree that coup speeches tended to be brief and concise. Akanbi (1999) asserts that, “The writers are not word jugglers but master artists cautiously and deliberately savoring words to achieve their purpose”. In other words, the writers are conscious of their audience, purpose and time limitation coupled with military seriousness in a bid to explain their reasons for taking over the government.

A military coup speech based on Kester’s(1999) categorization belongs to the external sub-varieties of militarese. To be more specific, it falls within what he calls ‘written public pronouncements,’ or official military language which according to him “is characterized by diplomacy, depersonalization and vagueness”. In his view, the designed intent of public pronouncement is to conveniently pass on to the public only that which the military deems as essential information for public consumption. Public here needs to be defined because virtually all military official documents are “Restricted”, so one wonders which public he is talking about. We can then infer that probably he meant the military public.

In this section, we concentrate on existing literature on coup speeches. We, however, want to note that we were able to lay our hands on only a

few research works in this area, most probably because by design any research work based on military institution is viewed with suspicion due to the clandestine nature of the institution. Hence, only a few scholars would venture into such an institution for a research.

A coup, according to Adegbija (1995:253) “by its very nature, is a social anomaly or aberration” so also is the speech that ushers in a coup. In his words, the speeches “are delivered in an unusual context of interactions normally with a divided audience.” And that the audience is basically two, “those who support the coup, with whom cooperative interaction has to be earned, and those completely against the coup, for whom the cooperative principle cannot be assumed.” In order to elicit support or legitimize what is illegitimate, a military coup speech is fashioned to account for different interest groups. Hence, for those in support of the coup, their cooperation had to be sustained. For those sitting on the fence, including the international community, they need to be swayed. But for those who are apparently opposed to the change and appear obstinate and confrontational, they had to be coerced mostly through threat and warnings. Consequently, the pragmatic force of the speech is tilted towards either persuasion or coercion.

Akanbi (1999:85) corroborates this position when he says “Nigerian Military coup speeches are intended as persuasive discourse and a blend of logic and coercions.” Similarly, scholars are agreed that context plays a vital role in every speech situation. Essien (1983) in the words of one Publous Syrus puts it in another way that “Speech is a mirror of the soul: as a man speaks so is he.” Essien goes further to argue that “if language reflects the soul of the individual that make up a language community, it also reflects the corporate soul of that community.” Halliday (1973:3) holds a similar view. According to him, “the context plays a part in determining what we say, and what we say plays a part in determining the context.” Put differently, the military coup speeches reflect the reality of soldiering. The speeches also take into account the Nigerian socio-cultural and political pedigree as the military is a product of the Nigerian society.

When we use a language, we make use of devices that the language employs to show certain relationships to others and our attitudes towards them. After all, in the opinion of Maiyanga (1989:250) “Speeches are olive oil with which we rub peoples’ mind.”. Earlier on, Muir and Silas (1979:422) affirmed that “A speech gives insight into the significance of the speaking situation and helps you to see the interrelationship of speakers, speech and audience”. So in order to use language properly, we

must be seen to be using these devices. Thus, to achieve an intended illocutionary force, the coupists must carefully select their linguistic repertoire as in the diction, phonology and grammar which would then reflect the audience and the context. To this end, we will now look into a few literatures available with a view to throw light on the tapestry of the phenomenon, coup speeches.

Adegbija (1995) asserts that a coup d'état and the speech that ushers it are both anomalous. He aptly puts it thus:

The speech that ushers in a coup is strictly speaking an anomaly from the point of view of discourse. As a speech genre, it is strictly not a monologue. Nor can it in every sense of the word be considered a dialogue even though it is normally intended as one. (p:253)

He further argues that the addressees are divided along ideological lines. Hence, there are those who support the coup and those who are completely against it. In view of this complexity, coup plotters are quite sensitive to these two groups. He therefore offers a solution thus:

In view of the gamble involved in a military or coup speech, the speaker has to do everything possible to create or rather earn some measure of cooperation with the invisible audience whose reactions to the speech, and thus, the likely inferences to be drawn there from are normally divided and unpredictable.p254

In other words, the coup plotters must embark on rhetoric that is ambivalent, persuasive and coercive. In carrying out the study, Adegbija employs a combination of socio-linguistic, ethnographic and pragmatic approaches. In his view, the approaches are one. According to him, (p: 253) “these approaches are really one, even though, they have a lot in common and it is this common core that will be particularly employed”. We are skeptical about this claim as no two models of theories can ever be seen to be the same, though, they may have a common background. These three theoretical approaches as an entity are focused on participants in the interaction, their shared or mutual knowledge, what they have implied which is not overtly stated which is in close association with “how’ participants in interactive context “do things with words” (Austin 1962).

The focus of Adegbija’s publication is, ‘On discourse tacts or special strategies’, and employed by the speakers in the achievement of the illocutionary force of their utterances. Adegbija identifies eight discourse tacts or strategies in Nigerian Military Coup Speeches namely: Self Identifying and Discourse Initiating, Atmosphere Sanitizing, Discrediting, Support Garnering, Authority Assumption and Exercising, Confidence Building Measure, Survival and Departure/Closing. We shall attempt to summarize each of them thus:

(a) Self identifying and discourse initiating

Self identification is pragmatically crucial for the discourse because in his words (p: 254) “In African countries ... greetings and the recognition of the addressee in one form or another constitute important strategies for identifying and getting attention.” Hence, after the martial music, the intended audience is greeted or recognized. This greeting according to him is manifested in almost all types of discourse contexts in Nigeria hence “it is impolite and unacceptable to abruptly encounter an addressee and begin talking to him without some background interaction.’ To avoid such background material would in his word mean (p: 254) “jeopardizing the prospect of harmonious interaction... and the misinterpretation of the illocutionary intentions of the speaker”, hence the need for this tact.

(b) Atmosphere Sanitizing

In his view, coup speeches are couched in the atmosphere of and context of gross disenchantment, dissatisfaction with the status quo, economic depravity, misery at both societal and individual levels and above all a desire for change in leadership that can make a difference. Hence, according to him, a kind of mental and psychological sanitation is carried out through, in his words “Palliative and soothing, and disinfecting words.’(p:255)

(c) Discrediting Tacts

Under this, the pragmatic context of the speech will involve the failure of the incumbent government to live up to expectation. Such impressions are potently and tactfully created such that the citizenry would see the coup speech as in his words “the beginning of salvation for the citizenry from the incumbent oppressive regime; the speaker is the expected “Saviour”. (p:256)

(d) Support Garnering Tacts

This strategy is intended to garner support and invoke the cooperation of the audience. The implication of ‘Support Garnering Tacts’ according to him is that “the speaker does not consider himself self-sufficient and therefore depends on the collective good will of the populace to achieve the perlocutionary effect of the speech acts being performed”(p:256).In other words, for an enterprise like coup, the need for popular support becomes imperative.

(e) Authority Assumption and Exercising Tacts

The enterprise of staging a coup is apparently dicey. Hence, the coup planners need to demonstrate that they are in full control of the situation and the affairs of the country. This is achieved according to Adegbija

through the ‘Authority Assumption and Exercising Tacts’. Hence, words that are employed in this context must reflect this.

(f) Confidence Building Measure

Under this strategy, the speaker uses commissive speech acts in which he puts himself and those he represents under obligations to create a secure future. The implication of this according to him(p:257) “is to create inference that the speaker and the group he represents will be dependable, will ensure that all is well, will be trust worthy and will not allow the ship of state to capsize and will provide a secure anchor for the populace.”

(g) Survival Tacts

Here, the speaker realizes that, a coup, in an African context is always a do or die affair, hence, he, the speaker, verbally creates the grounds for confronting all forms of threats and obstacles, real or apparent. In his opinion, the Survival Tacts contradicts Support Garnering Tacts. In his words “from the discourse pragmatics view point, the tactful spicing of speech acts that appeal to the addressee with those that threaten (in order to guarantee the survival of the speaker and his group) is the real index of the ambivalence of the military coup speech.”(P: 258)

(h) Departure/Closing Tacts

This tact is intended to create a lingering impression about the goodwill of the speaker and those he represents. It also implicates that the coup is after all, a patriotic or nationalistic enterprise. Above all the strategy projects the speaker in a positive light.

Going by this understanding, we can see that the purpose of a coup speech is multifarious. It is meant to achieve both persuasive and coercive purposes. We however disagree with Adegbija on the claim that the three theoretical models he employed for the study are one and the same. The claim is too sweeping. But by and large, his study is quite revealing and relevant to our study.

Akanbi (1999) claims that military rule has become a recurring decimal in Nigeria's political landscape. Thus, he sees a coup speech as, "an address prepared by coup plotters and read by their representative usually over the radio and on television to announce a change in government" (p: 1). In other words, a coup speech is not impromptu but a carefully written text meant for public consumption. Besides, he opines that a coup speech is intended to announce a change in government and win support and sympathy for the new administration. This view can be likened to Adegbija's 'Support Garnering Tactics'. Succinctly put, it

follows from the various propaganda employed by coupists that, the gun is not all it takes to assume power.

Akanbi's contribution examines the various devices employed by coup speech writers, according to him, (p: 283) "is to win the sympathy of their heterogeneous audience, establish and retain power and authority, acceptability and legitimacy." And that "they are employed for stylistic effects" (p:284). His contribution analyzed under three broad sub-headings namely: graphological features, syntactic features, and rhetorical devices. We shall succinctly outline each of these items for better understanding of the study.

According to him, the Nigerian military coup announcement speeches employ little punctuation. The relative fewness of punctuation marks to him is traceable to the purpose of the speeches i.e. information and persuasion, the urgency of the messages and the educational level of the coupists. Earlier, Amafah (1990) affirmed that not all the Nigerian Army Officers are well lettered to corroborate Akanbi's latter point. Akanbi also notes that paragraphs are uniquely short in order to make reading interesting. Do the military really care for aesthetics, if we may ask?

Akanbi identifies four main types of sentences- simple, compound, complex and compound complex as employed by the coupists for specific purposes. In his assessment, the sentences are relatively short except on rare occasions where fairly long sentences are used to show mood of the writer and seriousness of theme. According to him, the simple sentence is one of the most commonly used sentence types in the speeches for “self identification, issuance of threat, commands, gaining information and for indicating departure.”(P:47)

The command sentence in his view is sparingly used because of hurriedness in writing the speech. However, the complex sentence in his opinion is commonly used as the subject matter of coups is complex and involves life and death. Akanbi opines that complex sentence accommodates hidden intentions more than other sentence types. Akanbi also claims that compound complex sentences are few because they are long and they make reading laborious.

As for sentence structure, Akanbi asserts that the indicative mood is the most commonly used in the speeches in order to assert, inform, declare etc. The imperative mood in his views is used to ensure an effective grip of situation. This is done through blunt use of orders and commands. However, the interrogative is not used at all because in his opinion, coup

speeches are backed with force and authority hence there is no need for interrogatives. In the same vein, the subjunctive mood is scarcely used. In his words, “Where conditions are given, it is because such conditions are highly unavoidably necessary”. Thus, “the dearth of conditions is to avoid strict compliance.”(P: 55)

More so, the structural units of sentences in coup speeches are intended to enhance effectiveness which the coupists want. Akanbi claims that the speeches are predominantly nominal in style as it aids formality and impersonality. In his word, they follow the MHQ structure. He asserts that the constant use of modifiers aid specificity and vivid description .This claim of the use of MHQ structure is not far from Amafah’s position.

Under the verbal groups, he observes that the auxiliary and modal verbs follow the main verb immediately except on few occasions where modal verbs are severed from the main verb. He also observes that both active and passive voices are used but with preponderance of the passive voice by making the coup speeches look formal and impersonal. Amafah(1990&1993), Kester(1999) Adegbija (1995) all hold the same view of the skewness of the voice to passivity.

In terms of word formation, Akanbi indicates that coup speeches display extensive use of derivational words. According to him, this

complexity testifies “to the coup speech writer’s proficiency in the use of the English Language”. The writers also engage in the use of high sounding words which in his view is equated with competence in language use in Nigeria and also associated with persuasive discourse.

Akanbi (1999) also claims that poly- syllabic words are frequently used in coup speeches. According to him, the reasons being that they portray the desire of the coupists to savor language to win the citizenry to their side. There are also the uses of compounding which to him is an indication that the speeches are written in good prose. He also observes that word piling is also prevalent in coup speeches, which to him is a characteristic of persuasive writing capable of arousing emotions.

The rhetorical analysis in Akanbi’s words “is an incisive trip into the author’s world and beyond to bring out his intended meaning”. (P: 67) This approach is in line with our framework pragmatics. The rhetorical devices used in the coup speeches based on his analysis are broadly categorized into: figurative language, cohesion and foregrounding as we earlier outlined.

Akanbi (1999) observes that figurative language is scantily employed because of the seriousness of the subject matter. In his views, a coup speech does not call for flowery language more so, that it is because the

literacy level of the citizenry is low. He however identifies a few of such figurative expressions as hyperbole, overstatement flashback and idioms:

Cohesion, that is the sticking of ideas in a paragraph, is achieved in his views through the use of connectives pronouns, anaphoric and cataphoric reference are employed to create a free flow of ideas and hence to achieve unity in the speeches

Akanbi also identifies elements of foregrounding in the Nigerian Military coup speeches. He defines foregrounding as “focusing or emphasizing” and that “it brings into prominence certain aspects of texture in a text”, in order “to compel and arrest readers attention and interest (P. 75).

According to him abbreviation is one of the foregrounding elements used in the speeches. They are in his words “used to arrest readers’ attention and induce their interest and that it also informs the urgency of the speeches” (p: 76). Next is salutation phrases which come at the beginning of the speeches, after (martial music) and in the bodies of the speeches for foregrounding purposes. In his views, such foregrounding elements portray a feeling of belongingness and fellowship.

There is also the use of logic and coercion which combine appeal with threats, commands and orders. This strategy by the coupists evolves

out of the social situation of the period.

Though the study has described military coup speeches as an abstract system rather than attempting to describe it as an actual language practice, it is quite revealing and helpful especially in the aspects of its structure.

Abaya (2004) notes that the objective of Nigerian military coup speeches as we are always made to believe, hinges on ideological inclination. This tendency according to him is manifested in their speeches when they portray themselves as ‘Saviours’ to the nation that is on the verge of collapse. He also classifies Nigerian military coup speeches as basically two: One is a speech that is skewed to reflect a military ousting a civilian incumbent regime. Both the content and the linguistic devices according to him, usually portray this. The other one is a speech that is prepared to oust a fellow incumbent military regime. Also, the context and the linguistic devices are indicative of military coup speech. He is also of the view that a Nigerian military coup speech is prepared ahead of delivery, hence lexical, syntactic and metaphorical features are in his words, “made in advance to achieve maximum possible effects in the audience but determined by context”(p:3) because according to him ‘the power of language explained from the perspective of context of culture’

After the analysis of two different coup speeches according to military/civilian dichotomy, his conclusion is that, there is a dynamic relationship between the language use of coup and the contexts such that the contextual meanings are realized through the lexicogrammatical feature. His contribution and indeed those of Adegbija and Akanbi have indeed shaped the focus of the current study.

2.6 POLITICAL /MILITARY LANGUAGE:

INTERCONNECTIONS

Political and Military Languages are both different varieties of language from the point of view of discourse. However, each of these has its own peculiarities. Much as the political language is covered with purr words, military parlance is strewn with snarl expressions,(Maiyanga 1989).

Political language in the opinion of Orwell (1946), "... is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectful and to give an appearance of solidity to pure word" (p: 12). In other words, the preoccupation of political language in his views is that of dishonesty and deception. Mohammed (2001) refers to it as 'language of manipulation' which in his opinion "is widely used to acquire and retain power".(p:10) Conversely, according to Amafah (1990) the military, as an institution, maintains a culture that places premium on virtues that border on masculinity, speed

and precision, discipline, comradeship and nationalistic feelings. Invariably, these virtues are reflected in their spoken words as illustrated earlier in support of the cultural relativity hypothesis which has it that culture influences language.

Despite the peculiarities evident in these varieties of language, they still share certain things in common. We shall attempt to identify and explicate some of the similarities.

In conformity with the cultural relativity theory which upholds the view that languages reflect their environment, it is assumed that both political and military language reflect the reality of each of the institutions. In other words, both are not only a variety of language per se but register or occupational jargons reflecting the political and military institutions they occur. This assertion is further corroborated by Crystal (1987:13), when he says:

Our use of language can tell our listener or reader a great deal about ourselves - in particular, about our regional origin, social background, level of education, age, sex and personality....

Citing Mohammed (2001) in the study of language in its social context, five communicative strategies have been identified:

1. the informational, which simply provides information

2. the expressive, which enables the speaker to express his feelings
3. the directive- which is designed to influence the behaviour or attitude of others
4. the aesthetic- which gives intrinsic pleasure to the user and (hopefully) the receiver, and
5. the phatic- something said just to break the ice or to (politely) acknowledge somebody's presence without meaning to go further than that. (P:2)

Of these five strategies, the one that can function well within political and military language is 'the directive'. The directive enables speakers to exercise solid control through (i) command (ii) orders (iii) firm request or even (iv) threats.

The following examples are apt according to Mohammed.

1. Vote for my friend only [for (i) (ii) (command and order respectively)]
2. You must submit 12 copies of your curriculum vitae and your letter of appointment [for (iii) (firm request)]
3. If you don't vote for me you will live to regret it all your life [for (iv) threat]

The above examples are often implied, not literal since politicians are known to be vague or ambiguous in order to pretend to be good. Again, Mohammed corroborates this assertion with the following words:

But quite often the directive function is not exercised blatantly but indirectly by politicians (and bureaucrats working with or for them) especially if their purpose is to mislead, misinform or cover up something. (P: 2)

Similarly, the military uses 'the directive' though blatantly saying exactly what they mean, unequivocally, representing the tendencies highlighted earlier. The following examples speak for themselves,

1. March him in (order)
2. Take this message to Brigade Headquarters (order/command)
3. All unlawful and criminal acts... will be ruthlessly crushed.
(Threat).

The directive function of language is similar to organizational functions of language in the military where "words are used to move men and material to achieve a set goal", (Amafah 1990).

Both political and military languages are riddled with doublespeak. Doublespeak according to Lutz (1996) is a language that evades responsibility, tries to make something unpleasant seem pleasant,

something common seem uncommon, that pretends to communicate when it really doesn't. Lutz classifies the characteristic of doublespeak as: euphemism, jargon, gobbledygook and inflated language. In his view, they are common features of military and political language.

Another salient commonality between political and military language is propaganda. Propaganda as we earlier observed is deliberately false or misleading information that supports or furthers a political cause or the interest of those in power. Thus, it is intended not only to project misleading information in order to further a political agenda, but as a “mighty weapon of war,” (the free encyclopedia), it is intended to:

‘dehumanize and create hatred toward a supposed enemy either internally or externally. The technique is to create a false image in the mind... by using special words, special avoidance of words or by saying that the enemy is responsible for certain things he never did.’ Wikipedia (P:5)

From the foregoing, we can see that despite a wide gap of difference.- that exists between political and military language, both still influence each other in certain instances. This to an extent has partially answered an aspect of the question we intend to answer at the end of the study whether both languages are married or marred in Nigerian military coup speeches.

2.7 ISSUES ON PRAGMATICS

Scholars have variously defined the term pragmatics. *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (p: 130), defines pragmatics as “the study of language from the point of view of the users- especially of the choices they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants”. Yule (1996.4) defines pragmatics as “the study of the relationship between linguistic forms and the user of these forms”. However, Bach and Harnish (1979) Wilson and Sperber (1981) Leech (1983) and Thomas (1995) generally explain that pragmatics accounts for the specific meanings and situational contexts. For this study, Adebija’s (1999:18), definition shall be adopted as a working definition. According to him,

Pragmatics) is the study of language in particular communication contexts or situations... This would take cognizance of the message being communicated, or the speech act being performed; the participants involved their intention, knowledge of the world and the impacts of these on their interaction. What they have taken for granted as part of the context (or the presuppositions), the deductions they make on the basis of the context; what is said or left unsaid, the impacts of non-verbal aspect of interactions on meaning.

This observation indicates that meaning cannot be derived outside the context of the communication. In other words, pragmatics deals with only the available outward meaning.

Although pragmatics is a relatively new branch of linguistics, research on it can be dated back to ancient Greece and Rome where the term 'pragmaticus' is found in late Latin and 'Pragmaticos' in Greek, both meaning being practical, Liu 2004).

However, modern use and current practice is credited to the modern influence of the American philosophical doctrines of pragmatics. The pragmatic interpretation of semiotics and verbal communication studies in foundations of the theory of signs by Charles Morris (1938) cited in Lyons (1977) for instance, helped neatly expound the difference of mainstream enterprises in semantics and linguistics. For Morris, pragmatics studies the relations of signs to interpretation, semantics studies the relations of signs to objects and syntax studies the formal relations of signs to one another.

In the 1950's, Chomsky discovered the centrality of syntax, but like structuralism, he regarded meaning as not too necessary for serious contemplation. But later he opened a door for semantics by accepting ambiguity and synonyms among the basic data of linguistics. His disaffected pupils in the generative semantic school went ahead and took

semantics as the basis for their linguistic theories. Once meaning was admitted to a central place in language, it was difficult to exclude the way meaning varied from one context to another and so semantics spilled over into pragmatics.

In the early 1960's, Katz and his associates (Katz and Fodor 1963, Katz and Postal 1964, Katz 1964), began to find out how to incorporate meaning into a formal linguistic theory, and not long, the 'California Bust Spirit' led to the coverage of pragmatics. Lakoff (1977) says syntax could not be separated from the use of language and so pragmatics. Leech (1983) corroborates this position through his contention, in his words,

The subject of 'pragmatics' is very familiar in linguistics today. Fifteen years ago (thirty-eight years now), it was mentioned by linguists rarely if at all. (p.1)

He goes further to assert that, "in those far-off seeming days pragmatics tended to be treated as a rag bag into which recalcitrant data could be conveniently stuffed and where it could be equally conveniently forgotten"(p:1). But now in his view, 'we can not really understand the nature of language, unless we understand pragmatic...' language is used in communication''. The acceptance of pragmatics was the last stage of a slow movement into the expansion of linguistics from a narrow discipline,

dealing with the physical data of speech to a broad discipline dealing with form, meaning and context. The most lasting influences on modern pragmatics have been those of philosophers like Austin (1962), Searle (1969), Grice (1975), Bach and Harnish (1979) and Adegbija (1982) and (1999) and Lawal (1997). The speech act theory (using words to perform an action) by Austin (1962), places its emphasis on doing things, (that is, using words to do things) and this is shown in the theory exploration of performative utterances; such as 'I resign,' 'I name this ship Aradu,' 'I bet you N1000, you will be acquitted;' 'I hereby give you notice of dismissal'. Such utterances are problematic because although they have all the outward signs of being declarative sentences or statement, they do not appear to have a truth value; as such they seem to lack what is normally treated as a necessary property of statement. Austin said that such sentences could be true or false (constative) in that their meanings were to be identified with the performance of an action. In saying 'I resigned' a person thus in fact resigned. Conditions of this kind which require elucidating their meaning (as seen above) are not truth conditions but rather felicity conditions as Austin called them (conditions of appropriateness). In addition to their declarative form, performatives generally have well-organized syntactic characteristics, such as a verb

denoting action in the present tense, a first person subject e.g. I, we and the possibility of adding the adverb 'hereby'. Austin's investigations led him to conclude that not only performatives, but all utterances partake in the nature of action, hence one could bring out the action like qualities of a statement, a question, a request by prefixing to it an implicit performative e.g. 'You will definitely get paid tomorrow' is not a performative utterance; rather 'I promise you, you'll get paid tomorrow' is performative.

Other examples are:

1. What's the time?
= I ask you to tell me what the time is
2. Be quiet when I am talking
= I order you to be quiet when I am talking.

The approach to meaning which says that linguistic phenomena are basically actions or deeds has an advantage over truth based approaches in that it invites us to go beyond the traditional logicians limited concern with declarative or 'propositional' meaning.

Austin (1962) took this idea further in claiming that the same utterance can at the same time contribute three (3) kinds of acts namely: Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary acts.

- (1) Locutionary act or locution – is the act of uttering some expressions with a particular sense and reference e.g. He said to me 'shoot her'

where shoot means shoot and 'her' means her. One doesn't take the meaning further than that.

- (2) Illocutionary act- is the act performed in or by the virtue of the performance of the locution e.g. He urged (force) or requested (force) or invited (force) me to shoot her. So we may say that what was said had the force of that illocution.
- (3) Perlocutionary act-is the act performed by the listener as a result of what is said e.g. He persuaded (perlocution) me to shoot her.

Austin focused on the illocutionary act. The locution belongs to the traditional territory of truth-base semantics. The Perlocutionary belongs strictly beyond the investigation of language and meaning since it deals with the effect or result of the act of an utterance e.g. Whether my words persuade someone to lend me N50.000 depends on factors such as psychological, social or physical, which are beyond my control and it is only partly a matter of what I said.

The illocution in Austin's theory occupies the middle ground between locution and perlocution. So, illocution is the proper domain of pragmatics or the study of meaning in context. The verbs used to describe illocutions such as claim, promise, beg, thank, and declare can generally be used as performative verbs and by this connection Austin and his student

Searle were able to think of the performative prefix e.g. I bet you, I thank you, I declare you... so they refer to this prefix as an Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID). A term now widely used to include not only explicit linguistic indications of illocutionary agents, but also as paralinguistic and non-linguistic indicators. In contrast, it is not possible to use a Perlocutionary verb such as 'persuade' or 'incite' as a performative e.g. 'I hereby persuade you or incite you to vote against the government' is a nonsensical utterance implying as it does that the addressee is totally under the 'thought control' of the speaker.

Searle in *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Language* (1969) took further than Austin the idea that meaning is a kind of doing. He went so far as to claim that the study of language is just a sub-part of the theory of action. Although Searle's method was still the informal school method of ordinary language philosophy, he crystallized the concepts of illocutionary act and illocutionary force to the extent where one can reasonably speak of Searle's 'Speech Act Theory' as the 'classical' account which subsequent work on speech acts treats as its point of departure. His interest in pragmatics, like that of Austin, centers around illocutionary act and illocutionary force. Illocutionary force is understood as the functions of

meaning associated with illocutionary act, therefore when we use the term speech act theory in pragmatics; we in practice refer to illocutionary act.

Searle(1969) offered definitions of various speech acts in terms of the conditions which were required to be present if a given speech act was to be effectively performed comparable to Austin's felicity conditions. These were described as four kinds of rules:

1. Propositional Context- specifies the kind of meaning expressed by the propositional part of an utterance, for example, a promise necessarily refers to some future act by the speaker.
2. Preparatory rules—specify conditions which are prerequisite to the performance of the speech act. For example, according to Searle, for an act of thanking, the speaker must be aware that the addressee has done something of the benefit to the speaker.
3. Sincerity rules – specify conditions which must obtain if the speech act is to be performed sincerely, for example for an apology to be sincere, the speaker must be sorry for what he has done. Other analyses however have argued that the performative 'I apologize' is a self-verifying performative, which is always felicitous whether uttered sincerely or not.

4. Essential rules- specify what the speech act must conventionally count as the essentials rule. For example, the essential rule for a warning is that it counts as an undertaking that some future event is not in the addressee's interest.

Searle argues that the basis of these four (4) rule types, different speech acts can be easily distinguished, but the disruptive force of these rules or conditions like that of Austin felicity condition can best be appreciated by finding examples where they are violated, for example

1. A request will be infelicitous if it did not refer to a future event
e.g. Could you please phone me by 5.00pm last Tuesday.
2. Would you mind translating this letter into Bassa-Nge while the addressee is someone who doesn't speak Bassa-Nge.

From the above example, we will all agree that there will be something odd about the decoded utterance if they were spoken under the conditions described.

The speech acts theory discussed above lends itself to systems of classification for illocutions. Austin proposed one such classification in order to reduce to some kind of order the speech acts he estimated to number between I, 000--9999. Searle (1969), improved on Austin's classification when he divided speech acts into five categories.

- (i) Assertives – commits S to the truth of the same propositions: stating, claiming, reporting, and announcing.
- (ii) Directives – count as attempts to bring about some effect through the action of H e. g. ordering, requesting and begging.
- (iii) Commissives – commits the speaker to some future actions e.g. promising, offering swearing to do something.
- (iv) Expressive – count as the expression of some psychological state e.g. Thanking, apologizing, greeting, congratulating.
- (v) Declaratives – as speech acts is where successful performance brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality e.g. naming a ship, resigning, sentencing, dismissing, excommunicating, and christening.

The third of the trio of philosophers, H.P. Grice, like Searle, attempted to face up to the problem of how meaning in ordinary human discourse differs from meaning in the precise but limited truth conditional sense. Whereas Searle proposed subsuming the truth-based paradigm in an action-based one, Grice was interested in explaining the difference between what is said and what is meant. ‘What is said’ is what the words mean at their face value and can often be explained in its truth-condition e.g. John is a pig. ‘What is meant’ is the effect that the speaker intends to

produce on the addressee by virtue of the addressee's recognition of this intention. There can often be a considerable gap between these two types of messages. One of which contains only 'explicit meaning' while the other contains 'implicit meaning'. Consider the following exchange between two people.

A= Where is Janet?

B= Who? She was walking in the direction of the post office five minutes ago.

B's reply simply reports the behaviour of Janet five minutes before the conversation, but actually, it conveys by implication more than that. It implies that B thinks that seeing that A wants to know where Janet is, the post office or there about would be a good place to look for her. If we ask how implication is conveyed, the answer must take account of such matters as 'general knowledge' and shared 'contextual knowledge'. Thus the expression 'the post office' implies that B expects A to share knowledge of the location of a particular post office, presumably, the nearest one to where they are standing. Moreover the implication that Janet may be at the post office now rests on common knowledge that the post office is a sort of place you might be expected to walk to in a few minutes. There would be no comparable implication if B has said 'she was walking in the direction of the setting sun'. But even assumptions like this do not explain the

process of inferring such conversational meanings entirely to give a reasonable explanation, we have to assume that interactants in the conversation have regard for the cooperative principle (CP) “make your contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”, (Yule 1996).

The CP stated in its most general terms above can be expanded into four (4) constituent maxims:

1. Maxim of quality-, which says, try to make your contribution one that is true. Specifically:
 - i. Don't say what you believe to be false
 - ii. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
2. Maxim of quantity – which says:
 - i. Make your contribution as informative as it is required for the current purpose of exchange
 - ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than it is required.
3. Maxim of Relation- make your contribution relevant
4. Maxim of Manner- be perspicuous and specifically
 - (i) avoid obscurity
 - (ii) avoid ambiguity
 - (iii) be brief

(iv) be orderly.

We can extend the inference that Janet may be at or near the post office in terms of the maxims as follows:

- (1) At face-value B's reply is not an answer to A's question. It therefore appears at face-value to be irrelevant, but the maxim of relation leads A to expect that B is being relevant in spite of appearances, hence A looks for an interpretation whereby B's reply, 'I saw her walking towards the post office about 5 minutes ago, can be relevant. This leads A to expect that what B says will give the right amount of information to answer the question if B can truthfully give that information. But what if B doesn't give that information? But what if B doesn't know the answer to the question? Then B will give whatever information is truthfully possible to help A find the answer.
- (2) On the basis of the above argument as well as from general and contextual knowledge A can reasonably infer that B does not know where Janet is now, but had suggested on the basis of what is known that Janet may be at or near the post office. Moreover by the CP, A can assume that it was B's intention to convey that implicit message. This illustration shows how extra meaning can be read into what people say on the assumption that people not only know the meaning

of expressions in their language, but have general knowledge and general human rationality at their command. Like Austin, Grice writes in an informal conversational style and leaves a great deal of scope for subsequent interpreters and misinterpreters. For example, many commentators have assumed that Grice's CP is built on some notion of human benevolence and cooperativeness, that Grice is therefore making some kind of ethical claim about human behaviors. Grice's CP as a device to explain how people arrive at meanings does not mean that people are truthful, informative and relevant in what they say all the time. Hence, he points out that we may simply get out of the CP, in that we may decide to withhold whatever information we possess by infringing or violating a maxim. For example in the case of A and B discussed above, B could falsely tell A that Janet had walked in the opposite direction from the post office. At times, a blatant breaking of one of the maxims might be noticed which is intended to lead the addressee to look for a covert implied meaning. Grice terms this a flout in maxim. So that this last kind of exploitation of the CP is basic to what Grice called conversational implicatures i.e. pragmatic implications which the addressee figures out by assuming the speaker's underlying adherence to the CP. It is

the varied blatancy of the flouts of the maxim which leads to the generation of the conversational implicatures in each of the following examples:

Maxim of Quantity: At the time of the recording all the members of the cast were members of the University drama group. In the foregoing sentence one or more of them are no longer member of the drama group, so the maxim of quantity has been violated.

Maxim of manner:

Interviewer: Did the US government play any part in Nereaga's departure? Did they for example actually encourage them to leave?

Reply: I will not try to scare you away from that – the US government did play a role, although the speaker is not in a position to make a commitment to that effect.

Maxim of Relation:

A female guest: Has the doctor been in?

John Smith: What can I get you to drink?

Guest: John, has the doctor been in?

John: Groundnuts?

Similarly implicit meanings of irony or of metaphorical interpretation can be explained at least in part by reference to the CP. For instance, at its face-value interpretation the following examples break the

maxims of quality. The covered interpretation that John is greedy, unpleasant, dirty etc. depends on the assumption that what is intended is related to the face value, but it is also relevant, truthful and informative. What we have observed from the above use of the maxims by Grice is that the extent to which these maxims are obtained in human every day communication is that the usage of the four maxims varies according to the type of interaction (communication). Someone may uphold one maxim over the others just as we have seen in the examples used above. This shows the complexity of the ways people communicate with one another. It also points to the fact that not all speech activities are deeply cooperative.

The notion of implicatures or pragmatic implication has been Grice's most important contribution to the development of pragmatics. Its significance is that it clearly marks a departure from the kinds of inferences allowable in the truth-based study of logic, notably material implication and entailment. Unlike these, which are based entirely on truth conditional terms? Grice recognizes different kinds of implicatures. Conversational implicatures which depend on the assumption of the CP are distinct from conventional implicatures

which are simply associated by convention with the meanings of particular words, for example, the conjunction 'but' carries the implicature [X but Y] for any utterance. Y is unexpectedly given X for instance 'she lives alone but she has an active social life. 'But' here implicates that given that she lives alone it is not to be expected that she has an active social life. Without this Implicatures 'but' will have the same meaning with the conjunction 'and'.

Recently, the distinctions between conversational and conventional implicatures are not wholly sustainable because some conversational utterances might with time become conventional. An example is the expression to be 'economical with the truth', when this statement was first uttered in court session by Sir Robert Armstrong, a meaning could have been worked out by means of the conversational implicatures generated by the flouting of the maxim of manner. The saying was repeated so often that it became a metaphorical expression (conventional implicature).

Grice makes another distinction between generalized and particularized conversational implicatures. The former is a type of inference, which is made generally without reference to a specific situation thus 'not all X' is generally taken to implicate' at least some

X' e.g. if A is a famous authority meets at a party. If B says 'I haven't read all your work. A can reasonably conclude that B intends to imply that 'but at least I've read some of them' and can justifiably feel misled if it then turns out that B hasn't read any at all. Cases like this contrast with particularized implicatures which arise from specific utterances taking place in specific situations e.g.: A = who finished up the milk? B = John was using your room while you were away.

B's reply implicates that John may have finished up the milk, but this inference depends on a highly specific context namely, the one provided among other things by A's question.

Even generalized conversational implicatures are distinguished from cases of logical inference, in that they can be cancelled out by a statement which is inconsistent with them, e.g. it will be possible for B without self-contradiction to add 'in fact, I haven't read any of your books', thus canceling the implicatures.

Bach and Harnish (1979) have also jointly contributed to the development of the theory of pragmatics. In this publication, they propose an "intention inference" approach to speech acts. According to them, illocutionary acts are performed with the intention that the

hearer identifies the act being performed. They therefore concluded that linguistic communication is basically an inferential reference (1979:4). They also propose that in general, the inference made by the hearer and the inference he “takes himself to be intended to make is based not just on what the speaker says but also, on mutual contextual beliefs (MCBS)” (P:5); that is, salient information from the context known to both speakers and hearer. As they note, “the contextual beliefs that figure in speaker’s intentions and hearers’ inference must be mutual if communication is to take place”. (P: 5). Bach and Harnish label the pattern of inference involved the “speech act schemata”. In inferring what S is saying, H also relies on the “presumption of literalness (PL)” that is “if S could (under the circumstances) be speaking literally, then S is speaking literally. On the other hand, if it is evident to H that S could not be speaking literally, H supposes S to be speaking none literally and therefore seeks to identify what the non- literally illocutionary act is”, (P 12). Non-literalness is achieved through indirect speech acts in which S says one thing and means another or performs one illocutionary act while performing another at the same time. Thus if S says to H, “It’s cold in here”, S may be informing H that the weather is cold and

wants the air-condition turned off. The success of the second act is tied to the first and therefore, for the second act to secure uptake. (that is, for it to be understood), the first must be recognized. This account in essence covers both literal and non-literal speech acts.

An act is communicatively successful as soon as the speaker's illocutionary intention is recognized by the hearer. Hence, "the intended effect of an act of communication is not just any effect produced by means of the recognition of the intention to produce a certain effect; it is the recognition of that effect". Consequently, acts are limited to the "intentional production of effects on (or in) the hearer". (P: 15)

The major advantage of Bach and Harnish's theory is that it provides an extensive and comprehensive analysis of the process of identifying an illocutionary act. From all indications, it aptly explains how inferences are deduced in deciding meaning from speech acts. Its flaws include placing too much emphasis on the recognition of the speaker's intention. Again, the MCBS are not fully characterized, though they play a vital role in the model of pragmatic analysis advanced by Kent, Bach and Robert M. Harnish.

Adegbija (1982) dubs his approach as a “Balanced and Unified” theory of pragmatics. In doing this, he reviewed the work of earlier scholars such as Searle, Grice and Bach and Harnish. He lays emphasis on utterance interpretation with inference process as the corner stone. He also shares the views of his predecessors that we basically perform acts with our words and that the effects they produce are not necessarily only hearer directed. Illocutionary acts, from his view point, may be conventional but need not always be. Because the force of some illocutionary acts is determined by the intention while others still may have to do with the pragmatics of the particular situation of social interaction; the social relationship between the speaker/hearer and the linguistic elements used in performing the illocutionary act, all these factors he refers to as ‘pragmasociolinguistic context’. He argues that this position need not necessarily have anything to do with the recognition of any fixed or specific intention of the speaker. He cites a down-to-earth example to illustrate this theory. According to him, ‘Hello’ uttered to a boy tearing his toy into pieces may serve as a warning to stop doing so. Hence, the pragmatics of the situation determines the illocutionary force. The boy concerned knows that what he is doing is wrong, and

that 'Hello' is inappropriate for what he is doing. Therefore it is likely to be warning or order for him to stop what he is doing especially considering that the speaker is his father and he (the boy) is his son.

Consequently, such an inferential process according to this theory is nurtured by the pragmatics of the situation, the social relationship obtaining between father and son, and the linguistic elements used in performing the illocutionary act.

The pragmatics of a situation according to Adegbija may include any or all of the following:

- a. the cognitive or affective states of the participants in the interaction at hand
- b. specific relationship obtaining among participants
- c. mutual beliefs, understanding; or lack of these.
- d. the nature of the discourse and this relates to the interest of both the hearer and the speaker to the context of interaction, (1999:198).

Put differently, the speaker in any context of interaction depends largely on shared socio-cultural background, psychological disposition and what is presupposed in the exchange situation. Adegbija submits that the hearer's inference based on

pragmasociolinguistic context determines what illocutionary act he perceives the speaker as performing. Hence, this inference on the hearer's part would seem to be more important in identifying and interpreting illocutionary acts than any fixed intention which the speaker might have. Finally, he is of the opinion that pragmatic factors often change in the course of discourse and this may influence the illocutionary force of utterances as well as their perlocutionary effects.

Lawal (1997) presents what he calls his "model of the aspect of a pragmatic theory." In the model, there are six hierarchical contexts of an utterance. The first and most crucial is the context of language itself in terms of the phonological, lexical and syntactic components and the structure of the sentence. Next is the situational context which refers to the topic of discourse and the factors of the physical event including concrete objects, persons and location. The psychological context, largely deriving from the context of situation, refers to the background of mood, attitudes, personal beliefs, and the state of mind of the language user. Next is the social context which is concerned with the interpersonal relations among interlocutors. This also fits in with Adegbija's 'social context'. The penultimate level of

context is the ‘sociological and this describes the sociological and historical setting. The ultimate and broadest context is the ‘cosmological’ which is the language users’ world view and the implicit references to the world or aspects of it and to certain universally established facts. In his words,

The various levels of contexts are symmetrically related to the equally hierarchical levels of background knowledge or competence necessary for the products and interpretation of speech acts. (Cited from Osisanwo 2003:108).

The competence here includes: the linguistics, the psychological, the situational and the cosmological. He is of the opinion that some or all of these competences can be employed as pragmatic mappings to interpret and classify an utterance into a particular type of speech act and to give an appropriate response or reaction. Also, the language user deploys his competence to identify and understand presuppositions, implicatures and MBCs through inferences.

There is also a hierarchical organization of the speech acts and they are somewhat related to the contexts and competences that produce them, The locutionary act is the most basic, while its identification and comprehension depends on the purely linguistic

constraint of the lexical, morpho-syntactic, phonological, phonetic and micro-semantic structure of the sentence. Locutionary acts are the speaker's overt linguistic behavior and the competence and context relative to their interpretation. Illocutionary can be direct or indirect, intended or unintended and conventional or un-conventional, depending on the highly variable context of communication. Perlocutionary acts are the conventional or unconventional intended or unintended consequences of utterances. Though, Lawal's model has seeming overlap between the contexts and competence, it is no doubt comprehensive enough to accommodate the encoding—decoding process of any utterance.

2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In chapter one, we identified the main challenge of this study as attempting to established whether the Nigerian military coup speech despite its peculiarities is inundated with features of political language or not. The linguistic theory which we feel can adequately serve as the main thrust of our analysis is a theory of pragmatics developed by J.L Austin (1962) and revised by Adegbija (1982 and 1999). The reason why we adopted a pragmatic approach is that the

purpose of the study seems to align with the goals of pragmatics as enunciated by Adegbija (1999:198). According to him, the goals are:

- (a) to explain how utterances convey meaning in context
- (b) to explain how meaning is decoded from utterances in context and in particular situation,
- (c) to explain how context contributes to the encoding and decoding of meaning;
- (d) to explain how speakers and hearers of utterances perceive them as conveying the meaning they are considered as conveying in particular utterances;
- (e) to explain how a speaker can say one thing and mean something else, and
- (f) to explain how deductions are made in context with respect to what meaning has been encoded in a particular utterance.

Besides, the purpose of a coup speech to a large extent is to announce a regime change. In other words, an incumbent regime is brought to an end through what Austin calls 'explicit performative utterances' in which one uses sentences to perform an act of the very sort named by the verb. Hence, utterances such as 'The constitutions is hereby suspended', is a common currency in Nigerian military

coup speeches. This indeed is an instance of a speech act, i.e. ‘Doing things with Words’. It is therefore appropriate to adopt the pragmatic theory as a framework.

Adegbija’s theory holds that the force of some illocutionary acts is not only determined by the intention but may have to do with the pragmatics of the particular situation of social interaction, the social relationship between the speaker/hearer and the linguistic elements used in performing the illocutionary act. He dubs these factors as “pragmasociolinguistic context”. This, according to him, “need not necessarily have anything to do with the recognition of any fixed or specific intention of the speaker.” But that “the hearer’s inference based on the pragmasociolinguistic context, determines what illocutionary act he perceives the speaker as performing”. This position is not far from his forerunner, Bach and Harnish’s (1979) Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCBs).

We have adopted this framework as against other linguistic theories for the following reasons: One, the theory is a perfect example of an application of a theory (of pragmatics) to a real extended discourse as opposed to isolated sentences used by Austin and Searle. Two, the view that illocutionary, force is not determined

by the intention of the speaker alone but by the pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts, give the theory a wider and in-depth coverage. Consequently, the application of the theory would reveal much on the socio-cultural pragmatics of Nigerian society. Also, the framework would help throw more light on the mechanism involved interpreting coup speeches, especially on the “why” of military intervention, How they do things with words and by and large “how” they manipulate language to achieve political attainment..

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter centres on the methodology adopted in this study. Beside, being a forerunner for scholars wishing to embark on a similar research, it deals with “how” not the “what” or “why” aspect of research, Afolabi (1993:41) as cited in Abaya (2001) in fact, it is the bedrock upon which the data collected would answer the research questions highlighted under the statement of problem.

This research, as we claimed earlier in chapter two, is descriptive. An approach, which in the views of Adogbo and Ojo (2003:14), “involves the describing of a phenomenon within the context of peoples’ cosmologies and attempts to create a real or vivid picture of the object or events in the mind of the reader”. Indeed, this is what we hope to achieve in this study as the study focuses on the justification that though Nigerian military coup speech has its own peculiarities, it has some elements of political language.

As a library research much of the information was derived from the library. This was complemented with radio broadcasts dubbed from two radio houses namely FRCN Kaduna and FRCN Lagos. In addition to this

was similar material from the Internet to complement and validate those from the library source.

Furthermore, we discovered that a textual analysis alone is inadequate in handling the hypotheses raised in the statement of the problem. The hypotheses raised are:

- (a) What features of political discourse are manifested in Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (b) What attributes of the military are reflected in the Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (c) What pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts of coup speeches seem to determine the speech acts performed?
- (d) What illocutionary acts are implied in the speeches?
- (e) Are the speech acts direct or are they indirect?
- (f) What perlocutionary effects did the speeches actually perform?
- (g) What common discourse patterns can be detected among the different coups speeches?

From all indications only items a, b, c, d and g can be handled properly by the textual analysis. As for items e and f, public opinion technique including material from the print media was employed to cater for those aspects of the statement of the problem. After all, the perlocutionary deals with the effect of the act of an utterance. It is this

obvious fact that informed our adoption of two instruments: text and opinion based approach. For the opinion technique to be most appropriate and effective, three instruments were employed: questionnaire, sampled opinion from newspapers and oral interview. We gave questionnaires to two sets of respondents for informant testing. We gave one set to those who have had the opportunity to observe all the seven coups, and the other set to selected respondents who are above the age of sixty years. We also played the seven broadcasts to their hearing and thereafter asked them to react to the questionnaires. This was done with a view to rekindle their memories.

For sampled opinions from the newspaper, much of the data were collected from three Nigerian daily newspapers, two government owned and one private namely: Daily Times, New Nigeria and Nigerian Tribune. This was done with a view to have a balanced representation of opinions. Each of these papers was sampled for a period of one month after each coup event. These newspapers represent two geographical zones of north and south of Nigeria.

The oral interview was intended to complement the other two techniques. The approach consisted of a set of guiding questions (see appendix), which corresponds favourably with the statement of problem.

To avoid sample bias, a cross section of the Nigerian public including the military aged between sixty years and above were interviewed using the convenience sampling approach. However, those who were unwilling were also interviewed through persuasion. In all, fifty (50) people were interviewed in conformity with the requirements for research in social sciences which prescribed a minimum of thirty (30) for oral interview.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

The data used for this study are seven different Nigerian military coup speeches that were actually broadcast on National Radio. The data was obtained from three different sources. One, the primary source was the library. Kashim Ibrahim Library of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria which provided the data derived from newspapers. Except for the first coup (Nzeogwu 1966), which the newspaper publication could not be found, all others were available. Two, the internet was consulted in order to complement the missing link (newspaper publication) especially of the first coup. Comparison was done between the data obtained from the library and those from the internet for the purpose of validation. Three, dubbed audio tapes of the seven coup broadcasts were obtained from Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) both at the Kaduna and the Lagos stations. The recorded material was handy on the occasion of the interview.

We played the tapes to the listening of the interviewees in order to rekindle their memories so as to enable them respond adequately to the questions posed.

3.1.1 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND HOW THEY WERE OVERCOME.

There is no gainsaying the fact that a study of this magnitude would not be accomplished without hindrances. Indeed, they were inevitable but surmountable.

By its very nature a coup is both a social and political anomaly. It is even perceived more as such by the military themselves since it borders on security breach. To this end, we did not get anticipated cooperation and support from the military. Worse still, the uncooperative attitude ran through the rank and file because of fear of likely consequences of speaking out. Also, because of the restricted nature of most of the military publications, we did not have the desired access to them and the few that we had access to had to be used with caution. Few of them we had the opportunity to administer questionnaire to, while the interview were conducted through friends and relations who are themselves in the military. It was difficult to access all the seven coup announcements on tape at the

Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) station in Kaduna. However, we were referred to FRCN Lagos where the number was completed.

3.2 NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The purpose of the data elicited through non-participant observation was to validate the literature reviewed on military language as presented in chapter two. To this end, we were able to establish the correlation between linguistic and military values as manifested in their social structures. This was done with a view to ascertaining the assumption that military culture the world over places premium on command, macho-identity, masculinity, discipline, speed and precision, among others.

To accomplish this task, the data was obtained primarily from oral texts in formal setting such as parade grounds and some informal settings such as in the mess and the ‘mammy’ markets. When among soldiers at the parade grounds, the mess and the ‘mammy’ markets, the researcher concealed a recorder tape in order to elicit information from the respondents surreptitiously. The two-hour tape was played back several times. If we were not sure of the pronunciations and meanings of what we heard, we cross-checked with our resource persons.

3.3 ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

In line with our earlier position, the data was subjected to both textual and opinion- based analysis. These approaches were adopted so that the inferences and conclusions drawn from the study could serve as a true reflection of its pragmatic content.

3.4 TEXTUAL TECHNIQUE

The data both as printed information and as audio recording were derived from the library, the internet and the radio houses respectively. For the textual analysis, we applied the speech acts theory as found in the works of Austin, Searle, Bach and Harnish, as revised by Adegbija. This was done with a view to explicating the intricacies involved in constructing coup speeches especially on the “why” of military intervention, “how” they do “things with words and by and large “how” they manipulate language for political purposes.

3.5 OPINION BASED TECHNIQUE

As an opinion seeking technique, questions were drawn to conform to the statement of the problem. The questions were structured and given to language experts at the Department of English Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria for proper validation. We decided to opt for a combination of

structured and unstructured questionnaire in order to obtain valid and reliable data due to some of these factors

- (i.) more people are covered by the use of the questionnaire.
- (ii), since the issue of coup borders on security, most of the respondents would prefer anonymity.
- (iii), the information got through the questionnaire could easily be tabulated and analyzed.
- (iv) this approach saves time in view of the tight schedule of the respondents.
- (v) the approach provides for independent judgment and choice as the respondents give their responses without interference by the investigator.

To complement the questionnaire, the researcher perused the various newspapers and magazines that were published one month from the day each coup took place. This technique afforded the researcher the opportunity to gauge the minds of the public during each of the coups. It also helped the study particularly items d, e, & f of the statement of the problem. Even though data from this source are second hand; they are quite valid for our analysis. The researcher cannot relive the experiences of the past, but we can reconstruct those experiences through the written evidences left by others in the form of document i.e. newspaper and

magazine publications. More so, it is felt that newspapers to a large extent are considered unreliable and unauthoritative sources of data for research, the validity of the opinion depends a great deal on the nature of the data that is being sought for.

As for the interview technique, also, questions that have some bearing on the statement of the problem were outlined. They were in turn used to elicit information from the respondents especially those who participated in the coups and are still alive through verbal interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees. Though the process is cumbersome and time consuming, it complements the questionnaire technique with the following advantages:

- (i) since some of the participants of the various coups are still alive, their views would serve as first hand data and should be seen as authentic.
- (ii) the interview technique gives room for some degree of flexibility during the course of the interview as both the interviewer and the interviewee could clarify issues.
- (iii), it also allows for the collection of in depth information from the respondents on the issue at stake.
- (iv), both the interviewer and the interviewee can seek and obtain clarification on any question that appears confusing.

(v), since the interviewer records the responses himself, what is recorded can be considered as the actual response from that subject; hence it can be viewed as valid.

In order to come by a more reliable and accurate data, we shall present statistical information using the percentage approach. A combination of percentage and frequency, we believe, would yield an acceptable result.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSES AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In chapter Two, we proposed that our analytical techniques would be basically two: textual and opinion based. In this chapter, both the textual and opinion based analyses are carried out against the backdrop of the statement of the problem.

4.1 TEXTUAL DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from the seven coup announcements, both recorded and documented are analyzed from the general perspective of Adegbija's (1982 and 1999), three crucial contexts: the pragmatic, the social and the linguistic, with specific reference to the speech acts performed in Nigerian military coup speeches. The analyses are grouped into the seven coup announcements that constitute the entire study to enable us to examine the different patterns of the speeches. A few examples of the speeches that are used may occasionally appear in more than one instance, as one speech act sometimes has the potential to convey several illocutionary forces.

TEXT (A) MAJOR NZEOGWU 1966 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

The speech was made in the morning of January 5, 1966 and lasted for 6.34 minutes.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

The pragmatic context of Nzeogwu's coup was to a large extent hinged on corruption, tension in the country and general breakdown of law and order particularly in the then Western Region. As a result, the citizenry were presumed to have been disillusioned and disenchanted with the status quo as the situation seemed to threaten the very corporate existence of the country. Both the speaker and listeners alike shared this background experience – what, Bach and Harnish (1979), refer to as Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCBs). It was against this backdrop that the coup announcement was made. Some members of the military class, whose primary function it was to defend the nation both against external aggression and internal strife, accordingly felt the need to act. It was therefore no surprise when they acted firmly, decisively and promptly as shown in the following words:

In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. The Constitution is suspended and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstration and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship, are banned until further notice.(Ln1-9)

The above speech acts are explicit performatives referred to by Austin (1962), as expositives and by Searle (1969), as declaratives. For the performance of this speech act, the speaker needs to possess the appropriate authority. The military may not have the legitimacy but the authority they exhibit is influenced by the weaponry at their disposal. The language as we can see is a reflection of the authoritative military kind of utterance. In other words, it is peremptory and forceful. The obvious underlying illocutionary force is that of bringing to an end the Balewa regime. As words that change the world by their very utterance, the perlocutionary effects therefore invited obedience and compliance from the listeners.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the coupists controlled a large amount of arsenal that could be deployed to achieve their goals but the realization that they were confronted with a divided audience informed the ambivalent nature of the address. After all, a regime change was not all about force but partly about diplomacy, seeking support and cooperation. It was therefore

incumbent on the speaker(s) to employ what Maiyanga (1989), calls ‘Purr words’ as against the usual military ‘snarl words’. A few examples of such can be seen below:

I am to assure all foreigners living and working in this part of Nigeria that their rights will continue to be respected. All treaty obligations previously entered into with any foreign nation will be respected.... (Ln 17-20)

But what we do promise every law abiding citizen is freedom from fear and all forms of oppression, freedom from general inefficiency and freedom to live and strive in every field of human endeavor, both nationally and internationally. We promise that you will no more be ashamed to say that you are a Nigerian. (Ln96-102).

Lines 17-20 are indirect performatives which belong to commissives category. The pragmatic import here is that of hope with the force of soliciting support. The perlocutionary uptake is discretionary as the international community may or may not give the desired support. Lines 96-103 however is typical of campaign discourse. It also belongs to the category of indirect performatives referred to by Searle as commissives. Here, the speaker makes promises, employing what Iornem (1995), calls ‘emotional tone’ intended to woo the public for support and invoke their cooperation. Due to the powerful/underdog relationship that exists between the interlocutors (speaker/listeners), we can to a large extent infer that the

perlocutionary effect could be that of conviction and acceptance by the listeners.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

A coup speech, though in a sense, a political phenomenon, is also nurtured by social relationship obtaining between the speaker(s) and the listeners. For the purposes of communication, the announcer and his cohorts can be seen as ‘the rulers’ and the addressees as ‘the followers’ or ‘the powerful’ versus ‘the underdog’ respectively. This dichotomy between the interlocutors is a clear indication that both interlocutors do not have equal power control in the interaction. It is assumed that the power dichotomy is partially responsible for the no-nonsense disposition of the speaker. In the words of Cutting (2002) “The choice of the politeness formulation depends on the social distance and the power relation between speakers” and that “The variables that determine social distance are degree of familiarity, and differences of status, roles, age, gender, education, class, occupation and ethnicity.” We can then see why the gap between the military and the Nigerian civil society is wide. It can be inferred that the training the military went through as well as the social distance that exists between them and the civil populace informed why the military always maintains a tough posture. Instances of these are manifested in the coup

announcements as issuing order, commands and threats. A few examples can illustrate this as in the following:

Doubtful loyalty will be penalized by imprisonment or any more severe sentence.(Ln 65-66)

You are hereby warned that looting, arson, homosexuality, rape, embezzlement, bribery or corruption, obstruction of the revolution, sabotage, subversion, false alarms and assistance to foreign invaders, are all offences punishable by death sentence. (Ln 44-49)

Tearing down an order of the day or proclamation or other authorized notices will be penalized by death.(Ln 76-77)

The above utterances invariably are typical of military language as they are harsh words. Whereas Line 44-49 is a direct performative, line 65-66 and line 76-77 are indirect performative both belonging to the 'directives'? Serving as warnings and threats, they are intended to demonstrate or create the inference that a new order has begun, has to be recognized, respected and accepted and that those who refused did so at their own peril. The effect of this is strict compliance by the civil populace. Conversely, the coupists were conscious of the norms and values of the Nigerian society. They were also aware of esteemed values in the society such as respect, politeness, social status and collective essence. In all, the

speaker knows that the addressees share the same cultural experience with him. Hence, the language used sometimes does not suggest imposition and unequal power relationship but equal partnership in progress. Such use of language is a typical representation of a common and collective essence on which most African societies place a high premium. Here the announcer declares that he is speaking on behalf of a group as in:

In the name of the supreme council of the
Revolution of the Nigerian Armed forces, I
declare martial law over the Northern Province
of Nigeria (Ln 1.3)

The posture of collective essence is a way of saying that he is not acting alone. Collective achievement and authority have supremacy over individual achievement and authority, thus the individual performer and achiever has to learn to submit his overall goals to the society. The inclusion of the word 'Revolution' is apt, as revolution denotes popular grassroots upheavals. The collective essence phrase belongs to the 'assertive'. It evokes solidarity. The perlocutionary effect is a mixture of apprehension and tacit support against the backdrop of the pragmatic context of the coup. Seeking for the support and cooperation of the addressees can be inferred as a feature of propaganda as it gives the impression that the speaker is not forcing himself on the people. It is illustrated thus:

I leave you with a message of good wishes
and ask for your support at all times....(Ln
103-104)

In appealing for cooperation, the announcement indirectly implicates the absence of force in seizing power. It also eulogizes the addressees into believing that their support is important and taken into consideration.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

As a reflection of the pragmatic context of an utterance, the linguistic context is paramount in any act of communication. The linguistic features according to Adebija(1995) are maintained in a discourse through phonology, diction and grammar. They can also be exhibited through: use of deviance, vagueness or ambiguity.

The coup announcement of January 1966 at the phonological level is poignant. It fulfils the locutionary conditions both in content and in articulation as it was understood by most Nigerians. The announcer, Major Nzeogwu was of the officer cadre of the Nigerian Army. And as we noted earlier, in chapter two, most Nigerian military officers, based on their training tended to have a high level of education. Nzeogwu was not an exception either. He was trained at Sand Hurst in the United Kingdom. The audio tape revealed his articulation of English words at the segmental level as belonging to Banjo's (1995) variety IV typology of varieties of Nigerian

English .In other words, his articulation of the English words can be rated high.

It is at the suprasegmental level especially in the use of sentence stress and intonation that we can feel the ‘militariness’ of the speech where emphasis is maintained in order to demand instantaneous compliance with the army’s concern for precision, speed and verbal economy. It can be argued that such a style is adopted in consonance with the army’s concern for precision, speed and verbal economy. Whereas both the primary and secondary stress involving the principal pitch prominence in the intonation group apply both to one syllabic words of the content words and the accented syllables of words and even grammatical words with one syllable, verbs and adverbs usually carry a high pitch which is intended to project the mind of the speaker as illustrated below:

I deCLARE martial law over the Northern Province of Nigeria. All political, cultural, tribal ... are hereBY BANNED until FURther notice. The constitution is susPENDED and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereBY disSOLVED (Ln 2-6).

You are hereBY WARNED that LOOTing, ARSON...are ofFENCES PUnishable by DEATH sentence (Ln 43-48).

As we can see above, most of the words that receive the primary stress are action words including their modifiers. According to Knowles (1995),

certain intonation patterns are much more likely to be used to perform certain illocutionary acts than others. We also observe that intonation is used to indicate new information which the addressees are assumed by the speaker not to already possess as opposed to given information which is known or assumed to be already known. New information is foregrounded as in the following examples:

I declare MARTIAL LAW over the
Northern Province. (Ln 2-3)

Here, the words 'martial law' as conveying new information, are highlighted by making one of the syllables of 'martial' the tonic type.

It is our view that an utterance may perform different illocutionary acts depending on the speaker's attitude. This is revealed through the speaker's intonation. Although, it is not enough to establish a simple, direct correlation between intonation and attitude as factors such as semantic content of words, grammatical and logical relationship between words used in the utterance are sometime brought to bear. We, however, noticed through the voice quality of the speaker his attitudinal disposition when he says:

This is not a time for long speech making and so
let me acquaint you with ten proclamations in
the extra-ordinary orders of the day which the
supreme council has promulgated (Ln 38-41)

Though the intonation suggests the illocutionary act of ‘asserting’, the underlining meaning suggests, they are not politicians, known for long speeches. The speaker suddenly changes from a commanding tone to that of diplomacy when it was time to address the international community.

Consequently, the pitch becomes lax as in:

I am to assure all foreigners living and working in this part of Nigeria that their rights will continue to be respected. All treaty obligations previously entered with any foreign nation will be respected... (Ln 17-19)

A similar gesture is extended to the citizenry, especially those who apparently support the coup. This is illustrated in the following words thus:

My dear countrymen, no citizen should have anything to fear, so long as that citizen is law abiding and if that citizen has religiously obeyed the native laws of the country and those set down in every heart and conscience since 1st October 1960,(Ln 80-84).

This is a political strategy meant to appeal to the emotions of the Nigerian public in order to generate support. Furthermore; the quotation is a typical example of an indirect speech act. At the surface level it suggests an appeal while at the deeper level it can be perceived as a warning.

DICTION

Lexical choice can be used to enforce or attenuate illocutionary force. This is because certain types of words can for instance, activate particular presupposition, reveal speaker's attitude and require reader's agreement for interpretation. We shall now use statistics from the speeches to show how Nzeogwu used special categories of words in order to achieve emphasis and topical development throughout the entire duration of the speech. These words are either used to assure or warn the citizenry, consolidate the new regime's hold onto power, or to attack the ousted regime. Safely put, they both represent military and political language.

Word	Word Frequency
I	5
We	5
Our	2
My dear countrymen	3
Uncomplimentary Remarks	11
Corruption	3
Oppression	1
Freedom	2
Enemies	3
Foreigners	1
Imprisonment/sentence	5
Death	5
Explicit Performatives to effect the change	5

In Nzeogwu's speech, 'I' is used only 5times as a distancing strategy in order to show that the coupists are in-charge. The speaker also displays a preference for 'We' 5times as speaker inclusive in order to show the collective essence of the coup event. 'Our,' as an adjective, was used 2times also to portray speaker inclusiveness. 'My dear countrymen' was employed 3times to create a more intimate association with Nigerian people. However, 'Uncomplimentary remarks' were used 11 times to lash out at the past regime. 'Corruption was mentioned 3times as part of the ills of the past regime. Also, 'Oppression' was mentioned once as part of the trade mark of the past regime. 'Enemies' was cited 3times to refer to those who are against the coup. Foreigners were alluded to once in order give the impression that they are accorded recognition. Penalty, such as 'Sentence/Imprisonment', were mentioned 5times in order to intimidate the would-be enemies. 'Death' was also mentioned 5times in order to instill fear on the would-be enemies. 'Explicit Performatives' with military fiat were employed 5times to maintain hold on power. In the end, 'Cooperation'/ 'Support' was mentioned 5times in order to sway the public.

GRAMMAR

A close examination of the grammatical structures of most of the sentences gives an indication that the macho identity of the military is exhibited. In doing this, the speaker does not stick to one or two sentence types. He employs sentence variation in order to induce the interest of the reader and to conform to the principle of Newspeak anchored on stripping of detailed connotation. The sentence types are used for self-identification, issuance of threats, commands, giving information and for indicating departure. Examples of simple sentence:

- i. Demonstrations and unauthorized assembly, non-cooperation with revolutionary troops are punishable in grave manner up to death (threat)
- ii. All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship, are banned until further notice. (Command)
- iii. My dear countrymen, this is the end of my.... (Giving information)

Examples of compound sentence:

Thank you very much and good bye, for now. (Indicating departure)

Examples of compound complex sentence:

Our method of achieving this is strictly military but we have no doubt that every Nigerian will give us maximum cooperation by assisting the regime and not disturbing the peace during the slight changes that are taking place. (Giving information)

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Of the four English mood systems: indicative, subjective, interrogative and imperative, the indicative which connotes force and authority is commonly used in the speech. It is used to inform, assert and declare. For example, the indicative as in:

The constitution is suspended and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. (Ln 4-6)

The subjunctive mood, though scarcely used, is employed by the speaker thus:

As a (sic) interim measure, all heads of departments are allowed to make decisions until the new organs are functioning, so long as such decisions are not contrary to the aims and wishes of the Supreme Council. (Ln 29-34)

The paucity of the subjunctive mood is probably for the purpose of ensuring strict compliance to orders. There is no interrogative mood in the speech. The reason may not be far from the fact that the situation does not afford the listeners to make input. The speech is inundated with much of the imperatives normally used to ensure effective grip of the situation.

Such snarl and blunt expressions are epitome of the military identity of the speaker. In other words, they are evidence of military language as we can see in the following examples:

No minister or parliamentary secretary possesses administrative or other forms of control over any ministry, even if they are not considered too dangerous to be arrested. (Ln 34-37)

A few active sentences are used in the speech in order to suggest that the speaker intends to use brute force if need be. The following are good illustrations:

I declare martial law over the Northern provinces of Nigeria. (Ln 2-3) Like good soldiers, we are not promising anything miraculous or spectacular. (Ln 94-96)

However, most of the sentence constructions are in the passive probably because the coupists want to create the impression that they are in-charge. This is further reinforced by the positioning of the critical message in the first and last position which signifies the illocutionary force of immediacy and precision. Besides, the passive indicates and evokes collective responsibility and authority, which is a value cherished by most Nigerians. Few examples of the passives abounds:

The constitution is suspended and the regional Government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. (Ln 4-6)

You are hereby warned that looting, arson.... are all offences punishable by death sentence. (Ln 43-48)

Nzeogwu's speech employs contrasting expressions to disparage the civilian regime and elevate the upcoming one. This carries with it the illocutionary force of retrieving information from the collective memories of the audience for the benefits of the speaker. Again, here is a typical example:

The aim of the revolution is to establish a strong united and prosperous nation free from corruption and internal strife. (Ln 10-12)

As opposed to the usual military peremptoriness, we can see from the above example, elements of 'virtue words' used for propaganda purposes.

TEXT (B) COLONEL GARBA, S 1975 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

In the series of coup announcements in Nigeria, Garba's announcement was the second. It was made in the morning of July 29, 1975 and lasted for two minutes and seven seconds. In comparison with Nzeogwu's announcement, it is relatively short.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

The background tapestry of the coup, based on public opinion, was not unconnected with issues that bordered on corruption and ineptitude on the part of the incumbent Gowon regime and its renegeing of the agreement to handover power to a democratically elected government by 1976. But, according to Omogui; (2004), the most outstanding reason was that officers who fought the Nigerian civil war felt excluded from patronage. In other words, such officers felt left out in the scheme of things and consequently became frustrated. The Nigerian public was aware that the coup was a palace coup. The public was again sensitive to the pragmatic context of the coup. By and large, the Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MBC) were shared both by the speaker(s) and the addressees.

In order to appear to be diplomatic, some elements of propaganda were invoked by the speaker in the announcements. First, the initial statement reflects collectivism which is a value cherished by most Nigerians .It portrays the action as a collective enterprise not by a few disgruntled individuals. Second, the speakers made a recall back to past experience in order to refresh the memories of the addressee. The above claims are illustrated as in the following:

(I, Colonel Joseph Nanven Garba, in consultation with my colleagues, do hereby declare that in view of what has been happening in our country in the past few months.... (Ln 1-3)

The above speech act is typical of the assertive in which the words state what the speaker believes to be the case. As an instrument of propaganda, the illocutionary force is intended to persuade the public in order to enlist their support and cooperation. Invariably, the perlocutionary act was the support to a large extent expressed by most Nigerians at the wake of the regime change.

Because of the dangers involved in coups, it became imperative on the coupists to demonstrate firm, and decisive posture as in the following utterances:

As from now on, General Yakubu Gowon ceases to be head of the Federal Military Government and Commander –in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria (Line 5-8).
You are therefore warned in your own interest to be law abiding. Anyone caught disturbing the public order will be summarily dealt with (Line 18-20)

The above speech acts are a combination of declaratives and commissives. Both the declarations and the threats are intended to enlist strict compliance by the set of audience that is antagonistic towards the

new regime. Due to fear of public dissent, the perlocutionary act demands nothing short of strict compliance by the addressees.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Given that the speaker is faced with a divided audience, the speech must be seen to cater for the different interest groups. In doing this, the speaker is seen to exhibit a dual personality. In one instance, he displays a symmetric relation with the audience, and in another, he exhibits an asymmetric relationship. We can infer from the use of 'flashback' that the speaker is addressing those in support of the coup, waverers and the international community. This section of the audience enjoys asymmetric relation. In trying to justify the coup, the speaker recalls thus:

.....In view of what has been happening in our country in the past few months, the Nigerian Armed Forces decided to effect change of leadership....(Ln 2-3)

More so, the following indicates asymmetric relation between the interlocutors:

Fellow countrymen, this has been a bloodless operation and we do not want anyone to lose his or her life (Line 17-18). We appeal to everyone to cooperate in the task ahead (Line 21-23).

The speech acts are a mixture of implicit threat, (commissives) and an appeal (directives) intended to support the regime change. The

perlocutionary effect was the covert support enjoyed by the coupists. The addressees knew that any overt support might be dangerous in the event that the coup failed.

As for the section of the audience that might appear to be hostile to the speaker, asymmetric relation is exhibited. In doing this, the speaker portrays the true military firmness and snarl words as in the following:

You are therefore warned in your own interest to be law abiding. Anyone caught disturbing the public order will be summarily dealt with (line 18-20)

The speech acts are category of the performatives referred to as commissives intended to ward off any threat from the enemies. The perlocutionary effect of this is that such enemies are intimidated and made submissive.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

At the segmental level, the speech is audible, lucid and discernable. The speaker, is however, ambivalent at the supra segmental level. Appeal or persuasion attracts subtle or solemn tone but he employs high sonority to exhibit the usual military firmness. For example, the following are articulated with lax tone as in the following:

The general public is advised to be CALM and to go about their lawful DUTIES (ln 8-9). We APPEAL to EVERYONE to COOPERATE in the task ahead. Further aNNOUNCEments will be MADE in DUE course. Long LIVE the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (Line 21-23)

It is generally believed that one's tone can reflect one's attitude towards addressees. Therefore, the lax tone is employed in order to enlist the support of the addressees.

Conversely, the speaker tries to exhibit his macho self and stamps his authority by employing high sonority. For example, the main verbs in the following illustration attract principal stress over and above other content words.

You are THEREfore WARNED in your own interest to BE LAW abiding. Anyone CAUGHT disTURBING the public order will be SUMmarily DEALT with. (Ln18-

These verbs are shouted out just like on parade grounds where commands are shouted out with a lot of acoustic intensity. The intended illocution is to scare any would-be-opponent or to enforce instantaneous compliance.

DICTION

Garba's speech embodies special categories of words in order to achieve thematic emphasis and topical development throughout the speech. More so, these words are used to assure, persuade, warn or threaten the different sections of the audience in order to consolidate the new regime

hold on power. Invariably, they are epitome of military and political language as the case may be. The following data come from Garba's announcement:

WORD	WORD FREQUENCY
I	1
We	2
Fellow countrymen and women	2
Appeal/cooperation	1
Explicit performative to effect change	2

Garba used 'I' once as a distancing strategy so as to show that they were in control of the situation. He however employed 'We' 2 times to show speaker inclusive. 'Fellow Countrymen and Women' was cited 2 times to depict the love the coupists have for the country and both gender. 'Explicit Performatives to Effect Change' was alluded to in order to give the impression that the coup was executed by the military. Finally, appeal/cooperation of the populace was sought for only once. As opposed to Nzeogwu, Garba's speech is devoid of repetition and redundancy.

GRAMMAR

The speech manifests different sentence variations. This is done probably to sustain and maintain the interest of the addressees. The following samples have been identified as types of sentences used.

- (i) Simple Sentence
 - (a) Further announcements will be made in due course. (Giving information)
 - (b) Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (Departure)
- (ii) Compound Sentence
 - (a) Fellow countrymen, this has been a bloodless operation and we do not want anyone to lose his or her life. (Warning)
 - (b) I, Colonel Joseph Nanven Garba... do hereby declare that in view of what has been happening in our country in the past few months, the Nigerian Armed Forces decided to effect a change of the leadership..... (Declarative)

As the saying goes, 'Variety is the spice of life'. In other words, the illocutionary acts for adopting this strategy may be to stimulate and sustain the interest of the public.

Of the four English mood system; indicative, subjunctive, imperative and interrogative, the imperative seemed to be common. There is no subjunctive and interrogative mood found in the speech. The reason is not far to seek as coupists usually do not seek for information from the public. The following is an example of the indicative mood found.

As from now, General Gowon ceases to be head of the Federal Military and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. (Ln 6-8)

As from now, General Gowon ceases to be head of the Federal Military and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. (Ln 6-8)

This is a good example of explicit performative of the type ‘Declaration’, an expression that changes the world by their utterances. The Imperative mood can be illustrated in the following example:

....all workers other than those on essential services like NEPA....will observe today 29th July, 1975, as a work free day.

The pragmatic import of the explicit performative of the ‘directive’ category is to sway the public for support.

The speech exhibits a lot of passive constructions. Though a directive loaded with strong words, they are employed with a view to distant the military from the public and to show that they are in control of the situation. The following are good illustrations:

A dusk to dawn curfew is hereby imposed until further notice. Nigerian Airways operations are suspended and all Airports and Borders are closed till further notice. (Line 14-16)

Similarly, few active constructions exhibited are intended to reinforce the macho identity of the speaker. For example,

I, Colonel Joseph Nanven Garba, in consultation with my colleagues, do hereby declare that

As declarations, the speech act is intended to change a government by its very utterance.

TEXT (C) COLONEL DIMKA 1976 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

As we noted in chapter one, the reasons put forward by Dimka and his cohorts for the bloody coup, among others, were corruption, maladministration, detention without trial and dismissal of public servants by the Murtala led administration. The aspects of detention without trial and dismissal of public officers were most daring and painful to some of the Nigerian citizens. The focal point of the address therefore was not far from the above accusations. By implication, it became the pragmatic context of the speech. Hence, in order to cash in on the sentiments of those aggrieved Nigerians and to enlist their support, the coupists initiated the speech using the expressive speech act as in the following:

I bring you good tidings. Murtala Mohammed's
deficiency has been detected. His government is
now overthrown by the young revolutionaries.
(Ln 3-5)

Besides, the speech act depicts the collective will of the coupists. More so, as expressives the speech act is intended to soothe the aggrieved. To all intents and purposes, this is sheer language abuse, desired to appease the victims of the ousted regime who tacitly supported the coup. The

perlocutionary effect depends on where the audience stood. For some, it was a moment of jubilation but for others it was not. In order to show that the coupists meant business, the pragmatic context was matched with military force hence the following utterances:

His government is now overthrown by the young revolutionaries.(ln4-5)Any attempt to foil these plans will be met with death.(Ln13-14).

The above speech acts are purely an explicit performative, the category Searle calls declaration and directives' respectively. As a military kind of expression, they evoke firmness, threat, warning and intimidation. Little wonder, people were closeted for some time.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Unlike a coup staged to oust a civilian regime, Dimka's coup attempted to overthrow Murtala led military regime. It can therefore be safely concluded that it was a contest between two powerful groups. It is this truism that was largely responsible for the bloody nature of the coup attempt. Much as the Murtala regime enjoyed the support of a section of the military, it is assumed that the regime also had the sympathy of some Nigerians. This fact is invariably known to the coupists hence, it was imperative on their part to convince the civil populace in order to enlist

their support. To do this, a more propagandist approach was employed whereby the civil populace was cajoled and given the status of equal power relation with the coupists.

Everyone should be calm please stay by your radio for further announcements (Ln 12-13).

Thank you. We are all together. (Ln 21)

The above speech acts are combinations of directives, assertive and expressive, with the force to appeal and to garner support of the populace. The perlocutionary effect of this was the tacit or temporary support displayed by Nigerians.

Conversely, since the situation was a matter of life and death, it behoved on the coupists to sound tough; hence the usual military snarl expression. The power relation invariably was that of unequal power. The following examples attest to this claim:

Any attempt to foil these plans from any quarters will be met with death (Ln 9-10).

Any acts of looting or raids will be (sic) death (Ln 14).

The above speech acts are commissives in which the words commit the speaker to future actions. The illocutionary import was to ward off any enemy of the revolution. The perlocutionary effect was to secure strict compliance.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Just like Garba's delivery, Dimka was also conscious of his divided audience. It was in realization of this that he sounded subtle with a tone that suggests an appeal. He appealed to the positive politeness of the public and also to the sense of community ideals of Nigerians as in:

Good morning fellow Nigerians, (Ln 1)
Everyone should be calm. Please stay by
your radio for further announcements.

Line 1, a category of performative referred to as expressive, is in conformity with Nigerian culture as it is impolite to engage an addressee in a discourse without first recognizing him by greetings. This recognition of the audience according to Adegbija is why the speech can be regarded as ambivalent.

The military nature of the coupists is also exhibited at the suprasegmental level. The pitch of the following expressions is indeed highly commanding and incisive.

Any ACT of LOOTING or RAIDING will be
DEATH. (Ln 16)
All BORDERS, AIR AND SEA PORTS are
CLOSED until further notice. CURFEW is
IMPOSED from 6am to 6pm. (Ln 19-20)

DICTION

The choice of words also reflects the pragmatic context, a political phenomenon, with military colorations. Hence, words are carefully chosen to appeal, assure, warn, and threaten; and to consolidate hold on power. Again, this is a reflection of military and political language. The following will illustrate this point.

WORD	WORD FREQUENCY
I	1
We	1
Fellow Nigerians	1
Complimentary remarks	1
Appeal/Cooperation	1
Death	2
Explicit performatives used to effect the change	2

Dimka used the pronoun 'I' only once which is indicative of the military known for few words. He also used 'We' as speaker inclusive only once. 'Fellow Nigerians', a collective essence was also used only once. He employed 'Uncomplimentary remarks, also once to snap at the would-be enemies. However, he threatened the listeners with 'death' 2times. Explicit Performatives used to effect a change was also cited 2times to maintain the coupists military posture. Finally, appeal/support was sought of all

Nigerians only once. In all this, we can see that Dimka and his cohorts were men of few words, a reflection of their military background.

GRAMMAR

Unlike the other announcements before it that engaged sentence variations, Dimka's speech was made up of all but one simple sentence. The only compound sentence that was employed is without a conjunction but an equivalent (comma) as in:

You are warned, it is all over the 19 states. (ln 15).

The indicative mood is used to inform, assert, and declare as in:

I bring you good tidings Murtala Muhammed's deficiency has been detected. His government is overthrown by the young revolutionaries (Ln 3-4)
All commissioners are sacked.... (Ln 8).

The imperative mood is used to ensure effective grip of the situation. They come in form of blunt use of orders and commands.

All senior military officers should remain calm in their respective spots. No divisional commanders will issue orders or instructions until further notice. (ln 10-12)

The subjunctive mood is scarcely used except in the following.

All senior commissioners are sacked, except
for the armed forces and police commissioners
who will be redeployed (Ln 8-9).

Of course, the illocutionary force of the speech act is to invoke the loyalty
of the force especially those who may want to join the revolution.

Passive constructions in the speech are used to portray denial of
responsibility in the event that the coup failed. It is also used to stamp the
desired emphasis and creates the illocutionary force of potency,
immediacy, laconicity, urgency and precision. It also evokes collective
responsibility and authority which is a value most cherished by Africans
and indeed by Nigerians. The use of the passive, in the opinion of Kester
(1999), is most common in public pronouncement. Incidentally, same
applies to a coup speech. The following will illustrate this point.

All borders, air and seaports are closed until
further notice. Curfew is imposed from 6 am
to 6pm (Ln 19-20).

The general impression the civil society have about the military is that of
arrogance, pride and brute force. This aspect is portrayed in the following:

All the 19 military governors have no powers
over the states they now govern. The states
affairs will be run by military brigade
commanders until further notice. (Ln 5-7)

The message is intended for the opponents of the revolution. It carries the
force of asserting and commanding with a view to cautioning and

pacifying them. However, what happened afterwards i.e. Dimka's failure shows his words were not taken seriously or obeyed.

TEXT (D) BRIGADIER ABACHA'S 1983 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

The announcement was made on the 31st of December 1983 when Nigerians were in the mood of the New Year eve. By and large, it came as a shock to some members of the public while to others it was a respite. The announcement lasted for 5.36 minutes.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

Abacha's coup was predicated on the alleged corruption, rigging of election, suffering by the masses and scarcity of basic necessities of life during the Shagari regime. Indeed, this experience was supposed to be a shared mutual knowledge by both the speaker and the addressees. In order to justify the regime change, the coupists tried to mesmerize the public by employing a political strategy, what Akanbi (1999), calls "recall or flashback" which casts a retrospective view on previous happenings for desired effect. In doing so, the speaker went down memory lane thus:

You are all living witnesses to the great economic predicament and uncertainty, which an inept and corrupt leadership has imposed on our beloved nation under which we are now living. Our economy has been hopelessly

mismanaged; we have become a debtor and
beggar nation....our hospitals are reduced to
mere consulting clinics without drugs, water
and equipment....(ln4-14)

In fact, a large portion of the announcement was dedicated to reasons why the coupists struck. Again, the message was meant for the three sets of audience: One, those in support, two, the international community and three, waverers who neither belonged here nor there. The illocutionary force of the speech act was to enlist the cooperation and support of these three sets of audience. The flashbacks are vivid. They are assertive as they state what the speaker believed to be the case. The speech acts can be categorized as 'white propaganda' as they are characterized by gentler methods of persuasion or influencing peoples' opinion and also appeals to emotion rather than communicate facts. This is what Adegbija refers to as 'discrediting tact'. Iornem (1995) also calls it 'emotional tone'. The perlocutionary effect was the expressive support displayed in form of jubilation by most Nigerians on that occasion.

Conversely, the risk and urgency that enveloped the situation evoked the kind of performative referred to as directives' in which the words are aimed at making the hearer do something. The following example is apt:

Accordingly, Alhaji Shehu Usman Shagari ceases forthwith to be the president and Commander in Chief of the Armed forces of Nigeria. (Ln 38-44).

The explicit performative was intended not only to stamp the macho identity of the speaker but to enforce compliance which is typical of the military. The perlocutionary effect was the fear and uncertainty that is usually engendered by such announcements.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

The pragmatic context of the coup as can be seen was quite unpopular amongst the citizenry. The speaker quickly cashes in on that, giving the impression that the coupists have come to make things better. In spite of this, the social relation between the speaker/s and addressees still remain that of ruler/s on the one hand and followers on the other. Put differently, there is inequality of power between the speaker and three different sets of audience. The speech also takes care of blending of logic and coercion so as to cater for the divided audience. As for the loyalists, international community and the neutral, the speaker feels there is need for a subtle and diplomatic tone as demonstrated in the following.

All foreigners living in any part of the country are assured of their safety and will be adequately protected. Hence forth, workers not on essential duties are advised to keep off the streets. (Ln 50-54)

As we can see above, foreigners were assured of their safety which by implication meant extending a hand of friendship to them. And, “workers not on essential duties are advised” as against being ‘warned’ also implies extending a hand of friendship. This is an aspect of indirect speech act as even the addressees know that it is a misnomer for military to offer advice in the face of threat when it is obvious that the situation did not warrant so. Again, this is another form of propaganda. As for the dissidents and their sympathizers, the coupists considered them as enemies that must be rooted out or addressed with military peremptoriness as cited below:

The area administrators or commanders will have themselves to blame if any of the wanted people escapes. (Ln 62-63)

People are warned in their own interest to be law abiding and to give the federal military government maximum cooperation. Anyone caught disturbing public order will be summarily dealt with. (Ln 66-69)

The above speech acts fall within the category of the performatives referred to as commissives in which the words commit the speaker to future action. In other words, they are threats and warnings with the

illocutionary force of intimidating and enforcing strict compliance. The likely perlocutionary act was strict compliance on the part of the addressees.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

The linguistic context of Abacha's announcement was indeed a true reflection of the pragmatic context of the coup background. At the segmental level, few errors were identified. The word debtor / detə / was wrongly pronounced as /debtə/. So also is the insertion of the preposition 'in' before the transitive verb 'disturbing'. Outside these, the delivery can be regarded as apt.

At the suprasegmental level, however, where the speaker wanted to make an appeal or seek the cooperation of the public, the pitch usually is low and the prominence is practically weak. Except for the flashback which is a blend of harsh and lax tone, employed to campaign to the emotions of the addressees, what follows suggest the mood of the address.

The following illustrate the point.

All foreigners.... are assured of their safety
and will be adequately protected. Henceforth,
workers.... are advised to keep off the streets
(Ln 50-55)

.... I will like to assure you that the armed
forces.... are ready to lay its life for our dear
nation but not for the present irresponsible

leadership of the past civilian administration.
(Ln 73-76)

The above speech act is a combination of promises and threats. They belong to the commissive intended to persuade the public as well as the international community. The speech act can also be inferred as indirect speech act. To all intents and purposes, the speaker did not actually mean what he proclaimed, i.e “We are ready to lay down our lives”, when the public knew very well that was not the case. The perlocutionary effect was that most Nigerians believed them though they had no choice. However, in addressing opponents of the regime change, the tone became dramatically firm, harsh and commanding. The following examples speak for themselves:

Anyone CAUGHT disTURBING the public order will be SUMmarily DEALT with.(Ln 68-69) ...You are for WARNED that we shall not HESitate to deCLARE MARTIAL law in ANY area or state of the federation in WHICH disTURbances occur. (Ln 70-73)

Again, the above examples are threat classified as commissives with the force to invoke strict compliance. The perlocutionary effect was usually fear, demanded by this order which to a large extent draws unalloyed support.

DICTION

The choice of lexical items in Abacha's announcement was used to enforce or attenuate the illocutionary force. Throughout the time the speech lasted, different words were employed to warn command, threaten, assure the citizenry and discredit the outgoing regime. This is also a reflection of military/political language. The statistics below is a reflection of Abacha's announcement.

Word	Word Frequency
I	3
We	4
Our	6
Fellow countrymen/women	3
Constitution	1
Uncomplimentary remarks	6
Foreigners	1
Politician/ civilian administration	1
Cooperate/support	2
Summarily dealt with	1
Corruption	2

Abacha, used 'I' only 3 times to distance himself from the listeners. He also used 'We', speaker inclusive 4 times to show that he was with the Nigerian public. 'Our' is cited 6 times to depict how dear the country Nigeria was for him and the listeners. 'Fellow Countrymen/Women' was mentioned 3 times to portray that the action that was to be taken is for the benefit of both of them as belonging to the nation. 'Constitution, a symbol of democratic institution, was mentioned once, as suspended. 'Uncomplimentary remarks used to lambaste the past regime were mentioned 6 times. Foreigners were recognized once. Politicians/Civilian administration, a symbol of the past regime was cited only once. 'Summarily dealt with', a threat, was mentioned only once with a military fiat to intimidate would-be enemies. Corruption was cited 2 times to ridicule the past regime. Finally, cooperation/support were sought for and mentioned 2 times. From this analysis, we see that Abacha and his cohorts employed both military and diplomatic language.

GRAMMAR

A cursory look at the grammar of the announcement reveals that the speaker employs sentence variation for self identification, issuance of threat, commands, giving information and for departure. Example of a simple sentence intended for self identification:

I, Brigadier Sani, Abacha of the Nigerian Army address you this morning on behalf of the Nigerian Armed Forces. (Ln. 2-3)

The above speech act is classified as an aspect of performatives called the ‘assertives’ which state what the speaker believes to be the case. It is engaging in some form of background interaction with the addressees prior to the actual message. This is in conformity with the value cherished by most Africans that you do not just engage an addressee in a discourse without first identifying who you are. Adegbija calls this ‘self identifying’ and ‘discourse initiating tact’ which according to him “can make a significant difference between harmony and disharmony in subsequent interaction” Besides, the dynamics of status and social class is significant in interaction in an African set up. Hence, the announcer’s indication of his rank to a large extent dictates the quality and quantity of attention he gets from the addressees. In the words of Adegbija(1995):

Background interaction in discourse before one’s business, is specifically potent for fertilizing the ground for whatever message is to be delivered and serve as a salute to a common and collective human essence, on which most African countries, including Nigeria, place a high premium.(p:257-358)

The speaker and the addressees share this mutual belief. Hence, it is incumbent on the speaker to employ this as a strategy to portray the 'collective human essence' of Nigerian culture. The macho identity of the military is equally depicted in the sentence variation especially through threats, warning and command. Examples of simple sentence depicting warnings are:

People are warned in their own interest to be law abiding and to give the Federal Military Government maximum cooperation. Anyone caught in disturbing (sic) public order will be severely dealt with. (Ln 66-109)

Example of compound sentence depicting order:

All the political parties are banned; the bank account of FEDECO and all the political parties are frozen with immediate effect. (Ln 48-50)

Example of complex sentence depicting order:

All categorizes of workers on essential duties will, however, report at their places of work immediately. (Ln 54-55)

The indicative imperative and subjunctive moods are employed in the speech. There is however no interrogative mood. The application of the first three moods is intended to stimulate and sustain the interest of the public. However, the absence of the interrogatives is due to the fact that

coupists usually do not seek for information from the public. Example of the indicative depicting diplomacy:

All foreigners living in any part of the country are assured of their safety and will be adequately protected (Ln 50-52)

Example of the imperative depicting order:

Henceforth, workers on essential duties are advised to keep off the streets. (Ln 53-54)

The subjunctive mood though scarcely used, is to ensure strict compliance. If it is used, the conditions are highly unavoidable. The following example illustrates this point.

All the incumbent of the above offices shall, if they have not already done so vacate their official residences, surrender all government property in their possession and report to the nearest police station in their constituencies within 7 days. (Ln 40-45).

We also note that most of the sentence constructions are in the passive. The simple reason is that the coupists would not want to sound big and bossy. It can therefore be inferred that they want their actions to be seen as a collective responsibility and authority to some extent. This element of propaganda is portrayed in the following words:

All the political parties are banned...” (Ln 48). All Airways flights have been suspended forthwith and all airports, sea ports, and border posts closed (Ln 57-59)

On the the other hand a few active sentences are used to stamp the macho identity and masculinity of the group. The following examples are apt:

After due consultation over these deplorable conditions, I and my colleagues in the armed forces have in the discharge of our... decided to effect a change in the leadership.... (Ln 23-29)

The above speech acts are declarations with the illocutionary force of terminating a regime. The perlocutionary act is strict compliance enforced by those to whom leadership is entrusted. Though the speech acts at face value are active, they still carry the collective ‘we’ responsibility.

TEXT (E) BRIGADIER GENERAL DOGONYARO’S 1985 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

The announcement was broadcast in the early hours of August 27, 1985 and ran for 4minutes5seconds.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

The pragmatic context of the 1985 military coup was apparently a personality clash between Buhari- led military administration and

Babangida led military cabal. Although, there were issues of national importance which bordered on the socio-economic factors that eventually whet the appetite of Babangida led group to finally strike. The crux of the matter however, was the disagreement between Buhari and Babangida together with his cohorts. In the light of this, the speech must be seen to account for these arrays of facts. In doing this, the speaker recognizes the fact that the public share similar cultural mutual beliefs with them. Hence, as a political strategy, he adopts flashback approach to see all the past in order to discredit the ousted regime with the illocutionary force of convincing and persuading the public for support. The speaker(s) being conscious of the fact that the Nigerian public would ask questions to the effect that the same group that discredited Shagari civilian regime should not be at each others neck. To discredit Buhari regime, the speaker had this to say:

Fellow countrymen, the intervention of the military at the end of 1983, was welcomed by the nation with unprecedented enthusiasm. Almost two years later, it has become clear that the fulfillment of expectations is not forthcoming...(Line 9-11) We could not stay passive and watch a small group of individuals misuse power to the detriment of our national aspirations and interest (Line 13-15).It is evident that the nation would be endangered with

the risk of continuous power misdirection. We are presently confronted with that danger.

All these events have shown that the present composition of our country's leadership cannot therefore; justify its continued occupation of that position. (Line 65-68)

These claims by the speaker are assertive, a kind of implicit performative in which the expression state what the speaker believes to be case. Almost three quarters of the speech was devoted to discrediting the incumbent and trying to justify their action.

Given that it was a military that was overthrowing a fellow military and the public might ask questions, the speech therefore needs to account for both political and military language in order not only to garner support but to have a firm grip of the situation.

In spite of discrediting the incumbent, the speaker engages in what Carter (1968), calls 'appeal to sense of community ideals', a feature of political language in the following way:

I appeal to you, fellow countrymen, particularly my colleagues in arms to refrain from any act that will lead to unnecessary violence and bloodshed among us. Rest assured that our action is in the interest of the nation and the armed forces. (Line 81-86)

The above utterances, though an appeal, fall within the kind of performative referred to as directives. It goes with the illocutionary import of support and compliance. We can also interpret the utterance as an indirect speech act such that the speaker makes an appeal and would apply force if the addressees refuse to comply. The perlocutionary act is compliance on the part of the addressees. The situation as we observed earlier also requires snarled expression backed by force in order to confront the dissidents. It is illustrated thus:

In order to enable a new order to be introduced the following bodies are dissolved forthwith pending further announcement

(Line 92-93)

All seaports and airports are closed. All borders remain closed. Line 92-93)

These are good examples of explicit performatives of the declaratives category. The words change the world by their very utterance. The illocutionary act is that of strict compliance. The effect of this is that the public are left with no other option than to comply.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Just like the 1975 coup when the military ousted a fellow military, the relationship that holds between the coupists on the one and the Nigerian public on the other was that of rulers and followers respectively.

Whereas the rulers held onto guns on the one hand and rhetoric on the other soliciting for support, the public who were at the receiving end remained passive and submissive. Common sense however dictated that the coupists had to be subtle in their utterances to some extent. Just like the politicians on the soapbox, the military too are conscious of the need to be diplomatic in a coup context so as to gain massive support of the public. This was achieved through the following utterances.

We feel duty bound to use the resources and means at our disposal to restore hope in the minds of Nigerians and renew aspirations for a better future.

Such a commissive speech act as depicted above creates the inference that the speaker and the group he represents hold the addressee at high esteem. Therefore the speaker/listeners should be seen as dependable and trustworthy. In other words, they should be seen as partners in progress. Adebija refers to such commissives as ‘Confidence Building Tact’.

More so, the initial ‘Fellow Countrymen’ is to facilitate harmonious relationship between the interactants and the use of the pronoun ‘we’ just like in the use of ‘Fellow countrymen’, meaning ‘you’ and ‘me’. The illocutionary act is to call on the cooperative assumption of the listeners. It does not only underscore collectivism but that Nigeria and Nigerians alike are now precious to the speaker therefore the action which they are about

to take is in the interest of both the speaker and the hearers. The perlocutionary act is to the effect that the public is rendered passive and submissive.

Since the act of coup making is usually perilous, the coupists are left with no other option than to be firm and decisive in dealing with their enemies in order to assert their authority. The scenario is painted in the following words:

... if action can be taken to arrest further damage, it should and must be taken. This is precisely what we have done. (Line 24-26)

This is an assertive speech with the force of impressing on the public that they have the wherewithal to use brute force. The perlocutionary effect is that the would-be adversaries are intimidated and forewarned.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Going by Searle's (1969) felicity conditions, the speech is clear, audible and discernable by most educated Nigerians especially at the segmental level. At the supra-segmental level however, one thing stands clear after running the tape. Aspects that border on persuasion, appeal or soliciting for cooperation evoke subtle tone. While the aspect that concern

passing of information has a mixture of soft and harsh tone. As for issues that have to do with threat, warning and command, they are articulated in harsh tones as indicated in the high pitch shown below:

WE are no prophets of DOOM for our beloved country, Nigeria. WE THEREfore, count on everyone's cooperation and assistance (Line 79-81). (subtle-tone) In order to enable a new order to be introduced. The following bodies are diSSOLVED forthWITH pending further announcement.... (Line 87-89) (Mixture of soft and harsh) All SEAports and AIRports are CLOSED, all BORDERS remain CLOSED. (Line 92-93) (Harsh tone)

The language of persuasion as a feature of political language in the words of Rank (2005) is a transaction: a transaction between the benefit giver (the politicians) and the benefit seeker (the electorates). For the benefit giver, who are the coupists, they know it is incumbent on them to be polite so as order to gain the acceptance of the benefit seeker (the Nigerian public). And to appear to shift ground, this is what the announcer has done. However, no matter how the leopard tries to hide its dark spots, it would always be a leopard. It then follows that though the military may pretend to sound like the civilian politicians its military macho-identity cannot be hidden as they would always want to stamp their authority in whatever capacity they found themselves.

DICTION

Under diction, words are carefully selected to serve the purpose and the occasion as well i.e. threat, warning, appeal, persuasion and assurance etc. The statistics below are derived from Dogonyaro's announcement:

Word	Word Frequency
I	2
We	6
Our	4
Fellow Countrymen	2
Uncomplimentary Remarks	4
Explicit performative to effect change	4
Cooperate/appeal/assistance	1 each

Dogonyaro employed 'I' 2times, distancing himself from the listeners and showing that he was the authority. He tactfully mentioned 'We' 6times to evoke collective responsibility and authority, a value cherished by most Nigerians. 'Our' is used 4times to create an intimate association with Nigerians. He lashed at the past regime using uncomplimentary remarks 4times. This a clear manifestation of military attributes. Closely related is the use of explicit performatives to effect change which was exhibited 4times intended to maintain order and control. The coupists solicited for support/assistance only once. By and large, we can see from the above

that Dogonyaro and his cohorts displayed both military and political language.

GRAMMAR

There are lots of sentence variations in the speech. This was done with the illocutionary force to get the attention of the listeners. Sentence variation qualifies for rhetoric, written to persuade or move the audience. These examples will illustrate our point.

Simple sentence used as an appeal:

I appeal to you fellow countrymen, particularly my colleagues in arms....

(Line 81-82)

Simple sentence used for issuance of order/commands.

Finally, a dusk to dawn curfew is hereby imposed in Lagos and all state capitals until further notice (Line 93-95).

Compound sentence used for issuance of command:

All seaports and airports are closed, all borders remain closed. (Line 92-93)

Complex sentence used to assert:

The economy does not seem to be getting better as it witnessed daily increased inflation. (Line 55-57)

In general, the indicative mood is the most commonly used in the speeches both as a political and military language. The following example is apt:

Because this generation of Nigerians and indeed future generations have no other country but Nigeria, we could not stay passive and watch a small group of individuals misuse power.... (Line 11-14).

The above speech act is employed with its attendant illocutionary force to appeal to the 'sense of community ideals' Carter (1968). Conversely however, the imperative is used to ensure effective grip of the coup situation. Hence the following examples:

In order to enable a new order to be introduced, the following bodies are dissolved forthwith pending further announcement.

The perlocutionary act that follows is strict compliance by all Nigerians.

The only subjunctive mood is juxtaposed with military action as we can see in this example.

... if action can be taken to arrest further damage, it should and must be taken. (Line 24-26)

There is no interrogative mood in the speech. There are few passive constructions to the effect of depicting humility and level headedness with the force of gaining public support. For example:

All seaports and airports are closed; all borders remain closed (Line 92-93).

Finally a dusk to dawn curfew is hereby imposed in Lagos and all state capitals until further notice (Line 93-95).

On the contrary, the explicit performative, as in declaratives, is an admission of personal responsibility. These are usually written in the active voice as in this example:

I, Brigadier Joshua Nimyel Dogonyaro, of the Nigerian Army, hereby make the following declaration... (Line 1-4)

TEXT (F) MAJOR ORKAR'S 1990 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

As usual, it was a broadcast that took place in the early hours of April 22, 1990. The speech can be adjudged as one of the longest coup speeches. It lasted for 9minutes 20 seconds.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

The main thesis of Orka's address was the issue of marginalization, corruption and self-succession aims of the incumbent President. In highlighting these issues, the speaker was aware, that the addressees shared this background knowledge with him. Little wonder then that, the address was meant to whip up emotions of the public with an uptake to gain

support especially of those sitting on the fence. The following illustrates this point.

On behalf of the patriotic and well-meaning peoples of the Middle Belt and the southern parts of this country, I, Major Gideon Orkar, wish to happily inform you of the successful ousting of the dictatorial, corrupt, drug baronish (sic) evil man, deceitful, homosexually - centered, prodigalistic (sic), unpatriotic administration of General Badamosi Babangida. We have equally commenced their trials for unabated corruption, mismanagement of national economy, the murders of Dele Giwa, General Mamman Vasta,(sic)with other officers.... (Ln 2-10).

The coupists engage in copious lies and language of deception in a bid to garner support. For instance, as at the time the announcement was made, the coupists had not completely taken over the government . Besides, it was not true that Bagangida and his cabinet were being tried then. Mohammed, (2001), refers to this as ‘language of manipulation’ intended to persuade and woo the public. For Zheng (2004) it is an ‘emotional technique’ a political strategy, intended to appeal to the listening public. These claims by the speaker are assertives, a mixture of explicit and implicit performatives. Thomas, (1995), refers to it as ‘group performatives’ as the coup was presented as a collective activity.

The above speech acts violate Austin’s felicity conditions. One, most Nigerians were not in support of the coup after listening to the broadcast,

hence the role of the participants here were not recognized by all the parties involved. Two, Austin says that a speech act must be carried out completely. Again, the actors gave the impression that the action had indeed been completed whereas it had not. Three, whether the coupists had the right intentions or not, is open to debate.

In view of the dicey nature of the coup, the pragmatic context was enforced with military parlance as in the following examples:

We wish to emphasize that this is not just another coup but a well conceived, planned and executed revolution....(Ln12-14)

All unlawful and criminal acts by those attempting to cause chaos will be ruthlessly crushed. Be warned as we are prepared at all cost to defend the new order (Ln126-128)

The above speech act is a commissive, a category of the performatives with the illocutionary force of warding off dissidents or enemies of the revolution. It is also intended to show the macho identity of the speaker.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Just like the 1985 coup, the speaker was faced with a divided audience namely: the military who were opposed to the coup and those in support of the coupon on one hand; and the civilians who were opposed to it and those that supported it on the other. It can therefore be deduced that the social relationship was a combination of equal and unequal power i.e.

equal power (military versus military) and unequal power, (military versus civilians). Apparently, the speech was written to address each of these powers. As for those in support of the coup whether as belonging to the equal or unequal powers, the speaker must use subtle, assuring and persuasive language as depicted below:

It will also suffice here to state that all Nigerians without skeletons in their cupboards need not to be afraid of this change. (Line 9-11)

We are extremely determined to recover all ill-gotten wealth back to the public treasury for the use of the masses of our people (Line 115-116).

From the foregoing, it can be inferred that the coupists were indeed fighting on behalf of the masses. Therefore, the assumption here is that the social relationship is equal. The above speech act as we can see is commissive as the supporters of the coup are being assured and persuaded that it will no longer be business as usual but that the speaker(s) have come to sanitize the corrupt system. As for the supporters, who can be regarded as partners in progress, it was hoped that the future would be bright. The perlocutionary effect is usually apprehension as it was not clear whether the coupists would succeed or not. However, it was a different ball game for the enemies of the revolution who are bent on sabotaging or crushing the rebellion. The speaker had the following harsh words for them:

All unlawful and criminal acts by those attempting to cause chaos will be ruthlessly crushed. Be warned as we are prepared at all cost to defend the new order (Ln 26-28).

The above speech act functions both as a threat and a warning. They belong to the category of the performatives referred to as the commissives such that the act commits the speaker to future action. The illocution is intended to caution the dissidents and the perlocutionary uptake is invoking strict compliance.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Though the speech to a large extent satisfies the locutionary act, since the message seemed to have been understood by most Nigerians, it is still riddled with a few grammatical errors, i.e. 'evil men' instead of 'evil' (line 3), 'prodigalistic' instead of 'prodigality' (line 5), 'police forces' instead of 'police force' (line 124) etc.

The speech was basically addressed to two sets of audience: the supporters and the opponents of the coup. The mood of the speaker toward each of these audiences was reflected in his tone. We discovered that when the speaker was addressing his supporters, his tone is lax and appealing but

when targeting his opponents; he tended to be more serious, harsh and peremptory.

This is illustrated thus:

On behalf of the patriotic and well-meaning peoples of the middle belt and the southern parts of this country, I, Major Gideon Orkar, wish to happily inform you of the successful ousting.... (Ln 2-4)

They have almost succeeded in subjugating the Middle Belt and making them voiceless and now extending same to the South. (Ln 21-22).

The above speech act belongs to the category of the performatives categorized to as expressive which state what the speaker felt on the occasion of the coup. It has the illocutionary force of congratulating 'the supporter' of the revolution. The perlocutionary effect was to make the supporters happy and feel a sense of belonging. It can therefore be inferred that much as the speaker is happy, same was expected of the listener. Again, this is a language of deception; an aspect of political language. For the opponents of the change, the tone of the speech acts was harsh and peremptory as shown in the high pitch indicated below:

All unLAWful and CRIminal ACTS by those attempting to CAUSE CHAOS will be RUTHlessly CRUSHED. Be WARNED as we are prepared at all costs to deFEND the new order.(Ln126-128)

This speech act belongs to the category of explicit performatives categorized to as ‘directives’. Besides, portraying the dissident as now powerless, it is also intended to give the impression that the coupists were now in-charge. Adegbija calls this speech act ‘Authority assumption and exercising tacts.’ For the performance of such acts, the speaker needs to possess the appropriate authority. Whether, the speaker has the authority or not, is a different matter altogether.

DICTION

Under this, the writer of the speech has carefully selected words with illocutionary force of warning, threatening, assuring, or attacking the incumbent or to ensure strict compliance by the general public especially the enemies of the supposed revolution.

Words	Word Frequency
I	1
We	6
Our	5
Fellow Nigerian Citizens	1
Uncomplimentary remarks	12
Corruption/related	4

Oppression	2
Marginalization/related words	9
Explicit performatives to effect the change	8
Cooperate/appeal	1

Orka's coup is the longest in the history of coup announcements in Nigeria. In all this, he employs 'I' only once to introduce himself to the nation. 'We', speaker inclusive was employed 6times in order to portray himself as part and parcel of the hopes and aspiration of the Nigerian people. Similarly, 'Our' was exhibited 5times to show a sense of collective essence. Nigerians were addressed as 'Fellow Nigerian citizens only once to show that the speaker/listeners are one. Uncomplimentary remarks were employed 12times to disparage the opponents of the new regime. Corruption related words were employed 4times also to denigrate the opponents. 'Oppression' was mentioned 4times to represent the past regime with a view to chastise them. Marginalization related words were cited in the speech 9times to depict the pragmatic context of the coup and also to vilify the past regime. However, explicit performatives to effect change were employed 8times to evoke military firmness. Cooperation/appeal was sought only once in order to depict military less use of words. In all, we can infer from the above that Orka's use of language represents both military and political parlance.

GRAMMAR

Different sentence structures with varied illocutionary intent were employed by the coupists. Simple sentences were used for self identification (assertives) in order to get the attention of the listeners as in:

On behalf of the patriotic and well-meaning peoples of the Middle Belt and the Southern parts of this country, I, Major Gideon Orkar, wish to happily inform you... (Ln 2-3)

Other simple sentences give directives so as to have a firm grip of the situation. For example:

A curfew is hereby, imposed from 8pm to 6am until further notice (Ln 123)

Compound sentence used to inform and to appeal to the emotions of the public (Assertive) so as to win their support. i.e.

We wish to emphasize that this is not just another coup but a well conceived, planned and executed revolution for the marginalized oppressed and (Ln 12-13)

Compound is used to enforce (directives) in order to be in control. For example:

The National Guard already in its formative stage is disbanded with immediate effect. (Ln 11-12)

Complex sentence were used to threaten the dissidents (commissives) so that they will be submissive thereafter.

However, those with skeleton in their cupboards, have all reasons to fear because the time of reckoning has come. (Ln 28-29)

They were similarly used to give orders (directives) in order to assume authority. .i.e.

Be warned as we are prepared at all cost to defend the new order. (Ln 127-127)

Compound complex used to assert (assertive) in order to be seen to be in-charge as in:

We have equally commenced their trials for unabated corruption, mis-management of national economy, the murders of Dele Giwa, Major-General Mamman Vatsa, with other officers as there was no attempted coup but mere intentions that were yet to materialize and other human rights violation. (Ln 6-10)

Several English mood system were employed except for the interrogative which is absent. It is worthy of note that the imperatives are quite salient both as a political language and military parlance. The indicative is used to inform, assert, and declare as in the following:

For the avoidance of doubt, we wish to state the three primary reasons why we decided to oust the satanic Babangida administration.(Ln 30-31)

The above speech act falls in the category of the implicit performatives referred to as assertives. It carries the pragmatic import of persuasion in order to win the public support.

The imperatives are employed to a large extent to portray the military macho identity as in;

All radio stations are hereby advised to hook permanently to the national network programme until further notice. (Ln 129130)

Although at face value, the above speech act can be interpreted as an advice which is at the discretion of the addressee, in the true sense of it, it is an order which must be obeyed by all radio stations. This is an instance of indirect speech act as what is meant is actually not in the words themselves but in the implied meaning. This is a typical example of military language with indirectness. The subjunctive mood is scarcely used. This is so in order to ensure strict compliance. However, we have been able to identify a few as in:

They will, however be allowed to return and joint (sic) the Federal Republic of Nigeria when the stipulated conditions are met. (Ln 104-105)

The above speech act belongs to the category of the directives intended to ensure strict compliance.

In spite of the warning posture that is portrayed, most of the passive constructions carry some measure of face saving politeness strategy. Such seem to suggest that the speaker does not intend to use brute force. The following examples clearly show thus:

A curfew is hereby imposed from 8pm to 6am until further notice. All members of the armed forces and the police forces (sic) are hereby confined to their respective barracks (Ln 123-125).

In this sentence the directives were intended to give the impression that the coupists were not tough but level headed.

Although, the general preference seems to be for passive form, few active sentences are also used as we can see below.

We have equally commenced their trial for unabated corruption....(Line 6-7).
I, Major Gideon Orkar, wish to happily inform you....(Ln 2-3)

The above speech acts are examples of assertive performatives. They are intended to demonstrate or at least create an impression that the speaker(s) are in charge and that those who defy the new order do so at their own peril. The perlocutionary effect here is to instill fear on the public and to attract obedience.

TEXT (G) GENERAL ABACHA'S 1993 COUP ANNOUNCEMENT

Unlike the other coup speeches, the 1993 coup was announced in the evening as against the usual early morning broadcast. A departure from the

normal tradition, here, the speaker, who was the Head of State, made the announcement.

PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

The pragmatic context of the 1993 Abacha coup was daunted with the aftermath of June 12, elections. The annulment of the elections culminated into a spiral of political, economic and social crises which threatened the very corporate existence of the Nigerian nation. Both the speaker(s) and the Nigerian public were part of the event; presupposes that they both shared the same background experience. As a matter of fact, the citizenry were disenchanted with the Babangida regime as well as the Shonekan led interim government. Again, this was a shared background belief of both the speaker and the listeners. The pragmatic context of the coup as highlighted above was taken into consideration by the coupist when they had to lie in order to justify their actions and also to hoodwink the Nigerian populace. The falsehood is illustrated thus:

Sequel to the resignations of the former Head of the Interim National Government and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, Chief Ernest Shonekan and my subsequent appointment as Head of State and Commander in Chief, I have had extensive consultations within the armed forces hierarchy and other well meaning Nigerians ... (Ln 2-8)

Again, the above speech act is a category of the performatives, 'assertive'. It is used to inform the public. As a political language, it falls within the category of language of deception as the real truth was not revealed to Nigerians. It also qualifies as indirect speech act as what Abacha meant was really not in the words themselves. The indicative mood has been used to imply the imperative.

According to Omogui (2000), behind the scene, Shonekan was forced to resign at gun point. So, the claim by Abacha that Shonekan resigned and that he was appointed as the Head of State can't be short of political lies. Such lies have the illocutionary force of soothing and calming the irate Nigerian public. Of course, the perlocutionary act was that the majority of Nigerians were convinced as the nation was on the verge of collapse.

The coupists also employed a flashback, another political strategy to justify their enthronement. According to them:

Chief Ernest Shonekan took over as Head of State and Commander-in-chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, at a most trying time in the history of the country. Politically, economically, and socially, there were lots of uncertainties. Things appeared bleak and the atmosphere was heavy with uncertainties (Ln 13-18).

In order to confront those who were opposed to the new government, the coupists employed a more pragmatic military language with a view to ward off such a group. It is exemplified in the following:

This regime will be firm, humane, and decisive; we will not condone, nor tolerate any act of indiscipline. Any attempt to test our will, will be decisively dealt with. (Ln 119-121)

The above speech act is a threat which falls within the commissives, whereby the words commit the speaker to future action. The speech acts invoke the illocutionary act of threatening the opponents. The perlocutions are obedience and compliance on the part of the opponents.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Again, unlike the other coup speeches, it is believed that this announcement was made after the enthronement of the speaker. It can therefore be inferred that there was little or no resistance at all. All that was required of the speaker was to muster support and cooperation. Therefore, the social distance is relatively close and the tone employed by the speaker in this context is indicative of this as it is illustrated below:

I appeal to all the trade unions to return to work immediately. We cannot afford further dislocation and destruction of our economy. (Line 83-86) We, however appeal to the media houses that in this spirit of national reconciliation, we should show

more restraint and build a united and peaceful Nigeria (Line 89-91)

For the International Community, give us the chance to solve our problems our own ways. (Ln 123, Ln 129-130)

The appeal falls within the category of performatives referred to as ‘directives’ in which the words are aimed at making the hearer to do something. As a political strategy, the speaker in this context assumed equal power relationship with the addressee. The language as we can see is subtle but deceptive. The illocutionary import therefore is to enlist the support and cooperation of the Nigerian public especially the waverers. On the part of the waverers, they were required to support the regime.

The unequal power relationship is however exhibited towards both the possible opponents of the regime and the public generally. This is to show that they were now in control. Such military firmness and decisiveness are translated into words as threat, warnings and commands.

The following illustrate this point:

Consequently, the following decisions come into immediate effect. The Interim National Government is hereby dissolved (Line 38-41)

A provisional Ruling Council (PRC) is hereby established. (Line 64-65)

This regime will be firm, humane and decisive. We will not condone nor tolerate any act of indiscipline. Any attempt to test our (sic) will be decisively dealt with. (119-121)

The speech acts, both as declaratives and directives are intended to portray the speaker as being in charge and also to intimidate the opponents to the effect of submission. The expected perlocutionary effect is total obedience and compliant.

LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

The speech, to all intents and purposes, is lengthy. Free of ambiguities, it is apt, audible and discernable. It is however dotted with a few grammatical complexities such as: ‘Any attempt to test our will be decisively dealt with’, instead of ‘Any attempt to test our will, will be decisively dealt with’, among others.

As we noted earlier, the pragmatic context of a speech determines its linguistic content. In this regard, the mood of the pragmatic context can be felt at the supra-segmental level through the tone of the speaker. The situation as we observed earlier was that of cul -de -sac and despair. Hence, there was need on the part of the speaker to express hope, make appeal and by and large solicit for cooperation and support for the new regime. To this end, the tone indicates appeal, subtleness and calmness. The following examples again illustrate this point:

Nigeria is the only country we have. We must therefore, solve our problems our-selves. We must lay a very solid foundation for the growth of democracy. We should avoid any ad hoc or temporary solutions. The problems must be addressed firmly, objectively, decisively and with all sincerity of purpose. (Ln 31-37)

The above speech acts are a mixture of assertives and directives with the force of making appeals to the 'sense of community ideals', Carter (1968). The constant use of the pronoun 'We', the agency of collectivism, touches on collective essence, a value most cherished by most Nigerians. These acts in essence evoke togetherness and solidarity. The perlocutionary uptake in a way is conviction and subsequent acceptance of the new regime by the populace. This could not have been otherwise because of the less privileged position the public occupied in the scheme of things.

Conversely, the coupists are equally conscious of the audience who are opposed to the new regime. Hence they had to talk tough in the usual military parlance and tone suggesting, firmness, threat, order, warning. These are represented in the high pitch as shown in the following examples:

.... The following decisions come into IMMEDIATE EFFECT (Line 38-39)

Decree 61 of 1993 is hereby ABROGATED (Line 63)

This regime will be FIRM, HUMANE, and DECISIVE. We will not CONDONE nor TOLERATE any ACT of INDISCIPLINE. Any ATTEMPT to TEST our will, will be DECISIVELY DEALT with (Line 119-121)

As 'declaratives' and 'directives', the speech acts are intended to evoke strict compliance. The intended perlocutionary effect was to create/promote fear and total compliance among the public.

DICTION

A gamut of lexical items is selected to reflect both the mood and purpose of the speech as in the following:

Words	Frequency
I	3
We	10
Our	6
Fellow Nigerians	2
Foreign/International Community	2
Explicit performatives to effect the change	13
Cooperation/appeal	2

Abacha used 'I' 3times to have a firm control of the coup situation. He however employed 'We' as speaker inclusive 10times to create intimate association with his countrymen. 'Our' was indicated 6times to illustrate collective essence 'Fellow countrymen and women' was engaged 3times to generate warm relationship. Constitution was mentioned once and suspended thereafter. Uncomplimentary remarks were mentioned 6times to sneer the past regime. Foreigners were distinguished only once in order to gain their acceptance. Politicians/civilian administration were cited only once as part of the past regime. The opponents of the new regime were threatened with 'summarily dealt with' which was employed only once. Corruption perceived by the speaker as trademark of the previous regime was mentioned 2times. Finally, the speaker sought for the cooperation/support of the public 2times. In comparison with Abacha 1983, we discovered that Abacha maintained consistency all through in his choice/use of words in the announcements. Both represent military and political language.

GRAMMAR

There are also mixtures of sentence types each performing different illocutionary force. The following are good examples:

- i. Simple sentence as declaratives: The Interim National Government is hereby dissolved.

The illocutionary import is to terminate the Interim Government.

- ii. Simple Sentence as assertive:

Nigeria is the only country we have.

It is intended to appeal to the nationalistic feelings of the citizenry.

- iii. Simple Sentence as commissives:

Any attempt to test our will,(sic) be decisively dealt with.

The force of the threat is to have a grip of the situation and ward-off opponents.

- iv. Simple Sentence as directives:

... a constitutional conference with full constituent powers will be established soon to determine the future constitutional structure of Nigeria.

It is intended to douse tension in order to enlist the cooperation of the public.

- v. Simple Sentence as expressive:

Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

It is couched to appeal to the nationalistic feelings of the citizenry,

- vi. Compound Sentence as assertive:

This government is a child of necessity with a strong determination to restore peace and stability to our country and on these foundations, enthrone a lasting and true democracy. (Ln 26-29)

The speech act is intended to campaign to the emotions of the public in order to enlist their support.

vii. Complex Sentence as commissives:

The constitutional conference will also recommend the method of forming parties, which will lead to the ultimate recognition of political parties formed by the people (Ln 104-107).

viii. Compound Complex Sentence as directives:

We, however, appeal to the media houses, that in this spirit of national reconciliation, we should show more restraint and build a united and peaceful Nigeria.(89-91)

For the first time, the media has been singled out as an institution worth reckoning with probably due to the significant role it plays in making or marring any unpopular government. The speech act is an appeal intended to recognize the media as partners in progress so as to gain their support.

The English mood system has also been exploited effectively. But from all indications, it is only the indicative and the imperative that have considerable quantity. The following examples are apt:

Indicative mood: They are employed to inform, assert, warn and declare as in:

Sequel to the resignation of the former Head of the Interim National Government...and my subsequent appointment as Head of State..., I have had extensive consultations within the armed hierarchy and other well-meaning Nigerians.... (Ln2-11)

The speech acts as assertives is intended to inform the public with a view to see reasons why they had to intervene.

Imperative mood: They are employed to give order, or to make an appeal as in:
All procession, political meetings, and association of any type in any part of the country are hereby banned. (Ln 58-60)

This speech acts belongs to the 'directives'. It is intended to evoke strict compliance.

Give us the chance to solve our problems in our ways. (Ln 129-130)

As an appeal, it is intended to enlist the support of the International Community.

Subjunctive mood: Though scarcely used, it is employed where conditions are highly necessary as in this instance:

We require well throughout and permanent solutions to these problems if we are to emerge stronger for them. (Ln 99-101)

The speech act, though as 'directives', is intended to persuade the public.

The passive voice enjoys a common usage in the speech as they give the

impression that the regime will be humane and listening as against the active that suggests arrogance and pomposity. A few examples will illustrate this point.

... a constitutional conference with full constituent powers will be established soon to determine the future constitutional structure of Nigeria. (Ln 101-104)

The active constructions, though scarcely used, are employed to suggest and manifest the military macho identity of the speaker. It also suggests that the military is in control. The following examples are apt:

We will not condone nor tolerate any act of indiscipline (Ln 119-120).

This is a threat/warning, a category of performatives referred to as commissives. With the illocutionary force of assuming they have the might to enforce discipline.

4.2 DISCUSSIONS OF THE TEXTUAL ANALYSES BASED ON THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The above analyses illustrate a 'pragmasociolinguistic' consideration of seven Nigerian Military Coup Speeches. Adegbija's (1999) three crucial contexts: the pragmatic, the social and the linguistic have indeed demonstrated that despite its peculiarities, the Nigerian military coup speech is essentially a subset of political language. To this end, we have

seen how the coupists employed different speech acts: one, to avoid confrontation and offence in order to enlist the support and cooperation of the addressees through different forms of propaganda. Two, the analysis has also revealed how the coupists try to ward off a would-be-threat in order to guarantee their (military) survival and the group the speaker represents displaying much of macho military identity. By and large, both intended and inferred meanings are heavily dependent on the socio-cultural background and psychological pre-dispositions of the interlocutors.

We shall now discuss the data in more detail in relation to items, a, b, c, d and g of our statement of the problem.

4.2.1 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTION (A): What features of political discourse are manifested in Nigerian military coup speeches?

Our findings show that features of political discourse found in the speeches are largely determined by the different sets of audience available to the speaker. The audiences available to the speaker included: supporters of the coup, waverers, the international community and possible opponents of the coup and other collaborators. With regard to the first three, namely, supporters, waverers and the international community, the coupists

employed the language of appeal and persuasion in order to win their confidence. In other words, they resorted to language of propaganda, in the form of newspeak, doublespeak, political correctness, diplomatic language, among others i.e forms of political language, with the pragmatic import of enlisting the support of the Nigerian public. For example, in text 'A', commissives were employed by the speaker as a political strategy to make promises of a better future. In text 'B', it is assertives that were used to justify the intervention. In Text C, the speaker explores a combination of assertives and expressives to soothe the aggrieved Nigerian public. General Abacha in text 'D' demonstrates 'white propaganda' through the use of assertives to justify the takeover. In Text 'E' the speaker also engages in the speech act of assertives to show why the intervention became necessary. Major Orkar in Text 'E,' employs the language of deception through assertive speech act and expressives, to give the impression that the coup was successful whereas in the true sense of it the coup was aborted. Lastly, in Text 'F', Abacha again, demonstrates much of the use of assertives, expressives and commissives to justify the coup, to soothe the public and to make promises of better governance in contrast to what happened in the previous regime.

4.2.2 DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION (B):

What attributes of the military characteristics are reflected in the Nigerian coups speeches? Military language in this study has been

categorized into four: Official Military language, Parade language, Barracks language and War language. The study is to show the extent to which these varieties reflect the military macho identity, masculinity, speed and precision realized through verbal economy and the demand for unquestioning compliance. To this end, the study has revealed all through Text A - G the features of military command and authoritarianism. For example, in Text 'A' we can see how the category of speech acts referred to as the declaratives, the directives and the commissives were employed by the speaker to bring the incumbent regime to an abrupt end by warning and issuing commands so as to ward off any would be enemy of the revolution. The following example is apt. Text 'A', "The constitution is suspended...." (declarative). Text 'C', "No divisional commander will issue orders or instructions until...." (directive). Text 'D', "All foreigners living in any part of the country are assured of their safety...." (commissive). And lastly threats were also employed in order to have a firm grip of the situation. This is represented in the following words, "...this has been a bloodless operation and we do not want anyone to lose his life." We may

call this an indirect threat. The declaratives, directives and commissives were employed in Text 'B' also at the pragmatic level; again, to decree the demise of that regime, to enforce order and to give hope to the public respectively. For instance, the speaker says, "...the Armed Forces decided to effect change of leadership...", which stands for declarative. "...all workers other than those on essential services like NEPA will observe today 29 July as a work free day", stands for directive as a speech act. However, For Text 'C', the speech is also a combination of declaratives and directives intended to effect the regime change and orderliness. Text 'D' shows how the speaker employs declaratives, directives and commissives as speech acts also to change the status quo, to demonstrate military brute force and to intimidate any would-be enemy respectively. This is found in the following, "Text 'D', Alhaji Shehu Usman Shagari, ceases forthwith to be the President...."(declarative),"...workers on essential duties are advised to keep off the street(directive) and "Armed forces... is ready to lay its life for our dear nation....(commissive), respectively. In Text 'E' also, the speaker uses declaratives and directives both as a measure to sack the incumbent regime/government and to have a firm grip of the situation as in "...the present composition of our country's leadership cannot ... justify its continued occupation of that position"

(declarative) Also, “In order to enable a new order to be introduced, the following bodies are dissolved forthwith pending further announcement” is indicative of directive. Much of declaratives, directives and commissives in form of pronouncements, commands and threats were employed in Text ‘F’ to exhibit the military characteristic of the speaker. A good example of directives is “The National Guard already in its formative stage is disbanded with immediate effect.” Lastly, in Text ‘G’, the speaker also engages in pronouncements as in declaratives, threats as in commissives and command and warnings as in the directives to show the macho identity of the speaker as in “ A provisional Ruling Council PRC is hereby established” as directive. By and large, except for Texts C, F and G that exhibit the category of speech act referred to as expressives’ in addition to declaratives, assertives, commissives and the directives all others i.e. Text A, B, D and E exhibit only declaratives, commissives and directives.

4.2.3 DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION(C):

What pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts of coup speeches seem to determine the speech acts performed?

This research question is intended to demonstrate the symbiosis between the theoretical framework and the corpus of study. So far, the

study has illuminated the interconnection between the speech acts in the coup announcements and the context that gave birth to them. Put differently, the background tapestry of the coup has great influence on the speech acts that heralded them. For example, the pragmatic context of Nzeogwu's coup, (Text A) hinges on corruption, the alleged ineptitude of the ousted regime and the breakdown of law and order in the then Western Region. Hence, the speech act that was invoked, as shown in the analysis, is a combination of propaganda and military peremptoriness. In order to appeal and persuade some section of the audience, the speaker uses commissives copiously i.e "I am to assure all foreigners living and working in this part of Nigeria that their right will...". For the section of the audience that appeared antagonistic to the coupists, speech acts such as declaratives, directives and commissives were employed not only to effect the change but to have a firm control of the situation. Much of what we say and what we communicate is determined by our social relationship. It follows that the speech acts derived from coup announcement invariably are a function of the social relationship between the interlocutors and the context. The analyses so far have shown that the language employed by the coupists generally strives to be friendly and persuasive when they are addressing 'power equals'. These are the friends of the revolution or

regime change. But in sharp contrast, the tone changes drastically when they address any would-be threat or dissidents. The speech acts, in this case are predominantly ‘assertive’ for ‘power equals’ or friends and ‘directives’ for power unequals or dissidents.

The linguistic items of any communicative event to a large extent reflect the pragmatic context of that event. Hence, we can make bold to say that at the supra-segmental level, the announcers of coups are lax in pitch when they want to appeal to or persuade the public despite their military personality. But the sonority of the voice is high when the speakers confront a section of the audience that is assumed unfriendly. This is realized through threats, commands and order to evoke compliance. Similarly, lexical choice is used to enforce or attenuate illocutionary force. The analyses have also shown that social relationships between the interlocutors and attitudes especially those of the speakers are marked with the use of pronouns to reflect power, solidarity, status and collective essence. For example, when Dimka’s 1976, Text C, says, ‘We are all together’, most Nigerians construed the pronoun “we” as ambiguous. One interpretation of the utterance would mean that both speaker and the addressees are included in the activity of staging the coup. Another interpretation could mean that no matter the outcome of the regime change,

the speaker is always part and parcel of the oneness of the Nigerian society.

Grammatically, the analyses have shown that coup announcements and the speech acts they invoke are correlates. The most common grammatical features in the English mood system are the indicative and the imperative. They are used to 'assert', 'declare', 'threaten', 'order' and 'command' the addressees. In addition, most of the sentence constructions are in the passive. They are employed in order to distant the speaker and the group he represents from the public and create the impression of arrogance, pride or brute force. Put differently, it is intended to evoke the illocutionary force of dominance.

4.2.4 DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION (D):

What illocutionary acts are implied in the speeches?

Following from the observations of the three crucial contexts namely: pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts, the data have revealed that Nigerian military coup speeches are a gamut of illocutionary acts of declaring, directing, promising, advising, congratulating, warning, commanding, threatening, appealing, asserting, entreating, and personal commitment, what Searle calls 'commissives'. The most rampant

performance of the coupists is performing the illocutionary acts of asserives, expressives and commissives to reflect political language in the form of propaganda which is intended to enlist the support of the public. However, directives and commissives are employed to exhibit the military brute force of the coupists which is intended to ward-off a would-be threat or enemy.

4.2.5 DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION (G):

What common patterns can be detected within the different coup speeches?

The pragmatic study of Nigerian military coup speeches has thrown light on the functional, formal and social aspects of Nigerian military coup announcements. For the layman, the functional aspects are pragmatic; the formal aspects are linguistic i.e. Phonology, diction and grammar while the social aspects are the relationship between the interlocutors (speaker/addressees). The common pattern in the aspect of the pragmatic context as demonstrated in the seven coup announcements (Texts A-G), hinges on issues that border on corruption, maladministration, ineptitude and personality clash among the ruling class. These varied contexts as depicted in the analyses are to a large extent reflections of the

speech acts employed by the speakers. For instance, we noticed that much as assertives are used to persuade and appeal to the emotions of the public, commissives and directives are employed for the purpose of evoking compliance by the public. More so, it was found that all except Texts C, F, and G exhibit the category of the speech acts referred to as expressives in addition to declaratives, assertives, commissives and directives.

One outstanding feature that is common in all the announcements in the aspect of the social context is the power relation between the speaker(s) and the addressees. It is clear in the analyses that supporters of the coups, the international community as well as those considered as waverers enjoy undue equal power relation with the coupists. Waverers share symmetric power relation with the speaker/s. This is exemplified in the speech as subtlety, persuasiveness, appealing and low sonority aspect of the speech delivery. With the opponent of the coups, there is a general unequal power relationship between the coupists and the section of the audience considered by the coupists as threat. This is also exemplified in the use of speech acts such as threat, order, warning and command. The common pattern as indicated under the linguistic context is quite revealing and exciting.

Under diction, we observed that words are used to enforce or attenuate illocutionary force. From the statistics of words used and their frequency in Text 'A', using a distancing strategy, 'We' appears 5 times, the first person plural possessive pronoun 'Our' appears 2 times and the phrase 'My dear countrymen' is used 3 times. Nzeogwu displays how close the coupists are to the addressees establishing the value of collective essence most cherished by the Nigerian culture. He also calls for the Nigerian public to support the new regime 3 times and the international community only once. On the contrary, he distances himself or arrogates power to himself using the first person pronoun 'I' 5 times. He also lashes at the enemies of the revolution 11 times using smearing and uncomplimentary remarks. He also threatens the enemies with imprisonment and death 5 times each.

In Text 'B' Garba also employs a distancing strategy, 'We' 2 times and the phrase 'Fellow countrymen and women' 2 times to justify how close and dear the Nigerian people are to the coupists. He however, solicits for support and cooperation of the Nigerian public only once. In sharp contrast, he also distances himself from the public using the pronoun 'I' only once. There are lots of threats, order, warning and command, but no threat of

death or imprisonment probably due to the fact that it is a military regime that is ousting a fellow military regime.

Text 'C' is typical of a military overthrowing another military regime. Hence, Dimka uses the phrase 'Fellow Nigerians' and the distancing strategy 'we' in a most dramatic way. The pronoun 'We' is not only made to come at the end of the speech but can be inferred to have left most Nigerian tongues wagging and brainstorming. The illocutionary force intended is to solicit for support. Dimka also appeals for cooperation once. But in a different tone, he displays the military macho-self using the pronoun 'I' once in order to prove that they are in-charge. Despite the warning, threat and command, the opponents of the revolution are threatened with death 2 times.

Text 'D' to a large extent is similar to Text 'A'. The statistics found in the analysis is indicative of this. Using the distancing strategy 'We' 4 times, first person plural possessive pronoun 'Our' 6 times and the phrase "Fellow countrymen and women" 3 times, Abacha shows how caring and populist the new regime is. He also seeks for support from Nigerians 2 times and from the international community once to demonstrate that the regime would be the listening type. However, the military tendency of the speaker is made manifest when he uses certain uncomplimentary remarks

against the opponents of the regime. Such remarks, though blunt and incisive are used 6 times. The opponents in addition are threatened with serious consequences only once.

The choice and use of words in Text 'E' also reflect the type of coup, the type that a military overthrows another one. The coupists are aware that Nigerians need explanation as to the justification of the coup. It is the realization of this fact that prompted the coupists to engage in propaganda. Hence, the all embracing 'We' is employed 6 times, 'Our' 4 times and 'Fellow countrymen' 2 times. The coupists never considered it necessary to appeal to the international community as it is assumed that the ousted regime was never in their good book. The speaker also seeks for the assistance and cooperation of the Nigerian public once in the announcement. Contrary to this, the speaker uses uncomplimentary remarks 4 times to berate their opponents. There are also lots of threats, warnings, orders and commands to suggest that they are in total control of the situation.

Historians and political scientists have claimed that Orkar's coup was the fiercest and bloodiest in the history of coups in Nigeria. The key issue that precipitated the intervention according to Orkar was 'marginalization' (see1.2). In order to capture the psyche of the Nigerian public therefore,

the speaker employs the 'distancing strategy' 'We' 6 times, the plural possessive pronoun 'our' 5 times, and the signature phrase 'Fellow Nigerians', once to indicate how close the coupists are to the Nigerian public. The speaker also uses marginalization related words 9 times and finally seeks for the cooperation of the public once in order to gain public support. On the other hand, the usual military bluntness and no-nonsense posture is brought to bear using uncomplimentary remarks 12 times to castigate the ousted regime. The pronoun 'I' is used once. But to consolidate hold on power threats, warnings and peremptory related utterances are used.

Abacha 1993 coup (Text G) was popularly referred to as a palace coup. In the context of this scenario, the speaker needs to rely on propaganda in order to gain public support. To carry the Nigerian public along, the speaker employs the 'We' pronoun 10 times, the possessive pronoun 'Our' 6 times and the phrase 'Fellow Nigerians' 2 times. We can infer this as propaganda because Abacha was a member of Shonekan's cabinet. Abacha also seeks for support and cooperation of the international community 2 times each. Conversely, the military posture is also adopted. The speaker does this by arrogating power to himself using the 'I'

pronoun 3 times. He combines this with the use of threats, warnings and orders in order to have a firm grip of the situation.

At the suprasegmental level, it is discovered that in all the seven announcements, the active verbal words with their accompanying modifiers receive emphasis more than the content words. In addition, when the speaker makes appeal or tries to persuade the public the tone is usually lax and friendly. But when the focus is on enemies of the revolution, the pitch is usually high and depicts the usual parade tone. Such tones are employed with the aim to intimidate and enforce compliance.

Certain commonalities were observed in all the seven announcements at the level of grammar. Different sentence variations are employed for different illocutionary force. Also, the English mood system has been exploited effectively. The commonest are the indicative employed to inform, assert, warn and declare. The imperatives are employed to give order, command and to make appeal but the subjunctive mood is scarcely used. The only instance the subjunctive mood is used is when a condition is highly necessary as in the following, "... all heads of department are allowed to make decisions until the new regime are functioning, so long as such decisions are not contrary to the aims and

wishes of the Supreme Council.” The paucity of the subjunctive mood is probably for the purpose of ensuring strict compliance to order by the public. The interrogative mood is absent in all these announcements as the coupists do not seek for information from the public or give room for input from the audience. The analyses also showed that most of the sentence constructions are in the passive voice probably due to the fact that the coupists want to distance themselves from the public. Hence, they create the impression of arrogance, pride or brute force. However, a few active sentence are observed to reinforce the fact that the coupists intend to use brute force if need be. Again, this is an aspect of military language.

The analyses also revealed that the Nigerian military coup speech has three structural parts. The first part which is describable as the introduction is made of mainly declaratives depicting military language with the illocutionary force of sacking the incumbent regime. The second part which is the main thesis is composed mainly of assertives and commissives. This is where the political language is brought to fore. This part is intended to justify the military take over and also intended to make promises for a better future. The final part exhibits mainly directives depicting warnings, threat and commands which are epitome of military

language. The illocutionary force may be intended to have a firm grip of the coup situation.

4.3 OPINION DATA ANALYSIS

The objective of this section is to analyze and interpret the data collected with regard to the statement of the problem, i.e.

(e) Are the speech acts direct or are they indirect?

(f) What perlocutionary effects did the speeches actually perform?

The data was obtained from three instruments namely: Questionnaire, Sampled Opinions from Newspaper and Interviews. We shall now look into the organization of the data from each of these instruments thus:

I. ORGANIZATION OF DATA FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The analysis presented here was done using the frequency and percentage analysis method common with research in social sciences. This procedure was adopted to get the necessary information which would lead to a meaningful conclusion.

The instrument is a mixture of structured and unstructured questions (see appendix). Although 400 copies of the question were administered, only 284 copies were successfully completed and returned.

II. INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Table 1 A. HOW MANY COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS DID YOU LISTEN TO?

Though Nigeria has no monopoly over military leadership or coups, there is no gainsaying the fact that as far as expertise and actual practical experience in military coup speechmaking are concerned, it seems to have an unrivalled position in the world. It is therefore assumed that this scenario affects the citizenry directly or indirectly. Thus, it is believed that the level of participation and disposition of the public determines how successful the perlocutionary act of the communicative encounter. The table below shows the various responses to this question.

Table 1A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
1 – 2 times	117	42.5%
3 - 4 times	114	41.5%
5 – 6 times	31	12.5%
7 – above	9	3.5%
Total	248	100%

The data in table 1 show that 42.5% of the respondents listened to coup announcements maximum of 2 times, 41.5% had encounter with the announcements maximum of 4 times, while 12.5% and 3.5% of the respondents listened to coup announcement upward of 6 times respectively. We can therefore, deduce from the responses that the majority of the public show no interest in coup announcements.

Table 2A: WHAT APPEALED TO YOU MOST IN THOSE COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS?

In every communicative event, certain variables are responsible for attracting the attention of the listeners and also to sustain it. In fact, no communication is successful and sustained without the interlocutors especially the addressee showing interest in the issue being communicated. To this end, the table below shows the various responses to the question.

Table 2A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Martial Music	38	13.4%
Fellow Nigerians	82	28.9%
The Message	64	22.5%
Personalities Involved	27	9.5%
Undecided	73	25.7%
Total	284	100.%

The data in the above table show that 28.9% of the respondents display a preference for 'Fellow Nigerians', 22.5% are in favour of the message, 13.4%, favoured, 'The martial music while 9.5% of the respondents are disposed to the personalities involved in the coup act. However, 25.7% of the respondents are neutral. Preference of the majority of the respondents to 'Fellow Nigerians' is largely due to the fact that coup announcement are born in a context of gross dissatisfaction with the status given, hence such words carry with them the illocutionary force of soothing the aggrieved Nigerians.

Table 3A WHICH OF THE COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS IMPRESSED YOU MOST OR OTHERWISE?

Much as there are factors that enlist the attention of interest to any communication act, listeners also have the capacity to make a choice using the same variables. The table below shows the various responses to this question:

Table 3A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Nzeogwu – Negative	3	1.0%
Garba – Positive	29	10.2%
Dimka – Negative	17	5.9%
Abacha (1983) Positive	57	21.0%
Dogonyaro – Negative	22	8.0%
Orka – Negative	68	23.9%
Abacha (1993) Negative	63	22.2%
Undecided	25	8.8%
Total	284	100%

The data in table 3 show that while 23.9%, 22.2%, 8.0%, 5.9%, 1.0% respectively said that they never liked the 1966, 1976, 1985, 1993 coups, 21.0% and 10.2% expressed likeness to 1975 and 1983 coups. However 8.8% are undecided.

Table 4A: WHAT IS YOUR MAJOR REASON FOR LIKING/DISLIKING THE COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS?

It is a common dictum that the only permanent thing in life is change itself. While some crave for change, others are averse to it. It assumed that it is partially for this reason that the military always intervene in government the world over.

The table below shows why some respondents are in favour of coup announcements that usher in change and others are not.

Table 4A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Timely to save the situation	96	33.8%
Fear of the unknown	37	13.0%
Hope for a better future	61	21.5%
Undecided	90	31.7%
Total	284	100%

The data in table 4 indicate that 33.8% of the respondents considered the military intervention in Nigeria as timely as they believe the military have always come to save the political situation. Though 13.0% of the respondents expressed fear each time there was coup, 21.5% of the respondents hope for a better future. However 31.7% of the respondents are neutral.

Table 5A: DID YOU PERCEIVE THE TONE OF COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS AS COMMANDING?

It is believed that language forms reflect their environment (cultural relativity theory). Hence, in a military institution, the dominant speech function the world over, according to Amafah (1990), is the command.

This in effect generates instantaneous responses on the part of the addressee. The table below shows the various responses to the question.

Table 5A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	192	67.6%
Negative	83	29.2%
Undecided	9	3.2%
Total	284	100%

In table 5, 67.6% of the respondents affirmed that military coup announcements are ingrained in commanding tone, while 29.2% of the respondents declared that coup announcements do not have commanding tone. Although, 3.2% of the respondents are undecided, we can deduce from the analysis that indeed military coup announcements are loaded with commanding tone.

Table 6A: DID YOU PERCEIVE THE TONE OF COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS AS TOO HARSH?

As a command society, in the military, power is sublet from top to bottom and power is subject to abuse, Brotz and Wilson (1964). With this assertion in mind, we can assume that crave for power is partially responsible for why the military take over power.

Table 6A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	140	49.3%
Negative	135	47.5%
Undecided	9	3.2%
Total	284	100%

The data in table, 6 shows that the majority of the respondents which constitute 49.3% are disposed to the claim that military coup announcements are perceived as too harsh, while 47.5% of the respondents said they are not. However, 3.2% of the respondents are undecided. The slight difference between those who perceive the tone of the announcement as too harsh and those who do not is an indication that military coup announcements are interface between harsh and subtle words, an epitome of how political and military the language is.

Table 7A: DID YOU CONSIDER THE TONE AS PERSUASIVE?

There is no gainsay the fact that context plays a significant note in every communicative event. The coup announcement is made with the illocutionary force of persuading the public in order to enlist their support.

Though the public have much reservation about them, this opinion is manifested in the responses made below:

Table7A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	160	56.4%
Negative	112	39.4%
Undecided	12	4.2%
Total	284	100%

The data in table 4 reveal that 56.4% of the respondents said that coup announcements are persuasive, while 39.4% said they are not. However, 4.2% of the respondents are undecided. Here, it can also be deduced that indeed Nigeria military coup announcements to a large extent was persuasive in nature which is a reflection of political language.

Table 8A: WERE THE ANOUNCEMENTS CLEAR AND EASY TO UNDERSTAND?

For every act of communication to achieve the goal it is meant to achieve, it must be seen to be noise free. In other words, it must be clear and easy to understand. Below is the reaction of the respondents in this regard.

Table 8A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	241	84.8%
Negative	38	13.4%
Undecided	5	1.8%
Total	284	100%

The table above, clearly shows that coup announcements are indeed lucid as the majority, 84.8%, affirmed so, while 13.4% have a contrary view. However, 1.8% of the respondents are undecided. This is also to show that it is a reflection of military language which in most cases is devoid of vagueness and ambiguity.

Table 9A: DID THE DIFFERENT COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS CONVEY THE SAME MESSAGE ALL OVER?

Going by the antecedents of coups in the country and reasons adduced by the military for taking over government, one cannot but conclude that they are similar. Below is a graphic representation of the views of the respondents.

Table 9A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	192	67.6%
Negative	83	29.2%
Undecided	9	3.2%
Total	284	100%

The data in table 9 indicate that while 67.6% of the respondents claim that the messages are all the same, 29.2% assert that they are not. The remaining 3.25 are neutral. This statistics has supported the assertion that coup announcements have common discourse patterns.

Table 10A: WERE THERE ANY MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT OUSTED CIVILIAN REGIMES AND THOSE THAT OUSTED MILITARY REGIMES?

It is generally believed that the military hold each other in high esteem in spite of their differences. It is however not the same when a “bloody civilian” is involved. Below are the responses from the respondents.

Table 10 A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	115	40.5%
Negative	149	52.5%
Undecided	20	7.0%
Total	284	100%

From the above data, it is evident that only 40.5% of the respondents agreed, while the majority, 52.55 disagreed. But 7.0% are undecided. This analysis indicates that there are no major differences in announcements of coup that overthrew military and those that ousted civilian regimes.

Table 11A: WHICH ANNOUNCEMENT IS MORE PERSUASIVE i.e. THOSE THAT OUSTED CIVILIAN REGIMES OR THOSE THAT OUSTED MILITARY REGIMES?

There is no doubt that the military is a coercive institution. However, in every coup event, the coup announcement to a certain extent is intended to persuade both the military and the civilians alike in order to enlist their support. However, we are not sure whether the military need to engage in more persuasive language when a legitimate civilian government is ousted

or even when a fellow illegitimate military government is ousted. The responses below would give us insights into this question.

Table 11: A SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONAIRE

Responses	Frequen cy	Percentage
Those that ousted civilian regime	145	51.1%
Those that ousted military regime	88	31.0%
Undecided	51	17.9%
Total	284	100%

As we can see above, the data has revealed that 51.1% of the respondents are agreed that announcements of coups that ousted a civilian administration are more persuasive while, 31.0% think announcement that ousted a fellow military regime are more persuasive. The remaining 17.9% are undecided.

Table 12A: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ISSUES SEEMED UPPERMOST IN THE ANNOUNCEMENTS?

The popular support the military enjoyed each time there was a coup is an indication that they struck in the nick of time. It is generally believed that they struck when the citizenry are disenchanted with the incumbent regime. Below are the responses of the public as regards the issue that seemed uppermost in coup announcements

Table12 A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Maladministration	72	25.3%
Corruption	151	53.2%
Nepotism	6	2.1%
Ineptitude	2	0.7%
Marginalization	11	3.9%
Undecided	42	14.8%
Total	284	100%

In table 12, the data indicate that 53.2% of the respondents identified corruption as uppermost in coup announcements. Next is 25.3% who are in favour of maladministration. Although 14.8% of the respondents are undecided, a paltry of 3.9%, 2.1% and 0.7% respectively favour marginalization, nepotism and ineptitude respectively.

Table 13A: HOW DID YOU FEEL AFTER EVERY COUP ANNOUNCEMENT?

Each coup event takes place under public disillusionment with the incumbent regime. However, public support to the new regime differs. The responses from the respondents below are evident.

Table13A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Persuaded / convinced	90	31.7%
Patronized / mobilized	20	7.0%
Threatened / apprehensive	49	17.3%
Doubtful / frustrated	89	31.3%
Undecided	36	12.7%
Total	284	100%

The data in table 13 have revealed that the respondents with 31.7% are persuaded/ convinced in all the announcements they listened to. Close to this are 31.3% of the respondents who are doubtful/frustrated each time they heard the announcements. 17.3% felt threatened/ apprehensive, while 7.0% agreed that they were patronized/mobilized. However, 12.7% of the respondents were undecided.

Table 14A: WHAT ARE YOUR REASONS FOR YOUR CHOICE IN THE QUESTION ABOVE?

It is commonly believed that for every action, there is a corresponding reaction. Hence, after every coup announcement, the

reaction of every Nigerian differs. The response of the public is depicted below:

Table14 A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Timely to save situation	58	20.4 %
Fear of the unknown	105	37.0%
Hope for better future	38	13.4%
Undecided	83	29.2%
Total	284	100%

As it is shown above, the majority, 37.0%, express fear of the unknown after every coup announcements, 20.4% feel the intervention is timely as it was meant to save the situation. However, 13.4% are of the view that there is hope each time there was a coup announcement. 29.25% are undecided.

Table 15A: DID YOU FEEL WHAT YOU FELT IN 13 ABOVE BEFORE OR AFTER THE USUAL CONFIRMATION ADDRESS BY THE NEW LEADERSHIP

Table 15A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Before	97	34.2%
After	131	46.1%
Undecided	56	19.75
Total	284	100%

The data in table 15 above reveal that 46.1% of the respondents don't jump into conclusion in assessing the announcement until the new leadership addresses the nation. On the contrary, 34.2% of the respondents conclude before the usual confirmatory address. However, 19.7% of the respondents are undecided.

Table 16A: DID THE COUPISTS USUALLY CARRY OUT THE PROMISES THEY MADE AT INCEPTION?

One of the reasons why most Nigerians are averse to the politicians is that the politicians are considered as men of many words. In other words, the public feel most of their utterances are easier said than done. Are the Nigerian military perceived the same way? The data below would give us a useful insight.

Table16A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	57	20.1%
Negative	205	72.2%
Undecided	22	7.7%
Total	284	100%

The reaction of the respondent as we can see above is obvious.

Whereas 72.2% of them said the coupists don't usually fulfill promises, only 20,1% of the respondents are in the affirmative. However, 7.7% of the respondents are undecided.

Table 17A: IF YOUR ANSWER TO 16 ABOVE IS NO, WHY?

Table17A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Due to Insincerity	148	52.1%
Due to Ineptitude	15	5.3%
Undecided	121	42.6%
Total	284	100%

As depicted in table 17 above, while 52.1% of the respondents claim that insincerity on the part of the coupists is responsible for why they don't

fulfill promises at inception but only 5.3 % opine that ineptitude is responsible for the failure. However, 42.6% were undecided.

4.3 SAMPLED OPINIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

The purpose of this section of the study is to reinforce and validate the information from the questionnaire in conformity with the statement of the problem, (f), What perlocutionary effects did the speeches actually perform? After all, “a perlocutionary act is specific to the circumstance of issuance....” Levinson (1983: 237). Put differently, our concern is to find out the reactions of the public to each of the coup announcements under study with a view to reaching a meaningful conclusion. Given that opinions from Newspapers also serve a pragmatic purpose, we can treat them as valid instrument with far reaching perlocutionary effects.

ORGANIZATION OF DATA FROM NEWSPAPERS

In this section of the study, much of the data were collected from three Nigerian daily newspapers: two government owned and one private. We opted for this choice to enable us have a balanced representation of opinions.

The data were elicited from “Daily Times”, “New Nigerian” and “Nigerian Tribune”; each was sampled for a period of one month after each coup event. These papers represent two geographical zones of North and South

of Nigeria. Based on the data obtained from the sample, generalization or inferences are made using the frequency and percentage analysis.

Table 1B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINIONS ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1966)

Table 1B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	28	43.1%
New Nigeria	15	23.1%
Nigerian Tribune	22	33.8%
Total	65	100%

The above data show that 43.1% of sampled opinions were from “Daily Times”, 23.1% from “New Nigeria” while 33.8% from “the Nigerian Tribune”. However, the table that appears below reveals the attitude of the public towards the 1966 coup announcement.

Table 2B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table 2B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	41	63.0%
Negative	12	18.5%
Undecided	12	18.5%
Total	65	100%

From the data in table 2 above, we can see that 63.0% of the public opinion supported the coup; while 18.5% each was opposed to it and was undecided respectively. It can therefore be safely concluded that most Nigerians supported the 1966 military intervention.

**Table 3B.
FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
SAMPLED OPINIONS ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (JULY–
AUGUST 1975)**

Table 3B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	35	43.2%
New Nigeria	21	25.9%
Nigerian Tribune	25	30.9%
Total	81	100%

The above table shows that ‘Daily Times’ carries the huge share of the public opinion followed by ‘Nigerian Tribune’ 309% and closely followed by ‘New Nigeria’, newspapers with 25.9%

Table 4B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table4B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	55	67.9%
Negative	23	28.4%
Undecided	3	3.7%
Total	81	100%

As can be seen in table 4, while 67.9% reveal that the public supported the military intervention, 28.4% of the opinion sampled was not

in support. However, 3.7% remained neutral. Our conclusion here is that most Nigerians supported the ousting of Gowon's regime.

Table 5B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINION ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (FEBRUARY – MARCH 1976)

Table 5B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	34	40.0%
New Nigeria	23	27.1%
Nigerian Tribune	28	32.9%
Total	85	100%

It is clear from the table above that Daily Times maintains 40.0% lead, followed by the Nigerian Tribune with 32.9% and New Nigeria with 27.1% of the sampled opinions.

Table 6B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table6B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	-----	-----
Negative	83%	97.6%
Undecided	2	2.4%
Total	85	100%

In table 6, it is seen that 97.6% of the public frowned at the 1976 bloody military intervention but nobody expressed support. However, 2.4% were neutral. The conclusion we can draw from the above data is that most Nigerians were opposed to 1976-coup d'état.

Table 7B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINION ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (DECEMBER 1983 – JANUARY 1984)

Table 7B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	25	39.7%
New Nigeria	17	27.0%
Nigerian Tribune	21	33.3%
Total	63	100%

The data from the above table again shows that while 39.7% of the public opinion is derived from Daily Times, 27.0% and 33.3% are derived from New Nigeria and the Nigerian Tribune respectively.

Table 8B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table8B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	44	70%
Negative	6	10%
Undecided	13	20%
Total	63	100%

The data in table 8 reveal that 70% of the Nigerian public hailed the change of government while only a paltry 10% held a contrary view.

However, 20% of the sampled opinions were neutral. It can therefore be deduced that most Nigerians supported the 1983 coup.

Table 9B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINIONS ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (JULY – AUGUST 1985)

Table9B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	30	40.5%
New Nigeria	21	28.4%
Nigerian Tribune	23	31.1%
Total	74	100%

As usual, 40.5% of the opinions sampled were derived from Daily Times, 28.4% from New Nigeria while 31.1% from Nigerian Tribune.

Table 10B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table 10B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	64	86.5%
Negative	1	1.3%
Undecided	9	12.2%
Total	74	100%

Table 10 above shows that 86.5% of the sampled public opinions were in favor of the regime change, while only 1.3% was not. However, 12.2% were undecided. Again, just like table 8b, we can safely conclude that most Nigerians were in support of the palace coup.

Table 11B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINIONS ACROSS NEWSPAPER (APRIL – MAY 1990)

Table 11B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	20	37.7%
New Nigeria	18	34.0%
Nigerian Tribune	15	28.3%
Total	53	100%

The table above shows that 37.7% of the opinion was sampled from Daily Times, 34.0% from New Nigeria while 28.8% from Nigerian Tribune.

Table 12B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table 12B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	3	5.6%
Negative	33	62.3%
Undecided	17	32.1%
Total	53	100%

In the above table, we can see that 5.6% of the sampled opinion supported the regime change, while 62.3% were against it. However, 32.1% were neutral. Just like the 1976 coup, most Nigerians were averse to the coup.

Table 13B: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED OPINIONS ACROSS NEWSPAPERS (NOVEMBER- DECEMBER 1993)

Table 13B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Daily Times	34	39.5%
New Nigeria	22	25.6%
Nigerian Tribune	30	34.9%
Total	86	100%

In contrast to other public reactions, the 1993 coup seemed to have attracted more comments as indicated above. Daily Times again takes the lead with 39.5% followed by Nigerian Tribune 34.9% and New Nigeria 25.6%.

Table 14B: WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS THE ANNOUNCEMENT?

Table 14B: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM OPINION FROM NEWSPAPERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	29	33.7%
Negative	36	41.9%
Undecided	21	24.4%
Total	86	100%

From the data in table 14, we can see that while 33.7% of the opinions sampled supported the coup, 41.9% were against it. Meanwhile 24.4% were undecided. This clearly shows that the public was ambivalent to the phenomenon. This can be interpreted to mean that though the public was not happy with the incumbent, it was not disposed to the regime change either as the purpose of the coup was to excise a section of the country.

4. 4 ORAL INTERVIEW

The oral interview was intended to complement the other two techniques for eliciting linguistic data i.e. questionnaire and opinions from newspapers. The approach consisted of a set of guiding questions (see appendix) which corresponds favourably with the statement of problem namely:

- (a) What features of political discourse are manifested in Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (b) What attributes of the military are reflected in the Nigerian military coup speeches?
- (c) What pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts of coup speeches seem to determine the speech acts performed?
- (d) What illocutionary acts are implied in the speeches?

- (e) Are the speech acts direct or are they indirect?
- (f) What perlocutionary effects did the speeches actually perform?
- (g) What common discourse patterns can be detected between the different coup speeches?

To avoid sample bias, a cross section of the Nigerian society including the military and the civilians aged between 60 years and above were interviewed using the convenience sampling approach. Outside those who were willing, those who were unwilling were also interviewed through persuasion. However, the researcher discovered that most of the respondents could not remember the thesis of most of the coup announcements. To allay this concern therefore, the researcher did a playback of some of the announcements in order to refresh their memories. Indeed, this approach yielded the much desired result.

In all, fifty (50) people were interviewed in conformity with the requirements for research in social sciences which prescribed a minimum of thirty (30) for oral interview. We were in favour of this number because we felt it was adequate for a study of this magnitude.

Table 1C: WHAT IN YOUR OPINION IS THE MAJOR REASON WHY THE MILITARY OUSTED PAST INCUMBENT REGIMES?

Too many reasons can be adduced as to why the military intervened in governance in Nigeria. However, the respondents were restricted to two most outstanding reasons. Since it takes two to tango, it is believed that the reason can be traced to both the coupists and the incumbent governments. The table below is a graphic representation of the views of the public.

Table1C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Maladministration by the incumbents	33	66%
Ambition of the coupists	17	34%
Total	50	100%

This table shows that 66% of the respondents opine that the military overthrow government due to maladministration by the latter. However, 34% were of the view that it is the ambition of the military that spur them into sacking incumbent regimes. It can safely be concluded that the views

of the majority of the Nigerian public corroborate with the illocutionary import of the military for justifying their action.

Table 2C: IN YOUR VIEW, WERE ALL THE COUPS THAT TOOK PLACE IN NIGERIA JUSTIFIED?

Although the Nigerian public had no say each time there was a change of government, we can not deny the fact that they were always critical of each coup that took place in the country. The following are their responses in that regard.

Table2C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	10%
No	33	66%
Undecided	12	24%
Total	50	100%

The data in the above table reveal that only 10% affirm that all the coups were justified, while 66% of the respondents say no. Meanwhile, 24% of the respondents were undecided. The conclusion we can deduce from the data is that most Nigerians frown at military interventions.

Table 3C: IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENTS LUCID?

Appropriate use of language to a large extent determines how the listeners would accept the coupists. In other words, did the linguistic

repertoire create much impact on the public or not. The table below provides the answer.

Table3C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	42	84%
No	8	16%
Total	50	100%

With regard to the question posed to the respondents, the majority of them 84% affirm that the language of a coup announcement is lucid while only 16% feel otherwise. The figure therefore corroborates the assertion that coup speeches are carefully written discourse but not extempore. Put differently, it can be assumed that coup announcements fulfill the conditions of locutionary acts.

Table 4C: WHAT IN YOUR VIEW IS THE TONE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENTS, PERSUASIVE OR COMMANDING?

The world over, there is a general believe that military institution is premised on command. But is this assertion true of coup announcements?

Below are the responses of the public.

Table4C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Persuasive	9	18%
Commanding	28	56%
Undecided	13	26%
Total	50	100%

As we can see above, for many respondents, 56%, the tone of the coup announcements is commanding, while only 18% agreed that the tone is persuasive. However, 26% of the respondents are undecided which can be interpreted to mean that the tone is both persuasive and commanding. To this end, we will not be far from the truth, if we say most Nigerians perceive the tone of military coup announcements as commanding.

Table 5C: DID THE COUPISTS ALWAYS FULFIL THE PROMISES THEY MADE AT THE INCEPTION?

Like politicians, the military also make promises in order to justify their action and stay in power. The table below shows the response from the public whether such promises are fulfilled or not.

Table5C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	3	6%
Negative	37	74%
Undecided	10	20%
Total	50	100%

The table above shows that the majority of the respondents, 74%, say coupists don't fulfill promises. But only 6% as in 20.1% in table 16a feel coupists do fulfill promises. However, 20% of the respondents are undecided. We can therefore conclude that much of what the coupists mean is actually not in the words. In other words, the announcements are indirect speech acts.

Table 6C: WAS THE NIGERIAN PUBLIC REGARDED AS PARTNERS IN PROGRESS OR SUBJECTS ON THE OCCASION OF A COUP?

To enlist the support of the public, it is believed that the coupists would do anything within their power to carry everybody along. The responses from the table below will confirm this assertion or otherwise.

Table6C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Partners in progress	12	24%
Subjects	22	44%
Undecided	16	32%
Total	50	100%

From the table above, we can see that while 24% of the respondents agree that Nigerian public is regarded as partners in progress, the majority,44% feel Nigerians are not regarded as subjects on the occasion of coups. However, 32% of the respondents are undecided. The conclusion we can draw from this is that the military have little or no regard for the public on assumption of power.

Table 7C: WAS THE JUBILANT MOOD EXPRESSED BY SOME NIGERIANS ON THE OCCASION OF A COUP A TRUE REFLECTION OF THEIR FEELINGS?

It is generally believed that in every regime change, the public is divided.

Whereas some are in favour, others are in opposition. Responses elicited below are quite revealing.

Table7C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	17	34%
Negative	18	36%
Undecided	15	30%
Total	50	100%

From the data presented above, it is evident that opinions are divided. While 34% of the respondents are agreed, 36% are not. But 30% of the respondents are undecided. The conclusion here is that the perlocutionary effects of coup announcements spur a small section of the public into jubilant mood, while it does not for the majority.

Table 8C: HOW DO YOU FEEL AS A NIGERIAN EACH TIME THERE WAS A COUP?

For most patriotic Nigerians, the occasion of a coup brings with it mixed feelings. Such mixed feelings are represented below.

Table 8C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	5	10%
Negative	27	54%
Undecided	18	36%
Total	50	100%

The data in table 8c above show that 10% of the respondents are happy each time there was a coup while 54% are not. 36% of the respondents are undecided. The implication of this is that the announcements of coups have a negative perlocutionary effects on the public.

Table 9c. HOW DO YOU FEEL FOR NIGERIA AND NIGERIANS ALIKE, HAPPY, SAD OR HOPEFUL?

Table 9C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	2	4%
Negative	35	70%
Undecided	13	26%
Total	50	100%

The data in table 9c confirms the data in table 8c as only 4% of the respondents are happy for Nigeria and Nigerians alike each time there was

a coup; while 70% of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction on coup in Nigeria. 26% as against 36% in table 8c are undecided. Then, we can safely conclude that most Nigerians are dissatisfied with military intervention.

Table 10C: WHICH DO YOU PREFER, MILITARY OR DEMOCRATIC REGIME?

A proper assessment of the perlocutionary act of coup announcements will require a scale of preference such as military regime (including its forerunner announcement) vis-à-vis democratic regime. The table below is a graphic representation of the views of the public.

Table 10C: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEW

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Military	3	6%
Democratic	47	94%
Total	50	100%

It is evident that majority of the respondents, 94% are in favour of democracy while only a few, 6%, believe that coup announcements and the regime they usher in both carry a negative perlocutionary effects as portrayed in the data above.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary of the study. It puts forth the summary of the findings and conclusion based on the findings.

5.1 SUMMARY

This study is concerned with the Pragmatic Analysis of Nigerian Military Coup Announcements. We believe the Nigerian military needs to be better understood, gauging the substance or emptiness in military coup d'état speeches put out by military leaders in Nigeria and one of the vistas through which this can be done is through their use of language. The purpose of the study therefore, was to demonstrate that despite their military background and format, the coup announcements have some elements of political language ingrained into them for specific purposes.

In chapter one, apart from the preamble, background to the study, an overview of military coup in Nigeria, aspects such as statement of problem, aims of the study, justification for the study, scope and delimitation; and definition of terms were also covered.

We have reviewed available and relevant materials which have bearing on aspects of political language, military language, issues on

pragmatics and the main theoretical thrust of the study. As we observed earlier, from antiquity to the present time, people use words to do things (cf Austin, Searle, Bach and Harnish; and Adegbija). If there is any institution where words are used to do things, it is no other place than the military. The rank-superiors use words mainly to move the rank inferiors around, Amafah (1990). But the performance of the speech act is not the same as in the context of coup announcements. Here, words are directed at a wider audience which is meant to appeal, sensitize or persuade the public. If otherwise, the military use strictly military language, it will put the public off and they may not understand their reason for taking over the regime. In order to do a pragmatic analysis of the announcements, we have adopted Adegbija's theory of pragmatics. These are all inclusive in chapter two.

Chapter three is a composite of library and opinion based research. Hence, the data was subjected to textual and opinion analysis. For the textual analysis, we applied Adegbija's Pragmasociolinguistic context theory of pragmatics. In the opinion analysis however, three instruments were employed. The instruments were: questionnaire, sampled opinions from newspapers and oral interviews. The questions drawn for both the questionnaire and the oral interviews were derived from the statement of

the problem. Although 400 copies of the questionnaire were administered, only 284 copies were successfully completed and returned. Data were elicited from newspapers representing the two geographical zones of North and South for the coup events. In order to complement the other two instruments i.e. questionnaire and sampled opinions from newspapers, 50 members of the public between the ages of 60 years and above were interviewed.

Chapter four is concerned with the analyses and discussions of both the coup announcements and the data elicited from respondents.

5.1.1 SUMMARY OF TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Upon employing Adebija's three crucial contexts: the pragmatic, the social and the linguistic, we found that despite its peculiarities, the Nigerian military coup announcement is essentially a subset of political language.

At the pragmatic context level, it was found that, the speech acts on each coup event depend largely on the context that gave birth to it. For example, the pragmatic context of 1966 coup was based on allegations of corruption, ineptitude on the part of the ousted regime leading to breakdown of law and order especially in the then western region. Hence, the speech act that was evoked as a result was a combination of military

brute force and political propaganda with the illocutionary force to have a firm control of the situation and to justify their action respectively.

The analysis at the social context level revealed that social relationships between the interlocutors are unique. This is informed by the fact that the speaker addresses a variety of audiences. However, the pragmatic import of the speech acts suggests that the speakers always tend to maintain the position of a ruler while the listeners were treated like subjects. But for the fact that the scenario is political, the speaker appears ambivalent in posture such that in some cases the tone of the announcement suggests imposition and unequal power relationship while in some other cases the tone suggests conviviality or equal power relationship exploring the socio-cultural background of the listeners.

At the linguistic context level, we found that most pragmatic force was depicted through; phonology, diction and grammar. At the segmental level, the audio tape revealed that most coup announcers display a high level of education inconsonance with Banjo's variety IV typology of varieties of Nigerian English. In other words, their linguistic articulation is lucid and down to earth. At the level of the supra-segmental however, we found that when the coupists address or appeal to their supporters, the tone is usually lax and friendly. But when potential dissidents are intended, the

pitch is usually high and threatens the use of brute force. We also found that the diction was consistently used to enforce or attenuate the illocutionary force of the speech acts.

At the grammatical level, we observed that the coup announcements have employed different sentence structures, each with different illocutionary functions. The most common grammatical features in the English mood system are the imperatives and the indicatives. They are used to declare, order, command, threaten and assert, commit; and persuade respectively. Most of these sentence constructions are in the active. In our view, they are employed to suggest the military would apply brute force if need be. Safely put, such sentences reflect the military tendency of the speaker. However, there are some of these sentences that are passive in constructions. Instances where they appear to suggest diplomacy in view of the hybrid composition of the audience.

5.1.2 SUMMARY OF THE OPINION ANALYSIS

The data for the opinion analysis was obtained from three Instruments namely: Questionnaire, Sampled Opinions from Newspapers and Oral interviews. The analyses were presented using the frequency and percentage analysis method.

From the questionnaire, we found that:

- (i) Most Nigerians don't like listening to coup announcements probably for the reason that they are tired of military intervention.
- (ii) The public consider the tone of coup announcements as too commanding and too harsh.
- (iii) They also consider the pattern of coup announcements as similar as in all cases.
- (iv) Most of the respondents opined that maladministration (corruption) is the major reason why the military ousted incumbent regimes.
- (v) Most Nigerians initially feel persuaded but later become frustrated with the message of coup announcements.
- (vi) The majority of members of the public feel that coupists are insincere as they do not keep promises i.e. indirect speech act.

On the sampled opinions from Newspapers, it was discovered that, in all the seven coups that were announced between 1966 and 1993, the ratio is 4:3. In other words, based on the opinions sampled from three different Newspapers for one month after each coup event, the majority of Nigerians expressed support for four of the coups, but they were opposed to the remaining three. We can safely conclude that most Nigerians supported military intervention depending on the pragmatic contexts of the coup.

The Oral Interview was designed to complement the other two instruments i.e. questionnaire and sampled opinions from Newspapers. Our findings are:

- (i) The military overthrow incumbent regimes mainly on grounds of maladministration by such regimes.
- (ii) The majority of the coups that took place in Nigeria were not justified.
- (iii) The language of coup announcement is generally lucid.
- (iv) The tone of coup announcement is more commanding than persuasive.
- (v) Coupists don't fulfill the promises they made at inception.
- (vi) Coupists regard the public as subjects and not partners in progress.
- (vii) Most Nigerians feel sad each time there was a coup.
- (viii) Most Nigerians prefer democratic to military regimes.

Generally, the conclusion we can draw from the above findings is that most Nigerians are dissatisfied with military regimes and the instruments that usually usher them in i.e. coup announcements.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The research has proceeded on the assumption that despite their military background and format, Nigerian military coup announcements have some elements of political language ingrained into them for specific

purposes. Consequently, the conclusion that emerges in relation to the textual analysis shows that indeed, our data is a composite of military and political language bedecked with command, order, directive, threat and force typical of the military; and insincerity, deception, hyperbole, ambiguity and propaganda commonly associated with politicians.

It is our belief that a proper understanding of the study would involve the total global contexts of speech acts of the coup announcements. To this end, Adegbija's version of pragmatic theory was put to test and the study has affirmed its validity that a coup announcement is successfully conveyed by the individual speech acts through the symbiosis of the pragmatic, the social and the linguistic (pragmasociolinguistic context. However, these different contexts must be perceived wholistically rather than as isolated entities. In other words, pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts must be seen as mutually reinforcing in any situation of political interaction as it is with the data for the study.

Thus, the first conclusion this study establishes in this regard is that the background tapestry of coups has influences on the speech acts that herald them. This conclusion leads to the next and agrees with the assertion that much of what we say and what is communicated is determined by the social relationship, such that the speech acts derived from the coup speech

are functions of the social relationship between the interlocutors and the contexts. Hence, both the announcers and the listeners may be partners in every coup event, yet the relationship is asymmetrical. While the military assume the superior position, the public on the other hand assume the underdog position. This asymmetric relationship, to a large extent, is influential in tailoring the communicative situations to achieve their illocutionary and perlocutionary imports.

Another conclusion in terms of the linguistic context is that coup announcements and the speech acts they invoke are correlates. For instance, words are selected to enforce or attenuate the illocutionary force. Also, the sentence constructions in the announcements reflect both the active and the passive voice. They are employed to capture both the military and political nature of the speech.

The findings on Adegbija's theory of pragmasociolinguistics are that apart from the pragmatic, social and linguistic contexts necessary in every communicative act, variables such as personal, environmental and cultural aspects of contexts relating to the context in which a particular event takes place are found to be necessary interpreting especially coup announcements.

The above observation leads to the conclusion that coup announcements are a gamut of illocutionary acts of asserting, promising, advising, directing, commanding, warning, threatening and declaring. The most rampant performance of the announcers is the performing of the illocutionary acts of assertives, commissives, declarations and directives.

The conclusion about the common discourse pattern as demonstrated in the seven coup announcements, at the level of the pragmatic context, hinges on issues that border on corruption, maladministration, ineptitude and personality clash among the ruling class. In addition, much as the assertives are used to persuade and appeal to the emotions of the public, commissives and the directives are employed for the purposes of evoking compliance of the public. By and large, coup announcements exhibit the category of speech acts referred to as expressives, declaratives, assertives, commissives and directives.

Finally, the study has revealed that Nigerian military coup speeches have three structural parts. The first part which is describable as the introduction is made up of mainly expressives and declaratives depicting military characteristics with illocutionary force of sensitizing and sacking an incumbent regime. The second part is composed mainly of assertives and the commissives made up of mostly features of political language. The

final part exhibits mainly directives depicting warnings, threats and commands which are true reflection of military language.

The conclusion that emerges in relation to the opinion analysis is that the speech acts of coup speeches are a mixture of direct/indirect speech acts. This is indicative of the dual personality of the speaker/s both as military and as politician. In one instance, what the speaker says is what he actually means but in another instance, what he says is quite in contrast with what he means. The latter finding would serve as part of the attainment of one of the aims of the study i.e. gauging the degree/extent of emptiness or hollowness in military coup announcements put out by military leaders in Nigeria.

The study also establishes that coup announcements evoke the perlocutionary effects of strict compliance, uncertainty, fear, dissatisfaction and in some cases hope. Generally, the study has revealed that the amount of support invoked by coup announcements is to a large extent determined by the pragmatic context of the coup event in each case.

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APPENDIX I
**A SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELICITATION OF
DATA FROM THE RESPONDENTS**

Department of English and Literary
Studies,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.
8th April, 2006.

Dear Sir/Madam,

REQUEST TO RESPOND TO A QUESTIONNAIRE

The researcher is a PhD student of the above named institution and he is carrying out A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN MILITARY COUP ANNOUNCEMENTS.

In order to explicate adequately the impact the speeches/announcements have on the listeners, the questionnaire becomes imperative. Your cooperation in providing honest and accurate information in response to the questions contained here will be highly appreciated. A information provided will be treated in strict confidence.

Kindly tick or fill the gaps as appropriately indicated.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA
QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: All information provided will be treated in strict confidence.

SECTION 'A'

PERSONAL DATA:

1. SEX.....

2. AGE (a)18-29 (b) 30-45 (c) 46-59 (d) 60- above

3. STATUS OF RESPONDENTS (Tick as appropriate)

(a) Military Officer:

(i) serving ()

(ii) retire ()

(iii) rank.....

(b) Other Ranks:

(i) serving ()

(ii) retired ()

(iii) rank.....

(c) Elder Statesmen/Stateswomen ()

(d) Civil Servants:

(i) serving ()

(ii) retired ()

(iii) Position held.....

NOTE: Please tick and comment as appropriate.

4. Did you listen to any/all Nigerian military coup announcements?

Yes () No ()

5. How many of such announcements did you listen to?
(a) 1-2 (b) 3-4 (c) 5-6 (d) 7 and above
6. Which of the following did you listen to?
(a) Nzeogwu (1966) (b) Garba (1975) (c) Dimka(1976)
(d) Abacha (1983) (e) Dogonyaro (1985) (f) Orka (1990)
(g) Abacha (1993) (h) All of the above
7. What appealed to you most in those coup announcements?
(a) the martial music
(b) the initial greetings i.e. “Fellow Nigerians...”
(c) the message
(d) the personality involved in the coup
(e) all of the above
8. Did you perceive the tone of the announcements as commanding?
Yes () No ()
9. Did you consider the tone as persuasive?
Yes () No ()
10. Were the announcements clear and easy to understand?
Yes () No ()
11. Did the words in the announcements sound too harsh?
Yes () No ()
12. Did the different coup announcements convey the same message all over?
Yes () No ()
13. Were there any major differences in coup announcements that ousted /overthrow civilian regimes and those that ousted military regimes?
Yes () No ()

14.If yes, comment on your observation.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Which of the announcements in (13) is more persuasive?

- (a) Announcements that ousted civilian regimes
- (b) Announcements that ousted military regimes

16. Which of the following issues seemed uppermost in the announcements?

- (a) maladministration
- (b) corruption
- (c) nepotism
- (d) ineptitude
- (e) marginalization
- (f) e.t.c.....

17. Which of these coup announcements impressed you most or otherwise?

- (a) Nzeogwu (1966) (b) Garba (1975) (c) Dimka (1976)
- (d) Abacha (1983) (e) Dogonyaro (1985) (f) Orka (1990)
- (g) Abacha (1993)

18. State your reasons.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

19. How did you feel after every coup announcements?

- (a) persuaded/convinced
- (b) patronized/mobilized

©threatened/apprehensive (d) doubtful/frustrated

(20) Give reasons.....
.....
.....
.....

21. Did you feel what you felt in (19) above before or after the usual confirmatory address by the new leadership?

(a) Before (b) After

22. Did the coupists usually carry out promises they made at inception?

Yes () No ()

23. If the answer to 22 above is No, what reason(s) would you adduce?.....

.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX II

A SAMPLE OF QUESTIONS USED FOR ELICITING INFORMATION FROM THE RESPONDENTS

1. What in your opinion is the major reason why the military ousted past incumbent regimes?
2. In your views, were all the coups that took place in Nigeria justified?
3. Is the language of the announcements lucid?
4. What in your view is the tone of the announcements, persuasive or commanding?
5. Did the coupists always fulfill the promises they made at inception?
6. Was the Nigerian public regarded as partners in progress or subjects on the occasion of a coup?
7. Were the jubilant mood expressed by some Nigerians on the occasion of a coup a true reflection of their mood?
8. How do you feel as a Nigerian each time there was a coup?
9. How do you feel for Nigeria and Nigerians alike, Happy, Sad or Hopeful?
10. Which do you prefer, military or democratic regime?

APPENDIX III.
A SAMPLE OF SEVEN
TEXTS OF COUP
BROADCASTS USED FOR
THE TEXTUAL
ANALYSIS (TEXTS A-G)