CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED INAUGURAL SPEECHES OF NIGERIAN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY HEADS OF STATE

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) DEGREE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE,

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES,
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ZARIA

MARCH, 2018

DECLARATION PAGE

I declare that this thesis entitled:**Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Inaugural Speeches of NigerianCivilianandMilitary Heads of Stateof Nigeria** has been written by me in the Department of English and Literary Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another Doctorate or Masters at this or any other institution of learning.

Suleiman Balarabe	_____ Signature	_____ Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED INAUGURAL SPEECHES OF NIGERIAN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY HEADS OF STATE OF NIGERIA** by SULEIMAN BALARABE meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctorate in the Department of English and Literary Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. And it is approved for its contributions to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to all the students of language in the struggle for the study of Political Discourse.

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ABSTRACT

This work centered on Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Inaugural Speeches of Nigerian Civilian and Military Heads of State. Critical Discourse Analysis is an indispensable tool in exploring opaque language uses that are assumed by writers as part of the background knowledge (Fairclough, 1985) and how the opacity of relations between discourse and society is itself a factor in securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2009). The practice of CDA in unravelling the opacity is also done critically by looking at the composite of the linguistic elements in the data.The study,therefore, is aimed at analysing the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian civilian and military Heads of State using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a view todetermining the pattern of the speeches of the Military and Civilian Heads of State; identify how the speeches convey the feelings/emotion of the Military and Civilian Heads of State; gauge the ideological inklings of the speakers in the speeches;establish how power is manifested in the speeches; measure how hidden meanings relate to social structure and identities of the Civilian and Military Headsof State in the speeches. Reviews of empirical and conceptual studies related to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were conducted. The study adapted van Dijk (1993), Wodak (2001) and Fairclough (1989) as theoretical framework. In that regard, the research used Franklin (2000) method of essay structural layout,Johnson-Liard and Oatley's (1989) method of classification of language of emotion, van Dijk (1996) classification of ideology, Ng and Bradac's (1993) method of classification of power relations, Samovar et al (2007) classification of identityin analysing the data. On the structural pattern of the speeches, the Civilian Presidents were found to express gratitude using words denoting honour and elation to God and to the citizens through greetings. The speeches contained paragraphs that are narrative, expository, persuasive and promissory. The sentence types used included compound, complex and compound-complex sentences. In respect of the Military, the research showed that the Military Heads of State started also with greetings but entailing nerve racking and emotionally touching words and expressions. Their sentence types included compound, complex and compound-complex sentences. The tones they expressed were accusatory, abhorrence and gimmickry. The Civilian Presidents used Positive Basic Emotion and Positive Caused Emotion Expressions in their inaugural speeches. While the military used Negative Emotional Relations and Causative and Emotions Expressions in their speeches. Also, the research found out that Civilian Presidents expressed ideological beliefs of unity in diversity, fight against corruption and indiscipline and nation building. While the military expressed ideological beliefs of nation building and negative-other-presentation, the civilian presidents were found to express Positive-self Presentation, persuasion through personality and stance, persuasion through reasoning, persuasion through arousal of emotion, implicit threat and appeal as show of power in their speeches. While the military Heads of State expressed Positive-self Presentation, persuasion through reasoning, explicit threat and appeal as a mark of power. In relation to hidden meaning relating to social structure and identity of the speakers, the Civilian Presidents employed personification, irony, ellipsis, vague statements, deceptive statement, false promises etc. While the Military portrayed hidden meanings through negative-other presentation, hyperbole, euphemism, metonymy, adjective, conditional clauses, passivisation etc. in their inaugural speeches.The research recommends that the speeches should be appropriately documented and be subjected to linguistic analysis. More methods in Critical Discourse Analysis

should be employed to conspicuously clear the opacity in the inaugural speeches. The inaugural speeches should be made constitutional because of the significance Nigerians attach to it.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This researchcentreson Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Inaugural Speeches of Nigerian Civilian and Military Heads of State. The researcher was prompted to undertake the research by some factors. Firstly, the significance Nigerians attach to inaugural speech despite the fact that it is not enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution for the Head of State to deliver any speech after Oath of Allegiance and Oath of Office.Nigerians eagerly await the president to deliver the inaugural speech for it informs them the focus of the new government. Therefore, the speech is considered paramount and a reference material for gauging the government's performance. Secondly, the history of the role of military in the political scene of Nigeria seems to be unknown to upcoming generation.The military intervened in the Nigerian polity since the First Republic and as a result, there were more military heads of state than the civilian presidents. They have also made influenced on the Nigerian political, economic and social systems. The upcoming generation may be obscured of this influence with time. Therefore, it is not only history that should keep the records of the military role in the Nigerian politics but also linguistic research.And thirdly, extensive comparative research between the inaugural speech of the Civilian and Military Heads of State was not carried out. Most of the studies conducted were confined to inaugural speeches of either the military or the civilian heads of state. These factors provoked the researcher to undertake this study.

Inaugural speeches by headsof states all over the world have a long standing history. Historically, according to Williams (2017), inaugural speeches by world leaders date back to the 17th Century. In America, the first inaugural speech was presented by George Washington in his

first tenure in 1789. The speech contained 1, 430 words, seven paragraphs and23 sentences. In countries where monarchy is practised, inaugural speeches is referred to as "a speech from the throne". It is an event in certain monarchies in which the monarch reads a prepared speech to a complete session of parliament, outlining the government's agenda for the forthcoming year (Government of Canada, 2015).

It has become a tradition the world over for newly sworn-in presidents to give a speech which is referred to as inaugural speech. According to Alimole (2004), inaugural speeches were given in America in the past before the president-elect took an oath.However, McKinley (1897) requested for change so that he could reiterate the words of the oath at the close of his address. Since then, inaugural speeches are delivered after the president-elect had taken an oath. So is the practice in African countries, particularly in Nigeria, which is the focus of this research.

Inaugural speeches in many countries of the world are justtradition: giving it is not constitutional. For instance, in the Nigerian constitution, the President is only mandated to take an oath of allegiance and oath of office. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 Section140(1) says:

> A person elected to the office of the President shall not begin to perform the function of that office until he has declared his assets and liabilities as prescribed in this Constitution and he has taken and subscribed to the Oath of Allegiance and Oath of Office prescribed in the Seventh Schedule to this Constitution.

Inaugural speechesgiven by presidents have become a tradition in Nigeria because the government's agenda are sometimes unveiled in such addresses. Millions of Nigerians get glued to their television, radio sets and social media to listen to the inaugural speeches of the new presidents. In some instances, the speech is used to gauge the performance of the government

after sometimes. To this end, the need for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is imperative so as to reveal the hidden meaning encapsulated in the speech.

Inaugural speeches are loaded with hidden messages through opaque language use. So the most popular, accurate and suitable approach that uncovers the hidden meaning showcased in the opaque language, particularly in the domain of power, is Critical Discourse Analysis. It is useful in examining how events, practices and texts arise and have been ideologically shaped by power relations and power struggles (Wodak, 2001). Critical Discourse Analysis takes a look at the language and discourse pattern that are embedded in the text and what ittakes to achieve the desired goal in a political speech.Critical Discourse Analysis is relevant in this analysis because it shares interest and methods with disciplines that study social groups and social structures such as anthropology, history economics etc. that are concerned with human cognition and behaviour. In other words, CDA is multidisciplinary in its approaches and methods in studyingtext and talk.

The inaugural speeches of the Nigeria's Heads of State have a lot of antecedents, i.e. they are engineered or influenced by historical, sociological, economic, psychological, religious, ethnological and linguistic factors. Hence, the need for the adoption of Critical Discourse Analysis for the analysis of this study.

Nigeria was under military rule for twenty-seven years through coups and counter coups. It has also been under epileptic democratic rule for thirty years. Both the military and civilian heads of State have had to deliver inaugural speeches on the assumption of power. Brief histories of these makers of Nigeria are provided below:

1.1.1 Brief Profile of the Civilian and Military Heads of State in Nigeria

Nigeria has been governed by civilian and military leaders since independence. These set of leaders are the makers and shapers of the present day Nigeria. Since this study focuses on these leaders, there is the need to provide short biographies of each of them. It is hoped that theirprofiles would serve as a springboard for understanding the basis of their linguistic behaviour in the inaugural speeches they delivered when they climbed the mantle of power. We will take them one after the other.

NNAMDI AZIKIWE

Nnamdi Azikiwe, (born November 16, 1904, Zungeru, Nigeria—died May 11, 1996, Enugu), first President of independent Nigeria (1963–66) and prominent nationalist figure. Azikiwe led the NCNC into the important 1959 federal elections, which preceded Nigerian independence. He was able to form a temporary government with the powerful Northern People's Congress. But its Deputy Leader, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, took the key post of Prime Minister. Azikiwe received the largely honorary posts of President of the Senate, Governor-General, and, finally, President.

ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was born in 1912. He was from Tafawa Balewa area of Bauchi State. Before joining politics, he worked for the Bauchi Native Authority rising to the position of a Headmaster. He was a member of the Northern Region House of Assembly and the House of Representatives in 1947. He was appointed Prime Minister by the British Government in 1954-1960. He also became the first and only Prime Minister of an independent Nigeria, from

1960-1966. A great orator, Sir Abubakar was nicknamed the "Golden Voice of Africa." He died on 15th January, 1966 following a military coup.

JOHNSON AGUIYI-IRONSI

Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi was born on 3rd March, 1924. He was the General Officer Commanding (GOC) of the Nigerian Army. He was appointed by the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in 1965. He was the first Nigerian to be appointed the GOC. He became the first Nigerian Military Head of State in January 1966 as a result of a failed military coup led by some young army officers. Six months after, he was not able to solve the crisis caused by the coup. He lost his life during a counter coup that took place on 29th July, 1966. He was forty-two years old at the time of his death.

YAKUBU GOWON

General Yakubu Gowon was born on 19th October 1934. He joined the Nigerian Army in May, 1954 after completing his secondary school education at Barewa College, Zaria. He played a very important role in the history of Nigeria. At the age of 32, he became Head of State following the counter-coup of 29th July, 1975. He fought and won the Nigerian civil war that took place from 1967 to 1970. He was a unifying factor. He was able to win the civil war by the strategic creation of twelve (12) States in 1967 to replace the four Regions of Nigeria. He was removed from office by a military coup on 29th July 1975. He is now actively involved in peace building and conflict resolutions across Nigeria.

MURTALA MUHAMMED

General Murtala Muhammed was born on 8th November, 1938. He played an important role in the 1966 military crises. He also played an important role in the fight to keep Nigeria one

during the civil war period. He was appointed Federal Commissioner of Communications by General Gowon. He became military Head of State from 1975 to 1976. He is always remembered as a key player that fought for the liberation of African countries from colonial rule and white settler domination in Southern Africa. He died on 13th February, 1976 as a result of an abortive military coup.

OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

General Olusegun Obasanjo was born on 5th March, 1937. He served in various capacities in the Nigerian Army. He became Federal Commissioner of Works in the Government of General Gowon. He was the officer who received the surrender of Biafra in January 1970. Following the coup of 29th July 1975, he became Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters. Following the death of the Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed in a failed coup of 13thFebruary, 1976; Obasanjo was appointed Head of State. He served in that capacity from 1976 to 1979. He became the first military Head of State to hand over political power to democratically elected civilians. Thus, in 1979, he handed over power to President Shehu Shagari. He made history as the first former military leader to be elected as President of Nigeria. He served for two terms (1999-2007). He has been actively involved in many international organisations.

SHEHU SHAGARI

Alhaji Shehu Shagari,TurakinSakoto, was born on 25th February, 1925. A teacher turned politician, Shehu Shagari participated in the anti-colonial struggles prior to the formation of political parties in Northern Nigeria. He was a member of the Northern Regional House of Assembly and the House of Representatives. He became a Minister in the First Republic on the

platform of the NPC. He was one of the Ministers that were actively involved in trying to resolve the political crisis in Lagos caused by the military coup of 15th January 1966. He served as Minister in the Military Government led by General Yakubu Gowon. With the return to civilian rule in 1979, he contested election as President of Nigeria and won on the platform of the National Party of Nigeria, (NPN). He became the first executive president of Nigeria from 1979 to 1983. His government was toppled by the military on 31st December 1983. Since his release from military detention he has become an elder statesman, by refusing to join any political party.

MUHAMMADU BUHARI

Major-General Muhammadu Buhari was born on 17th December, 1942. Buhari joined the Nigerian army on 9th April, 1962. He trained in UK, USA and India. He served in various capacities in the Nigerian Army. He fought in the Nigerian civil war. He was a Military Governor and Minister of Petroleum Resources in the Murtala/Obasanjo government. He became the NigerianHead of State from 1984 to 1985. This was after the military coup of 31st December 1983, which removed the civilian Government led by President Shehu Shagari. He was democratically elected President of Nigeria on 1st April 2015. He made history as the second former military leader to get elected by the people as President. He also became the first person to defeat a sitting President in an election.

IBRAHIM BADAMASI BABANGIDA

General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida was born on 17th August, 1941. He is popularly known as IBB. Babangida joined the Nigerian Army on 10th December 1962. He was trained in India and the UK and took part in the Nigerian civil war. He held various commanding positions in the Nigerian Army. Babangida became known across Nigeria because of the role he played in

getting the 13th February 1976 coup defeated. He was Chief of Army Staff in the military government led by General Buhari. He became Head of State after leading a coup to remove Buhari on 27th August, 1985. He was head of state from 1985 to 1993. He has been actively involved in politics.

ERNEST ADEGUNLE OLADEINDE SHONEKAN

Chief Ernest Adekunle Oladeinde Shonekan (born 9 May 1936 in Lagos, Colonial Nigeria) is a British-trained Nigerian lawyer, industrialist, politician and traditional chieftain. He was appointed as the Interim President of Nigeria by General Ibrahim Babangida on the 26th of August, 1993. Babangida resigned under pressure to cede control to a democratic government. Shonekan's transitional administration only lasted for three months as a palace coup led by General Sani Abacha forcefully dismantled the remaining democratic institutions and brought the government back under military control on the 17th of November, 1993.

SANI ABACHA

General Sani Abacha was born on 20th September, 1943. He joined the Nigerian Army early in the 1960s. He held many positions in the Army, including Chief of Army Staff and Minister of Defence. He became known during the regime of General Babangida. He led the military to remove the Interim President, Earnest Shonekan and then became head of state from 1993 to 1998. There are several human rights problems during his tenure. He tried to transform from military head of state into civilian president but he suddenly died on 8th June, 1998.

ABDULSALAMI ABUBAKAR

General Abdulsalami Abubakarwas born on 13th June, 1942. He served in several capacities in the Nigerian Army and rose to become Chief of Defence Staff in the government of General Sani Abacha. This position helped him to emerge as Nigerian'sHead of state following the death of General Sani Abacha on 8th June 1998. He was Head of State from 9th June 1998 to 29th May, 1999. He organized a transition programme which ended with handing over of power to an elected President on 29th May 1999.

UMARU MUSA YAR'ADUA

Umaru Musa Yar'Aduawas born on 16th August, 1951. Umaru studied Chemistry at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He started as a teacher, then became a businessman and later a politician. In 1999, he won the election as Governor of Katsina State. He served as Governor from 1999 to 2007. In 2007, he was selected by the PDP to be its Presidential candidate. He won the election and became the 13th President of Nigeria. He was the first university graduate to be elected President of Nigeria. He died while being President on 5th May 2010.

GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN

Dr Goodluck Jonathanwas born on 20th November, 1957. He started politics from the grassroots, i.e. at the Local Government level. He joined the PDP and became the Deputy Governor of Bayelsa State in 1999. He later became the Governor following the removal of the then Governor. From Bayelsa State Governor, he was selected by Umaru Musa Yar'Adua as his running mate in the 2007presidential election. He then became Vice President from 2007-2010. He later became the President of Nigeria with the death of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua. He was the first Ph.D holder to be elected President. He served from 2010-2015. He made history as

the first President to concede defeat in a Nigerian election. Although out of office, he is still active in politics.

Surprisingly, even the military who got to power in Nigeria through coup de'tat gave inaugural speeches to usher them into office. However, the first inaugural speech in Nigeria was delivered in October 1st, 1960 by Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Other Headsof State that followed after him made it a tradition to offer inaugural speeches.

Despite the fact that inaugural speeches are considered part of inauguration ceremony that is mostly anxiously waited for by the populace, scholars like Bill Steigerwald (themoderate.com) see it pretty much more ceremonial than anything else. Robert Beard (yourDictionary.com) considers it as "the key indicator of the goals, tone and demeanor of in-coming administration or how they will continue or change in the case of multiple administration. "Therefore, there is a good reason to contend that inaugural speeches are very vital speeches in which the direction of the new government is identified.

Critical Discourse Analysis is employed to analyse these speeches looking at the biography of each of the head of State. As their biographies differ in various respects so their speeches differ. The historical background of each head of State influenced his cognition, thought, practice, governance and speech. Critical Discourse Analysis has multifaceted approaches and methods that can be employed to conspicuously upturn the meaning hidden in the speeches.

The present research mainly focuses on Critical Discourse Analysis of selected inaugural speeches of Nigeria's Headsof State. Specifically, the research intends to compare and contrast the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State. It is aimed at comparing how

the language used in the speeches reflected the true situation in Nigeria during the two regimes (civilians and military), how the contents of the speeches were used to manipulate the yearnings of the people, how the speeches reflect the power relations and ideological position implicit in the speeches. Also,the research intendsto study how the speeches reflected the social structure and identities of the speakers and the genuineness of the promises and their willingness to take responsibility for what they said in the speeches. The difference of the social structure and cognition of the two groups will be examined through the language used in the speeches.

1.2Statement of the Research Problem

Studies on political speeches have been carried outsuch as; Political Speeches of Some African Leaders from Linguistic perspective (1981 – 2013),(Faki, 2014); Political Discourse; A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech (Sharndam,2015) A linguistic –Stylistic investigation of the language of the Nigerian Elite, (Ayeomoni,2005), Power of Political Discourse of Barak Obama, (Sheyegh and Wabir, 2012), Linguistic Features in Political speeches –How language can be used to impose certain moral or ethical values on people, (Kulo, 2009)Language Use in Selected Nigerian Presidential Election campaign speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective, (Abdullahi – Idiagbon, 2007), Analysis of Experiential Meaning in Selected Inaugural Speeches in Nigeria, (Chinwe, 2013), A Critical Discourse Analysis of Language use in selected political speeches of Dr Kayode Fayemi Ekiti State Governor, (Bamisaye and Omotunde, 2015); Nigerian Politicians, Linguistic Rascality and Security Implications, Daniel (2015), A Pragmatic Analysis of Political Discourse Using Cooperative Principle: A Case Study of Bashorun Abiola's Political Campaign, (Bdliya, 2012). The Speech Acts and Rhetoric in the Second Inaugural Address of Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo and American President, George Bush, (Adetunji, 2009) etc. The analysts

have lost sight of the political symbiotic relationship between the inaugural speeches of the heads of state that built the present Nigeria through linguistic manipulative strategies. None of them attempted to compare the speeches of the military headsof State and civilian presidents who shaped the presentday Nigeria with their actions and speeches.In Nigeria, inaugural speeches delivered by either executive presidents or military Heads of Stateare beyond mere ceremonial speeches. They usher in new governments and new agenda of the new government are sometimes mentioned in the speeches.

It is however, unfortunate that these speeches are only documented after the particular government would have completed its tenure. From time totime some historians take the pain of documenting these speeches. Many scholars like Alimole (2004), Idris (2009), Angwonye (2013), Epele (1993), and some government agencies have only tried to collect, collate and compile the speeches.However, few linguistic analyses have been carried out on those speeches.

Political speeches are significant data for linguistic analysis. According to Beard (2000), it is important to study the language of politics because it enables us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power. Beyond this advocacy, the study of the inaugural speeches of the past and present Nigerian leaders and leaders from other countries and continents creates a marriage between history and linguistics, and that will help to shape the ideology and cognition of the citizens when the obscurity in the speeches are made clear by the linguist.

Presumably,language is used by the two groups of leaders to subdue and shape the cognition of Nigerians. Both the Military and the Civilian Heads of State achieved their political ideology manipulations through the language in their political speeches at various fora. In this sense, language has played a very important role in manifesting their political wills and

accompanying political actions. It is therefore, necessary to study the inaugural speeches of those Heads of Statefrom both sides to understand the role of language in shaping the Nigeria of the past and the present.

This is for the fact that language is not powerful in itself.Rather, it gains power by the use the powerful make of it. On the other hand, language gives power to those who wish to give it. It is this social roles of language that the research wishes to analyse the inaugural speeches of the Civilian and MilitaryHeads of State and make comparison between the two groups in relation to their social structure.

1.3 Research Questions

The study will attempt to answer the following questions as we do a Critical Discourse Analysis of the inaugural speeches of the Civilian and Military Heads of State of Nigeria:

1. What are the structural patterns of inaugural speeches of the Civilian and Military Heads of State?
2. How do the inaugural speeches convey feelings/emotion of both Civilian and MilitaryHeads of State in Nigeria?
3. What are the ideological inklings expressed in the speeches of both Civilian and Military Heads of State?
4. How is power manifested in both speeches through language in both the inaugural speeches of the Civilian and Military Heads of State?
5. To what extent are hidden meanings related to social structure and identities of the speakers engraved in the speeches of both sets of rulers?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study aims at analysing the inaugural speeches of the past Nigerian leaders. The objectives of the study are to:

1. determine the structural pattern of the speeches of the Civilianand Military Heads of State.
2. identify how the speeches convey the feelings/emotions of the Civilian andMilitaryHeads of State;
3. gauge the ideological inklingsof the civilian and military Heads of State in their speeches;
4. establish how power is manifested through language in the speeches and
5. measure how hidden meanings relate to social structure and identities of the military and civilian Headsof State in the speeches.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Given the focus of this work, the research is intended to awaken the consciousness of scholars/readers of political discourse to read between the lines. Since politicians do not use language in vacuum. They use it to gain power, exercise and keep it.

Also, the study will be useful for researchers who would benefit from the analysis and findings of the research in the area of how language plays role in emotion, ideological manipulation, persuasion and power relations such as threat and appeal.

On the other hand, scholars in the field of Psychology, History, Sociology and Geography stand to gain from the insights of the research because of the multidisciplinary focus of the study.

The study will also illuminate on the language of the Executive and MilitaryHeads of State in Nigeria thereby uncovering hidden meanings in their inaugural speeches in relation to social structure, identities and power relations in the speech.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is delimited to analysing Selected Inaugural Speeches of the Nigeria'spast heads of State. There were sixteen Heads of State that have ruled Nigeria from independence to 2015. They include Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1957 – 1966), General Aguyi Ironsi (1966 – 1967), General Yakubu Gowon (1967 – 1976), General Murtala Mohammed (1976 – 1977), General Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo (1976 – 1979), Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari (1979 – 1983), Major General Muhammadu Buhari (1983 – 1985), General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (1985 – 1993), Chief Ernest Shonekan (1993 – 1993), General Sani Abacha (1993 – 1998), General AbdussalamiAlhaji Abubakar (1998 – 1999), Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007), Malam Umaru Musa Yar'adua (2007 – 2010) and Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (2011 – 2015).

However, only the inaugural speeches of eleven (11)Heads of State are the focus of the study. The Heads of State include: five (5) Executive Presidents and six(6) Military Heads of State. The Executive Heads of State include Prime-Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1957), Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari (1979), Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (1999), Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua (2007)and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (2011). Themilitary Heads included, General Yakubu Gowon (1967), General Murtala Ramat Mohammed (1976), Major General Muhammadu Buhari (1983), General Ibrahim Badamasi Babaginda (1985), General Mohammed Sani Abacha (1993) and General Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998).

The number of Military Heads of State outweighsthat of the civilian presidents studied in the research because there were more military Headsthan civilian presidents. The choice of Obasanjo's inaugural speech of 1999 was informed by the period of eight (8) years he spent as civilian President. The inclusion of Dr Goodluck Jonathan is to have a representation from other parts of the country because there were more leaders from the Northern part of Nigeria.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is made up of three sections namely, review of empirical or previous studies, topical review and theoretical framework.

CONCEPTUAL STUDIES ON LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

2.1 The Concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis emerged in the early 1990 as a result of the efforts of a network of scholars following a symposium in Amsterdam in January, 1991. The symposium was supported by the University of Amsterdam, Teun, van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak. They spent two days together and had the wonderful opportunity to discuss theories and methods of Discourse Analysis, specifically CDA. The meeting made it possible to confront with each other the very distinct different approaches which have changed significantly since 1991 but remain relevant, in many respects Wodak and Meyer (2009). In this process of group formation, the differences with regard to other theories and methodologies in Discourse Analysis (see Renkema, 2004; Titscher et al 2000; Wetherell et al,

2001; Wodak, 2008a) and sameness in a pragmatic way, both of which frame the range of theoretical approaches (Wodak, 2004).

The central focus of Critical Discourse Analysis is to unveil the hidden meaning in discursive practice. According to Kamalu and Agangan (2011) "CDA focuses on the hidden relationship between the discourse practice, events and text, on the one hand and the wider socio-cultural context, on the other hand". This means meaning exists in that hidden relationship for the fact that it is all about the "unsaid said" concealed in a text.

However, one of the proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis, van Dijk (1998), gave more elaborate meaning and focus of CDA. He says: "CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". This means although there are other approaches to the analysis of text and talk such as pragmatics, conversational analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography etc., CDA stands out to have a more critical perspective. It is in this respect that Thompson (2000) asserts that CDA helps to make clear the connection between the use of language and the exercise of power. In this perspective of Thompson, therefore, language plays a pivotal role in the exercise of power. To this end, van Dijk (1988) says:

> CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written text and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social economic, political and historical contexts. By so doing, it illuminates ways in which the dominant forces construct texts that favour their interests.

This is to say that critical discourse analysts are preoccupied with developing modes or approaches to unveiling how text and talk are constructed so that a particular perspective can be expressed delicately and covertly.

The works of one of the leading scholars in CDA, a British Sociolinguist, Norman Fairclough, attracted many scholars to CDA. He gave a new look and coverage of CDA beyond mere text and talk analysis. Fairclough (1995) provided this perspective to CDA. In his own words:

> By CDA I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and process, to investigate how such practices, events and text arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relation of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

A slight difference in the perspective of CDA is further elucidated where, not only opaque relationships between discourse and society but also the transparent relationshipsare studied by Wodak and Meyer (2001).They depict the concept of CDA in the following words:

> CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted and legitimised and so on by language use (or in discourse).

In this regard, both opaque and transparent relationships between discourse and society are studied by CDA to expose manipulation, dominance, discrimination, power and control through discourse practices in the society.

Sharndama (2015) has added that “it (CDA) examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts”. It is in this perspective of CDA that Breeze (2011) is of the view that Critical Discourse Analysis has now

firmly established itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences to the extent that the manifested abbreviation “CDA” is widely used to denote a recognizable approach to language study manifested across a range of different groups. CDA, therefore, distinguishes itself from other discourse analysis because of its critical nature. This implies that it goes beyond the analysis of formal discourse features to show connections and causes underlying a discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis has overshadowed other critical paradigms/theories/disciplines in the social sciences such as ‘critical psychology’, ‘critical social policy’ and ‘critical anthropology’.

One of the central focus of CDA is the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is signaled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person’s control of a social occasion by means of genre of a text. It is often exactly within the genres associated within given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged (Sharndama, 2015). Therefore, the essential thing about the CDA is that it is a means of interrogating power relations in social discursive practices.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) have summarised the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA address social problem
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretation and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

The points above could be said to have captured the main tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis. This is to say that as diverse as the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis, so is the theoretical framework which is multidisciplinary in nature.

2.1.1 The Critical Discourse Analysis Framework

Norman Fairclough is considered to have contributed most significantly to the field of CDA. His framework of analysis may be the core section of the entire field of CDA because he was the first to create a theoretical framework which provided guidelines for CDA research (Rahimi and Riasati, 2011).Fairclough's model is diagrammatically represented by Lock (2004), cited in Mirzace and Hamidi (2012), as given below:

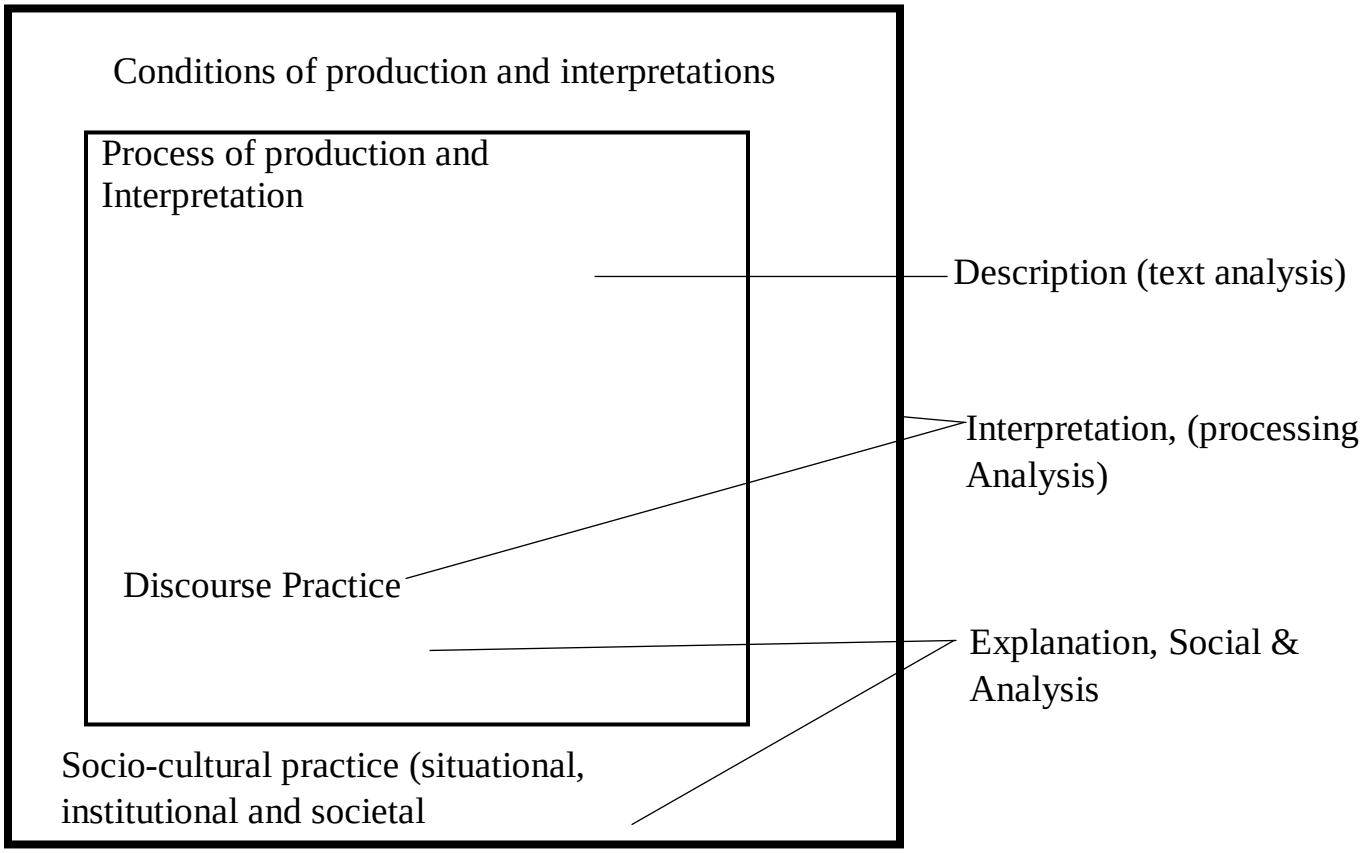


Fig. 1

His view that language is an irreducible part of social life is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. He is the only CDA scholar who defines the relationship between power and language (social power and ideology) in his research (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough provides a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse:

1. The linguistic description of the formal properties of the text;
2. The interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text; and lastly
3. The explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality.

Fairclough's (1989) analysis has gone beyond the "whatness" of the text description towards the "how" and "whyness" of text interpretation and explanation. There are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; Rather,they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them. This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community. He believes in a "hidden agenda" of a discourse. Although not all discourse contains "hidden agenda," but, obviously, political discourse contains largely hidden meanings expressed in various linguistic forms. Therefore, Fairclough believes of "whatness", "how" and "whyness" of the text interpretation and explanation is crucial in political discourse. In this regard, this

framework is relevant to this research since it is a critical analysis of a political discourse – inaugural speeches.

2.1.2 CDA Framework by Hodgeand GuntherKress

The dichotomous categorization of "euphemism" and "derogatory" is the milestone of the explanations provided in this framework. According to Hodge and Kress (1993), the main focus of a particular vocabulary item will be on its origin of classification, schemes, and ideologically significant relations such as synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy, relational values and expressive values. To come up with the detection devices for manipulation of model treating "language and ideology" has been the main criterion. It is a "syntagmatic model" made up of the assumptions regarding the interaction of the language, thought, ideology and the classification system which consists of "actionals" and "relationals". In this framework, actional models represent the perceived relationships in the physical world. Actionals are divided more specifically into "transactive" and "non-transative". Relational models encompass "equative" and "attributive" sections. They are concerned with the classificatory and evaluative systems of the language. Equative models create the relations between nouns while attributive models bring about relations between and nouns and qualities. Relationals indicate the consequence of mental activities, suggest judgments, comments, etc. Euphemistic and derogatory words belong to the relational part of this framework and are used as detection devices for recognizing the manipulation of realities and ideas. Ideology, according to Hodge and Kress (1993), involves a systematically organized presentation of reality. The application of different euphemistic or derogatory terms leads to different presentations of realities and ideologies. This framework, however, does not lay emphasis onoutward interpretation of texts.It dwells so much on the forms

leading to the interpretation of the content. It looks inward to the internal structure of the linguistic forms for the interpretation of the text and talk.

2.1.3 CDA Framework by Teunvan Dijk

Van Dijk's (1997) framework has provided some illustrations of the categories that he believes to be important in doing CDA studies. He asserts that the main point of the analysis is to show how various ideologies are expressed in various kinds of structures. There are hundreds of such categories.So we make a small selection as given below:

- Actor description (meaning): Our ideologies will determine the way actors are described in discourse. Accordingly, if we divide them into ingroup and outgroup members, we will describe the former members in a neutral or positive way and the latter members in a negative way.
- Authority (argumentation): People of different ideologies cite different authorities.
- Categorization (meaning): Generally, people tend to categorize people based on their social affiliation, race, ethnicity, etc.
- Comparison (meaning, argumentation): In contrast to racist talk that outgroups are compared negatively and ingroups positively, in anti-racist talk, we may negatively compare our country or government with repulsive undemocratic regimes.
- Disclaimers (meaning): Disclaimers are the ideological base of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategy.
- Euphemism (rhetorical meaning): Euphemistic devices are used to beautify the social facts that may be offensive to the members of a community (e.g. sex, supernaturals, death)

- Evidentiality (meaning, argumentation): Authority figures, institutions and various forms of evidentiality may happen by claims or points of view. This information may be provided by reading, hearing, or seeing something. (© Centre for Promoting Ideas, USA www.ijhssnet.com)
- Generalization (meaning argumentation): generalization is a powerful move in argumentation. It is used in racist discourse, for instance, to formulate prejudices about generalized negative characteristics of immigrants.
- Hyperbole (rhetoric): Hyperboles are semantic rhetorical devices for enhancing and exaggerating meaning. By using especial metaphors, especially in the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, we may expect that good or bad actions or properties of the self or other be expressed in hyperbolic terms.
- Implication (meaning): Pragmatic contextuals are the main reasons that discourse remains implicit. Recipients deduce and infer this implicit information by their attitudes, knowledge and their mental models.
- Irony (rhetoric): Accusations are more effective in the forms of irony than when they are stated directly.
- Polarization (meaning): In categorizing people in ingroup (self/us) and outgroup (others/them), the expression of polarized cognitions are very prevalent.
- Presupposition (meaning): Presuppositions are mostly used to presuppose the truth when they are not established.
- Vagueness (meaning): Writers or speakers sometimes use the expressions that are unclear because they do not give enough information or they do not say exactly what they mean.

- Victimization (meaning): Telling bad stories about nations in order to focus on their bad characteristics is the consequence of ingroups and outgroups in polarization.

van Dijk (2001) states that textbooks are ideologies embedded in curriculum. He claims that enforcing hegemony and dominance over the community is achieved by "controlling discourse". The central focus of this theoretical framework is on ideology only imbedded in a text and talk. Other interpretations of the content are given much attention at the expense of ideology. It is not every text and talk that carries the ideological belief of the writer or speaker. Other aspects may include the emotional feeling and the identity of the speaker/writer. Therefore, the theoretical framework may be applicable to the analysis of ideology only.

2.1.4 CDA Framework by Theo van Leeuwen

Leeuwen's (1996) social actors are influenced by the policies and decisions of powerful organizations which either include or exclude them from the centers of power. He explains the principal ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse. In this view, CDA is the impact of power structures on the production and/or reproduction of knowledge and its effect on identity and subjectivity of the members of the community. Indeed, this is language and discourse in relation with production, reproduction, dissemination, and interpretation of knowledge in line with the researcher's arrangement. Leeuwen's (1996) framework consists of the following main sections:

1. Exclusion:

a. Suppression

b. Backgrounding

2. Inclusion:

a. Activisation vs. passivization

b. Genericisation vs. specification

c. Individualization

d. Assimilation

e. Indetermination (anonymous)

f. Determination

g. Nomination and categorization

h. Functionalization and identification

3. Impersonalized social actors:

a. Abstraction

b. Objectivation

Some other theorists have presented different aspects of CDA in relation with ideology. For example, Cameron (1992) explains "stereotypes" which lead to social inequalities. He believes that critical language should "defamiliarize" taken-for-granted notions. Halliday (1985) views this topic differently in his "Language and functional perspective". In his "systemic theory", a method of text analysis is introduced which is a theory of meaning as a choice, by which a language is interpreted as networks of interlocking options. It emphasizes choice, the selection of options from systems constituting meaning potentials. Choice entails "inclusion" and "exclusion".

2.1.5 The Other Side of CDA

Despite the critical power of analysis vested on CDA by its proponents, it has come under serious criticisms of various sorts. Some scholars consider CDA too critical and therefore separatist. Martin and Rose (2003) regard its exclusive focus on critical interrogation of power as only one of the ways social structures should be appraised. They advocate their CDA needs to balance critique with Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) to the end of enacting reconciliation and making peace. Wardhaugh (2006) accuses CDA of being ideologically positioned and judgmental, thereby claiming "high ground on issues".

Also, Widdowson, across his different publications, takes issue with the central tenets of CDA (Widdowson 1995; 1996, 1998). He claims that it is an exercise in interpretation and not a valid method of analysis. He contends that 'interpretation in support of beliefs takes precedence over analysis in support of the theory' (1995). This criticism, echoed in critiques of CDA by others, is that the outcome of the analysis seems to be shaped by the political predisposition of the analysts themselves and not by intrinsic feature of a text's make-up. Widdowson is especially trenchant in his criticism here arguing that what is actually revealed by CDA is the discourse perspective of the interpreter and this has no more authority than other interpretation.

If the main purpose of the analysis is to uncover and challenge the repressive discourse practices of powerful, interested groups, then what needs to be considered before anything else are the effects of these practices on ordinary (non-academic) people. Reactions of real communities to what the analysis deem ideologically insidious discourse are rarely considered.Instead, the academic analyst comfortably assumes the perspective of those for whom the text was intended, moving seamlessly in and out of the multiple interpretative positions of specialist and non-specialist alike.

A criticism linked to the previous one relates to the role of cognition in CDA. Cognition describes the mental process that is involved in both the reading and understanding of texts and discourse. Adopting a specifically cognitive approach, O'Halloran (2003) addresses two of the key stages in CDA investigations, interpretation and explanation, as outlined in Fairclough's framework. O'Holloran argues that CDA has focused mainly on 'explanation-stage analysis', in which it seeks to account for the connections between texts and wider socio-cultural practices at the expense of interpretation as CDA, however, claims to interpret texts on behalf of readers who might be manipulated unwittingly, there needs to be an analysis of the relationship between readers and the texts being read.This necessarily involves placing more focus on cognition. According to O'Holloran, there has been 'relatively little cognitive focus on how text can mystify for readers the events being described'. Similarly, Chilton (2004:30) points out that CDA, by and large, has not paid enough attention to the question of 'how the human mind works when engaged in social and political action, which is largely, for humans and verbal action'.

CDA is too selective, partial and qualitative. The view here is that the analyst selects a text or type of discourse known in advance to be contentious, the confirmation for which is presented through an analysis that, in essence, only partially addresses certain patterns of language in the text. The linguistic analysis becomes no more than a supplement to what the analysis has decided *a priori* about the text. This criticism is, by no means, new: not long after the appearance of the first work in CL (Fowler et al. 1979), Sharrock and Anderson noted acerbically that the procedure for Fowler and his co-researchers seemed to be.To look in the wrong place for something, then complain that they can't find it, and suggest that it is being concealed from them. (Sharrock and Anderson, 1981: 289; see also Simpson, 1993: 114 – 15).In a similar vein, Widdowson (1998) contends that CDA analysts tend to focus on certain aspects of

texts while ignoring others – other aspects that might allow for alternative interpretations that might not fit their (leftist) worldview.

With respect to the distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches, Stubbs (1997), who admits to being 'basically sympathetic' to CDA, challenges CDA's methods arguing that whereas CDA might present valid arguments about text organization, the basis of its linguistic evidence is inadequate. Stubbs questions whether CDA actually adheres to its avowed aims, to what Fairclough and Wodak describe as 'standards of careful, rigorous and systematic analysis' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 259). In other words, the analysis are seen to make generalization about social representation and social change without the linguistic evidence to support it, and without providing systematic comparison between texts. As a corpus linguist, Stubbs believes CDA would therefore benefit from using quantitative and comparative methods.

While Stubbs (1997) suggests a quantitative analysis of texts to strengthen CDA's methodology, Widdowson suggests more ethnographic approach that would look at how the intended discourse recipients – and not only the discourse analysis – understand and interpret texts. It is precisely because CDA raises important social issues – that it has an agenda of potentially very considerable social significance (Stubbs, 1997) and because it 'seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of social power and the suppression of human rights' (Widdowson, 1998) that enhancing its methodology should be a priority.

The final issue, no less significant than the ones above, is just how effective is CDA? What has it accomplished in terms of social change and equality? Hammersley (1997), for example, argues that CDA appears too ambitious in aiming for 'social change' which results in a tendency to adopt a macro-social theory which reduces relations between people to a form of domination between the oppressors and the oppressed. According to Hammersley (1997), this

desire for social change can lead to 'a rather naïve view of events and actions… without specifying the nature of the desired change'.

Importantly, researchers in CDA have tackled the issue raised above in recent. For instance, van Dijk (2005) has taken an important step towards the integration of cognition in critical discourse analysis. Similarly, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), perhaps in response to Widdowson's (1998) critique, acknowledge that CDA should be combined with ethnography which would require 'the systematic presence of the researcher in the context of the practice under study'. Furthermore, ethnography, they continue, can yield 'precisely the sort of knowledge that CDA often extrapolates from text', such as 'the beliefs, values and desires of its participants'. To this end, Wodak's (1996) participant-observation study of an outpatient clinic in Vienna is an important CDA analysis that uses an ethnographic approach. In turn, ethnography can benefit from CDA's premise that 'data descriptions should not be regarded as faithful descriptions of the external world' but as particular perspectives of the social world that need to be analyzed critically (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). This theme is echoed in the following comments by Wodak:

> A fully 'critical' account of discourse would… require theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of the text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interactions with text. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2 – 3).

Clearly, in the light of Wodak's remarks, there seems to be an increasing awareness by CDA practitioners of the 'discursive scope' that a text can have.In spite of the interconnected criticisms raised above, there is no doubt that in the broader context of language study, the practice of CDA has brought to the fore important issues to do with ideology and power.

Another academic reflex of the CDA method is that it has encouraged people, especially the young, to interrogate the discourses that surround them in their everyday lives. Although not setting an agenda in CDA per se, Carter (1990) encourages the development in schools of tools for talking and writing discriminatingly about language: tools which encourage a critical awareness of the way language works in a context of culture. Rejecting traditional grammar drills and rote learning as arid contexts of use. And while this may seem a common-sense position to adopt, it is one which still meets with resistance in political circles, especially from the political right whose agenda is actively to discourage pupils and students from, to use Carter's phrase, 'seeing through' language and discourse.

It is in this connection that the researcher chose CDA for it analysis the text based on the social practices in the Nigerian society.

2.1.6 The Strength of Critical Discourse Analysis

Despite all the criticisms leveled against CDA by the critiques, it is conspicuous to argue that the most popular, accurate and suitable approach that uncovers opaque language uses, particularly in the domain of power, is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). (See for instance the works of Fairclough, 1985, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003; Wodak, 2004, 2007; Wodak & Meyer 2001; van Dijk, 1997, 2001, 2003; Caldas Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Chilton, 1993, 1998, 2002). There are several advantages of CDA. Firstly, as an approach, it is a flexible methodological framework as it allows the analyst to examine, from a critical perspective, issues and concerns from different fields of study whatever methods or observe any linguistic and semiotic phenomena relevant to the purposes of the research study.

Second, it is useful in examining how events, practices and text arise and have been ideologically shaped by power relations and power struggles (Wodak, 2001). The examination takes a look at the linguistic elements that are embedded in the text and talk to achieve the desired goal of the speaker/writer.

Third, Critical Discourse Analysis is indispensable in exploring opaque language uses that are assumed by writers as part of the background knowledge (Fairclough, 1985) and how the opacity of relations between discourse and society is itself a factor in securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2009). The practice of CDA in unravelling the opacity is also done critically by looking at the composite of the linguistic elements in the data.

Fourth, CDA is useful in examining how social practices are bound up with cause and effects that may not be at all clear to people involved (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2009). This effort of examining the cause and effect may contribute to social emancipation (Fairclough, 2003).

Finally, CDA shares interests – and sometimes methods – with disciplines that study social groups and social structures such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography, law, psychology, history, economics etc. that are concerned with human cognition and behaviour. In its methods,CDA also draws heavily on literary theory and the philosophy of language and communication, particularly on works on Speech Acts and Conversational Maxims (Bloor, 2007).

2.1.7 Theories in Critical Discourse Analysis

Theories are propounded by the proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis to provide approach to diverse problem-oriented data that the critical analyst would like to apply in the analysis of his data. Some of these theories are explained below:

Epistemology: this theory provides models of the conditions, contingencies and the limits of human perception in general and scientific perception in particular.

General Social Theory: often called 'grand theories', it tries to conceptualize the relations between social structure and social action and thus links micro- and macro-sociological phenomena. Within this level, one can distinguish between the more structuralist and the more individualist approaches. To put it very simply, the former provides top-down explanations (structure>action), whereas they later prefer bottom-up explanations (action>structure). Many modern theories try to reconcile these positions and imply some kind of circularity between social action and social structure.

Middle-range Theory: This theory focuses either upon specific social phenomena (e.g. conflict, cognition, social networks) or on specific subsystems of society (e.g. economy, politics, religion).

Micro-Sociological Theory: this theory tries to explain social interaction, for example, the resolution of the double contingency problem or the reconstruction of everyday procedures which members of a society use to create their own social order: which is the objective of ethnomethodology.

Socio-Psychological Theory: this theory concentrateson the social conditions of emotion and cognition.Compared to microsociology, it prefers causal explanations to a hermeneutic understanding of meaning.

Discourse Theory: this theory aims at the conceptualization of discourse as a social phenomenon. It tries to explain its genesis and its structure.

The Sociocognitive Approach/Theory: Teun van Dijk is on the socio-psychological side of the CDA field. Hereby, the theory serves as a framework for systematising the phenomena of social reality. The approach is in the tradition of the Social Representation Theory.

Discourse Historical Approach Theory: This is the most linguistically-oriented of the approaches. It explicitly tries to establish a theory of discourse by establishing the connection between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts.

Dialectical –Relational Approach/Theory: Normal Fairclough takes a rather grand-theory-oriented position. Fairclough focuses upon social conflict in the Marxian tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourses, in particular elements of dominance, difference and resistance. According to DRA, every social practice has a semiotic element.

2.2 Language and Politics

Language is the life-wire of politics Politics has been described by Bayram (2010) to be struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this process, according to him, language plays a crucial role for every political action is prepared, accompanied and influenced and played by language. Sharndama (2015) is of the belief that language is one of the vital tools that politicians use to shape the political thought of the electorates with the aim of selling their ideologies to them. In fact, Nebula (2005) strongly asserts that "language and politics are interconnected; language is, for instance, considered the vehicular expression of politics." To him, it is a means by which politics or political discourse and ideas are widely disseminated. Ali (1975) corroborates this when he said that language "is the most important point of entry into the habits of thought of people. It embodies, within itself,

cummulative association derived from the total experience of its people". This opinion, to the researcher, may ignite an argument as which one is derived from the other: politics is derived from language or language is derived from politics. This is similar to the argument of which comes first: the egg or the chicken. To this end, it could be said, without mincing words, that language comes first and politics is derived from language. This is evident when we closely study the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis where human thought is embedded in his language.

2.3 Inaugural Speeches

The history of inaugural speeches by world leaders dates back to the beginning of leadership among the human race. Monarchs, democrats, military and religious leaders, the world over, deliver inaugural speeches on assuming the mantle of power or leadership. Besides, they continue to deliver speeches to their subjects on occasions. These speeches are held with great esteem and are continuously referred to by the citizens as a yardstick to x-ray the government's commitment to the nation and its citizens.

In defining inaugural speech, Alimole (2005) put it thus:

> The first public speech to mark the formal commencement of the business of the organization would be considered an inaugural address. In general, however, the first ceremonial public address of a newly-elected head of state to mark the beginning of his or her tenure of office is the most common form of inaugural speeches.

Though the above definition is pithily, it is not without some pitfalls. Even unelected Heads of state usually deliver inaugural speeches; for instance, those who took power through coup d'état. In addition, some Heads of state that are re-elected for another tenure also deliver inaugural speeches. Such speeches mark the continuation of the incumbent government and the commencement of a new tenure.

In a short and precise way, Allen (1986) defines inaugural address as "the presidential speech given at this ceremony (inauguration) which informs the people the president'sintentions as a leader". This definition, more or less, is all-encompassing because it does not restrict who gives the address. It showcases the speech giver as a president whether he/she mounted the spelling of power as elected, coup de 'etat or in a monarch.

In our own opinion, we can say that a presidential inaugural address or speech or coronation or throne speech is a speech that is presented by the president or head of government at the inception of another term as in the case of elected presidents. In whichever way the leader gets to power, his first speech to the nation is considered as an inaugural speech.

2.3.1 Inaugural Speech and Antecedent

Inauguration, politically, is a ceremony that marks the elected politician's assumption of office as a leader. It points to the leader's commencement of a term in office. According to Willams (2017), "Various traditions have arisen that have expanded the inauguration ceremony from a simple Oath –taking ceremony to a day-long event, including parades, speeches and ball". This ceremony is carried out in all sovereign states in the world (Leeuwen, 2008). Therefore, political inauguration often features lavish ceremonies in which the politician politically takes his or her oath of office in front of a large crowd of spectators. A monarchial inauguration is similar to what in another jurisdiction, may be called a coronation or an enthronement.

In America, for instance, presidential inauguration ceremonies have been observed since George Washington's period, from 1789 to date. George Washington's inauguration ceremony was held on April 30, 1789 at the Federal Hall in New York City where he was sworn-in by Robert Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New York. In 1801, Thomas Jefferson became

the first to be sworn-in as president in Washington, D.C. which officially became the federal capital that year. Inauguration Day in America was originally on March 4, four months after Election Day But this was changed to noon on January 20 by the Twentieth Amendment in 1933, (http://www.archives.gov.exhibits/american_original.html).

Nigeria as a sovereign state is not different from other countries of the world in celebrating the in-coming government with inauguration ceremonies Although Nigeria has a history of both military and democratic governments it has not done away with inauguration ceremony of the new government, the most organized and formal inauguration ceremony in Nigeria is always that of the civilian government. In the democratic system, inauguration of the new government is held with great esteem because it does not only announce the arrival of a new government but it serves as a turning point in the political focuses of the governed. Aminu (2010) observes that "Presidential inauguration always marks a renewal of faith in the constitution and in democratic rule."

Owing to the significance of presidential inauguration ceremony in Nigeria, a bill was sponsored in the senate by Senator Jibril Aminu (Adamawa State) in February, 2010 to change the venue of inauguration ceremony from the Murtala Square in Abuja to the Senate premises so that it could contain all the arms of government who could be there to witness the occasion.

A line up of activities is, therefore, organized and days are slated for the presidential inauguration ceremony in all sovereign states in the world. However, the activities vary from one country to another.

2.3.2 Presidential Inaugural Speech

One vital and discernable element of presidential inaugural ceremony elements in sovereign states, as mentioned in the preceding discussion, is the inaugural speech by the in-coming president or head of state. However, inaugural addresses are delivered by tradition not by law in most cases. This means, there is no specific section of the Nigerian constitution where the in-coming head of state is mandated to give any inaugural speech. According to Wikipedia, "the Constitution of Nigeria specifies (only) an oath of office for the President of the federation. The oath is administered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria or the person for the time being appointed to exercise the functions of that office".

In the same vein, there is no provision in the American constitution where the president is obliged to deliver a speech. In fact, according to George (2011), "American Presidents deliver the addresses because George Washington gave one on his inauguration and they followed his lead ever since". According to George (2011)also:

> The only inauguration element mandated by the United State Constitution is that the President makes an oath or affirmation before the person 'enter on the Execution' of the office of the presidency. However, over the years various traditions have arisen that have expanded the inauguration from a simple oath–taking ceremony to a day-long event including parades, speeches and balls.

Inaugural speeches, in inaugural events, therefore, remain a peak of the event that all and sundry await to hear after oath-taking. Carranza (2009:27) explains that "in the ritual oratory of American presidential politics, six public speeches stand out: the acceptance speech after the election, the inaugural address and the four State-of-the-Union speeches delivered to the congress and the nation at the beginning of each year of presidential mandate". This shows how significant inaugural speeches are in the political system of America that is considered to be the seat of democracy, it also requires attention of the researches hence the need for this study.

In Nigeria, as well, the inaugural speech is the much awaited event whether by the politicians or by the military. According to Alimole (2004), "every head of state in Nigeria, whether military or civilian, has delivered an inaugural speech. And those speeches have been documented and have been turned to precious monuments". These speeches are found in the libraries, archives, depositories etc. however documenting these speeches is not enough. Researches in language need to venture into these speeches to unraveled the opacity, manupulations and power struggle embedded in the speeches.

As every speech has a purpose, so is the presidential inaugural speech. Inaugural speeches of both democratic, military, and monarchical Heads of states focus on certain issues mostly bordering on the state of the nation and the mission of the new government. Beard in your Dictionary.com explains that presidential inaugural speeches "provide a key indicator of the goals, tone and demeanor of the in-coming administration (or how they will continue) or change in the case of multiple administrations. "This is to say that, it is not a mere political speech since the focus is clear. Supporting this argument, Chang (2004) asserts that "in the inaugural speech, presidents state their political visions and missions for their tenure. "He cited the speeches of J.F, Kennedy, Bill Clinton & W. Bush as a case in point.

However, to some scholars (Alimole, 2004, Jeffery and Peterson, 1971, Ekpe, 1997), the pendulum does not swing in that direction. They consider inaugural speech to be a political speech for mending political fences after the scramble and the hustle and bustle of politicking is over. Therefore, the new head of state requires the unity of all the citizens. It is in that direction thatAlimole(2004) explains the object of presidential inaugural speech where he says:

> After an election, whether the victory was close or by a landslide, presidents have felt the need to ease the transition to power and to unite the country. The inaugural speech should both help heal the divisions of the past campaigns and set

> the directions for the new administration. In this address, the new president convinces the body politic that he is ready and able to lead the country. Indeed, the address, more than the official ceremony, turns a politician into a president.
>
> This assertion confirms the assumption by the research that inaugural speeches have manipulations encapsulated in the language designed for the speech. Such manipulations require linguist to conduct in-depth research to bring out the reality of situations.

Therefore, to this school of thought who, the intent of the speech is more to be felt than mulled over. In that respect, abstraction rules over concreteness and emotion rules over logic. Late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua's Inaugural Speech has partly a similar feature where he says

> Fellow Citizens, I ask you to march with me into the age of restoration. Let us work together to restore our timed-honoured values of honesty, decency, generosity, modesty, selflessness, transparency and accountability. These fundamental values determine societies that succeed or fail. We must choose to succeed. I will set a worthy personal example as your President.

In this quotation, the president is more or less calling for unity and togetherness in the march to move the nation forward. It is therefore a call to forget differences and fracas, to unite so that the society can forge ahead.

The last but not the least school of thought is the one whose believe in that the presidential inaugural speech is, to some extent, ceremonial. Steigerwald in 'The Moderate Voice' explains that "In general, they are pretty much more ceremonial than anything else. More often than not presidential inauguration addresses are a superficial indication –and I use the word 'Superficial' precisely because superficial is exactly what most of them are…"

The opinion of this school of thought is very weak in the sense that inaugural speeches are not presented in vacuum. They are designed, formulated and presented with intents. This is why they need to be deeply studied.

One important thing to note in Steigerwald's view of presidential inauguration addresses is that not all of them are ceremonial. In fact, from the personal observation of this writer, most of the speeches contain appeal for unity, togetherness and also mission and vision of the administration in question. For instance, inaugural speeches of civilian presidents in Nigeria are a mixture of the views of the schools of thoughts mentioned above. In his inaugural speech, the former president, Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari thanked everybody as a call for unity after the election victory in 1979. He says: "I want to take this opportunity to thank all of you for your patience and support throughout the period of transition." He used the phrase 'all of you' as if everybody supported him during the election. In the same vein, in the speech, he unveiled the mission of his government when he says: 'our key domestic programmes are in the sectors of Agriculture, Housing, Education, Health, Industry and the new Federal Capital…". This testifies the fact that some inaugural speeches are eclectic in their contents.

2.3.3 Inaugural Speech and Nigerian Military Leaders

Inaugural speeches of Nigeria military Headsof State differed, to some extent,from those of the civilian presidents. The military Heads of State in Nigeria went into power through coup d'état directly or indirectly. Consequently, the Nigerian populace became polarized as is observed by 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 assured". The speech, therefore, has to take into cognisance of these audiences. In that case, the pragmatic force of the speech is either tailored towards persuasion or coercion and, to some extent,a juxtaposition of the two. This may not be linguistically startling because context plays a significant role in every speech community. Halliday (1983:3) affirms that" Context plays a part in determining what we say, and what plays a part in determining the

context. Hence, the military Heads of states' speeches reflect the military nature. For instance, in his maiden speech after the 1984 coup, Major General Buhari who was invested with the authority of the Head of Federal Military Government and Commander in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, made efforts to persuade the cooperative audience on the anomalies of the former government that had led to the coup. He says 'The change became necessary in order to put an end to the serious economic predicament and the crisis of confidence now affecting our nation". Also typical of his profession, a threat was issued in the speech where he says: "This government will not tolerate kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports, etc. nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealing in foreign exchange and smuggling," (*New Nigerian Newspaper*, January 2, 1984).

However, similarities abound in the inaugural speeches of military and civilian Heads of States. The linguistic repertoire of the speech writers is exhibited in considering language to be a tool of persuasion for appeal, Judd(1938), in Adesanya (2002:83), affirms this role of language where she says: "language is a means of arousing and establishing association, which appends to personal thinking so that the mental life of a group can be controlled". To this end, the civilian presidents and the Nigeria military Heads of state have appeal as a meeting point in their speeches. As notoriously as stubborn General Sani Abacha was, he made an appeal to Nigeria at the end of his inaugural address. He says:

- Finally, I appeal to all Nigerians
- particularly our traditional rulers
- and community leaders for their
- maximum support and cooperation
- Longlive the Federal Republic of

- Nigeria. Thank you (*New Nigerian Newspaper* November 19, 1993)

A similar appeal was made by Major General Muhammadu Buhari at the end of his speech.

> Fellow Nigerians, finally we have dutifully intervened to save this nation from the imminent collapse. We, therefore, expect all Nigerians, including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicaments to cooperate with us. This generation of Nigerians, and, indeed, future generations have no other country than Nigeria. We shall remain here to salvage it together. (*New Nigerian Newspaper* Jan 2, 1984).

In his inaugural speech, the third civilian Head of State, Alhaji Umaru Musa 'Yar'adua made a similar appeal as follows:

> I ask you, fellow citizens, to join me in rebuilding our Nigerian family, one that defines the success of one by the happiness of many. I ask you to set aside negative attitudes and concentrate all our energies on getting to our common destination. All hands must be on deck.
>
> Let us join together to ease the pains of today while working for the gains of tomorrow. Let us set aside cynicism and strive for the good society that we know is within our reach… (*New Nigerian Newspaper* May 30, 2007).

From the quotations above, it is clear that appeal is one common factor found in the inaugural speeches of both the civilian and military Heads of state in Nigeria.

Another meeting point in the inaugural speeches of the civilians and the military Heads of State in Nigeria is the enunciation of policy programmes. In inaugural speeches of both thedemocratic and military Heads of state, government programmes are articulated with the intent of achieving them within its tenure.In Major General Muhammadu Buhari's maiden speech, five programmes to be executed were mentioned:

(a). The economy will be given a new impetus and better sense of direction.
(b). Corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book.

(c). In view of the draught that affected most parts of the country, the Federal Military Government will, within available resources, import foodstuff to supplement the shortfall suffered in the last harvest.
(d). Payment of salary arrears to workers
(e). Our foreign policy will both be dynamic and realistic. Africa will, of course, continue to be the centerpiece of our foreign policy.
(f). The morale and combat readiness of the armed forces will be given high priority. Officers and men with high personal and professional integrity will have nothing to fear(*New Nigerian Newspaper*, Jan 2, 1984).

In the same vein, Late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua's inaugural speech was dominated by his government's programmes. They included economy, infrastructure, security, Niger Delta and anti-corruption war (http://www.nigeriatripoli.org/speech.html).

It is very discernable that inaugural speeches by NigerianHeads of state, be it the civilian or military, have specific and clear focus. It is also glaring from the discussions above that though the speeches differ because of the personalities, orientation and context, they also share similarities linguistically and content-wise.

In the inaugural speeches, various Heads of state tend to express their emotions for various reasons. Such emotional expressions are part of the language of politics. Politics is never practicable if language is separated from it. Therefore, for leaders to succeed in controlling their subjects, they have to employ the services of language. So conscious of this fact, the Heads of state express their emotion mostly through language.

2.3.4 The Structural Pattern of Inaugural Speeches

Inaugural speeches are structured just like other speeches. This is done to make it organised and be able to pass the intended message to the audience. A well-structured speech conveys the principal intents of the speaker. Various scholars have suggested different approaches to the structural pattern of inaugural speeches. For instance, Alimole (2004) is of the

opinion that: “Every inaugural speech has three main components – an opening (Introduction); the middle (Body) and the ending (Conclusion).” To this scholar, therefore, the speech has only three parts.

Simmons (1998) further added some subsectionson the perspective of Alimole to make the speech cohesive. He therefore suggested the following:

Introduction	***Body***	***Conclusion***
Opening	point 1	reinforcement
Link	Link	Link
Introduction	Point 2	Conclusion
Link	Link	
	Point 3	
	Link	
	Point	
	Link	

From the above table, there are two parts to the introduction: an opening statement and an introductory statement. Both parts are joined by link or transition words. In the same vein, the body of the speech is divided into sections which correspond to the number of main points of the speech. Each point is related to the next by transition or link words as well. The concluding portion of the speech is made up of two sections.

Joan (1999) suggests that the pattern of an inaugural speech should contain introduction which should contain anecdote, challenge to common misconception, showing a real understanding of audience, tease the audience, play with the title of your speech and tease the audience. According to him also, the body should present ideas in chronological order, cause and effect, numerical order, problem – problems solution approach, geographical order, alphabetical order, psychological order and transition. The conclusion, he suggests should end with quotation,

refer to the opening of the speech, urge action, be candid and sincere or end with a strong rhetorical question.

Franklin (2000), however, suggested a method for the linguistic analysis of speeches and essays. He therefore, suggested the analysis as follows:

a. **Introduction:** the analyst should examine under introduction:
    i. Speaker, occasion and subject
    ii. Purpose – what the writer does in the texts
b. **Body**
    i. **Paragraphs:** the analyst should identify the forms of paragraphs. These forms, according to him, may include: narrative, expository, persuasive, promissory, descriptive and coercive paragraphs.
    ii. **Syntax:** the analyst examines the length of the sentences. If the sentences are short, they imply straightforwardness; if they are long, they imply description and detailing. The sentence types also include: simple, compound, complex and compound –complex sentences.
    iii. **Tone:** the tone here refers to the attitude and feeling of the writer about the subject of his text. It is created by the writer's use of all of the rhetorical strategies. The tone may be Accusatory, abhorrence or gimmickry.
    iv. **Mood:** the mood of the writer may be bleak, dark, delirious, dismal, eerie, elegiac, haunting, satiric, tensed, threatening or whimsical.
    v. **Character Words:** these may be absurd, aggressive or aloof.

For the purpose of this research, Franklin's method of structural layout and speech layout analysis will be adapted. This is because, it is more relevant to inaugural speech analysis under the auspices of Critical Discourse Analysis which aims at uncovering the hidden meanings or opacity of speeches.

2.4 Politics and Military Discourse

In various fields of human endeavour, certain linguistic terms are often used, and these remain constantly used within the domain of such professions. These are referred to as registers. According to Johnstone (2008), "A register is usually defined as a set of lexical (vocabulary) and grammatical features that accompany and help to identify discourse that occurs in a particular, recurrent situation." This means that the kind of register in such discourse portrays the domain or the profession the speaker belongs to. In a more elaborate definition Johnstone (2008) says:

> Register variation contrasts with (but also overlaps with) the kind of variation that are associated with the social characteristics and identifies that people may orient to and index across situation; variation correlated with gender, ethnicity, social class and so on.

This means that registers that are prevalently found in the speech or utterances of a person reflect his profession and his identity. In this case, the identity of the politicians and the military could be detected from their utterances and the speeches they deliver in various fora.

The politicians' language use with specific lexicons could be considered as register. Louge (1995), in reference to language varieties, says, "there are two types of language varieties: dialect and diatype (register)". He defines register as "The variety of language according to use in situation such as language of advertisement, the language of religious worship, the language of political campaign, etc." This is to reiterate that political language has its special register which exposes the identity of the politician. It is in consonance with that Szauto (1978) who describes

the language of politics as a lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicules and reproach, pleading and persuasion, colour and bite permeated. A language designed to valor men, destroy some and change the mind of others." Therefore, the identity of the politician is clear here.

Similarly, Ayeomoni (2005) in his "Linguistic –Stylistic Investigation of the language of the Nigerian Political Elite" discovered that the language of the Nigerian political elite is loaded with lexical borrowings and allusion. He says:

> The feature of lexical borrowings and allusions are equally preponderant in the political language of Nigerian political elite. In this respect, it is discovered that words are often taken from various sources and fields of human endeavours like Geography, Economics, Politics, Judiciary, Sociology and so on. This is done in order to convey the exact communicative intention of the speaker, as it gives a vivid picture of the situation. So, in the cause of trying to achieve this aim, allusions to relevant fields or units of the society are resorted to.

Such heavy borrowing and allusion were not used arbitrarily as Oni (2015) asserts that "no usage of language by politicians is neutral." It is to that effect thatAgbede (2008) has observed that "the politicians use language to bamboozle, mesmerize, hoodwink and woo the governed by manipulating, misleading and deceiving them in order to enthrone their corrupt and selfish practices." Therefore, borrowing and allusion are part of the linguistic identity of the politicians. Also, it is within such borrowing and allusion that manipulation and persuasion come into play.

Another linguistic identity of the politicians, according to Daniel (2015), is the use of the language of violence. She describes the language of violence in politics as "any kind of unpleasant expression, whether physical, psychological, or even verbal that is used during an electioneering process is regarded as electoral violence… When any usage of linguistic terms contains elements that would be regarded as threatening or psychologically discomfiting to the receiver, one could easily classify these sort of expression as violent." She provided the

following expressions from some renowned Nigerian politicians as samples of the language of violence used in their speeches:

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's Pre-2007 election campaign speech:

> "… The election is a do or die affair for me and PDP. This election is a matter of life and death for the PDP and Nigeria. (*Daily Trust*, 12 February, 2007 in a political campaign rally at Abeokuta, Ogun State).

General MuhammaduBuhari:

> God willing, by 2015, something will happen. They either conduct a free and fair election or they go in a very disgraceful way. If what happened in 2011 (alleged rigging) should again happen in 2015, by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would all be soaked in blood. (*The Punch*, 9th April, 2014, in a meeting with party members in Kaduna, Kaduna State).

Chief John Odiegie –Oyegun

> Jega is sitting on an iceberg and he does not know what is under him. The consequences of rigging this election will be undesirable. (*The Punch*, 8 August, 2014 at the press conference in Osogbo, Osun State).

In the excerpts, she quoted above, it is clear that the linguistic identity of politicians includes the language of violence. The choice of the expressions: consequences, undesirable, do or die affair, a matter of life and death, would all be soaked in blood, are all elements of the language of violence.

Use of figurative or metaphoric language is identified also as one of the linguistic identities of the politicians. According to Ayeomoni (2005):

> … These politicians often resort to using figurative or metaphoric language. They adopt this style when they intend to convey their intentions or message convincingly so that the impression and intention projected could be printed and lasting in the minds of their listeners. It is also a language strategy used to arouse the feelings and collective excitement and sentiments of their followers so as to sustain their support, loyalty and following. In addition, they often resort to using literal and exaggerative rhetoric, whose tone is soft, mild, appealing and inviting.

> This is often the strategy adopted when they are campaigning or scrambling for power. This strategy is also often used when they are trying to 'sell' their programmes and entrench themselves in office.

Therefore, from the quotation above, figurative language is an attribute of language of politics.

Similarly, vagueness is another attribute of political language. The more you listen, the less you understand. This may be referred to Orwell's doublespeak which is defined as largely of euphemism, question –begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Such phraseologyis needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them. Political languageis designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectful and to give an appearance of solidarity to pursue mind." The term doublespeak, according to examples from yourdictionary.com, "probably has its origin in George Orwell's book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. It is defined as a language that deliberately obscures, disguises, distorts or reverses the meaning of words. It may take the form of euphemism e.g. *downsizing* for *layoffs*, *servicing* for *the target for bombing*. Doublespeak is most closely associated with political language".

The yourdictionary.com gave examples of doublespeak in everyday language as:

1. To sound more polite
2. To sound politically correct
3. Hiding negativity
4. Business purpose

From the review above, it could be understood that political language is characterized by doublespeak. Bdliya (2017) affirmed this position when he says, "The language of politics is characterized by some principal features such as lies, deceit, propaganda, hyperbolic statements, ambiguity and ideological statements." In this case, the linguistic identity of the politician entails

all the features of their language discussed above. However,as the politicians are found to have their linguistic identity, so is the military formation all over the world.

2.4.1 Military Discourse

The military, according to Zaria (2013), "is a potpourri of the Army, the Navy and the AirForce whose traditional role is safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries." However, the military in Nigeria have abandoned their primary role and jumped into politics. According to Nwanko (1987):

> Nigerian military officers and ranks have demonstrated a penchant for defying the professional ethics which were inherited by the armed forces in the wake and terminus of the colonial empire. Soldiers have overturned the structure of command and obedience within their own formation through secretive, selective and limited conspiracies and hedonistic scheming for power.

The intervention of the military in Nigerian political affairs was through the coup de' tat of January, 15, 1966 led by Major ChukwumaKadina Nzegwu and then later high jacked by Major General J.T.U. Aguyi-Ironsi, the then Lieutenant Colonel Ironsi, on January 16, 1966 (Zaria, 2013). Despite their involvement in politics, they still remain an institution with their own unique system of communication. Their language of communication differs from that of civilians as observed in Information Booklet for Adults published by the National Museum of Ireland.

> Soldiers have a language of their own. Some of these words and phrases are technical description of aspects of the military life. Others are slang or metaphors that have found their way into everyday speech. You might be using military terms without even realizing it.

Many researchers have been conducted on the language of the military. For instance, Kirtley (2010) conducted interviews with seven members of the military in order to find out how they believe military and non-military speeches differ. The interviewees reported a world of difference between the languages of the two groups. The first and most frequent thing that the

interviewee noted was the use of military-related lexical items including acronyms and slangs. Kirtley argues that their speech characteristics stem from the need for military communication to be efficient and concise; every communication must be clear and quick so that sensitive orders can be carried out without dangerous incidents.

Other markers mentioned by the interviewees had to do with strict hierarchy practiced in the military using titles and choosing to use either direct or indirect language according to the person with whom they are communicating. This creates and fortifies the military hierarchy: a constant way so that servicemen are made aware of who take orders from whom, and whom to give orders to. However, politicians as well observe hierarchy and titles in their communications to some extent. They address the superior ones with "honourable", 'your excellency', 'senator' and the likes.

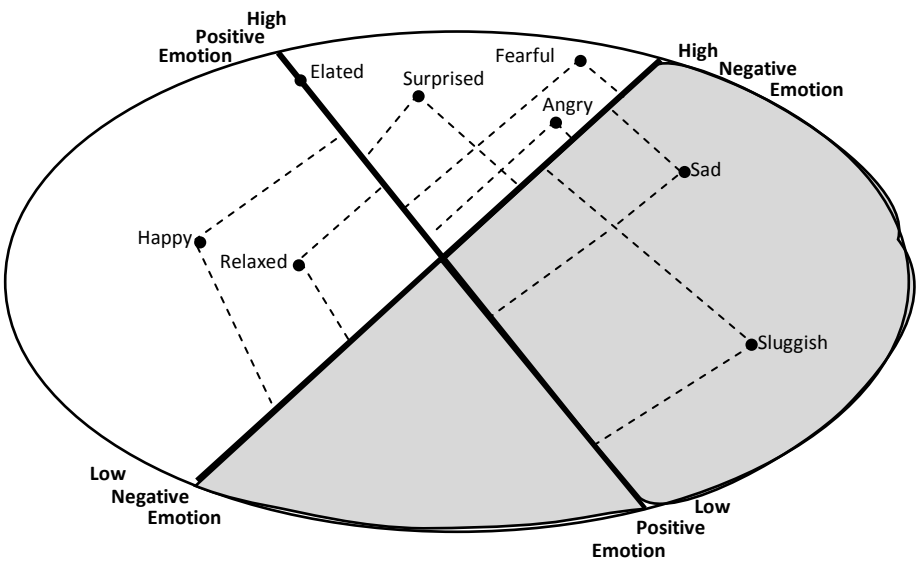
In addition, Ayeomoni (2015) found out that coercion is a part of the elements of linguistic identity of the military. He observed that the strategy is used to compel people to submission and to secure their obedience and compliance to laws and orders of the land. He concluded by saying "This language is mainly used during the period of crises, disruption, anarchy or when there is total breakdown of law and order. However, it is of note that this strategy is more popular with the military political elite than their civilian counterparts." Other identified elements of the language of the Nigerian military include the use of 'sir' indiscriminately; whether a male or female military officer. The use of 'ma' or 'madam' is not in their dictionary. Such indiscrimination also applies to time. To the military, every time is morning. Therefore, the only known greeting to them is 'Morning sir'.

2.5 Language and Emotive Use of Language

Language has continued to be the tool for expressing human bodily and psychological feelings. Humans have the unique capacity to experience complex, nuanced, emotions. They alsohave the unique challenge of communicating those experiences to one another using language.According to Lindquist et al (2012) "language might not just translate feelings into words, but might help shape the nature of those feelings, to begin with." According to them the language of emotion refers exclusively to words that people use to describe emotional status (such as "anger", "disgust", "fear", "joy", "contentment", "pride", "schadenfreude", "amea", etc.)

According to Mahmoud (2011) "Emotion can then refer to a feeling and its distinctive thoughts, psychological and biological states, and a range of properties to act." It is in close relation with this definition that Lang (1995), in Haley (2004), has identified some basic elements of the experience of emotion. They include: (a) stimulus situation that provokes the reaction; (b) there is positively or negatively tone conscious experience – the "emotion" that we feel; (c) there is bodily state of physiological arousal produced by autonomic nervous system and endocrine glands; and (d) there is related behaviour that generally accompanies emotions – the animal that is afraid cringes, trembles, then runs.

Watson and Tellegen, in Haley (1976), have developed a map of the structure and relationships among different emotions. The map is thus:



Watson and Tellegen's "Map" of the structure and relationships among different emotions.

A number of important points should be made about Watson and Tellegen's emotional map. First, they have proposed that positive and negative emotions are two distinct dimensions of emotion. They are negatively correlated. But positive and negative emotions are not just the opposites of one another. This may seem unreasonable at first, but notice that the specific emotions that we consider to be "opposites" (such as happy and sad or nervous and relaxed) are, in fact, in opposite positions on the emotional map.

Second, notice that anger and fear are very close to each other on the emotional map. There are many reasons to believe that fear and anger are, in many ways, variants of the William James' first psychology textbook published in 1890.

Political discourse is never devoid of emotion. The present study shall look at how the Heads of State, both civilian and military, employ emotions in their inaugural speeches using various lexical forms that convey feelings and emotions.

2.5.1 Language and Emotion

In most cases, people put their feelings into words to express their social behavior. Research on the emotion lexicon, according to Lindquist et al (2012), systematically describes the terms that speakers of different languages use for emotions. They tend to see language as epiphenomenal to emotions. It is in this regard that Johnson –Liard and Oatley (1989) have observed that "emotions serve a communicative function both within the brain and within the social group". Consequently, language is the key to social interaction in groups.

To that effect, Johnson –Liard and Oatley (1989) semantically classify words denoting emotion into six (6) categories:

1. Basic emotions e.g. “happiness” and “elation”
2. Emotional relations, e.g. “love” and “hate”
3. Caused emotions e.g. “gladness” and “horror”
4. Causatives, e.g. “imitate” and “reassure”
5. Emotional goals, e.g. “desire” and “avarice”
6. Complex emotions e.g. “embarrassment” and “pity”

2.5.2 Basic Emotional Terms

These words should accordingly denote emotions that can be experienced without the experiencer knowing their cause.Obviously,they can also be used to refer to emotions experienced for a known cause.

How can we determine that a word is semantically related to one of the modes designated by “happiness”, “sadness”, “fear”, “anger”, and “disgust”? One method is to use the so-called “but” test (Bendix, 1966; Miller & Johnson –Liard, 1976). If two words have nothing in common, they and their negations can be freely combined with the conjunction “but”:

He was tired, but he was happy

And

He was tired, but he was not happy.

Thus, there is no semantic component common to both “tired” and “happy”. If two words are semantically related, however, then the results of one or both of the combinations will be odd. For example, “apprehensive” and “petrified”, which are both caused emotion terms, share a semantic component, because although it is acceptable to assert:

He was apprehensive but not petrified

It is anomalous to assert:

He was petrified but not apprehensive.

Both words, of course, denote fear, but "apprehensive" denotes mild fear about possible future events whereas "petrified" denotes intense and paralyzing fear.

Similarly, there is a semantic relation between "distressed" and "petrified", because it would be odd to say:

He was petrified, but not distressed.

Semantically, "distress" has a disjunctive denotation: sadness or fear for a known reason. So the two words have *fear* as a common component. The "but" test can be helpful in exploring close semantic relations. But as Miller and Johnson –Liard have remarked, it should be used with caution, especially for more distant relations.

One modification of the basic modes, which the "but" test helps to reveal, concerns the intensity of the mode. Thus, to be "joyful" is to feel considerable happiness, whereas to be "ecstatic" is to feel intense happiness. In general, the more intense an emotion, the less likely it is to be experienced a causally, because it verges on the pathological to feel extreme emotions without knowing the reason why. Yet, it seems that basic emotions can be experienced intensely for no apparent reason, as in the case of joy, irritation, or free-floating anxiety.

Another aspect of a basic emotional mode is its temporal duration. Certain terms refer to a currently experienced emotion.Others refer to a prolonged state or mood. Still,others refer to an even longer-term state – a disposition of the personality towards feeling that emotion. Thus, an individual can be described as irritable if he or she is currently angry, or in an angry mood, or has a general disposition to be angry. Basic emotion terms can be used to refer to moods or to

emotional types of personality, because mood and personality types often do not have a discernible cognitive cause. Both depend on emotion modes.And it follows that the vocabulary of basic emotions should provide descriptions of moods and personalities. Likewise, it should be possible to have generic emotion terms to refer to moods and personalities. They too do not require a discernible cognitive cause because they can be used to refer to any emotion including basic emotions. Where a word designates a caused emotion, i.e., one where the cause is known but does not have to fit a particular propositional recipe, then it will not, in general, be appropriate to use it to refer to a mood, still less to a personality type.

Johnson –Liard and Oatley (1976) have provided a sample of words referring to basic emotions as indicated in the table below:

Table 1:

Basic Emotions: *A sample of words denoting basic emotions of differing intensities which can occur in the absence of any known propositional content. These words can also be used to refer to moods and to personality types.*

BASIC MODES				
Happiness	***Sadness***	***Fear***	***Anger***	***Disgust***
Light-hearted	Wistful	Timid	Grouchy	
Carefree	Gloomy	Tense	Touchy	Queasy
Happy	Sad	Anxious	Irritable	Nausea
High	Melancholic	Fearful	Angry	
Euphoric	Depressed	Panicky	Irascible	
Ecstatic	Wretched	Craven	Splenetic	

As the table above shows, basic terms generalize naturally to moods and personalities. The labels at the head of the table –"happiness", "sadness", and so on –are not unique names for the five emotion modes. Rather,those are words of everyday English that seem most closely to refer to the modes in their unmodified forms. The table includes words denoting mild, ordinary, and intense emotions. None of these states necessarily depends on a conscious awareness of its cause.

2.5.3 Emotional Relations

Emotions are typically about someone or something.They are more likely to be experienced in relation to individuals or their actions than merely in a vacuum. Hence, one should expect there to be words that refer to the relation between someone who experiences an emotion and its object, e.g. "James fears Joan".

There is nothing problematical about the idea that fear and anger can have objects. Love and hate must likewise have objects. This source of the emotion can be treated as its cause. But there are some subtleties to be ironed out. One can experience an emotion towards someone without knowing why he/she engenders the feeling. Thus, just as one can be happy for no known reason so, too, one can love, hate, or fear someone without knowing the reason why. There is no doubt that there is a cause of such emotions, but that cause may have little or nothing to do with the object of the emotion, and may not have entered the consciousness of the person experiencing the emotion.

Hatred is often expressed in displays of anger, but this connection is a contingent rather than a necessary one: you can hate someone or something without feeling anger.You can be angry with someone you do not hate. Sadness can also have an object, as when you miss someone from whom you are separated. Sympathy and pity depend on the same emotional mode, but they are complex feelings that we will come to presently.

Of the terms denoting emotional relations, there is only one subset that might be taken not to correspond to basic mode namely, bravery, courage, boldness, and their cognates. To be brave is not to feel fear – or at least not to manifest it – in circumstances likely to provoke it.

Johnson –Liard and Oatley (1976) have also provided sample of words for emotional relations below:

Table 2:

Emotional Relations:*Sample of words that express an emotional relation between the subject, who experiences the emotion, and the object of the emotion.*

BASIC MODES				
Happiness	***Sadness***	***Fear***	***Anger***	***Disgust***
Like	Miss	Afraid of	Aggrieved with	Dislike
Love	Mourn	Fear	Angry with	Hate
Adore	Grieve for	Dread for	Scorn	Loathe

2.5.4 Caused Emotions

Certain words denoting emotions normally signify a feeling that has a cause known to the individual experiencing it. For instance, if you say, "I am glad", then, as the "but" test shows, you feel happy, but you cannot properly disclaim all knowledge of what has occasioned the feeling. Thus, we can modify the "but" test to have as its second clause: "But I don't know why", or "But I know why". The test shows that words referring to basic emotions do not necessarily contain a cognitive component. It is perfectly sensible to assert, for example:

I am happy but I don't know why

Or

I am happy but I know why.

However, it would be odd to claim:

I am glad but I don't know why

Because the term is normally used to relate an emotion to a reason or cause, e.g. "I feel glad because the winter is over", or to express an attitude towards a proposition (a "propositional

attitude" in philosophical parlance). Some emotions are experienced without knowing their cause or reason.Others – those we refer to as *caused emotions* –are experienced for a known reason. Of course, all emotions have a cause, and so the label is meant to imply merely that some aspects of it are known to the experiencer.

Sample of words denoting caused emotions are provided below by Johnson –Liard &Oatley (1976):

Table 3:

BASIC MODES				
Happiness	***Sadness***	***Fear***	***Anger***	***Disgust***
Cheer	Dejection	Apprehension	Disgruntled	
Enjoyment	Sorrow	Consternation	Miffed	
Glad	Heart-broken	Afraid	Indignant	Disgust
Delight	Inconsolable	Panic	Cross	Sick
Overjoyed	Desolate	Terror	Furious	

2.5.5 Causatives and Emotions

One common form of discourse about caused emotions relies on causative verbs. These verbs express the relation between the cause of an emotion and the person who experiences it, e.g. "The news annoyed the President". The passive form of the verb can accordingly be used to refer to caused emotion: "The President was annoyed by the news". In general, the description of the cause of an emotion is the converse of the description of a caused emotion: the two run along together in parallel. But, there are some exceptions to this principle: some causative verbs denote the cause of a complex emotion (e.g. humiliate); someone is to cause them to feel anger, but speakers do not ordinarily refer to being chafed). A few adjectives also denote properties that cause emotions (e.g. poignant, tragic, and dreary).

Table 4:

Causatives: *A sample of words that can be used to denote the causes of emotions. Their passive forms can accordingly be used to denote caused emotions.*

BASIC MODES				
Happiness	***Sadness***	***Fear***	***Anger***	***Disgust***
Content	Deflate	Disquiet	Irk	Putoff
Please	Disillusion	Perturb	Peeve	Alienate
Amuse	Dampen	Worry	Irritate	Estrange
Delight	Depress	Scare	Annoy	Repel
Transport	Sadden	Frighten	Enrage	Nauseate
Enthrall	Disappoint	Terrify	Incense	Sicken
Exhilarate	Desolate	Petrify	Infuriate	Revolt

Emotion (e.g. excite, provoke, stir, overwhelm), some denote generically the causes of negative emotions: sadness, anger, fear, or disgust (e.g. upset, disturb, bother, trouble, distress). Some denote the causes of complex emotions (e.g. humiliate, embarrass, encourage). Certain causative verbs denote the restoration of emotional equilibrium after sadness (e.g. cheer up, console, solace), fear (e.g. hearten), or anger (e.g. mollify, appease, placate). Only one set of causative verbs appears to fall outside the domain of the basic modes.These verbs concern surprise (e.g. amaze, astonish, flabbergast).

2.5.6 Emotional Goals

Emotions often function as motives that lead to characteristic behaviours designed to achieve goals. Love may lead to approach, sadness to withdrawal and inaction, fear to flight, anger to aggression, and hatred to avoidance. The achievement of a goal produces happiness. Certain words denote the state of having a goal (e.g. inclination, desire, need, want). Other terms denote specific sorts of goals (e.g. avarice, curiosity, greed, lust). Unfulfilled goals may lead to

sadness or to anger, and some words denote these states (e.g. discontent, disappointment, frustration). There are still other verbs that express the sadness that results from thwarted love or desire (e.g. long for, pine for, lovesick).

2.5.7 Complex Emotions

Words that denote basic emotions can be used to refer to complex emotions too. Thus, someone can say:

> I felt anxious because I was aware that I had made a fool of myself in front of those people and then agree that the experience was one of embarrassment, which is a mild fear or shame brought on by a self-conscious assessment of oneself in a social situation.

As terms that refer to basic emotions can also be used to refer to complex emotions, the structure of the language must not be confused with the underlying structure of emotions. The words in Table 1 can refer to both basic and complex emotions. Where a particular complex emotion occurs frequently in a culture, and is perhaps of special significance in social relations, then, as in other domains of discourse, appropriate terms are likely to have entered the language to refer to it. However, there is an important asymmetry: A term referring explicitly to a complex emotion is restricted to it, and is not interpretable as referring solely to the underlying basic emotions. Thus, for example, the word *embarrassment* denotes a complex emotion.It cannot be used merely to refer to a basic underlying emotion. The reason for this asymmetry is that terms which explicitly designate complex emotions possess a complex semantic structure.

The preceding argument provides us with a powerful linguistic tool for identifying terms that refer to complex emotions (and not to basic emotions). Given that any complex emotion depends on a basic emotion mode, it follows that there will be a term referring to a basic emotion that renders true an implication of the following form:

If you feel Complex Emotion C, then you feel Basic Emotion B.

Here is an example of such an implication:

If you feel regret, then you feel sad.

However, the converse implication is not necessarily true:

If you feel basic emotion B, then you feel complex emotion C.

Indeed, the implication:

If you feel sad, then you feel regret.

Complex emotions are experienced as a result of high-level of self-evaluations. Katz (1980) proposed and tabulated an analysis based on such self-evaluations and the idea that emotions can refer to past, present, or future events. Complex emotions is a self-evaluation that can be made either about your own state or about how you stand in relation to others (cf. Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). Those emotions that concern your own state may concern your past actions, your current situation, or your goals. Thus, there are retrospective feelings such as regret or remorse. To feel regret is to feel sad because you judge that your past action, or inaction, was wrong.To feel remorseful is similar except that you judge your action to be morally wrong.

Emotions that depend on relating the self to others may be feelings that you have about yourself, e.g. to feel a sense of belonging is to feel happy that one fits in with a group.To feel lonely is to feel sad because one has no company. Embarrassment and shame are similarly emotions that depend on a self-evaluation in relation to other people.

Table 5

Complex Emotions: *A sample of words that denote emotions experienced as a result of cognitive evaluations in relation to the model of the self*

BASIC MODES				
Happiness	***Sadness***	***Fear***	***Anger***	***Disgust***
In relation to self				
Hope	Hopelessness			
Complacent	Despair			Self-disgust

Pride Conceit	Remorse Self-pity			Shame Self-hatred
In relation to others				
Closeness Intimacy Belonging	Sorry for Sympathy Pity	Shy self-conscious Embarrassment	Bitter	Resentment Envy Jealous

In summary, the authors identified five (5) forms of emotions and their corresponding words. The semantic classification of the words gives the researcher the ability to identify the type of emotions the speakers under study express in their inaugural speeches.

The subjects of study (civilian and military Heads of states) express the emotions the research is trying to find out in a political atmosphere. Hence, the review of emotion in politics.

2.5.8 Emotion in Politics

Leaders surprisingly, do not lose sight of employing emotions in their speeches. Therefore, emotion is part and parcel of their speeches. Hilleker (2006) in Shehu(2015) defines emotion as "the introduction of emotion into political communication in reaction to public demand for interaction with politics." Shehuon this note explains that, politicians get the public entangled with politics by giving them emotive feelings and experiences that may yield electoral or other support when the need arises. It is in this respect that Richards (1994) outlines four points in order to make successful emotion of political discourse:

There should first be a clear and sustained attempt to make political communication relevant to the real life of the electorate, especially as it affects political decisions and in terms of policy making. The second point is on the basis of Bucy's (2000) argument that political communication should show the politicians as 'rounded human beings who share all emotions with their audience.' This is because political leaders are judged by the appropriateness of their display of emotions from which it can be construed whether they are real or not, and whether the

speaker is trustworthy or not. The third point is the need to tap from the 'emotional currents' in unfolding debates without avoiding controversial topics as well as continuous 'interaction with the hopes, fears and concerns of the masses.' The fourth point requires emotion to give a 'narrative of everyday life,' by using the language that is sensitive to and reflective of the experiences of the public.

Politicians, world over, take advantage of religious, tribal and geographical differences among people to use them to emotionalize messages in their campaigns and speeches. Kamalu and Agangan (2011) cited an instance where the former President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan uses tribe/religion to emotionalize his audience in his presidential campaign; they observe that:

> He makes an indirect appeal to ethno-religious sentiment when he acknowledged that he came to power by the "power of God" and the "support and prayers" of "all ethnic groups, North, South, East and West." He used the metaphor of inclusion and solidarity by asserting oneness with all ethno-religious groups in Nigeria: "I am one of you and will never let you down!"

The reference to God and ethnic groups shows that he completely understands the role of religion and tribe in Nigerian Politics, since he is from the Ijaw "minority" tribe in the Niger Delta. He therefore needs the support of all ethno-religious groups in the country to win the party primaries and the 2011 Presidential elections.

Similarly,Shehu (2015) gave an instance of application of emotion in Muktar Ramalan Yero's (former Kaduna State Governor) political campaign in 2015. He says "of the series of campaigns that took place four months ahead of 2015 Presidential election, apparently the most emotionalized in Kaduna State was the speech Yero delivered at the Jonathan/Sambo campaign secretariat…" He stated that, Yero "emotionalized the campaign with vulgarity and threat of vengeful violence saying "If one is convinced that his mother really gave birth to him (repeated three times); if we go out to campaign, let him by God stone us; if we go out to campaign, let

him by God hit our car; if we go out to campaign, let him by God burn our cars; if we go out to campaign, let him burn our house. I swear to God; whoever does this, we shall avenge. No retreat, no surrender!

According to Shehu(2015) it was evident that Yero was emotionalized in his utterances to the extent of committing 'rhetorical dissonance' in which the speaker utters words that contradict his personal demeanor.

It is obvious from the review of the literature above that, there is close relationship between language and emotion. It is also clear that most at times emotions could be expressed in language. In this case there are specific lexical items in language that are used to express emotions of different kinds. In addition, political speeches are also loaded with emotional words to be able to work on the psyche of the electorates or the dominant group.

The emotion is not employed unnecessarily or arbitrarily in the inaugural speeches of the leaders; the military or politicians. They tactfully bring in emotion so as to cognitively build in their ideology in the listeners. It is in this regard that one finds ideology in political discourse.

2.6Ideology in Political Discourse

Politics is a struggle for power so as to put in place certain political, economic and social ideas into practice by strategically appealing to the cognition of the ruled by the ruler. In this process, language plays vital role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. Such cognitive control by the dominant group in politics is referred to as ideology.

According to Daniel (2011) "ideology has to do with system of ideas that people share as the principle guiding their lives. It often directs the actions they take." Similarly, according to Luke (1998) "the notion ideology refers to the system of ideas, beliefs and practices and

representation which operate in the interest of an identifiable social class or cultural group. Delinger (1995) in Daniel (2011), in agreement with Van Dijk, opines that ideologies provide the cognitive base for attitude of various groups in the societies, which eventually furthers their particular interest and objectives. It is therefore, not surprising that the dominant group pursues a line of action in which the cognitive foundation upon which social discourses are based is for their own welfare. Van Dijk (1993) argues that this ideological posture results from a particular form of social cognition. Van Dijk sees ideology as a product of social cognition. That is, a mental set is created in society which fits into the expectation of the dominant or power-holding. He claims that this is done through 'mind management'. Mind management, he says, is a concept that involves the dominant group influencing "knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitude, ideologies, norms and values" of the dominated to the point that they create mental sets that see the order of things in the society as normal. In this regard, people accept as fate whatever social position they find themselves. When such a thinking system spreads through the society and is considered as a given, it becomes the society's social cognition – its ideology.

A very comprehensive definition of ideology is provided by Van Dijk (1996) where he says:

> Ideologies are the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognition shared by members of social groups or institutions. In this respect, ideologies are both cognitive and social. They essentially function as the interface between the cognition representation and the process underlying discourse and action, on the one hand and the societal position and interest of social groups on the other hand.

The definition is seemingly all-encompassing but does not see an individual as having his own ideology. It considers ideology as a social cognition shared by members of social group. However, the definitions of ideology by Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia gave a leeway of accommodating personal belief and social cognitions of an individual as ideology as well. It

says, “Ideology is a collection of beliefs held by an individual, group or society. It can be described as a set of conscious and unconscious ideas which make up ones beliefs, goals, expectations and motivation. In the sense of this definition, there exists personal ideology which may or maynot be shared cognitively. Even Van Dijk in his early researches on ideology had the notion that ideology could be individualistic. However, he later made a U-turn and maintain the stance of other scholars like Fraser and Gaskell(1990) who viewed ideology as a comprehensive normative vision that is followed by people, governments or other groups that is considered the correct way by the majority of the population. According to Fraser and Gaskell (1990) “But unlike personal opinions they (ideologies) are essentially shared by social collectivities. They are a form of shared or “widespread” ideas.” According to Van Dijk (2015) “There are no such things as personal ideologies in the same way as there are no personal languages”. He is of the view that even when the original “ideas” that give rise to an ideology have been developed by one or a few individuals, these ideas only constitute an ideology when groups of people acquire, share, propagate and use them to promote their collective interest and guide their social practices. In this sense, ideology is seen by these scholars as social cognition.

However, close observation of social or political practices shows that, individual ideology is feasible, for some individuals in society may have their view point, beliefs and ideas unpopular to other society members, yet they maintain their stand points even when they remain loners forever. Likewise, we have observed in Nigerian politicians, academics and other people of various professions whose line of thought and actions remain strange to other people, yet they remain constant on their ideology. Such people become very popular for their unpopular ideology.

It has also been observed, that conflict of ideologies may exist in an individual because of variation of the sources of his ideological cognition. In this case, he may belong to different groups and hence may share in different ideologies. According to Van Dijk (2006) "There may of course be mutually incompatible and this means that for each social context of interaction and discourse, language users may have to strategically negotiate to manage their possible different allegiances." This is also obvious in discourse, which may show results of such ideological dilemmas, of internal argumentation and insecurity, or of the social pressure individuals face in the realization of the ideologies of the different groups they belong to (Bilig et al., 1988 Bilig, 1991). Van Dijk (1999) gives an analogy of a black woman journalist in the United States who may have to combine the ideological systems of gender, ethnicity, profession and nationality, and conflicts between these are obvious and this will also affect her social activities, her news reports and her other discourse, depending on the social situation (e.g. in the newsroom she will be expected to be professional – and American – first of all and her other identities and allegiances may be marginalized, suppressed or otherwise restricted). This therefore, buttresses the fact that there could be individual ideology which is not a social cognitive of a group or society, what could be obvious also is that there will exist a conflict of ideologies in an individual as he/she would have to behave different in different context to be in tandem with the social cognitive of the context he/she finds himself.

2.6.1 Types of Ideology

Most scholars that made contributions in the study of ideology Van Dijk (1996, 1998, 2015), Rehmann, (2014) Fairclough (1991), Shandama, (2015) and Kamalu and Aganga (2011) have concur that there exist varieties of ideologies. This is so for the fact that, man is not an island. His day-to-day social interactions with members of his immediate and distant society

influence his views, beliefs, judgment etc. To this effect, these experiences give rise to different kinds of ideologies within an individual or group. Society, profession, knowledge national and international changes and developments are the main factors of creating ideologies.

Van Dijk (1996) observes that "ideologies are not limited to groups that are related by dominance, power or struggle. We also have professional ideologies (e.g. of journalists and professors), institutional ideologies and ideologies of many other groups in society… group interest as defined by the categories of identity activities, goals, norms and values, social position and resources. He further observed that "though the word "ideology" is most often found in political discourse, there are many different kinds of ideology, political, social epistemological, ethical etc. These typologies of ideology debunked the earlier argument of Karl Max who posits that a society's dominant ideology is integral to its superstructure. He argues that, "the class which have means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production." This only relates to economic ideology and political ideology. In this regard, it could be said that, there is micro-ideology and macro – ideology. The micro-ideology relates to some petty ideologies ranging from individual ideology and small group ideology whether political, social, economic etc which have not gained wide spread in the society or fraction of supporters

Macro – ideology on the other hand, could be considered as ideology that has widely spread in the larger society, which influences decisions of a larger groups or nation(s). Such ideologies are found in literature. It is also paramount to note that whether ideology is micro or macro it has far reaching effect on the spheres of life of man. The micro – ideology could obstruct government plans, societal peace and even human existence. Rehmann (2014) observes that "unlike society shared knowledge of communities (macro – ideology) group ideologies are

at least partly evaluative as in their positive ingroup and negative outgroup bias and as defined by the norms and values of a group and its surrounding society and culture." The case of Boko Haram in Nigeria, is the case of micro – ideological influence. According toSani (2012), the group is against Western Oriented Education in toto. Their ideology has made devastating effect to political economic and social life of Nigerians. It has, according to Balarabe (2016) claims the lives of thirty thousand (30, 000) Nigerians. The macro –ideology which is considered as a comprehensive normative vision that is practiced by the dominant class of society and cognitively followed by the dominated could have double-age sword effect. It could be of value or devastating as well to the society or nation. The ideology of fight against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria or for the good of the country.

2.6.2 Reality of Ideology

In some definitions of ideology cited in literature above, it has been placed on the scale of negativism, for it is seen as an instrument of the dominant group to control the dominated. According to most recent analysis, ideologies are either necessarily right or wrong. Van Dijk (1999) has this to say on positivity and negativity of ideology.

> Another fundamental difference from most classical approaches in is that, ideologies are not necessarily negative. They are not only developed and used to sustain and legitimate social and political power abuse, as is the case for racism, but can also be shared and used by social groups to resist such domination and in order to propagate egalitarian attitudes and practices, as is the case for feminism. In both cases, ideologies are belief systems shared by groups in order to promote their interest and to guide their social and political practices.

It is interesting to note that, status of legitimacy and illegitimacy of ideology in the above statement is a view change of the authors contrary to his earlier positions in Van Dijk (1998) and also contrary to Fairclough (2003). It could be discerned even from our common sense that ideology could be regarded from the two points of view positive and negative.

CDA scholars agree that discourse and ideology are contingent (Van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough (2001). Ideologies can be identified in texts. This is because ideology is invested in texts (Zheng, 2014); we cannot "read off ideologies from texts" (Fairclough, 1992).Ar (2015) therefore, argued that, ideology can be used by discourse producers to enact dominance and impose legitimation. According to him, one way of promoting and exposing this ideology is through the use of language – discourse, enacted by state leaders in speeches in summits or forums, or by means of articles in newspapers by government think-tanks, leading economists and policy analysts. He added that, the notion that ideologies are cognitively and socially represented in texts stems from the assumption that social interaction takes place within social structures at the widest sense – language, economy and knowledge and other social systems of classification that includes class (Fairclough, 2003). He concluded that ideological representations thus, can be identified in texts, for example by the analysis of vocabulary and propositional contents, among others. Van Dijk (2009) however, made a clarifying statements where he says, ideologies can be expressed by discourse, but are not the same as discourse. Ideologies also can be expressed by other social practices… in other words, it makes sense to distinguish ideologies as forms of social cognition from the ways they are being expressed and used in discourse or other social practices.

2.6.3 Ideology in Linguistic Theory

According to Luke (1998), the notion of ideology refers to the system of ideas, beliefs and practices and representations, which operates in the interest of an identifiable social class or cultural group. In this regard, ideology in linguistic theories according to Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) has been viewed from the perspective of Descriptive Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Systematic Linguistics and the Ethnography of communication. On the theoretical level,

descriptive linguistics approaches the investigation of language for politics as a synchronic object of study; as observed by Mey (1985). It does not see ideology as a possession of people's mind or as a corpus of absent ideas residing in their consciousness. It views ideology as an object that has a material social existence in language, text and discourse.

It is in this sense that, Fairclough (1989) asserts that "Ideology is represented through discourse and that discourse is ideological, produced by and producing the social relations of addressors and addressees." Therefore, language is a palate with which ideology is expressed.

2.6.4 Language and Ideology

Language plays a crucial role in expressing, changing and particularly reproducing ideologies. Language is not produced in context-free vacuum, but in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social system and institutions. According to Rahimi and Riasati (2011).

> Since language operates within this social dimension, it tends to reflect and construct ideology. Therefore, if we want to know what ideologies are, how they work and how they are created, changed and reproduced, we need to investigate their discursive manifestations because discursive practices are embedded in social structures, which are mostly constructed, validated, naturalized, evaluated and legitimized in and through language i.e. discourse.

The authors therefore, strongly believed that ideology is residing in language and is best identified and exhumed from an individual through the analysis of his discursive practices. It is in this respect that Van Dijk (1998, 2008b) argues that for such social attitude and their underlying ideologies to be acquired and shared in a group in the first place, they usually need to be expressed, formulated, or otherwise communicated among group members or defended or legitimated outside of the group. That is, ideologies are typically produced and reproduced by talk or text by ideological discourse, such as party programmes, parliamentary debates, speeches,

news report and editorials, textbooks, Holy Books, pamphlets, or scientific articles, as well as everyday conversations among or within people as group members.

The researcher observes that the explication of ideology residing in text and talk as argued by the scholars above ignored body language which could be also ideological. Some ideologies may not be expressed in discourse, they are embedded in signs and symbols. That could be studied in semiotics which Leech and Thomas (1990) describe as "the study of signs and sign systems." Some ideological beliefs are therefore, covered in the attitude and symbol of the ideological group and could not be studied only under text and talk.

2.6.5 Ideological Structures of Discourse

As ideologies are embedded in language, they are however not residing arbitrarily. They are structurally organized as they are acquired, learned and practiced. Van Dijk (1991, 1998) in Moreno (2008) identifies a set of ideological structures of discourse. He names them as "Ideological Discourse Structures." These structures according to Van Dijk express ideologies in a subtle way. Moreno (2008) classifies the ideological structures of Discourse into Global level and local level. Accordingto him at the Global level there are topics, themes, participants and context. Van Dijk claims that these global structures organize the semantic microstructures.

At the local level the actual discourse resides, which presents the most part of the ideological content. This refers to the meaning of ideology that is unveiled in the text and talk by the analyst. The ideological discourse analysis relies on the level to unravel the inbuilt ideology in discourse or discursive practices.

2.6.6 Ideological Discourse Analysis

Language users in various contexts are defined as members of communities, groups or organizations and are supposed to speak or write to make their positions clear. According to Bayram (2010) the ideological analysis examines what ideologies are typically associated with that position, for example, in order to defend or legitimate that position, typically so by discourse.

According to Van Dijk (1999) however, the point of ideological discourse analysis is not merely to 'discover' underlying ideologies but to systematically write structures of discourse with structures of ideology. This means the knowledge of language, discourse, society and ideologies usually allows us to make such inferences rather than reliably.

Various scholars suggested some frameworks for the analysis of ideology in discourses. Leeuwen (1996) suggested this framework consisting of the following sections:

1. Exclusion:
    a. Suppression
    b. Back grounding
2. Inclusion:
    a. Activisationvspassivization
    b. Genericisationvs specification
    c. Individualization
    d. Assimilation
    e. Indetermination (anonymous)
    f. Determination
    g. Nomination and categorization
    h. Functionalization and identification

3. Impersonalized social actors
    a. Abstraction
    b. Objectivism

Hodge and Kress (1993) however, have a different framework for the analysis of ideology. According to them the main focus of a particular vocabulary item will be on its origin of classification, schemes and ideologically significant relations such as synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy, relational values and expressive values. This framework (syntagmatic model) is made up of the assumption regarding the interaction of language, thought, ideology and the classification system which consists of "actionals" and "relationals". In this framework, actionalmodels represent the perceived relationship in the physical world. Actionals are divided more specifically into "transactive" and "non-transactive". Relational models encompass "equative" and "attributive" sections. They are concerned with the classification and evaluative system of language. Equative models create the relationship between nouns while attributive models bring about relations between nouns and qualities. Relationals indicate the consequence of mental activities, suggest judgments, comments etc. This model centers on lexicalization in the analysis of ideological discourse. Other aspects that come to play in unraveling ideology in discourse have not been given any prominence.

Another framework suitable to Critical Discourse Analysis for the analysis of ideology as suggested by Moreno (2008) is Halliday's (1985) language and functional perspective. In his "systematic theory" a method of text analysis is introduced which is a theory of meaning as a choice, by which language is interpreted as networks of interlocking options. It emphasizes choice, selection of options from systems constituting meaning potentials. Choice entails "inclusion" and "exclusion".

This theory revolves around inclusion and exclusion only. It did not elaborately explain the dichotomy of the two concepts. Van Dijk (1996) elaborated the concepts of inclusion and exclusion using the terms positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. He is of the opinion that, if the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is a well-known way to exhibit ideological structures in discourse, we may predict the following structures and strategies of text and talk may typically be ideologically relevant, depending on topic, context, speech acts and communicative goal, for ingroups and outgroups respectively.

Describing/attributing positive action

Ingroup	outgroup
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalisation	Detopicalisation
o Sentential (micro)	
o Textual (macro)	
High prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarization	Marginalization
Detail description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No story telling
Argumentative support	No argumentative support

Impression management No impression management

According to him the reverse will be true for the description and attribution of negative actions, which generally will tend to be de-emphasized for ingroups (e.g. by denial, euphemisms, implicitness and detopicalisation) and emphasized for outgroups.

In his elaborated framework, Van Dijk (1997) asserts that the main point of the analysis is to show how various ideologies are expressed in various kinds of structures. Rahini and Riasati (2011) presented some categories of those structures as:

- Actor description (meaning): Our ideologies will determine the way actors are described in discourse. Accordingly, if we divide them into ingroup and outgorup members, we will describe the former members in a neutral or positive way, and the latter members in a negative way.
- Authority (argumentation): People of different ideologies cite different authorities.
- Categorization (meaning): generally, people tend to categorize people based on their social affiliation, race, ethnicity, etc.
- Comparison (meaning, argumentation): In contrast to racist talk, that outgroups are compared negatively and ingroups positively, in anti-racist talk, we may negatively compare our country or government with repulsive undemocratic regimes.
- Disclaimers (meaning): Disclaimers are the ideological base of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategy.
- Euphemism (rhetorical, meaning): Euphemistic devices are used to beautify the social facts that may be offensive to the members of a community (e.g. sex, supernatural, death).

- Evidentiality (meaning, argumentation): Authority figures, institutions and various forms of evidentiality may happen by claims or points of view. This information may be provided by reading, hearing, or seeing something.
- Generalization (meaning, argumentation): Generalization is a powerful move in argumentation. It is used in racist discourse, for instance to formulate prejudices about generalized negative characteristics of immigrants.
- Hyperbole (rhetoric): Hyperboles are semantic rhetorical devices for enhancing and exaggerating meaning. By using special metaphors, especially in the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, we may expect that good or bad actions or properties of the self or other be expressed in hyperbolic terms.
- Implication (meaning): Pragmatic contextuals are the main reasons that discourse remains implicit. Recipients deduce and infer this implicit information by their attitudes, knowledge, and their mental models.
- Irony (rhetoric): Accusations are more effective in the forms of irony than when they are stated directly.
- Polarization (meaning): in categorizing people in ingroup (self/us) and outgroup (others/them) the expression of polarized cognitions are very prevalent.
- Presupposition (meaning): Presuppositions are mostly used to presuppose the truth when they are not established.
- Vagueness (meaning): Writers or speakers sometimes use the expressions that are unclear because they do not give enough information or they do not say exactly what they mean.

- Victimization (meaning): Telling bad stories about nations, in order to focus on their bad characteristics is the consequences of ingroups and outgroups in polarization.

It should be noted from the review of the related literature on the ideological discourse analysis that analysis of discourse of ideology does not stop on ingroup and outgroup but it also covers a wide areas of ideology including hidden ideologies which could be inferred by the use of surface structure of the discourse. The array of frameworks reviewed above avail the researcher opportunity to analyze various texts and talks with the embedded ideologies particularly political ideology which is the focus of the research.

2.6.7 Discourse Analysis of Political Ideology

As observed in the preceding units, ideology is always structured in the language, likewise as observed by Van Dijk (1995, 2006) and de Wet (2010) politically structured discourses are instruments of mind control by the dominant ideology. Kamalu and Agangan (2011) are of the opinion that:

> Political discourses, like declaration of candidacy for a political office, political campaigns, presentation of party manifestoes and other forms of political speeches which fall within the purview of Aristotle's deliberative rhetoric, aimed at marketing the ideology of the candidate and the party they represent.

It is in line with this opinion that Beard (2000) observes that "making speeches is a vital part of politician's role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it." This policy is the ideology of the government that the politician operates in. Therefore, in political language the speaker expresses his/her ideological content in text as does the linguistic form of the text. That is, selection of a linguistic form may not be a live process for the individual speaker, but the discourse will be a production of that previously learned discourse. Texts are selected and organized syntactic forms whose "content structure" reflects the ideological organization of a

particular area of social life (Dellinger, 1995). This means political ideology could be traced in political compositions and speeches of the politicians. In this regard, Sharndama (2015) observes that one of the vital tools that politicians use in order to shape the political thoughts of the electorates, with the aim of selling their ideologies to them, is language. Consequently, political ideology could be studied in the text and talk of the politicians through discourse analysis.

In the past, political discourses have been subjected to analysis via some analytical model such as Stylistic Analysis, (Omozuwa and Ezejideaku, 2007) to analyze language of political campaign in Nigeria, Ideagbo (2007) Pragmatic Analysis of inaugural speech of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, Kulo (2009) linguistic features in political speeches using Rhetoric, Balarabe (200---). Analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's speech using Propaganda Approach,Chinwe (2013) Analysis of Experiential etc. However, recently,focus has been shifted to the use of Critical Discourse Analysis in analyzing political discourse.

In political discourse, ideology is shared to ingroup and outgroup members through what is referred as power relation. Power relations serve as the powerful tools the powerful(dominant or leaders) use on the powerless or the dominated group to create absolute social cognition. Therefore, politicians and leaders in general value them seriously.

2.7 Power Relations in Political Discourse

In politics, power is considered as the instrument of control. The concept of control is what makes power exist. This means that where control is absent, power is illusive and opaque. It is in this regard that*The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*(1999), in Bayram (2010), defines power as "the ability of its holder to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will". Edelman (1977) says the power holder is "a person who can exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings [thus wielding] real power". This definition

may seem to be lopsided if we consider Ng and Bradac's (1993) two senses in their definition of power. According to them, "at the simplest level, one can distinguish between two senses of the concept: power to and power over". According to the, Russel (1938) has captured the "meaning of power very well by defining it as the production of interacted effects. They assert that these effects can be differentiated into the following:

> In a positive sense, "power to" is the realization of personal or collective goals. In the negative sense, it is the hindering of other individuals from achieving of goals for the sake of hindering. "Power over" on the other hand, is the relational facet of power. One person has power over another person when the two stand in a relationship of dominance and submission, this may occur in institutional (e.g. the military) or non-institutional (e.g. hostage situation) setting, legitimately or illegitimately, between friends or between enemies.

In the political sense, the sense of "power to" is not much important as "power over" is exertion of control and dominance over the dominated in a social context. Therefore, the sense of "power over" is more relevant in political context than *power to*. In fact, the definition of power by Lloyd (1974), in Daniel (2011), may be more closely relevant to political context because it tilts towards "power over" more than "power to". He describes power as "…ability of an actor to determine that another behaves in such manner as they would not otherwise have done and perhaps against his will". In this definition, there lies interpersonal relationship which makes the definition more political.

The sense of "power over" and "power to" is also closely related to dichotomy in the two types of power distinguished by Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) who believe that "influential power inclines people either to behave in certain ways or makes people adopt opinions/attitudes without exerting obvious force on them. It operates in such social spheres as advertising, culture, media and politics". They explained that if we resist influential power, we are not usually the subjects to some penalty or trouble. In that case people do not usually suffer any penalty for a

kind of a "sales resistance" to buy high-end or top-end goods (e.g. the highest priced model cars, houses, furniture, etc.), or for the resistance to be one political party loyal.

In contrast, they explained that instrumental power is explicit power which is imposed by the state, by the laws and conventions of this state and by the institutions and organizations we work for. Instrumental power operates in such social spheres as business, education and various types of management. Thus, it can be asserted that in many, but not in all cases, be subjected to some kind of penalty. Therefore, since politicians make laws and other bureaucratic systems to be followed in a state then their power is instrumental.

However, it should be noted that instrumental power is never absolute. This is for the fact that; punishment has to go through some legal examination before it is meted on the accused. Nonetheless, power over and instrumental power are more or less related to politics which is the concern of this thesis.

From his own perspective, Otite (1994) observes that "power can be said to be the ability of a person, group or social category to perform an act despite unwillingness or even resistance from any source". Also citing Bottomore (1979) to support his definition, Otite defines power as "the ability of an individual or a social group to pursue a course of action (to make and implement decision making, and more broadly to determine the agenda for decision making) if necessary against the interest and even against the opposing, of other individuals and groups". Expatiating on the definition of Bottomore, Otite explains that an important element in these two working definitions is the word ***ability***. It implies two things: firstly, that the person or group that holds power is able to wield it because he possesses a resource (money, status, knowledge, skill, weapon or authority) which other persons do not possess. For example, when it is suggested that

the capitalists are powerful, it simply means that they possess material wealth which workers do not possess; otherwise the latter would not obey the former.

However, one tends to disbelieve the author in considering the definition of power he cited as comprising all forms of power. The definitions rather focus on political power only. Having material power does not provide one with absolute power of control to make and implement decisions against the interest and even against the opposition of other individuals or group particularly, in the 21st Century. In the civilized era we live today, even political power could have its excesses curtailed for constitutions and courts exist to check the excesses of any power holder. For instance, recently the Gambian President, YahayaJame had to shelve his decision of rejecting the concluded election in which his opponent was declared the winner. He had to give up because of the pressure from international community and from other angles. Therefore, we could simply say power involves control of one member over other member groups. The singular form is deliberate in this definition because there are less dominant group than the dominated. The world control in the definition as observed by Van Dijk (1993) pertains to action and cognition. That is, powerful group may not only limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. So, for Van Dijk, effective power is mostly cognitive and is mostly enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to manipulate others according to one's own interest. This criticism against the definitions by the above mentioned scholars means that there could be different theories of power.

2.7.1 Theories of Power

There have been two major theories of power. One such theoretical scheme is Marx's notion of power which has arisen from his conception of society. For Karl Marx, the primary role of man in life is that of a producer. Therefore, human beings need to produce and reproduce their

existence in order to survive. In this regard, man has to firstly satisfy the basic needs of food and shelter. But once these primary needs have been satisfied, secondary needs then emerge for which man has to get involved in production again in order to satisfy those needs.

According to Otite (1994) for Marx, this behaviour is manifested in all societies from the most primitive to the most developed. But, according to him, in that production process, two groups of people are created: a group of people who own the means of production, and a group of people who do not. These groups which comprise the stratification systems are referred to social class. The first group constitutes the bourgeois class while the second is the proletariat class.

Therefore, for Max, the group that owns the means of production and controls economic life, also controls all other spheres of human life – political, intellectual, ideological, religious, etc. this group therefore possesses total power in society. Moreover, ownership of the means of production (property and capital) entitles that group to be the sole beneficiaries of the fruit of the production process, profit or surplus value. So, to the question, "who holds power in society?" Marx's answer would definitely be "the bourgeois class". Let us develop all these a little further. Why should the bourgeois class be so powerful? And what is the causal relationship between the means of production and the total power? For Marx, since the bourgeois class owns and controls all the means of production, the proletariat cannot produce anything on their own for their existence. They have no choice therefore but to work for the bourgeoisie. This situational necessity on the side of the proletariat gives the bourgeoisie the chance of total control (or total power) over them.

But that is not all. A control which derives mainly from the means of production is not likely to be sufficient to secure complete compliance from the proletarians. So, for Marx the

power of the bourgeoisie has another social basis outside of the economic realm. That class imposes on the society the hegemony of its own system of values – and that is the real basis of its power. All dominant classes in all the ages have maintained power and control through the creation of one type of hegemony or another. That is why Karl Marx statesthat:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.

Many scholars have used that Marxian model to analyze their societies. Baran and Sweezy (1966) for example, see the giant corporations wielding great political influence in America because they control the means of production. This would probably be more true of the nineteenth century, for in the 1820s approximately 300 corporations in America were concentrated in strategic economic activities like road and canal building, rail-roads, banking and land development. During that era the attainment of corporate status required political activity by persons seeking such status. Corporateness could be conferred only by a special act of the legislature. But now, as a result of various anti-trust laws, among other things, that concentrated power has, to some extent, been diluted.

A prominent theorist who did not entirely agree with Karl Marx was another German, Max Weber. Following from his conception of social stratification as consisting of more than two classes, Webersuggested that "power is not located only in one group, but diffused as legitimate authority in several groups". He therefore made distinction between power and authority. For him power is the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this

probability rests." Whereas authority is the "probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons".

The important difference between power and authority consists in the fact that whereas power is essentially tied to something possessed by individuals, authority is always associated with social positions and roles. The military dictator has power over the members of the society whose government he has violently overthrown. But the control of a manager over his workers, the teacher over his students, the general over the army, and elected president over his people, is authority. For it exists as an expectation independent of specific person who occupies the position of manager, teacher, general, president. So for Weber, while power is merely a factual relation, authority is a legitimate relation of dominance and subjection. Authority in this sense can be described as legitimated power.

Society to Weberis nothing but organized domination in which certain groups in society have the legitimacy to control subordinate groups while the latter, accepting that legitimacy, comply voluntarily. We can see that in making the crucial distinction between power and authority Weber introduced the concept of legitimacy – a concept which does not lend itself easily to a simple definition. Legitimacy can be said to refer to a certain kind of belief towards which certain kinds of action are oriented. It is a belief, firstly, that a social order exists; secondary that the order is valid, and thirdly, that is a sanctioning order which prescribes through laws, customs, morality, religion or whatever, certain modes of behaviour and conduct.

Using the concept of legitimacy as an abstraction, Weber proceeded to suggest that there are three types of authority: there is traditional authority in which the legitimacy depends on the acceptance of the sanctity of immemorial traditions. This is the "most universal and primitive" of the authority types, and it is present in all known societies. It appears that many rulers and

governments often attempt to strengthen their legitimacy by utilizing traditional values and symbols to authenticate major actions and their rule. For example, Kwame Nkrumah adopted Ashanti traditional titles when he was the president of Ghana; and many of Africa's premiers and presidents, like Jomo Kenyatta did in Kenya, always make sure that they are seen in public holding specially carved walking sticks and fly-whisks – all symbols of traditional authority in Africa.

There is secondly, legal-rational authority in which the legitimacy is based on rational laws. Here obedience is given to the impersonal order of norms and regulations which define the status of the person issuing the command. The prototype of this authority is the bureaucracy, the organization exemplifying Weber's idea of rationality, the third type if charismatic authority in which the legitimacy is based on awe-a special grace possessed (or believed to be possessed) by the charismatic leader. Here authority is based upon the personal characteristics of an individual – the leader – by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as one endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least exceptional powers or qualities. This form of authority is an unstable and transitory type because it usually arises during times of societal stress. In a society, for example, which is going through rapid or fundamental social change, a charismatic leader often emerges.

Weber treated charisma as a property attributed to great innovating personalities who disrupt traditionally and rationally legitimated authorities and who establish a system of authority claiming to be legitimated by the direct experience of divine grace. According to Edward Shils (1982), Weber also applied the concept to "creative, expansive, innovating personalities" who are regarded as "extraordinary" even though they neither claim to possess divine grace nor have it imputed to them. A variety of leaders in contemporary world history have been attributed with

such quality. They include Nehru, Gandhi, Nkrumah, Lenin, SekouToure, Winston Churchill, Jomo Kenyatta, Charles de Gaulle, John Kennedy and Hitler to name a few. Edward Shils has expanded that concept, and has suggested that charisma is the quality which is imputed not only to persons, but also to 'actions, roles, institutions', symbols, and material objects because of their presumed connection with "ultimate", "fundamental", "vital", "order" – "determining power." Since charismatic authority is a temporary phenomenon, it must yield place to either of the two stable types whenever the leader is removed. It does not always happen in history that one charismatic leader immediately succeeds another. In any case societies cannot exist for long in the unstable crises-ridden situation which generates the charismatic leadership. That transformation of charismatic authority to one of the more stable or normal types is described by Weber as the routinisation of charisma.

2.7.2 Political Power and Forms of Society

The way in which power is structured in any society indicates the nature and type of that society i.e. its system of politics, the constitutional and legal constraints on members, and the consequent limits on individual members' life chances, etc. Such types of power structure have yielded classifications which themselves have attracted various names which are sometimes descriptive and sometimes prescriptive. Labels such as "democracy" or "totalitarianism"; "monarchies" or "republics"; "capitalist" or "socialist" societies all represent theoretical as well as ideological attempts to classify societies. Indeed, as Bottomore in Otite (1994) has pointed out, "… all the attempts to construct a typology of political systems are marked to some degree by an intermingling of scientific analysis and the value judgments which arise from real political struggles."

But even from the pre-scientific age of the ancient Greeks, there have been attempts to delineate species of political rule, attempts which seem to have arisen from a deep concern for the fate of man in his collective existence. Aristotle, for example, suggested a few species of political rule which include kingship, democracy and polity. In democracy the majority of citizens are their own rulers, whereas in the other types of rule there are either single rulers or there is minority rule. This is because in a democracy all citizens are held to be equal even though not all of them contribute equally to the well-being of the society.

In oligarchy, on the other hand, all citizens are held to be unequal and such inequality comes about because of the citizens' disproportionate property holdings. Aristotle seems to subscribe to a political system in which there is majority rule. For according to him the people or their representatives are the best judge of their own interests, and although individual citizens in a polity may not be of good quality, but put together, "it is possible that they may surpass – collectively and as a body… the quality of the few best". So, for Aristotle, a democracy is a political arrangement in which political power is vested in the majority of citizens. How that power is used effectively by that majority for the good of the society is a matter of empirical investigation.

2.7.3Political Discourse and Power Relation

Political discourse could be regarded as a specialized form of use of language in the political domain. Therefore, language use in political arena has unique characteristics. Buttressing this argument, Ezejideaku (2007) explains that "politicians all over the world establish their language in a unique way to give extra effect and force to their message in order to achieve their objective of winning more votes". Similarly, Kamalu and Agangan (2011) observe that "political discourse, like declaration of candidacy for political office, political campaigns,

presentation of party manifestoes and other forms of political speeches which fall within the purview of Aristotle's deliberative rhetoric, aimed at marketing the ideology of the candidate and the party they represent."

These definitions of political discourse above tend to be too limiting as they focus only on political campaigns and electioneering. Political discourse has limitless bound, it includes administration and control. This is for the fact that, even after ideological domination and election victory language continues to play role in all the spheres of administration of a given society or given set of people. Therefore, political discourse could be seen as specialized form of discourse that is employed in political campaign and political administration in a country or institution.

However, Al-Faki (2014) expresses fear if political discourse will be saturated with all forms of language use in domains of power, conflict, control or domination as in the works of Fairclough (1992a; 1995); Giddens (1991); Bourdieu (1991), Van Dijk (1993); Dieton and Chaffer (1947). He claims that there could be confusion if any of these concepts may be employed in almost any form of discourse. He cited example, in a study of a Psychotherapeutic training institution where Diamond (1995) refers to her study of discourse of meeting as "political" simply because issues of power and control are being worked out. Al-Faki therefore warns:

By treating all discourse as political, in its most general sense, we may be in danger of significantly over-generalizing the concept of political discourse.Perhaps, we might avoid these difficulties if we simply delimited our subject matter as being concerned with formal/informal political contexts and political actors (Graber 1981); with that is politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to

achieve political goals. This first approximation makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse, but it may also allow for development. For example, analysts who themselves wish to present a political case become, in one sense, political actors, and their own discourse becomes, therefore, political. In this sense much of what is referred to as critical linguistics (Fairclough, 1995b) or critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1993; Wodak 1995) relates directly to work on political discourse, not only because the material for analysis is often formally political but also, perhaps, because the analysts have explicitly made themselves political actors (see Van Dijk, this volume).

This is a fact, even though it may be difficult to maintain the exact terms, they are however, useful starting points.

It is clear therefore, that power or authority could not be exercised without the use of language. Political actors engage the services of language to gain control of their subject. It is in that sense that Van Dijk (1995, 2006) and de Wet (2010) consider politically structured discourses as instruments of mind control by the dominant ideology. Therefore, political discourses are studied to explore how the political actors employ political discourse in their bid to gain and maintain power. Beard (2000) supports this kind of study explaining that it is important to study the language of politics because it enables us to "understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power." Additionally, it is important to study political discourses of those who were once in power to see how they used language to shape their society. This calls for the study of inaugural speeches of both military and Heads of state in Nigeria who once ruled the country and tailored it to its present shape.The exercise of power in political discourse entails some elements which are referred to as power-relations.

2.7.4Power Relations

These are elements that power holders use in the control of their subjects to achieve their goals. Some are used to gain power, some to exercise power and some to maintain power. Explaining power of language to impress and influence, Ng and Bradae (1993) identified these power relations which are exercised through language and they say:

> Language provides a conventional resource for influencing people's attitudes and behaviour. Influence-attempts may take the form of persuasion, argumentation, or use of threats, promise, requests, demands, orders and such like. By conventional, we wish to underscore the fact that it is customary for humans to use language for enacting these influence attempts. It is conceivable that there may be purely nonlinguistic means for doing these things, but the use of such means could be highly unconventional in our sort of culture.

This explains that although political leadership entails the power to do and undo to some extent, conventionally some power relations as stated above are deployed for the control of the dominated or subjects. Added to the list of power relations are; manipulation (Rozins&Karapetjana, 2009), abuse (Omozuwa&Ezejideaku (2007) Osisanwo,2003) appeal, (Ayeomoni, 2006), positive-self presentation and negative other presentation, and (Kamalu and Agangan, 2011).

2.7.5Persuasion as Element of Power Relations

Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia sees persuasion as an attempt to influence a person's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivation or behaviours. Persuasion is also an often used tool in the pursuit of personal gain, such as election, campaign, giving sales pitch, or in trial advocacy. Greek Philosopher Aristotle listed four (4) reasons why one should learn the art of persuasion:

1. Truth and justice are perfect; thus if a case loses, it is the fault of the speaker
2. It is an excellent tool for teaching

3. A good rhetorician needs to know how to argue both sides to understand the whole problem and all the options, and
4. There is no better way to defend one's self

Joseph (2006) in Al-Faki (2014) observes that Aristotle's rhetoric points out that we all employ rhetoric, the persuasive use of language, generally in trying to demonstrate the rightness of what we want the other person to accept. Similarly, Jones and Peccer (2004) asserts that, the power to rhetoric is using persuasive discourse to convince an audience. Persuasion is considered as the ways of using language to exploit feelings to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency, to repeat equal ideas, or to draw attention to a particular part of the message. This clearly explains that persuasive use of language is an integral part of rhetoric.

If persuasion is the ability to influence people's thought and action, then it must be seen as a vital tool for politicians, because they always have the intent to convince their audience to accept their own ideology. Beard (2000) observes that "making speech is a vital part of a politician's role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it."

This observation concurs with De Wets (2010) claim that "politicians rise to power mainly because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elite… politicians are endlessly geared to persuading voters to their own or party's point of view."

In Kamalu and Agangan's (2011) view in ideal situation, language is the bullet employed by political opponents to bring down the other or diminish their relevance, and construct a positive face for themselves. This view brings to limelight the powerful role of language in persuasion particularly, in political activities and leadership.

2.7.6Persuasive Techniques in Power Relation

Various techniques are employed by politicians in persuading their audience. In all the persuasive techniques, the linguistic techniques are more in number than the nonlinguistic. Aristotle as cited in Beard (2000) classifies persuasive techniques into three:

1. Persuasion through personality and stance
2. Persuasion through the arousal of emotion
3. Persuasion through reasoning

According to Shayegh and Nabir (2012) all these categories are used by the speaker as part of the performance. The way they are constructed and the way each member of the audience responds to them makes politicians seem sincere or manipulative, the real purpose is to manipulate the audience into agreeing with policies which really serve only the desire of politician to gain power or to keep power.

Al-Faki (2014) on the other hand identified the use of pronoun as another device or category of persuasion. He observes that:

> It could be argued that (1) using personal pronouns in a group of two 'I and you', connotes a higher degree of intimacy and solidarity – it makes the gap between the speaker and the listener narrower (2) the choice of 'we' is considered as a 'bridge' concerning 'I' and 'you' making a sensation that the speaker and listeners are the same side and (3) using parallelism, politicians emphasise their key views, persuade audience to sympathise with their views, and make their speech more mentorable.

Persuasion, to politicians, is therefore one of the most powerful tool among power relations that reside in language.Second to persuasion in this respect is threat.

2.7.7Threat as Element of Power Relations

Threat is an element of power relations that emanates from the powerful so as to subdue the powerless to comply to order he issued. Osisanwo (2003) is of the opinion that "in an interactive situation, one of the participants can say something that threatens the other person's

expectations regarding his public image. Such a threat is regarded as a face threatening act." However, not everyone threatens asFairclough (1989) observes that "powerful people threaten others".

The essence of threat in political discourse or in governance as Abaya (2015) explains is to "enforce or attenuate illocutionary force." He further says, the illocutionary forces are employed to enable the king maintain and control power." Therefore, threat is used by power holders on the dominant group to gain power and control.

In his analysis of Hillary Clinton's interview, Abdelmoety (2015) identified two types of threats:

> The analysis has also shown Clinton's use of specific linguistic mechanisms that are closely related to power. The mechanism used in the interviews include long turn-taking, and threat. Long turn taking is found particularly, in her talk related to foreign policy and terrorism. Threat is also used in relation to foreign policy and war on terrorism. This usage is directly related to power. Both explicit and implicit threats are used in the interviews. Examples of threat are found with reference to Iran, Syria, North Korea, Egypt, and Russia. However, it has been observed that with reference to Iran, Syria, North Korea, threat is explicit whereas it is implicit with reference to Egypt and Russia.

The following two examples illustrate the use of threat by Clinton:

Explicit threat with reference to Iran:

Clinton: But this is an unacceptable, uh, path that they must, uh, stop or, uh, action will have to be taken.

Implicit threat with reference to Russian:

Clinton: We can take our aid money and go elsewhere and help people who welcome us.

Therefore, it could be said that threat is a power relation which is manifested in the utterances of the power holders.Sometimes, the threat is experienced by the power holders using extreme case formulations which are referred to by Hutchsy and Wooffitt (1998) as a means to

warrant claims. They include “never”, “always”, “no one”, “nobody”, “everyone”, “certainly”, “extremely” and “absolutely”. Warning as a power relation can also be subsumed under threat as the extreme case formulations are also used in warning. All the two power relations show their manifestation in power through language.

2.7.8Abuse/Insult as Element of Power Relations

Politicians in their speeches sometimes, employ some expressions that make their opponent feel absurd. They may attack the personality or reputation of such opponent. According to Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007) “politicians, in their desperation to discredit their opponent, use some utterances that may be termed abusive. These utterances may be consciously or unconsciously used.” They cited example with former Presidents OlusegunObasanjo’s speech of 2007 at South-West Zonal PDP presidential Campaign Rally where he (Obasanjo) says,

> Later I made SegunMimiko Minister without the knowledge of Agagu. What I am learning now is that he said I am the one that urged him to go and contest in another party. He is a liar, I did not say any such thing. When he told me that he wanted to resign as Minister to go and contest, I begged him not to go, I don’t know whether his mother’s rival cursed him…

Such abusive terms are meant to defame the character of the opponent. It should however, be noted that it is the dominant group that mostly shower insult to the dominated particularly, openly. Therefore, leaders consider it part of show of power to define or to insult. Some scholars like Osisanwo (2003) have the opinion that insult/abuse is required for advancement in human development. He says:

> Is it not interesting to note that the world would be odd or absurd if everybody behaved the same way? If every domestic, social or official interaction went on smoothly, peacefully without arguments, abuses or even insult once in a while, human development would not have advanced to the present level. Hence, it is normal to have “attacks” once in a while on one’s public self-image, even though everybody wants his public self-image to be respected.

These insults and absurdwords are not found in the politicians only as pointed out above. The holders of power including some military Heads of state who ruled Nigeria in the past have used insult and abuses in their speeches. For instances, Major-General MuhammaduBuhari, in 1983 had used some abusive words in his inaugural speech describing his predecessors as "the corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years, have been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society." Similarly, General Ibrahim BadamasiBabangida used some abusive words on his predecessors in his inaugural speech in 1985 where he says:

> Major-General TundeIdiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position. He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problems and solutions and acted in accordance with what was convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool.

Therefore, the use of abusive words is common among power holders. In fact, Daniel (2015) regarded such use of abusive terms as violent, as she says, "when the usage of linguistic terms contain elements that would be regarded as threatening or psychologically discomfiting to the receiver, one could easily classify this sort of expression as violent".

However, this does not mean such act is legitimate in the eyes of law. The Criminal Code 2009 Edition Section 373 states that:

> Defamatory matter is matter likely to injure reputation of any person by exposing him to hatred, contempt, or ridicule, or likely to damage any person in his profession or trade by an injury to his reputation. Such matter may be expressed in spoken words or in any audible sounds, or in words legibly marked on any substances whatever, or by any sign or object signifying such matter otherwise than by words, and may be expressed either directly or by insinuation or irony.

The same law as enshrined in the Penal Code Chapter XXIII section 391 and section 392 articulates the punishment to be meted for the culprit. The section says "whosoever defames another shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with

fine or both". Be it as it may, insults and use of abusive words are common to power holders in their show of power.

2.7.9Appeal as Power Relation

This is another element of power relations that the dominant group employ in their leadership. It is a subtle use of language to lure someone to cooperate in achieving a set goal or goals. Researchers like Shandma (2015) identified appeal in the inaugural speech of President MuhammaduBuhari. According to him, the president "shifted from new measures to strengthen democracy to appeal for unity, because the legacy that the new administration steps in is a bad/negative one.

Similarly, Kamalu and Agangan (2011) found out in their Critical Discourse Analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest in the PDP presidential primaries, the use of appeal. President Jonathan asked his audience to break away from the divisive tendencies of the past and realize their "God-given potentials, unhindered by tribe or religion" so as to "herald a new era of transformation of our country".

In his pragmatic analysis of coup speeches, Abaya (2015) also identified appeal in the speeches. This shows that despite the fact that military could use their might and arsenal on the Nigeria populace; yet, they make appeals for cooperation and for calmness.

2.7.10Manipulation as Power Relation

Manipulation is the intentional use of language in a more or less deviant way to influence the attitude of a person or a group of persons towards some cause or position. Obviously, political manipulation use language as its instrument. It is that regard that Rozins and KarapetJana (2009) see manipulation as the conscious use of language in a dubious way to

control the others. Pragmatically speaking, linguistic manipulation is based on the use of indirect speech acts which are focused on perlocutionary effects of what is said." Therefore, manipulation in politics is done by the use of language which could be referred to as linguistic manipulation.

Ismail (2009) identified two types of devices of manipulative meaning: lexical-semantic and rhetorical devices. He provided the table below for the types of devices for meaning manipulation.

2.7.11Devices of Manipulation of Meaning

LEXICAL – SEMANTIC	**RHETORICAL**
1. Essentially contested concepts	Euphemism
2. deep and shallow processing	Metaphor
Presuppositions	etc.

He however, argued that politicians manipulation of meaning should not be viewed as merely deceiving the public by twisted words or concepts. The phenomenon is based on one of the essential roles for which language is used i.e. understanding the world around us".

Aitcheson (1992) believes that when human beings try to understand the world around them, they try to build "mental models". Those mental models are the primes upon which human beings depend in making sense of the abstract things in this world like concepts of week consisting of seven days. Nothing in the outer world forces this view point. These are only subconsciously inherited models.

Ismail (2009) observes that, the role of politicians comes when they try to deliberately insert mental models across human conceptualization of the life like the concept of democracy. This process is called "representation". Wilson (2001) defines representation as "the issue of

how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe and perhaps think".

From the aforementioned submission, it is clear perhaps, that manipulation is one of the powerful elements the power holders tend to use in exercising their power. However, one of the major instruments of manipulation is language. Linguistic manipulation is very common among leaders which comprises analogies, vague terms, metaphors etc. to create a state of confusion on the part of the hearer who doubts his competence in understanding. Ayeomoni (2005) summarizes manipulative language in language of politicians or power holders as "a language strategy used to arouse the feelings and collective excitement and sentiments on their followers, so as to sustain their support, loyalty and exaggerative rhetoric, which tone is soft, mild, appealing and inviting".

2.7.12Promise as Power Relations

Power holders tend to work on the psychology of their followers by giving them assurances of provision of some social amenities that will better their lives. This is part of control strategies by the leaders.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007) observe that "politicians make use of expressions that are full of assurance and hope for a better tomorrow to sway the opinion of the electorate." They observe that virtually all the political campaign materials are laden with promises. This is one of the unique way politicians hold their audience spell bound. They cited the use of Action Congress (AC) governorship candidate in Ekiti state, KayodeFayemi saying "our vision is to banish poverty."

Power holders tend to use promise as a strategy to raise the hope of the followers so as to gain control over them. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007) are of the opinion that politicians make

various promises both realistic and unrealistic. These, they use to persuade their audience to vote for them at the poll. According to them, promises constitute a great deal of rhetorical devices in the language of political campaigns. Promise is conveyed in language as a strategy to subdue the followers to the desired plan of the leaders.

2.8 Language and Identity

Language has forever remained part and parcel of human activities. It is the calling card that announces our existence and presence, wherever we are and whatever we are. It is the first parameter to be used in identifying who and what a person is. Communication therefore, remains the most important part of defining and structuring our identities. According to Hozhabrossadat (2015) "a recent phenomenon had emerged which has been called linguistics identities… "The question is how our linguistics identities formed are and by what means or linguistic devices do we identify ourselves or others?" Identity therefore, is connected to language (Halliday and Hassan, 1989). First, language forms part of the identity kit of an individual and transmits information such as gender, ethnicity, geographical origin, occupation and social class among others (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Gumperz, 1982). This is to say that an individual's linguistic code transmits information about his or her community and the social status of that individual in society. In addition, an individual's linguistic code is closely attached to the individual since language is a behaviour learned at home and transmitted through socialization of the individual with other members of the family (Ellis, 1985; Vigotsky, 1978).

2.8.1 Identity Defined

Block (2006) defines identity as "socially constructed, a self-conscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs, interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions and

language". This definition entails the individual and collective identity. The individual identity refers to the clear cut question of WHO AM I? The individual identity rhymes with Jaworski and Couplaind (1999) concept of individual identity where they conceptualize it as "a series of choice one continually makes about oneself and one's lifestyle, thus, a process, rather than a state or set of personal attributes." According to Mustapha (2013) "individual identity, (itself) is multi-facetted and has to do with affiliation to particular beliefs and possibilities which are available to them in their social context but that this is not a question of determinism." This means an individual could have many identities depending on the context he finds himself. It is in this sense that, Litosseliti and Sunderland (2002) are of the opinion that "identity can be seen as emerging from an individual's different sorts of relationships with others (perhaps within a community of practice) and as (at least potentially changing as) their relationship changes."

On the other hand, group identity is different from individual identity. According to Hozhabrossadat (2015) "collective or community identity is about the picture that community at large presents to itself and communities. Defina (2002) defines the concept as:

> Collective identities have to do with what people think, characterizes them as group that is different from others. Thus, the shaping of collective image for social organization reflects implicit conceptions about the qualities and trait that are perceived as defining the community. However, collective identity is not a mental image, but rather an emergent construct that takes shape within significant practices. There is an important connection between being and doing, between building and projecting an image of the group and carrying out certain activities.

This, in a nut shell, portrays the fact that there exist individual and group identities. However, something so striking about identity, particularly individual identity, is that it is not static. Mustapha (2013) posits that "identity is multi-facetted and has to do with affiliation, choice making and beliefs, but it is at the same time fluid rather than fixed." Also, to some extent group identity is also fluid depending on affiliations and interaction. It is in reference to this

changing identity of individual and group that Ivanic (1998) observes that identity is a misleading singular, so identities would have been more preferable.

He thus says:

> The plural word "identities" is sometimes better, because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self.

These assertions confirm the argument that individual identity or group identity is fluid rather than static. This brings forth the issue of multiple identities.

2.8.2 Multiple Identities

Recently, some researchers have promoted the concept of multiple identities instead of one that is consistent and unchangeable in all circumstances (Gee, 2005, Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain, 1998; Rodriguez and Trueba 1998, George and Louise Splinder 1989, 1994; C. Suarez – Orozco and Todorova, 2003). This is to say, identity is not conceived in terms of core identity such as race, gender and class. Rather, it is not a fixed property but one that is constantly created and recreated as the same individual being engaged in the contradiction of everyday life takes on different roles (O'Brien, 2001). Therefore, multiple identities enacted by the same individual in different contexts are adaptive strategies to a changing environment (Rodriguez and Trueba, 1998).

Andrews (2010) illustrated the case of Dario with two contrasting identities. In the classroom context, the identity he projects fits the mainstream cultural model of a person disengaged at school, while on the streets the identity he projects fits the mainstream cultural model of one who has leadership qualities. In the classroom, he gives the impression that he is not competent to lead but on the streets, he exercises the same leadership qualities he appears not

to have at school. It is now crystal clear that both individuals and groups could have multiple identities.

2.8.3 Categorization of identity

Identity, as earlier pointed out, is dynamic and multiple. By this, it means that identity is not static, but changes as a function of your life experiences. In addition, you have more than one identity. Consider how you identified yourself in school, at home and during that time you acquire some new identities and set aside some old ones. For example, you left behind your identity of being a school student and assumed that of home. However, you did retain the regional identity of your hometown and state and your ethnic identity. Perhaps you gave up your identity of being a member of a school sports team, such as swimming or volleyball, and took on the new identity. As you can see, your identity is a composite of multiple identities, which are integrated –they do not work in isolation but in combination based on the situation.

To help reduce some of the complexity and better understand peoples' multiple identities, Turner (1987) has constructed categories to classify the different identities. Turner offers three similar categories of classification. Human identities are those perceptions of self that link you to the rest of humanity and set you apart from other life forms. Social identities are represented by the various groups you belong to, such as race, ethnicity, occupation, age, hometown, and others. Social identity is a product of the contrast between membership in some social groups but not others (i.e., the in-group/out-group dichotomy). Personal identity arises from those things that set you apart from other in-group members and mark you as special or somewhat unique. This may be some innate talent, such as the ability to play a musical instrument without formal training, a special achievement, like sailing around the world solo, or something as intangible as your personality.

Hall (2005) offers a similar categorization of identity. He says, "Each of us has three levels of identity that, depending on the context, may or may not be salient in our interactions with others. These three levels are personal, relational, and communal." Personal identities are those which make you unique and distinct from others. Relational identities are a product of your relationships with other people, such as husband/wife, teacher/student, and executive/manager. Communal identities are "typically associated with large-scale communities, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, or religious or political affiliation.

Hall's (2004) communal identity is essentially the same as Taylor's social identity, and Gudykunst provides a further classification of that type of identity, which is the most important during intercultural communication.

> Our social identities can be based on our memberships in demographic categories (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, gender, age, social class), the roles we play (e.g., political parties, social clubs), our associations or vocations (e.g., scientists, artists, gardeners), or our memberships in stigmatized groups (e.g., homeless, people with AIDS).

Samovar et al (2007) further classifies identity into more typologies which include, racial identity. According to him this type divided people into groups based solely on physical appearances. Ethnicity or ethnic identity is derived from sense of shared heritage, history, traditions, values, similar behaviours, area of origin, and in some instances, language. National identity refers to one's nationality. For the majority of people, it is the nation where they were born. But national identity can also be acquired by immigration and naturalization. Regional identity emerges when a country is divided into member of different geographical regions and often these regions project varying cultural traits. The cultural contrast between these regions may be manifested through ethnicity, language, accent, dialect, customs, food, dress or different historical and political legacies. Residents of these regions use one or more of those

characteristics to demonstrate their regional identity. Organizational identity refers to person's organizational affiliation. This affiliation may be signaled through dressing, identity card, behaviour, language, logo or car sticker. Personal identity on one hand, consists of those characteristics that set out one apart from others in their in-group, those things that make one unique, and how one sees oneself.There are also cultural influences at play when determining personal identity. Finally, cyber and fantasy identity; through the internet one quickly and easily accesses and exchanges information on a worldwide basis. Suler (2002), a psychologist explains that internet provides an opportunity to escape the constraints of everyday identities. Thus he says:

> One of the interesting things about the internet is the opportunity it offers people to present themselves in a variety of different ways.You can alter your style of being just slightly or indulge in wild experiments with your identity by changing your age, history, personality, physical appearance, even your gender. The username you choose, the details you do or don't indicate about yourself, the information presented on your personal web page, the persona or avatar you assume in an online community – all important aspects of how people manage their identity in cyberspace.

The internet allows individuals to select and promote what they consider the positive features of their identity and omit any perceived negative elements, or even construct entirely new identities. According to Suler, some online groups require participants to assume an "imaginary persona," and infatuation with these invented identities can become so strong they can "take a life of their own." For some online gamers, the allure of their fantasy identity has become so compelling that they become addicted and suppress their actual persona.

However, of all the classification of identity by different scholars, the cyber and fantasy identity could be regarded as pseudo-identity of users because it is a false identity being presented in an imaginary form. So, that could not be considered as identity and could not be equated with other forms of identities discussed above. Gee (2001) on the other hand maps out

four (4) aspects of identity. The aspects however are observed to be related to one another in one way or the other.

The first aspect is what he calls the nature identity. Here the process is a state, the power is the forces in nature called genes and the source of the power is nature. In other words, the process is outside the control of the individual and society. No one has any power to authorize or modify the natural identity of the individual because it is internal rather than external. At the same time, natural identities are not given by nature but are considered by people to be natural or acquired through birth. Lastly, natural identities can only be recognized as identities by institutions, discourse and dialogue, and affinity groups. In the second aspect, institutional identity, the process is an authorized position that can either be ascribed by others in the institution or achieved by the individual. The power of the institution is carried out through the authorities of the institution and the source of power is found in the institution itself. At the same time, institutional identities are constructed and sustained by discourse and dialogue. The third aspect of identity, discourse identity, is considered to be a trait of the individual, which is the source. This trait can also be ascribed by others, achieved by the individual, and can be negotiated by the individual. The individual is not born with the trait nor is it obtained through authorization to a social position by authorities in an institution. The power of discourse identity is established through discourse or dialogue and the source of its power comes from recognition by rational individuals. The fourth aspect of identity, affinity identity, consists of groups of people that might be spread out over a large geographical area but who share and participate in distinctive practices. The process is shared experiences, the power comes through practice, and the source of power is within the affinity groups.

Gee's (2001) classification have some similarities with Phinney's. However, sharp differences are also glaring as Gee's classification is centered more on individual rather than group identities.

2.8.4 Identity Construction

From the foregoing review, it could be discerned that the individual does not operate in isolation, so also his identity. As it is argued in the review of ideology, the individual constructs his ideology through social cognition. The same way identity is constructed through individual interaction with others.

From a theoretical perspective, Phinney offers a three-stage model to help understand identity development. Although her model focuses on ethnic identity among adolescents, it can also be applied to the acquisition and growth of identity. Unexamined ethnic identity, the initial stage, is "characterized by the lack of exploration of ethnicity. During this stage, the individual is not particularly interested in exploring or demonstrating their personal ethnicity. According to her, for members of minority cultures, this lack of interest may result from the desire to suppress their own ethnicity in an effort to identify with the majority culture. She cited example with majority members in the U.S., who seem to take for granted that their identity is the social norm and give little thought to their own ethnicity.

The second stage, ethnic identity search, begins when the individual becomes interested in learning and understanding their own ethnic identity. Movement from Stage One to Stage Two can result from a variety of stimulations. An incident of discrimination might move a minority member to reflect on his or her own ethnicity. This could lead to a realization that some beliefs and values of the majority culture can be detrimental to minority members, and stimulate a movement toward one's own ethnicity. She gave an instance of Dolores Tanno who grew up in

northern New Mexico and had always considered herself Spanish. After leaving New Mexico, she discovered that some people saw her as Mexican rather than Spanish, and this motivated her ethnic identity search. Increased interest in ethnic identity could come from attending a cultural event, taking a culture class, or some other event that produces a greater awareness of one's cultural heritage. Ethnic Achievement, Phinney's final stage of identity development, is reached when one has a clear and confident understanding of one's own cultural identity. For minority members, this usually comes with an ability to effectively deal with discrimination and negative stereotypes. Identity achievement can also provide one with greater self-confidence and feelings of personal worth.

Samovar et al (2007) cited Martin and Nakayama who have constructed separate, four-stage identity development models for minority and majority members. In the minority model, unexamined identity, the initial stage, is similar to Phinney's model, where individuals are not really concerned with issues of identity. During stage two conformity, minority members endeavor to fit in with the dominant culture and may even possess negative self-images. Resistance and separatism, stage three, is usually the result of some cultural awakening that stimulates a greater interest and adherence to one's own culture. Concurrently, rejection of all or selected aspects of the dominant culture may occur. In the final stage, integration, individuals have a sense of pride and identity with their own cultural group and demonstrate an acceptance of other culture groups.

2.8.5 Linguistic Resources for Identity Construction

The linguistic identity of an individual or group does not crop up arbitrarily. Linguistic identity construction stretches further just as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1991) rightly observe that identity is however a two-way process: the result of joint production. Litosseliti and

Sunderland (2002) capture this process thus: "the way we speak both to and about others, can be seen as affiliation and this is important both for ourselves and for our contribution to existing discourses; but the way we are spoken about, attribution, can be important too." This means our use of language in different context immensely shapes our identity. Johnstone (2008) has also made this observation where he says:

> Current ways of understanding social identity and its relationship to discourse are rooted in the idea that the selves we present to others are changeable, strategic, and jointly constructed. We use the resources of language to form the varieties of social identities, geared to the situations we find ourselves in and ways we are socially positioned by others. But we can also use language to construct and project a coherent, more durable personal identity.

This observation therefore, reconfirms the powerful role of language in identity construction and identity identification. However, the use of language resources in identifying or portraying self does not happen while the individual is in isolation. It is through the self-interaction with other selves through the use of language that the identity becomes conspicuous. Williams (2001) points out this notion of interlocutors' relationship:

> Human selves and their identities are not substances sediment prior to persons' relationship with one another, but are constituted as properties only in and through the forms of human subjectivity that arise from and inform that participation and those relationships.

This perspective according to Barnwell and Stokoe (2006) is echoed by Taylor (1989) whose intersubjective concept of the reflective self-adopts a Bakhtinian view of dialogism in which individuals are continuously formed through conversation or imagined conversation. "I am self only in relation to certain interlocutors… a self exists only within what I call webs of interlocution."

It is clear therefore, that one's linguistic identity could easily be found in his interaction with others through verbal or written language. In this regard, the study of one's account of episodes, narratives, or speeches could pave way to an unobscured identity of the speaker.

2.8.6 Linguistic Identity

Our social structure and identity in the society is identified in the way we use language. This assertion is in tandem with Hozhabrossadat's (2015) view when he says, "language changes our identities and our identities are shaped by different forms we use language. Our relations and positions in the communities we live are defined to a great extent, through the language we use." This is to say that, an individual's linguistic code transmits information about his or her community and social status of that individual in society. In addition, an individual's linguistic code is closely attached to the individual since language is a behaviour learned (acquired) at home and transmitted through socialization of the individual with other members of the family (Ellis, 1985; Vigostky, 1978).

Although some researchers (Mustapha, 2013; Ivanic 1998; De Fina 2002) claim that individual identity is fluid. Cameron (2001) is of the opinion that whatever else we do with words when we speak, we are always telling our listeners something about ourselves. In other words, our use of language whether spoken or written speaks volumes about us. This assertion was summarized by Gumpersz (1982) long before now as he believed that a speaker transmits his or her social identity through language. It is the type of speaker the individual communicates through language.

This is to say that, whether individual or group identity, language is the signpost for that identity. It encapsulates the social, cultural, geographical, racial, regional, nationaland cyber

fantasy identities. This translate that, the identities of the military and civilian Heads of Nigerian nation could be studied through their speeches. In this regard, the review of linguistic identity above will afford the researcher the types of identities engraved in the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State under study.

2.9 Review of EmpiricalStudies on Language and Politics

Scholars have carried out empirical research on political discourse to study how politicians use language for various purposes. These purposes ranged from show of political power and control, political manipulation, domination, ideological brainwashing, violence and electioneering campaigns. These scholars have, devoted time to research on various aspects of political maneuver for which language is employed. Below is a summary of some empirical studies carried out by these scholars on political discourse.

Ayeomoni (2005) studied the Language of the Nigerian political elite. He selected some notable Nigerian elite across different regions and various geo-political zones and regions of the country. The focus of the research was to find out the features that characterised or permeated the language of the Nigerian political elite. The researcher used General Stylistic Analysis by Crystal and Davy (1969) and Chapman (1973). His findings include that in the language of Nigerian Political Elite, there was preponderant use of simple declarative sentences, use of figurative and metaphoric language, exaggerative rhetoric and coercion.

This research differs from the present one for it focused on the speeches of some political elite in Nigeria and used General Stylistic Analysis for the analysis of his data. The present research centres on inaugural speeches of the Nigeria Heads of State and applies Critical Discourse Analysis which is more appropriate to analyse political language. This is because it

lends itself to various disciplines to avail the researcher with the tool for unveiling the meaning embedded in the speeches.

Jimoh (2008) carried out his research on Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Issues on Ondo State in Selected Nigerian Newspapers. The study is aimed at identifying how CDA can be helpful in the interpretation of text, how the role of context is quite significant to the interpretation of political discourse, how pragmatic interpretation is equally relevant in the analysis of discourse and how manipulative and bias political figures can be. From the analysis, the research found out that both political features of lexis could be linked with extra-linguistic events in a manner that reveal a socio-cognitive interface between language and politics.

Although the researcher adopted Critical Discourse Analysis as his theoretical framework for the analysis of his data, the data centred only on political issues as reported in Nigerian newspapers. The present research deviates from his own research because it (present research) focuses on comparative discourse analysis of the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State.

Akodu (2008) investigated ambiguity in political discourse in selected Nigerian Newspapers (1999 – 2005) from a Pragmatic point of view. The analysis shows that in political discourse, politicians employ pragmatic strategies which include doublespeak, persuasion, denial and propaganda to carry out their political activities and to distort a political fact. The study observes that politicians deliberately use ambiguous words and phrases, obscure expressions and consequently flout the cooperation maxims in order to drive home their points. It also reveals that the electorate perceives newspaper reportage of political discourse (political speeches, political interviews, editorials based on current political issues and other politics-related matters) as reliable. More so, that the issue of ambiguity in political utterances in Nigerian Newspapers

may be passed as an aspect of language competence or a lack of it by political gain.But the present study looks at how cooperation is achieved in parliamentary discourse by the sustenance of maxims.

The research concentrates on political discourse in selected Nigerian Newspapers (1999 – 2005). While the former uses Pragmatics, the latter uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the data. Further to that, the research data is on feature articles on politics, the present study is on inaugural speeches of the Heads of Nigerian State.

Abaya (2011) carried out a research on the Analysis of Nigerian Military Coup Announcements from the Perspective of Pragmatics. The study demonstrates how the military background and formation in coup announcements have elements of political language that are ingrained in them to achieve specific purposes. The data for the study was subjected to textual and opinion analysis by means of questionnaire and sampled opinions. The study reveals that speech acts in coup events depend largely on the context that gave birth to them; and that social relationships between the interlocutors is both asymmetric and symmetric depending on the audience being addressed. His work focused on how coup speeches are used to perform speech acts. He is of the opinion that Nigerian coup announcements, despites their peculiarities, can be subsumed under political language, and they are composed of direct and indirect speech acts. He further states that a coup announcement is not solely an aspect of political or military language, but a manifestation of the relationship between language and power because the military employ a particular style of language to bring about a change in regime.

The research is aimed at throwing more light on coup announcements in order to understand the Nigerian military and the impact of its actions on the nation's political life. The study reveals that the format of military coup announcements are in such a way that they appeal

sensitize, persuade and sway the public to accept their overthrow of power from a previous government. He found that a military coup announcement can be conveyed successfully by a synthesis of the pragmatic, the social and the linguistic contexts.

The research differs markedly from the present one for it uses Pragmatics as its theoretical framework. Moreso, the data is on coup speeches by the Nigerian military leaders. However, the present research centres on the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State. Also, Critical Discourse Analysis serves as its theoretical framework for the analysis.

Similarly, Kamalu and Agangan (2011) carried out their research in political language specifically on "Critical Discourse Analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of Interest in PDP Presidential Primaries". The study employed a qualitative approach in the analysis of the text to bring out the potential meaning of the rhetorical strategies deployed in the speech and the ideology they encode. Methods of the insight from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistic were employed to unearth the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies used in the declarative speech. The study reveals the deployment of diverse rhetorical strategies by the former President to articulate an alternative ideology for the Nigerian nation. The study also shows that the President used a variety of persuasive strategies such as appeal to ethno-religious sentiments, alignment with the suffering majority of the country and reconstruction of childhood experiences to entreat and manipulate the conscience of his party and other Nigerians. The study further reveals the use of delegitimisation strategies to threaten undesirable groups such as criminals, miscreants and corrupt individuals.

Ahmed (2012) conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis of negation in selected United States of American and Nigerian Presidential speeches. The study was to find out whether

negation performed certain functions in presidential speeches besides negating the truth-value of an affirmative sentence. The data used for the analysis were two speeches of each of the former Presidents of the United States of America and Nigeria: Presidents Barack Obama and Goodluck Jonathan respectively.

The analysis employed the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. Specifically, the Fairclough (1989) model of analysis was used. Fairclough's model of CDA has three components: description, interpretation and explanation. These three components were the analytical procedure used to explicate the different functions negation performed in the texts.

The study found out that negation performs different functions other than negating the truth-value of an affirmative statement. These functions include the ability to establish common ground, the tendency to create ambiguous statements, the propensity to be used as a form of false dilemma and other functions.

The study concludes that the use of negation in the analyzed presidential speeches performed three functions: the grammatical, and the political. It is grammatical when the choice of negation only performs the function of negating the truth-value of a statement; it is that of power when its use exercises power, shows power struggle or a power differential. It is political when the use is aimed at persuading and winning support, lying or deceiving the public.

Bdliya (2012) conducted a research on Pragmatic Analysis of Political Discourse Using the Cooperative Principle. The paper focuses on analyzing political discourse using the presidential campaign speech of Late Bashorun Abiola. The study x-rays word formation processes which politicians employ to form new words that suit their intentions. The data collected were analysed and discussed based on the cooperative principle evolved by Grice. The research discovered that politicians do not adhere to the principles of communication in

conversation as they manipulate conversations to suit themselves, depending on their aims and objectives. The study also found that it is not possible to give a set of rules that can adequately cover how political language should be used.

In the same vein, Daniel (2015) studied the political language with reference to "Nigerian Politicians, Linguistic Rascality and the security implications". She adopted Critical Discourse Analysis with the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) in undertaking analysis on the political speeches of some politicians in Nigeria and the way these speeches have impacted on the resultant political violence that followed such speeches. She found out that the Nigerian politicians used negative lexical choices in their campaign speeches which resulted in violence in several parts ofthe country.

Haruna (2015) researched on Discourse Analysis of Parliamentary Discourse. The study used elicitation, directive, declarative, informative and reply.The discourse structure was theme/rheme, new/given information and the cooperative principles like quality, quantity, relation, manner as the framework for the study. The findings of the study showed that utterances situated within the context of the parliament, and made by the right actors, elicit contributions that are relevant to the state of affairs. It also showed that the sustenance of maxims consciously or unconsciously helps to structure conversations in the parliament and to show cooperation.

In a similar research, Joda (2015) researched on 'A Pragmatic Analysis of Rhetoric of War and Non-War Speeches'. The findings reveal that speakers make use of euphemism, historical references, juxtaposition, metaphor, negative associations, and 'plan folking', among others, in war speeches to persuade their audiences. Furthermore, his study reveals that even though speakers make use of similar linguistic devices in war and non-war speeches, but their aims are not the same.

In a similar research, Balogun (2015) worked on: "A Linguistic- Stylistic Study of Parallelism in Inaugural Speeches of Presidents Barack Obama and Goodluck Jonathan". The study found that President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address is a speech made by a skillful orator who employed various linguistic and rhetoric devices for the efficiency of the address. They are tightly linked together; and, at times, it is hard to separate one from another as they are often multifunctional. The researcher thinks that the high level of education of the speaker was helpful when setting various tools in collaboration, so that the use of them produced the effect of a desirable message, the one which the audience accepted as if it had come from an ancient orator. Learning from Ancient Greeks, the President used didactic poetry: persuading, convincing and easy-to-be-remembered rhythmic style when addressing a wide audience of the Americans. Didactic poetry rests upon repetition and parallelism, which are the basic tools for creating an easily memorized message. Focusing on parallelism employed in the speech, the researcher finds that repetition plays a significant role in creating a foregrounding effect. These devices positively correlate with a rhetorical style, which the orator chose for the speech. The study reveals that parallelism can be safely transported into the language of politics. Its effectiveness in political speeches has been seen in the analysis of these two speeches as they were analysed on the four linguistic levels. It can be said that it is a tool that adds aesthetics to a speech, serves as a persuasive tool, helps to emphasize the speaker's main points, engraves major points in the minds of the audience. More so, that adds to the oratory skills of its user.

Sharndama (2015) conducted a research on Political Discourse: "Critical Discourse Analysis of President Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech" which was delivered on the 29th May, 2015. In carrying out the analysis, the researcher used Norman Fairclough's three dimensional Analytical Models. Following the model, the speech was subject to description (text

analysis) interpretation (processing/analysis) and explanation (social practice and analysis). The analysis reveals the ideologies/plans on which the government intended to operate. The most important ones included good governance, strengthening international relations, forum policies and democracy, fighting insecurity, corruption, improve power supply and growing the nation's economy.

Shehu (2015) had his research on "Emotionalisation, Endorsement and Rhetorical Misconstruction: Reflection on 2015 Gubernatorial Campaigns in Kaduna State". The research tried to find out the extent to which emotionalisation and endorsement including rhetorical devices that contributed to Governor Mukhtar Ramalan Yero's failure in the 2015 gubernatorial election in Kaduna state. The researcher used Closed Textual Analysis (CTA) framework to analyse his data.

The research found out that the deployment of emotionalisation and the pattern of endorsements in support of Mukhtar Ramalan Yero were morally and socio-politically deficient and, therefore, offensive to the psyche of the electorate on the basis of which they could have denied their votes. The rhetorical disorders and unbecoming utterances made by the governor himself, his singers and those made by the Emir of Zazzau either caused voters' indifference or opposition to Yero. Moreover, the rebellious, libertarian tone and masculine appeal of the opium-like campaign songs and other passionate messages urging uniform support for the APC ideals and candidates facilitated the defeat of Yero.

Also, Lawan (2016) carried out a research on Critical Discourse Analysis of Metaphor. The purpose of the work was to analyse,using Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which is an aspect of CDA, the metaphoric use of language in President Goodluck Jonathan and President Barack Obama's acceptance and inaugural speeches. Attention was paid to the functions and

roles metaphors play in speeches and cohesively, the different forms of metaphors used in the speeches. With a total of twelve (12) types of metaphors used.

The study found that metaphors perform different functions apart from serving as element of literary aesthetic or verbose display of intellect in language proficiency. These functions include the ability to establish common ground, the tendency to create ambiguous and obscure statements, the ability to use metaphoric language as elements of lies and deception and other functions.

The study concludes that the use of metaphoric language (pointing to different types of metaphors) in the analysed presidential speeches performed two major functions: the pragmatic, power relation and the political – that is, the supposition of interaction that display social relations and power differentials and struggles. It is pragmatic when the choice of metaphor only performs the function of emphasizing the truth-value of a statement. But by default, utterances do not correspond with semantic interpretations; it is that of power when its use exercises power, shows power struggle or a power differential.And it is political when the use is aimed at persuading and winning support, lying or deceiving the public.

At the international level, research has been conducted on political language using various forms of frameworks for the analyses. For instance, Van Dijk (2006) analysed the speech by the former UK Prime-Minister Tony Blair in the House of Commons legitimating the participation of the UK in the US-led war against Iraq in 2003. He used Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework to examine properties of manipulation within the "triangulation' framework that explicitly links discourse, cognition and security. He found out from the speech that manipulation involves enhancing the power, moral superiority and credibility of the speakers

and discrediting dissidents while vilifying the others, the enemy, the use of emotional appeals and adducing seemingly irrefutable proofs of speakers' beliefs and reasons.

In a similar research, Pu (2007) analysed President George W. Bush's speech at Tsinghua University, China using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The findings reveal two main things: one is the construction of Americanism. The other is an indirect critique of China's current societal situation along with direct instruction on what should be changed. In addition, the study also discovered how Bush and his administration see the power relationships between the USA and China in terms of economic, political and civil developments.

Likewise, Kulo (2009) undertook a study titled: "Linguistic features in Political Speeches – how language can be used to impose certain moral or ethical values on people". He worked on two speeches of Mr Barack Obama – Democrat Presidential candidate and Mr John McCain – Republican Presidential candidate. They delivered the speech during the 2008 Presidential campaign to American military veterans concerning American Forces in Iraq. The researcher had no clear-cut method of data analysis. He found that the two speakers employed rhetorical strategies which include: metaphors, metonymies, analogies, pronouns, active and or passive voice of transitive verb, sound-bites, words-repetition, three-part lists and contrastive pairs. The speeches were compared and it was found that McCain's main argument is that the war in Iraq is right and should continue while Obama argued that the war in Iraq was wrong.

Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) researched on "The Use of Language in Political Rhetoric: Linguistic Manipulation". The focus of the research was to study phraseological allusion, metonymy and metaphor in some political discourses in the Baltic Times (2006) and the Times (2006) Discourse Analysis was applied as the method of inquiry for the research. The research was based on selected principles of text analysis of the corpus of the resource

materials.The research data were collected and 236 lexical items were considered to characterised the selected rhetorical devices applied in political discourse. The research came to the conclusion that linguistic manipulation which included using allusion, metonymy and metaphor were influential instruments for political rhetoric.

Furthermore, Bayram (2010) studied Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's Political Speech. He studied the realization of power by means of language use in political environment, specifically focusing on the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tyyip Erdogn in a debate in the World Economic Forum in Davos in January, 2010. His research was mainly grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumption in Critical Discourse Analysis. He focuses on the discursive strategies the speaker employed during the debate. The researcher found that the Prime-Minister used negative connotations, image-making rhetoric and biblical references.

Nabifar (2012) looked at power in the Political Discourse of Barack Obama (former US President). The researcher analysed seven (7) interviews of Barack Obama with a view to identifying the ways he made use of linguistic resources to create positive or negative show of power in the interview. The interviews were analysed on the basis of Hallidayian Systemic Functional Grammar from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough. The analysis of the interviews, with regard to ideology, was confined to identification of the three material, mental and relational processes and modality (modality, tense and pronouns). Then, each clause was analysed on the basis of Fairclough's model (persuasion, hesitation, threat, religious statement, and illusively speaking). The researcher found out that Obama was dominant in the interviews and manipulated more material processes through the use of 'I' and 'we' pronouns, more religious statements, more persuasive and longer turns in the interviews.

Alo (2012) conducted a research on "Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of Prominent African Leaders". He conducted the research with a view to seeing how African leaders persuaded theiraudiences on the expediency of various political and socio-economic policies and plans that are capable of enhancing African economic recovery and development. The study specifically analysed the rhetorical and persuasive strategies employed in their speeches and the ways and means the political leaders seek to achieve their goals. Data for the research were drawn from sixteen (16) selected political speeches of prominent African Presidents from the five (5) major regions of the African continent. The analysis employed the framework of Aristotelian Rhetoric, with an adaptation of Fairclough's socio-semiotic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The findings reveal that African political leaders generally acknowledge the socio-economic problems of Africa and the need for change. Four (4) dominant ideological pre-occupation emerged from the analysis they include: (a) Economic growth and independence in Africa; (b) National unity and nationalism, (c) Globalism and (d) Self-reliance. Recurring persuasive strategies in the talks included: greetings, the use of pronouns, modalities and contrasts.

From the review of the previous studies above, it could be discerned that there is conspicuous lacuna that this research intends to cover. This is for the fact that the previous researches ignored the analysis of the inaugural speeches of the Executive Presidents in Nigeria. Secondly, there is no in-depth comparative analysis of the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of State and Executive Presidents. This type of comparative analysis keeps generations yet unborn informed about the history of the construction and reconstruction of the Nigerian State. Thirdly, most of the researches did not study the outside-inside of the speeches. They, rather,

studied inside-outside of the text. The present study looks at the outside-inside of the texts with a view to interpreting the vagueness or obscurity of the meaning of the texts with reference to social practices. Fourthly, the research differs from other researches above in respect of the various methods employed under the auspices of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which gives the ground to study the texts in relation to the social practices. The methods range from psychological, sociological, political, linguistic and anthropological.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

The approach this research adapted is Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough (1989) where he identifies three (3) dimension for Critical Discourse Analysis as follows:

- Description –This is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- Interpretation – This is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction by seeing the text as the product of the process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
- Explanation –This is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

The Fairclough approach is adapted in this research because it requires the three dimensions for the analysis of the inaugural speeches of the Heads of State. Excerpts from the original speeches will be identified firstly. This means the relevant areas that concern the analysis will be extracted from the main speech. In this instance, the first dimension – description - is applied. The second and third dimensions which are interpretation and explanation shall be put together to analyse the extracts from the speeches by showing the

relationship between the texts (the inaugural speeches), the social context of the speech and the social practices. This relationship gives clear meaning hidden in the speeches.

Also, the approach of Van Dijk (1993) where he suggested that researchers should look at CDA as an inter-disciplinary and take eclectic approach towards it using the findings of other cultures, countries and other human disciplines. On the basis of its inter-disciplinary attitude towards the field, he labels his methodology as socio-cognitive discourse analysis. Therefore, CDA includes historical, cultural, socio-economic, physiological, logical and neurological approaches as well.

This approach which is interdisciplinary in nature suggests recourse to historical and cultural background of the speakers. Also, the findings from other disciplines such as History, Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, Economics, Linguistics, Applied Linguistics etc. shall be exploited to interpret the speeches of the Heads of State.

In addition, Wodak's (2001) approach to text analysis under Critical Discourse Analysis is also used in this study. The distinctive feature of this approach is that it tends to use all the background information in analyzing different layers of spoken or written text. She puts forward some features for the historical approach to CDA as follows:

1. This approach is interdisciplinary. Like other critical linguists, Wodak acknowledges the intricacy of the relationship between language and society. As a result, she believes that CDA is interdisciplinary in nature.
2. The interdisciplinary nature could be seen both in theory and practice. She combines argumentation theory and rhetoric with Halliday's Functional Linguistics.
3. This approach is problem-oriented rather than emphasizing some special language issues.
4. Methodology and theory are chosen through eclecticism.

5. In this approach the analyst is always on the move between theory and empirical data.
6. Historical context will go under investigation and will be incorporated into the analysis of discourse and texts.

The Wodak's approach also calls for interdisciplinary or eclectic approach towards the analysis of the speeches. In this case, the socio-cultural and economic background plus findings from other disciplines shall be basis of the analysis of the data for this research.

Therefore, the three (3) CDA scholars(Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993; and Wodak, 2001) suggested a multidisciplinary approach to the study of text as CDA's main tenets include; social problems, power relation as discursive, discourse constitutes society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated and discourse is a form of social action. CDA is therefore, not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological approach.

The study therefore, lends itself to Critical Discourse Analysis because the analysis of the inaugural speeches of the Nigeria's Heads of State requires Linguistics, Pragmatics, Psychology, Sociology, Politics, International Relations and History for analysis. All the above mentioned disciplines were found relevant in the analysis of the speeches, because each text is said to include overt and hidden meanings that are manipulated for the interest of those who produce it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

At this point, it is important to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single specific theory. Neither in a specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Guide contrary studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from the quite

different theoretical backgrounds, orientation towards different data and methodologies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In any case, CDA researchers have to be aware that their own work is driven by social economic and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position. Naming oneself 'critical' only implies specific ethical stands: an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible, without feeling the need to apologize for their critical stance of their work (van Leuwen, 2006).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter deals with the basic research aspects: research design, population of the study, sample and sampling procedure, instrumentation, data collection procedure and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The research used documented inaugural speeches of both CivilianandMilitary Heads of Nigerian State. Under the premise of Critical Discourse Analysis, the speeches were subjected to analysis based on various methods and approaches. Theinaugural speeches of the the Civilian and Military Heads of State were compared and contrasted. The similarities and differences were brought out to limelight on language and politics.

3.2 Population of the Research

The population of the research is the inaugural speeches delivered by theCivilian Presidents andMilitary Heads of State that ruled Nigeria from 1959 – 2014. They included: First Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa 1960 – 1966, General Aguiyi Ironsi (rtd)1966 –

1967,General Yakubu Gowon 1967 – 1975 (rtd),General Murtala Ramat Muhammad 1975 – 1976 (rtd), General Olusegun Obasanjo 1976-1979 (rtd), Alh Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari 1979 – 1983, Major General Muhammadu Buhari 1984 – 1985 (rtd),General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (rtd) 1985 – 1993,Chief Earnest Shonekan 1993, General Sani Abacha (rtd) 1993 – 1998,General Abubakar Alhaji Abdulsalami 1998 – 1999Chief Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo 1999 – 2007,Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'adua 2007 – 2010,Goolduck Ebele Jonathan 2010 – 2015.

3.3 Sample for the Study

The sample for this research included five (5) inaugural speeches of five (5) Civilian Presidents and six (6) Mlitary Heads of State. The Civilian included the First Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa 1957 – 1966, Alh Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari 1979 – 1983,Chief Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo 1999 – 2007,Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'adua 2007 – 2010,Goolduck Ebele Jonathan 2010 – 2015. The Military were General Yakubu Gowon 1967 – 1976 (rtd), Major-General Murtala Ramat Muhammad 1976 – 1977, General Muhammadu Buhari 1984 – 1985(rtd), General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (rtd) 1985 – 1993,General Sani Abacha 1993 – 1998 and General Abubakar Abdulsalami 1998 – 1999 (rtd).

The number of Military Heads of State outweighedthat of the Civilian Presidents studied in the research because there were more military headsthan civilian presidents. The choice of Obasanjo's inaugural speech of 1999 was informed by the period of eight (8) years he spent as Civilian President. The inclusion of Dr Goodluck Jonathan is to have a representation from other parts of the country because there were more leaders from the Northern part of Nigeria.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The procedure used for the sampling is purposive. A purposive sample as retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/purposive-sampling-3026727is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling. This type of sampling can be very useful in situations when you need to reach a targeted sample quickly, and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern. There are seven types of purposive samples, each appropriate to a different research objective. But for the purpose of this research, Maximum Variation/Heterogeneous would be adopted. A maximum variation/heterogeneous purposive sample is one which is selected to provide a diverse range of cases relevant to a particular phenomenon or event. The purpose of this kind of sample design is to provide as much insight as possible into the event or phenomenon under examination. For example, when conducting a street poll about an issue, a researcher would want to ensure that he or she speaks with as many different kinds of people as possible in order to construct a robust view of the issue from the public's perspective.

The choice of more number of military Heads of state is informed by the fact that there were more military Heads of state than the civilian who ruled the country. Therefore, six (6) Military Heads of State were sampled as against five (5) Civilian Presidents. The choice of General Olusegun Obasanjo as a member in the sample of civilian Heads of state was based on the higher number of years he served as civilian president than the few years he spent as the military head of state. Also, he came from the Southern part of the country. Also, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan made up the list of the civilian presidents because he came from the South-South part of the country. The inclusion of the two was to have representation from some parts of the country.

3.5 Sources of Data

The research used secondary data. According to Eboh (2009:102) "secondary data refers to those data which have already been collected by someone else". Secondary data can be obtained from existing literature (paper and electronic), research reports, government document, institutions, publication and statistical reports.

The data for this research therefore, were obtained from websites such as http://maxsiollun.wordpress.com/great-speeches-innigeria-history. Books on speeches of Nigerian leaders, (*Greatest Speeches of Historic Black Leaders*, *Speech writing: A Guide for Diplomats and Public Officers*)National Archives Kaduna,Nigerian Military Museum,Depot,Zaria and National Museum, Kaduna were explored.

Depositories and historical centres such as Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Mambaya House, Bayero University Kano,Centre for Development Research and Training Zaria, etc. were also consulted. Some of them were found in New Nigerian Newspapers and history books.

3.6 Method of Data Collection

The inaugural speeches collected from websites and depositories were subjected to analysis. Only written speeches were used as the audio were not readily available.Where they were, they were not very audible.

3.7 Procedure for Data Analysis

In the analysis of the inaugural speeches, three approaches to the study of text in Critical Discourse Analysis were adapted. Firstly, Van Dijk (1993) interdisciplinary and eclectic

approach were adapted. Therefore, the analysis employed psychological, historical, cultural, economic and logical approaches.Secondly, Wodak's (2001) approach to text analysis, where eclecticism is employed, was also considered. Thirdly, Fairclough (1989) approach to the study of text and talk analysis of description, interpretation and explanation was also adapted. Therefore, the analysis of the speeches is eclectic drawing from various academic disciplines (Psychology, History, Sociology, Political Science, Economics, Law, Philosophy etc.) for description, interpretation and explanation of the speeches. Specifically, the research used the Johnson-Liard and Oatley (1989) method of classification of language of emotion to analyze how the inaugural speeches convey feelings/emotions of the speakers. Van Dijk's (1996) classification of ideology was used to analyze the ideological beliefs that were intentionally uttered by the speakers. Ng and Bradac's (1993) method of classification of power relations was used to establish the forms of power relation that are manifested in the speeches of the civilian and military Heads of state. Samovar et al's (2007) classification of identity was used to identify how hidden meanings are related to the social structure and identities of the civilian and military Heads of State. The method of the data analysis, all in all, is a multidisciplinary in approach.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State are presented and analysed with a view to finding out the differences and similarities in them and how rhetorical strategies were used to achieve the desired goal. The focus of the analysis is to compare and contrastthe structural layout of the two speeches, feelings/emotionsthat the speakers convey in their inaugural speeches, the ideological beliefs conveyed by the speakers in their inaugural speeches, manifestation of power relations in their inaugural speeches and how hidden meanings in their inaugural speeches are related to the social structure and identities of the speakers.

The analysis of the datais based on the models of Critical Discourse Analysis as put forward by Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (2001). Other methods of analysis adopted include the Johnson-Liard and Oately (1989) method of classification of language of emotion, van Dijk's (1996) classification of ideology, Bradac (1993) method of classification of forms of power

relations, Samovar et al's (2007) classification of identity and Franklin (2000) method of speech structural layout. This means that we are using the multidisciplinary approach to data analysis.

The analysis of the speeches was based on the premise of the objectives/research questions of the research which include; to establish whether the inaugural speeches convey feelings/emotions of the speakers, to reveal whether the ideological beliefs are intentionally or otherwise uttered by the speakers to identify whether the speakers used language to manipulate discourse practice to organize frame of information or not, to uncover hidden meaning relating to the social structures, identities, power relation to them and to establish whether the Heads of State use linguistic facilities to reconstruct and control people's thoughts. The theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis and other analytical models which the CDA permits were used for the analysis. The analyses are presented below:

4.1 Structural Layout of the Inaugural Speeches

The structural layout of the speeches of the civilian and military Heads of state are analysed here based on the theory of Franklin (2000) which bases his analysis on introduction, body (paragraphs and sentences) and tones. In other words, the research adapts the theory.

The Civilian Heads of State

Similar to the military Heads of state, the civilian Presidents would start their inaugural speeches with greetings or vocatives like: "Fellow Nigerians" at the opening of their addresses. Shehu Shagari and Olusegun Obasanjo used "Fellow Nigerians", Umaru Musa Yar'adua used "Fellow citizens" and Goodluck Jonathan used "My Dear Compatriots". Contrary to the military

Heads of state, the greeting is meant to establish some relationship with the audience before they go into the speech proper.

Introduction

The introductory paragraphs of the speeches given by the civilian Heads of state are full of expressions of gratitude to God and to Nigerians who voted them into power. There is clear pretention and ideological brainwash to assume that all Nigerians voted them into power. They pretend that all voted for them and are, therefore, grateful to them all.

For instance, in his inaugural speech, President Shehu Shagari thanked all Nigerians for voting him to power. He says:

> I want to take this opportunity to thank all of you for your patience and support throughout the period of transition.

The phrase "all of you" here refers to all Nigerians, although the president is quite aware that it was not all Nigerians that voted for him.Similarly, President Obasanjo thanked Nigerians for electing him to the office. He says:

> I wish, at this point, to thank all of you good Nigerians for the confidence reposed in me.

In the expression, he claims to thank all Nigerians as if all Nigerians voted for him. He even qualifies all as "good Nigerians". This is true of a political language where the politician pretends that all and sundry belongs to him. He, later, thanked friends of Nigerians, as he said, "in many lands", He thanked General Abdulsalami Abubakar, the former Head of State, members of the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INCE). The whole of his introductory paragraph is full of gratitudes.

President Umaru Musa Yar'adua also expressed his gratitudes to Nigerians in the introductory aspect of his speech. He says:

> My fellow citizens, I am humbled and honoured that you have elected me and Vice-President Jonathan to represent that generation in the task of building a just and humane nation where its people have a fair chance to attain their fullest potentials.

The President, in this regard, includes his Vice-President in thanking Nigerians. He claims that he is elected with his Vice-President to represent Nigerians in building a just and humane nation.

In the case of President Goodluck Jonathan, one fifth (1/5) of the speech is dedicated to expressing gratitudes to individuals. He thanked the following categories of people:

a. Fellow Nigerians
b. Brother Heads of States and Governments
c. Members of the PDP and other political parties
d. Vice-President, Namadi Sambo
e. His wife, Patience Goodluck Jonathan and
f. President Umaru Musa Yaradua

The introduction reads:

> My Dear Compatriots, I stand in humble gratitude to you, this day, having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation.
>
> I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence which you have demonstrated through the power of your vote. I want to assure you that I will do my utmost, at all times, to continue to deserve your trust.
>
> I would like to specially acknowledge the presence, in our midst today, of Brother Heads of States and Governments who have come to share this joyous moment with us. Your excellencies, I thank you for your solidarity. I also wish to express my gratitude to the representatives of Heads of State and Government who are here with us. My appreciation also goes to the chairperson of the African Union and other world leaders, our development partners, and all of our distinguished guest.

> I want to specially thank all Nigerians for staying on course in our collective commitment to build a democratic natio. To members of the PDP family and members of other political parties who have demonstrated faith in our democratic enterprise, I salute you.
>
> At this juncture, let me acknowledge and salute my friend and brother, Vice-President Namadi Sambo; and my dear wife, Patience, who has been a strong pillar of support.
>
> I thank her for galvanizing and mobilizing Nigerian women for the cause of democracy. In the same vein, I owe a debt of gratitude to my mother and late father. I cannot thank them enough.
>
> I cannot but pay tribute to our late President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua, with whom we won the Presidential election four years ago, when I contested as his running mate. May God bless his soul.

It is clear from what we have said so far that the introductory parts of the inaugural speeches of the civilian Heads of state are full of gratitude to Nigerians for electing them. Obviously, theyfelt honoured and elated. They expressed their total happiness to have worn the election and to have been sworn-in as democratically-elected presidents.

One glaring fact about the gratitude, however, is the pretention that they were grateful to all Nigerians because they voted them into power. In fact, in the case of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, his election is said to have been flawed with irregularities which he acknowledged in the speech. Yet, he expressed his gratitudes to Nigerians for electing him.

The Body of the Speeches

Inaugural speeches given by the civilian Presidents as is the case with other speeches, is made up of paragraphs. Such speeches contain the following types of paragraphs: narrative, expository, persuasive and promissory.

Narrative Paragraphs

Narratives paragraphs are found in the body of the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents. Excerpts are provided below:

Text 1:

> The second republic has come after almost 14 years of military rule in the course of which we went through a civil war. Today, our constitution comes into effect; a constitution carefully drawn up by ourselves for ourselves (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 2:

> Nigeria is wonderfully endowed by the Almighty with human and other resources. It does no credit either to us or the entire black race if we fail in managing our resources for quick improvement in the quality of life of our people. Instead of progress and development, which we are entitled to expect from those who governed us, we experienced in the last decade and a half, a particularly in the last regime but one, persistent deterioration in the quality of our governance, leading to instability and the weakening of all public institutions. Good men were shunned and kept away from government while those who should be kept away were drawn near. Relations between men and women who had been friends for many decades and between communities that had lived together in peace for many generations became very bitter because of the actions or inactions of government. The citizens developed distrust in government, and because promises made for the improvement of the conditions of the people were not kept all statements by government met with cynicism (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 3:

> Luckily we are not starting from scratch. We are fortunate to have been led in the past eight years by one of our nation's greatest patriots, President Obasanjo. On behalf of all our people, I salute you, Mr President, for your vision, your courage and our boundless energy in creating the roadmap toward that united and economically thriving Nigeria that we seek. Many of us may find it hard to believe now, but before you assumed the presidency eight years ago, the national conversation was about whether Nigeria deserved to remain one country at all (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 4:

> Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my Facebook page. It was sent by Mr Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but had campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket.

> Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed, and passed on three days later, I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

The above extracts are samples of narrative paragraphs from the inaugural speeches of the civilian Presidents. In text 1, President Shehu Shagari narrates the coming of the Second Republic after 14 years of military rule. The military rule led Nigeria to civil war. The new Second Republic brings the emergence of a constitution drawn up by Nigerians. The expression "ourselves for ourselves" refers to the civilian for civilian because the military used degree by fustily suspending the constitution after every coup because they had no legitimacy in the constitution.

In Text 2, President Obasanjo narrates bitterly how the Abacha Government battered the country. The problem affected both the country and the civil society.That,according to him, ruled "the citizens to develop distrust in government" more particularly, "Promises made for the improvement of the conditions of the people were not kept". Such narrations targeting the flaws of the previous government is not usual in the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents. However, this comes up from President Obasanjo because of his encounter with General Sani Abacha. He became a vocal critic of the human right abuses of the regime. Not long after, in 1995, he was imprisoned on charges of plotting a coup against the regime. He narrowly escaped a death penalty for treason. He was in jail serving a life sentence when fate dealt a hand in his favour with the sudden death of Abacha on June 8, 1998. Consequently, the Abdulsalami Abubakar administration, which succeeded Abacha, released Obasanjo from prison and granted him state pardon. This account for the antagonizing narration in the speech.

In Text 3, a sample of a narrative paragraph is provided from the inaugural speech of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua. President Yar'adua applauded his predecessor, President

Obasanjo. He recounts some of the efforts made by President Obasanjo in keeping Nigeria one as against the expectations of Nigerians that the country would disintegrate.

There is little wonder to find such encomiums narrative paragraphs in the speech of President Yar'adua because his election was accused of irregularities which he (Yar'adua) adjudged in his inaugural speech. He says, in the early part of the speech, "We acknowledge that our elections had some shortcomings. Thankfully, we have a well-established legal avenues of redress". With all the irregularities, Yar'adua was sworn-in as the President with President Obasanjo's autocracy.

In Text 4, President Goodluck Jonathan also engages in emotional narratives to justify the support he enjoyed from Nigerians during the election. The emotionalisation narratives might be a defence mechanism to buttress the claim that he was massively voted by Nigerians and that his victory overwhelmed one of his fans who died. He used anecdote as a rhetorical device to form the narrative paragraph.

From the analysis above, it is clear that narrative paragraphs have been used by the civilian presidents to develop their speeches. They used different rhetorical devices such asrepetition and anecdotes for the formation of the narrative paragraphs.

Descriptive Paragraphs

Apart from narrative paragraphs, there are few descriptive paragraphs identified in the body of the speeches of the civilian presidents. Excerpts are provided below:

Text 1

> Throughout the election campaigns, our party, the National Party of Nigeria, made strong commitments to the people of the country to rapidly develop and

> improve agriculture. For centuries, generation of Nigerian farmers have struggled with technologies invented by our ancestors to meet the demand of a long gone age and to wrest a living from a weary and exhausted soil. I personally spoke many times on our policy from Green Revolution (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 2

> Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the people and the public good. Government and all its agencies became thoroughly corrupt and reckless. Members of the public had to bribe their way through in ministries and parastatals to get attention and one government agency had to bribe another government agency to attain the release of their statutory allocation of funds (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

In Text 1, President Shehu Shagari uses expository paragraph to give the picture of agriculture in the past years. He uses some adjectival phrases and adjectives to describe how Nigerian farmers suffer seriously using what he called "technologies invented by our ancestors". He also uses adjectives to describe the soil used by the farmers as "weary and exhausted soil". The president gives these description of the agricultural system to promise to Nigerian that he would bring about changes in the agricultural sector. It is in this regard that he earlier says, "The National Party of Nigeria made strong commitments to the people of the country to rapidly develop and improve agriculture".

In Text 2 above, President Olusegun Obasanjo gives vivid explanation of the previous government of General Sani Abacha. He uses various adjectives such as "indifferent", "little commitment", "thoroughly corrupt" and "reckless". The use of the adjectives qualifies the paragraph as a descriptive one.

It should, however, be noted that expository paragraphs are very minimal in the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents. As could be seen, expository paragraphs are found in only the

speeches of Presidents Shehu Shagari and Olusegun Obasanjo. The paragraphs that are more present are the promissory paragraphs.

Promissory Paragraph

Promissory paragraphs entail words that explain the plans the leaders intend to carry out as either expressed in their campaign manifestos or intend to execute after oath-taking.

Text 1

> We shall immediately expand educational infrastructure in order to cope with the demand at all levels of our educational system. We also plan to make education more qualitative and functional with a sound moral character, (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 2

> I am determined to stretch my hand of fellowship to all Nigerians regardless of their political affiliations. I intend to reconcile all those who feel alienated by past political events and I will endeavor to heal divisions, and to restor the harmony we used to now in this country, (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 3

> Over the past eight years, Nigerians have reached a national consensus in at least four areas: to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption to ensure efficiency and good governance. I will commit myself to these tasks, (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 4

> Join me now as we begin our journey of transforming Nigeria.
>
> - I will continue to fight for our future because I am one of you.
> - I will continue to fight for improved medical care for all our citizens
> - I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education.
> - I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens.
> - I will continue to fight for efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people.
> - I will continue to fight for jobs to be created through productive partnership.

In Text 1, President Shehu Shagari unfolds his plan, which is more or less a promise to provide educational infrastructure and qualitative and functional education. He uses plural

personal pronoun “we” in two places referring to his government. The “we” is not honourific, but it is referring to the stakeholders in the government. He also uses the modal verb *shall* which, in some context, stands for promise. Therefore, he says, “we shall”, expressing determination and promise to executive his plan.

Although efforts were made by the President Shagari’s government to improve education, but later the education sector was abandoned. Government owed teachers’ salaries for many months. Corruption became prevalent that the military had to overthrow that government.

In Text 2, General Olusegun Obasanjo expresses his determination to reconcile Nigerians that had crisis in different parts of the country and among individuals as a result of chaos caused by General Sani Abacha’s Government. General Olusegun Obasanjo’s speech is full of promissory paragraphs. He uses promissory expression as “I am determined to”, “I intend to” and “I will endeavour to”. There is the repetitive use of personal pronoun “I” to show commitment to the promise. In this single paragraph, ‘I’ is used three times to also express commitment and determination to fulfill the promise.

Consequent upon Obasanjo’s effort to reconcile the aggrieved Nigerians caused by the previous military Governments, he instituted the Oputa Panel, known as the Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission in June, 1999. The Commission was authorised to investigate gross human rights violations between 15th of January, 1996 when the civilian government was overthrown until the election of civilian president on the 28th of May in 1999. After six months waiting period for the release of the report, the government surprisingly annulled the Commission in January, 2003 on grounds that it was unconstitutionally constituted. The Government cited a Supreme Court decision as the basis for its decision. The decision withdrew the investigative powers of the Commission and ruled that in the 1999 Constitution the

power to establish "tribunals of inquiry" belonged to the state, not to the federal authority. Therefore, none of the recommendations of the panel was put into effect: a good example of unfulfilledpromises.

In Text 3, President Umaru Musa Yar'adua stylishly builds his promissory paragraph using anecdote. In the final analysis, he uses a single sentence as the key sentence of the paragraph, placed at the end of that paragraph. Implicitly, he claims to continue with what the previous Government of Obasanjo started "over the past eight years". The agenda in the paragraph entails: "deepen democracy and the rule of law, build an economy driven primarily by the private sector and display zero tolerance for corruption". He ends the sentence with a promissory sentence when he says: "I commit myself to these tasks". He uses two pronouns – one – another – personal pronoun "I" and reflexive pronoun "myself" – to show the intensity of the promise.Unfortunately he passed away without fulfilling the promises made. Sad enough, his predecessor did not see the need to fulfill such promises.

In the case of President Goodluck Jonathan in text 4, he develops his promissory paragraph using 'I' repetitively in each sentence. He used the modal verb "will" signifying that he started the promise during the last few years when he was completing the remaining years of the tenure of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua. In this sense, it is an extension of his boss's government. None of the six (6) promises were fulfilled by his government. Consequently, he did not win the election his second time.

Our analysis of the excerpts above, clearly indicate that promissory paragraphs are found in the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents of Nigeria. In fact, there are more examples of such promissory paragraphs in their speeches than other types of paragraphs. Some of the promises were fulfilled while most were not.

Persuasive Paragraphs

Persuasive paragraphs are also found in the inaugural speeches of the civilian Presidents. The essence of such paragraphs are to seek support for the government in executing its plans. Rhetorical devices are also employed in the paragraphs to convince the reader on the need to cooperate and support the governments. The following are instances of persuasive paragraphs from the speeches:

Text 1

> I would like to remind you of what a great American once said. It was this, 'united we stand, divided we fall'. This statement is as true for Nigeria today as it has been for any other country. The peoples of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind. On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardise the peace of the thirty-three million law abiding people of Nigeria. Is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all our communities to live together in peace and harmony. The way to do this is to create understanding, mutual respect and trust. It is important that we should first show respect to each other before asking the world to respect us, (Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 2

> My fellow citizens, the task ahead is enormous and it is a task for all of us. Our Government is committed to building a united, stable and prosperous nation. I need your contribution, cooperation and support, Nigeria can and must become a great and modern nation. Let us with true conscience and determination join hands and rededicate ourselves to the service of this great nation so that it will be a place we can and shall all be proud of. We cannot afford to fail in this task and by the grace of God we shall succeed (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3

> I shall end this address by stressing again that we must change our ways of governance and of doing business on this eve of the coming millennium. This we must do to ensure progress, justice, harmony and unity and above all, to rekindle confidence amongst our people. Confidence that their conditions will rapidly improve and that Nigeria will be great and will become a major world player in the near future (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 4

> All hands must be on deck. Let us join together to ease the pains of today while working for the gains of tomorrow. Let us set aside cynicism, and strive for the good society that we know is within our reach. Let us discard the habit of low expectations of ourselves as well as of our leaders let us stop justifying every shortcoming with that unacceptable phrase, "the Nigerian factor", as if to be a Nigeria is a to settle for less. Let us recapture that mood of optimism that defined us at the dawn of independence, that legendary can do spirit that marked our Nigerianness. Let us join together, now, to build a society worthy of our children. We have the talent. We have the intelligence, we have the ability (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 5

> Nigerians, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dreams, we can achieve together. I call on all the presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country. Let us work together; let us build together; let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

Text 1 is a sample of persuasive paragraph from the inaugural speech of the late Nigerian Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. In fact, ninety-five percent (95%) of the paragraphs in the speech are persuasive in nature. What account for the dominance of such persuasive paragraphs in the speech is with the demand for unity at that time so as to fight for Nigeria's independence from British rule. The struggle for independence as at that time was at its peak. There was nothing so dearly required like the unity of the various regions, ethnic groups, political parties, movements etc. Therefore, the Prime Minister was pre-occupied with the call for unity.

The Prime Minister uses a rhetorical device of a popular quote from one American President to derive home his call for unity. He says, "I would like to remind you of what a great American once said. It was: "United we stand, divided we fall". The persuasive paragraph in

question is developed along this quotation. He therefore, says, "The people of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind". He notes in the paragraph that "it is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all our communities to live together in peace and harmony". It is, therefore, clear that the preoccupation of the speech is persuasion. To that effect, the speech is dominated by persuasive paragraphs. In fact, ninety-five percent (95%) of the speech is made up of persuasive paragraphs.

In Text 2, President Shehu Shagari also develops his speech along persuasive paragraphs. In the text, he describes the task ahead of him which requires the contribution of Nigerians. He therefore, says, "… the task ahead is enormous…" the enormity of the task, therefore, requires the help of all Nigerians. He continues by saying: "I need your contribution, cooperation and support". He continues to uses expressions such as the ones below "let us" "rededicate ourselves", "we can", "we cannot" and "we shall" to develop the persuasive paragraphs.

President Olusegun Obasanjo also uses persuasive paragraphs in his speech. He also uses inclusive pronouns to create persuasive paragraphs. He calls on Nigerians to ensure progress, justice, harmony and unity. In that regard, he uses expression like: "we must change", "…we must do" to develop the persuasive paragraphs in the speech.

In President Umaru Musa Yar'adua's speech, he used idiomatic expressions and suggestive expressions. He uses the idiomatic expression "All hands must be on deck" meaning everyone should contribute his quota and suggestive expression as "let us join together", "let us set aside", "let us discard", "let us join together" to develop the persuasive paragraphs in the speech.

In Text 5, President Goodluck Jonathan uses personal pronouns 'I', 'you', 'we', 'me', 'us' and 'our' to persuasively call on Nigerians to support his Government. He also uses the idiomatic expressions such as "join hands with us" and "let us" all in the bid to develop the persuasive paragraphs.

It is, therefore, very clear from the analysis of the above extracts that persuasive paragraphs are dominant in the inaugural speeches of the civilian Presidents. They used rhetorical devices such as idioms, pronouns and repetition to develop such persuasive paragraphs. The persuasive paragraphs appear in the beginning, middle or at the end of the speeches. They are meant to seek for cooperation, support and contribution of Nigerians for their various governments.

Sentence Structure

Different types of sentences identified in the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents are compound, complex and compound-complex sentences.

The following are samples of the compound sentences identified from the speeches:

Text 1

> This has been a great day for Nigeria, and, as the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my fellow-countrymen tonight, (Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 2

> We shall devote more manpower and technological resources to increase our agricultural productivity and expand our agro-based industries, (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3

> We are all in this together, and we will find a way to achieve peace and justice, (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 4

> Nigeria is blessed with enormous natural wealth, and my administration will continue to encourage locally owned enterprises to take advantage of our resources in growing the domestic economy, (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

Each of the texts above comprises a compound sentence. A compound sentence consists of two independent clauses joined by a co-ordinating conjunction such as "and", "but", "or". In the case of texts 1 – 4 above, the two sentences joined by the co-ordinating conjunction "and" chosen by the speakers to join two ideas together that are complimentary to each other in one sentence to bring about continuity of thought.

In Text 1, for an instance, the Prime Minister uses the conjunction "and" to join two ideas – the idea of the day being a great one for all Nigerians (Present and future ones) and the idea of the Prime Minister being proud to speak to Nigerian on the occasion of that great day. This is employed to achieve the effect of narration.

From the analysis of the texts above, it is clear that civilian Heads of state of Nigeria use compound sentences in their inaugural speeches. However, contrary to military Heads of state, the civilians use, mostly, the conjunction "and" to construct the compound sentence as evident in the texts above. This is because the inaugural speeches of the civilian Heads of state usher in a democratically elected government and, therefore, do not contain accusatory paragraphs which call for contradictory statements that will warrant the use of the conjunction "but" as is always the case with the military in their inaugural speeches.

Complex Sentence

Civilian Heads of state employ the complex sentence in their inaugural speeches. The complex sentence consists of one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses joined together by a subordinating conjunction such as “when”, “where”, “why”, “which”, “if”, “since”, “before”, etc. Extracts of complex sentences used by the civilian Heads of state are show below:

Text 1

> We must seize the opportunity which has been offered to us to show that we are able to manage our own affairs properly, (Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 2

> This is an occasion which calls for sober-reflection on the problems of the First Republic in order to appreciate the magnitude of the tasks ahead, (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3

> On behalf of all our people, I salute you, Mr. President, for your vision, your courage and your boundless energy in creating the roadmap toward that united and economically thriving Nigeria that we seek, (President Umaru Musa Yar’adua, 2007).

Text 4

> I am mindful that I represent the shared aspiration of all our people to forge a united Nigeria: a land of justice, opportunity and plenty, (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

Texts 1 and 2 each contains one independent clause (which contains the major idea) and two dependent clauses (which contain minor ideas).

In Text 1, the speaker says, “We must seize the opportunity… (independent clause, major idea) and proceeds to describe the particular opportunity he is referring to as he says, “which has

been offered to us. Furthermore, he goes on to justify the necessity for seizing the opportunity i.e. to show that we are able to manage own affairs properly. (i.e. the opportunity of taking over power of managing ourselves by ourselves).

In Text 2 the speaker employs the same technique of expressing an idea, describing it and justifying his claim all in one sentence – a complex sentence containing three clauses, as he says, "this is an occasion" – independent clause, major idea; "which calls for sober reflection on the problems of First Republic – independent clause, describing an occasion; "in order to appreciate the magnitude of the tasks ahead – dependent clause, justifying his claim.

Texts 3 and 4 each consists of one independent/main clause and one subordinate clause. In text 3 the speaker expresses an idea – "… I salute you, Mr President, for… creating the roadmap toward that united and economically thriving Nigeria" in the main clause, and goes ahead in the next clause to describe an element (Nigeria) in the main clause, as "that we seek" i.e. the one we desire to have in the future. In text 4 the speaker expresses an abstract idea "I am mindful" in the main clause, and explains it in the subordinate clause as "that I represent the shared aspiration of …Nigeria…"

From the foregoing analysis, it is evident that in their use of language to influence the minds of Nigerians, civilian Heads of state make use of the complex sentence in their inaugural speeches.

Compound-Complex Sentence

The compound-complex sentence is among the types of sentence used by civilian Heads of state in their inaugural speeches. A compound-complex sentence is a compound sentence

containing one (or more) subordinate clause. Below are samples of compound-complex sentences contained in the inaugural speeches of civilian Heads of Nigeria.

Text 1

> I am convinced, and I want you also to be convinced, that the future of this vast country must depend, in the main, on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves, (Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 2

> The need for technical manpower and the rapid development of technology, demand that we maximize the use of all technical and vocational institutions in the country and establish many more, (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3

> Accordingly, I will set up a panel to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and standard of our general elections, and thereby deepen our democracy, (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 4

> We will push programs and policies that will benefit both local and foreign businesses, but we must emphasize mutual benefits and win-win relationships, (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

Texts 1, 2 and 3 each consists of two main clauses and one subordinate clause, each of which expresses two major ideas and one minor idea largely depending on one of the major ideas.

In text 1 for instance, the speaker says:

"I am convinced – main clause, major idea;

"and I want you also to be convinced" – main clause, major idea;

"that the future of this vast country… - subordinate clause, minor idea depending on the first clause – I am convinced.

The second clause – "and I want you to be convinced" – is expressed to appeal to the senses of the audience to appreciate the fact stated in the following clause i.e. "that the future of this vast country must depend… on…ourselves…

The Military

The military Heads of state, in the introductory aspects of their inaugural speeches traditionally begin with greetings. They all began with "Fellow Nigerians" except Lt Col Yakubu Gowon who begins with "My Fellow Countrymen". The greeting is not a mere phatic communion as in traditional social interaction, it is a rhetorical strategy to appeal to the audience. The word 'fellow' has various meanings in different contexts, but in this context the military use it to mean a colleague or partner trying to equalize themselves with other Nigerians, pretending to be equal in power, rank, and character or having the same feeling. This is employed in the quest to legitimise their presence in leadership and be accepted by the Nigerians knowing fully well that they are occupying an illegitimate position of power.

Gowon's use of 'my fellow countrymen' is not unconnected with the turmoil in which the country was at the time. There was the 1966 coup and the assassination of some prominent Nigerians, the suspicion behind the coup that it was staged by certain section of the country and the beginning of the agitation for cessation by the eastern region. In addition to that, the content of the speech that follows the greeting is inflammatory. Therefore, there was need to keep the country united by galvanising the support of Nigerians then. To this end he uses 'my' possessive

pronoun “countrymen” as emotional greeting to cognitively work on the ideology of the Nigerians to see Nigeria as a united country.

Introductory paragraphs of the speeches of the military Heads of state are saturated with cacophonous expressions to emotionalise the audience in their bid to justify their apt appearance on the political stage. They all claim that the Nigerian state is in social, political and economic crises and the country has been left to drift.

In Gowon’s speech, emotionally touching words and expression are used such as, “unfortunate incidents”, “national disaster”, “by the grave and unfortunate action”, “decided to overthrow the legal government of the day”, “the Prime Minister lost his life during the uprising”, “could have degenerated into a civil war”, “certain practices caused suspicion and grave doubt”, “unpleasant experience”, “agitate against the military government”, “serious rioting, bloodshed” etc.

Major General Muhammadu Buhari on the other hand, uses expressions that are emotionally disturbing such as “the serious economic predicament”, “crisis of confidence afflicting our nation”, “a matter of life and death struggle”, “mismanagement”, “the corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership”, “arson have been used to cover fraudulent acts”, etc.

Similarly, General Babangida evoke esoteric expressions that are beyond the comprehension of ordinary Nigerians to justify his being on the political platform. He uses expressions like, “we have witnessed a systematic denigration of that hope”, “fundamental changes would not appear on the horizon”, “state of uncertainty”, “suppression and stagnation”, “dictated the need to arrest the situation” etc.

General Abacha is no different in the use of emotionally moving expressions to justify the reappearance of the military as the head of government after stepping aside for the Interim Government. In the introductory paragraphs of the speech he uses such expressions as, "a bid to find solutions to the various political economic and social problems that have engulfed our beloved country", "which have made life most difficult to ordinary citizens of this country", "politically economically and socially there were lots of uncertainties", "things appear bleak and the atmosphere was heavy with uncertainties", etc.

The introductory paragraphs of the inaugural speeches of the military are full of nerve racking emotionally touching words and expression. These expressions are not unconnected with the way the military come to power. Therefore, they must painstakingly make all efforts to justify their presence in the political scene of the country.

The Body of the Speech

As usual with speeches, the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state are made up of paragraphs. The paragraphs identifiable in the body of the inaugural speeches include, narrative, descriptive, expository, persuasive and warning paragraphs.

Lt Col Gowon's second, third and fourth paragraphs are all narrative paragraphs. Also, in Murtala's speech paragraph, three and four are narrative paragraphs. Likewise, fifty percent (50%) of General Buhari's speech contains narrative paragraphs. Paragraphs two and three of General Babangida's speech are also narrative.

It could be discerned from the analysis of the body of inaugural speeches of the military that the narrative paragraph is the dominant paragraph. It gives features of some characters, it

follows a plot line and it establishes conflict in a setting. These features are very glaring in the paragraphs analysed.

In the same vein, substantial paragraphs of the inaugural speeches of the military contain description. This type of paragraph in the speech is used to make audience to experience the bleak situation the military intents to portray. Such a paragraph also employs modifiers, adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases and figurative language to describe the previous government, or a certain personality in the previous government just to create in-group and out-group contrast/dichotomy.

In Major –General Buhari's speech, for instance, the following paragraph is descriptive as it tries to describe a moment of difficulty when the financial position was yet to be determined by his government. Descriptive expressions such as "the situation is bad enough", the difficult and degrading condition", "global recession", "seemingly grim and disturbing financial picture" etc that feature in the speech are all trying to describe the situation the military claim to find the country in.

Similarly, General Babangida uses descriptive paragraphs in his inaugural speech. In paragraphs eight and nine of his speech he describes his predecessor using adjectives of quality. He says in paragraph nine, "Regrettably, it turned out that Major –General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance". In the paragraph that follows, the speaker goes on describing Buhari's deputy saying, Major –General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position".

The third paragraph is a descriptive paragraph in General Abacha's speech. He tries to describe the situation that made the then Interim Head of State to hand over power to him. He describes the situation in the paragraph as, "Things appeared bleak and the atmosphere was heavy with uncertainties. In that regard, he says. "However, driven by the belief in himself, his countrymen and love for his country, he accepted to face the challenge of our time."

These references justify the fact that descriptive paragraphs, also, are in abundance in the inaugural speeches of the military. Chief among the reasons for employing them is to justify their intervention in the governance of Nigerian nation. Expository paragraphs are also employed by the military Heads of state. The paragraph below featured in Lt Col Gowon's inaugural speech is expository:

"As a result of the recent events and other previous similar ones…"

In the paragraph, the speaker tries to make the audience understand that there are economic, social and political problems in the country. These problems according to the speaker are the bane in the yarning for unity. He says in the paragraph, "Suffice to say that, putting all consideration to test – political, economic, as well as social – the base for unity is not there or is badly rocked not only once but several times." All these explanations are meant for justification of a legitimate assumption of power.

Similar paragraphs are also found in Brigadier General Murtala Muhammed. In the following paragraph, the speaker announces the appointments of some officers to man his government. He uses numbering to make the speech explicit. The paragraph reads thus:

"It was obvious that matters could not and should not... (2)"

Brigadier General Muhammad Buhari's expository paragraphs are distinguished from others expository paragraphs because he provides headings separating one central idea from another. He uses the following headings in capital letters; POLICY PROGRAMME and EXTERNAL RELATIONS. Expository paragraphs follow each of the headings.

In General Abacha's inaugural speech items in the expository paragraphs are presented in chronological order using bullet not numbering. Some of the points raised in the speech include:

- The Interim National Government is hereby dissolved
- The National and State Assemblies are also dissolved

Apart from narrative, descriptive and expository paragraphs identified from the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state, there are also persuasive paragraphs. Lt Col. Gowon uses persuasive words to construct his persuasive paragraph, he says thus:

> I am convinced that with your cooperation and understanding, we shall be able to pull the country out of its present predicament. I promise you that I shall do all I can to return to civil rule as soon as it can be arranged. I also intend to pursue most vigorously the question of the release of political prisoners. Fellow countrymen, give me your support and I shall endeavour to live up to expectations. Thank you.

The speaker uses some rhetorical devices in the paragraph to convince the audience that he needs their cooperation and support to rule the country. The expression "I am convinced that with your cooperation and understanding…" is an attempt by the speaker to mesmerise the audience that he cannot rule without them. This is why in the second and independent clause, the speaker substituted the personal pronoun singular 'I' to 'we' for inclusion therefore, he says, "WE shall be able to…" Furthermore, he uses metaphoric expression to achieve his intent saying, "We shall be able to pull the country out of its present predicament". The expression "pull out" presupposes that the country was pushed into predicament but he alone could not pull

it out so he is persuasively requesting a helping hand to do so. To further persuade the audience, he resorts to unfulfilled promises using personal pronoun 'I' and indefinite adverbs of time "as soon as" which is conditional as well. In a nutshell the paragraph is a persuasive paragraph.

In his own persuasive paragraph Brigadier General Murtala Mohamed tries to appeal for cooperation in just a two-sentence paragraph as he says:

> I appeal to you all to cooperate with the Government in our endeavour to give this nation a new lease of life. This change of Government has been accomplished without shedding any blood and we intend to keep it so.

The expression "I appeal to you all" is persuasive. The word "all" refers to all Nigerians comprising the military and civilians as well, so "Nigerians" is deliberately ellipsed to make it sound more inclusive. He uses metaphorical expression which is to be the result of the cooperation he is seeking for from the audience, he therefore says "… to give this nation a new lease of life." Persuasively also he says the change of the Government occurred without bloodshed and they intend not to do so.

In fact, the persuasive paragraphs of the inaugural speech of Major-General Muhammadu Buhari has a title in the speech as "SOLEMN APPEAL" the paragraphs read thus;

Solemn Appeal

> Fellow Nigerians, finally, we have dutifully intervened to save the nation from imminent collapse. We therefore, expect all Nigerians including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicament to cooperate with us.
>
> The generation of Nigerians and indeed future generation have no other country than Nigeria. We shall remain here and salvage it together.

The speaker persuasively calls for cooperation from Nigerians whom he categorises into three (3) as those innocent Nigerians, those who participated directly in putting the nation into predicament and those who participated indirectly in putting the country into predicament to all cooperate. Therefore, nobody is left out in the appeal. In the second paragraph, the speaker tries to convince the audience that they and the generation to come have no any other country apart from Nigeria, so he uses inclusive pronoun "We' to say, put our hands together to bring Nigeria out from the present predicament.

General Babangida as well uses persuasive paragraph of two sentences to seek for cooperation of all Nigerians. He says thus:

> There is a lot of work to be done by every single Nigerian. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, united and virile nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefit of posterity.

The speaker use the expression "by every single Nigerians" to refer to all and sundry. He later uses the plural pronoun 'us' and 'ourselves' as inclusive reference trying to persuade the audience to cooperate to the cause of building the nation. He however, tries to convince the audience that dedication is required from them so that it will benefit their lives and the generations to come. He still employs inclusive pronoun "our" in "our own lives" and for the generation to come he uses, posterity.

The use of indefinite pronoun "every", "ourselves" and "our own" are centered to persuasion. In essence, to persuade the audience to believe in the new government of the speaker and ignore and shun the previous government. These elements qualify the paragraph to be persuasive.

Persuasion paragraph is also found in inaugural speech of General Sani Abacha despite the fact that it was more or less a coup he staged. The paragraph reads!

> Finally, I appeal to all Nigerians, particularly our traditional rulers and community leaders for their maximum support and cooperation. Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The speaker uses the 'appeal' a persuasive word to woo the mind of his audience to appeal to their psyche. His appeal is initially directed to "all Nigerians" but he later particularizes the appeal to traditional rulers and community leaders. The speakers does so for his recognition of the role of traditional rulers and community leader. Although they do not have constitutional responsibilities but they serve as gate keepers and peace makers in the Nigerian society, they are closer to the people and have social regards by the community. This is because they preserve the custom and tradition of the community.

The speaker is fully aware that there can be rebellion from the Nigerian populace because they were not expecting any military come back as the former military government has already handed over after the June 12 saga for the military to come is perplexing. He therefore, feels that apart from ordinary Nigerians, he should seek the cooperation of the peace markers for fear of the unknown. So the appeal to all Nigerians in general and traditional rulers and community leaders in the paragraph make it a persuasive paragraph.

Another type of paragraph identified in the structural layout of the military Heads of state's inaugural speech is intimidative paragraphs. In such paragraphs, explicit and implicit warnings are given. For instance, in Lt Col. Gowon's speech, the following intimidative paragraph is identified.

> All members of the armed forces are requested to keep within their barracks except on essential duties and when ordered from SHQ. Troops must not terrorise the public, as such will discredit the new National Military Government. Any act of looting or sabotage will be dealt with severely. You are to remember that your task is to help restore law and order and confidence in the public in time of crisis.

The warning in the paragraph is directed at the armed forces with the exception of the civilian because the speaker says, "All members of the armed forces" this comprises the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. The word "requested" in the first sentence does not refer to polite of asking rather; it is a warning to them to remain in their barracks. Exception is given however to those on special duties with order from SQH not order from anywhere. The armed forces traditionally are always confined within the barracks. When found out of the barracks during crisis, they are accused of mutiny. Also, they are easily controlled when in the barracks. The speaker, fears counter coup or mutiny from the army that necessitated the warning. Equally, the speaker requires the support of the civilians; therefore, he warns the military against provoking the civilians. He specifically warns them of their usual behaviour during any crisis which looting of civilian property and added sabotage which he says, anyone found in such act will be dealt with severely. He reiterated that their duty is to restore law and order and confidence in the public. This shows the relevance of civil society in his governance.

Intimidative paragraph is also found in the speech of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida where he said:

> We recognise that a government be it civilian or military needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to meet its objectives. We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression or border on subversion.

The speaker recognises that the consent of the public is vital to governance. He then warn that though the government do not intend to rule by force, at same time the government will not

tolerate unreasonable demand. The speaker says, “Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression or border on subversion”. This is an indirect warning that irrational expression which can cause chaos will not be condoned.

In general Sani Abacha’s inaugural speech such paragraph of intimidating elements is also found. The paragraph reads:

> 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.

The speaker sounds explicit warning specifically saying, “We will not condone nor tolerate any act of indiscipline.” He uses the expression “not condone nor tolerate” to clearly warn that the government has complete zero tolerance to indiscipline. In fact, the preceding sentence summarises the readiness of the government to punish any erring individual. The speaker therefore, says, “Any attempt to test our will, will be decisively deal with.” “Testing our will” refers to committing the indiscipline that the government abhors. It is not even committing the indiscipline but even an attempt will meet the government wrath. In the final analysis, Abacha’s government imprisoned many political figures including Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and even Shehu Musa ‘Yar’adua died in the security custody.

From the analysis of the paragraph above, it is glaring that intimidative paragraphs are found in the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state. It contains strong implicit and explicit warnings. The warnings are sometimes directed to the military as in the case of Gowon’s speech, sometimes it is directed to both military and civilians (Nigerians) as in the case of General Babangida and General Abacha’s speeches.

Sentence Structure

The paragraph of the military inaugural speeches is made up of lengthy sentences. This is not unconnected with many narrative paragraphs. For instance, in Lt Col. Gowon's speech, the second paragraph is narrative paragraph, therefore, he used very lengthy sentences to drive home his intent of narrative episode of 1966. The sentence reads thus:

> However, before I dwell on the said issue of 29th July, 1966 I would like to recall to you the sad and unfortunate incidence of 15th January, 1966 which bear relevance.

The sentence above is lengthy because the speaker is narrating the crisis. It is the effort of the speaker to give account of what happened in at different times using different dates that accounts for the length of the sentence.

Similarly, Brigadier General Murtala uses lengthy sentences as a result of narration:

> Unknown to general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the Nation and in the hope that there would be a change, continue to suffer in silence.

The lengthy sentence above comes about as the speaker tries to narrate how the military was neglected on the previous government but as well trying to justify the takeover of the new government.

General Babangida equally uses lengthy sentences in the speech in developing his paragraphs. One of the sentences reads:

> While some of us thought it appropriate to give a little more time anticipating conducive atmosphere will develop in which affairs of state could be attended to with a greater sense of responsibility, it became increasingly clear that such expectation could not be fulfilled.

The sentence is also part of paragraph hence, it is long.

From the samples of the sentences provided above, it could concluded that lengthy sentences are employed. Different reasons account for such lengthy. The major reason is to justify why the ousted the previous government.

Sentence Types

The sentences identified in the inaugural speeches comprises compound sentences, complex sentence and compound – complex sentences. Compound sentence entails more than one simple sentence each acting as a main clause linked by a coordinating conjunction. The following sentences are compound sentences identified from the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state.

Compound Sentence

Text 1 The country was plunged into a national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the army against the public (Brigadier General Murtala Muhammad).

Text 2 These followed a period of determined effort of reconstruction ably shouldered by Major General J.T.U. Aguyi Ironsi but, unfortunately certain parties caused suspicion and grave doubt of the government's sincerity in several quarters. (Lt Col Yakubu Gowon).

Text 3 We shall honour all our international obligations and maintain our national commitment to international peace and security (General Abdulsalam Abubakar).

Text 4 Major Issues falling into this category have been identified and decision taken on what should be done firstly, the issue of political detainees (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida).

The above sentences are compound sentences. They are made up of two independent clauses that are formed by coordinating conjunction such as "and" in the case of text 1, "but" text 2, "and" text 3 and "and" text 4. This sentence type is employed as a result of narration on what occurred.

Complex sentences are also prevalent in the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state. This type of sentence contains at least one main (or independent) clause and one (or more) clauses acting as subordinate (or dependent). The clauses are often introduced by subordinating conjunctions such as when, where, if, although, even though, since, however etc. the following are samples of the complex sentences identified in the speech.

Text 1 According to certain well-known facts, which have so far not been disclosed to the nation and the world, the country was plunged into a national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the Army against the public (Lt Col. Yakubu Gowon, 1966).

Text 2 Unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the nation, and in the hope that there would be a change continued to suffer in silence, (Brigadier General Murtala Muhammad, 1975).

Text 3 When the former military leadership headed by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari assumed the reign of government, its ascension was heralded with the most popular enthusiasm accorded any new government in the history of this country, (General Ibrahim Babaginda, 1985).

Text 4 We require well-thought out and permanent solution to these problems if we are to emerge stronger from them, (General Sani Abacha, 1993).

Text 5 However, in spite of the recent development in the country, we shall resolutely defend our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, (General Abdulsalam Abubakar).

The sentences above are complex sentences sampled from the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state. They contain independent clauses joined to dependent clauses by subordinating conjunctions, this establishes the fact that the speakers use complex sentences in their speech to narrate, describe, explain or persuade.

From the foregoing analysis, it could be discerned that, the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state is dominated by complex and compound sentences. Simple and compound complex sentences are rarely found. As observed during the analysis, the research

found that complex and compound of narration and description of the so-called political, economic and social crises the military Heads give to support their takeover of the government.

It has been observed that simple and compound complex sentences are not used by the speakers. The reason may be that the idea to be expressed cannot be contained by a simple sentence. It may also be too cumbersome to use compound –complex sentences because it contains two independent clauses and one or more dependent clauses. Therefore, expressing idea in such form of sentences may not be easy and be different to comprehend by the audience.

Tone

This refers to the attitude and feeling of the speaker demonstrated in the text. The tone is created by the speaker's use of various rhetorical strategies such as metonymy, metaphor, personification, anecdote, parallelism, rhetorical question, allusion, points of view, repetition etc.

In this regard, the military Heads of State are found to have created six (6) tones in their inaugural speeches. The tones identified in the speeches include accusatory, abhorrence, and gimmicky. Excerpts from the speeches are provided below:

a. Accusatory Tone:

Text 1: The country was plunged into national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the army against the public, by this, I mean that a group of officers in conjunction with certain civilians decided to overthrow the legal government of the day… (Lt Col. Yakubu gowon, 1966).

Text 2: Things got to a stage where the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored. Responsible opinion including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals etcetera, was similarly discarded. The leadership, either by design or default, had become too insensitive to true feelings and yarnings of the people. The nation was thus plunged inexorably into chaos. (General Murtala Muhammed, 1975).

Text 3: The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years have been the source of immorality and in-propriety in our society, (Major – Genreal Muhammadu Buhari, 1984).

Text 4: Regrettably, it turned out that Major General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance. Efforts to make him understand that in a diverse polity like Nigeria requires recognition and appreciations of difference in both cultural and individual perception only serve to aggravate his attitude, (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985).

From Texts 1 – 4, it could be clear that the tone of the speakers is accusatory. Each speaker is pushing blame either to the previous government, head of the government or certain category of citizens. For instance, Lt Col. Yakubu Gowon claims that "the country was plunged into national disaster" by the grave and unfortunate handiwork of a section of the army. He later elaborated his claim by mentioning the accomplice in the act, he therefore, says, "I mean that a group of officers in conjunction with certain civilians". The statement therefore has accusatory tone.

Similarly, General Murtala uses accusatory tone to shower blame of the head of the administration who was General Yakubu Gowon. He blames him of inaccessibility and ignoring advice usually tendered to him. In this regard, the speaker says, "the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored". The other accusation is "too insensitive to true feeling and yarnings of the people. These accusations according to the speaker plunged the country into chaos, as stated in text 2 above.

Text 3 has also accusative tone. General Muhammadu Buhari uses blemish and insultive words to describe the leadership of the previous government by describing them as "corrupt, inept and insensitive". He describes their action as the source of immorality and impropriety action in our society. These undesirable character of the previous leadership was what called for

the intervention of the military then. He use the word leadership as metonymy to refer to the head of government and government officials.

In the same vein, text 4 translates accusatory tone. The speakers uses negative other presentation by singling out Major-general Buhari as the bane of the previous government by being "too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance." The speaker claims that all efforts to draw the attention of Major –General Buhari to appreciate the diverse nature of Nigerian nation "only serve to aggravate his attitude." This statement is said in accusatory tone.

The tone of abhorrence is also prevalent in the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state. The excerpts are provided below:

Text 1: It was obvious that matters could not and should not be allowed in this manner and in order to give the nation a new lease of life and sense of direction the following decisions were taken… After the civil war, the affairs of state, hitherto a collective responsibility, became characterized by lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect. Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by these developments. This trend was clearly incompatible with the philosophy and image of corrective regime. Unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the nation, and in the hope that there would be a change, continued to suffer in silence. This got to a stage where the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored. (Brigadier-General Murtala Mohamed, 1975).

Text 2: We deplore corruption in all its facets. This government will not tolerate kickbacks, inflation of contracts and over invoicing of imports etc nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealing in foreign exchange and smuggling. (Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, 1984).

Text 3: At the same time we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression or border on subversion. (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985).

Text 4: 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. (General Sani Abacha, 1993).

From Texts 1 – 4, the military Heads of state express abhorrence tone showing their dislike of some undesirable behaviour that may likely emanate from the citizen either as a reaction to the new government or a previously detested behaviour. Brigadier –General Murtala after complaining about the attitude of his predecessor and the state of the nation says that, "matters could not and should not be allowed in this manner" the expression "could not" and "should not" is an expression of dislike, therefore, the tone is abhorrence tone. As a result of that dislike the speaker explain some changes.

Similarly, in Text 2, Major – General Muhammadu Buhari explicit uses abhorrence tone to express the dislikes of his government. In fact, he uses the expressions "deplore", "will not tolerate" "nor will it condone" to unobscurely show dislike to some acts which include kickbacks, inflation of contracts, over-invoicing, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office, illegal dealing in foreign exchange and smuggling.

General Ibrahim Babangida uses abhorrence tone to make clear what his government detest despite his claim that it is a corrective government. He says, "We should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands" meaning the government will not tolerate such unreasonable demand. Although fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but he categorically warns that "their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expressing or border on subversion." The tone is abhorrence tone expressing dislike and hatred to certain actions.

Another tone identified in the speech of the military Heads of State is gimmickry tone. These are instances where the speakers use unusual trick or unnecessary devices to attract or persuade the audience. Some of the extracts in the speech that are of gimmickry tone are provided below:

Text 1: I intend to continue the policy laid down I the statement by the supreme commander on 16th January, 1966 published on 26th January, 1966. (Lt Col. Yakubu Gowon, 1966).

Text 2: Responsible opinion, including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals et cetera was similarly discarded. The leadership, either by design or default had become too insensitive to the true feelings and yearnings of the people. The nation was plunged inexorably into chaos. (Brigadier General Murtala Mohammed, 1975).

Text 3: We are confident and we assure you that even in the face of global recession and the seemingly grim and disturbing financial picture, given prudent management of Nigeria's existing financial resources and our determination to substantially reduce waste, it will be possible to clear the accumulated domestic payment areas, to reduce and eventually narrow down rising budgetary deficits and weak balance of payment position. (Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, 1984).

Text 4: Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as part of this government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985).

Text 5: This government is a child of necessity with the strong determination to restore peace and stability to our country and on these foundations enthrone a lasting democracy.

It is clear from Texts 1 – 5 that the tone of the speakers is gimmickry in the sense that the expressions are unusual tricks to persuade the citizens to believe and accept the new government they instituted through coups and counter coups. In text 1, it is clear gimmick for the Lt Col.

Yakubu Gowon to tell Nigerians that he will continue with the policy laid down by the supreme General Aguinyi Ironsi, the head of state, the military Government which he, Gowon was part of. He was the Chief of Staff of General Aguiyi Ironsi and was also part of the coup plotters. To this extent, he cannot claim to continue with the policy of the toppled government. He is saying so to persuade the military of the Northern and Southern extraction who were both touched by the coup. The coup saw the assassination of both military and politicians of both Northern and Southern extractions.

Brigadier –General Murtala's statement in text 2, has also a gimmickry tone as he claims that, General Gowon does not listen to advise even from prominent Nigerians as he says, "advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals et cetera was similarly discarded. "A man who led the civil war to keep Nigerian one may not be expected to turn deaf ears to advice by prominent citizens of his country. General Murtala might have said that to convince Nigerians on the weakness of the former Government of General Yakubu Gowon.

In Text 3, Major –General Buhari gimmickry claims that his Government will be able to clear accumulated domestic payments even in the face of global recession. He says, even in the face of global recession and seemingly grim and disturbing financial picture… It will be possible to clear the accumulated domestic payment areas." He backs his argument on the fact that his government will be prudent in management of the economy can financial resources and his determination to substantially reduce waste. However, no matter how prudent a government is, it cannot be buoyant in the face of global recession as he claims. This is because, global recession causes slump in the market, stock prices come down, there is increase in unemployment and depression and national debts raises. How on earth could he categorically mention somewhere in the speech that accurate picture of financial position is yet to be determined. "Workers at that

time have not been paid salaries for eight month, contractors not settled and foreign debt. Therefore, the head of state uses gimmickry tone to persuade the citizens to accept his government. In fact, in the final analysis, a coup staged and some of the economic policies could not see the light of the day.

In Text 4, General Babangida uses gimmickry tone to claim that the policy of the Government of Major-General Buhari caused state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation. According to him, this is "the perpetration of a small group." In the other part of the speech he defines that "small group" as Major-General Muhammdu Buhari and his Lieutenant Major-General Tunde-Idiagbon. He makes the statement sounds gimmickry because he was part of the previous government, therefore, he has no reason to complain about the action and inaction of that government. He only uses the gimmickry tone to persuade the Nigerians to cooperate with his government.

Similarly, it is gimmickry for General Sani Abacha in text 5 to claim that his Government was a child of necessity after toppling the Government of Chief Earnest Shonekan. General Abacha was the Chief of Defense in that Government. He would be able to assist the Government in quilling any crisis by virtue of his experience and position at that time. Little wonder there were speculation that he was left behind by the General Babangida Government to stage military come back in the Nigerian polity after Babangida "stepped aside", though as many for a General Babangida disclaimed that allegation. General Abacha claims that his Government came with "strong determination to restore peace and stability." However, he was part of that Government, he would do that as Chief of Defense even if he is not the head of state. Therefore, he has to use gimmickry tone to gain acceptability of the Nigerian citizens.

From the foregoing analysis, it could be discerned that tone of the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of state as identified and attempted substantiating are accusatory, abhorrence and gimmickry tones. Other tones showing elation, gladness et cetera are completely absent from the speeches.

Table 4.1:The Structural Layout of the Inaugural Speeches of the Civilian and Military Heads of State

Types of Government	***The Speech Structure***	***Aspect***	***Remark***
Civilian	Introduction	Greeting	Full of gratitude using words denoting honour and elation to God and to the citizens.
	Body	Paragraphs	Narrative, expository, persuasive and promissory.
		Sentence	Compound, complex and compound-complex sentences.
		Tone	Happy, hopeful, humorous, complementary, zealous and passionate.
Military	Introduction	Greeting	Nerve racking and emotionally touching words and expressions.
	Body:	Paragraphs	Narrative, descriptive, expository, persuasive, and coercive paragraphs.
		Sentence	Compound, complex and compound – complex sentences.
		Tone	Accusatory, abhorrence, and gimmickry tones.

From table 4.1 above, it is evident that the civilian Heads of Nigerian States' inaugural speech structure contains introduction that begin with greeting. In this part of the inaugural speech, the presidents expresses gratitude using words denoting honour and elation to God and to the citizens. The body of the speeches contains narrative, expository, persuasive and promissory paragraphs. The sentence type of the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents are compound, complex and compound-complex sentences. In respect of the tone, the civilian presidents used happy, hopeful, humorous, complementary, zealous and passionate tones.

In a similar vein, the military Heads of States' inaugural speech structures included introduction which begins with greetings that contain nerve racking, emotionally touching words and expressions. The body of the speeches contains paragraphs such as Narrative, descriptive, expository, persuasive, and coercive. Also, the sentence type of the speeches are compound, complex and compound-complex sentences. The tones used in the speeches are accusatory, abhorrence and gimmickry tones to express dissatisfaction of the previous government.

From the foregoing analysis, we can infer that politicians actively use language to woo the minds of the citizens to accept their governments and their policies. Consequently, they fashion their sentence in a variety of forms to achieve their purposes, since the civilian government is a people oriented government rather than that of the military.

4.2 Inaugural Speeches and Emotions of the Civilian Presidents and Military Heads of State

This section analyses the qualitative data in respect of Nigerian civilian and military Heads of States' inaugural speeches and their use of emotional expressions. The analysis is predicated here on the classification of language of emotion by Johnson- Laird and Oatley (1989). According to them, expressions denoting emotions fall into six (6) main categories in semantics. They are as follows:

1. Basic emotions e.g. *happiness* and *elation*
2. Emotional relations, e.g. *love* and *hate*
3. Caused emotions, e.g. *gladness* and *horror*
4. Causatives e.g. *irritate* and *reassure*
5. Emotional goal, e.g. *desire* and *avarice*

6. Complex emotion, e.g. *embarrassment* and *pity*

Given this background, the feelings/emotions of the speakers conveyed in the speeches are analysed along the categorizations as identified in the speeches.

4.2.1 Positive Basic Emotion

Basic emotional feelings have been expressed by some of the leaders in their inaugural speeches. Extracts from the speeches are provided below:

Text 1a:

> This has been a great day for Nigeria, and as the first Prime-Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my fellow countrymen tonight. I am proud and humble too, when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me, and my colleagues. (Prime Minister Balewa's inaugural speech, 1957).

Text 1b:

> We have witnessed today the birth of the Second Republic of Nigeria with the swearing-in-ceremony this morning. I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President. (President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari's inaugural speech, October, 1979).

Text 1c:

> My dear compatriots, I stand in humbled gratitude to you, this day having just sworn to the oath of office as President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of our great nation. I thank you all, fellow citizens, for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your votes. I want to assure you that I will do my utmost at all times to continue to deserve your trust. (President Goodluck Jonathan's inaugural speech, May, 2011)

From text 1a – 1d, there is clear demonstration of basic emotions by the speakers. The Prime Minister, in text 1a, expressed his joy intensely by firstly, recognizing the day of his

swearing-in as “a great day”. Secondly,he says “As the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria.” The word “first” puts him numerically as the number one citizen which is an exalted position and not only a Prime Minister but the first Prime Minister Nigeria ever had. He further euphorically exclaims that he was proud to speak to fellow countrymen tonight. Again, he says, “I am proud and humble too…” He therefore, uses the expression “I am proud” repeatedly showing his basic emotion of great happiness.

In President Shagari’s expression of basic emotion, there is the use of the expression, “we have witnessed today the birth of the Second Republic.” That is ideational, metaphoric use of the word “birth” because there is happiness in having a new born baby in a family. So, his swearing-in as the president announces the birth of the Second Republic. Happiness is attached to birth as sadness is attached to death. Also, the expression “birth of the Second Republic” could be considered as an expression of elation because the democratic governance in Nigeria was punctuated by the military coup of 1966. To that end, since 1966 (from General Aguiyi Ironsi to Olusegun Obasanjo in 1979) there was military rule through coups and counter coups. Therefore, the return to democracy and election of the president could be considered as the birth of the Second Republic.

Continuously expressing his gladness, the president uses the expression “I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President.” The word "formally” is deliberately used as an adverb of manner to mean “officially” and the word ‘first’ is used to show the status of the position and “Executive President” as the first elected president who has the power to make important decisions in the government. This means that there was never an executive president before him except ceremonial. Hence, the use of the expression “we have witnessed today the

birth of the Second Republic …" The use of "formally" and the use of "first Executive President" are all expressions of basic emotion of happiness by the speaker.

Text 1c demonstrates President Jonathan's display of basic emotion. The president startedbygreeting his audience. "My Dear Compatriots" is a persuasive strategy to show solidarity, oneness and a sense of national belonging. The greeting is an exhibition of the President's happiness with Nigerians because they voted him to power. In fact, he was the only Nigeria's President who used the expression "My Dear Compatriots" in an inaugural speech: all the others Heads of State before him used "Fellow Nigerians". He continues with "I stand in humbled gratitude to you" as a show of happiness because one thanks others as a mark of satisfaction with what they have done to him. If it were to be the other way round, the speaker wouldhave expressedthe opposite.

Furthermore, the President reiterated his gratitude out of joy advancing reason for the gratitude where he says: "I thank you all, fellow citizens for the trust and confidence, which you have demonstrated through the power of your votes". He substituted the expression 'My Dear Compatriots" with Fellow Citizens" all as in-group identity which is a form of positive politeness strategies used to bridge the social distance between a speaker and his/her audience, to show his basic emotion.

4.2.2 Emotional Relations

Emotional relations, as explained by Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), are typically about someone or something they are likely to be experienced in relation to individuals or their actions rather than merely in a vacuum. Hence, one should expect these to be words that refer to the relation between someone who experiences an emotion and its object". Such emotional

relations have been identified in the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian leaders, as the extracts and analyses below illustrate:

Civilian

Text 2a: We acknowledge that our elections had some shortcomings. Thankfully, we have well-established legal avenues of regrets, and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them. I also believe that our experiences represent an opportunity to learn from our mistakes. Accordingly, I will setup a panel to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and standard of our general elections and thereby deepen our democracy (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua).

Text 2b: Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my facebook page. It was sent by Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr. Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son, told me was no politician, but had campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory he collapsed and passed on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest (President Goodluck Jonathan, May 2011)

President Umaru Musa Yar'adua in Text 2a recognises the flaws in the just concluded election by confessing that "We acknowledge that our elections had some shortcomings". He indirectly blames the former government that brought him to power to have committed election irregularities by accepting that legal avenues are provided for redress. He therefore says: "Thankfully, we have well-established legal avenues of regrets, and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them". He however, considers those irregularities committed by his predecessor as experience to avert future occurrence, so, he says: "I also believe that our experiences represent an opportunity to learn from our mistakes". He accepts to setup a panel to examine the irregularities by his predecessor saying: "Accordingly, I will setup a panel to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and standard of our general elections and thereby deepen our democracy". In this sense, the President Yar'adua impliedly blames his predecessor, President Olusegun Obasanjo for committing electoral malpractices

which brought Yar'adua to power. This is a clear expression of emotional relation by President Umaru Musa Yar'adua.

President Goodluck Jonathan as well chatted on a voter who was his fan on facebook in Text 2b. President Jonathan adores this fan whom he described as no politician but had campaigned enthusiastically for Jonathan's ticket for president. President Jonathan sadly expressed his feeling when he reported that "Tragically overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed and passed on three days later". The president expresses the relational emotion, perhaps, to touch the minds of the listeners by using metadiscourse element "Tragically" to show his feelings and influence the listeners. Metadiscourse refers to those aspects of text which explicitly organize the discourse, engage the audience and signal the writer's attitude.

Military

Text 2c: The corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership in the last four years have been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society.

> What happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society. We deplore corruption in all its facet. This government will not tolerate kick-back, inflation of contracts and over invoicing of imports etc. nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealing in foreign exchange and smuggling. (Major- General Muhammadu Buhari, January, 1984)

Text 2d: Things appeared bleak and the atmosphere was heavy with uncertainties. However, driven by the belief in himself, his countrymen and love for his country, he accepted to face the challenges of our time. I will therefore, like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to him for his selfless service to the nation. He showed great courage at taking on the daunting task of heading the interim national government and even greater courage to know when to leave. (General Sani Abacha November, 1993)

Text 2e: Like other Nigerians, I received the sad news with shock and in accepting the burden of history now placed on me as Head of State, I pray that Almighty God will give us the fortitude to bear the irreparable loss. It is not the question that General Sani Abacha died on very active and patriotic service of our beloved fatherland. We shall forever remember him for his innovative leadership and transparent stewardship to the nation at the most trying period of our nascent history. We salute his honesty, resoluteness, fearless and total commitment to the preservation of Nigeria as a united, stable and prosperous entity. The most befitting way to honour his memory is for all Nigerians to uphold those ideals, ethos and lessons he tried to infuse into our national consciousness. (General Abdusalami Abubakar June, 1998)

Each of the extracted texts2a – 2e reveals, conspicuously,the demonstration of emotional relations in the inaugural speeches of the Heads of State. In text 2c, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari felt aggrieved with the former administration they overthrew. He uses negative lexicalization to describe his predecessors as "corrupt" and "insensitive". He also, angrily,links those derogatory behaviours to the cause of immorality and impropriety in the society. He believes that the former government was "stupid", "unreasonable" and "not good enough to govern the country". Scornfully, he attributes the ills of the society to be the reflection of the leadership where he says, "What happened in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society". Further to scorn, he, in strong terms, emotionally states what his government abhors using positive self-presentation as he says, "we deplore corruption in all its facets". The word 'deplore' is an emotional description of strong dislike. He goes further to be definite on what his government dislikes where he says "this government will not tolerate kick-back, inflation of contracts and over invoicing of imports etc. nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement …" The expressions "will not tolerate" and "nor will it condone" are considered as face-threatening act expressing the speakers tensed feeling on what he hates. This indicates

that domestic, social or official interaction cannot go on smoothly, peacefully without arguments, abuses or even insults once in a while.

From the analysis, one would conclude that the identity of the speaker in social structure is shown in the way he thinks, acts and speaks because he is a soldier by training. Therefore, the extract is replete with strong emotional relation words and patterns.

In Text 2d, General Sani Abacha uses emotional relational terms to adore or praise his predecessor Chief Earnest Shonekan. He, however, starts with describing things as "bleak" and the atmosphere as "heavy with uncertainties" because he realizes early enough the odds against him being the head of State as the situation was like a palace coup. He gives reasons to legitimize his take over as the president, which is regarded as legitimization strategy. It is a technique such as argument about voters' wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership projection, boasting about performance, positive self-presentation and intervention to a deplorable condition. In his effort to exhibit an emotion and appeal to his listeners, General Sani Abacha uses structured manipulated terms of relational emotion. He describes President Shonekan as a man "driven by the belief in himself, his countrymen and love for his country". Those qualities made Shonekan to "face challenges of our time". Manipulatively, Abacha did not say Shonekan handed over to him but uses the expression "accepted to face the challenges of our time". It was not a handover; it was rather a palace coup because General Abacha was the Defense Secretary in Shonekan's Government.

He further extols the virtues of President Shonekan by paying tribute to him "for his selfless service to the nation". He commended President Shonekan for not handing over but also "greater courage to know when to leave". General Abacha uses pseudo-emotional relation to appeal to Nigerians in his inaugural speech because it was not a handover. Rather, it was a coup.

In Text 2e, General Abdulsalami Abubakar uses emotional relation terms to mourn the passing away of his predecessor, General Sani Abacha who died in active service. He sounded sadly emotional when he says, "I received the sad news with shock". Of course, death is shocking to anybody but the crises that erupted between General Sani Abacha and some top members of cabinet including General Abdulsalami Abubakar might not cause much sober for General Abdulsalam. For, it was reported that the retirement letter of Lt Gen Abdusalami Abubakar, then Chief of Defense Staff, was alleged to be on the desk of Gen Abacha, awaiting his signature when the former Head of State passed on and Gen Abdulsalam assumed leadership of the country (*Desert Herald,* 2015*).*

However, the emotional expression may be superfluous. The Head of State only manipulated language overtly to mourn the death of his predecessor. But covertly it was otherwise.It is very difficult to assess the sincerity of an emotional statement.Most people do so by methods which they could not themselves fully explain, which are often more intuitive than intellectual.They depend very much on that identifiable quality theyoften call the tone of a speech.Therefore, the emotional expression by the Head of State could be considered as feign.

To further express his agony over the death of his predecessor, he prayed for him when he says," I pray that Almighty God will give us the fortitude to bear the irreparable loss".General Abdulsalami Abubakar goes on to adore the deceased president by claiming that the issue is not the death of General Sani Abacha in active service but for Nigerians to remember and uphold his sterling qualities such as 'innovative leadership, transparent stewardship, honesty, resoluteness, fearlessness and commitment to the preservation of Nigeria as a united nation". This adoration is consideredas emotional relations because the feeling is experienced as a result of the death of General Sani Abacha.

From Texts 2a – 2e,explicit demonstrations of relational emotions have been displayed in the inaugural speeches of Nigeria's Heads of State. As earlier explicated, relational emotions are feelings expressed by someone in relation to another person. In the extracts above, the expressions of relational emotions are all in relation to individuals, group of people or the generality of people. The relational emotions expressed by the Presidents or Heads of State in their inaugural speeches may be honest or pseudo.But all are geared towards influencing the feelings of the audience so as to show their power or influence on the listeners. One could say that;language is a powerful tool in the hands of political leaders as they use it to suit their purposes.

4.2.3 Caused Emotions

Caused emotional expressions denote emotional words that normally signify a feeling that has a cause known to the individual experiencing it. Some of the terms identified as caused emotionsare happiness (cheer, enjoyment, glad, delight and overjoyed) sadness (dejection, sorrow, heart-broken, inconsolable and desolute), fear (apprehension, consternation, afraid, panic and terror) anger (disgruntled, miffed, indignant, cross and furious) and disgust (disgust and sick). Expressions of the caused emotions have been identified in the inaugural speeches of the leaders. The extracts and analyses are as follows:

Text 3a:

> Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to independence and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown. The success of the harvest will depend on us and that is why I am glad to speak to you tonight (Prime-Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa – 1957)

Text 3b:

> You all remember when the Government of General Murtala Mohammed and General Obasanjo came to power; it gave a pledge to return the nation to civil rule on October 1, 1979. They have kept their words as true men of honour and today the country has been duly handed over to a democratically elected Government. History will inevitably record this nation's gratitude to their exemplary leadership, dedication, statesmanship and courage (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3c:

> I wish to pay tribute to the great and gallant Nigerians who lost their lives in the cause of the struggle for liberty, democracy and good governance. They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny. We thank God that their sacrifice has not been in vain. We will always remember them, (President Olusegun Obasanjo, May 29, 1999).

Prime – Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa is, in text 1,is thrilled by his election as the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Nigeria because he is tingling with the anticipation that the country will soon obtain its independence from the British colonials as he says, "Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to independence…" Therefore, he is happy not only because he was elected but the election and his swearing- in have set a stage for independence. The emotional feeling, he expresses is therefore, caused emotion for he knows the cause of his happiness. In fact, he could not keep it under his hat. He conspicuously says "that is why I am glad to speak to you tonight". He is overjoyed, which is an element in caused emotion. This emotional display may be a persuasive strategy the Prime – Minister tried to employ as the colonial masters were part of the listeners.For sure, they might be persuaded to grant the long-awaited independence to Nigeria. The strategy is part of political discourse where politicians employ emotional argument and language to arouse the interests of the audience. Therefore, the language of political persuasion is geared to guiding the recipients' attitudes and orientation/or behaviour; that is, to form, sustain or change their attitudes to political issue or compelling them to act in the desired manner.

In Text 3b, President Shehu Shagari expresses his delight over the fulfillment of the promise of the former military governments (Brigadier General Murtala Mohammed and General Olusegun Obasanjo) to hand over power to elected civilian government. His emotional expression is caused emotion because he confirms the handover where he says, “They have kept their words as true men of honour and today the country has been duly handed over to a democratically-elected government”. To further express his happiness, he commends them by saying, “History will inevitably record this nation’s gratitude to their exemplary leadership.” The President seems to be overwhelmed by the action of his predecessors.

In Text 3c, President Obasanjo is sentimental as he is sad and sympathetic to some group of Nigerians who lost their lives in the course of campaigning for him. In this regard, he says “I wish to pay tribute to the great and gallant Nigerians who lost their lives in the course of democracy and good governance.” To express the sentimentality, he describes them as “great” and “gallant”. He personified their struggle to not only vote for him but to struggle for “liberty”, “democracy” and “good governance”. To feel more sympathetic and draw more sympathy for the people from his listeners, he goes further to amplify their actions where he says “They hold the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny.” The display of this emotion is as a result of the death of these “great” and “gallant” Nigerians.Therefore, his feelings could be described as caused emotion.

These are some of the instancesin which the leaders expressed their feelings in what is termed caused emotions. One common form of discourse about caused emotions relies on the use of causative verbs. These verbs express the person who experienced it, e.g. the news annoyed the President. This type of emotion is what is referred to as causatives and emotions.

4.2.4 Causatives and Emotions

Causatives and emotions are closer to caused emotions, but the difference is that caused emotions establish relation between the person having emotional experience and the person that caused it, while causatives and emotions only establish relation between the experience and the cause. This cause does not refer to the agent.

A sample of causative words denoting the cause of the emotions include: Happiness, (content, delight, please, amuse transport, enthrall, and exhilarated) sadness (deflate, disillusion, dampen, depress, sadden, disappointment, and desolate) fear, (disquiet, perturb, worry, scare, frighten, terrify and petrify), anger (irk, peeve, annoy, enrage, incense and infuriate) and disgust (put-off, alienate, estrange, repel, nauseate sicken and revolt). These types of emotions have also been identified in the inaugural speeches of the Heads of State. The following are the extracts denoting causatives and emotions:

Text 4a:

> However, before I dwell on the sad issue of 29th July 1966, I would like to recall to you the sad and unfortunate incidents of 15th January, 1966 which bear relevance. According to the certain well-known facts, which have so far not been disclosed to the nation and the world, the country was plunged into a national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the Army against the Public. By this I mean that a group of officers, in conjunction with certain civilians, decided to overthrow the legal government of the day; but their efforts were thwarted by the inscrutable discipline and loyalty of the great majority of the Army and other members of the armed forces and the police… the Prime Minister lost his life during this uprising… the situation could have generated into civil war (General Yakubu Gowon, August, 1966).

Text 4b:

> After the civil war, the affairs of state, hitherto a collective responsibility, became characterized by lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect. Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by these developments. This trend was clearly incompatible with the philosophy and image of a corrective regime. Unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose

> administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the Nation, a change, continued to suffer in silence, things got to a stage where the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was ignored (General Murtala Ramat Muhammed, July 30, 1975).

Text 4c:

> As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we have come to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute domestic price pressures and foreign external debt (General Muhammed Buhari, January, 1983).

Text 4d:

> Fellow Nigerians, this country has had since independence a history mixed with turbulence and fortune.. We have witnessed our rise to greatness followed with a decline to the status of be-wildered nation. Our human potential has been neglected our human resources put to waste. A phenomenon of constant insecurity and overbearing uncertainty has become the characteristic of our national existence. My colleagues and I are determined to change this course of history. This government is determined to unit this country. We shall not allow anything to obstruct us, (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985).

From Texts 4a– 4c, there are clear demonstrations of causatives and emotions. These show of emotions range from happiness to disgust. In text 4a,General Yakubu Gowon expresses causative and emotion by firstly making reference to heartbreaking story of the first military coup in which the Prime Minister lost his life. Because his emotion is causative, he uses the passive form to narrate what transpired as he says “the country was plunged into a national disaster by the grave and unfortunate action taken by a section of the Army against the public.” He earlier described the situation as sad and unfortunate incident. By the use of passive voice, it translates that emphasis is on the incidence not on the cause of the incidence. Therefore, this is the expression of causative emotion. He concludes his narration in the text by sadly saying “The Prime-Minister lost his life during this uprising.” Naturally, loss of life is a sad event.

In Text 4b, General Murtala Mohammed expresses sad feelingson the situation in the country then which warranted their take over. Some of the misconduct of the previous government that angered him were "lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect". He uses the inclusion strategyto further show the intensity of his anger by including the public where he says, "Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by this development." The show of anger by the speaker transcends demonstration of his feeling but included the feeling of the general public on the ugly situation. Further, the speaker explicates the anger of another segment of Nigerians who were also disillusioned with the previous government when he says "unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the Armed Forces whose administration was neglected…" One notable evidence to suggest that the Head of State was expressing causatives and emotion was his avoidance of mentioning names.Rather, he focused on the misconducts of the agent.

In Text 4c, General Muhammadu Buhari, similarly, expressed causatives and emotion where the focal force of the expression is on the sequence of the action not on the agent. He angrily traced the predicament of reliance of the nation on internal and external borrowing for executing government projects on: (a) "inability to cultivate financial discipline" (b) "and prudent management of the economy." The Head of state did not consider the agent responsible for the predicament.He rather hammers on the consequences of the agentives. He even went further out of anger to use the plural deictic: 'our' where he said "As a result of <u>our</u> inability…" and "we" where he said, "<u>We</u> have come to depend largely on…", The use of plural deictic alone portrays that the feeling expressed by the Head of state is causatives and emotions. Furthermore, the Head of state uses the deictic to arouse, probably, the feelings of pity from the audience. However, he epigrammatically avoided the politicians who were the architects of the ugly

condition.The construction of highly individuated target of other's actions may result in some form of empathy or sympathy on the part of the listener in the act of communication.

In Text 4d, the use of causatives and emotions are explicitly shown by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. In despair, he mentioned some of the intractable socioeconomic and political problems facing Nigeria which necessitated their take over. They included:

- Our human potential has been neglected;
- Our human resources put to waste;
- A phenomenon of constant insecurity;
- And overbearing uncertainty has characterized our national existence.

Clearly, the emotional display is causatives and emotions type as the thematic presentation in the extract are the problems he claims the nation was facing as he does not make recourse to the agents of the critical condition. The President also used deictic plural "our" which is consideredas rhetorical strategy used to construct affinity and commonality with the masses and to reassure them that he understands the suffering being experienced by the Nigerians. However, the president was part and parcel of the former government that he toppled.People tend to give elaborate circumstance around happening and events i.e. seek refuge in the worlds of action when asked to construe events or happening (in which they themselves or others figure as actors), they deviate from the sequencing of actions and resort to feelings and emotions. This concern actually becomes more urgent when it comes to account which the narrator have been classified as involved.

From the analysis of emotional expressions in the inaugural speeches of both the civilian and the military Heads of State, it could be discerned that four out of the six (6) types of emotional expressions were found. These emotional expression types include: basic emotions,

emotional relations, cause emotion and causative and emotions expression.Table 4.1 below gives summary of the emotional expressions of the civilian and military Heads of State.

Table 4.2 below shows the types of emotional expressions by Nigeria's civilian presidents and military Heads of States' inaugural speeches. It shows the emotional expressions in the extracted texts from the speeches, the percentage of the occurrence of the emotional expressions and the remarks.

Table 4.2: Types of Emotional Expression Employed by the Speakers

Civilian text	**Emotional Expression**	**Percentage of Speakers who Used the Emotion**	**Remarks**
Text 1a Text 1b Text 1c Text 1d	Positive Basic Emotion Expression (+BEE)	80%	In texts 1a – 1d, the Civilian Heads of State used positive basic emotional expressions to indicate happiness, elation, joy, gladness, delightedness etc. to Nigerians for voting them into power. They used parallelism, inclusive pronouns, metaphor, adverbs, persuasive words, repetition, in-group identity and politeness strategies to express their Positive Basic Emotion.

Text 3a Text 3b Text 3c	Positive Caused Emotion	60%	The speakers used persuasive strategy, irony, metaphor, hyperbole and personification. They use them to appeal to the psyche of the audience to support their government.
Military Text	**Emotional Expression**	**Percentage of Speakers who Used the Emotion**	**Remarks**
Text 2a Text 2b Text 2c	Negative Emotional Relations (-ER)	50%	In texts 2d and 2c, the Military Heads of State used Emotional Relations to express sadness, dejection and sorrow feeling towards some episodes. They usedmetadiscourse and manipulative strategies to influence the feelings of their audience.
Text 4a Text 4b Text 4c Text 4d	Causative and Emotions	67%	In text 4a – 4d, the speakers use causative and emotions expression to advance reasons for their takeover of the government. They use some manipulative strategies like anecdotes, persivisation, avoidance strategy, plural deictic, rhetorical strategies and metaphor to apportion blames on their predecessors.

From table 4.2, it is clear that eighty percent (80%)of the civilian Heads of State were found to have expressed positive basic emotions. They employed such emotions in their speeches through the use of parallelism, inclusive pronouns, metaphor, adverbs, persuasive words, repetition, in-group identity and politeness strategies to express their happiness over their victory in their elections. Also, sixty percent (60%) of the civilian Heads of State showed positive

caused emotions in their speeches by using persuasive strategy, irony, metaphor, hyperbole and personification to appeal to the psyche of the audience.

However, fifty percent (50%) of the military Heads of State usedNegative Emotional Relation in their speeches. They employed these Emotional Relations expressions to express sadness, dejection, and expressed sorrow feelings towards some episodes that happened in the country to influence the feelings of their audience. Also, 67 percent of the military Heads of State displayedCausative and Emotions expression to advance reasons for their takeover of the government through the use of some manipulative strategies like anecdotes, passivisation, avoidance strategy, plural deictic, rhetorical strategies and metaphor to apportion blames to their predecessors.

Further to table 4.2above, complex emotion is not identified in the speeches, for the same words denoting negative basic emotions are used in complex emotion too. Not only that, complex emotion expression is expressed when an individual commits an act or had an embarrassing experience like a mild fear or shame caused to one in a social situation. None of the leaders makes self-conscious assessment and emotionally blame themselves even if they were party to the unhealthy condition of the country then.

4.3 Inaugural Speech and Ideological Beliefs of the Civilian and Military Heads of State

This section presents ideological beliefs of the civilian and military Heads of State in their inaugural speeches.

4.3.1. Ideological belief of Unity in Diversity

The ideology of unity in diversity is so predominant in the inaugural speeches ofthe civilian Heads of State. Below are the excerpts thereof:

Text 1(ai)

> I am convinced, and I want you also to be convinced, that the future of this vast country must depend, in the main, on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves. This we cannot do if we do not work together in unity. Indeed, unity today is our greatest concern and it is the duty of everyone of us to work so that we may strengthen it… that bitterness due to political differences would vary Nigeria nowhere… let us put away bitterness and go forward in friendship to independence (Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957)

Text 1 (aii)

> I would like to remind you of what a great American once said. It was this, "United we stand, divided we fall". This statement is as true for Nigeria today as it has been for any other country. The peoples of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind. On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria. It is the duty of all of us to work for unity (Prime – Minister,Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957)

Text 1b

> This administration is determined that the slogan of 'One Nation, One Destiny" shall be translated into reality. We are not so naïve as to think that nationalism is a national phenomenon which comes about automatically as we grow.
>
> It has not been so in any part of the world. National integration requires hard work. There is the need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for one Nigeria. (President Shehu Shagari, 1979)

Text 1c:

> Nigeria, I want you to start to dream again. What you see in your dream, we can achieve it together. I call on all the presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the transformation of our country. Let us work together, let us build together; let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come. (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011)

From Texts1a – 1c, the ideology of unity in diversity featured glaringly. In text 1, the Prime-Minister reiterates the ideological belief of unity because he believes that independence at that material time might not be achieved without Nigerians uniting to fight for it. He says "… the future of this vast country must depend, in the main, on the efforts of ourselves to help ourselves". He repeats 'ourselves' to show emphasis on unity. He explains further that "this we cannot do if we do not work together in unity". The use of the two phrases "work together" and "in unity" is emphatically showing the significance of unity. He further says "indeed, unity today is our greatest concern and it is the duty of everyone of us to work so that we may strengthen it".

The thematic preoccupation of the speech is national unity because as at that time Nigerians and other nationalists were struggling for independence from the British Government and if the citizens were not united the independence would not be achieved. The greatest threat then was the disharmony among the nationalists because of political affiliations in the regions. There were political parties such as: Action Group(AG) in the southwest,Northern Element Progressive Union(NEPU),Northern People's Congress(NPC),Borno Youth Movement (BYM) and United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) from the north;National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) originally from Lagos and later permeated the country and the Middle Zone League (MZL). Regional affiliation was also at its peak. Therefore, it was at that time that the regions came together to form a single nation after the protectorates were abolished. These compounded problems made unity central to the Prime Minister's speech. He feels that to achieve independence, there was the need for unity and unity was not realistic if political and regional bitterness were not done away with. In (text 1ai) he says, "That bitterness due to political differences would carry Nigeria nowhere…let us put away bitterness and go forward in friendship to independence".

Owing to the divides in the political, regional, religious and tribal affiliations, the Prime-Minister in (text 1aii) uses rhetorical device to re-echo the message of unity where he quoted Winston Churchill. He says "I would like to remind you of what a great American once said, 'United we stand, divided we fall". Suchrhetorical devices are persuasive means of using language to produce effects on the audience. He further uses personification in his call for unity.He says, "The people of Nigeria must be united to enable this country to play a full part in shaping the destiny of mankind". He personified the unity of Nigerians to be the agent of shaping the destiny not only of Nigerians but also of "mankind".This is to show his listeners the significanceof their unity to mankind. By using these rhetorical acts, the Prime-Minister used language to infuse his ideology of unity into the minds and thoughts of the listeners.We could understand that language can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thought and beliefs. Pushing further his ideological belief of unity, the Prime-Minister sounds like issuing a warning but persuasively urges his listeners that "on no account should we allow selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria". He employs the pronoun "we" to give a sense of collectivity in his call for unity. Here, politicians often wish to suggest that even though they are trying to persuade the audience to accept a point of view we have already agreed with, then… 'We' gives a sense of collectivity, of us all being in this together. It could be observed as well that the Prime-Minister in (text 1ai) employed lexical and pattern repetition to continuously sing his ideology of unity in the ears of his listeners, therefore, at the tail end of (text 1aii) he says, "It is the duty of all of us to work for unity". This shows how lexical and pattern repetition is a dominant feature of political style/rhetoric.

In Text 1b, President Shehu Shagari has indicated a similar ideology of unity in his inaugural speech. In fact, he encapsulated his ideology in the motto of his party – National Party of Nigeria (NPN) – One Nation, One Destiny.He claims in the text that the motto "shall be translated into reality". He further uses the "we" inclusive to spur his audience into believing that the ideology of unity he preaches requires their input and he says, "we are not so naïve as to think that nationalism is a national phenomenon which comes about automatically as we grow". There is the need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate widespread national feeling for one Nigeria". In this regard, the President sees the ideology of unity on the basis of collective responsibility. In other words, he tries to guide the audience's attitude and behaviour toward collective responsibility in achieving national unity. It is in line with this discourse that the language of political persuasion is geared to guiding the recipients' attitude and orientation/or behaviour. That is to forming, sustaining or changing their attitude on a political issue or impelling them to act.

In Text 1c, President Goodluck Jonathan impelled a call on Nigerians to express his ideology of unity by urging them to dream, probably borrowing the words of Martin Luther King Jnr. However, in Jonathan's words it is Nigerians that he expects to dream. Dream, in this sense, as *Macmillan English Dictionary* defines it, as "something good you hope you will have or achieve in future". He further says, "What you see in your dream, we can achieve it together". There is an ideology of unity expressed here because the president uses theidea of collectivization "we" referring to himself and the Nigerians who are going to dream. He also uses the word "together" meaning that in conjunction with the Nigerians such dreams can be achieved. He later clarion calls on other presidential candidates and says, "I call on all the presidential candidates who contested with me to join hands with us as we begin the

transformation…" The President manipulatively uses pronouns to artistically make his call very explicit. In the first instance, he uses "me", exclusive personal pronoun objective form, and says, "Who contested with me "and later says to join hands with us" using personal pronoun plural and says, "as we begin the transformation". The 'us' and 'we' analogically refer to the President himself and his party members (PDP) as the other contestants are from different political parties. The phrase "to join hands", as used by the President, means *unite together*. For more lexical cohesion in his speech, the president uses repetition as a linguistic device to reiterate his call for unity. He uses the expressions, "let us work together", "let us build together", "let us bequeath a greater Nigeria to the generations to come". The repetition could be considered as in-group identity markers which are forms of positive politeness strategies used to bridge the social distance between a speaker and his/her audience. Normally, the person using the in –group identity marker is + Higher, while the listeners would be – Higher. It is used to achieve rapport, intimacy, oneness, equality and closeness with the listeners.

In this sense, the President is using the in-group identity to spread the gospel of unity among politicians and Nigerians. Therefore, the ideological belief of the President in unity is conspicuous in this discourse.

4.3.2 Ideological Belief of Fight against Corruption and Indiscipline

There are serial ideological beliefs on the fight against corruption in the country manifested in the inaugural speeches of the Heads of state. This ideology is found in the excerpts from the inaugural speeches below:

Text 2a:

> Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels. Corruption is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities.
>
> But it must not be condoned. This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption, so that society would survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way … the rules and regulations for doing official business were deliberately ignored, set aside or by-passed to facilitate corrupt practices … there will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where, will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil. (President Olusegun Obasanjo 1999 inaugural speech)

Text 2b:

> We are determined to intensify the war against corruption, more so, because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty. Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life. This is the area where we have made significant progress in recent years and we will maintain the momentum more productively in today's world. (President Umaru Musa Yar'adu, 2007)

Text 2c:

> The bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force of our collective determination to rid our nation of this scourge. The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth. (President Goodluck Jonathan 2011)

Texts 2a – 2c clearly show the display of ideology. President Olusegun Obasanjo, in text 2a, plainly exposes his ideology of war against corruption and presents corruption as the greatest problem of the Nigerian society. He says that his Government will tackle it in a very direct way.He personified corruption as the major problem facing Nigeria. He also uses passivisation when he says,"corruption… will be tackled head on at all levels", meaning at all government levels. He reiterates his readiness to fight corruption by saying, "But it must not be condoned", despite the fact that it is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities. He further says, "This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption so that society would survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way". This indicates that he baredin his mind though not obviously, that he would make laws to fight corruption in the country. He

further went to define corruption using anecdote as a rhetorical device as he says, 'The rules and regulations for doing official business were deliberately ignored, set aside, or by-passed to facilitate corrupt practices…" These corrupts acts were therefore, the order of the day in the previous governments before President Obasanjo's ascension to office.

President Obasanjo, to show his determination to fight corruption, sounds a strong warning using commissives in speech act where he says, "There will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where, will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corrupt evil". The president uses the idiom sacred cows to mean that no one will be too important to be punished which means no one will be caught in the web of corruption and allowed to go scot free. He reiterated the warning by saying "Nobody, no matter who and where …" He uses "Nobody", a universal indefinite negative pronoun which functions only as pronoun. This class of pronouns, despite their entailment of plural meaning, take singular verbs. Therefore, the word 'nobody' in the speech refers to anybody caught in corruption. He continues the warning and says "…no matter who and where will be allowed to get away…" The President uses grammatical device to achieve cohesion in his speech. He uses verbal and clausal ellipses to achieve cohesion without putting it in full by saying who the person is and where he comes from. "The person is" and "he comes from" are clausal ellipsis which he uses to achieve grammatical cohesion and to pass on his ideology of war against corruption. The use of ellipsis is to make room for grammatical cohesion in discourse.

No sooner than after the inaugural speech, president Obasanjo accompanied his ideology with action by establishing the ICPC and subsequently,the EFCC. President Olusegun Obasanjo,on September, 2000 inaugurated an anti-graft body christened the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) to spearhead his declared war on

corruption. Likewise, in 2002, Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) was established.EFCC is an institution in Nigeria which was created by an Act of Parliament in 2002 but which began its operation on April 16, 2003 to help Government fight and stem the menace of economic and financial crimes which had plagued the country for years.

President Obasanjo established these two (2) commissions to confirm to Nigerians his commitment to waging war against corruption. In essence, he wanted to concretize his ideology of war against indiscipline. However, the inaugural speech seems to be meant to largely convince and assure Nigerians of this governance. This is because as time went on the anti-graft commission established by Obasanjo turned something else. President Obasanjo was accused of using the commission to clamp down on his political opponents. EFCC had become a home of comedy and many could not stop laughing at the jokes the commission churned out on a daily basis to the vast majority of Nigerians. It became a norm for the EFCC to first begin a media campaign against an individual governor or politician who either had lost through the ballot or fallen out with power that be in Aso Rock. Therefore, the ideology of war against corruption and discipline manifested in the inaugural speech of president Obasanjo has a big question mark of its reality as events turned out.

President Umaru Musa Yar'adu, also in his inaugural speech, was disquiet on the ideology of the war against corruption. In text 2b, President Yar'adu unveiled his determination to fight corruption. In fact, he uses the collective personal pronoun plural to show that he and those in his government would fight corruption. He says, "We are determined to intensify the war against corruption." But to intensify means to increase with great vigour. Meaning thatthe war was started by the previous government and he would continue from there. He gives reasons for the intensification and says, "… because corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty.

Its corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life." What is more surprising in exhibiting the President's ideology of fight against corruption is how he sees it as an on-going war started by the other administration. He, therefore, sees his government as an extension of the previous one because of linguistic repertoire. He says, "This is where we have made significant progress in recent years and we will maintain the momentum more productively in today's world". Therefore, his ideology of war against corruption is a continuous war. The President'sdissatisfaction with the previous administration may not be unconnected with how he, the President,came to power. The president's ideology of war against corruption is, therefore, crystal clear in the speech.

In Text 2c, President Goodluck Jonathan makes this ideology of war against corruption very visible. In fact, he openly makes his intention very clear to fight corruption calling on all to join him in the war. Initially, he uses the passive voice when he says, "The bane of corruption shall be met by overwhelming force of our collective determination to rid our nation of this scourge". He personifies corruption as a scourge. He later sees the war as a collective responsibility because almost everybody was involved in corruption. He therefore makes a general call on all Nigerians, when he says: "The fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist…" The pronoun "we" refers to the President himself and all other Nigerians. He further gives reason why all hands must be on deck in the fight and he says, "… so that the limited resources of this nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth". The President uses 'our' and "common wealth" to show Nigerians the need to enlist in the war because the wealth is theirs and belonging to everyone.

It is obvious from the analysis of the speeches of the Heads of the state above that the ideological belief of war against corruption is evidently displayed. From texts 1 – 4, all the leaders try to exhibit this ideology using various linguistic devices.

4.3.3. Ideological Belief of Nation Building

Nation building is one of the ideologies apparent in the inaugural speeches of the leaders. Some of the excerpts indicating their commitment to it are presented below:

Civilian

Text 3a:

> Our domestic programmes are in the sectors of Agriculture, Housing, Education, Health, industry and the New Federal Capital. Our first great challenge is agriculture.
>
> Throughout the election campaigns, our party, the National Party of Nigeria, made strong commitments to the people of this country to rapidly develop and improve agriculture. (President Shehu Shagari 1979)

Text 3b:

> We will concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward. We will focus on accelerating economic and other reforms in a way that makes a concrete and visible difference to ordinary people (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007)

Text 3c:

- I will continue to fight for our future because I am one of you
- I will continue to fight for improved medical care for all our citizens
- I will continue to fight for all citizens to have access to first class education
- I will continue to fight for electricity to be available to all our citizens
- I will continue to fight for an efficient and affordable public transport system for all our people
- I will continue to fight for job to be created through productive partnership (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011)

Texts 3a– 3c bring out from the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian presidents the ideology of nation-building. The Leaders, in the excerpts,claim to be committed to nation-building taking various sectors of development into consideration. The use of language artistically to bring out this ideology is apparent. For instance, in text 3a, President Shehu Shagari unveiled his ideology of nation building by clearly itemizing the key domestic programmes. He says, "Our key domestic programmes are in the sector of Agriculture, Housing, Education, Health, Industry and new Federal Capital". These are the key areas the governmentwould focus on. He, however, singled out one programme for emphasis and says, "Our first great challenge is agriculture". He uses the phrase "our first great" and "challenge" to show how committed and serious his government would squarely lay emphasis on agriculture. Therefore, he qualifies it with the adjectives 'first' and 'great' and sees agriculture as a "challenge". The President also used graphological device to sustain the coherence of his rhetoric in exposing his ideology. The major graphological device he employs is the capital letter in the mention of the sectors, Agriculture, Housing Education, Health, Industry, New Federal Capital. The device is used in the text to emphasize certain development initiatives that the president would accord priority attention in his administration.

In the preceding paragraph, the President uses retrospective device to remind the audience that his plan to take the agricultural sector head long is because that was part of the manifesto of his party. He therefore, says, "Throughout the election campaigns, our party, the National Party of Nigeria, made strong commitments to the people of this country..." The commitment is "to rapidly develop and improve agriculture." The President uses two lexical items to reiterate or define his approach to the agricultural sector which are: "develop" and "improve". Semantically,improve comes after develop. The President uses language to carefully

present his ideology. Politicians usually employ persuasive language to make the audience accept their ideology.

In Text 3b, President Umaru Musa Yar'adua bluntly states his nation building ideology. He says, "Our goal now is to build on the greatest accomplishments of the past few years. Relying on the seven-point agenda that formed the basis of our contracts with voters during the recent campaigns, we will concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward." The seven-point agenda was later released in subsequent speeches which includes power and energy; food security and agriculture; wealth creation and employment; mass transportation; land reforms; security; qualitative and functional education and pursuance of the rule of law. This seven-point agenda was central to President Yar'adua's ideology of nation-building. He further added that his administration would focus on rebuilding physical infrastructure and human capital, accelerating the economy and bring about other reforms. He uses the prefix 're' in rebuilding because he believes that he is consolidating on the gains of the immediate previous government because it was the government that brought him to power through electoral malpractice which he himself was aware and confessed, inter-alia, in his inaugural speech where he says, "We acknowledged that our election has short-comings. Thankfully, we have well established legal avenues of redress and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them."

In Text 3c, President Goodluck Jonathan made very clear his ideology of nation-building. He uses repetition as a rhetorical device to drive home his ideology of nation building in the speech. Therefore, he repeatedly uses the phrase "I will continue to fight" for six (6) times in expressing his ideology of nation-building. This is because repetition can add punch and emphasis to one's ideas, just like triads do. It is observed that President Goodluck has a

predilection for repeating certain words he considers fundamental to his political agenda. He repeatedly uses "I will continue" presupposing that he started because the inaugural speech was made after completing Late Yar'adua's term, and president Goodluck was elected for his first term of four (4) years. Therefore, "I will continue" presupposes that he started in the later part of the Late Yar'adua's administration.

Military

Text 3a:

> The Federal Military Government will reappraise policies with a view to paying greater attention to the following areas:
>
> a. The economy will be given new impetus and better sense of direction;
> b. The corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book
> c. … Government will within available resource, import food stuff…
> d. Payment of salary arrears to workers (Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983)

Text 3b:

> There is a lot of work to be done by every single Nigerian. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, united and virile nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefit of posterity. (President Ibrahim Babangida, 1984).

In Text 3a, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, in his inaugural speech, is blunt about nation building ideology. He synergizes his ideology of reappraisal of policies with nation building. He therefore, says, "The Federal Military Government will re-appraise policies with a view to paying greater attention to the following areas:

> a. The economy will be given new impetus and better sense of direction
> b. The corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book
> c. … Government will … import food stuff and payment of salary arrears to workers.

The Head of State, Major -General Muahmmadu Buhari, might have chosen these aspects of nation-building as at that time because the nation was suffering from economic recession, corruption and shortage of food stuff. Therefore, since his government came to power through a coup d'état he had to mesmerize the citizens into accepting his government. In this regard, the Head of State uses language to achieve power which inclines people either to behave in certain ways or make people adopt opinions/attitudes without exerting obvious force on them.

In Text 3b, President Ibrahim Babangida tries to sell his ideology of nation-building which appears conspicuous in his speech. He says nation building to be the business of every Nigerian. In his words: "There is a lot of work to be done by every single Nigerian". He uses this sentence to catch the attention of the listeners and make a call as, "Let us all dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, united and virile nation for the sake of our own lives and for the benefit of posterity." The President uses metonymy to create an image of the kind of nation he calls Nigerians to join hands in building. The words **strong, united** and **virile** (which Macmillan English Dictionary, 2007 defines as "something that is strong, powerful and full of life") nation are metonymy used as political device in political discourse.Metonymy is a rhetorical device that is based on some kind of association connecting two concepts, which these meanings represent. It has to be admitted that metonymy,as a means of building up imagery, focuses on concrete objects which are used in generalized meaning. The President uses the adjectives to create an image of the kind of nation he would like Nigerians to join him in building. By 'Strong' he means a nation that is economically and militarily powerful; and 'United' means a country that is peaceful, free from rancor, tribalism and religious bigotry. 'Virile' encompasses building a strong and united nation. The word Virile might have been used to sum up the image of the kind of nation that the President aspires to have or calls for. The President therefore, uses imagery to

create the picture of his Nigeria in their cognition. The President,at the end, gives reasons for the need for the nation-building when he says "… for the sake of our lives and for the benefit of posterity". It means the commitment he calls for the nation building is for Nigerians to enjoy. He however, uses the inclusive pronoun "Our lives" trying to include himself and for "posterity" referring to future generations of Nigerians.

4.3.4 Ideological Belief of Negative Other-Presentation

This focuses on the ideological belief observed in the speeches of the leaders where the speakers in their speeches attack the moral character of some individuals groups, the rationality and sanity of their predecessors. The following are the excerpts of this ideological belief in the inaugural speeches.

Text 4a:

> Things got to a stage where the head of the administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored. Responsible opinion including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals et cetera, was similarly discarded. The leadership either by design or default had become too insensitive to the true feelings and yearnings of the people. The nation was plunged inexorably into chaos, (General Murtala Muhammad 1975).

Text 4b:

> Regrettably, it turned out that Major General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance. Efforts to make him understand that a diverse polity like Nigeria requires recognition and appreciations of difference in both cultural and individual perception only serve to aggravate his attitude.
>
> Major-General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position. He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problems and solution and acted in accordance with what was convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool, (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida 1985)

Text 4c:

> Thus, given the propensity of the out-going civilian administration to mismanage our financial resources, Nigeria was already condemned to look perpetually with the twin problems of heavy budget deficit and weak balance of payment position with little prospect of building a virile and viable economy. (Major-General Muhammad Buhari 1983).

Text 4a justifies the ideological belief of Negative-Other Presentation where General Murtala Muhammad, in his inaugural speech, clearly condemns his predecessor, General Yakubu Gowon, to justify his take over. He describes General Yakubu Gowon as "virtually inaccessible to even official advisers". The voice was later changed from active to passive voice to reduce the intensity of the criticism as he says "and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored". The condemnation continued using all-inclusive strategy to show how the former Head of State virtually ignored and discarded advice by eminent members of the society. He, therefore, says, "Responsible opinion including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals et cetera was similarly discarded." However, face-saving act is later employed in the speech to reduce the blame on the President alone.Therefore, "the head of the administration", earlier used, is substituted with "the leadership". Such substitution is used when the attacker realizes that what he said amounts to an attack on the public self-image of his interlocutor, and may wish to retract his action or statement. The President, therefore, continues with the blemish presentation and he says, "The leadership, either by design or default, had become too insensitive to the true feelings or yearnings of the people." In this sentence, the speaker blames his predecessor for being unconcerned about the feelings and yearnings of Nigerians. But the question here is: How did he know the feelings and yearnings of the people? This may be the adoption of the bandwagon strategy to justify his claim of the government's insensitivity.

In the last part of the extract, the speaker personified the ineptitude of the Government in question by claiming that, "the nation was plunged inexorably into chaos." The words "Plunged" and "Inexorably" are used to personify how the country was quickly and unhesitatingly thrown into crisis. The speaker is trying to create an image of lack of foresight, insensitivity and goodwill for the country; hence, their action.

It is clear that the ideology of negative other-presentation ideology is brought forth by the speaker. The essence is to legitimize his take over and delegitimize the continuous existence of the previous government and the justification to flush it out.

In Text 4b, Major General Muhammadu Buhari accused the previous government of financial mismanagement plunging the country into bankruptcy. He sees the mismanagement from two perspectives when he says, "…Nigeria was condemned to look perpetually with the twin problems of heavy budget deficit and weak balance payment position." Consequently, this action of the former administration, according to the President,had marred the prospect of nation-building. He therefore, says "… with little prospect of building a virile and viable economy." To the president, the inaction and embezzlement by the former administration are tantamount to killing the nation because without economic power a nation is dead. This condemnation is meant to portray the former administration by the President in a negative light and create belief in the minds of the governed that the ouster from the office is a good riddance to a bad rubbish. This kind of use of language for condemnation by the President can be described as lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicule and reproach, pleading and persuasion, colour and bite; a language designed to valour men, destroy some and change the mind of others. Therefore, the then Head of State Major General Muhammadu Buhari's ideology of condemning his predecessor is not hidden from this analysis.

In Text 4c, the ideology of negative other-presentation is so apparent in General Babangida's inaugural speech. Euphemism, which is disguising whatever is intricately ugly, repulsive, immoral or otherwise unacceptable in more attractive less offensive or neutral labels is not observed or employed in the speech. He bluntly mentions the name of his predecessor and condemns him in the speech. He says "Regrettably, it turned out that Major–General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance." None of the Heads of State, in the preceding texts, mentioned the name of his predecessor except General Babangida. This might have been done to portray to the listeners that General Buhari personalizes the Government. General Babangida uses this type of language so as to exonerate himself from blame because he was also a member of the Supreme Military Council of Major–General Buhari. To add up to the personalization and exclusion strategy he describes Buhari using negative lexicons such as "rigid" and "uncompromising". The two words are synonymous but are used here to show that intensity of the rigidity of the Head of State. In a negative form, the two lexicons mean that the Head of State is incapable of adapting or changing to meet circumstances,that is: "issues of national significance". In the succeeding sentence the speaker tries to show how wasteful and frantic all efforts made to make the Head of state understand the nature of Nigeria's diversity proved abortive. He says: "Efforts to make him understand that a diverse polity like Nigeria requires recognition and appreciations of differences in both culture and individual perception only serve to aggravate his attitude".

The speaker metaphorically is saying that he and his colleagues made efforts to advise the Head of State but he did not listen to their advice. Instead, it added salt to injury by "aggravating his attitude". The speakers' ideology of condemning his predecessor is also clear in this respect.

The speaker also extends his ideology of condemnation to the second in command to President Buhari, Major-General Tunde Idiagbon. Immodestly, without recourse to the politeness principle, he equates the attitudes of Major-General Idiagbon to that of Major General Buhari. In this regard, he says "Major-General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect". To condemn him in toto, the speaker ascribes arrogance to Idiagbon, as someone who knows problems and solutions and no one else. In that respect, the speaker says, "He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problems and solutions and acted in accordance with what is convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool." The speaker's ideology is so overt in the shade of linguistic and contextual meaning residing in the text with the sole aim of creating a mindset in the citizens that his predecessor failed woefully and that is why they had come to save the citizens and the nation. The speaker takes the advantage of the hard times the citizens were experiencing during the Buhari –Idiagbon regime to create a management concept that involves the dominant group influencing knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitude, ideologies, norms and values of the dominated to the point that they create mental sets that see the order of things in the society as natural.

Table 4.3 below shows the ideological beliefs engraved in the inaugural speeches of the civilian presidents and military Heads of State. It shows the type of ideology, percentage and the remarks.

Table 4.3: Ideological Beliefs Uttered by Speakers

Civilian text	Type of Ideology	**Percentage of Speakers who Use the Emotion**	**Remarks**
Text 1a(i) & 1a(ii) Text 1b Text 1c	Ideological Belief of Unity in Diversity	60%	The civilian Heads of state emphasise the ideology of unity in diversity through some rhetorical devices which includes; quotes, repetition, persuasive devices, personification, anecdotes, pronouns, lexical cohesion and ingroup identity markers.
Text 2a Text 2b Text 2c	Ideological Belief of Fight against Corruption and Indiscipline	60%	The civilian presidents expressed their ideological belief of fight against corruption in their inaugural speeches. They use rhetorical devices like personification, persivisation, idioms, universal indefinite pronouns, clausal ellipses, collective personal pronoun plural and linguistic repertoire.
Text 3a Text 3d Text 3e	Ideological Belief of Nation Building	60%	The civilian Heads of state use ideological belief of nation building to show their commitment towards the building of the nation. They use graphological, retrospective, persuasive, metonymy, inclusive pronoun, adjectives and personification as their rhetorical devices.
Military Text 3b Text 3c	Ideological Belief of Nation Building	**33%**	The military Heads of state also use ideological belief of nation building to express their commitment towards the building of the nation. They use metonymy, adjectives, imagery and inclusive pronoun as their rhetorical devices.

Military	Ideological Belief of Negative Other-Presentation	**50%**	The military Heads of state employed ideological belief of negative other-presentation demean their predecessors. They use persivisation, all-inclusive strategy, face-saving act, substitution, band wagon's strategy, personification, lexicon of conflict and drama, lexicon of ridicule and reproach, lexicon of pleading and persuasion, colour and bite, euphemism, personalisation and exclusion strategy, synonym, negative lexicon, metaphor, and impoliteness as rhetorical devices.

From Table 4.3 above, it can be seen that 50 percent of the civilian Heads of state use rhetorical devices such as: quotes, repetition, persuasive devices, personification, anecdotes, pronouns, lexical cohesion and ingroup identity markers to emphasise their ideological belief of unity in diversity. It is also clear that 60 percent of the civilian presidents made use of rhetorical devices like personification, persivisation, idioms, universal indefinite pronouns, clausal ellipses, collective personal pronoun plural and linguistic repertoire to express their ideological belief of fight against corruption in their inaugural speeches. In a similar vein, 60 percent of the civilian Heads of state employ graphological, retrospective, persuasive, metonymy, inclusive pronoun, adjectives and personification as their rhetorical devices to show their ideological belief of nation building.

However, 33 percent of the military Heads of state employ metonymy, adjectives, imagery and inclusive pronoun as their rhetorical devices to express their ideological belief of nation-building. 50 percent of the military Heads of state use persivisation, all-inclusive strategy,

face-saving act, substitution, bandwagon's strategy, personification, lexicon of conflict and drama, lexicon of ridicule and reproach, lexicon of pleading and persuasion, colour and bite, euphemism, personalisation and exclusion strategy, synonym, negative lexicon, metaphor, impoliteness to express their ideological belief of negative-other presentation.

Table 4.2 aboveshow that the ideology of negative-otherpresentation is predominantly found in the military Heads of state in Nigeria. This might be because Nigeria had been under military rule for many years and democracy had always been punctuated by military coups. Secondly, since the full return of democratic rule in 1999 a single political party had been producing the presidents until recently; that is 2015.

4.4 Power Relations in Inaugural Speeches of the Civilian Presidents and Military Heads of State

The analysis of the manifestation of power relations in the inaugural speeches of both the military and civilian Heads of States is undertaken here as a multi-disciplinary framework of triangular approach of social, cognitive and discursive approaches. The analysis focuses on the elements of power relations identifiable in the speeches. These elements of power relations are: Positive self-presentation, appeal to the relevant ideologies, attitudes and emotions of the listeners, persuasionand threat. Extracts of the speeches are presented below according to the power relation elements presented above.

4.4.1 Positive Self-Presentation

Civilian

Text 1a:

> This has been a great day for Nigeria, and as the first prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my fellow country-men tonight. I am proud and I am humble too, when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me and my colleagues, (Sir AbubakarTafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 1b:

> We have witnessed today the birth of the second Republic of Nigeria. With the swearing-in-ceremony this morning, I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President. (President Shehu Shagari October, 1979).

Text 1c:

> Thereafter, you the good people of Nigeria elected me, a man who had walked through the valley of the shadow of death, as your president, to head a democratic civilian administration. (President Olusegun Obasanjo May, 1999).

From Texts1a – 1c, a specific move in the overall strategy of self-presentation is made by the Heads of state in their inaugural speeches. The speakers make a move to explicate position, power, authority or moral superiority over and above their listeners. There is manipulation by the speakers to influence the beliefs and Ideology of the listeners to accept as knowledge, as well as arguments, proofs etc. that make such beliefs acceptable.

In the inaugural speeches of Nigeria's Presidents, Self-presentation as a mark of power relations are also observed. For instance, the Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, in text 1a, introduces himself by self-glorification using hyperbole to describe the day of his swearing-in as "… the great day for Nigeria". He goes on to say, " … as the First Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, I am proud to speak to my country-men tonight…". As a show of power, the Prime Minister introduces himself as an authority who is tasked with enormous

responsibilities. Explicating this responsibility as a mark of power, he says "… I am proud and humble too when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me and my colleagues". The mention of "first Prime Minister", "proud to speak to my fellow country-men tonight" and "I am humble too when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed on me and my colleagues" are all elements of power relation artistically used by the speaker to introduce himself.

Likewise, in text 1b, President Shehu Shagari introduces himself using power relations. He, first and foremost, describes the swearing-in day as the birth of the Second Republic of Nigeria. The expression "I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President" is an exhibition of power relations. The word "formally assumed office" means a correct, suitable, official and due process to assume office.Therefore, it is not by chance that he assumed the office, thus signifying power relations. More so, the phrase "Executive President" is an element of power relations. Executive President here refers to elected president having powers to make important decisionson behalf of the people of Nigeria. The Nigerian Constitution described the President as Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation. Therefore, the expression "as your first Executive President" presupposes that there was not an executive President before him and he has all the powers mentioned above in the constitution. This is a clear show of power and the President is making positive self-presentation.

In 1999, President Obasanjo made similar self-presentation as element of power relations in his inaugural speech. In text 1c, he makes an all-encompassing claim that he was elected by all Nigerians. He says "Thereafter, you the good people of Nigeria elected me". Obviously, not all Nigerians elected him but for show of power and positive self-representation, the President

claims that he was elected by all the good people of Nigeria. He went on to humbly describe himself as "a man who had walked through the valley of the shadow of death". This means he rose from grass to grace using biblical expression and todayhe is the President of Nigeria, despite all odds. He claims that all Nigerians elected him as their "President to lead a democratic civilian administration". He might have made this claim because it was then a transition from military to civilian government. That was what many Nigerians had longed for. It is as well a show of power that he is going to head a democratic government established through the electioneering process.

From the extracts of the speeches given byboth military and civilian leaders, it could be seen clearly that there is use of positive self-presentation as element of power relations. Although the speakers came at different times and circumstances, their ideas of power relations are virtually similar. One common element found in the speakers' positive self-presentation is themisuse of presupposition.

All the three levels of presupposition-speaker-based, hearer-based and context-based presuppositions are ignored by all the speakers in trying to exhibit power relations. They take the hearers for granted by assuming that the hearers have no background history of how they clinched the mantle of leadership. However, it is a traditional element in the discourse of politicians to make choices at different levels of discourse in order to represent events in a way that fits with their ideology.

Military

Text 1a:

> I have been brought to the position of having to shoulder the great responsibilities of this country and the armed forces with the consent of the majority of the

members of the Supreme Military Council as a result of the unfortunate incident that occurred on the early morning of 29th July, 1966, (General Yakubu Gowon August, 1966).

Text 1b:

In pursuance of the primary objective of saving our beloved nation from total collapse, I, Major General Muhammadu Buhari of the Nigeria Army, after due consultations among the services of the armed forces, has (SIC) been formally invested with the authority of the Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983).

Text 1c:

Fellow Nigerians, Sequel to the resignation 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 … (General Sani Abacha November, 1993).

In Text 1a, General Gowon presented himself as a chosen military officer to head the Government. Passivation was used to provide a convenient way of postponing the agentive subject by turning it into the agent in a passive construction. In fact, in the extract, the agentive is completely omitted just to focus on object and it reads "I have been brought to shoulder the great responsibility of this country and the armed forces…" In addition to the self-presentation using persuasion, the responsibility is magnified as great where he says "to shoulder the great responsibility of this country". This may mean the responsibility is so enormous and he is the most capable personality to shoulder it.Therefore, he is selected to shoulder the responsibility. In this regard, the power is vested in him. Since the agentive is eclipsed in the statements a near substitute is provided where the speaker says "… with the consent of the majority of the members of Supreme Military Council …" still the consent of the majority cannot take the place of the object in the sentence but to add strength to the element of power,self-presentation. This expression is hyperbolic in nature.

Since the speaker came to power through a *coup d'état* he accompanied his self-presentation with a reason for why he should be accepted by his listeners or why he was chosen.He says: "… as a result of the unfortunate incident that occurred in the early morning of 29th July, 1966". This evidence presented here, though elaborated in the speech, is to manipulate the ideological beliefs of the listeners in believing that there is justification for the intervention as a show of power and control.

Similarly, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, in text 1b, makes a self-presentation in his inaugural speech after the 1983 coup. He opens the speech with personal pronoun 'I' to introduce himself as a mark of power relations and continues to define himself as "I Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Nigerian Army…" He also claims to have been vested with the authority but with recourse to the actor, playing on the cognitive and social characteristics of the recipient to make them more vulnerable and less resistant to manipulate in accepting his authority. He therefore, says: "…, after due consultations among the services of the armed forces has been (SIC) formally invested with the authority of the head of Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Federal Republic of Nigeria". The expression "after due consultation among the services of the armed forces" cannot serve as the subject in the expression. Therefore, the subject or agent in the passivation is completely omitted and the expression stands as a dangling modifier because who did the consultation and the investiture is not mentioned.

The speaker clearly, therefore, uses power relation in the self-presentation as:

- Formally invested with the authority;
- Head of Federal Military Government;
- Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces and

- Federal Republic of Nigeria

These power relations featured in the speech are to demonstrate the powerful position of the speaker and to achieve contextual function and effect.

Text 1c begins with advancing reasons for the take-over. General Sani Abacha claims that his appointment as the Head of State came after the resignation of Chief Ernest Shonekan. He says: "and my subsequent appointment as the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief…". In the extract and as usual with the military, the passive voice is used to evade the subject in the expression. General Abacha attributes his appointment to the resignation of his predecessor but no agent responsible for the appointment is mentioned. However, in the expression there is absolute display of self-esteem and power to show that the predecessor was incapable of shouldering the responsibility.Therefore, he resigned and, as a result, a most capable hand took over. This is negative-other-presentation to that effect he defines himself as the "Head of State and Commander-in-Chief". The phrase *Commander-in-Chief* emphasizes his power as is usually expressed by the Heads of state in Nigeria.

From the analysis above, there is explicit repetition of positive self-presentation as a show of power.Although the military leaders go to power through illegal means, they present themselves as chosen ones. They present themselves in the frame of political messiahs equipped with the magic which they use to fix all the socioeconomic problemsfacing Nigeria.

4.4.2 Persuasion through Personality and Stance

Another aspect power relation that is manifested in the inaugural speeches of all of the speakers is the use of persuasion. The speakers use persuasion strategy in their speeches to

influence the knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitude, ideologies, norms and values of their listeners as an element of power relations.

Extracts from the speakers are provided here:

Civilian

Text 2a:

> We are not so naive as to think that nationalism is a natural phenomenon, which comes about automatically, as we grow. It has not been so in any part of the world. National integration requires hard work. There is need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for "One Nigeria." I am convinced that these goals are attainable because we are at this time operating in more auspicious circumstances. Surely, we have learnt great lessons from the past and we have no need to permit divisive factors to continue to undermine our national well-being. I urge all Nigerians to join me in working with resolution for the attainment of these goals (President Shehu Shagari, 1979).

Text 2b:

> I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government arising from the bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations. Where official pronouncements are repeatedly made and not matched by action, government forfeits the confidence of the people and their trust. One of the immediate acts of this administration will be to implement quickly and decisively, measures that would restore confidence in governance. These measures will help to create the auspicious atmosphere necessary for the reforms and the difficult decisions and the hard work required to put the country back on the path of development and growth (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 2c:

> The administration of President Obasanjo has laid the foundation upon which we can build our future prosperity. Over the past eight years Nigerians have reached a national consensus in at least four areas: to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption in all its forms, and, finally, restructure and staff our

> government to ensure efficiency and good governance. I commit myself to these task (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

Text 2d:

> I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope. We owe ourselves and posterity the duly of making this country respectable in the comity of nations. Nigeria, as a responsible member of the international community, will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security. We will continue to play an active role in the United Nations. Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and the Gulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

In Text 2a above, President Shehu Shagari declared his stance in his effort to draw the attention of the audience that nationalism is not a natural phenomenon. It develops gradually. Therefore, Nigerians should not think that it will just happen.He says, "we are not so naïve to think that nationalism is a natural phenomenon which comes about automatically". He further reiterated persuasively that national integration requires hardwork. He declares his stance as he says: "I am convinced that these goals are attainable because we are, at this time, operating in a more auspicious circumstance. In the beginning of the text, he presents his personality and then declares his stance and then persuasively calls on Nigerians when he says, "I urge all Nigerians to join me in working with resolutions for the attainment of this course". In this regard, it is clear that the speaker uses persuasion through personality and stance.

In Text 2b, President Olusegun Obasanjo laments on the bad condition or the level of decay of the nation. In this regard, his tries to present himself as a personality who is very much in tune with the conditions of the country. He says: "I am very aware of the widespread cynicism and total lack of confidence in government arising from bad faith, deceit and evil actions of recent administrations". "Recent administrations" refers to previous military administrations particularly, the military government of General Sani Abacha because it was the government that

tried and sentenced him to lifeimprisonment. He continues to portray his personality as someone who has the knowledge of the happenings in the past administration by saying, "where official pronouncements are repeatedly made and not merged by actions, government forfeits the confidence of the people and their trust". He finally declares his stance persuasively and says: "one of the immediate act of this administration would be to implement quickly and decisively measures that would restore confidence in governance". He uses adjective and adverbs such as "immediate", "quickly" and "decisively" to strengthen his determination. He uses such lexical items to affirm his stance. He adds that: "these measures will help to create the auspicious atmosphere necessary for the reforms and the difficult decisions and the hardwork required to put the country back on the path of development and growth." This statement presupposes that the country was battered by the previous military government and he is persuasively telling Nigerians that he will put it on the path of development and growth. It is clear that he uses Persuasion through Personality and Stance (PPS).

President Umaru Musa Yar'adua also uses persuasion through personality and stance in text 2c above. He abinitio, in the text, tries to claim knowledge of the activities of the previous government. He says: "The administration of President Obasanjo has laid the foundation upon which we can build our future prosperity." He might have praised the previous government in the speech because he was installed as president through election rigging as he earlier confessed in the speech. He turns also to claim knowledge of the Nigerians' decisions on the governance where he says, "Over the past eight years, Nigerians have reached a national conscientious". He goes further to enumerate these "national conscientious" which are: deepening democracy and the rule of law: build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption in all its forms; and restructure and staff the government to ensure

efficiency and good governance. These are the plans he wishes to implement. He, finally,says: “I commit myself to this task”. In the introductory part of the text, the President tries to show his personality by claiming knowledge of some of the activities of the previous government. Finally, he uses personal pronoun such as “I” and reflexive pronoun “myself” to say, I myself follow suit. He tries to influence the psyche of the listeners that the previous government had done well and he will continue on thatpath.

Also, President Goodluck uses persuasion, through personality and stance, by falsely presenting his personality of proclaiming to know what the country need for growth and development comparing it with international communities. Therefore, he says, “I am confident that we have every reason to look to the future with hope”. He uses “I am confident” as personal pronoun for reiteration and the word “confident” to show his overzealousness as a mark of his personality. He persuasively calls on Nigerians by using personal pronoun “we” as he says, “We owe ourselves and posterity the duty of making this country respectable and the community of nations.” He later turns to make clear his stance to international communities where he says, “Nigeria as a responsible member of the international community will remain committed to the maintenance of global peace and security”. This is his stance about the international community. He further makes the stance unobscured by declaring that “Our role in the African Union, ECOWAS, and theGulf of Guinea will be enhanced to ensure greater human and energy security”. The President, therefore, uses persuasion through personality and stance.

4.4.3 Persuasion through Reasoning

Civilian Presidents

Text 3a:

> Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to Independence, and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year, and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown. The success of the harvest will depend upon us, and that is why I am glad to speak to you tonight. Every one of us has his part to play in the work of preparing Nigeria for Independence on the 2nd of April, 1960. I want everyone in Nigeria to realize that this is no Regional Ministers and Legislators alone. It is a task for every one of you because it is only by the personal effort of each individual that Independence for the Federation can become a reality in 1960. (Prime-Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1957).

Text 3b:

> My fellow citizens, the task ahead is enormous and it is a task for all of us. Our Government is committed to building a united, stable and prosperous nation. I need your contribution, cooperation and support. Nigeria can and must become a great and modern nation. (President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, 1979).

Text 3c:

> Our infrastructures - NEPA, NITEL, Roads, Railways, Education, Housing and other Social Services were allowed to decay and collapse. Our country has thus been through one of its darkest periods.
>
> All these have brought the nation to a situation of chaos and near despair. This is the challenge before us. Fellow Nigerians, let us rise as one, to face the tasks ahead and turn this daunting scene into opportunities in a New Dawn. Let us make this the beginning of a genuine Renaissance(President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 3d:

> We have a good starting point because our predecessor already launched a master plan that can serve as a basis for a comprehensive examination of all the issues. We will involve all stakeholders in working out a solution. As part of this effort, we will move quickly to ensure security of life and property, and to make investments safe. In the meantime, I appeal to all aggrieved communities, groups and individuals to immediately suspend all violent activities, and respect the law. Let us allow the impending dialogue to take place in a conducive atmosphere. We are all in this together, and we will find a way to achieve peace and justice (President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, 2007).

In Text 3a, Prime-Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa uses persuasion as an element of power relations in his speech. His main concern in the speech is the issue of independence. He advances reasons for the need for support, unity and cooperation to achieve the longed

independence. He uses personal pronouns such as "I" and "We" as a bridge builder between he and the governed. The first reason he advances is that the stage of the formation of the parliament and his election as the Prime-Minister is the last stage to Independence. He, therefore, says: "Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to independence". To show the significance of the cooperation of all, he says: "The success of the harvest will depend on all of us". He uses the all-inclusive pronoun "us" to include himself and the listeners. He continues to persuasively show the significance of each person in the struggle for independence. Therefore, he uses indefinite pronoun to encompass all. In that regard, he says, "Every one of us has his part to play in the work of preparing Nigeria for independence…" Again, he says: "I want everyone in Nigeria to realize that this is not an easy task…" "It is a task for every one of you…" The Prime Minister repeatedly uses the indefinite pronoun to persuade the audience that the struggle for independence requires all hands to be on deck. He concludes his persuasive talk by saying: "… because it is only by the personal effort of each individual that independence for the Federation can become a reality in 1960".

In Text 3b, President Shehu Shagari uses persuasion through reasoning as an element of power relations. He states that: "… the task ahead is enormous and it is a task for all of us". In this sense, the President is trying to work on the psychology of the audience to believe that his government has a great task before it for rebuilding Nigeria after years of military rule. In the statement that follows, he tries to elaborate the task ahead of his government by saying: "Our Government is committed to building a united, stable and prosperous nation". He later seeks the involvement of everybody in the nation's building.He says: "I need your contribution, cooperation and support.Nigeria can and must become a great and modern nation".It is,

therefore, clear that the President uses persuasion through reasoning as an element of power relation to convince the listeners to support his government in nation-building.

President Obasanjo explains the infrastructural decay in the country in text 3c as a result of corruption. Thedecay, he mentions, affects NEPA, NITEL, Roads, Railways, Education, Housing etc. According to him: "Our country has been thus, being through one of its darkest period". This is the knowledge he has about the condition of the country. He gives these backgrounds to advance reasons for the listeners to cooperate and support his government. He follows this reasons by calling on Nigerians for support. He therefore, says, "Fellow Nigerians, let us rise as one to face the task ahead and turn this daunting scene into opportunities in a New Dawn". He further says: "Let us make this the beginning of the genuine renaissance". He opens the call with "fellow Nigerians" which normally comes in the beginning of an inaugural speech. However, because of the significance of the call, and to draw the attention and perception of the listeners, he uses it here. He repeated "let us" twice to show how significance the call is. Therefore, he uses persuasion through reasoning to galvanise support from the listeners.

President Umaru Musa Yar'adua,in text 3d,tries to advance reasons persuasively for the support of his government. He gave reasons that "We have a good starting point… because our predecessor has already launched a masterplan." This presupposes that he is going to build on the plans of the previous government. More importantly, he is trying to tell the audience that his government was not starting from the scratch. He later makes his call for support by saying, "I appeal to all aggrieved communities, groups and individuals, to immediately suspend all violent activities and respect the law. He uses inclusive pronoun to reiterate his call for support. He says, "Let us allow", "we are all in this together" and "we will find a way". The all-inclusive pronoun is a call to achieve peace in the country.

4.4.4 Persuasion through the Arousal of Emotion

Civilian

Text 4a:

> Fellow Nigerians, the entire Nigerian Scene is very bleak indeed, so bleak people ask me where do we begin? I know what great things you expect of me at this new Dawn. As I have said many times in my extensive travels in the country, I am not a miracle worker. It will be foolish to underrate the task ahead. Alone, I can do little. (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999).

Text 4b:

> Only a couple of days ago, I received an entry on my facebook page. It was sent by Mr Babajide Orevba. He wrote to inform me that I had lost a great fan. That fan was his father, Mr Emanuel Bamidele Orevba. The deceased, the son told me, was no politician, but has campaigned enthusiastically for my ticket. Tragically, overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed and pass on three days later. I pray God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest… I therefore call on the good people of Nigeria, to enlist as agents of his great transformation (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

President Obasanjo, in his use of persuasion as element of power relations (Text 4a),uses persuasion through the arousal of emotion. He begins by describing the pathetic condition of the country. He says thus: "… The entire Nigerian scene is very bleak indeed. So bleak that people ask me where do we begin?" The description of Nigeria's condition as bleak is to arouse the emotion of the listeners to give support and cooperate to the President. To touch more on their expectation as arousal of their emotion and to confirm that he needs their support, he says, "I know what great things you expect of me at this new dawn". He further solicits their support by finally saying: "Alone, I can do little".Meaning that could not do it alone as he needed the support of other Nigerians to govern the country well.He uses personification to describe the Nigerian scene as "very bleak in deed". He uses also repetition by saying, "So bleak". He uses

the personal pronoun "I" four times to emotionally persuade the listeners in the expressions "**I** know", "I have said", "I am not" and "I can do".

President Goodluck Jonathan (in Text 4b) uses persuasion through arousal of emotion by using an anecdotes by telling the story of one of his fans, Mr Emmanuel Bamidele Orevba, who passed away at the announcement of the election victory of President Goodluck. He claims that he receives the sad story from an entry on his facebook page by the son of the deceased. To emotionally move the audience, he says: "Tragically overwhelmed by the joy of our victory, he collapsed and passed on three days later". He uses an adjunct at the beginning of the expression "tragically" which means sadly to arouse the emotion of the audience. He uses the passive voice "overwhelmed by the joy of our victory" to emphasise how exhilarated the dead man became with the victory of the president in the election. He also uses "our victory" using inclusive pronoun to show that the victory is for him and the audience. He further uses the expression "He collapsed and passed on" deliberately to show the difficulty the deceased passed through before he died three days later. He capped up the emotional expression by turning to God to pray to the deceased to still touch the emotion of the audience. He says: "I pray to God Almighty to grant his soul eternal rest". All these manipulative strategies adopted by the president are aimed moving the emotion of his audience to persuade them to support his government. This is clear use of persuasion through arousal of emotion by the speaker.

From the analysis of the extracts 2a – 2d, there is the apparent use of persuasion as show of power by both the military Heads of State and Civilian Presidents. Both the parties used the three types of persuasion i.e. persuasion through personality and stance, persuasion through the arousal of emotion and persuasion through reasoning.

In the speeches of the civilian presidents, there is clear indications of the use of persuasive language. Presumably, the persuasions come from them because even as they got power through election, not all Nigerians elected them and because of the needed support and cooperation for their government they had to sell themselves to the populace.

4.4.5 Persuasion through Reasoning

Military Heads of State

Text 5a:

> Things got to a stage where the head of administration became virtually inaccessible even to official advisers; and when advice was tendered, it was often ignored. Responsible opinion, including advice by eminent Nigerians, traditional rulers, intellectuals, et cetera, was similarly discarded. The leadership either by design or default had become too insensitive to the true feelings and yearnings of the people. The nation was thus plunge inexorably into chaos. It was obvious that matters could not and should not be allowed in this manner and in order to give the nation a new lease of life and sense of direction, the following decisions were taken… (General Murtala Muhammed, 1975).

Text 5b:

> Fellow Nigerians, finally, we have dutifully intervened to save the nation from imminent collapse. We therefore expect all Nigerians including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicament to cooperate with us. (General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983).

Text 5c:

> We recognize that a government be it civilian or military needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to meet its objectives. We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time, we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression or border on subversion. (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985).

Text 5a demonstrates power relations in persuasion through reasoning. General Murtala who go to power through coup d'état as well needed the support of the Nigerian populace as at then used persuasion through reasoning to galvanize the support. As an element of power relations, the Head of State advances reasons in the speech on the apathy of the previous Government that necessitates its overthrow. The reasons he advances include inaccessibility to the Head of State, does not listen to advice, and insensitive to the feelings and yearnings of the people. These reasons he advances to persuade his listeners give rise to his decisions. He says: "It was obvious that matters could not and should not be allowed in this manner. In order to give the nation a new lease of life and sense of direction, the following decisions were taken…." This is a clear manifestation of power relations. The Head of State uses persuasion through reasoning to call for support of his government.

Similarly, General Buhari (in Text 5b)uses persuasion through reasoning to exercise influence outside the formal context. He claims that they had intervened to save the nation from eminent collapse". In the body of his speech, he utterly criticized the previous government for corruption. Hence, the intervention. Further to the reasons he advances, he calls for support persuasively. He says: "We therefore, expect all Nigerians including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicament to cooperate". This is a clear use of persuasive language to influence the listeners to support the government,which is an element of power relations.

Text 5c as well, explicates the show of power through persuasive use of language. General Babangida's power relations through it was accompanied by warning at the end. He gives reasons in the speech, as to why they need the cooperation and support of Nigerians. He says: "we recognize that a government be it civilian or military needs the consent of the people

to govern if it is to meet it objectives". Persuasively, again, he tries to convince the listeners (Nigerians) that his government would not be dictatorial, though it is military. He says "we do not intend to rule by force". In this case, he tries to persuade the audience to accept his government.

From Texts 5a – 5c, the demonstration of power relations is shown by the military Heads of State in their inaugural speeches. Though they got to power through coups and counter coups, they did not lose sight of the fact that persuasion is an important element in power. It serves as a means with which its holders exact compliance or obedience from others to their wills. It is therefore, clear that the strongest is never strong enough always to be the master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty. However, the persuasion is found out in the speeches of the military to be restricted with persuasion through reasoning.

4.4.6Threat as Power Relation

Threat is another element of power relation displayed in the inaugural speeches of the Nigerian leaders. It is classified under assertive in illocutionary acts. It is used in the speech to show that the speakers exercised power in the Nigerian State. Threat,as power relations in the speeches is identified to be direct or indirect threats. Below are excerpts from some of the addresses given by the leaders in question:

Civilian

Text 6a:

> On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria. It is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all our communities to live together in peace and harmony. The way to do this is to create understanding, mutual respect and trust. It is important that we should first show respect to each

other before asking the world to respect us. (Prime-Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Inaugural speech, 1957).

Text 6b:

We are not so naïve as to think that nationalism is a natural phenomenon which comes about automatically as we grow. It has not been like so in any part of the world. National integration requires hard work. There is a need for a dedicated leadership and citizenry imbued with faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for "One Nigeria". (President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, 1979).

Text 6c:

The beneficiaries of corruption in all forms will fight back with all the fowl means at their disposal. We shall be firm with them. There will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where, will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil. (President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999 Inaugural speech).

Text 6a contains an indirect threat issued by the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. The major concern as at then was for all to unite for the purpose of gaining independence. Therefore, the Prime Minister, in that speech, hammers more on unity.He says: "On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria". This threat is more or less indirect in the sense that it sounds like an advice appealing to the reasoning of the listener ever though warning or threatening phrases are used as "on no account should". The repercussion of refusing to hearken to the warning comes as social effect which will affect the listener. The speaker cannot afflict the listener with any harm for not abiding by the threat. It is in this regard that the Prime Minister in that speech goes further to carefully inform the listener of how to achieve the desired unity.He says: "It is the duty of all of us to work for unity and encourage members of all of our communities to live together in peace and harmony". The tone and the referent 'us' are used because the Prime Minister was addressing members of his parliament who, in turn, should go and preach the gospel of unity to their people.He says: "and encourage members of all our

communities". Showing much concern about unity for the purpose of achieving independence, the Prime Minister goes further to tell the member how to go about establishing peace and unity in their communities and to that effect he says, "The way to do this is to create understanding, mutual respect and trust". To the Prime Minister, these are the paths to achieving unity. He reiterates that respect begets respect.To this end, he believes that when you show respect to each other it is then that the world will respect you. This threat has no punishment attached to it.Rather,it has a social repercussion.Therefore, it is regarded as an indirect threat.

In Text 6b also, President Shehu Shagari issues indirect threat. His call is rather on nationalism when he warns that it cannot come automatically because it has not happened in any other part of the world. In this respect, he says. "National integration requires hardwork".

He continued to advise rather by saying that to achieve national feeling of one Nigeria, "there is the need for dedicated leadership and a citizenry that is imbued with the faith to cultivate a wide-spread national feeling for one Nigeria. In this statement, the speaker puts two things as pre-requisite to nationalism: dedicated leadership and a citizenry imbued with faith. If these two elements are not found in the country, then nationalism cannot be realized. That is the threat. However, this threat is also indirect as only social consequence is attached to it. The speaker cannot directly punish the audience if they do not abide by the suggestions.

In Text 6c, President Obasanjo's threat in his 1999 inaugural speech differs from that issued bythe civilian Heads of State. He's is a direct threat despite the fact that he was elected as a President. Presumably his background as a soldier will always affect his personality, thoughts and actions. He gives a direct threat in the speech, particularly targeting the corrupt officials in the country. He says: "The beneficiaries of corruption, in all forms, will fight back with all the foul means at their disposal". He is specifically making the statement an indication of his

commitment to fight corruption. Therefore, he issues the threat and categorically says: "We shall be firm with them". This means he will fight them. To threaten them the more, he says: "there will be no sacred cows". This idiom means no favourites will be spared because of influence. To further expatiate he uses the indefinite pronoun to strengthen the threat so, he says: "Nobody, no matter who and where will be allowed to get away with the breach of the law or the perpetration of corruption and evil". The phrase "no matter who" means no matter who the person is i.e. regardless of his background or influence.The word "where" means where he comes from, will not go unpunished. The threat as earlier mentioned, is direct. The actors are clearly defined and they are clearly warned.

Military

Text 6a:

> We therefore, consider any foreign interference in any form, will be regarded (SIC) as an act of aggression. All members of the armed forces are requested to keep within their barracks except on essential duties and when ordered from SHQ. Troop must not terrorize the public as such action will discredit the new National Military Government. Any act of looting or sabotage will be dealt with severely. (General Yakubu Gowon, 1966 Inaugural speech)

Text 6b:

> Fellow countrymen, the task ahead of us call for sacrifice and self-discipline at all levels of our society. This Government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone abuse of office. (General Murtala Mohammed, 1975 Inaugural speech).

Text 6c:

> Corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book… we therefore, expect all Nigerians including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicaments to cooperate with us, (Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, 1983).

Text 6d:

> We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. (General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, 1985)

Test 6e:

> 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. (General Sani Abacha, 1993).

The demonstration of threat as an element of power relations is conspicuously identifiable in the speeches of the leaders. Both the military and the civilian leaders employed threat in their speeches. However, as closely observed, the research classified the threat into two: direct threat and indirect threat.

Text 6a is a direct threat focusing specifically on two groups: the international community and members of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. The speaker, therefore, started with the action not with the actor for the purpose of emphasis. He says: "We therefore, consider any foreign interference in any form…" The pronoun 'we' is honourific plural while the word foreign refers to other countries of the world. And to define the interference, he says, "in any form". This means even inherence interms of aiding or abetting any resistant group will be regarded as "an act of aggression". The consequences of the aggression arenot mentioned here to threaten the aggressor the more.

The second target of the threat are the armed forces, specifically referring to the soldiers. The threat to this group is very necessary because their resistance to the establishment of the new Government would be more disastrous for the fact that the new Government overthrew the one before it and not all members of the armed forces may welcome the new crop of leadership.

Therefore, issuing a threat to this group is paramount to the existence of the Government. The speaker, in this regard, says "all members of the armed forces are requested to keep within their barracks". In other words, they should remain in the barracks. In other words,

the junior officers who may be used for resistance mostly live in the barracks.So, it is easier to contain their plans and activities in the barracks. However, there are some who may be on patrol to keep peace among the civilians therefore, he says, "except on essential duties and when ordered from SHQ". This has covered the patrol team. Even this group is not exonerated from the threat. In this connection, the speaker says, "Troops must not terrorize the public as such action will discredit the new National Military Government". The troops are, therefore, warned not to harass the civil group as that may consequently affect their perception towards the new Government. Knowing fully well that the behaviour of soldiers in such chaotic situation, the speaker is specific about their actions that may hurt the civil society.He says: "Any act of looting or sabotage will be dealt with severely". Looting, sexual harassment, molestation etc. are parts of the behaviour of troops when they are on assignment in a crisis zone. He, therefore, warns them to desist from such act as punishments await any perpetrator. This is a direct threat showing the power of the head of government and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Text 6b is an extract from threat issued by General Murtala Mohammed as a show of power after he had assumed office. He, abinitio, calls on Nigerians using the solidarity phrase "fellow Nigerians" and later reiterated the enormous task before his Government and the need for sacrifice and discipline. He says: "the task ahead of us calls for sacrifice and self-discipline at all levels of our society". To this effect, he issued a strong warning to threaten those who may wish not to sacrifice and have self-discipline. He says: "This Government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone abuse of office". Two important things that can affect progress in any government are mentioned by the speaker – indiscipline and abuse of office. The speaker warns that the two evils will neither be tolerated nor be condoned

respectively. The speaker uses the two different words to show how powerful and serious that Government is and to make the threat to have effect on the listeners.

In text 6c, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, in his blemish inaugural speech, uses threat to show power. He asserts that "corrupt officials and their agents will be brought to book". This means that corrupt officials will are not go scot free. He uses the idiom "to bring to book" meaning that they will be apprehended and tried before the courts. And that Government did arrest many Nigerians, tried them before courts and tribunals and sentenced them to prisons for corruption and embezzlement of funds. He finally threatens all Nigerians, including the bad eggs,when he says: "we therefore, expect all Nigerians including those who participated directly or indirectly in bringing the nation to its present predicaments to cooperate". The threat is directed at three categories of Nigerians. Firstly, the ordinary Nigerians are warned to cooperate. Secondly, Nigerians who participated directly in bringing the nation to its knees.Thirdly, he warned those who indirectly assisted in putting the country in a sorry state. What is expected from all of them is cooperation. The speaker does not mention the consequence that will befall them if they did not cooperate.

Text 6d contains direct threat as an element of power relations. General Babangida uses parallelism to make threat clear. He starts his speech with assertive which is a declarative that will usher in the threat. He says: "We do not intend to rule by force". This statement is a bridge to introduce the threat. In that regard, the President says: "At the same time, we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demand". In other words, they are not going to succumb to irrational demands even though they will not rule by force. The speaker uses the all-inclusive and honorific pronoun 'we' to refer to his Government as a collective responsibility. The threat does

not include the repercussion of doing otherwise. The speaker hides the consequence to threaten the listeners the more.

In Text 6e, General Sani Abacha issues a direct threat to the audience using oxymoron in the first sentence to create effect. He says: "This regime will be firm, humane and decisive". The word 'firm' has its opposite as *humane*. One cannot be firm and humane and then be decisive at the same time.But to create force effect, he used the three words at the same time. He also used paired elements to reiterate his threat. In this regard, he says: "we will neither condone nor tolerate any acts of indiscipline". To sound more powerful and to show that he meant business, he says: "any attempt to test our will will be dealt with decisively". He uses passivisation and clausal ellipses in the expression. He avoided the agent who will test the will in the expression by ellipting the agentive. Instead of saying "any attempt by anybody to test our will". The indefinite pronoun "anybody" is removed from the sentence. For emphasis, he used foregrounding to say: "any attempt", therefore, the attempt is the focus which will attract the reaction of the government.

It is apparent from the forgoing analysis on threat as element of power relations that it is visible in the inaugural speeches of the leaders. It is however, found out that military leaders use direct threat clearly stating the undesirable action and the consequences while the politicians tend to use indirect threat for persuading the listeners' act. Threat is found to be element of power relation in the speech.

4.4.7Appeal as Power Relation in Inaugural Speeches

Another element of power relations identified in the speeches of the leaders is appeal. The concept of appeal is close to persuasion, but the difference is seen in the choice of

words.Appeal is blunter and usually comes at the end of the inaugural speech. Both the civilian and the military Heads of state appealed to their audience in the speeches. Excerpts identifying appeals as a mark of power are presented below:

Civilian

Text 7a:

> You have been asked many times in the past to make sacrifices and to be patient. I am also going to ask you to make sacrifices, and to exercise patience. The difference will be that in the past sacrifices were made and patience exercised with little or no results. This time, however, the results of your sacrifices and patience will be clear and manifest for all to see. With God as our guide, and with 120 million Nigerians working with me, with commitment, sustained effort, and determination, we shall not fail. On my part, I will give the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest and transparent leadership that the situation demands. (President Olusegun Obasanjo's inaugural speech, 1999).

As a civilian President, Olusegun Obasanjo's (Text 7a) inaugural speech of 1999 makes appeal to Nigerians. He begins with an anecdote as a historical reflection to assure Nigerians that similar appeal (he is going to make) was made by the past leaders but did not yield any good to the common man. Now, this is a different government imbuedwith sincerity and honesty. Therefore, he says, "you have been asked many times in the past to make sacrifices and be patient". The President uses the passive voice to avoid mentioning names as that may be offensive to the past leaders. The omission of the agent in the sentence, therefore, makes it possible to avert from who is responsible for the action. He later says, "I am also going to ask you to make sacrifices and to exercise patience". The President, in an effort to convince Nigerians because he is sure that they have heard similar calls but no result, refers to the different appeals made by his predecessors and his own appeal. Therefore, he says, "The difference will

be that in the past sacrifices were made and patience exercised with little or no result." In this statement, the speaker still uses the passive voice for both the people and past leaders, those who made the appeal were avoided and those appealed to were also avoided and portrayed as passive victims of the action.

The speaker,typical of Nigerian politicians,continues to assure Nigerians that this time the result of their sacrifices and patience will be seen. He, therefore, says: "This time, however, the result of your sacrifice and patience will be clear and manifest for all to see." This expression is full of assurance and hope for a better tomorrow for the audience. However, virtually all political speeches are laden with such promises. This is one of the unique ways politicians hold their audience spell bound.

As usual with Nigerian politicians, the Presidents gives spiritual credence and authority to his speech. This is so because Nigerian politicians believe that majority of Nigerians are religious so, they can easily be manipulated. He, however, did not lose sight of the fat that he is communicating. "…and with 120 million Nigerians working with me". The inclusion of God and the population figure of the Nigeria is to give more assurance to Nigerians and make his appeal have impact on the listeners. The President caps the support of God with the support of 120 million Nigerians with some vague words where he says, "With commitment, sustainedeffort and determination, we shall not fail." The *underlined* words are vague or indefinite, i.e. words that have no realistic ways of validating them. He also uses the pronoun 'we' to include himself in the appeal and assures the audience that with combined efforts from them his administration will succeed.

He still singles out himself for reiteration and more assurance to the listeners when he says: "on my own part, I will give the forthright, purposeful, committed, honest and transparent

leadership that the situation demands." All these adjectives of quality the President uses are unquantifiable and immeasurable. Therefore, they are normally used by leaders in their speeches so that their stewardship cannot be gauged before and after they leave office.

Military

Text 7a:

> I appeal to you all to cooperate with the Government in our endeavour to give this nation a new lease of life. This change in government has been accomplished without shedding any blood; and we intend to keep it so (General Murtala Mohammed inaugural speech, 1975).

Text 7b:

> Finally, I appeal to all Nigerians, particularly our traditional rulers and community leaders for their maximum support and cooperation. (General Sani Abacha inaugural speech, 1993).

From text 7a – 7b,clear demonstration of power through appeal are demonstrated. Although the military got to power through coups and counter coups, they themselves appeal for cooperation from the ruled. The appeal borders on call for cooperation, sacrifice, support and dedication to the implementation of government policies.

In Text 7a, General Murtala Mohammed, a military head of State appeals for cooperation from the Nigerians so that his Government will provide Nigeria a new look. He continued to appeal to them that the change of the government was carried out without assassination. In that regard, he says: "This change in Government has been accomplished without shedding any blood…" This means the audience should appreciate the peaceful change of the government and as well cooperate because it has good intention of moving the country forward. He continued to assure Nigerians so as to earn their support that his government didnot have any ulterior motive of killing anybody. He says: "… and we intend to keep it so". The pronoun 'we' refers to the President and his ruling council this is meant to make the audience to see the Government as a

composition of many hands and none shall be involved in killing anybody. The word 'so' in the expression "we intend to keep it so" is meant to serve as clausal substitution in grammatical cohesion which is meant to substitute the expression "This change in Government has been accomplished without shedding any blood". It is used to create cohesion in such a way the mention of one element reminds one of the other. In this regard, the mention of "so" reminds the listener of the preceding statement about bloodshed. In essence, the Head of State makes appeal in his speech as an element of power.However, the appeal may be considered as a ritual in some inaugural speeches, particularly appeals from the militaryHeads of states. It is done to manipulate the line of thought of the populace because there can be little or no resistance from the audience for the Government has the military arsenal at their disposal to curtail any form of resistance from the people.

In a similar form in text 7b, General Sani Abacha appeals for support and cooperation. He at the first instance, appeals to all Nigerians when he says: "Finally, I appeal to all Nigerians…" Therefore, the appeal first goes to the totality of Nigeriaans. He later particularises the appeal to certain category of people who are considered as major stakeholders in bringing about peace and reconciliation in the country. In this light, he mentions "… particularly our traditional rulers and community leaders…" The experience of June 12 might have made the Head of State to think that his take over from a civilian and Yoruba man may spark some riots in the country.Therefore, it becomes necessary to seek for the support and cooperation from the traditional rulers who are closer to people at the grassroots. He requires from the traditional rulers and community leaders as 'Maximum' where he says, "maximum support and cooperation". This signifies that the support and cooperation he appeals for should be given to him extraordinarily.

Table 4.4 below shows how power relation is exhibited in the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State. It contains the text, the type of power relation, the percentage of the leaders that use the power relation and the remarks.

Table 4.4: Power Relation in the Inaugural Speeches

Civilian Heads of State	**Power relation as manifested in the speeches of the Civilian Heads of State**	**Percentage of the speakers who use the power relations**	**Remarks**
Text 1d Text 1e Text 1f	Positive self-presentation	60%	The civilian Heads of state expressed positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches. They use self-glorification, hyperbole, presupposition, all-encompassing statement and anecdote as their rhetorical devices.
Text 2a Text 2b Text 2c Text 2d	Persuasion through Personality and Stance	80%	The civilian presidents declared their personality and stance in their inaugural speeches to draw the attention of their audience. They used personal pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, reflexive pronouns as their rhetorical devices in persuading their audience.
Text 3a Text 3b Text 3c Text 3g	Persuasion through Reasoning	80%	The civilian Heads of state displayed persuasion through reasoning in their inaugural speeches through the use of rhetorical devices like, personal pronouns, all-inclusive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, to persuade the audience to cooperate with their governments.

Text 4a Text 4b	Persuasion through Arousal of Emotion	40%	The civilian Presidents also displayed persuasion strategy through arousing the emotions of their audience. They use personification, personal pronouns, repetition, passive voice, adjunct, inclusive pronoun as their rhetorical devices to arouse the emotion of their audience.
Text 3f Text 3g Text 3h	Implicit Threat as Power Relation	60%	The civilian Heads of state in their inaugural speeches show element of implicit threat as power relation. They use idiom and indefinite pronouns as their rhetorical devices in persuading their audience.
Text 4c	Appeal as Power Relation	20%	The civilian Heads of state displayed appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They used anecdote, passive voice, vague words, pronouns, adjective as rhetorical devices to show appeal to their audience.
Military Heads of State	**Power relation as manifested in the speeches of the Military Heads of State**	**Percentage of the speakers who use the power relations**	**Remarks**
Text 1a Text 1b Text 1c	Positive self-presentation	50%	The military Heads of state express positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches. They use passivation, persuasion, ellipses, hyperbole, manipulation, personal pronouns, passivisation, dangling modifier, and negative-other-presentation their rhetorical devices.
Text 3e Text 3f Text 3g	Persuasion through Reasoning	67%	The military Heads of state also express persuasion through reasoning in their inaugural speeches. They use

			personification, hyperbole, anecdote, exaggeration and all-inclusive pronouns as their rhetorical devices
Text 3a Text 3b Text 3c Text 3d Text 3e	Explicit Threat as Power Relation	83%	The military Heads of state in their inaugural speeches express explicit threat as power relation. They use pronouns, solidarity phrase, idiom, parallelism, all-inclusive pronouns, honourific pronouns, paired element, passivisation, clausal ellipses, foregrounding as their rhetorical devices.
Text 4a Text 4b	Appeal as Power Relation	33%	The military Heads of state also portray appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They use, pronoun, clausal substitution, cohesion, as rhetorical devices.

From table 4.4, it is clear that 60% of the civilian Heads of State expressed positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches. They used self-glorification, hyperbole, presupposition, all-encompassing statements and anecdotes as rhetorical devices in persuading their audience. Also, 80% of the speakers displayed persuasion through personality and stance in their inaugural speeches to persuade their audience. They used persuasion, personal pronouns, all-inclusive pronoun, and indefinite pronoun as their rhetorical devices. In a similar vein, 80% the civilian presidents showed persuasion through reasoning in their inaugural speeches through the use of rhetorical devices like personal pronouns, all-inclusive pronouns, and indefinite pronouns to persuade their audience to cooperate with their governments.

It can also be seen that 60% of the civilian Heads of state showed elements of threat as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They used idioms and indefinite pronouns as

rhetorical devices to express their threats. In a similar way, 20% of the civilian Heads of state display appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They did this through the use of anecdotes, passive voice, vague words, pronouns and adjective as rhetorical devices to appeal to their audience. 40% of the civilian presidents also displayed persuasion strategy through arousing the emotions of their audience. They used personification, personal pronouns, repetition, passive voice, adjunct, inclusive pronoun as their rhetorical devices to arouse the emotion of their audience.

50% of the military Heads of State expressed positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches. They used passivation, persuasion, ellipses, hyperbole, manipulation, personal pronouns, dangling modifier, and negative-other-presentation their rhetorical devices. 67% of the military Heads of state express power relation manifested in their inaugural speeches through persuasion, personality and stance. They use anecdote technique, pronouns, repetition, and persuasive language as rhetorical devices in persuading their audience. Also, 83% of the military Heads of state used threat as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They did this through the use of pronouns, solidarity phrase, idiom, parallelism, all-inclusive pronouns, honorific pronouns, paired elements, passivisation, clausal ellipses, foregrounding as rhetorical devices. Similarly, 33% of the military Heads of state portrayed appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They used, pronouns, clausal substitution and cohesion as rhetorical devices.

Furthermore, both the speeches of the military and civilian Presidents contain appeal. It is also clear that theycalled onNigerians for support, to cooperate, to understand, sacrifice and to be patient with the government in power. The government whether military or civilian, made appeals in their speeches to give extra effect and force to their messages. The appeal therefore, could be seen and considered as elements of power relations which the leaders adopt as a style

when they intend to convey their intentions or messages convincingly so that the impression and intention projected could be printed and lasting in the minds of their listeners. It is also a strategy used to arouse the feelings and collective excitements and sentiments of their follower. This is doneto sustain their support, loyalty and followership.

4.5 Analysis of Hidden Meanings Related to Social Structure and Identities of the Speakers

Text 1a

> Today, we have set out on the last stage of our journey to independence, and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year, and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown (Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Inaugural Speech, 1957).

Text 1b

> The Second Republic has come after almost 14 years of military rule in the course of which went through a civil war. Today our new constitution comes into effect; a constitution carefully drawn up by ourselves for ourselves (Alhaji Shehu Shagari Inaugural Speech, 1979).

Text 1c

> I wish to pay tribute to the great and gallant Nigerians who lost their lives in the cause of the struggle for liberty, democracy and good governance. They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny. We thank god that their sacrifice has not been in vain. We will always remember them (President Olusegun Obasango Inaugural Speech, 1999).

Text 1d

> We acknowledge that our elections had some shortcomings. Thankfully, we have well-established legal avenues of redress, and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them (Umaru Musa Yar'adua Inaugural Speech, 2007).

Text 1e

> My fellow countrymen and women, Nigeria is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive changes will continue to take place for the good of our

> people. The time for lamentation is over. This is the era of transformation. This is the time for action. But Nigeria can only be transformed if we play our parts with commitment and sincerity. Cynicism and skepticism will not help our journey to greatness. Let us all believe in a new Nigeria. Let us work together to build a great country that we will be proud of. This is our hour (President Goodluck Jonathan, 2011).

The analysis of the extracts on hidden meaning related to social structure and identifies of the speakers as engraved in the speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State is premised on Giddens's (1991) theory of structuration. The theory asserts that our social structures do not, space cannot, exist outside of our action. Rather, they can only exist in their continued reproduction across time and space.

In Text 1a, the then Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa does not make bare or clear some of the intended meanings of some utterances. For instance, he uses ideational metaphor to put certain view of reality by constructing a picture of the reality. In that respect, he says "and the next three years will see the culmination of a process which has been gathering momentum year by year". He tries to visualise the reality to his listeners by personifying the years to be the ones to see the culmination of a process. He did not also make the process clear. The process refers to the struggle for independence. He also personifies the process by saying "which has been gathering momentum year by year". Instead of referring to the people in the struggle, he uses the word "process". He equally uses ellipses to also hide the pronoun 'we' when he says "and will see us reaping the harvest of what we have sown". Instead of saying *we will see ourselves reaping*… He was not also explicit by using metaphor to say "reaping the harvest of what we have sown".What they have sown is the struggle for independence. The harvest that they will reap is independence and the proceeds thereof. Therefore, the Prime

Minister, typical of all politicians, plays with language to drive home his ideology of struggle for independence and the proceeds that will come thereafter.

In Text 1b, President Shehu Shagari uses irony for negative-other-presentation of the military government that punctuated democracy for almost 14 years. He says: "The Second Republic has come after almost 14 years…" The use of "Second Republic" presupposes that there was the First Republic but the military truncated it for almost 14 years. He exposes the consequences of the military rule by saying "in the course of which went through a civil", ironically or impliedly, he means the military did not only pare democratic rule but caused civil war in the country. The first sentence could be referred to as foregrounding which tries to convey the most central or important ideas in the speech, (the military stopped democracy for 14 years and caused civil war in the country) those propositions which should be remembered. The second sentence elaborates on the irony. In fact, the sentence begins with "Today" which may mean present time or this age. This means that now after the military misdemeanour, "our new constitution comes into effect" This means that the military did not have any constitution.Therefore, they were in power unconstitutionally. However, the politicians rule by the constitutions. He tries to describe the constitution by saying "a constitution carefully drawn up by ourselves for ourselves. The repetition "drawn up by ourselves for ourselves is also an irony. The president tries to insult the military by implying that the constitution is written by the civil Nigerians not the military and for the use by the politicians, something that the military cannot attempt doing.

The second sentence, in this case, could be seen as backgrounding because it elaborates the central propositions. To this extent, the second sentence is the background information. The essence is to pass the message implicitly without offending the military to say that the military

put the country in a bad shape for 14 years. Now, the politicians have taken over and they will rule by the new constitution drawn by the civil society not the military. This effort to hide meaning is typical with identity of the politicians. They are not blunt in their expressions as they prefer using doublespeak.

Text 1c demonstrates how President Olusegun Obasanjo tries to blacklist the former government of General Sani Abacha metaphorically by praising that politicians were assassinated by General Abacha. Those who were alleged to have been assassinated during the regime of General Sani Abacha included Alhaja Kudirat Abiola (Wife of the acclaimed winner of the June 12 Presidential election and coordinator of various activities to actualize her husband's mandate); Major General Shehu Yaradua (retired military officer and master political strategist who posed a real threat to Abacha's self-succession bid and was alleged to have been injected with poison); and Pa Alfred Rewane (an elderly, vocal and very respected voice in the opposition), among others.

Therefore, the Nigerians he describes as "great and gallant who lost their lives in the cause of the struggle for liberty, democracy and good government" are those political assassins mentioned above. He praises them as to impliedly insults General Abacha's government. He says, "They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of state terrorism and tyranny". *State* here refers to Nigeria or the then government terrorism and tyranny is describing the act of that government. This means the government was a terrorist and tyrannical one because they assassinated some political arrowheads. It is clear that President Obasanjo tries to bury his criticism against Abacha's government in the speech because of his social structure and identity as a politician and head of the government then.

The encomiums he showers on those political assassins is to discredit and tarnish the image of General Abacha's government. That may not be unconnected with the allegation of his involvement in a coup d'état during the General Abacha's government. In 1995, Abacha's government imprisoned him alongside the political assassins on plotting a coup against the regime. He narrowly escaped a death penalty for treason. He was in jail serving a life sentence when fate dealt a hand in his favour with the sudden death of Abacha on June 8, 1998. It was the General Abdulsalam Abubakar administration, which succeeded Abacha, that released Chief Obasanjo from prison and granted him state pardon. In this regard, it could be said that President Obasanjo uses vague language to insult his predecessor –General Sani Abacha and his cohorts.

Text 1d shows how President Umaru Musa Yar'adu hides the intended meaning in his speech because of his status as a President and identity as a politician. He uses the pronoun 'we' as a show of unlimited power to the opposition who claimed that the Presidential election was rigged to bring him to power. He therefore, challenged the opposition indirectly saying "We acknowledge that our election had some shortcomings" The pronoun "we" and "our" are used as threat to the opposition because it was only his election that was challenged as being rigged but he uses plural pronoun. To also keep the opposition shut, he admits that "our elections had some shortcomings". However, after the admittance it is expected that he would step down and call for free and fair election but he says "thankfully, we have well established legal avenues of redress and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them". This shows that he is not ready to bow down, as the opposition should go to hell. Similarly, he uses singular personal pronoun 'I' to call on the aggrieved party to seek redress through the legal avenues. The use of the personal 'I' signifies that the suggestion is only from him not from his government or his party stalwarts. His call for seeking redress in the court of law might be a deception. At the initial stage, the President made

unclear attempt to set up an Electoral Reform Panel on 28 August, 2007 headed by Justice Mohammad Lawal Uwais (Rtd), former Chief Justice of Nigeria. Other members of the committee include:

- Rtd. Justice Godwin U. Ononiba - Member
- Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi - Member
- Alhaji Musiliu Smith - Member
- Mr Olisa Agbakoba - Member
- Prof Bolaji Akinyemi - Member
- Sheikh Ahmed Lemu - Member
- Prof Attahiru Jega - Member
- Prof Grace Alele Williams - Member
- Chief (Mrs) Toyin Olakunri - Member
- Mr Jibril Ibrahim - Member
- Prof Okon Uya - Member
- Prof Gambo Balaraba Abdullahi - Member
- Mr Ndanusa Alao - Member
- Comrade John E. Odah - Member
- Hajiya Dije Bala - Member
- Retired General Oladapo Popoola - Member
- Barrister Festus Okoye - Member
- Alhaji Aliyu Umar - Member
- Mr Abdurahim Ujo - Member
- Barrister Stephen Dike - Member

The committee had 12 months within which to submit its report to the Federal Government. In his speech during the inauguration, the President surprised Nigerians to have asked the panel to make general and specific recommendations including but not limited to constitutional and legislative provisions and/or amendments to a truly Independent Electoral Commission imbued with administrative and financial autonomy. The expectations of Nigerians then was that the President was going to instruct the panel to review his own election because he earlier admitted that it was full of shortcomings. Even the report of the panel was thrown overboard by the Government.

Likely deceived by the pseudo-determination of the President on observance of the rule of law, the former presidential candidate of the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), Major–General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) filed a case against INEC to the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal. In a unanimous judgment, the tribunal ruled that the election of President Yar'adua was legal and then dismissed the petition of Major-General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd). Similarly, even at the Supreme Court, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari did not win the case.

Text 1e contains elements of hidden meanings of the intents of the speaker. The speaker asserts that "…Nigeria is not just a land of promise; it shall be a nation where positive changes will continue to take place for the good of our people". The first clause does not translate the second clause although semi-colon is used to separate the two clauses. Using semi-colon between two clauses means the second clause interprets the first clause. In this case, however, the second clause does not interpret Nigeria as not just a land of promise. The preceding clause should have said more about Nigeria as more than a land of promise. The second clause, however, sounds like a promise or a campaign promise that it shall be a nation where positive changes will continue to take… This signifies that, Nigeria has been a promise land but the

leadership (which he was part of) did not harness it but he intends to do that now. It also means that there has been bad governance but he does not want to admit so. The speaker, in this case is hiding the inadequacies of his government. This interpretation is further strengthened by the proceeding sentence where he says "the time for lamentation is over". This presupposes that Nigerians were lamenting on his leadership because of his poor performance in the course of completing Yar'adua's tenure for 'Yar'adua died barely two years after his election. President Goodluck Jonathan had to complete the remaining part of the tenure of President Yar'adua.

However, as the new President, Goodluck Jonathan could not plainly come out and wash his dirty linen in public.So he would rather hide the shortcomings of his previous stewardship as the Acting and later the substantive President of Nigeria. He continues by brainwashing the listeners to forget the past. He, therefore, focusses on the present describing the present as "This is the era of transformation". He meant that all anomalies carried out in the past will now be corrected and they will be transformed to fortunes.

Military

Text 1a

> By this I mean that a group of officers, in conjunction with certain civilians, decided to overthrow the legal government of the day; but their efforts were thwarted by the inscrutable discipline and loyalty of the great majority of the Army and the other members of the armed forces and the police. The Army was called upon to take up the reins of government until such time that law and order had been restored (Lt. Col. Gowon Inaugural Speech, 1966).

Text 1b

> After the civil war, the affairs of state, hitherto a collective responsibility became characterized by lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect. Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by these developments. This trend was clearly incompatible with the philosophy and image of a corrective regime. Unknown to the general public, the feeling of disillusionment was also evident among members of the armed forces whose

administration was neglected but who, out of sheer loyalty to the Nation, and in the hope that there would be a change, continued to suffer in silence (Brigadier Murtala Muhammad Inaugural Speech, 1975).

Text 1c

Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as part of this government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. Our dedication to ensuring that our nation remains a united entity, worthy of respect and capable of functioning as a credible and viable part of the international community, dictated the need to arrest the situation. (Major Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Inaugural Speech, 1985).

Text 1d

Many have expressed fears about the apparent return of the military; many have talked about the concern of the international community. However, under the present circumstances the survival of our beloved country is far above any other consideration. Nigeria is the only country we have we must therefore solve our problems ourselves (Gen. Sani Abacha Inaugural Speech, 1993).

In a similar vein, the military Heads of state are found to have used some linguistic elements to hide meaning in their expressions.In extract 1a, Lt Col. Gowon, in his inaugural speech, exhibited such skillful linguistic manipulation. In his speech, he says: "The army was called upon to take up the reign of government." The speaker uses the passive voice to evade mentioning anyone's name as the sponsor of the coup. This is the usual manipulation by the military to claim that they were either invited by some fraction of Nigerians to take over power or they were conditioned by the chaotic situation in the country to take over. Although history has it that in some cases, there were connivance between the military officials and some eminent Nigerians to stage coups in the country, in the case of Gowon's takeover, it was the military who engineered the crises by toppling the first civilian government. The speaker further states the period for which they will stay in power which seems indefinite when he says "until such time that law and order had been restored". This expression is always vague as only God knows when

the crises will be over. It was not long after the speech that the country went into civil war with a section of the country. It was ten years after the speech (in 1975) that a coup was staged and Brigadier –General Murtala Muhammed became the Head of State. It is, therefore, clear that the time to handover was not certain.That might have necessitated the speaker to use a conditional clause. The speaker uses passive voice and vagueness to hide his intent.

Brigadier – General Murtala Ramat Muhammed is not an exception in using linguistic elements in hisinaugural speech. He was tactful in burying the meaning of some expressions based on his status as the Head of State. In text 1b, the speaker claims that "After the civil war, the state of affairs, hitherto a collective responsibility became characterized by lack of consultation, indecision, indiscipline and even neglect…" The speaker uses the state of affairs" metaphorically to represent the agent of the action. The speaker, therefore, is making substitution to ellipse the actor in the sentence. It could also be said that "the affairs of the state" is used as ametonymy to represent the head of state or the toppled government. He later uses adjectives to describe the metonymy as "characterised by lack of consultation, indecision indiscipline and even neglect". The speaker is portraying the bad image and irresponsibility of the previous government. He continues by employing negative-other-presentation technique to further damage the government by claiming that "indeed the public at large is disillusioned and disappointed by the development" meaning the unscrupulous action of the Government. The speaker, therefore, uses metaphor, metonymy and negative other presentation to hide the meaning of what he intends to say.

Similarly, Major General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida,in text 1c,uses substitution to cover the personalities involved in creating uncertainty in the country. He says "Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnationresulted from the perpetration of a small

group…" The speaker avoided the name of those agents who caused the uncertainty, suppression and stagnation. He however, uses small group. The phrase "small group" refers to Major – General Muhammadu Buhari and Major –General Idiagbon whom he earlier mentions in the speech. He uses the adjective of quantity to denigrate the group. He means they are small, immaterial and inconsequential. Yet, they hold the country to ransom.

The speaker later dissociates the military, which he is part of, from the failure caused by the small group. He, therefore, says "the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as part of the government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure." The speaker used negative other presentation in this case to make implicit what he intends to say in the speech. In this regard, the speaker employs adjective of quantity and negative other presentation to hide his intended meaning owing to his social structure and identity as an Army Officer and Head of State.

InText 1d, General Sani Abacha highlights the fears of Nigerians of the return of the military after General Babangida disengaged and handed over to an Interim Government. The circumstance was as a result of pressure from the western part of the country when he annulled the June 12 elections.

It was in that election that Chief M.K.O. Abiola was presumed winner of the June 12, 1993 elections.It was later annulled. He campaigned vigorously for his mandate and was later detained by the military government for over four years. The Interim Government was pressurised by the military to handover to them. Eventually, Chief Ernest Shonekan, as the Head of the Government, had to hand over to General Sani Abacha. This caused uproar within Nigeria and from the international community. It is these ugly political experiences that the speaker refers to when he says: "Many may have experienced fears about the apparent return of the

military…"The speaker in this sense uses presupposition to hide the meaning of the 'fears' he talks about. He avoids details presupposing that the listeners were aware of the things that took place.

In the second clause of the sentence, the speaker says, "Many have talked about the concern of the international community." The concern of the international community was the return of the military after democracy was pervading globe. Nigeria, as the mother of Africa, seems to be the litmus test for democracy in Africa. Therefore, the comeback staging of the military signals continuous dictatorship in Africa because many countries then were returning to democracy. This return to democracy was in line with the principles of the Harare Declaration of 1991, in which all member-states of the Commonwealth pledged to foster democracy, human rights and judicial independence. In fact, it was at their meetings of November 10, 1995 in Auckland, New Zealand,that a special agency was created called Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) and charged with the responsibility of dealing with serious or persistent violation of the principles of the Harare Declaration by assessing the nature of infringement and by recommending measures for collective restoration of democracy and constitutional rule. Being fully aware of the Harare Declaration, General Sani Abacha knew that his government would not be welcomed. He, therefore, says "Many have talked about the concern of the international community". The concern here is the breaching of the Harare Declaration on return to democracy. In fact, the relationship between Nigeria and the Commonwealth got sour after the execution of Saro-Wiwa and eight of his fellow Ogoni activists on November 10, 1995. For this reason, Nigeria was suspended from the Commonwealth Organization for two years.

In the second sentence of the extract, General Sani Abacha shows that the government was ready to damn the consequences of the feelings of Nigerians and the concerns of the

international community. Therefore, he uses "However" which means 'but', 'nevertheless' or "regardless of the fact" or "despite". He continues by saying "under the present circumstances…" The circumstance is vague here because the country then was not in crisis under Chief Ernest Shonekan. The word "circumstance" is also a hyperbole which is a natural exaggeration for the purpose of emphasis. He uses hyperbole to justify his takeover of the government to convince Nigerians. He continues by saying, "the survival of our beloved country is far above any other consideration". This is another hyperbolic expression by the speaker trying to exaggerate the condition of the country. "Any other consideration" is used by the speaker to refer to any argument against his legitimacy of being the head of the government. The speaker in this sense, uses hyperbole to hide meaning, realities and facts.

Table 4.5 below shows hidden meanings in relation to social structure and identities of the speakers in their inaugural speeches. It shows how the leaders use figures of speech and other linguistic manipulation to hide the meaning of expressions in their inaugural speeches.

Table 4.5: Hidden meanings in relation to social structure and identities of the speakers

Civilian text	**Remarks**
Text 1a Text 1b Text 1c Text 1d Text 1e	The civilian Heads of state portray hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speakers engraved in their speeches. They use ideational metaphor, personification, ellipses, pronouns, irony, negative-other-presentation, repetition, proposition, parallelism, backgrounding, double speak, vague statements, hyperbole, deceptive statements, pseudo-determination, false promises, presupposition and skillful linguistic as their rhetorical devices.
Military	**Remarks**

Text 1a Text 1b Text 1c Text 1d	The military Heads of state also portray hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speaker. They use skillful linguistic manipulation, passivisation, conditional clauses, vague statements, metaphor, substitution, negative-other-presentation, adjectives, presupposition, hyperbole, euphemism, pronouns, ellipses, irony, and metonymy as rhetorical devices to hide meaning of certain expression that can cause conflict in the country.

From table 4.5 above, it can be deduced that all the civilian Heads of State portrayed hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speakers. They did this through the use of ideational metaphor, personification, ellipses, pronouns, irony, negative-other-presentation, repetition, proposition, parallelism, backgrounding, doublespeak, vague statements, hyperbole, deceptive statements, pseudo-determination, false promises, presupposition and skillful linguistic manipulation as their rhetorical devices to hide the meanings of some expressions that were capable of causing chaos in the country. Similarly, the military Heads of state also portrayed hidden meanings in their speeches as relate to the social structure and identities of the speaker. They use skillful linguistic manipulation, passivisation, conditional clauses, vague statements, metaphor, substitution, negative-other-presentation, adjectives, presupposition, hyperbole, euphemism, pronouns, ellipses, irony, and metonymy as rhetorical devices to hide the meanings of certain expressions that could cause conflict in the country.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that both the civilian and the military Heads of state employed some linguistic elements to hide the meaning of some implicating expressions based on their social structure and identity in the society. They used metaphor, euphemism, pronouns, ellipsis, vagueness, irony metonymy and hyperbole to hide meaning of certain expressions capable of causing conflict in Nigeria.

4.6 Findings/Discussion

1. The structural layout of the inaugural speeches of the Civilian and Military Heads of State has the following format:

   a. Introductions: They are full of gratitude using words denoting honour and elation. It also contains gratitude to God and the citizens of Nigeria.

   b.Bodies:

   i. The bodies are made up of paragraphs which are narrative, expository, persuasive and promissory.
   ii. The sentences used in the speeches are compound, complex and compound-complex sentences.
   iii. Tone: the tones that the civilian Heads of State use are happy, hopeful, humorous, complimentary, zealous and passionate.

   The military Heads of States' inaugural speeches have the following structural layout:

   a. Introductions: They are nerve racking and contains emotionally touching words and expressions.

   b. Bodies:

   i. The paragraphs are narrative, descriptive, expository, persuasive and coercive.
   ii. The sentences include compound, complex and compound-complex sentences
   iii. The tone in the speeches are accusatory, abhorrence and gimmickry tones.

2a. From the analysis of the data, one can establish that the inaugural speeches convey feelings/emotions of the speaker.Out of the six (6) types of emotions expressed through language, four (4) that have been identified in the inaugural speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State are: basic emotion, relational emotion, caused emotion and causative and emotion. The remaining emotions that were not found in the discursive practices of the speakers were emotional goals and complex emotion.

b. The civilian Presidents were found to express basic emotion which is a demonstration of happiness and elation using language of contentment as expressed in the inaugural speeches of the Prime-Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, and President Olusegun Obasanjo. They used expressions like "I am proud", "I am proud and humble", "I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President". "My Dear Compatriots I stand in humble gratitude to you", etc.

c. Negative relational emotion expressions were found more in the speeches of the military Heads of state. As earlier explained, relational emotions are emotions expressed by someone as a result of being triggered by someone or something. The military Heads of state were found in their speeches to be dissatisfied or were disenchanted with the previous government, be it military or civilian. They expressed the negative relational emotion by describing their predecessors using negative lexical items such as *incapable*, *inept*, *corrupt*, *insensitive*, *selfish*, *unreasonable*, *stupid* etc whose behaviour plunged the country into unprecedented ugly situation. The expressions of relational emotions by the military were found to be manipulative strategy for justification of their take over from either their military counterparts or civilian government.

d. Positive caused emotion expression was also discovered in the inaugural speeches of the civilian Heads of State. The Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari used positive caused emotional expressions in their speech to express their happiness over the Nigerians efforts towards achieving independence. We also them express their gratitudes to the General Murtala/Obasanjo government for fulfilling their promise of handing over the mantle of leadership to civilian government.

e. On the other hand, the military used negative caused emotional expressions to express their disgust over the ill-performance or inaction of the legislators and the Heads of parastatals and the previous governments. General Murtala Muhammed for instance, indicated in his speech that the government could not fulfill its promise when he says: "… the government has not been able to fulfil the legitimate expectation of our people." Similarly, General Muhammadu Buhari accuses the legislators where he says, "…the legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefits and unnecessary foreign travels etc. which took no account of the state of the economy and welfare of the people…"

3. Ideological beliefs were identified through the use of ideological terms and expressions. Expressions of ideology of nation building and fight against corruption were found in both the inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State. However, expressions signifying ideology in diversity were found in the inaugural speeches of the civilian while ideology of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation expressions were found more in the inaugural speeches of the military Heads of State.

4. Forms of power relations established from both the speeches of the civilian and military Heads of State were:

a. Self-presentation as expressed in expressions like “I have been brought to the position of having to shoulder the great responsibilities of this country”, “and my subsequent appointment as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief”, “I have formally assumed office as your first Executive President”.

b. Three forms of persuasive expressions were identified in both speeches; persuasion through personality and stance, persuasion through reasoning and persuasion through arousal of emotion.

c. Implicit and explicit threat expressions were identified in the speeches. However, the military uses explicit or direct expression for instance, “We therefore, consider any foreign interference in any form, will be regarded (SIC)as an act of aggression”, “this Government will not tolerate indiscipline” etc. The civilian on the other hand, uses inexplicit or indirect threat. For instance, the expression, “on account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of thirty-three million law-abiding people of Nigeria.”

d. Appeal was also identified as a power relation expressed in the speeches. The speakers use expression as “I appeal to you”, “I appeal to all Nigerians”, I am going to ask you to make sacrifices”.

e. Insult/abuse was also found in the inaugural speech of the speakers. However, it is more prominent in the speech of the military Heads of State. Abusive words such as incapable, inept, corrupt, insensitive, selfish, unreasonable, stupid etc.

5. a. The civilian Heads of State portray hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speakers engraved in their speeches. They use ideational metaphor,

personification, ellipses, pronouns, irony, negative-other-presentation, repetition, proposition, parallelism, backgrounding, double speak, vague statements, hyperbole, deceptive statements, pseudo-determination, false promises, presupposition and skillful linguistic as their rhetorical devices.

b. The military Heads of State also portray hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speaker. They use skillful linguistic manipulation, passivisation, conditional clauses, vague statements, metaphor, substitution, negative-other-presentation, adjectives, presupposition, hyperbole, euphemism, pronouns, ellipses, irony, and metonymy as rhetorical devices to hide meaning of certain expression that can cause conflict in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The thrust of the research is to do a Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Inaugural Speeches of both the Military and Civilian Heads of State in Nigeria. Specifically, the study compared and contrasted two chunk of speeches. The sole objectives of the study were to find out how the speeches convey the feeling/emotion of the Military and the Civilian Heads of State; gauge the ideological inklings of the speakers, establish how power relations are manifested in the speeches, and discuss how hidden meanings relate to the social structure of the speakers and determine the pattern of the talks.

The study covered background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, theoretical framework, definition of terms and scope and delimitation of the study. We did a review of previous studies to establish and fill in the lacuna that existed between those researches and the present one. It was established that the previous researches did not make any attempt to compare and contrast the inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State in Nigeria. The conceptual review covered language and politics, presidential inaugural speech, politics and military discourse, language and emotionalisation in politics, ideology in political discourse, power relations in political discourse and language and identity.

The sample for the research were inaugural speeches of five (5) executive presidents and six (6) military Heads of State.In the analysis of the inaugural speeches, three approaches to the study of text in Critical Discourse Analysis were adapted; van Dijk (1993) interdisciplinary and

eclectic approach, Wodak (2001) eclecticism approach, Fairclough (1989) text and talk analysisapproach.

The study reviewed literature related to political discourse, especially works done on speeches to establish the gap between the previous researches and the present one. It was found out, after the reviewthat no solid research was carried out on comparative analysis between inaugural speeches of the military and executive presidents of Nigeria. Areas relating to emotional expression, ideology, power and the rest have been left.In terms of emotions, it was found out that civilian Heads of State express Positive Basic Emotions in their inaugural speeches through the use of parallelism, inclusive pronouns, metaphor, adverbs, persuasive words and expression, repetition, in-group identity and politeness strategies as rhetorical devices to express happiness in the victory of their election as Heads of State. They were also found to exhibit Positive Caused Emotions in their speeches by using persuasive strategy, irony, metaphor, hyperbole and personification to appeal to the psyche of the audience. In similar vein, the military Heads of State use Negative Emotional Relation in their speeches. They use this Emotional Relations expressions to express sadness, dejection, and sorrow feeling towards some incidents that happened in the country to influence the feelings of their audience. They were also found to display Causative and Emotions expression to advance reasons for their takeover of the government through the use of some manipulative strategies like anecdotes, passive voice, avoidance strategy, plural deictic, rhetorical strategies and metaphor to apportion blames on their predecessors.

The research also concludes that civilian Heads of state use rhetorical devices such as; quotes, repetition, persuasive devices, personification, anecdotes, pronouns, lexical cohesion and ingroup identity markers to emphasise their ideological belief of unity in diversity. Similarly,

they make use of rhetorical devices like personification, passive voice, idioms, universal indefinite pronouns, clausal ellipses, collective personal pronoun plural and linguistic repertoire to express their ideological belief of fight against corruption in their inaugural speeches. The civilian presidents also employ graphology, retrospective, persuasive, metonymy, inclusive pronoun, adjectives and personification as their rhetorical devices to unveil their ideological belief of nation building.

Similarly, it was discovered that the military Heads of State employ metonymy, adjectives, imagery and inclusive pronoun as their rhetorical devices to express their ideological belief of nation building. They also use passive voice, all-inclusive strategy, face-saving act, substitution, band wagon's strategy, personification, lexicon of conflict and drama, lexicon of ridicule and reproach, lexicon of pleading and persuasion, colour and bite, euphemism, personalisation and exclusion strategy, synonym, negative lexicon, metaphor and impoliteness to express their ideological belief of negative-other-presentation.

The Civilian Presidents express positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches through the use of self-glorification, hyperbole, presupposition, all-encompassing statements and anecdotes as their rhetorical devices in persuading their audience. They were also found to display persuasion through personality and stance in their inaugural speeches to persuade their audience by the use of personal pronouns, all-inclusive pronoun, indefinite pronoun, and arousal of emotion as rhetorical devices. It was also revealed that the presidents exhibit element of threat as power relation in their inaugural speeches relation. They use idiom and indefinite pronouns as rhetorical devices expressing their threats. In a similar way, the civilian presidents also display appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches by the

application of rhetorical devices such as anecdote, passive voice, vague words, pronouns and adjective to appeal to their audience.

Similarly, the military Heads of State express positive self-presentation as power relation in their speeches. They use passivation, persuasion, ellipses, hyperbole, manipulation, personal pronouns, dangling modifier, and negative-other-presentation as their rhetorical devices. They also express power relation manifested in their inaugural speeches through persuasion, personality and stance through the use of anecdote technique, pronouns, repetition, and persuasive language as rhetorical devices in persuading their audience. The study also found that military Heads of state express threat as power relation in their inaugural speeches. They use pronouns, solidarity phrase, idiom, parallelism, all-inclusive pronouns, honourific pronouns, paired element, passive voice, clausal ellipses, foregrounding as their rhetorical devices. They were also found to portray appeal as power relation in their inaugural speeches through the use of pronoun, clausal substitution, cohesion, as rhetorical devices.

The study also revealed that the civilian presidents portray hidden meanings as related to the social structure and identities of the speakers engraved in their speeches. They do this through the use of ideational metaphor, personification, ellipses, pronouns, irony, negative-other-presentation, repetition, proposition, parallelism, backgrounding, double speak, vague statements, hyperbole, deceptive statements, pseudo-determination, false promises, presupposition and skillful linguistic as their rhetorical devices to hide the meanings of some expressions that are capable of causing chaos in the country. Similarly, the military Heads of state also portray hidden meanings in their speeches as relate to the social structure and identities of the speaker through the use of skillful linguistic manipulation, passive voice, conditional clauses, vague statements, metaphor, substitution, negative-other-presentation, adjectives,

presupposition, hyperbole, euphemism, pronouns, ellipses, irony, and metonymy as rhetorical devices to hide the meaning of certain expressions that can cause conflict in the country.

5.2Conclusion

The research reveals the distinctions that exist between the inaugural speeches of the civilian leadership and those of the military Heads of State in Nigeria. They employ various linguistic strategies to drive home their purpose and intent in the speech. Emotion is one of the strategies that is conveyed through careful selection of the language of emotion to convey messages artistically. However, the Civilian and military convey different emotion using different linguistic strategies. Similarly, power is demonstrated by the leaders using power relations in language. The identity of the Heads of State becomes conspicuous in their speeches. This is influenced by their background and chosen professions of the leaders. The pattern of the inaugural speeches differs in various respect between the civilian and the military Heads of State.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Studies

The study focused primarily on doing a Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the Inaugural Speeches of the Military and Executive Presidents of Nigeria. The comparative analysis hinge on the type of emotional expressions of the two subjects, the ideological leanings of the groups, manifestation of power in the speeches, how hidden meanings relate to the social structure and identity of the groups and the structural pattern of the speeches of the groups. Only

written text of the speeches was used as the data of the research. Further researches can be conducted on:

1. Application and implications of emotions in the Inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State in Nigeria.
2. Critical Discourse Analysis of the Palocutionary act in the inaugural speeches of the Nigeria Heads of State based on the reaction of the audience.
3. Pragmatic Analysis of language use in the hidden persuasion in inaugural speeches of Nigeria's Heads of State.A Pragmatic Analysis of politeness strategies in the inaugural speeches of Nigeria's Heads of State.
4. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of speech variationsin the inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State in Nigeria.

5.4 Contributions of the Research to Knowledge

1. The research has explored application and implication of emotion in political discourse. Through the analysis, it has developed emotional analytical model adapted from Johnson-Liard and Oatley (1989) of semantic analysis of emotional expressions. It divided semantic expressions of emotion into positive and negative.
2. The study has infused Nigerian history into the study of inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State. This means it has brought history to interpret the speeches of the Nigerian Heads of State.
3. The study discoveredthe linguistic manipulative strategies of the civilian and military Heads of State of Nigeria in their inaugural speeches.

4. It discovered how background of the leaders and the antecedents that brought them to power influenced their speeches.
5. It also discovered how the speeches exposed the ideological inklings of the leaders.
6. It discovered the marked difference in the structural pattern of the inaugural speeches of the military and civilian Heads of State based the protocol, paragraphs, sentence-types and tone.

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