LEXICALISATION AND IDEOLOGIES IN BOKO HARAM VIDEOS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE EXPLORATION

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Abstract

Messages in Boko Haram speeches are interlarded by ideologies that show negative outgroup polarity of others and positive ingroup polarity of self. This study explores the discourse elements that are used in Boko Haram Speeches to show these polarities. Five speeches of Boko Haram were purposively selected from the online transcript of the speeches on *Legit.ng* and *Premium Times* online newspapers. The study was guided by the postulations of Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model of Critical Discourse analysis. The analysis focused on discourse thematisation, group polarities and ideologies communicated through lexical means. The study found that words like "infidels, tyrants, idiots, pagans and thieves" were used by Abubakar Shekau to show negative outgroup polarity of others while discourse elements like "we follow Allah, we obey Qur'an" were used to show positive ingroup polarity. Also, terror thematisation pervaded the speeches as Abubakar Shekau constantly averred that they would continue to kill and that even if he died, there were other fighters that would continue the fight. This terror thematisation, we conclude, is to instil fear in listeners while dampening the courage of Nigerian soldiers. The study therefore recommends that Nigerian troops need to do more in understanding the operational ideologies of the group if they will ever win the war against terror.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Lexicalisation, Ideologies, Polarities, Meaning

Introduction

In recent decades, the phenomena of ethnicity and religious intolerance have resulted in the incessant recurrence of ethno-religious conflicts, giving birth to a plethora of ethnic militias such as the Bakassi

Boys, O'dua People Congress (OPC), Egbesu Boys; the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC); the Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC), and the Igbo People Congress (IPC), (Salawu, 2010, pp. 345-353, cited in Folarin and Faith, 2012, p. 8). The roots of these organisations' agitation may be traced back to a number of factors, such as religious intolerance and ethnic chauvinism. It is difficult to say how many of these rebel organisations exist due to lack of data. According to Onuoha (2012, pp. 134-151), "about 40% of the ethno-religious conflicts have occurred in Nigeria's Fourth Republic." Despite the government's moderate success in fighting the danger, there was a significant increase in the number of terrorist incidents in the country between 2012 and 2014. The most notable insurgency-prone groups that have endangered Nigeria's national security, territoriality, sovereignty, and unity have been Niger Delta militant organisations, Biafra agitators, and Boko Haram terrorists. This study therefore focuses on the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

For almost a decade, the Boko Haram insurgency has been a source of contention in Nigerian security circles (Mantzikos 2013). Boko Haram however, prefers the term "Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad," which means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad." The inhabitants of Borno State gave the organisation the moniker Boko Haram because of its stance against western education which they consider as evil or 'haram'. According to Mantzikos (2013), the name of the organisation is a combination of the words "Boko," which means "Western education," and "Haram," which means "sin" (Oyedeji and Ogungbe, 2022). Boko Haram is an extremist Islamic sectarian organisation that was established in an effort to correct the Islamic faith's erroneous injunctions and fight all forms of Western prejudice. According to Owolade (2014), the organisation originated as a consequence of a conflict between Shiek Jafaar Adam's moderate Islamic teachings at the Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria, and a more extreme reading of the Qu'ran by Mohammed Yusuf's followers (Adetula 2015).

Discourse, Power, and Language

Our goal is to show how powerful individuals in a society utilise language to assign power indices to parties; often at the expense of the less powerful. According to Wodak (1989, p. 112), "CDA takes the viewpoint of people who suffer the most and critically examines those in authority, those who are responsible, and those who have the resources and opportunity to address such problems." Similarly, Wodak (1990) opines that "Power is preserved via language". When an analyst uses language as an ideological weapon to exclude or include a reader, a value system, or even an individual, power dynamics play a significant role in the discourse, both theoretically and practically.

Power plans a parade for the whole society. Power is not always used against the reader, and analysts are not always the primary players and victims of power struggles. It may also be aimed against the material's content or originator, as well as the source of the information. You may communicate with your audience by utilising words. As a result of this process, dominance emerges. In combination with other social factors, dominance is defined as one of the major economically defined classes wielding control over society as a whole. It is all about forging alliances and integrating the underclasses via ideological methods. It is the location of an ongoing battle between classes and blocs over areas of greatest vulnerability in order to create or maintain alliances and dominance relations that assume economic, political, and ideological forms (Gramsci, 1971, p. 432).

As a result, according to Birch (1993, p. 98), the kinds of language we "use" are not freely selected. Language choices are influenced by a variety of political, social, cultural, and ideological factors. These limitations suggest that a system of social methods such as authority, order, subordination, cohesiveness, and inferior/superior roles and status may be used to regulate, maintain "good order," and assign individuals' inferior/superior roles and status. Antagonism, joy, and other such emotions are all part of society's control mechanisms. There is always politics where there is power, and there is always conflict where there is control. Politics cannot be avoided in communication;

no matter how basic or harmless it seems. There seems to be a persistent power based on this concept.

The purpose of this research is to look at how and why such people use semiotic codes. Fairclough (1995, p. 218) argues that "when we get to the core of the problems via study in Critical Discourse Analysis, the role of power and power abuse in the discursive management of information in communication becomes important." He argues that knowledge is not something that "grows" on people; rather, it is taught and learned, created and utilised, sold and consumed, and all of these interactions and transactions include social roles, groups, and organisations. This display of power is shown in Boko Haram videos.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Readers' responses to social problems, actions and inactions, and worldview are all influenced by visual media resources. These elements are frequently influenced by the choice of foregrounded and "background" materials used in these visual resources. Furthermore, the people who use these materials reflect ideas that have become common social practices. As a result, it is not fictive to claim that the majority of these images exhibit minor prejudice, particularly in their depiction of people, places, and problems. Nothing in the media can be considered objective. As a result, a sophisticated theory may be able to reveal these biases, resulting in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA forthwith).

CDA is a multidimensional theory that focuses on power dynamics and domination in media discourse - texts and images. It is concerned with defining, analysing, and comprehending linguistic diversity, as well as communicative engagement, with a focus on social literacy and power issues (Wodak 2007). According to van Dijk (2004), discourse analysis (CDA) is a research method that focuses on bringing to light how power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted in the social and political environment through text and conversation. Fairclough (1999, pp. 132-3) defines CDA as a method of systematically analysing discourse in order to

capture a description of the oblique connection between the text and society in terms of how "powers" are ideologically implemented.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts van Dike's Socio-Cognitive Model of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk (1997, p. 17) offers a set of frameworks for uncovering power structures and ideological components in texts. These categories are important to CDA since they are the analytical tools used to sift through ideologies that underlie discourses.

a. Actor Description: This refers to how the actor depicts individuals in his dialogue. People are classified into two groups: those who belong to a negative outgroup and those who belong to a positive ingroup.

b. Authority: People's citations of various authorities are backed up by the ideological affinity they represent.

c. Categorization: People are classified based on ideological factors such as race, ethnicity, and so on.

d. Comparison: While dealing with racist problems, the out-group is portrayed negatively while the ingroup is represented favourably; yet, when dealing with anti-racist issues, our government is adversely represented.

e. Disclaimers: People disclaim in order to ideologically polarise the good aspects of group representation to themselves while defaming the public image of others.

f. Euphemism: These phrases are employed to portray facts in an artistically pleasing and societally acceptable manner.

g. Generalization: This is employed in racist speech, particularly when drawing broad conclusions about the negative implications of immigration.

h. Hyperbole: This is a subtle technique for improving conversations in order to accomplish ideological goals.

i.   Implication: Contextual problems can offer implicit meaning in discourses. As a result, language users may convey more than just what is spoken.

j.   Irony: Using indirect language to convey prejudice is more successful than using direct speech.

k.   Polarization: People are portrayed in two ways: ingroup polarisation (the "self/us") and outgroup polarisation (the "them").

l.   Presupposition: Once truths have been established, the presupposition is utilised to enhance the intended meaning in respect to contextual subtleties.

m. Vagueness: Writers may employ ambiguous phrases to hide their original intentions from readers.

n.   Victimization: This involves negatively presenting others.

According to Van Dijk (2001), textbooks are constructed in such a manner that hegemony and control over individuals are exercised via the language of power.

Methodology

This study is a qualitative analysis of Boko Haram speeches in selected Videos. The videos were purposively selected from online sources linked to some Nigerian Newspapers such as *Legit.ng,* and *Premium Times.* Excerpts from the 5 selected videos were subjected to empirical analysis leaning on the postulations of van Dijk's treatise on Critical Discourse Analysis reviewed above. The theory was adopted because it falls within the praxis of the exploration of ideological import of lexical choices deployed in speech and talks. Also, this study depends largely on the translation of the speeches by Ola Audu, Lere Mohammed and the researcher's knowledge of Hausa.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This section explores the use of words by the group. It highlights the varying ideologies that are expressed by the use of lexical expressions in the videos. Clearly, the analyses focus on the speeches made by the

group, especially the speeches made by the former leader of the group, Abubakar Shekau.

Ideologically Induced Words and the Major Actors

Here, we look at the way specific words are used to express bias, resist contrasting opinions and show the outgroup and ingroup polarities. Words are powerful tools for effecting bias and expressing hegemonic views about people, issues and things.

Lexemes and phrases that show "Us" vs. "them"

Lexical choices represent people and places in a way that indicates "us" and "them". The following are instances where Abubakar Shekau used words and Phrases to show "us" and "them" biases in his speeches.

a. "... to break down **infidels**, practitioners of democracy, and constitutionalism, voodoo and **those that are doing Western education** in which **they are practising paganism**" (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

b. "People of Germany, [people] like Margret Thatcher, Ndume are all **infidels**". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

c. "Without wasting time, we hereby send a message to **the tyrants** of Nigeria and **other infidels** as well as their **world tyrants** as a whole". (*Premium Times* Nov 1, 2015)

d. "I pledge to Allah my God, to be faithful. This is Shekau. **Idiot** like you!" (*Premium Times* Nov 1, 2015)

e. "Buhari you are worshiping cows, you better worship Allah". (*Premium Times* Sept. 25, 2016)

f. "People of Kaduna and El-Zakzaky (detained Shiite leader in Nigeria), you should repent. And all of you, the followers of Tijjaniya (a sect in Islam), you should repent". (*Premium Times* Sept. 25, 2016)

In the speech excerpts above, some words and phrases have been used to indicate "Us" and "Them". In samples one, two and three, the word ""infidels" is used to refer to anyone who opposes their ideological

beliefs. In sample one, Abubakar Shekau used "infidels" to refer to those that practise democracy, constitution, voodoo and Western Education. To him, anyone that practises or take a part in any of those ideals, is a "pagan". In sample two, Abubakar Shekau mentioned the major actors "people of Germany, Margret Thatcher, Ndume". He referred to these people as "infidels" perhaps because they practise the ideals of democratic principles and their participation in Western Education. Another mention of major actors can be seen in samples five, and six. President Muhammadu Buhari is ideologically portrayed as a cow worshipper possibly because of his ethnic nationality – Fulani, an ethnic group known for herds keeping. In Skekau's view, because Buhari did not support their Islamic ideologies, he is not different from a pagan who worships cows. In the same vein, Shekau suggested that El-Zakzaky, the leader of the Shi'ite Islamic sect, and the Tijjaniya Sect followers are not following the injunctions of Allah. This is why he asked them to repent "you should repent". This is an ideological representation of "they". Shekau saw his own Islamic ideals as the perfect ideal.

In sample three, Shekau used the words "tyrants of Nigeria" and "their world tyrants" to refer to Nigerian government officials and world leaders who are against Islamic extremism. He saw those "others" as tyrants because they fight to curb Islamic extremism in Nigeria and the world. Also, the phrase "idiot like you" in sample four shows that Shekau did not mind using any vulgar expression to refer to anyone against their Islamic ideologies and their desire to have an Islamic Caliphate in Nigeria.

In sample four Shekau portrayed himself as a faithful follower of Allah and believed that others are idiots. This is an ideological representation of "Us" vs. "Them" using lexical affordances. Representing people with these lexical means shows that Shekau had a deep-seated ideology about Islamic ideals that differed significantly from most other sects in Nigeria. This is why he saw followers of other sects as Pagans and constantly urged them to repent. Evidently, these biases were not just expressed in words; he used brute and force to

eliminate those who refused to practise Islam based on his sectarian beliefs. Since Shekau believed that Allah commands that all those that are against Jihad should be eliminated, he killed, maimed and destroyed the properties of all those who have rejected his views of Islam.

Polarisation Patterns (Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Others-Presentation)

      In the polarisation patterns in Boko Haram speeches, Shekau showed positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in his speeches. The samples below show the polarisation patterns in his speeches.

g. "We said we will worship our Allah and stick to what he said. We left your sight and you are still fighting us. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

h. Bring your trillion, there is nothing we can do with your money, if you know us you will not think that of us. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

i. Betrayers and cheats like them, like Israel people, Rome, England, they are all Christians and homosexuals. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

j. Is it not amazing that we, who started with sticks and machetes, are today the biggest headache to the almighty Nigerian soldiers? What a shame!! (*Premium Times* Jan. 21, 2015)

k. "You people should understand that we only obey Allah, we tread the path of the Prophet. (*Premium Times* Nov. 1, 2015)

l. "Our goal is to see only Koran being followed on earth. This is our focus. (*Premium Times* Nov. 1, 2015)

m. "We follow the Koran". (*Premium Times* Nov. 1, 2015)

n. "Buhari, all your actions are fake. You are lying to the people, collecting their money and saying you will free their children and you know you are lying". (*Premium Times* Sept. 25, 2016)

      Samples seven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen show the group's positive polarity. Shekau used those phrase to indicate that they followed the injunctions of Allah and that all they were doing was in tandem with the truth in the Qur'an. In sample seven specifically, Shekau shows the Nigerian Military in negative other-presentation by the use of the phrase "we said we will worship Allah... and you are

fighting us". The first phrase shows a positive polarity of the group while the second shows negative others polarity of the Nigeria government in a way that the Government is shown as opposing those who want to worship Allah. So, the group feels that the government is trampling on their right to worship Allah. The government is presented as intolerant to the religious views of others. Sample twelve buttresses the point that Boko Haram members see themselves as people that "obey only Allah". This positive self-presentation can attract the support of the Muslim community that also desires to have an all-Islamic nation. Samples thirteen and fourteen are similar. The group averred that they "follow the Koran". This is a positive self -presentation as faithful followers of the injunction of Allah enshrined in the Holy Book

Sample eight is a statement that shows the group in a positive self-presentation in that he, Shekau, claimed that they had nothing do with the trillions. He claimed that they would do nothing with Nigerian money "there is nothing we can do with your money". The statement was made when the Nigerian government was trying to negotiate with the group to release the abducted Chibok school girls. Shekau used that statement to show that they were not after the Nigerian government's trillions. This statement suggests that the group's focus was not about getting money from the Nigerian government; what they wanted was not money but the Nigerian state.

In sample nine, "Betrayers and cheats like them, like Israel people, Rome, England, they are all Christians and homosexuals", Shekau shows the nationals of these countries, Israel, Rome, and England as traitors and cheats. This is name-calling and a negative polarity. Also, Shekau saw every Christians as a traitor and a cheat. This is another negative other-presentation. He also expressed bias against homosexuals within the matrix clause. Shekau's bias against Israel, Rome, England and Christians, together with homosexuals within the same clause, raises many questions as to why Shekau mentioned these nations and the Christian religion with homosexuality.

Sample fourteen calls out President Muhammadu Buhari; portraying him as a liar. Shekau said that "Buhari, all your actions are

fake. You are lying to the people". This is a negative representation of the president. Shekau believed that President Buhari was only lying to the people especially about the rescue of the Chibok girls.

Lexical/Ideological Representation and Thematisation

The representation of people, interests, and ideas is thematized so that ideological meanings are communicated. These ideological representations and thematisations are uncovered under this section.

Lexical Representation and Thematisation of Politics

The thematisation of political issues is evident in Abubakar Shekau Speeches. He did this in a way that foregrounded his ideological stance while demeaning the generally acceptable norms in the society. In some of the video vignettes, the thematisation of politics was a function of his direct rejection of democratic principles as it did not accommodate his group's extreme ideas.

o. "There is no President in Nigeria ... No President in the world, only Islam." (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

p. I am against government of the people by the people." (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

q. "Jonathan is it not shameful that now even your supporters are insulting and causing you? (*Premium Times* Jan. 21, 2015)

Abubakar Shekau questioned the kind of politics which has neglected the poor and low-class of society. This is why he said in sample 15 that "there is no president in Nigeria". This is a thematisation of political exclusion of the group in the Nigerian government because the president at that time – President Goodluck Jonathan – was a Christian and had constantly fought against the group. Again, it must be noted that the Boko Haram group does not consider anyone who does not share their opinions and views. All they know is Islam. This is the kind of political environment that Shekau wanted.

A similar situation is being witnessed in Afghanistan where the Taliban – an Islamic group – has established an Islamic government in the country. Everything and anything Western is being jettisoned and

destroyed in the country to pave way for the entrenchment of Islamic ideals in the country. In sample 17, Shekau mentioned Jonathan specifically asking if he was not shameful; noting that Jonathan's supporters were against him. Shekau dabbled in the Nigerian politics here and foregrounded it to shame the President – President Goodluck Jonathan.

In sample 16, Abubakar Shekau declared that he was against the "government of the people by the people". He was invariably against the politics of democratic ideals, such that everything that represented democracy was scorned and destroyed. This was the reason he constantly abducted students. In video four, where the Chibok girls are shown, they are all in hijab and Shekau said that they had memorised two chapters of the Qur'an each at that time in 2014; just a few months after their abduction.

Lexical Representation and Thematisation of Religious Extremism

The major drive for the group's agitation is their religious belief which can be described as extreme. In Abubakar Shekau's declamations, the thematisation of his Islamic extremism were not hidden. He flanked them in a way that they became insignias. Some of the instances are outlined below:

r. "If you say, 'I pledge to Nigeria, my country,' it is wrong and an act of paganism. For me, I pledge to Allah, my God, to be faithful to my Allah, and you to your country. With all your strength, you said you will worship a land". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

s. "Go and form your own land, we are in Allah's land and don't know Nigeria. We don't know Cameroon or Chad. … I don't have a country. Islamiyya is what I have". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

t. "Allah has proved too difficult for the infidel, Allah has proved too difficult for the tyrant, Allah has proved too difficult for the United States, Allah has proved too difficult for a plane called drone, bastard. Allah has proved too difficult for everyone. Allah is mightier than everyone". (*Premium Times* Nov. 1, 2015)

u.   "Prophet Muhammad forbade us from using any plate used by a Jew without washing it first. He also forbade you from wearing the dress of the Jews". (*Premium Times* Sept. 25, 2016)

Shekau's view about Islam was quite deep. Because of his view of Islam, he stood against everything Nigeria stands for. This is why in sample 18, he said "If you say, 'I pledge to Nigeria, my country,' it is wrong and an act of paganism. For me, I pledge to Allah, my God, to be faithful to my Allah, and you to your country. With all your strength, you said you will worship a land". He believed that the Nigerian pledge is anti-Islam and an act of paganism. He was of the view that no man should pledge to a land. While Nigerians see this as patriotism to one's nation, Shekau saw it as paganism. He said instead that "For me, I pledge to Allah, my God, to be faithful to my Allah". There is actually nothing wrong to pledge to God, but Shekau expressed strong bias against pledging to one's nation along with pledging to God.

Abubakar Shekau's religious extremism is further expressed in sample 19 where he said "Go and form your own land, we are in Allah's land and don't know Nigeria. We don't know Cameroon or Chad. ... I don't have a country. Islamiyya is what I have". In this expression, extreme religious view is thematised. He downplayed established territories and saw them as non-existent. He believed that God had given him and his followers Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad. This was why he asked those fighting to keep these countries going and forming other countries. Shekau believed that only Islamiyya exists. This is why he said in sample 20 that "Allah has proved too difficult for the infidel, Allah has proved too difficult for the tyrant, Allah has proved too difficult for the United States, Allah has proved too difficult for a plane called drone, bastard. Allah has proved too difficult for everyone. Allah is mightier than everyone". He thematised this so that listeners would believe that because Allah had given him these countries, these countries had not succeeded in decimating the group. He referred to drones as bastards.

In sample 21, Shekau said that "Prophet Muhammad forbade us from using any plate used by a Jew without washing it first. He also

forbade you from wearing the dress of the Jews". This is an extreme view of Islam. The Jews are not animals. Beyond eating together, the view expressed by Shekau is entrenched in the Middle East, where Israel is constantly seen as the odd nation out of many Islamic nations in that part of the world. The bias expressed against Jews by Shekau indicates his religious extremism.

Lexical Representation and Thematisation of Terror

Boko Haram expressed and thematised terror in many of their videos. As mentioned earlier, this terror predilection of the group is effected not only through the means of lexcalisation, they also use weapons on their videos to depict terror and threat to viewers. The use of weapons in obvious places where they are not needed communicates terror and threats. In lexical gamut also, phrases and words are used to indicate terror. The following are samples drawn from the selected data:

v.   "I am not Boko Haram, I am Jamaatu Allus sunna lil daawati wal Jihad ["People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad"]. I don't care what you call me, you are in trouble". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

w.   Even if you kill me, other fighters will rise better than me, (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

x.   "We have not started, next time we are going inside Abuja; we are going to refinery and town of Christians". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

y.   "All those clerics are to be killed for following democracy, all of them are infidels" (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

z.   "Harvest [President Goodluck] Jonathan's neck, harvest Kashim's [Borno State Governor] neck, Allah said ..., even in Ka'aba, if some is doing salat [prayer], for so long as he is deviating from what Allah said, he is infidel". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

aa. "Shekau, eat the heart of infidels since infidels want to disobey Allah". (*Premium Times* Nov. 1, 2015)

bb. "The people of Kano you are in trouble. (*Premium Times* Sept. 25, 2016)

cc. "After we have killed ... and get fatigue, wondering on what to do with their smelling corpses, smelling of Obama, Bush, Putin and Jonathan, then we will open prison and imprison the rest". (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

In Samples 22 and 28, Shekau thematised the phrase "you are in trouble". Anyone who had followed Abubakar Shekau knows that when he issued a threat, he meant it. The use of that phrase thematises Shekau's drive for terror. In a bid to send fear into the hearts of the listeners, he used that phrase. He said "I don't care what you call me, you are in trouble". This statement shows a diehard person whose goal must be achieved come what may. He already lost any stint for humanity. The sample 28 address is directed to the people of Kano. Again, the statement thematises terror.

Sample 23 shows that the theme of terror is inherent in the statement in the idea that Shekau had a structure for this struggle. The group seemed to have raised or was raising an army of fighters who would take on the fight even if he (Shekau) was killed. This meant that Shekau already knew that there was threat to his life. However, he made that statement to inform those executing the war against him that this war would outlive him. This statement indicates that for Shekau, he would live and die fighting for an Islamic Caliphate in Nigeria and other neighbouring countries.

Samples 24, 25 and 29 thematise the words "kill, killing". Shekau said he would not stop killing all those who believe in democracy. Specifically, in Sample 25, he said "All those clerics are to be killed for following democracy, all of them are infidels". Here he mentioned with specificity those he was targeting to unleash terror on. Similarly, in sample 24, he said "We have not started, next time we are going inside Abuja; we are going to the refinery and town of Christians". Here the focus is on places. Shekau's targets were simply every and anyone that supported democratic principles. To him only clerics that were against democracy were those he would spare.

Shekau showed that he had become a cannibal when in Sample 27 he said "Shekau, eat the heart of infidels since infidels want to disobey Allah". This is a thematic foregrounding of terror. This and many more statements and commensurate activities made the government proscribe them as a terrorist organisation. Although the statement was probably metaphoric, the group cared less whose horse it gored. Sample 28 brings Former President Goodluck Jonathan into the discourse. Shekau posited that they would kill Jonathan since he was an infidel and in fact, they claimed that even if an infidel was in "Ka'aba doing salat" as long as such person was an infidel, they were ready to kill the person.

Sample 29 further shows the perspective Shekau operated from. He said "After we have killed ... and get fatigue, wondering on what to do with their smelling corpses, smelling of Obama, Bush, Putin and Jonathan, then we will open prison and imprison the rest". This again is a statement that thematises terror. First, the statement shows that they would not stop killing all those they had classified as infidels. Secondly, he noted that they would imprison others after they were tired of killing. This suggests that the group had a prison on their operational base. The excerpt expresses terror as its thematic nuance.

Ideological Labelling in Boko Haram Videos

Different types of ideological labelling are present in Boko Haram videos. These labelling categorise people, show ideological comparisons, debunk claims and accept responsibilities, show marginalization and show how the group persuaded people in order to get membership from the society.

Lexicalisation and Ideological Categorisations

Boko Haram shows categorisations in their speeches. These categorisations are based on religious, political and economic affiliations. Again, once there is a tiny line of ideological exclusion in a categorisation, Shekau expressed bias against that group identity. The following are examples.

dd. "We know what is happening in this world, it is a Jihad war against Christians and Christianity. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

ee. It is a war against western education, democracy and constitution. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

ff. We are anti-Christians, and those that deviated from Islam, they are forming basis with prayers but infidels (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

gg. "[We] need ... to break down infidels, practitioners of democracy, and constitutionalism, voodoo and those that are doing Western education in which they are practising paganism. (*Legit* May 7, 2014)

In sample 30, Shekau showed this categorisation on religious ground – Jihad war and Christianity. Sample 32 also shows this bias – "we are anti-Christians". One of the cardinal pursuits of Jihad is to wipe out all those who do not share the Islamic faith as held by the Jihadist, including all sects that do not share their Islamic opinion. This is why Shekau did not spare Christians when he captured them. The categorisation, in samples 31 and 33, is that of education and political ideology: Islamic education versus Western Education on the one hand, and Islamic Caliphate and Democracy on the other. Shekau detested anything that had to do with the West. He believed that all those practising anything that has to do with the West are pagans.

Lexicalisation and Ideological Comparison
Comparison happens at the discourse level to show similitude and/or differentiation. In Boko Haram speeches, Abubakar Shekau often used some discourse elements to compare his actions with those of Prophet Muhammed (SAW) and at other times, contrasted his actions against certain affiliations. These comparison and contrast are ideological, in that they show polarities that often tilt towards positive in-group representation of Abubakar Shekau in order to attract public acceptance. The following are examples:

hh. "You are dying because of money and I will die believing in Allah." (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

ii. What I will want you to know is, there is slavery in Islam, don't be deceived about the United Nations, it is useless thing and I call them United Nations of absurdity led by Ban Ki-moon. "Prophet Muhammed took slaves himself during Badr war. (*Legit* Nov 1, 2014)

Sample 34 shows an ideological comparison of greed and contentment. Greed on the path of others while contentment on the path of Shekau. He saw others as those whose greed for money would be their undoing, while for him, he would only die for believing in Allah. In sample 35, Abubakar Shekau justified why he would continue capturing people and making them slaves. He compared his actions with those of Prophet Muhammed (SAW) who took slaves during his life time. This ideological comparison is to jettison the idea that slave trade has been abolished. He wanted his sympathisers and followers to believe that the prophet, whom they are following, also took slaves and that is enough alibi for them to take slaves too.

Lexicalisation and Ideological Counterfactuals
Abubakar Shekau, in his characteristic manner, always countered the Nigerian Army when they made certain claims. Since he seemed to have some first-hand knowledge of what was happening on the battle front, he provided listeners with some facts that countered those of the Nigerian Army.

jj. Your army kept deceiving the world that you can't fight us because you have no arms. Liars! You have all that it takes; you are just coward soldiers. (*Premium Times* Jan. 21, 2015)

Sample 36 is a typical example of Shekau countering the claims of the Nigerian Army about not having sufficient weapons to fight. Shekau displayed the weapons he had seized from the Nigerian Army in the video. Sadly, most of the weapons that the Boko Haram fighters were using were those stolen from sacked military bases. Abubakar Shekau claimed that the Nigerian soldiers were simply cowards.

Lexicalisation and Ideological Claim/Disclaimers

Boko Haram claimed responsibility for many attacks. They did this to send fear into the heart of their enemies and boost the morale of their members. The following are examples:

kk. "I am the one that captured your girls, and I will sell them in the market. I have my own market of selling people; it is the owner that instructed me to sell". (*Legit* Nov. 1, 2014)

ll. "This is to confirm to you that we carried out the Baga massacre, and we are going to do more". (*Premium Times* Jan. 21, 2015)

mm. "We are now showing the world all the arms and ammunition that we got from the Nigeria army barracks in Baga, Doron-Baga, Mile-4 and this barrack. What we have in our armoury now, plus all that we had before is enough to execute a victorious war against the whole Nigeria". (*Premium Times* Jan. 21, 2015)

In the samples above, Abubakar Shekau claimed responsibility for capturing the Chibok school girls, the attack on Baga town and the sacking of some military barracks where he stole a lot of arms. These announcements were often made to weaken the Nigerian soldiers while boosting the morale of his fighters. Also, the announcements were threating messages to the remaining occupants of the towns where these attacks were carried out.

Conclusion

One of the most efficient forms of ideological dominance is when also the dominated people accept dominant ideologies as 'natural' or 'common sense'. Gramsci called such forms of ideological dominance 'hegemony' (Gramsci, 1971). Boko Haram insurgency is a way through which the bottom resists the power and dominance albeit the hegemony of the top. They decide not to see the top hegemony as natural, or common sense, although this is interlarded by extreme Islamic ideologies. This is why they express strong bias against Western

ideologies and destroy Nigerian assets as well as annihilate every establishment standing in contrast to their ideologies.

Through their speeches, the group shows negative outgroup polarity of other people using lexical choices such as "infidels, pagans, thieves, idiots, tyrants". They portray themselves in a positive ingroup polarity by saying that they "obey Allah, follow Allah…". All of these ideological representations are geared towards appealing for followership while painting the government as the real enemy. Also, the group holds the strong opinion that it is against all those who support democratic principles. This is a peculiar situation in Nigeria because the group claims that democratic principles have no place for Allah. This is why they aver that all those practising democracy are pagans, including Muslims.

Finally, the group thematises terror in their speeches in order to instil fear in the Nigerian Army personnel and their listeners. They constantly promise to continue to kill and plunder. This terror thematisation is recurrent in the group's speeches and in the arrangement of things in their videos. This is why weapons are always a constant feature in their videos.

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