‘I BELONG TO EVERYBODY AND I BELONG TO NOBODY’: A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BUHARI’S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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Abstract

This paper examines President Buhari’s inaugural address of May 29, 2015. It aims to elucidate the meanings encoded in the inaugural speech and the functions they perform in an actual context of use. It uses the quote, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ as the anchor for a socio-pragmatic analysis of the speech. The paper attempts to elicit how President Buhari uses language to project his determination and commitment to transform the Nigerian polity. Using the speech act theory, context, politeness principle of face and relevant sociolinguistic factors, this paper also provides an insight into the main intention in the inaugural speech. The speaker uses contrasting situations and collective strategy to project the sociolinguistic variables in the speech. Thus, the socio-pragmatic analysis of the speech helps to reveal that the main intention of President Buhari is to seek for cooperation, teamwork, understanding and support from everyone in order to achieve true federalism and for national development and unity. The socio-pragmatic analysis also depicts the anchor utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ as a true proposition of the speaker’s intent.

Keywords: Nigeria, speaker, language of politics, pragmatics, socio-pragmatics, context, politeness principles, sociolinguistic factors.

1.0 Introduction

Communication is effective when participants in a discourse understand the language used and the meanings the language conveys in a particular context. Atolagbe (2004, p. 180), cited in Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013, p. 105), defines communication as:

a two way process, involving an encoder (i.e. a speaker/source) and a decoder (i.e. a listener/receiver) through whom language is used to pass across some messages, (e.g. information, idea, expression of a need, etc.) and some responses elicited, whether positive or negative, such that roles are exchanged between communicants along the line, and interaction takes place.

Nonetheless, any language used in discourse performs certain functions in relation to its forms, rules and strategies (Lakoff, 1990, p. 2).

According to Medubi (2003, p. 135), certain in-built tools are essential in encoding and decoding a message. Thus, “these tools are culture-dependent, therefore arbitrary, but are shared by the entire community”. In addition, the immediate context of interaction is essential because it helps to assign the
appropriate values to reference, implicature and other pragmatic issues (Mey, 2001, p. 41).

This paper is inspired by the desire to decode the meaning of a particular utterance in the inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari – “I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody”. Thus, using the socio-pragmatic approach, the paper attempts to unpack this utterance to reveal its intended meaning and veracity in line with the Nigerian experience. It also hopes to examine how the linguistic choices reflect the socio-cultural and socio-political life of the Nigerian Society. In essence, this paper attempts to delineate how political language is contextualized in the Nigerian situation. By so doing, the paper hopes to examine the structure, communicative effectiveness and expressive purposes of such political utterances.

Language can be employed to perform various functions in different contexts of use. Therefore, the language of politics has its own peculiarities. Below is a brief discussion on political language.

1.1 The Language of Politics

Nneji and Miracle (2013, p. 17) claim that political speech emanated from the rhetorical works of Greek Philosophers such as Sophists, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Citing Board (2000), they explain that the “language of politics helps 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” (p. 18.). Boulton (1978, p. 41), also states that political language is often used to deceive. He further opines that “the intention to manipulate people’s mind and thought is symbolically expressed through print and broadcast media particularly, during political campaigns and in the eventual practice of politics in a given society” (Aduradola & Ojukwu, 2003, p. 104).

According to Lakoff (1990, p. 7), “language is politics, politics assigns power, power governs how people talk and how they are understood”. Lakoff adds that political machinations depend on the use of language because language is the “initiator and interpreter of power relations” (p. 13). Therefore, language defines and determines the efficiency of politics as well as allocates power through politics. Moreover, Lakoff (1990, p. 21) says every language user “plays the linguistic power game according to hidden agendas, the unsaid being far more potent than the said”. Hence, the concept of pragmatics as a tool helps
to explain how a speaker uses language in many unconventional ways to show his or her ‘hidden agenda’ (Mey, 2001, p. 207).

1.2 Pragmatics

Don (2011, p. 116) notes that Charles Morris (1938) was the first to introduce pragmatics in his demarcation between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. According to Don, pragmatics “is concerned with the study of language from the point of view of its users, of the choices they make, the constraints they face in using language in communication and the effects it has on other participants in interaction” (p. 118). He adds that pragmatics deals with the implicit meaning, which goes beyond the language form itself (p. 121).

Similarly, Thomas (1995, p. 2) points out that in the early 60s and 70s, pragmatics as an aspect of linguistics began with Austin’s Speech Act Theory. She describes pragmatics as the study of the meaning of a discourse in relation to the context of use. Mey (2001, p. 6) says pragmatics accounts for “the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society”. He, however, notes that “no strict rules and conditions can be set up for a pragmatics universe neither can any stringent hypothesis be formulated and tested that would create the illusion of a well formed world, as it is done in a rule-based grammar” (Mey, 2001, p. 182). From the aforementioned description of pragmatics therefore, language use in context is conditioned by some sociological factors. This brings forth the “interface of sociolinguistics and pragmatics” which is referred to as socio-pragmatics (Medubi, 2012, p. 372).

1.3 Socio-pragmatics

Socio-pragmatics, according to Sheveleva (2012, p. 58) “embraces the actual problems of language policy and language planning, the social functions of the language, the influence of social events upon the language, and the role of the language in the life of the society”. Citing Spolsky (1998), she further adds that socio-pragmatics “gives a chance to describe the mechanism of social stipulation on speech activities”. Nevertheless, she points out that it is essential for researchers in socio-pragmatics to “know what is said and how it is being said” (p. 58).
Odebode and Odesanya (2015, p. 108) also explain that language cannot occur in isolation and ‘it is used in context and social situations’. This, they describe as the interface of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Schneider (2010, p. 247) defines socio-pragmatics as “the systematic analysis of the effects of regional and social factors on language in action and interaction”. According to Schneider (2010, p. 255), socio-pragmatic studies are culture-specific. She also identifies macro-social factors such as age, gender, social class, ethnicity and regional affiliation and micro-social factors such as power and distance as factors which have impact on language use (p. 247).

Medubi (2012, p. 377) describes the field of socio-pragmatics as ‘an integrative one that pulls together resources available in both sociolinguistics and pragmatics’. She adds that it ‘is concerned with the entire gamut of social variables surrounding a text’ such as the tools employed at the macro and micro levels of analysis (p. 378).

Medubi elucidates further that the micro level enables the analyses of texts in relation to chosen variables while the macro level examines the influence of larger social issues on the language event. More so, Medubi (2012, p. 373) discloses that “many lyrics and other language events can present sufficient variational data through the creation of contrasting schemata and/or personae”. Hence, this paper will employ the macro-social factors such as age, ethnicity, regional affiliation and social status described by Schneider (2010) and Medubi (2012).

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is provided by the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. From sociolinguistics come Schneider’s (2010, p. 247) variables such as age, social status, ethnicity and regional affiliation while the field of pragmatics contributes factors such as speech acts, context and politeness principle. These are discussed below.

Age – McGregor (2009, p. 163) opines that ‘different generations of speakers often show differences in speech’. He further notes that some terms in a language may become standard lexemes while many do not survive long but ‘their use can be characteristic of a particular generation group, the youth of
a certain time’. For example, terms such as “cool vs wicked, or sick for ‘good’ ”. From a sociolinguistic approach, Preston (1989, p. 55) perceives age differences in language use in two ways: language change and age gradation. Preston (1989, p. 55) explains that “if older people use certain forms only when they become old, such forms are age graded, not even indicators of what the language used to be…”.

**Social Class** – Herk and Katamba (2011, p. 505) say that language differences reflect social distinctions and sociolinguists use “complex weighing scales involving income, amount of education, type of housing, and prestige associated with one’s occupation” to determine social class. In addition, Herk and Katamba claim that sociolinguists now use “occupational prestige as the major indicator of class” (p. 505). For instance, a finding across several speech communities shows that certain language variants which have most prestige are associated with the upper classes. The upper class import prestige norms outside the speech community as when North Americans adopt British speech features (p. 505). Herk and Katamba (2011, p. 506) therefore observe that “the concepts of prestige or status seem to transfer across cultures better than the narrower term class”.

**Ethnicity** – Herk and Katamba (2011, p. 507) state that there are racial or ethnic differences in language. For example, the ethnic variety (or ethnolect) that have received considerable attention from sociolinguists in North America is African American English, (AAE). Herk and Katamba add that ethnicity and language are interwoven in terms of “the preferred names for ethnic groups, sometimes called ethnonyms, which change and show the status of a group in wider society” (p. 508). These preferred names also show the degree of power a group has over the naming process while change can also occur in the terms for ethnic varieties. For example, African American English has also been recognized as Negro dialect, non-standard Negro vernacular, black street speech, African American vernacular English, or Ebonics.

**Regional Variation** – According to McGregor (2009, p. 158), dialects, dialectal variation and accent are essential elements in identifying regional variation. McGregor (2009, p. 159) also asserts that
varieties that are geographically close are alike and mutually intelligible while distant ones are more divergent.

Speech Act Theory – According to Adegbija (1999, p. 189), the main proponents of the Speech Acts Theory (SAT) are Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975). These scholars explain that any given utterance should be considered in relation to its total context before assigning meaning and intention to the utterance. Thomas (1995, p. 44) asserts that Austin’s interest in the way people use language influenced his focus on making distinctions on how people use language in his work published in “How to do things with words” (p. 28). Thomas (1995, p. 51) also reports Austin as saying that not all utterances make reports or statements; rather utterances are actions or parts of actions. She adds that Austin believes a speech act is an utterance and the total situation in which the utterance is issued performs an act. According to Don (2011, p. 125), Austin distinguishes between constative and performative utterances. A constative is an utterance which says something and it can be subjected to a truth-value test while a performative is an utterance which performs an action and it can be said to be true or false. Osisanwo (2003, pp. 57-58) also notes that Austin identifies three types of speech acts which portray how utterances may perform some actions. These are the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts.

Don (2011, p. 125) reveals that the locutionary act is the activity we engage in when we say something. The illocutionary act performs an action which may not be true or false but represents the speaker’s intention to request an action to be performed. For example, it can be stating, promising, offering, etc. Mey (2001, p. 96) defines the perlocutionary act or effect as the action performed which depends on the specific circumstance of the utterances and this action is not always predictable. It is the effect of the illocution on the hearer (Thomas, 1995, p. 49). Thomas further explains that Austin notes that some “felicity conditions” must be observed while performing an illocutionary act to prevent misinterpretation of utterances.

In his contribution to SAT, Searle (1969, 1975) classifies speech acts into five categories that serve to strengthen Austin’s proposition on speech act (Mey, 2001, pp. 120-122). They are representatives,
directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. These categories are not mutually exclusive (p. 122). Moreover, Don (2011, p. 126) proffers that speech acts are either direct or indirect acts. The intention is accompanied by the speaker’s recognition of an inevitable obligation in a direct speech act. On the other hand, Don (2011, p. 126) declares that the indirect act does not reflect the appropriate and literal meaning of the utterance but signifies an implied meaning. Medubi (2003, p. 133) also asserts that the speaker “may impose hints, irony and metaphor on his direct utterance” in performing an indirect act.

**Context** – Don (2011, p. 120) describes context as encompassing “the total setting in which the speech event takes place”. Adegbija (1999, p. 191) also affirms that context is “the relevant aspect of the physical or social setting of an utterance or discourse”. He further categorizes context into four which are the physical, socio-cultural, linguistic and psychological contexts.

The physical context is the place where the discourse takes place. Yule (1996, p. 129) adds that our encounter and understanding of linguistic expressions is highly connected to the physical context, especially the time and place. Adegbija describes the socio-cultural context as the relationship between the immediate occasion and the beliefs, habits, values or cultures of those involved in the occasion. He says that the linguistic context is the words occurring in conjunction with the particular utterance and their implications within the physical and socio-cultural setting (p. 192). Yule (1996, p. 129) also refers to the linguistic context as the co-text which he claims has a strong effect on what we think the word or utterance means.

Lastly, Adegbija (1999, p. 192) defines the psychological context as the state of mind of those involved in the interaction. Adegbija also notes that the participants have significant roles to play in context. This contextual consideration helps to assign meaning to utterances (p. 192). He states further that the type of activity being engaged in also contributes to the interpretation of an utterance. Thus, the context is essential for the interpretation of a speaker’s meaning.

**Politeness Principles** – Mey (2001, p. 81) affirms that Leech’s politeness principle is supposed to collaborate with and even ‘rescue’ Grice’s cooperative principle and its maxims. He adds that politeness is
used to create a distance between participants. Yule (1996, p. 134) defines politeness as “showing awareness of another person’s face”. He describes face as “the public self-image of a person” (p. 90). Brown and Levinson (1987), cited in Don (2011, p. 133) proffer that politeness is “an alternative to verbal challenges”, a way to prevent offence and deflect possible difficulties.

There are negative and positive faces. Negative face is the need to have freedom of action, independence and freedom from imposition while positive face is the need to be connected, to belong, to be a member of a group or approved by at least some other people (Don, 2011, p. 133; Yule, 1996, p. 134). Politeness can affect the hearer either positively or negatively. According to Yule, any utterance that represents a threat to another person’s self-image is a ‘face-threatening act’ (FTA) while the utterance that lessens the possible threat to another’s face is a ‘face-saving act’ (FSA) (p. 134).

Moreover, Don explains that interlocutors build up their co-interlocutors’ ‘positive faces” when interaction is cooperative while they avoid posing threats to co-interlocutors’ ‘negative faces’. Therefore, a speaker would ‘use polite strategies such as mitigation or indirectness to preserve the addressee’s negative face or positive face’ (p. 133). For instance, Thomas (1995, p. 22) claims that “the use of indirectness itself is perfectly rational, if it enables the speaker to achieve his or her goal or to avoid unpleasantness”. She further states that indirectness is universal and people achieve some advantage or eschew negative consequence by using it. In other words, users avoid hurting someone or appearing ‘pushy’ or to show how clever they are.

Don (2011, p. 133) also notes that involvement and independence politeness strategies are useful to redress face wants. Involvement strategies deal with “the commonality or mutual benefits of participants” while independence strategy deals with the need and desire not to hinder the territory of another. Hence, the sociolinguistic variables will help to contextualize President Buhari’s inaugural speech to reflect the political, cultural and socio-economic situations in Nigeria. In addition, the use of speech acts, context and politeness principles will aid the understanding of language use in a political context in Nigeria. Below is a summary of President Buhari’s inaugural address.
1.5 Synopsis of President Buhari’s Inaugural Speech

President Muhammadu Buhari came to power after his victory at the presidential election of March 28, 2015, under the platform of the All Progressive Congress (APC). He was sworn in as the President of Nigeria on May 29, 2015 at the Eagle Square in Abuja. In the inaugural speech which he delivered at the event, President Buhari commended the “statesmanship” of the immediate past President and acknowledged the foreign support to fight against insurgents (Boko Haram) in Nigeria. He also acknowledged the sacrifices of Nigerian leaders who founded the country. Furthermore, he promised true federalism and he assured Nigerians that he was the President of all the component groups in the country thereby giving the famous quote: “I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody”. He promised to tackle security challenges of the country and eradicate corruption in Nigeria. He therefore called for collaborative efforts to realize the mission of the country in order to fulfil “a window of opportunity”.

2.0 Data Analysis and Discussion

Qualitative and quantitative analyses will be used to describe and evaluate President Buhari’s inaugural speech. The work consists of two hundred and twenty-eight lines, eighty-nine sentences and twenty-nine paragraphs. From these, sixteen extracts which represent important messages and cut across the motives of the speaker, are randomly selected for pragmatic analysis in this paper while the sociolinguistic aspect of the whole speech is analysed. The qualitative analysis will focus on context, direct and indirect illocutionary acts, politeness principle of face and its strategies and sociolinguistic factors. The quantitative analysis, on the other hand, is based on an enumeration of the direct and indirect illocutionary acts, FTAs, FSAs, politeness strategies, age, social status, ethnicity and regional affiliation in the speech. President Buhari’s inaugural speech published in Thisday Style (Sunday, May 31, 2015) serves as the data for this paper. According to Gutberlet (2005, p. 299), “democracy demands an understanding of language not only as a communication tool but as a reflection of the symbolic relationships between polity, culture and identity” (Aduradola & Ojukwu, 2013, p. 107). This paper will therefore attempt to elicit how the speaker uses language to reflect the Nigerian polity in a political context.

Essentially, the social variables identified in the speech serve as references rather than reflections
of language variants use. The speaker draws contrasts between similar situations to project some sociolinguistic factors and contextualizes the speech to reflect the Nigerian society. Such contrasts occur in social factors such as age, ethnicity, regional affiliation and social status.

2.1 Age

The speaker juxtaposes age differences by contrasting the differences in behaviour between the old and the new eras of leadership in the utterance, ‘In recent times, Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr. Herbert Macaulay…establish certain standards of governance…successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything…’ Thus, ‘recent times Nigerian leaders’, ‘our founding fathers’ and ‘spoilt children’ represent time and age differences in Nigerian political system.

Furthermore, the lexemes ‘ancestors’ and ‘heirs’ in the following utterances signify the age differences while these lexemes also categorizes the political system – ‘We as Nigerians must remind ourselves that we are heirs to great civilizations...The blood of those great ancestors flow in our veins’. These utterances project the cultural expectations of an heir. Irrespective of the ethnic background in Nigeria, the heir of a family is expected to inherit the traits that distinguish the family. So, as heirs, it is expected that we should inherit the legacies ‘to modernize and uplift Nigeria’ through united motives.

2.2 Ethnicity and Regional Affiliation

Ethnicity is represented in this data through the names of the founding fathers of Nigeria which in turn represent some of the ethnic groups such as Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Tiv, Calabar, etc. He mentions the names of the founding fathers which we can categorise into the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria (Igbo, Hausa & Yoruba). For example, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe is Igbo; Chief Obafemi Awolowo is Yoruba; and Alhaji Ahmadu Bello is Hausa while Chief J. S. Tarka is Tiv, Mr. Eyo Ita is Calabar, etc.

The speaker also uses language to signify the regions in Nigeria thereby representing the old regional distribution in Nigeria. The old regional distribution in Nigeria is exemplified in the following extract: ‘…we are heirs to great civilizations: Shehu Othman Dan Fodio’s Caliphate, the Kanen Borno Empire, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire and King Jaja’s formidable domain’.
2.3 Social Status

‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ shows the high status of the speaker because the tone is authoritative. The tone of the speaker reflects a higher status commanding his subordinates on the right choices to make for the development of the country. For instance, social status related language is prominent in situations where he exacts his authority as the President, using indirect acts of commanding or directing on certain strata of the Nigerian society such as the public service, politicians and Judiciary (extracts 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, etc.). This signifies his personal intent to avoid any political pressure at the expense of national development.

Nevertheless, the speaker submits himself to the level of the strata such as the media, employers, workers, labour unions, youths, private sector, etc. by appealing for their understanding, cooperation and unity to raise productivity. For example in ‘I call on the leadership and people in these areas to cooperate…’, ‘As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians’, the speaker dissociates himself from his high status by appealing to Nigerians. In short, these, among others, show the speaker’s personal desire for Nigerians (Masses) to accept him as a President who will serve all.

The speaker’s linguistic choices also reflect the political system in Nigeria and the socio-political insecurity in the Niger Delta. For example, ‘It is only when the three arms act constitutionally that government will be enabled to serve the country…’ He mentions the three arms namely: ‘the Federal Executive’, ‘the legislative and judicial arms of government’. While in – ‘The amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is due to end in December, but the Government intends to invest heavily in the projects and programmes currently in place’, he assures the ‘leadership and people’ in the area.

The speech presents ‘Abuja’ as superior to ‘the states’, ‘relations between Abuja and the States have to be clarified’. Abuja is the Federal capital of Nigeria where the seat of governance is located. Thus, Abuja is synonymous to ‘the federal government’ which holds the power to supervise the States and Local Governments - ‘but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the States and Local Governments’.
Furthermore, the speaker also uses collective strategy to represent Nigeria as one entity irrespective of regional and ethnic differences. The first person plural pronouns – ‘we’ and ‘us’ in the speech represent the arms of government, Nigerians, the speaker’s political party, Armed forces, etc. For instance, he represents Nigeria, as ‘the house’ (‘bringing disorder to the house’ extract 8) which he believes should accommodate different ethnic groups who are united for the development of the country. “The country now expects the Judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases”. ‘The country’ represents everyone in Nigeria.

Further examples include “There is now a national consensus that our chosen route to national development is democracy”. The use of ‘national consensus’ shows that we all decided to uphold democracy, thus “we must consciously work the democratic system”. The speaker charges the Armed forces with security responsibilities but with his intent to serve as president to all, he uses ‘we’, himself inclusive, to show his commitment to ensuring a safe environment - ‘For now the Armed forces will be fully charged with prosecuting the fight against Boko Haram. We shall overhaul the rules of engagement… we shall improve operational and legal mechanisms…’ In essence, the speaker uses the contrasting situations to appeal to Nigerians to be united to achieve his aim to serve as President to all. He also uses collective strategy for convincing Nigerians that he belongs to everybody and he does not belong to anybody.

2.4 Context

The physical context of the inaugural address exhibits a political context where President Muhammadu Buhari was sworn-in in Abuja as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The inaugural speech demonstrates the standard of political conduct in Nigeria as well as the problems facing the Nigerian society. The political context also helps to portray President Buhari’s proposed leadership style and governance. Other evidences that this speech is located in Nigeria include words such as Boko-Haram, Niger Delta, Maiduguri, Chibok Girls, Oyo Empire, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, among others.

Evidences for the speaker’s pronouncement – ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ reflect the linguistic context. He uses personal pronouns to identify his referents. For example, ‘I’ refers to
the speaker as the addressee in his position as the President of the country. The speaker uses ‘I’ in twenty places and ‘my’ in seven places to indicate his authority and to place himself at the centre of the events he is describing. Furthermore, he uses ‘we’ in twenty-four places, ‘us’ in nine places, and ‘our’ in sixteen places as a strategy of inclusiveness in the speech. For instance, in extract 1 the speaker uses ‘our journey’, ‘our people’, ‘we have today…’ These examples signify the acknowledgement of collaboration and collective efforts, which have enabled a ‘democratically elected government’. He thus invites the listener/reader as a participant in the events, rather than an observer. In this effort, the speaker places all Nigerians within a single purpose which is to improve governance.

The speaker uses the first person plural pronoun to represent the type of governance he wishes to operate, the people in-charge of governance and Nigeria at large. This is evident in extracts 7, 9, 10, 13, 14 & 16. For example,

- **We** are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us.
- …**We** shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. **We** shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.
- The country now expects the Judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on corruption…
- My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy **we** are getting into…the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us.
- …I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that **we** can bring peace and build property for our people.
- **We** will not allow this to go on.

The above and other instances of linguistic context in the speech serve as the speaker’s backdrop for his utterance – “I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody”.

The socio-cultural context is the Nigerian belief that a new government will bring positive changes to the socio-economic problems facing the country. The socio-cultural context reflects Nigerians’ commitment to change in the utterance – “Nigerians have shown their commitment to democracy and are determined to entrench its culture” and projects the influence of culture on the speaker with the direct expressive acts of thanking. This is evident in the following utterances:

- I am immensely **grateful to God** who has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion.
– Our journey has not been easy but **thanks** to the determination of our people…
– I would like to **thank** President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship.
– I would like to **thank** the millions of our supporters who believed in us…
– I **thank** those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media.
– I **thank** our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us…
– I **thank** you all.

Consequently, the context allows the readers to link the speech to its appropriate socio-cultural context.

2.5 **Speech Acts**

There are eighteen direct illocutions comprising the representatives, commissives and expressives in the sample data. Six of the direct illocutionary acts are representative acts of stating, assessing and suggesting. For instance, in extracts 1, 2, 4 and 5, the speaker performs the representative act of stating the experiences and achievements which have contributed to the successful completion of the election. In extract 8, he is assessing leaders of previous political eras who were united in governing the country unlike their successors who have caused disharmony to governance. The speaker performs an act of suggesting solutions to the economic problems in Nigeria in extract 13.

Most of the direct commissive acts in our corpus are acts of promising and assuring (extracts 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16) except extract 14 where it is an act of offering. For example, in “…I intend to keep my oath…I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody” (extract 4), the speaker performs an act of promising Nigerians that he will “serve as President to all Nigerians”. This depicts his personal intent and the envisaged perlocutionary effects are hope, unity, patriotism and reform on Nigerians while the effects are unease and distrust on politicians and his political party. In extract 6, he is assuring “the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate” with the envisaged perlocutionary effects as unity and cooperation. Furthermore, the speaker performs the commissive act of assuring Nigerians that he will tackle the challenges in Nigeria ‘head on’ and he will ensure the constitutional duties of the three arms of Government (extracts 7, 9, 11 & 16). However, in extract 14, the speaker performs a direct commissive act of offering himself and services to all Nigerians irrespective of religious or ethnic differences – ‘As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians. I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace…’ This extract connotes the speaker’s personal trait and habits (‘As ever, I am ready…’)
as well as signifies his sincere commitment to belong to everybody and to nobody and the envisaged perlocutionary effects are support, understanding, cooperation and unity.

Furthermore, there are five direct expressive illocutionary acts in this sample. They are expressive acts of thanking, scolding, assessing, appealing and complaining (extracts 1, 3, 10, 12 & 15). In extracts 1 & 3, the speaker performs a direct illocutionary act of thanking foreign support, Nigerians for their determination as well as the party opponents who made the election competitive, for the success in the elections. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are determination, anxiety and cooperation. He is assessing and scolding the judicial system which did not perform its constitutional responsibilities in the past (extract 10). He also performs an expressive act of appealing to ‘employers and workers’ to unite so as to increase prosperity in Nigeria (extract 12) and the envisaged perlocutionary effects are patriotism, unity and cooperation. These and other such utterances denote the speaker’s determination to serve everyone by soliciting for Nigerians’ contributions to national development.

On the other hand, our corpus comprises sixteen indirect illocutions namely: directives, declaratives, expressives and commissives. The speaker uses language to describe the Nigerian politics, past Nigerian leaders and governance. Also, he uses language to appeal to Nigerians, global nations, workers, employers, labour union, etc. He manipulates language to criticize public servants, perpetrators and past governments responsible for the socio-economic decadence in Nigeria.

Seven indirect illocutionary acts are directive acts of inviting, commanding, instructing, requesting, indicting, appealing and commanding (extracts 6, 7, 9 & 12, 10, 11, 16 respectively). For example, in ‘I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help to combat threats of cross-border terrorism…’ (extract 6), the speaker uses the indirect directive act of inviting other nations to support Nigeria in fighting against terrorism and other crimes. This implies the speaker’s intention to solicit for foreign cooperation in order to ensure a peaceful and unified co-existence. Likewise, the pronoun ‘our’ in ‘our readiness to cooperate…’ is an indirect act of pleading with Nigerians to cooperate and partake in the peace mission. This signifies his intent to be committed to improving living
standards thereby serving as President to all. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are cooperation and unity among nations.

The speaker also performs an indirect directive act of commanding those in-charges of all sectors of development in Nigeria to tackle their challenges ‘head on’ – ‘We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us’ (extract 7). ‘We and us’ represent the three arms of government and public service while ‘Nigerians’ represents the masses and other sectors such as the private sector, labour unions, etc. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are hope and anxiety on Nigerians while it is unease on perpetrators who caused the challenges. In addition, the utterance, ‘We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system’ in extract 9 is an indirect directive act of questioning the public servants for not discharging their duties with integrity. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are hope, relief and anxiety on the masses and other sectors while it is unease on public servants who did not discharge their duties with integrity.

Moreover, the speaker is indirectly indicting the ‘immediate past’ administration for not redeeming the damaged image of the Judiciary in – ‘The Judicial System needs reform to cleanse itself from the immediate past’. He then uses the act of directing to charge the system to perform its responsibility constitutionally in – ‘The country now expects the Judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases…’ (extract 10). The envisaged perlocutionary effects are anxiety and unease.

The speaker employs the indirect directive act of stating to show that he will not condone misuse of office in his administration in – ‘For I will not have kept my trust in Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch’ (extract 11). The envisaged perlocutionary effects are hope and trust. Finally, the speaker is indirectly appealing to Nigerians to be patient in – ‘We will not allow this to go on. Careful studies are underway during the transition to identify the quickest, safest and most cost-effective way to bring light and relief to Nigerians’ (extract 16). The envisaged perlocutionary effects are anxiety and support. In essence, the speaker’s indirect directive acts depict his commitment to ‘serve as President to all
Nigerians’ through active participation of all citizens which will in turn bring prosperity to the nation and every one at large.

He performs an indirect declarative act of confirming the predicaments facing the economy and an act of re-affirming the types of government to be put in place in – ‘With the depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages…will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us’ (extract 13). The envisaged perlocutionary effects are sympathy, hope and support. Afterwards, the speaker performs an indirect act of pronouncing his intention to provide equal attention to Nigerians - ‘As ever, I am ready to listen to grievance of my fellow Nigerians…’ (extract 14). The phrase, ‘As ever’ has no connection with the immediate context but it denotes his past reputation which he intends to uphold in the present political dispensation. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are understanding, cooperation and unity.

The speaker performs an indirect expressive act of complaining about the standard of the political conduct in Nigeria in ‘I hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the out-going President will become the standard of political conduct in the country’ (extract 2). So, he hopes for a better political environment. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are hope and determination. More so, he employs the indirect act of assessing the political scenario by identifying with his political party opponents in ‘…I thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive’ (extract 3). He indirectly implies that the competitive political environment led to his party’s (APC) victory. The envisaged perlocutionary effect is cooperation.

Finally, in – ‘Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house’ (extract 8), the speaker uses indirect expressive act of blaming the actions of past Nigerian leaders who have caused disharmony in the country. The envisaged perlocutionary effects are unity and reform. In short, the speaker uses indirect expressives to identify the ordeals that have caused some of the predicaments of national development.
There are three indirect commissives in our corpus. They are acts of assuring, warning, and challenging (extracts 4, 5 & 15). In extract 4, the speaker indirectly performs a commissive act of assuring Nigerians that he will ‘serve as President to all Nigerians’ by noting that he belongs to everybody and he does not belong to anybody. On the other hand, the utterance – ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ is an indirect illocutionary act of warning which presupposes that the whole country is the President’s constituency regardless of any party pressures, religion or ethnicity. The speaker also performs an indirect commissive act of blaming past Nigerian leaders (‘over the years’) for the economic decadence in Nigeria – ‘No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian’s poor economic performance over the years than the power situation’ (extract 15). The envisaged perlocutionary effects are change and reform. In fact, the speech act analysis explains how the speaker manipulates the people’s emotions through his linguistic choices to ensure that he achieves his aim to “serve as President to all Nigerians”. It also depicts the collective efforts to make the speaker President and people’s wishes for positive changes in the Nigerian political system.

2.6 Face-Threatening Act (FTA)

Seven face-threatening acts (FTA) exist in our corpus. The FTAs are directed at past governments, public service, party politicians and perpetrators of financial crimes and abuse of offices (extracts 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 15). For instance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ is an indirect illocutionary act of warning, which threatens the negative and positive faces of the speaker’s party members or politicians. Using involvement politeness strategy, he redresses their (politicians) negative and positive faces by stating that he intends to keep his oath and ‘serve as President to all Nigerians’ (extract 4) which will in turn serve as mutual benefits for all.

He threatens the negative and positive faces of perpetrators in ‘we are going to tackle them head on’. The indirectness in this utterance signifies warning, which imposes hint and irony considering the shared knowledge in the political context. That is, corruption, personal and individual interests are part of the major impediments to the Nigerian polity.
The speaker also threatens the negative face of political ‘successors’ and he does not wish to build up their positive faces in – ‘Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house’. It is shared knowledge that the precarious socio-economic and political situations in Nigeria is because of bad leadership. Furthermore, the speaker threatens the positive and negative faces of public servants in the utterance – ‘we shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system’. This implies that public servants lack integrity. Nevertheless, he redresses the face wants using independence politeness strategy which indicates his wish not to hinder or impose on other people’s territories (Legislative and Judiciary) – ‘The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judiciary arms of Government’. The speaker’s intention is that reforming and rebuilding the public service will also help stabilize the Nigerian system – ‘we shall rebuild and reform the public service…’ This portrays the speaker’s determination and commitment to his utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’.

Besides, the speaker threatens the positive face of the immediate past government (‘…to cleanse itself from its immediate past’), perpetrators and judicial officers who work against the constitution - ‘the country now expects the Judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases…’ He also threatens the negative face of the Judiciary because there is a determination undertone to ensure that the Judiciary performs its responsibilities effectively and efficiently- ‘The Judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself…’ He threatens the positive face of past Nigerian leaders in extract 15 by blaming the ‘power situation’ (governance) for the ‘poor economic performance’.

2.7 Face-Saving Act (FSA)

Three face-saving acts (FSA) exist in our corpus. The speaker saves the faces of past governments, perpetrators and type of governance in extracts 2, 5 and 11. In the utterance, ‘I hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the out-going president will become the standard of political conduct in the country’, he uses indirectness as a FSA to the negative and positive faces of past governments who did not accept
defeat as former President Jonathan did. The phrase ‘setting a p recedent for us’ in ‘…President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us…’ signifies this.

Using involvement strategy, the speaker redresses the face wants of subsequent candidates for presidency (including him) by indirectly imploring them to accept defeat after elections. He believes this act will improve the standard of political conduct in Nigeria. Moreover, the speaker employs the FSA to express his wants for unity and patriotism in extracts 2 & 5. Furthermore, he uses involvement politeness strategy in “These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores” (extract 5), to earn the cooperation and contributions of the intended audience for national development.

The speaker lessens the threat to the faces of those in-charges of governance before his administration in ‘I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country’ (extract 11). This utterance implies that past governance in Nigeria lack accountability. Further, he employs independence politeness strategy to indicate that he will not trespass other people’s territory – ‘As far as constitution allow me, I will try to ensure…’ (extract 11). He uses involvement politeness strategy in ‘For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch’ to show his wish for Nigerians to accept him as the President who will serve Nigerians.

Other instances of involvement politeness strategies in our corpus include extracts 6, 12, 13, 14 and 16. The speaker employs the involvement politeness strategy in these extracts to buttress the fact that teamwork and unity will improve the socio-economic situation and peaceful co-existence in Nigeria, which will in turn benefit all and sundry. For example, ‘I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increased prosperity’. Likewise, the use of involvement strategy in extract 14 (‘As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances…I extend my hand of fellowship to them…’) serves as encouragement to Nigerians to cooperate in order to improve the country. Thus, with his commitment and determination, he hopes for the same reactions from
Nigerians to improve the economy. Therefore, the use of politeness principles in this paper helps to delineate the President’s commitment to his utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’.

The qualitative analysis therefore helps to elucidate the meanings encoded in the speech. Below is the statistical representation of the socio-pragmatic tools employed in this paper.

3.0 Discussion

The quantitative analysis comprises the direct and indirect speech acts, FTAs, FSAs, politeness strategies and the sociolinguistic variables. The tables and graphs below highlight the true value of the utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ and the instances of usages in the speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/n</th>
<th>Social Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Regional Affiliation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In figure 1, the social variable which has the highest percentage is social status with 76.3%, followed by age (18.4%), ethnicity (2.6%) and regional affiliation (2.6%). The graph depicts that ethnicity and regional affiliation variables occur in one situation each in the speech, which help to delineate the speaker wish for collective efforts by Nigerians irrespective of ethnic or regional differences. Furthermore, the social status variable is the most prominent because the speaker uses his higher status as President to convince and appeal to Nigerians that he intends to “serve as President to all Nigerians”.

Social Variables

Fig. 1: Social Variables in the Speech
Table 2: Politeness Markers in the Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/n</th>
<th>Politeness Markers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>FTA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>FSA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Involvement Strategies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Independence Strategies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In figure 2, the FTAs have the highest percentage of 30.4% while the FSAs have 13.0%. The involvement strategy has 43.5% while the independence strategy has 13.0%. The FTAs are directed at past governments, public service, party politicians and perpetrators of financial crimes and abuse of offices who contributed immensely to the decadence in government before his inception as President. However, the speaker redresses the face wants of his intended audience using the involvement strategies (43.5%) which is the most prominent politeness marker in the speech. These strategies signify his call for cooperation in order to bring positive changes that will benefit Nigerians.

Table 3: Speech Acts Categories in the Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/n</th>
<th>Speech Act Categories</th>
<th>Direct Illocutions</th>
<th>Indirect Illocutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Commissive</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Directive</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>106</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.99%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 3: Speech Acts Categories in the Speech

In figure 3, the direct speech acts employed in the speech in order of preponderance are representatives (42.45%), expressives (24.52%), commissives (18.87%), declaratives (7.55%), and directives (6.60%). The most prominent indirect speech acts are the directives which have 39.62% out of the total indirect acts of 99.98%, followed by the commissives (28.30%), expressives (18.87%), declaratives (11.32%), and representatives (1.87%). The indirect directives connote the speaker’s manner of implementing changes to the predicaments which he met on ground while at the same time, he uses commissives to call for collective efforts. In short, both the indirect directives and commissives work towards his goal to ‘serve as President to all Nigerians’ by bringing positive changes to the Nigerian society.

Furthermore, each of the speech acts in table 3 has subsets which help to highlight the speaker’s commitment to serve everybody. The graphs below further elucidate the speaker’s commitment to belong and his call for cooperation and unity from Nigerians to achieve the constitutional goals of the country and for national development.
In figure 4, the direct representative act of stating has the highest frequency of 24 which shows the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the propositions in the act. The commissive acts of assuring and promising have equal frequency of 9 which also represent the speaker’s true intention to belong to everyone. With the expressive acts of assessing (8) and thanking (8), the speaker assesses the challenges facing the country and thanks everybody. The declarative acts of announcing and proclaiming have the highest frequency (3 each) which shows the speaker’s intention for transparent governance. The directive
acts of appealing and assessing both have the highest frequency (2 each) which reveals his subtle undertone, calling for support and cooperation from Nigerians and other nations.

On the other hand, figure 5 shows the indirect directive act of requesting as the highest with a frequency of 6, followed by the acts of commanding (4) and questioning (3). This denotes the speaker’s commitment to “serve as president to all Nigerians” through active participation of all citizens to bring prosperity to the nation and every one at large. Besides, the commissive act of assuring has the highest frequency (6) and the next is the act of challenging (4). He challenges those who have contributed to the decadence in the country while he at the same time assures every one of his determination to transform the country.

In addition, with the indirect expressive acts of complaining (3), regretting (2) and condemning (2), the speaker identifies various problems, including the people responsible for the problems. The expressive act of condemning represents his wish for Nigerians to avoid recurrence of such problems which will in
turn lead to national development. Like the direct declarative, the indirect declarative act of announcing has the highest frequency, followed by the act of confirming. The declarative and directive acts help to identify the intended governance style of the speaker. The description above reflects the speaker’s commitment to the task of belonging to everybody.

4.0 Findings

Using some socio-pragmatic tools to decipher the inaugural speech, the following findings were delineated. The speaker uses contrasting situations and collective strategy to project the sociolinguistic variables in the speech. That is, the speaker uses the contrasting situations to appeal to Nigerians to be united to achieve his aim to serve as President to all while he uses collective strategy for convincing Nigerians that he belongs to everybody and he does not belong to anybody.

In many situations in the speech, social status change according to the acts the speaker performs. The acts of appealing and assuring raises his listeners to higher status as his own while the acts of commanding and directing exact his higher status on his listeners.

There are 159 speech act categories in the inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari. The direct representatives have the highest frequency of 45 out of 106 direct acts while the indirect directives have the highest frequency of 21 out of 53 indirect acts. Also, the first person plural pronouns (we, us, our) occur in 49 places while the first person singular pronouns (I & my) occur in 27 places in the speech.

The speaker directs all FTAs (30.4%) at politicians and public servants while he uses FSAs (13.0%) to preserve the negative and positive faces of past administrations, politicians and the public service. In addition, he uses positive FSA to build his face wants. It was observed that he poses no threat to the positive or negative faces of his party (APC) opponents and foreign supporters.

Moreover, the speaker uses the involvement strategies in ten of the sixteen extracts in the sample data (43.5%). The speaker uses both direct and indirect acts of assuring, promising, offering, stating, inviting and appealing to solicit for unity and cooperation from politicians, foreign supporters, public and civil servants and Nigerians at large. This justifies his utterance “I belong to everybody and I belong to
nobody”. The speaker believes cooperation and support will create a country where elected officers will see themselves as belonging first to Nigerians and then to any group.

Nevertheless, he employs the independence strategies in extracts 9, 10 and 11 (13.0%). Despite using independence strategies in these extracts, he still threatens both the positive and negative faces of the intended audience. This shows the speaker’s determination to monitor and supervise the activities of those involved in spite of allowing them to perform their constitutional responsibilities. Therefore, the envisaged perlocutionary effects are determination, anxiety, hope, cooperation, reform, unity, unease, distrust, patriotism, happiness, sympathy, support, change and understanding.

5.0 Conclusion

The meanings encoded in the inaugural speech are entrenched in the speaker’s wish for cooperation and support from Nigerians in the interest of national development and unity. The socio-pragmatic analysis of the speech therefore helps to elicit the main intention of President Buhari as well as explains the anchor utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’. The main intention of the speaker does not threaten the existence of his political party or any unintended audience. It rather calls for mutual understanding and teamwork in order to achieve the desired goals of the national constitution and tackle the challenges facing the Nigerian system. In addition, the sociolinguistic factors and the linguistic choices help to contextualize the former and existing political system as well as project the socio-cultural and economic situations in Nigeria.

More so, the speech serves as an encouragement to fulfil the promises made to Nigerians. It is an insight into how true Federalism can be achieved. In essence, seeking for the cooperation of Nigerians and foreigners, President Buhari wishes to work in line with his electioneering promises. Consequently, he hopes to achieve unity, patriotism and reform through his main intention. He is also determined to set a good standard of governance through God’s guidance and cooperation from Nigerians and foreigners. Thus, the utterance, ‘I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody’ is a true proposition of the speaker’s intent.
6.0 References


7.0 Appendix

Extract 1 (paragraph (para.) 1)

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.

Extract 2 (para. 2)

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 out-going President will become the standard of political conduct in the country.

Extract 3 (para. 3)

At the same time, I thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive.

Extract 4 (para. 6)

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 I belong to nobody.

Extract 5 (para. 7)

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 off old scores. The past is prologue.

Extract 6 (para. 9)

I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help to combat threats of cross-border terrorism, sea piracy, refugees and boat people, financial crime, cyber crime, climate change, the spread of communicable diseases and other challenges of the 21st century.

Extract 7 (para. 10)

We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us.

Extract 8 (para. 11)

They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder to the house.

Extract 9 (para. 13)

The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judiciary arms of Government... we shall rebuild and reform the public service to become
more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.

Extract 10 (para. 14)

The Judicial System needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past. The country now expects the Judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on corruption, serious financial crimes or abuse of offices.

Extract 11 (para. 15)

As far as constitution allows me, I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance 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.

Extract 12 (para. 16)

I appeal to employers and workers alike to unite in raising productivity so that everybody will have the opportunity to share in increase prosperity.

Extract 13 (para. 17)

My appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into. With the depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us.

Extract 14 (para. 22)

As ever, I am ready to listen to grievances of my fellow Nigerians. I extend my hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people.

Extract 15 (para. 23)

No single cause can be identified to explain Nigerian’s poor economic performance over the years than the power situation.

Extract 16 (para. 23)

We will not allow this to go on. Careful studies are underway during the transition to identify the quickest, safest and most cost-effective way to bring light and relief to Nigerians.

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