A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CODE-MIXING IN SELECTED SPEECHES OF FORMER GOVERNOR ABDULAZIZ YARI ABUBAKAR OF ZAMFARA STATE

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Abstract

Speeches are written and delivered around the world every day and hour. Despite that, it has been observed that audiences complain about the way speakers use different styles and strategies when delivering their speeches. In a politics related communication process, for example, every speaker is believed to have what he wants to pass across to his audience. Meanwhile, when listeners are considered from their literacy level, it may be said that many of them (especially the illiterate ones) usually react differently to the speeches they listen to. When they are supposed to be sober after listening to a political figure's speech, on many occasions, they praise the political figure instead. To sustain that kind of behaviour, political office holders make use of certain discursive strategies such as code-mixing. Against this backdrop, this research sets out to study elements of code-mixing in the selected speeches of former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar from the standpoint of Critical Discourse Analysis. To realise that, the work adopted Fairclough's (1989) Discourse as a Social Practice as a theoretical framework. The data used for the critical analysis were three randomly selected speeches from twenty of the speeches that were delivered by the former Governor when he was in office. The speeches were collected from Zamfara State History Bureau and Legacy News Paper Company. The extracted parts of each of the selected speeches were first presented before the analysis to indicate the various points where elements of code-mixing are located in the speech, using italics. Thereafter, the analysis of the collected data is presented on a table of three columns. The work confirms that codemixing is one of the discursive strategies politicians use as instruments of manipulation in their speeches to win the supports of their audience.

Keywords: Code-Mixing, Speech Writing and Delivery, Discursive Strategy, Language of Politics/Ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

One of the areas of concern for the general public today is the way speeches are delivered. Speakers use different discursive strategies in order to convey their messages depending on their audiences. It is common to find people reading and listening to speeches without understanding the main content of the messages being put across by the presenters. Consequently, when the listeners are considered from their literacy level, it may be said that many of them (especially the illiterate ones) are unable to benefit from the speeches despite the energy, time and resources that are used in preparing and delivering them. It is therefore necessary to look into the possibility of this among the people of Zamfara State (especially the non-literate) particularly when the former Governor used the English Language while delivering his speeches when he was in office.

One might be wondering what would make the listeners, who were supposed to be sober after listening to the political figure's speeches on many occasions, to praise him instead. It is from this perspective that the researcher saw the need to study the former Governor's selected speeches from the standpoint of Critical Discourse Analysis, which has to do with 'the study of discourse in relation to the structure of a society' (Matthews 1997:87). In order to fully achieve this, specific attention was paid to the use of code-mixing in the speeches. This study, therefore, interrogated the assumption that the discursive strategy of political code-mixing affected former Governor Yari's audiences during his speech delivery.

It is in the interest of this work to find answers to the following questions: How was code-mixing structured in former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar's written speeches? What were the critical effects of code-mixing choices in the former Governor's speeches on his audience? To what extent did the former Governor's adoption of codemixing promote his ideologies in his communication with the audience?

The aim of this research is to carry out a critical discourse analysis of elements of code-mixing used by former Governor Abdul-

aziz Yari Abubakar, in some of his speeches. This is assumed to be necessary for the purpose of explaining how the strategy of code-mixing affected former Governor Yari's audiences during his speech delivery. Thus, the specific objectives this study hopes to achieve are to: explain the process by which code-mixing was structured in former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar's written speeches. evaluate the critical effects of code-mixing choices in the former Governor Abdul-aziz Yari Abubakar's speeches on his audience. examine the extent at which the former Governor's adoption of code-mixing promoted his ideologies in his communication with the audience.

The study of Yari's speeches, which were written and delivered in English, is necessary so as to identify, expose and possibly resist social inequality (van Dijk 1990) that may exist between the Governor and people of Zamfara State. The analysis of his speeches written and delivered in English, it is hoped, will contribute to the development of a distinctive discursive style in tertiary schools of learning and will affect at least some individuals in the society through propagation of critical awareness of language as a factor in domination. Specifically, the study investigates and analyses how and why political figures use code-mixing as a discursive strategy in their speeches based on painstaking efforts and not mere speculations.

In studying how the social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, produced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context, this research is specifically a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of a prominent political actor, the former Governor of Zamfara State. The speeches include those delivered on different occasions such as project commissioning, swearing-in of political office holders and inauguration of board members of agencies. Three of his speeches delivered in English are analysed to highlight effects of the choice of code-mixing in his speeches on his audiences, using CDA.

Review of Related Literature Code and Code-Mixing: An Overview

Code can be defined from different points of view, depending on the subject of discourse. However, from the standpoint of this paper, the concept, according to Abu-Krooz, Al-Azzawi and Saadoon (2019:3), is an aspect of communication that has to do with "a rule for converting a piece of information (for example, a letter, word, or phrase) into another form or representation, not necessarily of the same sort." In communications and information, codes are subjected to the process of encoding, which is "the process by which a source (object) performs this conversion of information into data, which is then sent to a receiver (observer), such as a data processing system" (Krooz, Al-Azzawi and Saadoon 2019:3). Meanwhile, it is possible for a person to learn one or more languages apart from the language(s) the person grows up with. Such an individual, usually on impulse or otherwise, slips into codemixing while communicating. Hence, quoting Wibowo (2017), Silaban and Marpaung (2020:5) state that code-mixing or a mixed code is using "two languages such a third, new code emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structural definable pattern." While emphasising that the mixing may involve more than two languages, Silaban and Marpaung (2020:5) establish that the "main characteristic of code-mixing is the informal situation. In formal situations, code-mixing rarely happen(s). (If) there is code-mixing in that situation . . . the speaker wants to show up [sic] his ability or . . . knowledge in using . . . language" as can be underlined in the speeches of the former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar of Zamfara State.

The Language of Politics/Ideology

Language as a phenomenon is defined by Sapir (1921) and cited by Oyeleye (2004) as "a pure human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols." It is based on the fact that language is human and serves as an instrument of interaction that Abaya (2008:38) concludes that politicians "use language to achieve their aim of winning political support of the people." This is close to the view of Thorne (1997) in which he says that "Many people believe that language influence thought . . . so . . . politicians can influence the way we think about events around us, and the words they choose are a social part of that process." Abaya (2008) explains this further: ". . . politicians have a particular way of perceiving the world or a particular ideology. Because they have different ideologies, they approach political issues from different ideologies."

Hence, it is very difficult to separate language from politics. This is the reason Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) are of the view that politicians should be concerned about how their linguistic choices are ordered while communicating with their audience – the prospective electorate. They explain further that regimes – either democratic or totalitarian – need to communicate informative, persuasive, advertising purposes and on issue pertaining to their rules and regulations. In the process of explaining language and politics, Chilton (1998) in Anyanwu (2020:15) describes language as "the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate" and politics as "the art of governance." Rozina and Karapetjana (2009:113) extend these definitions when they view language "as an instrument to interact or transact in various situations and/or in different organizations being conventionally recognized as political environment." Thus, it can be said that language is indispensable to politics.

The concept of language ideology as quoted in the work of Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:57) is explained from different perspectives. Each of the definitions is given as: "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure of use." They add that language ideology is "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships together with their loading of morals and political interests" and "shared bodies of common sense notions about the nature of language in the world" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994:57). By and large, language contributes immensely in the achievement of general acceptance of certain ideologies (Cameron in Yunana 2012). Hence, it could be said that former Governor Yari, in his speeches to the people of Zamfara, exercised control over the people he addressed.

Speech Writing and Presentation/Delivery

Speech writing is as important as its delivery. Although speech is generally meant to be spoken, sometimes it comes in a written form. In the explanation given by Enemaku (2005), some speeches are spontaneously rendered without prior preparations while others are sketched out, with the speaker adding flesh to them as they are being delivered. Enemaku adds certain principles necessary for a successful speech writing and making. One of the principles is that speakers should have the audience in mind as the speech is not specifically meant for the speaker or writer but for the audience being addressed. Therefore, whether in speech writing or delivery, there is need for the speaker to be audience-friendly and communicate in a way that the audience can understand and benefit maximally from the contents of the speech. Enemaku also mentions that it is very necessary that speech writers or presenters understand the audience very well so as to avoid speaking above or below their (audience's) level. It is in support of this that McCutcheon et al (1994:13) advise that a speech writer or presenter should first ask himself or herself the following questions while preparing speech:

- i. Is this material appropriate for this group?
- ii. How would I feel if I were asked the question I am asking?
- iii. Am I giving my audience new information?
- iv. Is my material too difficult or too easy for my audience?

Enemaku (2005:30) further provides four areas of responsibility which have to be emphasised in speech writing and presentation. These include:

- *i. Responsibility to Oneself:* It is expected that a speech writer or presenter has a responsibility to believe in himself or herself and be faithful to what he or she is writing or speaking about.
- *ii.* Responsibility to the Audience: It is also expected that in every speech that is prepared and delivered, it is necessary that there is a reflection of a measure of respect for the audience. It will be wrong to assume

that the audience is made up of people who lack the capacity to think.

- iii. Responsibility to Speech Content: Logicality is very important in a speech as illogical speeches usually lack in the quality of thinking or presentation of evidence. Consequently, such speeches cannot convince or persuade the audience.
- iv. Responsibility to Society at Large: By this, it means that in every speech, a writer is responsible to the society at large. Therefore, he/she is expected to contribute to the sustenance of the good societal legacies by avoiding saying things that can destroy such legacies.

However, when speeches of politicians in Nigeria are considered, it may be very difficult to find among the speakers those who usually take into consideration the importance of being responsible to the audience and the society at large. This is because a good number of individuals in the corridors of power enjoy the absence of strong opposing individuals to query their utterances when such utterances do not favour them. It is in relation to this that the present study is investigating the code-mixing elements former Governor Abdul-aziz Abubakar Yari of Zamfara State used in delivering his speeches.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Overview

In Critical Discourse Analysis, empirical research focuses on interrelationships between discourse and wider social structures. The analysis of the text is central to this task. In Critical Discourse Analysis, 'text' has a more complex meaning. It can refer to a speech or spoken discourse, written documents, visual images or a combination of these three. CDA adopts an overt political stance in terms of both the kinds of topics it studies and roles it sees from the results of the research. It sets out to reveal the role discourse plays in the (re)production that challenges dominance (van Dijk 1993) when establishing and maintaining power relations groups in society (Fairclough 1989). This is in line with the view of Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:63-64) when they say that:

Critical discourse analysis is 'critical' in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations of power, its aim is to contribute to social change along the lines of more equal power relations in communication processes and society in general.

McGregor (2003) provides a wide range of description of CDA, citing Luke (1977) where it is said that given the power of the written and spoken words, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analysing and critiquing social life reflected in text. it therefore provides a systematic explanation of the unclear relationships between discursive practices, texts and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Fairclough 1989).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework capable of realising the incorporation of linguistic behaviour with the political behaviour in analysis is Fairclough's (1989) Discourse as a Social Practice. The approach centres on raising awareness on how language can influence the dominance of one group of people over the other. It emphasises that awareness is the first step towards emancipation. To reach this goal, Fairclough (1995) further campaigns for raising the level of people's consciousness. He assumes that, in discourse, the subjects do not strictly speak or know what they are doing and they are unaware of the potential social impact of what they do or utter. This is relevant to what is obtainable in Nigeria as a country and specifically among the masses that form the main population of Zamfara State. A good number of the people in this group are needed to be sensitized about the rights they have to reject or query any order as may be given by people in authority.

Methodology

The data collected for this research are 20 speeches of former Governor Yari from the Zamfara State History Bureau and Legacy News Paper Company. The data collected contain series of speeches delivered by the former Governor of Zamfara State, Abdul-aziz Yari Abubakar. Although many speeches were delivered by the former Governor, when he was in office, and as well recorded and kept, a total number of twenty (20) of the speeches was obtained, out of which three (3) were randomly selected to represent project commissioning, swearing-in and inaugural speeches. The extracted part of each of the selected speeches is first presented before the analysis to indicate the various points where elements of code-mixing are located in the speech, using italics. Thereafter, the analysis of the collected data is presented on a table of three columns. The first column represents the number of the text(s) that is extracted from each of the selected speeches. The second column contains the extracted text(s) while the third column has the codemixing element(s) the former Governor chose in the speech, which constitute a critical undertone. A short description of the political choice of each of the code-mixing elements is given under each of the table. The model is expected to explain former Governor Yari's speeches as influenced by the social identities and interaction of the political figure and the people of Zamfara State in relation to their knowledge system and belief.

Data Presentation, Analysis, Discussions and Findings

Table 1 contains the speech at the commissioning of "Zamfara Zakat and Endowment Office Complex." In Table 2, the former Governor was addressing people of Zamfara State at the swearing-in ceremony of newly appointed sole administrators of the 14 local governments of the State. In Table 3, the speech was made at the inauguration of the Chairman and Board Members of Zamfara State Pilgrims' Welfare Agency

Table 1

S/N	Text	Code-Mixing Token
1.	All praised be to Allah Subhanahu Wataala, may the peace and the blessing of Allah be upon our noble and sealed of the Prophet Muhammad (Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam), his family, his companions and those who follow his teachings till the last day	 i praised be to Allah Subhanahu Wataala ii blessing of Allah iii. the Prophet Muhammad (Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam)
2.	Your eminence, the people of Zamfara State are indeed happy to receive you in our midst today to bless and commission the edifice constructed to house the activities of the State <i>Zakat</i> and Endowment Board	activities of the State Zakat
3.	As Muslims, we are very much aware of the significance of Zakat as one of the fundamental pillars of Islam as ordained by our creator Allah Subhanahu Wataala	
4.	Alhamdulillah, immediately after we assumed office, our administration identified this project as very vital and therefore accorded it prompt and priority attention	Alhamdulillah, immediately after we assumed office

5.	We therefore released the sum of N60,000,000 for the completion of this project which His Eminence will, <i>in-</i> <i>sha Allah</i> commission, as part of our numerous achievements	which His Eminence will, <i>in-sha Allah</i> commission
6.	I will like to use this medium to call on all the well-to-do <i>Muslims</i> in Zamfara State to support the effort of the State Government and by given out your <i>Zakat</i> and Endowment through the <i>Zakat</i> Board for effective and judicious distribution among those prescribed by <i>Allah Subhanahu</i> <i>Wataala</i> as the only categories of people entitled to benefit from such noble gesture of our religion as contained in Holy Quran <i>Suratul Taubat</i> chapter 9 verse 60	 i the well-to-do Muslims ii by given out your Zakat and Endowment through the Zakat Board iii those prescribed by Allah Subhanahu Wataala iv our religion as contained in Holy Quran Suratul Taubat chapter 9 verse 60
7.	Thank you and Wassalamu Alaikum	Thank you and Wassalamu Alaikum

NOTE: The instances of code-mixing involve English and Arabic. Though the speech is primarily written in English, it is characterised by Arabic words/phrases/clauses like Allah Subhanahu Wataala, Allah, Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam, Zakat, Muslims, Islam, Alhamdulillah, in-sha Allah, Suratul Taubat and Wassalamu Alaikum to emphasise the importance of paying Zakat to the audience.

Discussion

The speaker exploited the discursive strategy of code-mixing to achieve the following:

The Use of Arabic Expressions in the Introductory and Closing *Paragraphs:* There is use of Arabic expression in the introductory part of the speech from which the excerpt was developed. "All praised be to Allah Subhanahu Wataala, may the peace and the blessing of Allah be upon our noble and sealed of the Prophet Muhammad (Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam), his family, his companions and those who follow his teachings till the last day" was meant to prepare the minds of the readers/listeners on what was to follow. The speaker therefore used Arabic expressions in order to gain the full attention of his audience. This, he did by glorifying God and praising Prophet Muhammad. It is also the tradition of Muslims to be attentive whenever their Prophet's name is mentioned. This means that the majority of his audience were Muslims, which helped the speaker to freely invoke Allah (the Muslim name for God) and His Messenger. In the same vein, the audience would pay a rapt attention to the former Governor's last statement because they believed to have contained important messages, promises and well-wishes. The speaker used Arabic expressions to pray to the Almighty God before he left the stage. This was done in line with the ideology that in Islam, the faithful have the common belief that the probability of getting one's prayer accepted by God is higher, when the prayer is said in Arabic, than in any other language.

Use of Arabic Greeting to Close the Speech: In the Nigerian culture, greeting seems vital for the smooth take off or closing of any communication encounter. Remarkably, the speaker used the Arabic form of greeting, meaning *peace be unto you* to close his speech in English here – (14) "Thank you and Wassalamu Alaikum." One may, however, begin to wonder why the speaker chose an Islamic form of greeting over a conventional (western) form of greeting to close his speeches. This may be said to show solidarity and love for the Islamic religion and his desire to be identified with the religion on a formal occasion.

The Use of Arabic Words for Things or Ideas: Study of the excerpt reveals that there is persistent use of the Arabic language to name things or ideas by the former Governor in his speeches. The use of Allah, *Alhamdu lillah*, meaning thanks be to God, *Wassalamu Alaikum*, meaning peace be on to you, *Zakat* which means alms giving, and so on are symbols of solidarity with his Muslim audience.

The Use of Arabic Expressions as Transitional Devices: The speaker used, in this excerpt, Arabic expressions as a transitional devices or conjunctions to link sentences. An example of this is the use of *Alhamdu lillah*, meaning *thanks be to God*. It was used to show development from an idea to another. The expression was derived from the Holy Qur'an and used by the speaker to draw the attention of his audience to what followed. It was also used because the audiences would have respect for anything quoted from the Qur'an.

The Use of Quotations from the Qur'an: Examples of these are found in sentences (11). : ". . . Holy Quran chapter 9 verse 103 and I quote, 'Collect religious tax, *Zakat*, from them to purify and cleanse them and pray for them; your prayers give them comfort'" and "in Holy Quran *Suratul Taubat* chapter 9 verse 60 and I quote 'Welfare funds, *Zakat*, are only for the poor, the destitute, the tax collectors, those whose hearts are inclined towards Islam, the slaves, those who cannot pay their debts, for the cause of God, and for those who have become needy on a journey."

The Qur'an is the Muslims' Holy Book. As such, the speaker from time to time quoted from the Holy Book in its Arabic text in order to refresh the audience's memory. The quotations were used to appeal to the audience's religious sentiments and easily convince them. That affirms that the speaker is knowledgeable – an attribute that is considered a great achievement in the northern states where Muslims are the majority.

Table 2

S/N	Text	Code-Mixing Token
2.	All praise be to Allahsubhanahuwataala, may the blessings of Allah be upon our noble and the seal of prophets, Muhammad sallallahualaihiwasallam, his family, companions and all those who follow his teachings till the day of judgment. You must therefore work towards improving the wellbeing of our people and ensuring compliance with the principles and tenets of Sharia legal system	 i. All praise be to Allahsubhanahuwataala ii the seal of prophets, Muhammad sallallahualaihiwasallam tenets of Sharia legal system
3.	This will go a long way to complement government effort in this regard bearing in mind that <i>Allah</i> will reward all our good deeds most abundantly during the Holy month of <i>Ramadan</i>	 i regard bearing in mind that <i>Allah</i> ii during the Holy month of <i>Ramadan</i>
4.	Thank you, wassalamu Alaikum	wassalamu Alaikum

NOTE: The instances of code-mixing involve English and Arabic. Though the speech is primarily written in English, it is characterised by Arabic words/phrases/clauses like Allahsubhanahuwataala, sallallahualaihiwasallam, Sharia, Allah, and wassalamu Alaikum to enlighten the 14 Local Government Sole Administrators that were being sworn-in.

Discussion

The speaker exploited the discursive strategy of code-mixing to achieve the following:

The Use of Arabic Expression in the Introductory and Closing **Paragraphs:** The speaker made use of code-mixing between English and Arabic in opening and closing the speech. In the introduction is (16) "All praise be to Allah subhanahuwataala, may the blessings of Allah be and the seal of prophets, Muhammad upon our noble sallallahualaihiwasallam, his family, companions and all those who follow his teachings till the day of judgment" while the conclusion is as (42) "Thank you, wassalamu Alaikum." Some other Arabic expressions also featured in the speech even though they could have been said in English. These include Wassalamu Alaikum (Peace be upon to you), Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala (the glorified God high), Sallahu Alaihi wasallam (peace and blessing of God be upon him), Alhamdulillah (thanks be to God).

Use of Arabic Greeting to Close the Speech: In the excerpt, the former Governor closed his speech with (42) "Thank you, *wassalamu Alaikum*" not only to greet the audience, but also to appreciate them, possibly for their attention he had enjoyed.

The Use of Arabic Words for Things or Ideas: Examples of Arabic words used for things and ideas to achieve code-mixing in the excerpt are (23) ". . . ensuring compliance with the principles and tenets of *Sharia* legal system. . ." and (31) ". . . bearing in mind that *Allah* will reward all our good deeds most abundantly during the Holy month of *Ramadan*."

Table 3

S/N	Text	Code-Mixing Token
1.	All praise be to Allah, subhanahuwataala, may the peace and blessing of Allah be upon our noble and the seal of the prophet Muhammad Sallallahu Alaihi Wasalam	 i. All praise be to Allah, subhanahuwataala ii blessing of Allah iii the prophet Muhammad Sallallahu Alaihi Wasalam
2.	Indeed the overall success of <i>hajj</i> operation relies heavily on our shoulders.	
3.	(58) Before I conclude, let me remind you to fear ALLAH.	to fear ALLAH
4.	As you are aware, we are now in the month of <i>shawwal</i>	
5.	Thank you, wassalamu Alaikum	Thank you, wassalamu Alaikum

NOTE: The instances of code-mixing involve English and Arabic. Though the speech is primarily written in English, it is characterised by Arabic words/phrases/clauses like Allah, subhanahuwataala, Sallallahu Alaihi Wasalam, hajj, shawwal and wassalamu Alaikum to tell the addressed that assurance of the success of hajj is their sole responsibility.

Discussion

The speaker exploited the discursive strategy of code-mixing to achieve the following:

Use of Arabic Greeting to Close the Speech: (69) "Thank you, *wassalamuAlaikum*", a usual closing greeting of the former Governor that is characterised with a mixture of English and Arabic phrases was still maintained in the excerpt.

The Use of Arabic Expression in the Introductory and Closing Paragraphs: There was a reoccurrence of the speaker's use of codemixing between English and Arabic in opening and closing his speech as presented in (44) "All praise be to Allah subhanahuwataala, may the blessings of Allah be upon our noble and the seal of prophets, Muhammad sallallahualaihiwasallam, his family, companions and all those who follow his teachings till the day of judgment" while the conclusion was still(69) "Thank you, wassalamu Alaikum."

The Use of Arabic Words for Things or Ideas: There was a repetition of the word *hajj* in sentences 54, 55, 56, 61, 65, 66 for the purpose of emphasis and to foreground the reason the committee was inaugurated. *Allah* was also mentioned in sentences 58 and 68 as Arabic word for Almighty God. The Arabic calendar was also represented in the mentioning of the month of *Shawwal* as its alternative in English might not have been possible to be used.

Findings

This study examined the use of code-mixing by Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar of Zamfara State in various speeches to achieve different communicative functions. The work later made the following findings.

- i. The study establishes that former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar of Zamfara State mixed English and Arabic in his speeches but conspicuously avoided the use of Hausa, which is the native language of most of his audience.
- ii. The study finds that there is a reality of communication gap existing between the former Governor and a good number of his audience. This can be attributed to their low level of education or inability to understand English to a certain degree or at all though English Language is the language the former Governor delivered most of his speeches; at least, those used in this work.
- iii. For the purpose of achieving critical ends, the former Governor structured code-mixing in his speeches through *introduction*,

background, lines of argument, refuting objections and conclusion where the closing arguments are made.

- iv. The study also finds that former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar of Zamfara State has particular ways of perceiving the world through certain ideologies and thus projects these ideologies through the use of code-mixing so as to persuade people of Zamfara State to identify with him.
- v. The study reveals that the former Governor's adoption of codemixing greatly assisted him in convincing the audience to believe his points of view on issues presented in his speeches.

Conclusion

This study was a *Critical Discourse Analysis of Elements of Code-Mixing in Selected Speeches of Former Governor Abdulaziz Yari Abubakar of Zamfara State.* Based on its findings, there are evidences of power play in the former Governor's interaction with the people of Zamfara State. The outcome of this is his inconsistency in observing responsibility to the audience while delivering his speeches and at the same time creating a communication gap between him and a good number of the audience who are not on the same proficiency level with him in the use of English. His choice of code-mixing between English and Arabic helped him to enjoy some political power with which he had the opportunity of persuading the people of Zamfara State to identify with his ideologies.

This study concludes on the note that the social inequality that existed between the former Governor and the people of Zamfara State has been identified and exposed for the purpose of creating critical awareness of language as a factor in domination. Therefore, the awareness created in this study is meant to propagate that one of the discursive strategies politicians use as instruments of manipulation in their speeches to win the supports of their audience is code-mixing.

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