



“Subsidy Is Gone”: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Power Relations in the Inaugural Speech of Bola Tinubu, on May 29th, 2023.

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a critical discourse analysis of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu’s Inaugural speech. On the 29th of May 2023, Bola Ahmed Tinubu was sworn in as Nigeria’s president and as part of his inaugural speech, he announced the removal of fuel subsidy from the nation’s budget as a presidential “gift”. That singular act plunged the country into economic hardship throughout his tenure. This study describes and interprets the inaugural speech to view the linguistic choices adopted and to investigate how the speaker uses language to communicate his ideologies and examine the use of linguistic properties in unearthing the hidden meaning of the text and to also examine the relationship between language and power in the society. The study adopted Norman Fairclough’s Socio-cultural practise as the theoretical framework with a three-Dimensional model which consists of text, discursive practice and social practice. The primary source of data is the inaugural speech while the secondary data include relevant critical writings and publications. The study reveals that Ahmed Bola Tinubu expresses his ideological belief in unity, nation building and governance all of which are couched in economic ignorance with the removal of subsidy without corresponding indices to fill the gap. He expresses power through threat, appeal and positive self-representation.

Keywords: Subsidy removal, CDA, Power Relations, Inaugural Speech, Bola Tinubu



Background to the Study

An inaugural speech is a formal talk presented at the beginning of a new office, parliament or institution. Speech is an important aspect of language; a speech is a type of mass communication where spoken language is used by a person to pass a message to a larger number of audiences. The language of speech is usually different from the language used in daily conversation. Speech employs a great number of vocabulary items; As a form of political discourse, speakers employ the use of rhetorical devices in order to speak persuasively. The aim of any political discourse is to communicate ideologies in order to gain and control power. Speakers deploy the rhetorical appeals as introduced by Aristotle (Logical, Emotional, Ethical) through the use of language in gaining credence and accountability from the masses. A political speech has the theme to deliver, inform, instruct, entertain, and persuade which is what critical Discourse Analysis seeks to investigate.

Critical Discourse Analysis is concern with investing how language is used to construct and maintain power relationship society. Language plays a crucial part in the way people conceptualize the world; it can be used to represent a speaker idea, culture, intention. Speaker uses language to exercise power and control whether in interactional or transactional communication. Critical discourse analysis specifically considers how language works within institutional and political as well as specific discourse in order to uncover inequalities in social relationship. Language is the raw material with which text are created. Text is a dress of thought through which people exert dominance; as the text is the manifestation of social action which again is widely determined by social structure with critical Discourse Analysis. Many scholars have carried out researches on inaugural speeches of past presidents both in Nigeria and other countries in uncovering hidden messages especially the taken- for -granted assumptions.

Tinubu' administration begins its term recently, researchers using his inaugural speech is rare, this study will look out how certain lexical choices subtly exercise power and convey different ideology. The general aim of this research is to investigate how implied meaning is communicated through the speaker's inaugural speech while the specific objectives are to: investigate how the speaker uses language to communicate his ideology describe the use of Linguistic properties in the text. interpret the relationship between Language and power in the society. The result of this study will add to the existing knowledge of scholars on inaugural speeches using Critical Discourse Analysis. It will also serve as a foundation for further research on the 2023 inaugural speech of



president Ahmed Bola Tinubu. This research is only concern with the 2023 Inaugural speech of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu and not his campaign speeches, emphasis will be placed on the use of linguistic and non- linguistic properties in analyzing the text (speech) as it seeks to *dy-mystify* the implied meaning embedded in the text.

Political Discourse and Political Speeches

The term Political Discourse can refer in a number of ways to a range of different types of talk or text or any talk or textual output that is either about a political subject or which is politically motivated (Van Dijk 1997, Fairclough 2012). Kamalu and Agangan (2010) posits that political discourse like independence speech, declaration of candidacy for political office, political campaign, presentation of party manifested and other forms of political speeches falls within the purview of deliberative rhetoric with the aim to market the ideology of the candidate or parties presented. Politicians are group of people who are being paid for political activities and who are being elected or appointed as the central player in the polity. Politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. Various recipients like the public, the citizens and other group are to be included in relation to Discourse. In order for the Discourse to be accessible to a wide rage of recipient, it must consist of a sequence of constructions as well as appropriate choice of vocabulary. The use of figurative Language as a stylistic device is employed in other to gain expressiveness because the more thoughtful a discourse is, the ore influence it will have on the audience.

Feldman and DeLandtsheer (1998), argues that all Language is inherently political, therefore, Almost all Language use could be seen as political discourse. Political discourse is interested in how language users use language to achieve life's goals. Aboh (2017), discourse and politics are closely related politics is expressed through language and Discourse is interested in how individuals use language to achieve life's goals. There are numerous definitions of political Discourse most often researchers turns to the definition of A. N Baronov who defines Political Discourse as the totality of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as rules of public policy, sanctified by tradition and proven by experience. Levenkova (2015) includes that it is a reference to the mental sphere of human existence without the analysis of which modern studies of discourse would be incomplete. Political discourse is a linguistic expression of public practice in the sphere of political culture which is the professional use of language, which is based on the nationally and socio-historically conditioned mentality of the speaker. These definitions are



focused only on the forms of public communication of professional politicians with the objectives of winning and maintaining power. In a more restricted sense, 'Political discourse' refers to the study of political language where the focus is on aspects of language structure as it constitutes and displays specific political function.

Political discourse seeks to ask the question of how language is used in attributing meaning to individuals and groups with reference to performance of the social practices. It also seeks to explain how actions and events are perceived and described (Wodak & Dijk, 2000). This means that reality is mediated through different forms of language representation (Sapir, 2010; Whorf 1956). Wodak (2011), posits that politics control is a form of language control which explains politics as a relationship between language and power. Orwell argues that there is a link between language and the way we view the world, and that politicians manipulate this for their own ends, he says 'using political speech and writing...in defence of the indefensible' (1969).

Political Speeches on the other hand are a distinct form of persuasion in the argumentation that plays an important role in the overall scenario of any country. A President of a country leads and tries to persuade and control the nation with speeches. A speech can be utilized as a political tool, speakers can evoke emotion or a call for action from the audience through persuasive speeches. Political speeches are intended to encourage public participation in politics as it helps in the comprehension of important issues and helps to solve problems confronting the state. Political speeches are composed by a team of professional speech writers, who are educated in the use of persuasive language. Political Speeches are as old as politics itself, and given that the word 'Politics' comes from the Greek word for 'City/Government', it should be no surprise that the Greeks studied the art of rhetoric and wrote a manual on how to persuade an audience. Without politics there will be no political speech, politics refers to the study of who gets what, when and how. Ptefter et al. (1981) asserts that politics encompasses activities meant to acquire, develop and use power and other resources to get one's preferred outcome in a situation which they are uncertain or dissension about choices. From this definition we understand that politics is the act of acquiring and using 'power', power to rule, control and manage people's wills and affairs. Language plays a crucial role in politics as every political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by it (Schaffer, 1996). Political Speech as a kind of discourse takes the speaker's stand, clarity, view and declares his proposal which is geared towards achieving his political aim; it is also a production of statement with power and authority, this plays an important role in revealing the speaker's intentions.



Political Speeches as Forms of Discourse

Language is very essential in political speeches. A speaker uses language as a dress in order to communicate his thought, ideology and to some extent show power and inequalities. Political speech as a form of discourse reveals the degree of pervasiveness of the speaker on the audience for his opinion to be accepted and gains the audience support. Orwell (1946) argues that political language is used to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable. He claims that the greatest enemy of clarity in language is insincerity. In Orwell's view, language whether political or not should be an instrument for expressing and not for concealing thoughts. Language is a vehicle in which communication is achieved, a means of presenting and shaping arguments and political argument is ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs (Chilton, 2004).

According to Beard (2000), language of politics is an important study because it illustrates how language is utilized by those who desire to gain, exercise and keep power. Beard further adds that making speeches is a vital part of the politician's role in announcing policies and persuading people. It is language that provides the politician the opportunity to explore his verbal communicative resources and manipulative words to suit his intention. This, language could be regarded as a vehicle in politics.

It is important to refer to the function of language, academician Vinogradov (2017), posits that the functions of language are found in political discourse; The central role is assigned to the influence function since the speech of a politician is aimed not so much at transmitting any information, but precisely at influencing the audience, since there is no communication as such between the speaker and the audience thus the function of communication fades in the background. Jakobson (2017) classified the function of language to the component of communication which he divides into emotive, motivational, phatic, meta language and aesthetic functions. The motivational function of language is expressed in slogan, direct appeal, discourse with certain emotion be it fear, anger, pity or a sense of unity, there pushing the audience to action through their political speech. The Emotive function of language expresses feelings and emotions. The speaker uses both persuasive and good stylistic devices in evoking the emotions of the audience. It is important that the speaker shares the same feeling with the audience in order to achieve a common goal. Phatic function of language centres on establishing and maintaining social communicative contact; Meta language function of language assists to correctly convey meaning of words or phrases, politicians resort to explaining basic concepts as regard the world of politics.



Aesthetic create expressiveness by deploying certain stylistics devices which makes the speech vivid and memorable.

The main function of political communication seems to be the incentive function which aims at influencing the audience in order to acquire and maintain power. Political language conveys information in order to communicate with the recipient, and deals with the affairs of the people whether simple or complex. Moreover political language has a number of function which are reflected in the speech itself; Political language disguises, transform and deepens a particular phenomenon. Seidl (1985) points out that a political speech may constitute genre, a domain or a field. Moreover, it is an incredible achievement at a particular time and at a particular place, and it had three major elements which consist of the addresser (the speaker who produces the speech), the addressee (the hearer who is the recipient of the speech), and the political speech itself. In a political speech, language plays a crucial role as it builds, establishes and strengthen relationship, express ideas and sell programs and policies that is why language has been an important in politics (Ayeomoni & Akinkulere, 2020). A speaker can gain power using language when he had gain influence from the addressee, and to achieve substantial impact; a person has to be able to express their ideas through either text or ta effectively. In the political field, campaigns, presentation, inauguration and policies formation are done with the use of language (Dave & Miracle, 2014)

Relevant Scholarly Views on Political Speeches

Political speech is not only a monologue, but also an example of social interaction aimed at influencing the nation, or at least an import diplomatic tool allowing for the negotiations of specific meaning and reference (Graber, 1993). The masses can be influenced into agreeing to a policy, ideology or concept that is presented before them. Chruszczewski (2002) posit that directing a president speech (texts) into the desired direction can quite often manipulate a large number of recipients. In investigating ideological discourse such as political speeches is quite complicated because political speeches are meant to address issue within the period the speech was written or delivered. This means that the time frame where in the data is acquired needs to be specified (Carreon & Watson 2013). However, the investigation on political speeches may be questionable or improbable since the actual delivery of a political speech combines language with volume, tone, eye contact, facial expressions, pausing, body language, posture and many other thus, making political speeches essentially multimodal (Kress Van Leeuwen1996).



Finlayson and Martins (2008), describe a political speech as an argument of some kind: an attempt to provide others with reason for thinking, feeling and acting in some particular way; to motivate and invite them to trust one in uncertain conditions; to get them to see situation in a certain light. From the above data, it is discovered that there is no political speech without language; political speeches as part of discourse richly depend on language in reaching the masses. Salleh, 2014 posit that language is seen as the backbone of communication, the vehicle of message transmission and a potential source of power. Through proper linguistic choices policies and ideologies are communicated to the people. It is in this understanding that this research seeks to unveil the subtle use of language by president Ahmed Bola Tinubu communicating his ideologies, exercising power, dominance and authority in his inaugural speech.

Research Methodology

The research Critical Discourse Analysis of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu's inaugural speech delivered on the 29th of May, 2023 is designed to investigate elements of Critical Discourse Analysis and the specific socio- cultural elements the inaugural speech (text) employ. To achieve this goal, Fairclough's 3-D Model of Critical Discourse Analysis and the socio-cultural approach is being used as analytical framework to examine how the speaker use language to communicate his ideology, the linguistics devices used in the speech that reflect power and ideology. The Data for this research is the transcribed inaugural speech of president Ahmed Bola Tinubu titled 'The Nigerian Ideal' which he delivered at Eagle Square on the 29th of May, 2023. The primary text for analysis in this study is the First inaugural speech of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu titled 'The Nigeria Ideal' presented on the 29th of May, 2023 at the Eagle Square, Abuja.

The secondary source of data are relevant texts for the study which include: academic journals, textbooks such as Aspects of rhetoric: Obamanics by Dr. Juliet Ekpang, Understanding Discourse by Romanus Aboh and Happiness Uduak, Revised guidelines on graduating Essay. The researcher has extensively used the internet to get relevant information and related work on Critical Discourse Analysis of other political leaders in and outside Nigeria. The procedure began by downloading the transcribed speech of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu from the internet at www.thecable.ng to be used as the data for his research. Through the internet, journals, articles and textbooks were consulted for this research. The method of analysis is to locate words, sentences, paragraphs where linguistic choices have been made to depict power and ideologies by using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory in analyzing the text in terms of



power, ideological representation, hegemony and Thematization; Also analysis will be done on the rhetorical devices and appeals used by the speaker in the text. After that the researcher will draw the conclusion based from the analysis of the text. The sample is purposely taken from a typical text, that is the inaugural speech of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu delivered on 29 May, 2023

Theoretical Framework

Two different theories have been adopted for the analysis of President Tinubu's 2023 inaugural speech. These theories include Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse Analysis. Political Discourse Analysis Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is a concept employed by Van Dijk as a theoretical framework for analyzing political Discourse. He argues that to conduct a critical analysis of political Discourse such as political speeches etc the analyst has to take into consideration three main component: political actor or author, the assumed recipients of the political speech and the political speech itself. Dijk (1997). The political actors or author are the addresses of political speech, of institutions such as presidents, prime minister and other members of government, parliament or political parties both at the local and international level.

Van Dijk (1997), posits that Political Discourse Analysis is about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise. He further asserts that in the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA ' this would mean that Critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various firms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance'. In particular such analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from such domination (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1993b). Dijk posit that from the analytical point of view, the study of political discourse should not be limited to the structure properties of text and talk, but also should include a systematic account of the context and it's relations to discursive structures.

The concept of critical Discourse (CDA) as it us popularly called stem from critical theory of language as a form of social practices. All social practices are third to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interest are served. Critical Discourse Analysis is associated with scholars like Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Van Dijk and Roger Flower etc. Norman Fairclough is the first to actually use the term Critical Discourse Analysis in his book Language and Power published in 1989. This also



re awakened the interest of scholars in the Linguistic method of analysing text that aims at investigating the relationship between language and social institution such as power, ideology, politics and identity.

Some of the tenet of CDA can already be found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt school before the second world war (Agger1992b, Rasmussen 1996). It studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted. CDA can be seen as the child brain child of Critical Linguistics; Critical Linguistic (CL) was an approach developed by a group of scholars based in the University of East Anglia in the 70s (Flower 1981). Critical Discourse Analysis as a school or paradigm is characterized by a number of principles which are problem-oriented and thus interdisciplinary. The term 'Critical' is not to be understood in the common sense of the word that is criticizing or being negative. It means not taking for granted, opening up alternative readings that are justifiable through clues in the text. It also means making ideological positions manifested in the respective text transparent etc. Wodak 2001. CDA is characterized by the common interest in demystifying ideologies and power through the systemic investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). Ideological projects encoded in a text are demystified and made plain for the consciousness of both the readers and hearers. Widdowson (2000) defines CDA as the study of uncovering the concealed ideology in a text. It uncovers and reveals the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of the text whether written or spoken as speeches, thus drawing attention to power, imbalance, social inequalities, non-democratic practices and injustices. The purpose of CDA can be to make transparent to readers and listeners the devices with which text positions and manipulates them (Lucke 1996) it explains the text in all its complexity with the use of linguistic and non-linguistic properties. It can make transparent asymmetries in those relations, revealing the textual technique by which text attempts to position, locate, define and in some cases enable and regulate reader and addressees (Fair, 1995).

Locke (1997) argues that CDA shares with socio-linguistic and ethnomethodology the assumption that language should be studied in a social context. Discourse is a complex of three elements namely social practice, discursive practices (text production, distribution and consumption) and text analysis if a specific discourse calls for analysis in each of these dimensions and their interpretation (Fairclough, 1995). According to Flower (1963) "the meaning of a word in a language depends on the angle at which it is held. CDA explains discourse from the perspective of societal institution and constitution. It reveals power and ideology implied in political discourse. It studied the relation between language and society, power, authority. For Brown and Yule 1985



Language is not only used for the description of things rather it is used for doing things well. CDA analyses the use of language in a real context and how language reveals their cultural, social and ethnic background.

Dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse Analysis as a multidisciplinary discourse has adopted different approaches in examining and interpreting texts. Notable among other scholars are Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Van Dijk; these scholars came up with different approaches in analysing a text, but these approaches are not totally different from each other. Research using the CDA approach can be conducted from various perspectives as propounded by some key researchers in the field. These approaches include discourse-historical, socio-cognitive, socio-cultural approach.

Norman Fairclough is a professor of Language in social life at Lancaster University. He is one of the founders of CDA. In his 1989 research work, he elaborates on the relationship between ideology and power. Fairclough introduced the three – dimensional model in discourse which is Text Analysis (Description) Discourse is considered text in this process and textual linguistic properties are analyzed such as grammar, vocabulary and sentence structure. Discursive Practice (Interpretation) is concern with text generation, distribution and consumption as well as inconsistencies influenced by social circumstances.

It shows a link between text and discourse (interaction). Social Analysis (Explanation) is concern with the relationship of discourse with social and cultural realities ie social interaction and context. The 3-D Model addresses three interlinked dimensions of discourse which are, the object of Analysis (Speech, Image, Gesture), the process via which the object of analysis is produced, consumed and distributed by people (Writing, Speaking, Viewing), and the socio-political and historical context that defines these processes (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough's, approach to CDA enables researchers to jointly analyze the linguistic and social dimensions of text based on the understanding that language is a form of social practice. He argues that 'the exercise of power in modern society is increasingly achieved through ideology'. Fairclough contends that order of discourse are not static but may change overtime. Changing the time power relations in social interaction determines this change. He asserts that: *'How discourses are structured in a given order of discourse and how structuring change over time, are determine by changing relationship of power at the level of social institution or of the society, power at these levels includes capacity to control orders of discourse: one aspects of such control is ideological-ensuring the order of*



discourses are ideology ally harmonized internally or at (societal level) with each other.
Fairclough 2001: 25

Tuen Van Dijk propounded the socio-cognitive approach of analyzing CDA. It advances the absence of a linear relationship between semiotic and social structures and argues instead, that discourse operate via a cognitive interface- 'the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members' Dijk 2015: 64. Despite being socially conditioned and having an impact on societal functioning, discourse is formed and understood because of individual fundamental cognitive processes (Dijk 2014). The approach is in the tradition of social representation theory. It is constructed between discourse cognition and society. Discourse is a communicative event which include conversational internal room, written text, associated gestures, framework, images and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification. Van Dijk is of the view that CDA should be based in the sound theory of context; within thus claims the theory of social representation, social actors involved in discourse do not only use their individual experiences and strategies, they rely mainly upon collective frames of perceptions, called social representation. These socially shared perception from the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system, and perform the translation, homogenization and subjective experience (Wodak 2016).

Van Dijk sees discourse as a form of social practice but shifts his focus from discursive practices, he rather focuses on social cognition as a mediation between text and society. Social Cognition according to Van Dijk are 'Socially shared representation of societal arrangements, group and relations, as well as mental operation such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, interacting and learning. Dijk (1993), identifies two levels of discourse analyses which are the Macro vs Micro. Language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication determine the micro level is social order while the Macro level refer to power, dominance and inequality between social group (Dijk 2003).

Dijk (2003) defines social power in terms of control, and views ideology as 'the basis of the social representation of groups. He further argues that for a group to have power, it must first control the acts and minds of members of the other group. (345). To him, ideological discourse is generally organized by a general strategy of positive self-presentation (boasting) and negative other presentation (derogation). Dijk opines that CDA should not be limited to the study of the relationship between discourse and social structure, but that language and discourse always presuppose the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge,



attitude, ideologies, norm, value) of the language user. In other words, the study of discourse triangulate society/ culture/ situation, cognition and discourse.

Ruth Wodak is a professor of Applied Linguistic and Discourse Analysis at the Department of Linguistic, University of Vienna. She championed the Discourse-historical approach together with Jacob Reisigl, an approach that help researchers to examine the linguistic and discourse strategies employed in written air spoken texts, as well as carry out in-depth analysis on the historical dimension of issues investigated (Re-sign and Wodak 2001). Wodak started as a sociolinguist, her most contribution to CDA is focused on interdisciplinary and implementing interdisciplinary; she also focus on text analysis, argumentation theory and rhetoric more than the functional systemic Linguistics. Her major focus is on the eclectic nature of CDA since problems in our society are complex to be studied with a single approach, thus, one need to dive into different theories and methods in solving problems. She contends that studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodology (Wodak, 2001).

For Wodak, the notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly includes socio-psychological, political and ideological component, thereby postulate an interdisciplinary procedure for the analysis of interrelationship between discursive and other social practice and structure. Wodak 2001. She refers to the principle of 'triangulation' – thus principle implies different methods of collecting data because in CDA 'there is no typical way of collecting data' (Meyer, 2001). For this study, Norman Fairclough's socio-cultural approach will be used as the their, using his 3-D Model which consist of texts, socio-cultural practice and discursive practice in the society.

Data Analysis

In the course of the data analysis, we narrowed down to three basic linguistic concepts that have a clear-cut approach to power dynamics in political discopurse. These concepts are: linguistic properties, the notion of power in discourse and power relations in relation to threat. In developing democracies, there is crudity of power, the winner gets it all approach and the “win by all cost” syndrome. Therefore, the inaugural speech of President Ahmed Bola Tinubu is presented and analysed with the view of finding out the ideological beliefs conveyed by the speaker on the day of his inauguration and how hw was able to creatively use language to lobby the people to his side in terms of political acceptability.



Linguistic is the scientific study of language and there is no political speech without language. Linguistic properties include, element such as, vocabulary, grammar and structure. These elements are used to convey a speaker thought to his audience as grammar provides individual speakers with the tool for packaging information and how information is packaged depends on the larger discourse content, the flow of thought through time, the communicative and social goal of the speaker, the presumed knowledge state of the audience and more. Political discourse contains hidden agenda expressed in various linguistic choices.

The new Fontana dictionary of modern thought (1999), in Bayram (2010) defines power as “the ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individual to their will”. Power is considered as the instrument of control in politics, the concept of control is what makes power exist in other words, where control is absent, power is illusive or opaque. Russel (1938) captures the meaning of power by distinguishing two sense of concept. “Power to and power over”. He asserts that in a positive power sense, “power to” is the realization of personal or collective goals. In the negative sense, it is the hindering of other individuals from achieving their goals for the sake of hindering. “Power over” on the other hand is the relational facet of power. One person has power over another person when the two stand in a relationship of dominance and submission. This may occur in institutional (e.g hostage situation), setting, legitimately or illegitimate between friends or between enemies. Therefore, the sense power over is more relevant in political context than power to”. Rozina and Karapejana (2001), believes that “influential power inclines people either to behave in a certain way or make people adopt opinion/attitudes without exerting obvious force on them. It operates in such a social sphere as advertising, culture, media and politics”. The exercise of power in political discourse entails some elements which are referred to as power relation which are used to gain power, exercise power and maintain power. Finally, threat as an element of power relations is powerful. Is interested in subduing the powerless. Threat is a power relation that is manifested in the utterances of the power holder. Often time, power holders use words that Hitchsy and Wooffih (1998) refer to as “warrant claims. There are “never, no body” always, “no one”, everyone, certainly, extremely and absolutely. Warning as power relation can be subdue under threat in extreme situations. The president use threat in his speech as seen in the texts below:



Data Analysis

Texts 1

"Today, Fate and Destiny join together to place the touch of human progress in our hands. We dare not let it slip". In the above excerpt, the president uses indirect threat, he presented the statement as an advice to mean that, it has been divinely arranged but used threat words. *We dare not let it slip* meaning that, Nigerian should not be discourage by the happenings during the election, but to accept what has been divinely willed to them. In another instance, he use 'Fate and Destiny' to established the fact that his present position has been arranged which can be linked to a supreme being. The statement, 'Destiny can be delayed but never denied' is a testimony to this as it affirms that no one can undermined the power to be that. And in the statement '*We dare not let it Slip*' 'the we' represent his cohorts who 'circumvented' the system to institute his government since the electoral process that brought him to power was widely criticed for its flawed nature and this is manifest in the lopsided political appointments of his cabinet members---those who "played" crucial roles in ensuring his "emergence" as president as against the wish of the majority of the electorate.

Positive Self-Representation

Text I: *I stand before you honoured to assume the sacred mandate you have given me. My love for this nation abiding my confidence in its people unwavering.* In the above except the president made an all-encompassing claim that Nigerians gave him the presidential seat; obviously, not all Nigerians voted for him but for the show of power, and self-representation, the president claims that he was elected by all Nigeria.

Ideology

Language is not something somehow separate from the ideas. It contains, but the way language is used says a great deal about how the idea have been shaped. When analysing the language of a political text, therefore, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it and how the ideological position of the reader will affect their response too. Opeibi (2009), points out that language is the channel, for the expression of the candidate's manifesto, superior political thoughts and party ideologies and it is the tool for translating into social action for social change and continuity. Hodge and Kress define ideology as a structured representation of reality. The main aim of textual analysis is to discover how various



ideologies manifest themselves in different text structure (Van Dijk 1997). Hence, text generates ideology, the writer and the speaker construct the text on the basis of ideology. In the text below, the president represents his ideologies.

Ideology of Unification

Text 1: *“As citizens, we declared as one unified people devoted to one unified national cause, that as long as this world exists NIGERIA SHALL EXIST.* The ideology of unity featured glaringly in the above excerpt. He uses ‘we’ inclusive to spur his audience into believing that, the ideology of unity he preaches is not for a selected few but all Nigerians. The president is convinced that the ideology of unity is a call for collective responsibility. In the statement we declare as one unified people devoted for one unified national cause” is the president method of achieving national unity by calling his audience to embrace the attitude of and behaviour towards collective responsibility.

Text 2: *We lift high the torch so that it might shine on every household and in every heart that calls itself Nigeria. We hold this torch a lot because it lights”.* The speaker use the pronoun “We” to show unity and cooperation in his administration, the “We” refers to his cabinet members that together no single Nigerian will be left out. On the contrary, the modal verb “Might” suggests probability and uncertainty is used in this case to make a certain statement; the might as used in this context shows that few Nigerians or none will benefit from the administration.

Ideology of Nation Building

Nation building is one concern for every president, here the new elected president states emphatically in every inaugural address what the new administration will accomplish throughout their stay in power. The president unveils his ideology for nation building by itemizing each as a sub-heading which are, SECURITY, ECONOMY, JOB, AGRICULTURE, INFRASTRUCTURE, FUEL SUBSIDY, MONETARY POLICIES, FOREIGN POLICY. He also used graphological device in exposing his ideology. The major graphological device employed by the president is foregrounding by using capital letter for each agenda thereby making his ideology to be easily identified by anyone who sees his inaugural address.



Findings and conclusion

The use of pronouns, modals and comparatives mainly represents the grammatical cohesion in this study. The predominant use of the first-person plural pronoun, 'we', prominently marks a sense of common interest with members of his party and makes the speaker sound humble by including the audience. Thus, politicians use pronouns to refer to categories and groups in which they can choose to place themselves. The choice is based on personal interest, that is, for their political agenda, constructing their identity and presenting themselves in a positive light. Politicians shift their identities through pronoun choice to enable them to appeal to their different hearers, which helps broaden their ability to persuade the electorate to win their votes. The study further shows that pronominal items like 'I', 'We', 'our', 'us', 'their' and 'them' are deictic references for projecting different ideological positions in political campaign speeches such as positive self-representation and negative other representation and of course, a potent weapon of personality profiling. The use of the linguistic modal 'will' implies determination. "Nigeria" and "Nigerian" were primarily used to express identity and a sense of belonging. He succinctly used these words to re-emphasise nationalism.

It is essential to re-emphasise that language has excellent power and potential to influence and shape public opinion. From the analysis using Fairclough's model for Critical Discourse Analysis, the study reveals amazingly discourse structures that have implications for power and ideology to uncover hidden meanings and messages embedded in the linguistic expressions used. Peter Obi employed language to create identity and show solidarity with the electorates to persuade them to accept and support his ideas and ultimately vote for him. To achieve this, he frequently used the pronouns 'I', 'you', 'our', 'we' and repetition in his campaign speech, which were discoursed in the context of Fairclough's model. This can conclude that Obi's political strategy is to use his campaign to show commitment, determination, responsibility, and group cohesion to gain support through his ideology and win Nigerians' hearts.



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