

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN SELECTED 2019 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES

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Abstract

Studies on discursive strategies have investigated multicultural business meetings, information seeking, social change, newspaper campaign advertisements, public dialogues, etc. but little or no scholarly examination has explored 2019 presidential campaign speeches. As a contribution to the previous studies on discursive strategies, the (present) work investigates the discursive strategies in selected 2019 presidential campaign speeches in Nigeria. The principal aim is to identify the discursive strategies employed by the contestants and the ideologies projected through the strategies identified. The study drew its data from the flag off campaign speeches of the contestants of the two major political parties: President Muhammadu Buhari of All Progressives Congress (APC) and Alhaji Atiku Abubakar of Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Van Dijk's mental model theory forms the theoretical framework for the study. Taking into consideration, the context model, situation model and experience model, Dijk's mental model theory was adopted for the data analysis. The findings reveal that the contestants employed some linguistic constructions, such as rhetorical questions, parallel structures, and figurative expressions (metaphor) among others as discursive strategies in the campaign speeches. These strategies are equally found to be embodying some ideological projections which are discussed in this work using Dijk's mental model theory. This study, therefore, will help the masses to understand more, the content of political campaign speeches and be able to act in accordance with the implicit meanings carried by the speeches.

Keywords: Discourse, Discursive Strategies, Mental Model Theory, Campaign Speech

Introduction

Man as a social being finds himself in an environment where communication is necessary and mandatory; hence, language is a channel of transmitting ideas through vocal sounds or symbols from one man to another. The use of language in political environments establishes ideology; and socio-political class distinctions have been essential engagements since time immemorial. Language used in this way is diplomatically referred to as being used critically. The significance of language styles and mannerisms in political campaigns cannot be relegated to the background. Language conceives “the key to the heart of the people. If one loses it, one loses the people. If one keeps it safe, it unlocks the people’s heart”. This is a level in politics as the language of politics constitutes a very crucial aspect of political practices e.g., speeches, jingles and campaign songs, among others. Beyond the character of the politicians seeking political offices, language choice plays significant roles in determining the success or failure of such aspirants at the polls.

Linguistic and discourse styles are used in political propaganda to convince the electorate to favour one speaker against his opponents. Such choices are often carefully selected in the rhetoric of the speeches delivered during electioneering campaigns. Varied sociocultural features, speech communities and various social formations use language (or discourse) as an organizing apparatus for social life, as means of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing ideological standpoints, as well as a medium for structuring the knowledge base of various social groups and constructing different versions of reality. In discourse, analysis entails the description, interpretation and explanation of textual conversation (that is, spoken and written).

Textual conversation can be analysed at both the micro-level and the macro-level. On the first hand, micro-level analysis concentrates at the linguistic level; identifying the textual markers that connect discourse and create texture like cohesion, coherence and logical organization of ideas. Macro-level analysis, on the other hand, involves the semantic level, interpreting the various nuances of meaning

encoded by the various linguistic styles and features. Macro level analysis explores pragmatics, which entails explaining the implications of the various intended meanings in the dimensions of sociocultural contexts. In the course of describing macro level analysis, discourse analysis as a network aims at understanding how language begets ideology, inequality and advocates for change based on its findings in conversations.

Particularly, politics has remained a veritable source of human activities where language, whether spoken or written, is ideologically patterned and codified. As a dynamic social process and an interactive forum, it involves a lot of linguistic negotiations that continuously yield emerging data that can be used for sociolinguistics research.

Numerous linguistic analyses have investigated political discourse in Nigeria over the time. The analyses spanned pragmatic, conversational, rhetorical and stylistic analysis to mention a few. However, limited studies have examined discursive strategies of political campaign speeches. It is on this research gap that this (present) study is motivated. Hence, the present study analyses the discursive strategies in selected 2019 presidential campaign speeches in Nigeria. In doing this, van Dijk's Mental Model theory is employed in providing a theoretical insight into the study. The primary preoccupation of this paper is the discursive strategies in selected 2019 presidential campaign speeches in Nigeria. Closely, the study examines the discursive strategies and to explicate the linguistic expressions which carry implicit ideological structures in campaign conversations.

Review of Related Studies

Not many researchers have examined political campaign speeches in Nigeria especially with particular reference to the discursive strategies used in the presentation of ideology and power relations. Rashidi and Ghaedsharafi (2015) investigated how language as a social practice in a school community underlined and codified ideology and certain social strata. It aspired to inquire features used in texts, construct certain social and normative realities like subjectivity,

objectivity, as well as identity. The study gave a special priority to particular social groups, such as gender, social class, or race in developing the content of the texts. It as well examined the representation of social actors in three types of textbooks used to teach English language at junior and senior high schools and universities. All the books examined in this study revealed their tendency toward making normative views of gender, class and ethnic relations. The review is significant because it has exposed the ideological representation of social actors in textbooks. However, the current study examines the discursive strategies through which power is enacted, legitimized and reproduced in political campaign speeches. There is no power without ideology, so the current research also looks at how these actors project their ideology of self and others using critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework which makes it different from the previous study.

Similarly, Sharndama (2016) did a discourse analysis of discursive ways in 2015 inaugural speeches of selected governors in Nigeria. Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of study was deployed to serve for the theoretical backing and its principles as analytical tools. The result of the analysis disclosed the opening remarks, the content and the closing remarks as common macro structures. All the macro structures contained persuasive messages passed on to the audience to influence their political thoughts, beliefs and attitudes. The content of the speeches consisted of continual and motivating topics/themes that were rigorously designated to influence the audience to just accept the new government and build hope for the better. It was observed that the topics and themes overlapped, thanks to the very fact that the majority of them were drawn from the party manifestoes. The closing remarks were principally restating of the most important problems and policy directives mentioned at the beginning. The first person pronouns 'we' and 'I' and their variants were used as ways for expressing political ideologies (discursive strategies) particularly the logic of inclusion and exclusion or self and cluster reference. This study is however not completely related with the current study. In the

first place, it was more interested in 2015 speeches whereas the current study takes 2019 campaign speeches as its data. Moreover, it was shown from the review that Fairclough's viewpoint for doing discourse analysis was adopted whereas this study makes use of Dijk's mental model theory for its analysis. Although the two studies share in their political interests, their approaches still differed in some ways.

The present study looks at ideology as a tool or weapon of persuasion, manipulation, self-projection, etc. and the power relations encoded in the choice of lexical items used by the presidential aspirants. Previous scholarly investigations have corroborated the present study on discourse features, though little or no attention has been paid to the discursive strategies which the current study promises to provide.

3.0 Methodology

The analytic research design and qualitative approach were adopted for this study. The data sample includes two (2) 2019 campaign speeches of Mohammadu Buhari and Alhaji Atiku Abubakar presented at two significant political events on the November 19, 2018 and October 6, 2018. The candidates' campaign speeches were transcribed and the ideologies that underline them were identified. The first is President Buhari's APC Presidential Campaign Flag off Speech and the second speech is Atiku's Presidential Campaign Flag off speech; both as APC's and PDP's presidential candidates respectively in 2019 election dispensation. The speeches in the analysis are labelled A (for Buhari's) and B (for Atiku's). The major concern of qualitative research is the ability to capture the essence of individual expressions, actions and thoughts in everyday life in order to explain their meanings as expressed by Wodak and Busch (2004:105 in Ike-Nwafor, 2015:97). The campaign speeches presented by the contestants of the two major political parties, namely, All Progressives Congress and People's Democratic Party. These speeches were purposively and randomly selected by the researcher. In the first place, the two political parties were selected as they are the most popular among all the other political parties that contested the presidential seat. The speeches were also

purposefully selected, among the other campaign speeches by these flag bearers because of their vitality in every campaign process. The data were analysed, using the principles of CDA, drawing references from van Dijk's mental model theory. The research design and the approach show specifically show how the aspirants deployed some discursive strategies using some linguistic facilities to reconstruct and control people's thoughts, beliefs and perceptions in order to gain their political support; and as well, detect discursive structures within the transcripts of the candidates' speeches and discover the ideologies underlying them.

4.0 Theoretical Framework

Mental model theory is a framework, developed by Van Dijk in the 1970s with a focus on discourse processing; that is, on the unconscious mental 'work' performed during the comprehension and production of discourse. Much of his earlier research focused on discourse of comprehension (van Dijk, 2019, 2014; Perfetti & Adlof, 2012). Essentially, this is often what van Dijk refers to as a 'gist' impact so as to beat process limits, people bear in mind the 'gist' of a text. It creates a picture of the text in episodic memory that van Dijk calls a 'macro-structure' (see Perfetti & Adlof, 2012). In strategic comprehension, a listener/reader begins to form the macro-structure immediately. For example, upon reading a headline, a reader begins interpreting and organising the remaining text accordingly. In this way, the macro-structure also provides a framework for comprehension of the micro-structures present. These explain the sociocultural local coherence ties, but a listener cannot understand a discourse by depending on these sociocultural local ties alone, however; rather, there must also be a global topic structure that unifies sociocultural local devices and allows for the creation of a cognitive representation (Perfetti & Adlof, 2012). Some of these macro-structures become well established and thus easier for recipients to anticipate. A narrative, for example, has a structure made up of particular components. Individuals become accustomed to this pattern and can identify immediately that

“this is a narrative”, and begin organizing the incoming information accordingly (Perfetti & Adlof, 2012).

In his explanation of ‘talk-in-interaction’, van Dijk was more able to offer some initial hypotheses regarding discourse production (van Dijk, 2020, 2018; Mahzoon, Maher, Grace, LoCurto & Outcalt, 2016). A main question guiding this area of research was how individuals process and integrate new and old information in discourse comprehension or production. If it is understood that individuals have a large amount of information organized in their memories already, they have knowledge about the context and what behaviour is appropriated, and they have any prior information required to fully interpret the discourse, including the utterance directly before (van Dijk, 2019). Knowledge is organized into ‘knowledge units’.

About discourse production, van Dijk (2020) notes that during conversation, speakers must plan their speech acts. Discourse strategy seems to be the most efficient method of achieving speech goals. Other theorists have maintained the use of ‘discourse plan’ (Bosco, Tirassa & Gabbatore, 2018; Hinzen & Rosselló, 2015). In the current work, discourse strategy was explored to explain the actual structure (or plan) that discussants create and use during conversations. It is as a result of van Dijk’s conceptual standpoint of strategy as a cognitive representation. In narration, a discussant will first examine the model that consists of the speech environment. Notwithstanding, such an interlocutor must create a symbol that re-echoes expressions in discourse (van Dijk, 2018). It is in truth a ‘plan’. However, given its figural nature, the term ‘strategy’ looks acceptable.

As mentioned, van Dijk’s introduction of the theory of ‘mental models’ not only allows him to explain how episodic information might be organized in long-term memory, it also allows him to explain the connection between cognitive representations, discourse realizations, and the relation of both to society (van Dijk, 2015, 2014). In van Dijk’s Mental Model Theory, there are three main kinds of representations: situation models, context models, and experience (event) models (van Dijk, 2017). In reference to the current study is van Dijk’s notion of

experience models. These are representations in long-term memory of events, or of experiences had by individuals. They contain information about the setting, participants, and action sequences, and of course, evaluations of these (van Dijk, 1999). It is these experience models that form the basis for the narratives constructed during the campaign speech presentations by the Nigerian politicians.

It is important to note that all models are subjective. They are only partial reflections of reality and these reflections incorporate knowledge that already exists in semantic and episodic memory (van Dijk, 2020, 2014). It connotes that conceived information is interpreted and encoded as it relates to the existing body of knowledge. Furthermore, individuals attend to and encode information consistent with existing representations in relation to the specific ideologies and unequal power relations especially in the Nigerian political context.

4.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

The data analysis focused on two 2019 electoral speeches of Mohammodu Buhari and Alhaji Atiku Abubakar and were labelled as A (for Buhari's) and B (for Atiku's). However, the analysis did not focus on summarizing individual speeches point by point, or in sequence. The critical focus was rather on the strategies the discourses took to realize the intended outcome of the presenters given the consideration to language as a means of social struggle, ideological manipulation and unequal power reproduction.

4.1 The Discursive Strategies in the Campaign Conversations

4.1.1 Parallelism as a Discursive Strategy

In language, parallelism is a device in which there is the repetition of formal syntactic patterns in consecutive order in a particular text or body of texts. The essence is to achieve emphasis or sometimes to heighten the emotional tone and build the discourse to a climax. The parallel structures used in the campaign texts in this study are particularly significant because they legitimize or re-enact the

ideologies of the speakers. The use of this strategy by the speaker is to win the audience to their side. Some of the parallel structures used in the campaign text by the PDP flag bearer, Atiku Abubakar, are as follows:

1. *This is my plan to get Nigeria working again.* (B26)
2. *A plan that will give Nigerian workers a living wage.* (B27)
3. *A plan that will give Nigerian youth a world-class education.* (28)
4. *A plan that will empower Nigerian women, reduce maternal mortality and increase their financial stability.* (B29)
5. *A plan that will cater for the elderly, so our people are not afraid of growing old.* (B30)
6. *A plan that will invest in our failing infrastructure.* (B31)

4.1.2 Rhetorical Questions as a Discursive Strategy

Rhetorical questions are those in which the question is not answered directly, but rather is implied by what is said (Geis, 2012 ;). It is also used when a speaker who wishes to avoid stating the obvious uses a question that will imply what he or she considers being obvious. On the other hand, a speaker who wishes to convey something that is not obvious will sometimes use a rhetorical question to suggest that what is not obvious is obvious. Speakers can also use rhetorical questions to avoid giving a defence for what they wish to assert, especially when the asserted proposition is not obviously true. The rhetorical questions so used in that instance will imply rather than assert that the proposition is true. Examples from the campaign texts include the following:

1. *The most important question in this election is: "are you better off than you were four years ago? Are you richer or poorer?" that is why our primary focus is to get Nigeria working again.* (B5)
2. *Without jobs, where is the hope for a better life and a better future?* (B35)

4.1.3 Deixis as a Discursive Strategy

In linguistics, deixis is the use of general words and phrases to refer to a specific time, place, or person in context. Examples are the words *tomorrow*, *there*, and *they*. Words are deictic if their semantic meaning is fixed but their denoted meaning varies depending on time and/or place. Deixis is closely related to anaphora. Although this article deals primarily with deixis in spoken language, the concept is sometimes applied to written language, gestures, and communication media as well. In linguistic anthropology, deixis is treated as a particular subclass of the more general semiotic phenomenon of indexicality, a sign "pointing to" some aspect of its context of occurrence.

Discourse deixis, also referred to as text deixis, refers to the use of expressions within an utterance to refer to parts of the discourse that contain the utterance – including the utterance itself (see Huang, 2020; Nouraldeen, 2015; Erk, McCarthy & Gaylord, 2013). For example, in: *This is a great story*. "This" refers to an upcoming portion of the discourse; and in: *That was an amazing account*. "That" refers to a prior portion of the discourse.

Distinction must be made between discourse deixis and anaphora, which is when an expression makes reference to the same referent as a prior term, as in: Matthew is an incredible athlete; "he" came in first in the race.

In this case, "he" is not deictical because, within the above sentence, its denotative meaning of "Matthew" is maintained regardless of the speaker, where or when the sentence is used, etc. Lyons points out that it is possible for an expression to be both deictic and anaphoric at the same time. In his example: I was born in London, and I have lived "here/there" all my life. "here" or "there" functions anaphorically in their reference to London, and deictically in that the choice between "here" or "there" indicates whether the speaker is or is not currently in London.

Discourse deixis of "we", "our", and "us" have been observed in the political campaign speeches that this work discusses. Instances among others include:

1. *We have worked hard to fulfil our promises – and while the road may have been difficult, over the last three and a half years, we have laid the foundations for a strong, stable and prosperous country for the majority of our people. (A2)*
2. *Foundational work is not often visible, neither is it glamorous – but it is vital to achieving the kind of country we desire. (A3)*
3. *Judging by the prior depth of decay, deterioration and disrepair that Nigeria had sunken into, we are certain that these past few years have put us in good stead to trudge on the Next Level of building an even stronger nation for our people. (A4)*
4. *We were a nation at war – but we delivered on our commitment to secure the territorial integrity of our nation in the face of a raging insurgency that devastated many parts of the North East. (A5)*
5. *We liberated 17 Local Government Areas from the grip of insurgency. Brokering and sustaining peace in the Niger Delta has also been crucial to stabilising the polity. (A6)*
6. *Despite the difficult circumstances presented by weak oil prices and reduced oil production, we delivered on our commitment to make public investments to spur economic growth, job creation, and broad-based prosperity. (A7)*

4.1.4 Figurative Expressions (metaphor) as Discursive Strategy

In this study, it was observed that the politicians use figurative expressions to project their ideologies, get attention and emphasize special meaning with the ultimate goal of eliciting support and persuading the hearers.

It is observable that most politicians operating in an L2 context usually overlay their English expressions with experiences and meanings drawn from their socio-cultural backgrounds (Kotorova, 2021; Banikalef, 2020; Famararzi, Elekaei, & Tabrizi, 2015; Mirzaei & Eslami, 2013). In some of the texts, apart from common images in the

field of politics, it is possible to see some areas of experience from which the candidates, most frequently select their images. Some of the objects in the texts can be associated with natural concepts. Images are drawn from daily life experience, contemporary images, events and figures. The beauty of the choice of these images is that they are creatively employed as vehicles for the ideological projection of the political messages with the ultimate goal of wooing the voters (Akinwotu, 2013; Hong & Nadler, 2012). They situate the texts in the contexts that produced them and capture the socio-cultural, socio-linguistic and political experiences of the environment. They thus, enhance the comprehension and interpretation of the discourse. The dominating figures of speech foregrounded in this corpus is metaphor. The data has elements of war metaphor, in which words that are known to be used in wars are deployed to make a point in politics. Such instances include the following:

1. *We were a nation at war – but we delivered on our commitment to secure the territorial integrity of our nation in the face of a raging insurgency that devastated many parts of the North East. (A 5)*
2. *We liberated 17 Local Government Areas from the grip of insurgency. Brokering and sustaining peace in the Niger Delta has also been crucial to stabilising the polity. (A 6)*

At some other point, the speaker sees the relationship of the political process to his ambition as a journey thereby employing the metaphor of travel in such a way as:

I appeal to you to join me on this journey towards a better life for all Nigerians. (B 50)

4.2 Ideology in the Political Campaign Speeches

In reality, the employment of specific discursive strategies by the campaign presenters is to create certain mental effect in the hearers. The essence is to woo them into casting their votes in their (politicians')

favour. There are ideologies in all the discursive strategies used in the political speeches discussed in this study. The analyses are as follow:

4.2.1 Building Ideology through Rhetorical Questions

In this study, rhetorical questions in the campaign texts are used for ideological projections; to char a common front between the candidate and the audience; to raise thought provoking issues and to highlight socio-economic desires of the people. As a rhetorical strategy, the addressees are left to provide answers to the questions. In a few instances, a text may, however, supply an answer immediately. This may be a way to make the message definitive and clearer in order to arouse the people to make a decision for the candidate. Whichever way, the use of rhetorical questions in the political texts being discussed here was purposefully to manipulate the minds of the addressees. The addressees were therefore engaged in a mind 'game' as they were subjected to think and compare Nigeria before the existing government and what life of the citizens was at the point of the campaign.

Also, the speaker, by using rhetorical questions, induced the addressees into believing in his ideology of making Nigeria work again. This, of course, is an additional point that proves the ideological contents in the rhetorical questions as used in the political texts.

4.2.2 Ideological Implications of the Parallel Structures Used in the Campaign Speeches

As stated earlier, the parallel structures used in the campaign texts under study are particularly significant because they legitimize or re-enact the ideology of the speaker. It is therefore obvious that the structures were purposefully crafted for cognitive manipulations.

The analysis so far shows political speeches that are so skilfully crafted to convince and manipulate in order to get the electorate to cast their votes in support of the speakers. Whether the promises were fulfilled eventually is quite a different thing. Politicians usually make such lofty promises to gain the support of the people and this is the main purpose of the speeches.

As part of the text production strategy, the repetition of parallel structures highlighted in these extracts evokes common sense ideology about Nigeria and its socio-political and economic welfare in order to win the support of the people. He explicitly projected his ideology of making Nigeria “*work again*”- (B26).

4.2.3 Ideology of Isolation/Personality Profiling

The ideology of isolation/personality profiling abounds in the campaign speeches studied in this work. The speaker believed that recounting how successful he had been in handling some public offices in the past would earn him the supports of the electorates. In the extract below, the speaker’s (Atiku’s) personality profiling is glaring.

1. *It is my desire to run for the office of the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, not because I have a bag full of promises, but because I am prepared to lead.* (B18)
2. *I am not talking about what I can do. I am talking of what I have done before. I have served you before and I will serve you again.* (B20)
3. *I have succeeded in running my private enterprises which now employ 50,000 Nigerians because I believe in policies and I have the discipline to stay with them until they become reality.* (B17)
4. *When I was Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, I chaired the National Economic Council that gave Nigeria her highest and most consistent GDP growth of over 6% per annul.* (B21)
5. *Despite the fact that crude oil prices at that time were much lower than they are today, under the dynamic leadership of president Obasanjo, we paid off Nigeria’s entire foreign debt.* (B22)
6. *We also introduced the GSM revolution that saw Nigeria go from 100,000 phone-lines to over 100 million today.* (B23)

7. *We were able to achieve these, and much more, because we had a plan called the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy. (B24)*
8. *That plan worked, and today, I have the pleasure of unveiling our policies and strategies, not promises to take Nigeria from where she is right now to where she needs to be. (B25)*

These expressions project the candidate as the right person for the position and the opponents as not suitable for the same. There is personality projection and this arises from the producers' experience model that personality is reckoned in Nigerian politics than political parties. That is, people vote a candidate for his personality and his contribution to the society and not because of the political party to which he belongs. Hence, the candidate isolated his political party and fronted his personality and experience to the audience: "*... but because I am prepared to lead*". The sense of certainty or assurance was reinforced further by the choice of the clause: "*I am talking of what I have done before.*" The candidate declared his commitment, determination and seriousness to lead the people. His role as a leader was encoded in the declarative clause, '*I have served you before and I will serve you again*'.

As a sort of proof, the speaker recounted his success in his private establishments and as a Vice President under President Olusegun Obasanjo. The speaker believed that by presenting these achievements to the audience, he would convince them beyond doubt that he was tried and trusted in handling public offices and that he was the best for the office he is contesting.

The sense of personal responsibility and commitment was also suggested. The speaker portrayed himself as the people's servant who was willing to serve them. There was also an ideology of domination as reflected in the expression; '*I chaired...*' This was another way the speaker drew attention to his personality. The speaker believed that it was in the campaign/rally of this nature that you can tell the people what they needed to know about himself and influence or coerce them to vote for him.

The use of language as an instrument of social interaction is clearly conveyed. The candidate used language to interact with the people by demonstrating the attitude of gratitude and appreciation. The candidate also gave information concerning the fulfilment of his promises some years back. He implicitly told the people that he had not disappointed them and he would not disappoint them, ‘...and I will do it again’. This expression is meant to persuade the people to continue to give their support to him.

4.2.4 Building Ideology through the Deictic Use of ‘We’, ‘Our’ and ‘us’

According to Fairclough and Fairclough, (2013) ‘in political discourse the first-person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce the interpreters to conceptualise group identity, coalitions, parties, and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders’ (cf. Charteris-Black, 2018; Wirth-Koliba, 2016; Wodak & Richardson, 2013). Buhari’s use of the first plural pronominal reference “we” and its possessive variant “our” helps him to construct his idea of nation and national identity. In Buhari’s speech, “we”, “our” and “us” are used “exclusively” to refer to the Buhari’s administration as in:

1. *Four years ago, we promised Nigerians real change – in what we do and how we do it. Nigerians sent a clear message in the last election, and our platform offered a new, ambitious plan for a secure, prosperous and corruption-free country. (A1)*
2. *We have worked hard to fulfil our promises – and while the road may have been difficult, over the last three and a half years, we have laid the foundations for a strong, stable and prosperous country for the majority of our people. (A2)*
3. *Judging by the prior depth of decay, deterioration and disrepair that Nigeria had sunken into, we are certain that these past few years have put us in good stead to trudge on the Next Level of building an even stronger nation for our people. (A4)*
4. *We were a nation at war – but we delivered on our commitment to secure the territorial integrity of our nation in the face of a raging insurgency that devastated many parts of the North East. (A5)*

5. *We liberated 17 Local Government Areas from the grip of insurgency. Brokering and sustaining peace in the Niger Delta has also been crucial to stabilising the polity. (A6)*
6. *Nigeria, more than ever before, needs a stable and people-focused government to move the agenda for our country forward. Join us on this journey to the Next Level of a prosperous, strong and stable Nigeria! (A25)*

The use of these pronominals to represent the speaker and his administrative members at a point made a turn to representing the entire citizens of Nigeria. This is another way the politicians hit the cognitive conceptions of the electorate and make them believe that all, including them (the politicians) are involved in the condition (whether good or bad) of the country. Hence, presupposing that they will stop at nothing in fixing it; if not because of the masses, because it also affects them (the politicians). This ideology is represented thus;

7. *The next four years will be quite significant for our country. Nigeria is faced with a choice to keep building a new Nigeria-making a break from its tainted past which favoured an opportunistic few. Our choices will shape us – our economic security and our future prosperity. (A24)*
8. *Nigerians, we are all going higher! (A26)*

The use of the deictic 'we' to signify self-group was also made obvious in Atiku's speech. Aside the obvious inclusive expressions in his speech, there were other expressions that deduced inclusion. Examples:

9. *Instead, I would like to tell you how we will get Nigeria working again together. (B7)*
10. *I am strongly of the view that I am just one Nigerian and one Nigerian cannot be as wise as all Nigerians. (B8)*
11. *That is why I will offer an inclusive leadership. (B9)*
12. *Atiku Abubakar is 100% for 100% of Nigerians, 100% of the time. (B10)*

Here, Atiku maintained a sense of “all” though, not so overt. Notwithstanding, his speech style was still well represented in the implicit category as noted above.

From the sense below, there is a clear switch in the choice of pronouns from the deictic Buhari’s “we” that signalled self-group to deictic ‘I’ that signals self in Atiku’s speech. The switch in the pronominal choice from ‘we’ to ‘I’ suggested that Atiku tended to assert his agency to claim glory for the actions his government, if elected, intended to take to battle with the essential challenges of the country. Here, power and position also glared clearly. The excerpt below illustrates this claim:

13. *I am not talking about what I can do. I am talking of what I have done before.* (B20)
14. *I will also give the opportunity for anyone in Nigerian to have their say on the national television.* (B45)

4.2.5 Metaphor as an Ideological Tool

A metaphor, in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis, belongs to a variety of life experiences (experience model of Dijk’s mental model theory). It is not restricted to the kind of metaphor in poetry and literature. In general, metaphors are used to represent an incident using terms that belong to another area. It is, according to Fairclough, especially interesting when it is possible to choose between alternative metaphors, since the ideological attachments of a particular text becomes even more evident when a particular metaphor has been chosen instead of another (Fairclough, 2013).

Geis (2012) observes that there are two common sources of metaphors in politics: sports and war. Both political actors and news reporters use these metaphors to suggest physical contests of some sort as in these sports. It has been discovered that boxing metaphors are particularly common to convey a sense of toughness and aggression, especially during campaign periods when such an election is seen as a fight between two main male protagonists (Utych, 2018; Michira, 2014; Dunmire, 2012). In fact, the word ‘campaign’ is itself a reference to

battle and in campaigns, political battles are won. It is pertinent to point out that metaphors from sports and war are not just rhetorical devices for talking about politics, they exemplify what people ordinarily conceive politics to be. The key metaphors of politics involve concepts of enemies and opponents, winners and losers, especially during election campaigns. They do not suggest that government/governance could be achieved through conservation, co-operation, working together and other such collaborative efforts.

These two major fields of metaphors (i.e. sports and war) are well known in political discourse and as deployed by the politicians in this study, it is worthy to note that some categories of metaphors reflect the socio-cultural (situational and contextual models) backgrounds of the candidates. The new categories of metaphors include metaphors of religion and metaphors of journey. In this study, these categories of metaphors are described as contextual metaphors or socio-culturally constrained metaphors. In order to reflect the prevalent socio-economic and political situations, the candidates tended to appeal to images that would concretize their socio-economic policies and convey their 'welfarist' programmes in a vivid and picturesque manner.

In the extracts below, different types of metaphors in the corpus of this study are used to demonstrate how they projected the ideologies of the speakers or how they invoked a common sense assumption.

4.2.6.1 Metaphor of War/Violence

As stated earlier, the fields of sports and violence have remained two common sources of metaphors in politics. Politics is a contest of ideas. Since politics, especially political campaign itself, suggests a sense of contest and competition, and/or battle which is the major feature of the two fields, politicians and political reporters tend to borrow a lot of lexical items from both fields. The metaphorical expressions from the two fields were meant to project the two different ideological positions of the two contenders. Each contender tried to project his ideology by derogatorily projecting the 'other' and positively presenting his own ideology. The instances of the metaphor in this study are presented below:

1. *We were a nation at war – but we delivered on our commitment to secure the territorial integrity of our nation in the face of a raging insurgency that devastated many parts of the North East. (A5)*
2. *We liberated 17 Local Government Areas from the grip of insurgency. Brokering and sustaining peace in the Niger Delta has also been crucial to stabilising the polity. (A6)*
3. *... – a conflict which is heightened by a struggle for land, water and pasture and the effects of climate change and every now and then, opportunistic and cynical manipulation by political actors. We are implementing a blend of measures that ensures that justice, order, modernisation and new economic paradigms emerge. (A19)*

In the metaphors above, the sense of violence was depicted in ‘war’, ‘delivered’, ‘secure’, ‘raging’, ‘liberated’, ‘grip of insurgency’, ‘a conflict’, and ‘a struggle for land’.

4.2.6.2 Metaphors of Time

There were metaphorical references to time in the political campaign texts selected for this study. When politicians are trying to sell themselves and their political programmes to voters with the ultimate goal to gain power, slogans and lexical items referring to time either directly or by implication are employed. In the excerpts that follow, there is a careful choice of words that carry the implication of time and change. These words were used ideologically to project ‘self’ and ‘other’, which are different from their ordinary everyday usage and denotative meaning. The following excerpts from the speeches will illustrate this.

- i. *On October 6, 2018, I sought and obtained the mandate of the Peoples’ Democratic Party, to fly their flag as a candidate for the office of president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (B1)*
- ii. *Today, I am formally presenting myself to you as the presidential candidate of not just the PDP, but of the hopes and aspirations of all Nigerians. (B2)*

- iii. *Over the last 18 months, I have worked with the best experts Nigeria has to offer to come up with policies and plans that when implemented will get Nigeria going in the right direction again. (B19)*
- iv. *... and today, I have the pleasure of unveiling our policies and strategies, not promises to take Nigeria from where she is right now to where she needs to be. (B25)*
- v. *We have worked hard to fulfil our promises – and while the road may have been difficult, over the last three and a half years, we have laid the foundations for a strong, stable and prosperous country for the majority of our people.*
- vi. *Judging by the prior depth of decay, deterioration and disrepair that Nigeria had sunken into, we are certain that these past few years have put us in good stead to trudge on the Next Level of building an even stronger nation for our people.*

A critical look at the words such as ‘today’, ‘the last three and half years’, and others as used in these campaign texts revealed against the contexts of other usage that they carried meanings that went beyond the linear progression of clock time, days and months. These temporal deixis are markers of time. For instance, the word ‘today’ could represent the present socio-political or economic situation of the country, which is used in the context of power and ideology to project the ideology of positive self-representation and also used to show power relations – the superior ‘I’ (B21) who changed the situation and the implied inferior ‘others’ who could not. A close look at the deictical references therefore, shows that they were ideologically positioned to promote the interest of the speaker and to discredit his opponents.

4.2.6.3 Metaphors of Economic Desire/Potential

Metaphors of economic desire/ potentials in the sampled data from Buhari’s speech are presented below:

1. *Through the National Social Investment Programme, we are providing direct support to over 13 million Nigerians who need it by giving relief and assistance to unemployed youth, our*

children, the weak and vulnerable as well as small and medium businesses. (A13)

2. *Despite the difficult circumstances presented by weak oil prices and reduced oil production, we delivered on our commitment to make public investments to spur economic growth, job creation, and broad-based prosperity. (A7)*
3. *We took an unprecedented step towards creating a fairer and more equitable society by implementing Africa's biggest social investment programme. (A12)*
4. *Through the National Social Investment Programme, we are providing direct support to over 13 million Nigerians who need it by giving relief and assistance to unemployed youth, our children, the weak and vulnerable as well as small and medium businesses. (A13)*
5. *But even as we lay the foundation for a stable and prosperous nation, we acknowledge there is still much to do. The Next Level of effort focuses on job creation across various sectors. (A14)*

The metaphor of economic potential or desire was used by the candidates to project ideology of economic potential and the gain the people would enjoy when the speaker was voted into power.

5.0 Conclusion

It is important to re-emphasize that language has great power potentials to influence and shape public opinion. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, language plays a vital role in manifesting, creating and sustaining the ideological structures of society. These ideological structures are legitimized by the application of certain linguistic devices. Such linguistic devices, as text production or discursive strategy, could be seen in the use of strong and mild imperatives, enactment of lexical items with negative expressive value, use of declarative and metaphors among others. The study has revealed discourse structures that have implications for ideology in order to uncover hidden meanings and messages that are embedded in the linguistic expressions used.

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