POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

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ABSTRACT: *Political speeches are many just as political forums and events are. This Paper Critically analyses the inaugural Speech of President Muhammadu Buhari which was delivered shortly after his swearing into office on the 29th May, 2015. In carrying out the analysis, Norman Furlough's three dimensional Analytical Models was adapted. Following the model, the speech was subjected to description (text analysis), interpretation (processing/ analysis) and explanation (social practice and analysis). The result of the analysis showed that an inaugural speech is a revelation of plans and hopes in the new government. The speech analyzed particularly revealed the ideologies/ plans on which the new government headed by President Muhammadu Buhari intends to operate. The most important ones include good governance, strengthening international relations, foreign Policies and democracy, fight insecurity, corruption, and improve power supply and the nation's economy.*

KEYWORDS: **Discourse, critical discourse analysis, Speech, and political speech**

Introduction

Politics pertains to the process of struggling for power According to Bayram, (2010). It is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. It is 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. Chimbarange, Takavarasha, and Kombe (2014), are of the view that the main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. The ensuing political influence flows from the employment of resources that shape the beliefs and behavior of others. The above implies that politicians make efforts to convince the electorates to discard their political ideologies and hold on to theirs.

Political speech could be defined as a speech associated with either struggle for power or maintenance/control of it. It is diverse because it encompasses the different forms of speeches that the politicians deliver at political forums. One of the popular political speeches is presidential inaugural speech. It is a speech that is often presented shortly after swearing in or taking oath of office by newly elected president. The aim is not to seek for the electorates' votes but to appreciate and inform them of the direction of the new government (its plans). In such speech the president persuades not for vote but to make the electorate to build hope in the administration ushered in. Language in this context can be seen as an embodiment of ideologies than an instrument of

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persuasion; a tool for controlling powers rather than a tool for acquiring powers. Thus, this paper aims to perform critical discourse analysis of President Muhammad Buhari's inaugural speech to uncover the ideologies underlying the speech and unveil his plans and strategies of sustaining power.

Objectives of the Study

This study aims to carry out Critical Discourse Analysis of President Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speech. Since approaches and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis are diverse, Fairclough's three- dimensional model has been adopted show the relationship between language, power and ideology. The study tries to realize the following objectives:

(i)   To identify and discuss the prevalent or crucial micro structures(linguistic feature) of the speech
(ii)   To identify the macro structures, that is, the underlying political ideological structures in the speech and explain how they relate to social structures.

Research questions

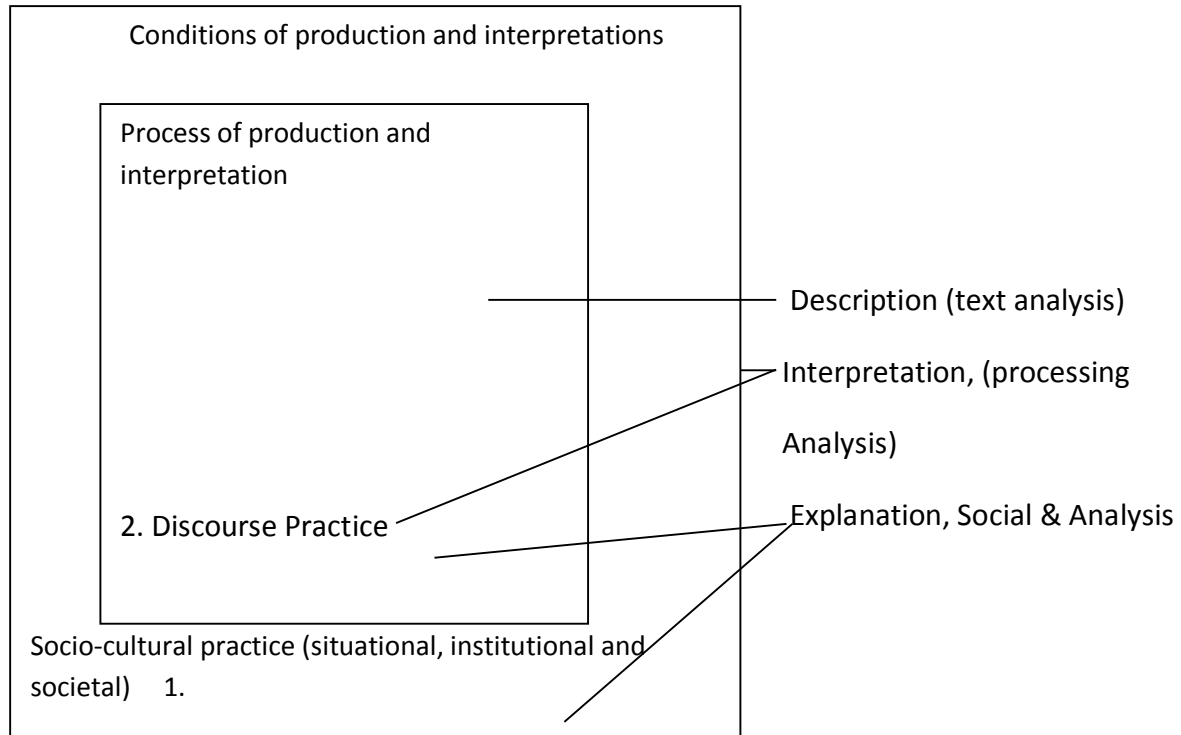What are the prevalent micro structures of the speech?
What are the macro structures of the speech and do they relate to the socio-cultural and political issues the society.

Model of Analysis

Fairclough's Model and Analytical Framework has been employed for this study. Rodgers et al. (2005) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012) believe that Fairclough's analytic framework includes three levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practice, and the socio-cultural practice.. In other words, each of these discursive events has three proportions: (i) It is a spoken or written text, (ii) it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of texts, and (iii) it is a part of social practice. The analysis of the text consists of the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event-an analysis of the discursive reproduction of the texts. Finally, the analysis of socio-cultural practice consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework.

Fairclough's second dimension, based on Rodgers et al discursive practice, as mentioned previously, involves the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption. This dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. The third dimension, socio-cultural practice, is concerned with issues of power. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society" and the result of the combination of second and third dimension is text that is the first one here. In fact, CDA for Fairclough is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use: that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. He bases this idea on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL). According to Fairclough (1995), through the notion of multi-functionality of language in texts, he operationalizes the theoretical assumption that texts and discourses are socially constitutive: "Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs".

Fairclough's model is digramatically represented by Lock 2004 cited in Mirzaee and Hamidi(2012) as below.

Conditions of production and interpretations

Process of production and interpretation

Description (text analysis)

Interpretation, (processing Analysis)

2. Discourse Practice

Explanation, Social & Analysis

Socio-cultural practice (situational, institutional and societal)   1.

Conceptual Clarifications
This section of the study sheds light on concepts underpinning the study in order to give the readers' the background knowledge of the subject under investigation. The concepts looked at include:

(i)   Discourse and Discourse Analysis.
The terms Discourse and discourse analysis are among linguistic concepts that are often used indiscriminately without any clear- cut definitions. According to Titscher et al (2000) in Bayram (2010), discourse is a broad term with various definitions which "integrates a whole palette of meanings" covering a large area from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. Bayram also points out that Fairclough (1989) refers to the term discourse as "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part. As pervasive ways of experiencing the world, discourses refer to expressing oneself using words. Discourses can be used for asserting power and knowledge, and for resistance and critique. The speaker expresses his/her ideological content in texts as does the linguistic form of the text. That is, selection or choice of a linguistic form may not be a live process for the individual speaker, but the discourse will be a reproduction of that previously learned discourse. Texts are selected and organized syntactic forms whose "content-structure" reflect the ideological organization of a particular area of social life (Dellinger, 1995 in Bayram 2012).

Discourse as a linguistic term literally refers to a formal talk, a piece of writing or discussion. In other words, a discourse could be in the spoken or written form. It is also sometimes considered as language put to use, which is synonymous with text. Cook (1992) describes discourse as language use in communication and the search for what gives discourse coherence is discourse analysis. Cook further explains that discourse analysis examines how stretches of language, considered in their full textual, social, and psychological contexts becomes meaningful and unified for their users. Also, Rymes (2008) cited in Mirzaee &Hamidi(2012) believes that, discourse is defined generally as "language-in-use." And discourse analysis, is the study of how language-in-use is influenced by the context of its use. In the classroom, context can range from the talk within a lesson, to students and teachers' talk. Based on him, Discourse analysis in the classroom becomes critical classroom discourse analysis when classroom researchers take the effects of such variable contexts into account in their analysis. Brown and Yule (1983) opine that the term 'discourse analysis' has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities. It is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and computational linguistics. Scholars working centrally in these different disciplines tend to concentrate on different aspects of discourse. Brown and Yule (1983) further state that the analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of the linguistic forms independent of the purpose or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. While some linguists may concentrate on determining the formal properties of language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for. This assertion implies that this course analysis looks and the patterns or structures of language as well as the communicative functions accompanying them In line with this,

(ii)   Political Discourse
Political discourse is an umbrella term for various political talks made at different political forums such as political campaign rallies, party manifestoes, inaugural speeches, bills among others. Schaffer sees (1996), political discourse, as a sub-category of discourse in general, which can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic. Political discourse is a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined. It fulfills different functions due to different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations.

Teun A. van Dijk (ND) in his paper entiled''Political Discourse'' opines that the easiest, and not altogether misguided, answer is that political discourse is identified by its *actors* or *authors, viz., politicians.* Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels. Van Dijk considers defining political discourse its actors and authors as misguided because politicians are not the only actors in political domains. That from the interactional point of view of discourse analysis, we should also include the various *recipients* in political communicative events, such as the public, the people, citizens, the masses', and other groups or categories. That

is, once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage

(iii)   Critical discourse Analysis

The basis for critical discourse had its root from critical linguistics and theories. According to Rahimi & Riasati(2011), the discipline has attracted many scholars since the 1980s significantly with the works of the British sociolinguist Norman Fariclough. Fairclough (1995) refers to CDA as 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 processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations 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.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a new dimension of discourse analysis developed simultaneously with other critical studies in the social sciences. Van Dijk (1998a) cited in Sheyholislami (ND) sees Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Breeze (2011) opines that Critical Discourse Analysis has now firmly established itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences, to the extent that the abbreviation "CDA" is widely used to denote a recognizable approach to language study manifested across a range of different groups. What differentiates CDA from other forms of discourse analysis is its critical nature. Critical implies going beyond analysis of the formal discourse features to show connections and causes underlying a discourse. On the emergence of CDA, Weiss and Wodak (2003) state that the emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis has occurred at a time that coincides with the growth of other critical paradigms/theories/disciplines in the social sciences, such as 'critical psychology', 'critical social policy' and 'critical anthropology'. They further point out that Critical Discourse Analysis initially had alternative labels such as 'critical language awareness' 'critical language studies or 'critical linguistics' which came to be used interchangeably with critical discourse analysis. Wodak and Meyer (1996) for example, are of the view that the terms 'Critical Linguistics' (CL) and 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA) are often used interchangeably but in recent times it seems that the term CDA is preferred and is used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL

(Wodak and Meyer 2003) also point out that a defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major premise. Not only the notion of struggles for power and control, but also the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses are closely attended to. These scholars also maintain that CDA takes an interest in 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

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the genre of a text. It is often exactly within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged.

CDA is either looked as a method or approach to discourse analysis. Fairclough (1993) for instance defines CDA as an approach to discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practice, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations 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

In critical discourse analysis, language is central to the processes. Furlough and Wodak (1997) see 'language as social practice'.and the 'context of language use' as crucial. It means that the socio-cultural environment in which a text is produced and consumed form aspects of CDA. One of the often cited definitions of CDA below is quoted by Wodak and Meyer (2008) from Fairclough and Wodak (1997).

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.(Fairclough and Wodak, 1997)

Out of the foregoing definitions, this study adopts Fairclough's view CDA is an approach to dis course analysis. His three- dimensional approach as illustrated by Lock (2004) in Mirzaee and Hamidi(2012) used as analytical framework.

Data Analysis
The 28 paragraphs speech was subjected to analysis using qualitative approach. The analysis was guided by Furlough's three dimensional models -description, interpretation and explanation described in the previous section. The analysis was done according to the structure and content of the speech.

Appreciations
The first three paragraphs of the speech consist of appreciations. This marked a deviation from the norm of speech delivery at great occasions because protocol use to precede appreciation. The president thanked God for preserving Nigerians to witness the inaugural ceremony which marked a triumph for Nigerians and providing occasion to celebrate and cherish her democracy. As part of the opening speech, the president recalled the voiced fear that the country will disintegrate due to the harsh wind of politics blowing during the electioneering campaign processes. The campaigns

were marred with linguistic and physical violence which threatened national unity and coexistence of the country. The president remarks; ''our journey has not been easy, but thanks to the determination of our people and strong support from friends abroad we have today a truly democratically elected government in place.''.

 The president acknowledged and thanked his predecessor for the rare statesmanship conduct he displayed. It could be recalled that his predecessor congratulated him even before he was declared by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the winner of the election. The act evacuated the political tension at that time and resulted to smooth transition. The president also thanked his party supporters for their resolution to vote for them and endurances of all kinds which translated to victory. Finally, he thanked all Nigerians who did not vote the winning party (APC) but contributed in making in making Nigerian democratic culture competitive, strong and definitive.

Declaration of intentions
Following appreciations in the opening speech, the president declared his intention to serve as the president of all Nigerians. He declares "having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as president to all Nigerians. I belong to everybody and belong to nobody.'' The president in his acceptance speech promised to serve as the president of all the people of Nigeria. The declaration to serve as the president of all Nigerians has some diachronic connotations could be only be brought to light through historical allusions. The president probably wants to ward off voiced fear about his coming back to power by many Nigerians. It could be recalled that there have been some odds against him in the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 contests. In 2003 for example, he was accused of ethno- religious sentiment. At a political campaign rally in 2003, he made a statement that everybody should vote his own. It was interpreted by many Nigerians as Muslims should for Muslims or Hausa/Fulani should vote for Hausa/Fulani. Many Nigerian Christians still voiced fear that on coming back to power, he would promote Islam and the interest of the Hausa/ Fulani of the north. There are also fears voiced by the rich and top government officials based on lessons drawn from his administration as the military head of state between 1983 and 1985. It could be recalled that many of the top government officials were detained in kirkir prisons and probed for corruption and embezzlement of funds. Many people voiced fear that on coming back to power, the president may do the same thing again. Reacting in his speech to the voiced fears, the president says 'a few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to office, I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying of old scores. The past is prologue.''.

The synchronic connotations could be associated with god-father syndrome in Nigerian politics. In Nigeria, some individuals, groups and associations use to sponsor candidates in order to partake in and control the government if their candidate wins. Probably, the president is assuring the nation that such has no place in his administration.

International relations and foreign policies
It is common that a new government explains plans pertaining to international relations and foreign policies in inaugural speech. Paragraphs 8-10 express the readiness of Nigeria to cooperate with

her neighbours, African and the wider communities in combating national and international problems. The president assumed power at a time that the country is facing some serious political, economic and insecurity challenges Some of the challenges that Nigeria, her neigbours and the wider communities face include threats of cross border terrorism, sea piracy, refuges and boat people, financial crime, climate change, the spread of communicable diseases, among others. Other home challenges highlighted include unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages.

The president optimistically assured Nigerians that his administration will handle the problems head on. He says;''. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibilities to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. We can fix our problems'' The president used the personal pronouns'' us and we'' in the above commissive acts to embrace collective responsibility. The pronoun us refers to the president and his party members as a team. On the other hand, the personal pronoun we could refer to the president and his party members or the entire citizens of Nigeria.

Unveiling plans and ideologies

It is common for a new government to highlight the tasks ahead and plans of tackling them. Paragraphs 13-16 show how the president intends to captain the new government. The pronoun we, which often echoes to our runs through these paragraphs. It depicts the fact that the president believes in unity of purpose and collective responsibilities. Back to home problems, the president says;"daunting as the task may be, it is by no means insurmountable." In order to face the great task ahead, the president declared some new measures chosen by the new administration thus; ''there is now a national consensus that our route to national development is democracy. To achieve our objectives, we must consciously work the democratic system'' He unveils plans to strengthen democracy by ensuring true separation of power and supervision at the top The past administration severally has be accused of encroaching on the duties of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government. The new administration pledges to put things in right by granting the legislative and judicial arms of government maximum autonomy." He declared; ''the Federal Executive under my watch **will not** seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the legislative and judicial arms of government''. The phrase " will not'' means that complete freedom to law and decision making will be enjoyed by the two arms of government under the new administration. As part of the new measures to reform democracy, the president recognizes the power of all the three tiers of government but within the limit of the constitution. The administration pledged to fight corruption to ensure there are a responsible and accountable government at all levels.

Else where relations between Abuja and the state have to be clarified if we are to serve the country better. Constitutionally, there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the state and local governmemt.Not least the operations of the local government joint account. While the Federal Government cannot interfere in the details of its operations, it will ensure that the gross corruption at the local level is checked. As far as the constitution allows **me**, **I** will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable government at all levels of government in the country. For **I** will not have kept *my* own trust with the Nigerian people if **I** allow others abuse theirs under **my** watch.(paragraph 15)

Appeal for unity

Another digression is made after the president unveils tasks ahead and plans of handling them. He 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. Inherited by the new administration include depleted foreign reserves, failed oil price and leakages. He lamented that the nation's economy is in deep trouble which requires careful plans to tackle it. Other inherited challenges include Boko Haram insurgency in the north east.. He highlighted the history of the sect in Nigeria as a very small group but has grown and spread to other west African countries such as Cameroon, Niger and Chad As one of the measures taken to subdue the sect, the president declared that the Armed Forces would be fully charged prosecuting the fight against Boko Haram. The president assured Nigerians of the determination of his administration to tackle Boko Haram insurgency. Again he uses the personal pronoun we to promote unity of purpose and collective responsibility. He says; ''we shall overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violation in operation. We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms

Other aspects of insecurity that the president plans to handle include kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmers clashes, cattle rustlings, all according to the president add to the general air of insecurity in our land. The president assured the nation that his administration will transform the armed forces. He says; ''we are going to erect and maintain an efficient disciplined people – friendly, and well –compensated security forces within an over-all security architecture.''

The president drew the attention of the people to the ongoing amnesty programme in the Niger Delta which will end in December. He emphasized that the government will invest heavily in the projects and programs correctly in place and appealed to the leadership and people in the area to cooperate with the Federal Government. Using the first person pronoun 'I', the president took it a personal responsibility to call on the leadership and the people in these areas to cooperate with the state and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programmes which be streamlined and made more effective. He finally expressed his readiness to listen to the grievances of his fellow Nigerians and willingness to extend a hand of fellowship to them.

From appeal for unity, the president again picked up home challenges not ment ioned previously-power situation and unemployment. He attributed the nation's poor performance over the years to grossly inadequate power supply. He lamented ''no single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian's poor economic performance over the years than the power situation. It is a national shame that an economy of 180 million generates only 4,000 MW, and distributes less……''
On unemployment, the president stated that it is already in their party's manifesto. Through the use of the personal pronoun we, presents youth unemployment problem and the tackling of it as collective responsibility of his party than personal. He asserts:

We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of Agriculture, solid mineral mining as well as credits to small and medium size business to kick – start these enterprises. We shall quickly examine the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure.
    (paragraph 24)

Ending

The president ended his speech by resorting to protocol which was skipped in the opening of the speech. He acknowledged the presence of the Excellencies present as well as fellow Nigerians at the gathering. He says,'Your excellencies, my fellow Nigerians I cannot recall when Nigeria enjoyed so much goodwill abroad as now. The messages I received from East and West, from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectations on us… The speech terminates with a quotation from Shakespear's *Julius Ceasar* '' There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life, is bound in shallows and miseries.'' The quotation is a message of hope out of the complex predicaments if Nigerians will stand up to face the challenges. The president crowned the message of hope with call to collectively rebuilt new Nigeria.'' We have the opportunity, let us take it''. The pronoun ''We which echoed to us'' re-emphasizes the presidents believe in democracy and collective responsibility. The pronoun **we** and **us** in this context implies all inclusive which is the summary of the meaning of democracy ''government of the people by the people and for the people''.

Ideological Analysis

Two major ideologies underlying the speech have been identified. The first is historical allusion meant to draw the attention of the people to Good Governance as a legacy left by the founding fathers of Nigerian democracy and the traditional leaders of the ancient empires and Kingdoms**.** The president is optimistic that as heirs, we have the potential to do the same. Secondly, personal pronouns were used to make reference to personal or collective responsibilities in the running of the new government.

Historical Allusions

The president through the use of historical allusion drew the attention of the nation to the standard of governance established by the founding fathers of the nation through two historical allusions. In the first allusion, the president drew the attention of the people to the unity of purpose among the founding fathers of the nation which established a viable and progressive country. He expresses his disposition on the failure of the present leaders to build on the good legacy and likened them to spoilt children who break everything and bring disorder to a house.

In recent times,Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr Herbert Maculey,Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe,Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello,the Sardauna of Sokoto,Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Malam Aminu Kano,Chief J.S Tarka,Mr Iyo Ita, Chief Dennis Osadeby, chief Ladoke Akintola and their colleagues worked to establish certain standards of governance. The might have sdiffered in their methods or tactics or details,but they were united in establishing a viable progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house (paragraph 11)

The allusion to standards of governance is a reminder to the people that the founding fathers irrespective of religion, ethnicity or region were united in building a viable and progressive country. The second allusion was made to the great civilizations of which Nigerians are heirs. There were kingdoms and empires in Nigeria that served as models of good governance even for the colonial masters. Allusion to them is meant to remind Nigerians that good legacies have been left by ancestors to emulate. He says, ''the blood of these great Ancestors flow in our veins'' The president is optimistic that Nigerians will find solution to their political, economic, social, ethnic and cultural differences by drawing lessons from the past.

Furthermore, we as Nigerians must remind ourselves that we are hairs to great civilizations:Shehu Othman Dan Fodio's Caliphate, The Kanem Borno Empire, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire and King Jaja's formidable domain.The blood of those great ancestors flow in our vains.What is now required is to build on these legacies to modernize and uplift Nigeria(paragraph 12)

Use of Pronouns
There are some ideological uses made of the personal pronouns in the texts.The essence of using a pronoun in an utterance or writing is to substitute a noun in order to avoid monotony and boredom when it is repeated. Wales (1996 in Chimbarange et al 2013) refer to a personal pronoun as a substitution of a noun. Pronouns can be used to refer back to something thereby avoiding repetition. In political speeches, personal pronouns are often used as a form of address, either to refer to an audience or to the speaker.

The use of pronouns in political discourse goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar to self-emphasis, self-responsibility, inclusiveness, solidarity and unity of purpose among others. Irimiea (2010) cited in Al-Fakai (2014) is of the view that the pronouns that political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. They can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency. Politicians who give speeches usually do it as representatives of political groups such as political parties, governments or nations, rather than as individuals. What they are allowed to say and how is often very limited, because one of the main goals of giving a political speech is to enhance the credibility of the politician in question.

The analysis carried out the inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari on the 29th May,2015 exhibits pervasive use of personal pronouns. The pronouns I, We, Us and our are used pervasively in the speech than others. I used to express personal feelings, personal responsibility or self reference. "We' is used to create shared sense of responsibility and group cohesion. It means that the speaker and the audience belong to the same team, have the same mission/ objectives, or show solidarity

 I would like to thank president Good luck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for **us** that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are. With the support and cooperative he has given to the transition process, he has made it possible for **us** to show the world that despite the perceived tension in the land, **we** can be a united people capable of doing what is right for **our** nation. Together **we** co-operated to surprise the world that had come to expect only the worst from Nigeria. **I** hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the outgoing president will become the standard of political conduct in the country(paragraph 3)..

In the excerpt above, the president used the personal pronoun" I'' to express his personal feelings over president Good Luck Jonathan's displayed statesmanship. However, the it echoed to "us and our '' entailing that the precedent set is for all Nigerians of the president is inclusive. We which is in the subjective case is also used to show inclusive, solidarity and togetherness.

At home **we** face enormous challenges: Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. **We** are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to **us**. **We** must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. **We** can fix our problems(paragraph10)

We as could be seen from the above excerpt is used to demonstrate collectivism, unity of purpose and to justify the trust of Nigerians' who elected them. The parallel structures introduced by we in the above excerpt prompt feelings of strong hope in the new government. We are--,we must, and we can –are all affirmative and assertive. .We in the above context has little referential meaning but unity of purpose and collectivism which are attributes of democratic government underlay its use.

CONCLUSION

The study has revealed that the content of the inaugural consists of appreciations, exposition of ideological plans as to the direction of the new government and subtle criticism of the past government. An inaugural speech differs from campaign speeches or parliamentary debates because it is informative rather than persuasive. The opening of the speech subjected to analysis contains appreciation of the electorates by the president. After appreciation, he unveiled the ideologies and plans on which the administration would run and spelled out the direction of the new government. It could also be concluded that inaugural speech reflects the party's manifestoes and promises made during electioneering campaigning processes. Revealed in the analysis are the determination of the new government to strengthen foreign relations and policies, strengthen democracy, fight corruption and insecurity, and improve the power sector and economic sector of the country.

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