CONTEXT, IDEOLOGY AND NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Print media political interviews (PMPIs) are designed to seek information and opinion from political leaders on political issues. Previous studies on PMPIs in Nigeria have focused on general stylistic, rhetorical and pragmatic features, but have not significantly explored the combined contribution of pragmatic and ideological resources to the negotiation of meaning. The discursive contexts, linguistic features, pragmatic strategies and ideological constructs in PMPIs in Nigeria were examined to establish their joint roles in the negotiation of interactional goals.

Aspects of Contextual theories, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, and van Dijk's Socio-cognitive model were adopted. Four Nigerian national dailies: *The Punch*, *The Sun*, *ThisDay* and *Vanguard* were purposively selected for their wide readership and coverage of political interviews between 2014 and 2016, a year before and after the 2015 general elections, which marked a change in government at the federal level. One hundred PMPIs on elections and governance were purposively selected for their robust political discourse. Data were subjected to pragmatic analysis.

Two discursive contexts dominated the political interviews: Context of Election (CE) and Context of Governance (CG). These contexts manifested nine discourse issues, five of which were connected to CE: Political Campaigns (PC), Leadership Ambition (LA), Election Preparations (EP), Election Ethics (EE), and Election Tribunals (ET). The other four: leadership, performance, corruption and the rule of law were linked to CG. Four transitivity processes were found. In CE, material process marked by obligatory actor; goal, with an optional circumstance showed concrete actions of competition, adjudication, declaration, consultation and fraud; and construction and inspection in CG. Mental process characterised by obligatory senser and phenomenon was used to encode mental pictures of knowledge, contemplation, sight, hearing and conviction in CE and CG. Existential process was deployed to state the existence of fraud in CE and CG, and infrastructural development and good governance in CG. Verbal process was used to state the denial and assertion of propositions in the two contexts. Seven ideological positions typified the PMPIs: nationalist and supremacist (CE); defeatist and oppositionist (CG); sectionalist, positivist and constitutionalist in CE and CG. Five pragmatic strategies used to negotiate seven interactional goals, characterised the PMPIs. The persuasive strategy, which deployed appeal to emotions, reason and personality was affiliatively used to negotiate election victory and seek higher responsibility. Evaluative and defensive strategies were affiliatively and disaffiliatively employed to negotiate ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens through objective and subjective judgments. Direct and indirect inquisitorial strategies disaffiliatively probed election litigations, equality before the law, and all other goals. Offensive strategy was exploited to negotiate election fraud, ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens and abuse of power through blunt and veiled offensives. Meaning in the political interviews was co-constituted in interaction through adjacency pair, recipient interpreting and speaker interpreting.

Pragmatic strategies and ideological postures were affiliatively and disaffiliatively deployed to enhance the negotiation of goals in the context of election and governance in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

Keywords: Nigerian political discourse, Nigerian print media, Pragmatic strategies in politics

Word count: 491

CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This thesis is humbly dedicated to God Almighty, my creator and sustainer.

And

My son, Alvin Ngbe Ellah

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFCO: Ayo Fayose Campaign Organisation

APC: All Progressive Congress

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

CE: Context of Election

CG: Context of Governance

DHA: Discourse-historical Approach

DMM: Dynamic Model of Meaning

MR: Member Resources

PDP: Peoples Democratic Party

PMPIs: Print Media Political Interviews

SBUs: Situation-bound Utterances

SCA: Socio-cognitive Approach

SFG: Systemic Functional Grammar

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the study

The relationship between language, context and ideology is a fundamental element of our experience as human beings. Language "not only reflects who we are but in some sense it *is* who we are, and its use defines us both directly and indirectly" (Llamas and Watt, 2010:1). The fluidity and dynamic nature of language and ideology result in their negotiation and re-negotiation in tandem with the dictates and tyranny of context. This implies that different discourse contexts necessarily inform different linguistic choices.

This study is concerned with print media political interviews, an aspect of political discourse in Nigeria. Specifically, it is an examination of the discursive events of print media political interviews in relation to context, ideology and pragmatic strategies in the negotiation of the participants' goal. These interviews are forms of human communication that survive principally on the joint co-operation of the participants involved. They are discursive encounters that are influenced by context and are also used to explore and express different ideologies and negotiate different interactional goals through pragmatic strategies within specific contexts. This is largely because meanings of utterances are contextually determined, constructed and interpreted. This arguably makes context central to any pragmatic investigation. This fact is further corroborated by Fetzer (2011:34) when she avers that "the analysis of context-dependent meaning is at the heart of pragmatics, and for this reason, context is one of its key objects of investigation." The interpretation of language use without recourse to context is not likely to yield any significant results, because no serious and enterprising study of language use is expected to be done in exclusion of context. In recognition of the influential role of context in the interpretation of linguistic phenomena, Sherzer (1987:96) proposes that the study of language use or speech should not be separated from its socio-cultural context. In the same vein, Sarangi and Slembrouk (1992: 142) assert that any satisfactory theory with the aim of "explaining how people arrive at meaning cannot come into existence unless it brings the social positioning of the language user and the societal bearings on the situational context to the fore front." Embedded in their claim is the inevitability of context and the language user's ideology. The prominence of context in their assertion, according to Ibrahim (2014:166), attempts an explanation of "discourse in institutional contexts and examining the correlations between participants' social identities, social situation, powers and their expectations and activities in situational settings of

language use." This is in line with Visweswaran's (1994:41) view that "identities are constituted by context and are themselves asserted as partial accounts".

Therefore, in compliance with the need to study language in specific contexts, this study is undertaken as part of the increasing scholarship on "institutional contexts" (Fisher, 1982). It studies print media political discourse in Nigeria from a pragma-discoursal perspective, since in media political discourse, participants employ certain pragmatic strategies to explore and negotiate context and express different ideologies. Nigerian political leaders, and indeed those of other nations of the world employ media political interviews (print or electronic) as veritable platforms for the articulation and negotiation of their ideologies.

Print media political interviews are institutionalised discourses that take "place within a shared space, or a participation framework, between a presenter, an interviewee and an audience" (O'keeffe, 2006:127). Participants in media interactions show a clear understanding of "a range of shared space, a cache of shared knowledge" and "a sense of common identity" (O'keeffe, 2006:127). This understanding is realisable through the appropriate use of language in context.

Language, verbal or nonverbal, pervades all human existence and plays very significant role in the continuous existence of humanity. All human societies depend largely on the effective dissemination of information through language for their survival and development. Indeed, efficient information dissemination cannot be achieved without language (Abiodun, 2003). Individuals, groups or government communicate their experiences, ideologies, support and resistance, feelings, et cetera through language. As a crucial "aspect of material situation", language "highlights beliefs about who are allies and who are enemies"; helps to establish and maintain "inequality in resources, status and power" in politics (Edelman, 1985). According to Al-Rassam (2010:529), language is:

> a weapon and a powerful tool in winning public support especially during current information revolution period. It is also a weapon in the struggle of community against community, world view against world view. Language, therefore, is seen as the means for achieving the politician's goals and interests.

Without language, one can hardly imagine how interpersonal communication would have been possible. Neither could one think of how the "transactional and interpersonal functions" (Brown and Yule 1983:1) of language would have been possible. Language is a major cohesive tool that unites members of a particular speech community, and enables them to

express their worldviews, experiences, emotions and aspirations. This ultimately makes it a social phenomenon that indexes discursive practices.

Language is "a string of interrelated systems of sounds, grammatical patterning, word meaning and reference that is often used by human beings for a meaningful co-existence" (Wallwork 1978:13). According to Sapir (1963:8), language is "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols." In a sense, "human beings rely heavily on language for the assurance of social cohesion, future wellbeing, change of a particular state, and control of environment" (Ellah, 2011:1). Edelman (1985) argues that, "language consists of sound waves or of marks on paper that become meaningful only because people project some significance into them, not because of anything inherent in the sound or marks. It takes on meaning and enables human beings to think systematically because it is social in character." From the immediate foregoing, it could be implied that, language involves the use of arbitrary vocal and graphic symbols that are only meaningful in specific contexts.

Arguing against the backdrop of linguistic relativity, Sapir (1949:160) says that the world we live in "is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group." Group does not only mean a people occupying the same physical and geographical location, but it also encapsulates professional classes such as journalists, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and politicians. Each of these groups deploys different linguistic resources peculiar to its practice in particular contexts or situations. The ultimate end of language use is, therefore, to pass information and enhance change in participants' behaviour. Whorf (1956) cited in Udofot (1998: 93) observes that "the way we see the world depends to some degree on the language we use." Fromkin and Rodman (1978:1) posit that the "possession of language, more than any other attribute, distinguishes human beings from other animals. To understand humanity one must understand the language that makes us human." This underpins the indispensability of language in communication to every normal human being. For instance, scientific and technological discoveries can only be appreciated through linguistic resources. Language therefore, engenders a platform for the actualisation of the understanding of the benefits of technological and scientific discoveries, cultural beliefs, economic and political policies and ideologies. This is why Adeyanju (2006:40) avers that "language, as a powerful instrument of mass mobilization and socio-political engineering, has played a vital role in the emergence and sustenance of the Nigerian nation-state." Here, language plays a cohesive role among the diverse ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria.

Aristotle once noted that "man is a political animal" (Aristotle, 1885). And "as a political animal, man uses language as part of his instruments to achieve and sustain his political ambition. Political manifestoes, party slogans, the constitution, are realized through language" (Ogunsiji, 2013:30). Charteris-Black (2005:1) argues that in "all types of political systems, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership". This implies that "politics cannot be conducted without language" (Chilton and Schäffner, 1997:206) cited in Schäffner and Bassnett (2010:2). For instance, Mark Anthonio, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar,* manipulates language rhetorically to win over the citizens to sympathise with the slain Caesar, and indeed take up arms against his murderers. In the same vein, Nigerian politicians and political office holders manoeuvre language to negotiate their political ideologies and positions through different pragmatic strategies as indexed in print media political interviews.

The study of linguistic configurations in contexts offers a veritable platform for the hlinguist to explore how "perceptions, convictions and identities are influenced by language" (Kulo, 2009:1). This study, therefore, attempts to investigate the exploration of context, ideology and pragmatic strategies in print media political interviews in Nigeria.

1.2. Nigerian political background

Nigeria is a West African country located on the Gulf of Guinea. It is bounded by Benin in the South West and Cameroon in the South East; while in the North, it is bounded by Chad in the North East and Niger in the North West. It covers an area of 923, 768 square kms with an estimated population of over 170 million people. It runs a federal system of government with 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory in Abuja. With over 250 ethnic nationalities, the country is further divided into six geo-political zones as seen in the table below:

Table 1.1. The Six Geo-Political Zones in Nigeria

S/N	Zone	States	Number of states
1	North-Central	Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau and (Abuja- the Federal Capital Territory)	6
2	North-East	Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe	6
3	North- West	Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara	7
4	South-East	Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo,	5
5	South-South	Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers	6
6	South-West	Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Oyo	6

By 1900, the British imperial authority had subdued and conquered the different kingdoms and ethnic nationalities of pre-colonial Nigeria. The present day Nigeria formally came into existence after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 by the then British Colonial Governor, Frederick Lord Lugard. The amalgamation of different people with different cultural backgrounds naturally bred suspicion and mistrust among the diverse people. In order to deal with the situation, the colonial government in 1947 introduced a federal system of government based on three regions of Eastern, Western and Northern regions. This was to reconcile the regional interests of the three majority ethnic groups in Nigeria, namely, the Igbo (in the east), the Yoruba (in the west) and the Hausa and Fulani (in the north). However, after some time, the spirit of mutual understanding and nationalism was fostered among the leaders, and Nigeria attained its independence from British colonial rule on 1st October, 1960 with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the first President and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the Prime Minister of the country. With this independence, Nigerians were very hopeful of a prosperous nation state that would be built on the principles of justice and equity. However, this hope has regrettably been dashed as a result of injustice, ethnicity, nepotism, bad governance and corruption (cf. Ogbeidi 2012, Library of Congress – Federal Research Division, Openmind foundation)

Nigeria became a republic in 1963, but in January 1966, Nigeria witnessed the bloody military coup that brought the first republic to an abrupt end, and the enthronement of a military government with Maj-Gen. Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, as the Head of State. The coup was said to be ethnic in nature, largely orchestrated by the Igbo people against the Hausa-fulani and the Yoruba groups. In July 1966, a counter coup that led to the assassination of General Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Igbo officer was staged in Nigeria and General Yakubu Gowon, a Northern officer, became the new Nigerian Military Head of State. General Yakubu Gowon's military government created twelve states in 1968 with a view to dousing ethnic tensions and guaranteeing larger and inclusive representation. Another dark and major phase of the Nigerian political development in the 1960s was the declaration of independence of the Eastern Region as the Republic of Biafra by its military governor, Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu in 1967. This led to a 30-month civil war (1967 – 1970). The General Gowon led military government was ousted in July, 1975 by General Murtala Mohammed through a coup d'etat because of the alleged economic mismanagement and corruption of General Gowon's regime. As bold step to checking corruption, General Murtala Mohammed declared his assets and directed all public office holders to also declare their assets. He also embarked on several probes of the past leaders (Ogbeidi, 2012:7). However,

General Murtala Mohammed was assassinated after six months in office. He was, consequently, succeeded by his Chief of Staff, General Olusegun Obasanjo who later handed over power to a democratically elected government of President Shehu Shagari in 1979. This civilian government lasted to 1983 when it was again disrupted by yet another military coup led by General Muhammadu Buhari, whose military government was also overthrown by another military government by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida in 1985. This government held sway till 1993 when it handed over to an interim national government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan after annulling the presidential election that was purportedly the freest and fairest in the political history of Nigeria, and won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola (cf. Ogbeidi 2012, Library of Congress – Federal Research Division, Openmind foundation).

The 1993 coup that brought General Sani Abacha to power truncated the interim national government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. General Abacha died in 1998, thus paving the way for the Supreme Military Council to make General Abdul Salami Abubakar the Head of State. General Abubakar superintended over the affairs of the country that ensured the country's peaceful transition from military to civilian government in 1999.

At the return of power to civilian rule, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was elected President in 1999 for a tern of four years at the first instance. He was re-elected for a second term in 2003 and at the expiration of his second term in 2007, he handed over to another democratically elected President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua who died in 2010 after three years in office. Yar' Adua's death paved way for his vice, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to be sworn in as President to complete President Yar'Adua's term which ended in 2011. Having completed President Yar'Adua's term, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan contested for the office of the President and won in 2011. However, he lost his second term bid to the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015.

Table 1.2 presents a list of Nigerian Presidents and Heads of State from independence to date.

Table 1.2: Nigerian Presidents and Heads of State from Independence to Date

S/N	Name of President/Head of State	Mode of leadership	Date
1	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	Civilian	1960 – 1966
2	Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi	Military	Jan. 1966 – July 1966
3	General Yakubu Gowon	Military	1966 – 1975
4	General Murtala Mohammed	Military	1975 – 1976
5	Major General Olusegun Obasanjo	Military	1976 – 1979
6	Alhaji Shehu Shagari	Civilian	1979 – 1983
7	General Muhammadu Buhari	Military	1983 – 1985
8	General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida	Military	1985 – 1993
9	Chief Ernest Shonekan	Civilian (interim)	1993
10	General Sani Abacha	Military	1993 – 1998
11	General Abdul Salami Abubakar	Military	1998 – 1999
12	Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	Civilian	1999 – 2007
13	Alhaji Umar Yaradua	Civilian	2007 – 2009
14	Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	Civilian	2009 – 2015
15	President Muhammadu Buhari	Civilian	2015 – date

1.3.   An overview of Nigerian media

It is pertinent to begin the exploration of the background of the Nigerian media industry with a conceptual clarification of mass media. Mass media relate to the means through which the dissemination of news, information, opinion, education, entertainment and enlightenment is made to a vast number of people through print or electronic forms. They help in the actualisation of the basic aim of human communication which is to ensure that the information reaches "the target audience" (Hassan, Latiff and Nasidi, 2018:631) is achieved. The media refer to any organisation or channel that is concerned with the provision of news and information to the public through print (for example, newspapers, magazines, journals, or periodical) and electronic (for instance, radio and television). Mass media are pivotal to the integration/disintegration, unity/disunity, growth and development of a society. They are "agents of mass mobilization and information" (Odorume, 2012: 9). They have the potency of inciting mass violence and protest, but they also have the capacity to bring about peace depending on who controls them.

Agba (2012: 1) sees mass media as "any agency, modern or traditional form of communication that operates for the expression or articulation and spread of ideas and information generally with the intent to influence or control an audience." This view is very relevant to this study because it highlights the key features that define and position the media as a major platform for the expression of power control, struggle and agitation; where opinions are expressed or undermined, one's voice is given expression or suppressed. Onuh (2010) reveals that mass media are fulcrums for the display of propaganda which are "systematic effort or deliberate attempts to manipulate other people's beliefs, attitudes or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners etc)" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1992 cited in Onuh 2010). To Owolabi (2014: 45), the media is "a nexus that controls the overall socio-economic and political development of a society." He stresses that "there is a symbiotic relationship between the media and the society thus leading to the interconnectivity of the political, social and the economic development of the people in a particular community" (Owolabi, 2014: 45). This assertion projects the media as a platform for the control of the society through the expression of opinions while the society on the other hand influences the media by its activities.

The development of mass media in Nigeria, especially modern mass media, can be traced to the contributions of missionaries and nationalists (cf. Omu, 1978; Oso, Odunlami, and Adaja , 2011). It is however, important to note that before the advent of modern means of mass media, different traditional means of mass communication existed in Nigeria. These

(traditional means of communication) were very relevant in the transmission of information to a large audience until the arrival of two missionaries, namely, Rev. Hope Waddell and Rev. Henry Townsend (cf. Bello, 2015) who brought an easier, less tedious and time consuming modern means of communication: the print and the electronic or broadcast. Bello (2015) considers the development of the media in Nigeria to be the combined efforts of religion, politics and commerce. To him, the media in Nigeria, among others, was characterised by evangelism, literary promotion and nationalism. Owolabi and O'neil (2013: 246) argue that "increased literacy level of the people and the consciousness of some African intellectuals whose awakened interests in social, political and economic matters fuelled a renewed zeal to contribute to national discourse through the mass media."

Different scholars argue that the Nigerian media have developed in different phases. For example, Tador (1996:40) identifies three phases, namely, the early press (1800-1920), nationalist press (1920-1960), and contemporary press (1960-till date). Ogunsiji (1989) cited in Owolabi and O'neil (2013: 246) identifies four eras of the development of the Nigerian media, namely, the era of Missionary journalism (1846-1863), the era of alien-dominated press (1863-1914), the emergence of indigenous press (1914-1960) and the new era (1960-till date. Agba (2012) classifies its development into the missionary era, the nationalist era and the independence/post-independence era. For the purpose of this study, Ogunsiji's (1989) classification was adopted for the discussion of the different stages of the development of Nigerian media because of its comprehensiveness. The next two sections discuss print and electronic or broadcast media in Nigeria.

1.3.1. The print media in Nigeria

The print media refer to all forms of printed information or news. Ogbuoshi (2011:151) describes print media communication as "the printed information about the current, past or future happenings of the local community. They are also described as systems by which the literate local people in their respective homes, offices, and shops can read to know what is going on in their country and the world in general." The basic assumption of Ogbuoshi's (2011:151) definition is that print media communication is mainly concerned with "the local community." The truth, however, is that print media communication covers local, national and international communities. For instance, *Ambassador* newspaper is a local paper; *Vanguard, The Guardian, Sun, The Nation, Punch,* etc., are national newspapers; while the *Time* is an international magazine. For Hasan (2013:108), newspaper "is the printed means of conveying current information." Drawing insights from the above, print media is

conceptualised as any printed information that is mass-circulated locally, nationally and internationally. Implicated in the above definition is the fact that print media communication ensures inclusion and exclusion of a section of the society since it is exclusively for the literate class of the society.

Although the "Romans posted newssheets called **Acta diurnal**" even before the birth of Christ, it was in 1621 that the first newspaper called **corantos** appeared in England (Hasan 2013:108). In Africa, and Nigeria in particular, print media communication is traced to colonialism, missionary activities, nationalism and commerce. The first ever African press developed from West Africa, precisely Ghana. MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, (2012:20) observes that "The Ghanaians in 1857 had one of their earliest African-owned newspapers in Charles Bannerman's organ *The West African Herald.*" We shall from here focus our discussion of the development of Nigerian print media based on Ogunsiji's (1989) four developmental phases of the era of Missionary journalism (1846-1863), the era of alien-dominated press (1863-1914), the emergence of indigenous press (1914-1960) and the new era (1960-till date).

The missionary era (1846-1863) marked the beginning of the print media in Nigeria with the publication of the first newspaper. *Iwe Irohin* (a Yoruba vernacular newspaper) was the first to be published by Rev. Henry Townsend in 1859. Though the "first printing press was installed by the Presbyterian Mission when they arrived in Calabar in 1946" (MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, 2012:20), Rev. Henry Townsend, an Anglican missionary from England, was posted to Abeokuta by the missionary authorities in Calabar to enable him to cater for the spiritual needs of the ex-slaves. On getting there, he established a printing press which printed "*Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba*" (*Iwe Irohin* for short) meaning "Newspaper in Yoruba for the Egba and Yoruba people." His primary aim was to ensure that the people "Beget the habit of seeking information by reading" (ibid). *Iwe Irohin* featured fortnightly, first as a monolingual (using only Yoruba language) and later bilingual (using both Yoruba and English languages) newspaper. Though it was primarily established to enhance Christian literacy, it later metamorphosed to accommodate advertisement and politics. The paper encouraged the literate African to cultivate a positive reading habit. This inspired the publication of several other indigenous newspapers such as Hope Waddell's *Unwana Efik* and *Ubukpong Efik;* Andrews Thomas' *Iwe Irohin Eko.*

The era of alien-dominated press, according to Ogunsiji (1989), spans from 1863 to 1914. Agba (2012:7), in describing this period, believes that "all the newspapers that came up during this period were established by the descendants of freed slaves who had come from

Sierra Leone to settle in Nigeria." First among the newspapers of this period was the *Anglo-African* (1863 – 1865) newspaper by Robert Campbell, a West Indian immigrant. The first edition of the newspaper was issued in June 1863. It was sold weekly at the cost of three pence (3P), and it carried news of both local and international interest. This paved way for several other newspapers such as *Lagos Times* (1880) founded by Richard Blaize, *Lagos Weekly Times* (1890) founded by John Payne Jackson, a Liberian born businessman, *Lagos Weekly Record* (1891) which later became *The Weekly Record* and was very "popular for its strong views on politics and its fight against the ills of the society" (Agba, 2012:7). Generally speaking, "majority of newspapers of the period started to express strong nationalist sentiments characterised by pungent criticism of British colonial policies and vociferous demand for greater participation of the people in the affairs of their own land" (Agba, 2012:7). Also, the newspapers of this period had their centres and operational bases in Lagos. This situation is perpetuated till today, as the publication of most newspapers is still concentrated in Lagos.

The indigenous or nationalist press witnessed the emergence of a new breed of newspapers geared towards the fight and struggle for self-government and independence. This was the era that the print media was used as a tool and weapon to oppose imperialism. Most of the newspapers of this time were critical of colonial policies and decisions. Asadu (2007:257) observes that indigenous press started in Nigeria with Kitoyi Ajasa's *Nigerian Pioneer* in 1914, followed by Ernest Ikoli's *The African Messenger* in 1919. Others were *Nigerian Daily Times* (1926), *West African Pilot* (1937), *Nigerian Tribune* (1949). Most of these pre-independent indigenous newspapers were used to "arouse the interests and political consciousness in [sic] Nigerians and other Africans to fight for independence" (Asadu, 2007:257). In essence, these newspapers were nationalistic in nature. For example, *West African Pilot* (1937) founded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was a veritable platform for the mobilization of the people against colonial rule in Nigeria, and the articulation of nationalistic views. *West African Pilot* was, however, criticised for purportedly "serving the interest of the Ibos [sic] and the needs of [Dr. Nnamdi] Azikiwe's political party, the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC)" (Agba, 2012:17). Its unrelented criticism of the colonial government led to its proscription in 1945. Azikiwe's resilience propelled him to establish the *Southern Nigerian Defender* "to fill in the gap created by the absence of the *Pilot* in Lagos" (Odorume 2012:6).

The *Nigerian Tribune* founded in 1949 by Obafemi Awolowo who was a former reporter for *The Daily Times* was also a tool for the promotion of the ideals of Awolowo's

political party, the Action Group (AG). It was used to oppose rivals of the Action Group. The vernacular version of the *Nigerian Tribune* was titled, *Irohin Yoruba*. Two other newspapers controlled by the Action Group were the *Daily Express* and the *Sunday Express*. The *Telegraph* was founded by Kingsley Mbadiwe in 1958 with the main aim of promoting the views of the Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons. It served as a megaphone in responding to the rivals of the party, including Azikiwe's *West African Pilot*.

In the Northern part of Nigeria, the development of print media was, however, slow due to the slow penetration of Western education which had earlier been entrenched in Southern and Western Nigeria. The first newspaper that was published in the North in about 1932 was a trilingual newspaper called *Northern Provinces News/Jaridar Nigeria Ta Arewa. /Jaridat al Nijeriya al Shimaliyya* sponsored by the colonialists (Adamu, 2010:1). This was a twenty-two page paper which was published quarterly to publicize colonial policies, and it was sold at half a penny. In 1939, the first indigenous newspaper, *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*, edited by a northerner, Malam Abubaka Imam, was published to serve as a means for the articulation of Northern views, especially, as it concerned politics in Nigeria which the northerners felt they were misrepresented by the southerners. The newspaper was controlled by the Northern People's Congress (NPC), and it was also very critical of the colonial government, although it was financed by the then Northern Regional Government. In 1941, two other newspapers emerged in the north. These newspapers were *Yar Gaskiya* and *Suda*. Adamu (2010:2) reveals that *Suda* "was more or less a war propaganda newspaper." Other provincial newspapers that were largely written in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri followed in 1954 after the establishment of the North Regional Literature Agency (NORLA). Some of these newspapers include: *Zurama* (Sokoto), *Himma* (Katsina), *Gamzaki* (Plateau), *Bazazzaga* (Zaria), *Zumunta* (Bauchi), and *Al Bishir* (Borno) (cf. Adamu, 2010:2). The closure of the North Regional Literature Agency (NORLA) signalled the end of the era. In general, the indigenous or nationalist press came to an end at the wake of independence in 1960, and "ushered in a press of nation building" (Asadu, 2007:257), which falls under Ogunsiji's (1989) description of the new era press or what may be referred to as contemporary press.

The new era or contemporary press began in 1960 till date. Today, Nigeria can boast of a very vibrant print media industry with "over 150 newspapers most of which are regional and community-based including over 20 national daily newspapers" (Dragomir & Thompson, 2012 cited in Bello, 2015: 9). Okoro (2012:7) states that at present, "there are about 150 dailies published in Nigeria, with a preponderance of them mushrooming as community

newspapers." Some of the national dailies are: *The Guardian, The Sun, ThisDay, Vanguard, The Nation, The Punch, New Telegraph*, *The Champion*, *Daily Trust*, among others. The Nigerian press has continued to keep faith with its primary role of information dissemination, political mobilization and awareness and socio-economic engineering of the public, in spite of some repressive laws and decrees such as Edicts Nos. 17 and 19 of 1968, decrees 12 of 1978; 6 of 1987; 35 of 1993 (which empowered the government to seize and prohibit the circulation of any publication that undermines state security); 43 of 1993 (the newspaper registration decree) etc. (cf. Asadu, 2007; Ezenibe, 2000).

1.3.2. The broadcast/electronic media in Nigeria

The broadcast or electronic media involve the use of electronic devices in the transmission of information to a large audience through air waves. In other words, they are media organs such as radio, television and cable that help in the dissemination and spread of information to the public. Ogbuoshi (2011:156) describes broadcast media as "the media organs such as radio and television that produce or transmit messages for public reception or consumption."

Broadcasting generally began as a global move and it owes its origin to the event of the First World War when radio telephones were carried in airplanes by soldiers for effective communication. It was this incident that marked the beginning of radio broadcast and its relevance in the transmission of information. In Britain, radio transmission started in 1922 and by 1926, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was established (cf. Ogbuoshi, 2011:157). In Nigeria, radio broadcasting started in 1932 (cf. Udomisor, 2013) when "the British colonial administration in Lagos relayed the first British Empire service to Nigerians from Daventry, England" (MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, 2012: 64) through the Radio Diffusion System (RDS) which later became the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) in 1951 (cf. Udomisor, 2013) with a view to establishing a link between the British government in London and its West African Colonies (MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, 2012: 64). Ikime (1979) cited in (MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, 2012: 64) asserts that such a link "was expected to serve the dual purpose of providing powerful propaganda machinery for the colonial master as well as providing a source of information about Britain and the wider world." Corroborating Ikime (1979), Owuamalam (2008:16) cited in Ugwu (2011:36) claims that broadcasting was introduced in Africa by the colonial masters in order to enhance the transmission of programmes of their colonial interest from their home stations to their colonies.

From the above views, it would be safe to conclude that the establishment of Nigerian broadcast media was purely a colonial effort unlike the print media that was spearheaded by the missionaries and nationalists. The establishment of the broadcast media in Nigeria as Radio Diffusion Service (RDS) had the sole aim of transmitting British Broadcasting Corporation's programmes and news. These programmes were transmitted through the Post and Telegraph (P&T) Department of the colonial administration, which then had thirteen (13) stations in Nigeria, namely, Lagos, Katsina, Jos, Zaria, Sokoto, Ilorin, Maiduguri, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Onitsha, Warri, Abeokuta and Ijebu-Ode (MAC 113: History of Nigerian Mass Media, 2012: 65).

The expansion of the Nigerian broadcasting media was the result of political crisis which began when a member of the Action Group (AG), Chief Anthony Enaharo in 1953 in the then House of Representatives called for self-government in 1956. Agba (2012:38) observes that the members of the Northern Region in the House of Representatives were opposed to the motion on the grounds that the Northern Region was not ready for self-government. This issue brought severe disagreement that led to members of the Action Group to stage a walk out, and other members of the party who held executive positions to resign. Consequently, the then "Chief Secretary to the Nigerian government, Mr. A.E.T. Benson put a telephone call to Governor Macpherson urging him to make a national broadcast on Nigerian Broadcasting Service about the perfidy of the AG" (Onoja, 2005). The broadcast was made condemning AG and its leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The following morning, Chief Obafemi Awolowo appealed to the Director of the Nigerian Broadcasting Service to grant him permission to use the Nigerian Broadcasting Service to enable him to respond to accusations levelled against him and his party, but he was denied the opportunity. This incident ignited several agitations by nationalists who sought equal opportunities to establish autonomous broadcasting media that was free from government's control and manipulation. Maduka (1997) cited in Onoja (2005:45) aptly states that "radio which was the first to start, refused to carry the views of the people, particularly if such views were divergent from the establishment", hence, the colonial radio was strongly criticised by the Nigerian nationalist movement and the indigenous press as doing the biddings of the colonial government (Onoja, 2005:3 citing Audu, 1999). This gave rise to motions for the creation of regional broadcasting stations that will freely cater for the needs or views of the respective regions. When these agitations gathered momentum, the colonial government removed the issue of centralization of broadcasting from the 1954 constitutional provisions, thereby empowering the regional governments to establish their broadcast services (Agba, 2012:39).

Following the authorisation granted to the regional governments to establish their own broadcast services, the Western regional government of Chief Obafemi Awolowo was the first to establish the Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) in 1959 and the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) in 1960 in Ibadan. The Eastern Region later joined the trend in 1960 with the establishment of Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Service (ENBS) and Eastern Nigerian Television (ENTV) in Enugu. The Northern Regional government of Sir Ahmadu Bello established Radio Television Kaduna (RTVK) for the region in 1962. The Nigerian federal government established the Nigerian Television Service (NTS) in 1962 to complement its radio station which was renamed Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in 1956 (cf. Agba 2012:39). The Voice of Nigeria was later established in 1962 by the Nigerian government to "project Nigerian news, activities and culture abroad" and to "ensure that Nigeria policies were better understood by her neighbours" (Agba, 2012:40).

The Federal Government returned broadcasting to its exclusive list through the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) decree of 1977 and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) decree of 1978. The creation of states led to the establishment of more state and federal owned radio and television stations. Also, the agitation for the establishment of privately owned broadcast media necessitated the inclusion of section 36 of the 1979 constitution and section 39 of the 1999 constitution which states that:

> Every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions, provided that no person other than the government of the federation or of a state or any other person or body authorized by the President, shall own or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatsoever.

The proliferation of public and privately owned broadcast media necessitated the Ibrahim Babangida military administration through Decree 38 of 1992 to establish the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) as a central body to oversee the operation of the broadcast media in Nigeria. With this development, the first privately owned television, Galaxy Television, Ibadan became operational in 1994. While the first independent private radio station, Ray Power 100 FM by Chief Raymond Dokpesi got its operational licence in 1994. Onoja (2005:57) remarks that one crucial thing that ensured the continuity of the Nigerian broadcast media was "the high quality of the technology and managerial elite that pioneered its establishment." By 2004, there were 99 federal television stations, 41 national radio stations, 40 states radio and 34 television stations; 17 private radio and 14 television stations across the country (Onoja, 2005:67). Agba (2012: 42 – 43) accounts for two hundred and

ninety-seven (297) broadcasting stations as follows: 1 external broadcasting station, Voice of Nigeria, 5 national stations of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, 32 other frequency modulated (FM) bands at other locations, that is, in thirty-two states which run side-by-side with the five national stations of Abuja, Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan and Kaduna; 97 Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) stations, 40 state owned radio stations, 32 state television stations, 17 privately owned radio stations and 14 privately owned television stations. Interestingly, the number of broadcast stations in Nigeria has continued to increase. In 2017, The Institute for Media and Society reported that there were 265 radio stations in Nigeria (cf. https://imesoimeso.org). Babawale (2018) gives a list of 103 television stations in Nigeria. These last two profiles of radio and television stations in Nigeria bring the number of broadcast stations Nigeria to 368.

1.4. Statement of the problem

Politics is a complex human enterprise that involves a lot of scheming, "smartness, wit and aggressiveness of participants" (Odebunmi, 2009:9). The ultimate aim of every politician is to outwit his or her opponent in order to gain power and authority to control the scarce human and material resources of the society. This underscores the fact that it pervades all human existence, hence, human beings are willy-nilly often involved in political discussions. In doing so, language is always employed, thus, offering a veritable platform for linguists to explore such linguistic configurations.

Consequently, political discourse has attracted diverse scholarly attention from different theoretical perspectives such as Discourse Analysis (Adegbija, 1995: Blum-Kulka, 1997; Chilton and Schaffner, 1997; 2002; van Dijk; Adegoju, 2014), Pragmatics (Harris, 2001; Mullany, 2002; Christie, 2005; Adeyanju, 2006; Odebunmi, 2009; Al-Rassam, 2010), Stylistics (Oha, 1994; Awonuga, 2005; Ayeomoni, 2005; Adegoju and Famakinwa, 2018), and Semantics (Odebunmi and Oni, 2012).

For instance, employing the theory of community of practice, Harris (2001) examines 12 recorded and transcribed sessions of the Prime Minister's Question Time in the British Parliament. Her study reveals that in adversarial political discourse, participants engage in "intentional and explicit face threatening (or face-enhancing) acts and systematic impoliteness is both sanctioned and rewarded" (p.451). However, within the context of such parliamentary discourse, some of the utterances that she considers as impolite can be accounted for as politic behaviour in relational work because criticisms and accusations are

expected in such situations. Also, within the community of practice (C of P) it is an expected norm (Wenger, 1998; Mullany, 2002).

In a related development, adopting a "synthetic community of practice," Mullany (2002) interrogates gender, politeness and impoliteness in media political broadcast interviews using a data base of 20 encounters. In the analysis, only one instance of impoliteness was found as identified by the female interviewee, Hilary Armstrong. The study highlights impoliteness as a neglected aspect of linguistic politeness, and concludes that politeness and impoliteness are not informed by gender which is a social construct, but rather by the communicative or interactive event. In other words, 'impolite behaviour emerges at discourse level'. This study though quite insightful, was based on electronic media and twenty encounters are not representative enough for generalisation.

Awonuga (2005) explores the language of political broadcast using former President Olusegun Obasanjo's national broadcast entitled "Sustenance of Democracy" from the perspective of general stylistics which is concerned with the study of register of language. The study, without recourse to the effect of the stylistic choices made, reveals that Obasanjo utilised seven linguistic features in his speech – personal pronouns, coupling, strings of words, metaphor, analogy, repetition and Biblical echoes in his speech. Although, this study deals with political discourse, it has not considered political interviews.

Odebunmi (2009) investigates political interviews in two Nigerian news magazines, namely, *Tell* and *The News* using relational work and contextualization cues. The study reveals that working within the ambit of three contextual beliefs, namely, shared knowledge of subject/topic, shared knowledge of political gimmicks and shared knowledge of ideological expectations, participants in such constructed encounters put up politic, polite and impolite verbal behaviours which are indexed by confrontations, criticisms and condemnations. The restriction of this study to only news magazines does not make it representative of the different genres of media.

Al-Rassam (2010) examines four Iraqi TV political interviews from the perspective of the pragmatic strategies that are employed by politicians at interviews. The study reveals that in Iraqi political discourse, communication is accomplished through pragmatic strategies and linguistic resources by politicians for effect. These pragmatic strategies and linguistic resources include "word play, metaphor, circumlocution, approximation and number, citation from the Holy Q'uran and the use of emotive technique". The study, though relevant, is not based on political interviews in Nigerian print media. Adegoju (2014) analyses the political speeches of the three principal actors (Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, Gen. Sani Abacha and Chief

M.K.O. Abiola) in the June 12, 1993 through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis. The study demonstrates that politicians scheme with linguistic resources such as person deixis to control and dominate the masses. Again, the study is relevant to the present study, but it has not considered the pragmatic features of the political speeches.

However, the growing body of literature on media political discourse in Nigeria and other parts of the world have not yet given adequate attention to the combined contribution of pragmatic and ideological resources to the negotiation of meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media. Therefore, drawing insights from Context, Stance, Common ground, Face Constituting Theory, Systemic Functional Grammar and Critical Discourse Analysis, this study extends scholarship in exploring context, linguistic features, pragmatic strategies and ideological constructs to establish their joint roles in the negotiation of interactional goals.

1.5. Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the influence of context, ideological orientations and negotiation strategies on meaning explication in print media political interviews in Nigeria. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

i. to identify and discuss the contexts and their related issues that participants explore in political interviews in Nigerian print media;

ii. to examine participants' ideological orientations in political interviews in Nigerian print media;

iii. to account for the pragmatic strategies used in negotiating interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

1.6. Significance of the study

This study is a pragmatic analysis of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media. The outcome of this study, therefore, has the potential of exposing different types of discursive contexts and their related issue which characterise political interviews in Nigerian print media. It is also capable of revealing how resources from related theories like context, common ground and face constituting theory can be deployed to provide a more robust analytical framework that will enhance the reader to better appreciate the negotiation of interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media. It also has the potential of contributing significantly to the literature on Nigerian political discourse by highlighting how the resources of stance can help the reader to better

understand the subjective positions of participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria. It is also capable of revealing the use of linguistic features in print media political interviews to indicate concrete actions, mental pictures, existence of something, stating and denial of propositions. Again, the study would help to reveal the connection between language and ideological postures in print media political interviews in Nigeria. The exploration of different pragmatic strategies that are used to negotiate interactional goals has the potential of unpacking the *a priori* and emergent nature of print media political interviews in Nigeria. Primarily, this research would be of pedagogical relevance to political discourse, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, political science as well as communication studies.

1. 7. Scope of the study

This research is within the ambit of Pragmatics – a field of study that emphasises the use of language in context, and its intended meaning. The genre of writing that is investigated in this study is print media political interviews. However, it is not possible to analyse all the print media political interviews in all Nigerian dailies that have been found to explore contextual influence, ideological orientation and pragmatic strategies. Therefore, the scope of this work is limited to four widely read and circulated national dailies, namely, *The Punch, The Sun, Vanguard,* and *This day* (cf. Ekeng, 2010; Okoro, 2012). The editions studied are the ones published between January, 2014 and June, 2016. The import is to examine the influence of context, ideology and pragmatic strategies in the language of these print media political interviews with particular attention to the pragmatic implication of such language use.

The study is limited to the utilisation of Odebunmi's (2016a) model of micro and macro concepts of context in exploring the influence of context on meaning negotiation. Also, common ground theory is employed to show how participants' shared knowledge influence meaning explication. Arundale's (1998) face constituting theory is employed in understanding how participants jointly negotiate meaning. In addition, the transitivity system of systemic functional grammar is exploited to explain the processes encoded in a clause and the participants involved. Stance theory on the other hand forms the foundation for participants' position taking. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used to provide explanation for the participants' ideological orientations and expressions. Specifically, van Dijk's model of socio-cognitive approach is adopted in this study in exploring the cognitive process or mental representation of the discourse participants, and how such mental representation impacts on meaning explication of print media political interviews.

1.8. Concluding remarks

This chapter has shown that there is a triangular relationship between language, context and ideology to the extent that language is influenced by the context and vice versa and the ideological orientation of the language user. Also, the ideologies of people find their expression in language which is anchored on context. The chapter has also demonstrated that the birth of Nigeria as a country was largely the making of colonial government that fused different kingdoms and ethnic groups together. And the country has since after its independence in 1960 witnessed major political developments such as the civil war, military interventions, transitions from military to civilian government, and from civilian to civilian government.

The evolution of the Nigerian mass media has also been explored in this chapter. It shows that the print media evolved in Nigeria before the broadcast media. Generally, it has been shown in this chapter that mass media flourished in Nigeria through the activities of the missionaries, the colonialists and the nationalists who used them as platforms for mass mobilisation and the dissemination of information to a large audience at different places. The chapter has identified the research gap that it intends to fill. Also highlighted in this chapter are the objectives of the study which include the identification and discussion of contexts, ideologies, and pragmatic strategies in print media political interviews in Nigeria using four widely read and circulated national newspapers. Finally, the chapter has discussed the significance and scope of the study.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant concepts and examines existing studies on political discourse, ideological discourse, and media political interviews. Though there is an attempt to examine such studies conducted within Nigeria, those that are done in other climes are also given ample mentioning. The chapter also reviews the theoretical bases on which the study is hinged.

2.1. Review of empirical studies

This section appraises some scholarly works on political discourse, media political interviews and ideological discourse locally and internationally. The essence of this is to gain relevant insight into the study, locate the gap and build the work on solid foundation.

2.1.1. Existing studies on political discourse

Investigations on political discourses have received great intellectual attention from different fields and diverse theoretical perspectives such as Semantics, Stylistics, Rhetoric, Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics. The plethora of existing works on the field suggests that it offers a fecund ground for scholarly engagement. For instance, using the platform of Discourse Analysis, Adegbija (1995) investigates the discourse tacts in military coup speeches in Nigeria. The study identifies eight discourse tacts or strategies that are used by Nigerian military coup leaders in order to overthrow the government of the day, to attract public sympathy and understanding; and to gain legitimacy. The discourse tacts that were identified are: self-identifying and discourse initiating; atmosphere sanitizing, confidence building measure, support garnering, describing, authority assumption and exercising; survival, and departure/closing. Adegbija (1995) differs from the present study because it focuses on military coup speeches from a discourse perspective, while this present study focuses on political interviews with insights from the combine contribution of pragmatic features and ideological resources.

Ayeomoni (2005) concentrates on the language of the political elites from a general stylistic perspective. The study analyses the political speeches of a cross section of notable Nigerian leaders from different geo-political zones. Devices such as metaphor, liberal rhetoric, coercion, collective pronominal reference, lexical borrowings and allusions are

discovered to be used in the speeches of these prominent Nigerian leaders to show how language and politics are intertwined and interdependent. The study further contends that the differences in the style of various Nigerian leaders at different socio- political settings depend on the "subject matter, nature and forms of settings, participants and the language prowess or communication skill of the communicator or the speaker" (Ayeomoni, 2005: 167). Although Ayeomoni (2005) is relevant to this present study since it deals with political discourse, the difference between the two studies is that Ayeomoni (2005) focuses on stylistic features in political speeches, while this present study concentrates on pragmatic features in political interviews.

Adeyanju (2006) explores the pragmatic features in political speeches of six prominent Nigerian leaders, namely: Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, (civilian leaders); General Yakubu Gowon, General Olusegun Obasanjo, and General Ibrahim Babangida (military leaders). He argues that Nigerian political leaders employ the language of request, promise, excitement, bluntness, commanding tone and insincerity through illocutionary act, politeness and violation of quality maxim. The study concludes that the deployment of such political rhetoric is not just to provide leadership to the citizens, but to continually hold sway to power. While Adeyanju (2006) is premised on pragmatics, it is not based on political interviews.

Omezuwa and Ezejideaku (2008) undertake a stylistic analysis of the language of political campaigns in Nigeria to show how propaganda is used by politicians to enhance their language use, persuade the audience, discredit their opponents and win the support and votes of the electorates. The study analyses 35 randomly selected political campaign speeches for various offices in the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. It identifies different devices of rhetoric and propaganda such as exaggeration, rhetorical questions, vague utterances, abusive utterances and attack on opponent's party logo and slogans. In conclusion, the study reveals that politicians employ every rhetorical and linguistic weapon in their arsenal to win the votes of the people even if it means resorting to abusive or derogatory words. This study is related to our study because it falls under the broad spread of political discourse, but it differs from the present study because it is not based on political interviews and it is not domiciled in pragmatics.

Bayram (2010) investigates the political speech of a former Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2009 where he walked out from a debate. The aim of the study was to establish the link between identity, linguistic background and ideology through the lens of Fairclough's model of critical

discourse analysis. The study points out that the way humans perceive language is the foundation of their social construction and individual or group relationships. The study corroborates Fairclough's notion that ideology is inculcated in text and that ideology reflects language in different ways at different levels and that ideology is both "property of structures and of events" (cited in Bayram 2010:37). Hence, our attitudes and group membership define our language use. The fact that Bayram (2010) accounts for ideology makes it similar to the current study, but it differs in three main ways: first, it is not applied to political interviews, second, the study is not based on Nigerian politicians and third, it does not account for pragmatic features in the speech.

Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010) present the views of the Democratic and Republican candidates in the U.S. presidential primaries of 2008 on the continuation of war in Iraq by the American troops. The study employs the critical discourse analysis model proposed by van Dijk (2004) to unearth the ideological orientations of each political party's candidates as reflected in six of their campaign speeches (three speeches for each of the candidates). It underscores the fact that candidates of both parties deploy the strategies of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation". The study reveals that the candidates use some categories of ideological analysis such as lexicalisation, polarisation, presupposition, rhetoric, victimisation, disclaimer, et cetera. In the end, the study discovers that while the Republican candidates oppose the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq, the Democratic candidates support it. This study is relevant to the present study in its exploration of ideology, but it is distinct from our current study in the sense that it does not take context and negotiation strategies into consideration, which this present study explores.

Wang (2010) undertakes a critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama's victory speech of November, 2008 and his first presidential inaugural address of January, 2009 from a critical discourse analytic framework. The study draws insight from M.A.K Halliday's transitivity system of systemic functional grammar to analyse the ideational component of the speeches. The study shows that Barack Obama favours the use of simple words, simple sentences, easy language and colloquialism in his speeches in order to bridge the social gap between him and his audience. The study also demonstrates that Barack Obama explores material process more in order to show the government's achievement and what he would do. The overall import of the choice of simple style, the study alludes, is to help him persuade the public to accept and support his policies. The application of transitivity system to the study makes it relevant to this present work, however, the current study extends to ideology and context in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

Akinwotu (2013) studies the nomination acceptance speeches of two Nigerian Presidential candidates – Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Presidential candidate of the Unity Party of Nigeria -UPN- in 1979) and Chief Moshood Abiola (Presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party -SDP- in 1993). The study employs speech act theory in order to account for the speakers' communicative goals and intentions. The study reveals a preponderance exploitation of "assertive [representatives], expressive and commissive acts" by both speakers in order to persuade the electorate. This study is relevant to our study because it is a pragmatic investigation. However, the current study is not on acceptance speeches, but political interviews.

Kucukali (2014) carries out a political discourse study on the political strategies of Die Linke, the left-wing populist political party in Germany in order to show how language in politics could strategically be used to influence voters; the types of social and political contexts that influence political discourses; and the effects of political discourses on policy making processes. The study subjected "Key Programmatic Points Paper", which indicates the party's manifesto to a Critical Discourse Analysis. It reveals that the perceptions, attitudes and political strategies of Die Linke are achieved through linguistic devices like cohesion, coherence, nominalisation, topicality, relational propositions, metaphorisation, et cetera. The study differs from our present study because it is situated in discourse analysis, and not pragmatics.

Bratoz (2014) employs contrastive analysis model to study metaphors in political discourse among five different languages (English, German, Slovene, Italian and Croatian) with the sole aim of examining how metaphors in political discourse reflect the cultural and linguistic milieu that they emanate from. The study reveals that although "two predominant conceptual metaphors", namely, "elections are a battle and elections are a contest" are used in all the sampled languages, "there are also important variations between the languages which might have cultural implications." The variations identified and discussed are: variation relating to the extent of conventionality, variation according to the source domain, and variation according to preferential conceptualisations. Though the present study is predicated on political discourse, it is not studied under contrastive linguistics, but pragmatics.

Crespo-Fernandez (2014) concentrates on the use of euphemistic language by the regional politicians of Norfolk and Suffolk using *Eastern Daily Press* as its data source. The study combines the framework of critical-political discourse analysis, conceptual metaphor

and politeness theory for its analysis. Its findings reveal that euphemism is deployed at both word and sentence levels as a face-saving strategy. The study also shows a preponderance of the use of euphemism at word level through "understatement, litotes and underspecification", while the few instances at the sentence level are achieved through passivization, hedges, apologies and downtoners. The study concludes that the essence of such euphemistic deployment is "to reduce the communicative discomfort associated with unpleasant topics by avoiding a direct reference to them." This study, like some others earlier reviewed, is not on political interviews.

Hameed and Al-Asadi (2018) investigate argumentation schemes in the 2016 third American presidential debate between Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump. The study aims at unveiling the different types of argumentation schemes and their roles in political debates. Adopting Walton's (2002) categorisation, the study identifies the following argumentation schemes in the debate: analogy, sign, slippery slope, established rule, position to know, verbal classification, and ad Hominem. The study avows that participants in presidential debates employ argumentation schemes in order to ensure their election victory. The study establishes "a strong relationship between argumentation schemes and debaters in presidential debates" (Hameed and Al-Asadi, 2018:35).

All the works reviewed above are relevant in some respect to this research since they examine language use in political discourse. However, this work is significantly different from them because it explores context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media as opposed to campaign speeches, acceptance speeches, victory speeches and debates which were the focus of the studies reviewed here. Also, most of the studies are based on general stylistic, rhetorical, discourse and pragmatic features, while this study deals with the combined contribution of pragmatic and ideological resources to the negotiation of meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

2.1.2 Existing studies on media political interviews

From the Fourth Estate or Libertarian Theoretical perspective, the media are described as the fourth arm of government in a democratic society. They serve as watchdog and provide "relevant, accurate and sufficient information that becomes [sic] the building blocks for public opinion" (Ojo, Odegbenle and Akinreti, 2013: 68). Media discourse is an umbrella term for the "totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper" (O'Keeffe, 2006:1). Corroborating the above view, Montgomery (2011) cited in Ibrahim (2014:1) argues that there are "two main traditions in the study of

media discourse: the first one deals mostly with newspapers and the structure of news in written texts, whereas the second deals with broadcast news interviews as a form of social interaction." The corpus of this present study falls under print media political interviews. Therefore, in what follows, attention will be paid to some studies done on print media political interviews.

Some studies such as (Mullany, 2002; Odebunmi, 2009; Al-Rassam, 2010) have studied different aspects of media language ranging from general structure, pragmatic features, to ideological representations. Therefore, in this section, some of these studies are reviewed in order to gain insights, to locate the gaps, and to build the present work on them.

Adopting a synthetic community of practice, Mullany (2002) looks at gender, politeness and impoliteness in media political broadcast interviews using a data base of 20 encounters. In the analysis, only one instance of impoliteness was found as identified by the female interviewee, Hilary Armstrong. The study highlights impoliteness as a neglected aspect of linguistic politeness, and concludes that politeness and impoliteness are not informed by gender which is a social construct, but rather by the communicative or interactive event. In other words, 'impolite behaviour emerges at discourse level'. This study, though quite insightful, was based on electronic media and not print media. Also, the data base of twenty encounters is not representative enough for generalisation.

Odebunmi (2009) employs the revised version of the relational work theory of politeness to examine print media political interviews in two Nigerian magazines – *Tell* and *The News*. The study shows that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria exploit three contextual beliefs, namely, "shared knowledge of subjects, shared knowledge of political gimmicks, and shared knowledge of ideological expectations" to achieve politeness in interaction. It concludes that "participants in the interviews put up politic, polite and impolite verbal behaviours, which are respectively indexed by confrontations and criticisms, veils, and condemnations and accusations." Though this study is relevant to our present study, especially in the exploration of contextual features in political interviews in Nigerian print media, it is different from our present study because the current study is on daily newspapers, and not magazines. Also, our current study accounts for ideological positions of the discourse participants, and negotiation strategies which Odebunmi (2009) does not explore.

In a similar study, Al-Rassam (2010) explores four television political interviews in Iraq using an eclectic approach to account for the pragmatic moves and strategies that are deployed to contend with "the conflict between being uncooperative and truthful." The study

concludes that indirectness in form of word play, circumlocution, metaphor inter alia dominates Iraqi political discourse and indeed those of other climes. A close examination of this work reveals how pragmatic features and strategies influence meaning explication in political interviews, and this makes the study relevant to the present study. However, the present research explores pragmatic features and strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media, as opposed to Al-Rassam (2010) which focuses on political interviews in Iraqi electronic media.

Huls and Varwijk (2010) investigate "political bias in TV interviews" with a view to ascertaining alleged political bias, and "to contribute to the development of an instrument for the measurement of partiality in TV interviews of Dutch media." The data comprise 12 interviews taken from "Pauw & Witteman" late-night talk show during the 2006 run-up to the parliamentary elections. Anchoring its analysis on "five measures of adversarial questioning that were developed by Clayman et al. (2007): initiative, directness, assertiveness, opposition and accountability", as well as on a sixth measure that was developed in the context of the study, "persistence", the study reveals that journalists are more favourably disposed to the ideas and opinions of the left-wing politicians than those of the right-wing politicians in terms of coverage and question design. The fact that the work is a study of media political interviews makes it relevant to our current study, but it is not on print media, and it is not a pragmatic study like ours.

Hoffman (2013) examines perceived media bias and effects across TV entertainment formats in political interviews. She observes that Americans' confidence in news has become very low, thus, they turn to entertainment programmes, which "regularly feature interviews with public officials, potential candidates, and celebrities". The study demonstrates that different programmes produce different perceptions of both bias and effect. These perceptions are influenced by the format, content and characters of the media. Again, though the study is on political interviews, it is on political interviews in the electronic media; and it is not situated in pragmatics.

In another study, Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh (2014) undertake a comparative study of the use of discourse markers in the political interviews of a select Iranian and English politicians with the aim of identifying the similarities and differences in the use of such discourse markers. The study adopts Fung and Carter's (2007) framework of discourse markers. The study reveals that both Iranian and English politicians use a high degree of discourse markers, especially continuation markers which are used in all the interviews in

almost equal frequency to achieve their set goals. The study, however, identifies some differences in the deployment of discourse markers in the interviews conducted in English and those conducted in Persian. Interpersonal discourse markers were found to be more frequently used in English based newspapers of both English and Iranian politicians than those published in Persian. Also, Iranian politicians interviewed in the Persian language demonstrate higher deployment of additive referential makers than others who used more consequent markers in their interviews. The study concludes that the differences in the use of discourse markers and communicative styles could be attributed to "the presence of cross-cultural differences in English and Iranian contexts" (Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh, 2014:57). While this study is based on political political interviews as the current study, it is not a pragmatic study.

Hordecki and Piontek (2014) utilize content analysis to analyse Polish television political interviews in order to explain the changing roles of politicians and journalists in an era of "mediatization of politics and politization of the media". This change of roles, the paper asserts is influenced by "technology and commercial success". It further reveals that journalists now abandon their primary role of analysis of current political issues to focus on their relationships with politicians. It also shows that journalists and politicians engage in supremacy contest during interviews, each seeking to control and make the other submissive. Hordecki and Piontek (2014) is relevant to our present study in its exploration of political interviews. However, the study differs from ours because it is on televised political interviews, while ours is on print media political interviews. Also, Hordecki and Piontek (2014) is a content analysis, while ours is a pragmatic study.

2.1.3. Existing studies on ideological discourse

As earlier stated in this work, language and ideology are intricately interrelated in a way that one cannot thrive without the other. This explains why van Dijk (2006) enthuses that "Ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their members, and more particularly acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse." Consequently, language and ideology have become objects of investigations, locally and internationally in order to unpack the underlying ideologies in discourses on the one hand and how such ideologies influence language use in specific situations or settings on the other hand. One of such researches was conducted by Chiluwa (2006). The study focuses on linguistic variation and ideological differences in the headlines of two Nigerian newspapers – *The Guardian* and *The Punch* through the lens of critical discourse analysis and systemic

functional linguistics. The analysis shows that *The Punch* in its report of labour related crisis situations sympathises with the government and presents it as the victim, while *The Guardian*'s linguistic choices portray the ideology of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) as the victims of government's repressive and oppressive policies. The study also shows that while *The Guardian* tilts towards the "ideology of personal responsibility to actions", and *The Punch* favours the ideology of denial of personal responsibility to actions in their use of the active voice and passive voice respectively. In a nutshell, the study reveals that "discourse is a product of social processes" (Chiluwa, 2006:98) and that the linguistic choices of newspaper headlines and overlines reflect the ideological differences of the newspaper owners and the social structures that produce them. While Chiluwa's (2006) study relates to the present study in its adoption of an ideological oriented approach and uses print media texts, it differs from it because the present study concentrates on political interviews, and not newspaper headlines and overlines. Also, unlike Chiluwa (2006) which focuses on the ideologies of the newspapers, the present study focuses on the ideologies of the interviewees.

Adopting the analytic method of critical discourse analysis, Kuo (2007) investigates both qualitatively and quantitatively the quotation patterns in two ideologically opposed newspapers in Taiwan, *viz.* the pro-unification *United Daily News* and the pro-independence *Liberty Times*. It was discovered that in reporting Taiwan's President, Chen Shui-bian's statement "one country on each side", both newspapers prefer to use indirect quotations. However, according to Kuo (2007), there are significant differences in their selections of quotation contents and quoted speakers. The same speaker is quoted as saying completely different things by the two newspapers, which are also more likely to quote those who voice their positions on the controversial news event. As a result, the study demonstrates that the choice of quotation patterns is by no means objective or neutral, and presentations of speech in the news tend to be loaded with ideological bias. The point of convergence between Kuo (2007) and the present study is at the level of theoretical framework and the utilisation of print media. However, the two works depart from each other in the sense that the former investigates ideology in Taiwan newspapers and not participants in political interviews in Nigerian newspapers.

Omotola (2009) engages in a study of Nigerian political parties from the first republic to the fourth republic. Her aim is to ascertain whether or not Nigerian political parties had concrete political ideologies. Employing critical discourse analysis, the study shows that from the first republic to the fourth republic, Nigerian political parties lacked well defined and sustainable ideologies. While the study presents the effects of the absence of political

ideologies in the Nigerian political scene, it reveals that the emergence of ideological sanity would stimulate socio-economic and political reforms in Nigeria. While Omotola (2009) limits itself to the investigations of party ideologies, the present study concentrates on participants' ideologies in context.

Adesina (2009) investigates ideologies of the judiciary as reflected in the ruling on the application of Osun State gubernatorial candidate, Rauf Aregbesola, to call a forensic expert, Andrian Forty, as a witness in the 2007 election tribunal. The study reveals that through its ruling, Nigerian Election Tribunal shows that the judiciary is supreme, unbiased, fair to all and the last hope of the masses. It also reveals the ideologies of the judiciary "as a unique profession which warrants honour" (Adesina 2009). Adesina's (2009) is relevant to this present study in the sense that it deploys critical discourse analysis as its theoretical framework. Nevertheless, the study differs from ours, since it is not on print media political interviews, but rather on the ruling of election tribunal.

In a related development, Odebunmi (2010) studies ideology in political news reports. It uses an eclectic approach – tracking, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, co-text and aspects of media discourse to analyse *The Punch* news reports on the Nigerian Supreme Court judgement on the qualification of former Vice President Atiku Abubakar for the 2007 general elections. The data demonstrate a manifestation of two main tracking roles in connection to ideologies, namely "institutional representation and power relation." The institutional representation is characterised with esphora and homophora, while the power relations is tracked through bridging and anaphora to reveal the different group ideologies. The relevance of Odebunmi's (2010) study to this present study is that it is premised on print media discourse and critical discoursev analysis. However, it is different from our study mainly because it is not based on political interviews, but rather on newspaper reports on Supreme Court judgement.

On his part, Kanu (2010) embarks on a critical study of the political philosophy and ideologies of Nnamdi Azikiwe. The study enumerates the five cannons of Azikiwe's political theory which include spiritual balance, economic determinism, mental emancipation, social regeneration and political resurgence. Though Azikiwe's political philosophy is not without flaws, the study portrays its practicability and asserts that if strictly adhered to, it (Azikiwe's philosophy) would be vital in the restoration of genuine Nigerian socio-political life and the total emancipation of Africa at large. Kanu (2010) is related to our study since it falls under political discourse, and utilizes critical discourse analysis. However, it differs from ours because it does not use media texts for analysis.

Shojaei and Laheghi (2012) on the other hand study some news texts from the *Wall Street Journal* of 18th May, 2010; and their translations into Farsi (a language primarily spoken in Iran) done by *Jaam-e-Jam* newspaper. The study aims at unraveling how translation from one language to the other is influenced by the ideologies of the translator and/ or that of his/her patron(s). To achieve this aim, the study employs critical discourse analysis. The study uncovers how the translator's lexical choices reflect the ideologies of his/her patron(s), usually the Iranian government in positive SELF presentation and negative OTHERS presentation as seen in the case of the negative presentation of the government of the United States of America (U.S.A.) on issues concerning Iran's nuclear programmes. Their study is relevant to ours, as it studies ideologies, but differs from ours since it is neither based on Nigerian newspaper nor political interviews.

Akinwotu (2014) considers the discursive strategies in the media interviews of government representatives or spokespersons and representatives of the protesters during the January, 2012 fuel subsidy removal crisis in Nigeria. The study benefits from the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis. It reveals that government representatives explore "opinionation and defensive rhetorics, solidarity, framing and blackmail" to defend and legitimise government's position and index its ideolology. It also shows that representatives of the protesters employ "combative and condemnatory rhetorics" in their language to challenge and condemn government's policy. However, both parties (government and protesters) through their representatives, use the language of solidarity so as to win empathy from the masses. The relevance of Akinwotu's (2014) research to our present study lies in the utilisation of critical discourse analysis and media interviews. However, Akinwotu (2014) differs from the present study in respect of the latter's exploration of discursive contexts and interactional goals.

Sulistyo and Kristianto (2017) employ Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis to analyse President Donald Trump's speech in which he announced his decision to contest the 2015 United States of America's presidential election. The study aims at uncovering Mr. Trump's underlying ideology. It identifies Mr. Trump's ideology as reflected in the language of the speech to be negative perception of the Muslims and dissatisfaction about Obama's administration. This ideology, the study concludes endeared him to the American people. The fact that this study is based on political discourse and is anchored on critical discourse analysis makes it relevant to our present research. Nevertheless, the study differs from ours because it focuses on declaration of political intention speech in America, while ours is based on political interviews in Nigerian print media.

All the studies that we have reviewed here are relevant to the present study in one way or the other since they examine linguistic behaviour in socio-cultural contexts, however, considering the fact that no study that we are aware of has exclusively explored the combined contribution of pragmatic and ideological resources to the negotiation of meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media, this study examines the discursive contexts, ideological positions and pragmatic strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media in order to establish their joint roles in the negotiation of interactional goals.

2.2. Review of relevant concepts

For the purpose of conceptual clarification and limitation of ambiguity, it is considered pertinent to examine some of the concepts and terms that are used in this research.

2.2.1. Pragmatics as a field of study

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. For a couple of decades now, linguists have unabatedly continued to investigate the configuration of linguistic resources with the primary aim of explicating meaning. This linguistic enterprise in meaning explication has given birth to formal and functional linguistics. Formal linguistics covers "language areas as phonetics and phonology, lexis, grammar (within which we have morphology and syntax) and finally, semantics" (Osisanwo, 2003:2),while functional linguistics encapsulates "rhetorics[sic], stylistics, register analysis, discourse analysis, pragmatics, semiotics and so on" (Osisanwo, 2003:2). From the pool of functional linguistics, pragmatics is given particular attention in this work since the research is within its domain.

The word Pragmatics is etymologically traced to the Greek word *pragma* which means "deed" or "action" (Osisanwo, 2003:49). According to *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1994, vol.22:514), "Pragmatics" as a linguistic field was first mentioned by Charles Morris (1938) who sees it as a branch of semiotics. Other branches are Semantics and Syntax. It was, however, developed by the Philosopher Paul Grice whose William James lectures at Harvard in 1967 introduced the concept of implicature in an attempt to mediate and reconcile the two dominant approaches to philosophy of language then, viz, Ideal Language Philosophy (the study of language as a formal system) and Ordinary Language Philosophy (the study of actual linguistic use) (Sperber and Wilson). Adegbija (1999:6) observes that Pragmatics developed as a "reaction to the purely formalist approach to language". Since its development, there has been a plethora of definitions by different scholars such as Stalnaker (1978), Fromkin and Rodman (1978), Yule (1985), Kempson (1986), Leech and Short

(1987), Crystal (1987), Barton (1990), Fasold (1990), Thomas (1995), Adegbija (1999) and Odebunmi (2015).

According to Stalnaker (1978:383), pragmatics is "the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed." Fromkin and Rodman (1978: 186-7) see it as "the study of how context influences the way we interpret sentences." Crystal (1987) says "Pragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others." Fasold (1990: 19) describes it as "the study of the use of context to make inferences about meaning." These four definitions have lucidly highlighted the salient role of context in pragmatics, but they do not give clear attention to the role of discourse participants in the construction and explication of meaning. Harmonising the above definitions, Adegbija (1999:189) cited in Odebunmi (2015:198), presents a more comprehensive view of pragmatics as:

> The study of language use in particular communicative contexts or situations. This would take cognizance of the message being communicated or the speech act being performed, the participants involved; their intention, knowledge of the world and the impact these have on their interaction, what they have taken for granted as part of the context (or the presupposition) and the deductions they make on the basis of the context; what they imply by what is said or left unsaid; the impacts of the non-verbal aspects of interaction on meaning.

The above description presupposes that pragmatics does not only account for context, but also the message communicated, the speech acts performed, the interlocutors and their intentions and inferences about verbal and non-verbal communication. Odebunmi (2015:199) on his part proposes that pragmatics is "the study of meaning that is constrained by discourse participants' context-determined or context-shaped roles, access to shared or accommodated beliefs, negotiation of discursive choices and interactive orientation."

Central to all the scholarly explanations of the field of pragmatics is the phenomenon of context which enables individuals to recover relevant pragmatic tokens. This explains why Akmajian, Demers, Farmer, and Harnish (2003:343) describe it as "the study of language use (and in particular the study of linguistic communication) in relation to language structure and context of utterance. For instance, pragmatics must identify central uses of language, it must specify the conditions for linguistic expression (words, phrases, sentences, discourse) to be used in those ways, and must seek to uncover general principles of language." Other phenomenal concepts and theoretical conceptualisations upon which pragmatics thrive are

implicatures, explicatures, politeness, speech act, reference, deixis and presuppositions. The basic goals of pragmatics as enunciated by Adegbija (1999:198) are:

i.   to explain how meaning is decoded from utterances in context and in particular situations;

ii. to explain how utterances convey meaning in context;

iii. to explain how context contributes to the encoding and decoding of meaning;

iv. to explain how speakers and hearers of utterances perceive them as conveying the meaning they are considered as conveying in particular utterances;

v.   to explain how speakers can say one thing and mean something else; and

vi. to explain how deductions are made in context with respect to what meaning has been engaged in a particular utterance.

Based on all the definitions of pragmatics and its scope reviewed here, we propose that pragmatics is the study of meaning of utterances with particular attention to the relevance of context, discourse participants, linguistic and non-linguistic choices that are made.

There are at least three main traditions or schools of pragmatics; namely, linguistic-philosophical pragmatics (Anglo-American pragmatics), socio-cultural interactional pragmatics (European continental pragmatics) and socio-cognitive pragmatics. Linguistic-philosophical pragmatics (Anglo-American pragmatics) was developed by the Anglo-American linguistic philosophy scholars to systematically investigate the meaning of language in different contexts with particular attention on intention, deixis, presupposition, conversational implicature, speech act, rationality, common ground, mutual knowledge, and relevance (Arif, 2013; Horn and Kecskes, 2013). It argues that communication always entails the speakers' intentions, and how the hearer associates with such intentions, that is, the centrality of intention in meaning making. In other words, communication is only achieved when the hearer's intention agrees with the speaker's intention. Scholars in this tradition, especially the Gricean and neo-Gricean scholars (for example, Grice, Levinson, Bach, etc) contend that there is an *apriori* intention in all communications. This implies that all utterances are inherently laden with the speaker's intention which must be located by the hearer.

Socio-cultural interactional pragmatics (European continental pragmatics) attempts to widen the scope of pragmatic investigation by drawing insights from sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and psycholinguistics in the explication of meaning. It is "a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage

in forms of behaviour" (Verschueren, 1999 cited in Horn and Kecskes 2013:363). It posits that intention in communication emerges, or is jointly achieved during interaction, that is, *post factum* and not always preconceived by the speaker as conceived by the Anglo-American pragmatics. For this school, "communication is not always dependent on speaker intentions in the Gricean sense" (Kecskes, 2013:25). It de-emphasizes the centrality of intention in meaning making, and attempts to investigate the influence of social and cultural factors on the interpretation of an utterance. Consequently, Horn and Kecskes (2013:363) summarise its basic tenets to include:

1. The attempt to broaden the scope of pragmatics by focusing not only on the linguistic and semantic constraints of communication but also on the social and cultural constraints;

2. questioning Gricean intentionality as the main driving force of communication;

3. solving the problem of "impoverished" speaker meaning of Gricean pragmatics by looking for speaker cues not only in the immediate context but also beyond it, in the discourse segment and/or dialogue sequence.

Socio-cognitive pragmatics also referred to as intercultural pragmatics, on the other hand, tries to reconcile the first two schools. It conflates *apriori* intention and *post factum* and stresses their dialectical relationship. This school emphasises how communication is affected by "the interplay between intention and attention based on the socio-cultural background". It considers the "roles and functions of language and communication within a worldwide communication network"(Kecsekes, 2013:26). Intercultural pragmatics looks at the interaction between individual traits (prior experience ⟶ salience ⟶ egocentrism ⟶ attention) and societal traits (actual situational experience ⟶ relevance ⟶ cooperation intention) (Horn and Kecskes, 2013:365). This means that interlocutors' prior experience yields salience which activates egocentrism that ultimately draws attention, thus combining with the actual situation experience to pick out relevant items through joint negotiation that leads to the establishment of intention in communicative event. Arising from this, Horn and Kecskes (2013:365) argue that:

> intercultural pragmatics is based on the understanding of interculturality as a phenomenon that is not only interactionally and socially constructed in the course of communication but also relies on relatively definable cultural models and norms that represent the speech communities to which the interlocutors belong

This study is situated within the tradition of socio-cognitive pragmatics since it draws insights from the individual and social traits that enhance the joint negotiation of meaning that ultimately leads to the establishment of intention in a communicative event.

2.2.2. Context

The notion that meanings of utterances are contextually determined and interpreted has a long tradition. The term "context of situation" was first used by the anthropologist, Malinowski (1923) in his observation of the language of the Trobriand Islanders in order to account for the "immediate environment in which texts are produced" (Knapp and Watkins, 2005:18). In other words, Malinowski uses the concept of context of situation to account for the meaning that is based on the immediate, or physical setting in which an utterance is made. In realising that the concept of context of situation was inadequate to account for the complex nature of context, he (Malinowski) further developed the term "context of culture" to account for the "systems of beliefs, values and attitudes that speakers [or writers] bring with them into any social interaction" (Knapp and Watkins, 2005:18). These views have been tinkered with by some other scholars such as "Firth (1957), Hymes (1964), Lewis (1977), and Ochis (1979)" to encapsulate "participant roles and goals, linguistic resources, verbal action, non-verbal elements, spatial and temporal indices, and activity types" (Odebunmi, 2016a:14).

Hymes (1964) for instance, opines that context both limits and supports the interpretation of an utterance. She therefore, proposed some features of context to include: addressor (speaker or writer), addressee (hearer or reader), audience (the people listening), topic (what is being discussed), setting (place and time of communication), channel (mode or medium of interaction), message (genre), event (what is taking place), key (atmosphere of the message), and purpose (reason for the interaction) (cf. Odebunmi, 2006: 40).

Halliday (1978) considers context of situation in terms of field, tenor and mode of discourse. The field of discourse refers to what is being discussed; tenor relates to the relationship between the interlocutors; while mode denotes the medium of exchange – written or spoken. In fact, right from the time of Malinowski to the present, context has remained central and crucial to meaning negotiation. House (2007:11 -12) succinctly puts it thus:

> Conceptions of language within the broader context of culture, whereby meaning is seen as contextually determined and constructed, are not recent developments, but have a venerable tradition in Russian Formalism, Prague School and Firthian linguistics, as well as American sociology of language, speech act theory and discourse analysis. In particular Firth and Halliday,

both strongly influenced by the ethnographer Malinowski, regard language as 'language events' with meanings of utterances being defined in terms of their use and function in the context of a socio-cultural situation.

Context has till date continued to hold sway in pragmatic studies. Also, there is an increasing and renewed interest in linguistics to focus on context in recent times. For instance, Duranti and Goodwin (1992) centre on the critique of conventional models of context in *Rethinking Context;* Bucholtz (1999) focuses on context in her work on communities of practice.

The surge of interest in research into context is no doubt crucial because it facilitates the disambiguation of meaning. In other words, "human communication is to a large extent dependent on the participants' previous knowledge and experience" (Ellah, 2011:30). The recognition of this basic fact is evident in the attempts by "scholars, especially psychologists and reading experts" to examine the "effect of background knowledge on learning, reading and especially on understanding and interpreting written texts" (Osisanwo, 2003:82).

The above underpins the essentiality of context, that is, the psychological, physical and socio-cultural background upon which an utterance is made and interpreted. However, defining context clearly has become very cumbersome with different scholars from different theoretical backgrounds all contributing to it (van Dijk, 2009). Leech (1983:13) views it as "any background assumed to be shared by the speaker and the hearer and which contributes to the hearer's interpretation of what the speaker means by a given utterance." Duranti and Goodwin (1992) view it as "a frame that surrounds the event [that is] being examined." Schiffrin (1994:363) conceptualises it to be "a world filled with people producing utterances: people who have social, cultural, and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, goals and wants, and who interact with one another in various socially and culturally defined situations." It is conceived to be the physical and social world of a text, and the assumptions of knowledge that the speaker and hearer share (Cutting, 2002:3). It is also assumed to be "the physical and social world, and socio-psychological factors influencing communication, as well as the knowledge of the time and place in which words are uttered or written" (Cutting, 2002:2). According to Blimes (1986) cited in Capone (2005), "context is the total social setting in which the speech event takes place, the meaning of an utterance being determined by its place in an interactional sequence." Odebunmi (2006:25) avers that "context is the spine of meaning." It encapsulates "the social and psychological world in which the user operates at any given time [and], minimally language users' beliefs and

assumptions about temporal, spatial and social setting; prior, ongoing and future actions and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction at hand" (Ochis, 1979) cited in Odebunmi (2006:25). van Dijk (2009:2) sees it as "the non-verbal, social and situational aspect of communicative events." He further considers it to be "a selection of the discursively *relevant* properties of the communicative situation" (van Dijk, 2009:4). The immediate foregoing implies that only the features that are relevant to the production and comprehension of discourse should be considered. He also sees the relevant properties of context not to be 'objective' but 'subjective' since the participants in the text or talk are the ones to determine what is relevant or irrelevant to their discourse. Austin (1962) cited in Sandra (2012:3) views it as 'the particular circumstances in which an utterance is uttered.' For Odebunmi (2016a:13), context is "the condition that constrains the determination of the propositions of an utterance or the understanding of an event or discourse."

It becomes very obvious from the above assertions that a successful conceptualisation and communication of linguistic utterances is dependent on the context of the ongoing communicative event or activity type because it constrains the uttering and interpretation of an utterance. This view to meaning explication is opposed to literalism or semantic minimalism which sees the truth condition or meaningfulness of a sentence without recourse to contextual constraints. An utterance is embedded in "a context of use, with an aim to determine the referential anchors that complete the propositional form of the utterance" (Capone, 2005). Context has the "transformative power" of "assigning specific illocutionary forces to utterances" and it is also needed to determine "the proposition expressed by an utterance" (Capone, 2005). In other words, effective communication hinges on the participants' adherent to the dictates of context. Non-adherent to the dictates of context leads to miscommunication. Lack of the "knowledge of the [text] world including physical environment, human behaviour and activities, social relationships, cultural norms and conventions" (Alo, 1998: 7) militates against effective communication. This shows that context is indeed the soul of meaning.

Underscoring the importance of context to linguistic interpretation, Verschueren (1999: 111 − 112) asserts that 'in isolation, just all utterances are highly indeterminate because of the multiplicity of contextual constellations they can fit into. Far from introducing vagueness, allowing context into linguistic analysis is therefore a prerequisite for precision." Taking a broad perspective, Duranti (2001:28) lends credence to the importance of context thus:

> Context (...) is no longer understood as an independent variable (e.g. a speaker's social status) or a given backdrop against which to analyze linguistic forms, but as the product of specific ways of behaving. Participants in an interaction are constantly and mostly implicitly preoccupied with defining the context against which their actions should be interpreted. The analyst's job is to reconstruct such a process of contextuallization (...) while being conscious of the fact that analysis itself is a form of contextualization.

In a nutshell, context involves both the linguistic and non-linguistic information that influence the construction and interpretation of a text. A matter of central concern to the theory of context is theorising the language-context relationship, that is, what dimension of context is relevant to text and how context is inculcated into text. These niceties are often explained away with reference to the following variables: Field (what is happening in the social action), Tenor (who is taking part in the action) and Mode (what part language is playing).

Some scholars, however, contend that meanings of words should be studied in isolation (cf. Palmer, 1996). To such scholars, a user of a word is "expected to know what a word means before using it in speech or writing." They also opine that "the world of experience must of necessity include the sum of human knowledge" (Palmer, 1996:48) cited in Odebunmi (2006:26). Undoubtedly, words have their denotative meanings, but their connotative meanings only emerge when contextual variables are taken into cognizance or factored in. For instance, using componential analysis, the appropriate semantic features for expressing the word "man" will be:

+ HUMAN

+ ADULT

+ MALE

But in the following sentence, such meaning cannot be realised:

"She is the man of the house."

The above structure is semantically inordinate and meaningless because the first person feminine pronoun (–MALE) which is the theme contradicts the headword of the second noun phrase, "man" which is (+MALE) in the rhyme, but the structure is grammatically acceptable; and pragmatically meaningful when read in the appropriate context. With the right contextualisation cues, the following pragmatic contents or interpretations could be recovered:

i. The woman represented by "she" is the breadwinner of the family

ii. She controls her husband and all other members of the family

iii.She is the decision maker in the family

Finally, we would like to conclude this discussion with the words of Hayakawa (1974:56) that "… the ignoring of context in any act of interpretation [especially pragmatics] is at best a stupid practice, at its worst…a vicious practice."

Context has been variously classified by different scholars. For example, Harris (1988) identifies two main types of context, namely, knowledge of language and world knowledge. The knowledge of language pertains to the participants' ability to communicate effectively in the selected language engaged in the discourse, while world knowledge encapsulates the specific situations such as physical setting, psychological situation, sociocultural and interpersonal dimensions of the text world. Cutting (2002) identifies three types of contexts, namely, situational context, background knowledge context and co-textual context. The situational context refers to the speaker's or writer's knowledge of the physical things that he or she can see around in the immediate environment. In other words, it is "the immediate physical co-presence, the situation where the interaction is taking place at the moment of speaking" (Cutting, 2000:4). It employs dexis such as this, that, those, these et cetera, which point at something in an environment. This kind of context is similar to Harris' (1988) "world knowledge". Background knowledge context refers to discourse participants' shared knowledge, including their knowledge of each other and culture. Co-textual context relates to the knowledge of the topic of discourse and the relationship that holds between parts of a structure to ensure cohesion. It is otherwise referred to as the context of the text itself (co-text), and it is realised through different cohesive devices – lexical or grammatical devices.

Odebunmi (2006) identifies linguistic context and social context. The linguistic context, otherwise called co-text in his view accounts for the meaning that is "determined by the lexical items that surround the particular word that interests a linguist, or user of a language" (Odebunmi, 2006:38). That is to say that linguistic context refers to the meaning that is realised from the meaning of words that come before and after a particular word in an utterance, that is, the linguistic environment of a word. Social context covers the "socio-cultural, religious and historical features of interaction" (Odebunmi, 2006:39) that influence the meaning of an utterance.

2.2.3. The concept of register

It is appropriate to begin the discussion of register with a brief explanation of the concept of word. The concept of word has been viewed from "phonological, orthographic, grammatical and morphological perspectives" (Odebunmi, 2006:44). Lyons (1974:53) states that "a word is composed of sounds." It comprises items that are "separated from one another by spaces" (Lyons, 1974 cited in Odebunmi 2006: 44). Harmonising Lyons' view, Tomori (1977:16) describes a word as "a letter or group of letters of the alphabet written between two mandatory spaces in the horizontal plane." For Fromkin and Rodman (1978: 139), a word is "a linguistic sign." A word could be a single letter such as "a, I"; or composed of many letters such as "pragmatics". It is indeed "one of the most fundamental units of linguistic structure" (Akmajian et al, 2003:11). Tilting towards meaning, Odebunmi (2006:44), opines that a word is "a letter, a morpheme or a connected sequence of letters or morphemes, physically separated from another such letter or morpheme or sequence of letters or morphemes but with sensitivity to it in terms of meaning."

Considering these views, we would describe a word here as a grammatical unit that combines sound and alphabet to make meaning. Words are what we use in language to express our intentions. They convey the following information: phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic information (Akmajian et al, 2003:12). Let us now turn our attention to the consideration of register.

Register simply means the words or vocabulary items that are used for the discussion of specific profession or field of human endeavour. It deals with the use of certain words in particular situations, the persons that use these words and how the words are used. It could also be seen as "a variety of the language applied according to social use, such as scientific, formal, religious, and journalistic" (www.encyclopaedia.com). It is located within the ambit of language variation in the general study of applied linguistics. Two main types of language variations have been identified in literature, namely, variation according to the user (e.g. idiolect, sociolect etc) and variation according to use (e.g. legal language, political language, medical language, etc). The history of the term "register" dates back to F. Weneger (1985) in whose opinion the term "register" is distinguishable by subject matter and the interest of interlocutors. Various scholars have developed findings on register since the inception of the word, thereby proposing various definitions. Defining registers in literature has inclined towards determining meaning by investigating situational usage which employs linguistic features (Odebunmi, 2006:59). The linguistic features that are often employed are phonological, lexical and grammatical. Gregory (1967:177) avows that register is "the

linguistic reflection of recurrent characteristics of user's use of language in situation." Anchoring on the semanticity of linguistic lacing, Halliday (1975:26) describes register as:

> a configuration of semantic resources that member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is deployed in a given social context. It thus represents the semantic options, and combinations of semantic options, that are 'at risk' under particular environmental conditions.

This implies that register deals with the use of language in which its meaning is influenced by the context of usage, which includes particular group of people in a particular situation or activity. Considering it from the perspectives of language variation and linguistic peculiarity that is determined by the social context and culture of the users, Gregory and Carroll (1978:64 - 5) describe register as:

> a useful abstraction linking variations of language to variations of social context….an instance of language-in-action. It can be described in terms of phonological, lexical and grammatical indexical markers (peculiar to a text) and common-core features (shared by texts). Register is as well the realization of the semantic possibilities of language. It defines what can be *meant* in situation. Register is, then, culturally determined since it is the culture of the society which determine the patterns of environments in which language can occur…. the configuration of several contextual features, can draw attention to what changes in situation and context alter what features of language and the reciprocity of these relationships.

In the view of Eggins and Martins (1997:234), it is "a theoretical explanation of the commonsense observation that we use language differently in different situations." It is a Context of Situation (CS) index or in other words, it accounts for usage variation with reference to specific CS. In Halliday and Hassan's (1991) opinion, register is:

> a configuration of meanings that is typically associated with a particular situational configuration of meanings. Register must also of course include the expressions, the lexico-grammatical and phonological features that typically accompany or RELEASE these meanings.

A matter of central concern to the theory of register is "theorizing the language-context relationship", that is, "what dimension of context" is relevant to text and how context is inculcated into text. "These niceties are often explained away with reference to Field (what is happening in the social action) Tenor (who is taking part in the action) and Mode (what part language is playing) variables" (Ansary and Babaii, 2004:4). Earlier, Gregory (1967:177) observed that dialectal variety and diatypic varieties have two main categories of language

variation. The identified diatypic manifestations are the field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse.

Also notable is the fact that in addition to register variation, texts may also exhibit variation in genre. Genres are said to be forms of communication as indexed in language. For example, educational genre, political genre, medical genre, interactional genre, scientific genre, et cetera. In the systemic functional perspective, different genres are different ways of using language to accomplish different culturally established tasks, and texts of different genres are texts which achieve different purposes in culture. This implies that a genre is realised through register and register is realised through language. Genres reflect context of culture, while register reflects the context of situation.

From what has been said so far, register can be viewed correctly as the use of words in a particular situational context by a particular group of people for a specific purpose. However, to compactly sum up the general views on register, Odebunmi (2007) expresses that:

> Register is a broad concept that covers all forms and kinds of communication in terms of linguistic forms used, the activities performed, the participants and their roles in the communication, the medium of communication and the interconnectivity between one linguistic form and the other.

In the light of all these, it can be deduced that registers are used in a particular situation. Words in register are not changeable at individual's discretion; and it is a form of language that suits a particular situation which changes according to subject matter and users. Two perspectives exist on register usage, that is, the narrow and the broad (Stockwell, 2002:7). The narrow perspective equates register with jargon in the sense that the vocabulary available for describing specific fields of specialisation make up the register of such fields. In the broad perspective, register is "a sort of social genre of linguistic usage" (Stockwell, 2002:7). Registers are largely sourced from borrowings, blending and neologisms (Odebunmi, 2008:287). Borrowings in this context can be said to be the wholesome lifting of words from one language into the other while still maintaining their semantic implications. Many English words are borrowed from languages like "Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, etc" (Odebunmi, 2008:287). Blending is the forming of a word through the combination of parts of two free forms. According to Odebunmi (2006:50), "in blending, two free forms are combined to form a single word. Each of the free forms loses one or more of its syllables in the process." Some English registers are a blend of two or more words from English. Odebunmi (2006:50) cites the following examples: 'Motel' from motor+hotel, 'Smog' from

smoke+fog. etc. Neologism means using existing words with new meanings. Odebunmi(2006:54) asserts that "Neologism/coinage means creating new words or using existing words with new meaning. Neologism represents a major way by which the lexicon of English expands whether in the first or second language context…"

There are two major kinds of register, namely, closed register and open register as identified by Halliday and Hassan (1991). Odebunmi (2003) identifies another type, namely, closed-open register. The closed register could be described as register that cannot be extended, but rather limited. Firth (1950) cited in Odebunmi (2006) sees it as "a restricted language because it disallows individuality and kills creativity." In Halliday and Hassan's (1991: 39) opinion, it is "one in which the total number of possible messages is fixed and finite…" The understanding of closed register is based on a common knowledge of the codes used by interactants because it does not give room for explanations. Examples of closed register could be seen in telegram messages, and military and paramilitary messages where limited number of words are used. For instance, it is common among officers of the Nigeria Police in their radio language to say, "over" to mean end of information or discussion. Also, "Compo demands espirit de'corp" (Commissioner of Police demands co-operation among forces). The meaning of these expressions can only be accessed through contextual cues, that is, knowing the participants involved in the discourse.

The open register is flexible and largely context sensitive. Open registers unlike closed registers promote creativity. According to Halliday and Hassan (1991) cited in Odebunmi (2006:64), "the styles of meaning associated with these registers have to be learnt for effective communication." The term "closed-open register" was coined by Odebunmi (2003:18) "to neatly handle Halliday's discussion of closed and open registers" (Odebunmi, 2006:64). Closed-open are not as rigid as the closed ones but are near "the end of the scale" (Halliday and Hassan, 1993 cited in Odebunmi, 2006).

2.2.4. The notion of genre

Genre is an important theoretical concept in linguistics that has attracted the attention of many scholars. Each of them making his or her contribution to its explication and application to the analysis of discourse with insights from different theoretical perspectives. Its study enhances "a better understanding of how language is structured to achieve goals and purposes in specific contexts of use" (Arancon, 2013:247). This accounts for why it has been adopted in the teaching and learning of language to reflect the different social, cultural, linguistic, political, religious, economic, among other contexts in which language is used. For instance,

Swale (1981, 1990, 2004) have been the basis for genre analyses in relation to the teaching of English for specific purposes. Having said this, it would be appropriate now to consider the meaning of genre in linguistics.

From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, genre is considered to be "a social process in which participants within a culture use language in predictable sequential structures to fulfill certain communicative purposes" (Biber and Conrad, 2009:22). This implies a conventionalized use of language by different people in a particular context for specific goals. The term genre relates to the "linguistic characteristics that are used to structure complete texts" (Biber and Conrad, 2009:16). Martin (1984:25) describes genre as "a staged, global-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture". In other words, "genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (Martin, 1985:248). Based on these views, it could be said that linguistic configuration is both "goal-oriented", and culture dependent. This explains why Eggins (1994:25) refers to genre within systemic functional linguistic approach as "context of culture" because it "describes how people use language to achieve culturally appropriate goals." She, therefore, asserts that genre is "the general framework that gives purpose to interactions of particular types, adaptable to the many specific contexts of situation that they get used in" (Eggins, 1994:32). Also, following this argument, Paltridge (2012:65) asserts that genres "are culture specific and have particular purposes, stages and linguistic features associated with them, the meanings of which need to be interpreted in relation to cultural and social contexts in which they occur." In this view, the description of a genre depends on culture, function of language, linguistic resources, pattern (definite steps) of its usage, and its interpretation in specific contexts.

According to Richards and Schmidt (2012:224) a genre is "a type of discourse that occurs in a particular setting, that has distinctive and recognizable patterns and norms of organization and structure, and that has particular and communicative functions." Paltridge (2012:62) considers genres to be "activities that people engage in through the use of language."

From the views of the scholars above, it would be fairly safe to say that genre consists of communicative events and people who share and jointly negotiate some goals. Based on this argument, we attempt to describe genre in this work as the communicative activities with distinctive patterns, features, functions and purposes which individuals engage in in a particular context through the use of language. Genres are of different types, for example, educational, religious, political, entertainment genres, et cetera.

The identification and realisation of a genre from a discourse or text is a complex and slippery task because of the interrelatedness of some texts that share similar features. However, some factors such as purpose of the text, content, style, register, medium (written or spoken), level of formality, and other contextual variables (Paltridge, 2012:66 -67) could be of great help to the identification of different genres. The purpose of a text could be worked out "with particular configuration of meanings" (Eggins, 1994:28). This would be achieved in this work through the exploration of the linguistic and contextual features that are utilised by participants in print media political interviews. It is pertinent to note that the insights gained from the review of the concept of genre enables us to appropriate identify the communicative encounters of print media political interviews as political discourse because of their distinctive patterns, features, functions and purposes.

2.2.5. The vocabulary of political language

Vocabulary is the number of words that are available to a language user. Therefore, the vocabulary of political language is the number of words that are at the disposal of politicians. Political vocabulary is characterized mainly by loan words, coinages/neologism, compound and complex lexemes. Many of the words are borrowed from Greek, Latin and French. For example, hangman, bourgeois, gentry (French); democracy (Greek), campaign, expedite, ameliorate, tyranny (Latin) et cetera. Coinages/neologisms are used by politicians in order to achieve their desired goals. For example, in Nigeria, words like "timber and caliber, iroko and mahogany, godfather (important and influential people), new PDP, national cake; step aside, military president (coined by the former Head of State, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida), Aso Rock", and so on. Some other words are coined by adding an affix to an already existing word, e.g "rebranding" (used by the late Prof. Dora Akunyili). Adjectives are also found to be predominantly used by politicians to qualify persons, things and events. Examples of such adjectives are "epoch- making, historic, heroic, ground breaking" etc.

At the syntactic level, it is observed that the language of politics is inclined to the use of figures, symbols, phrases, dependent clauses, a few simple sentences and complex sentences. Figures and symbols are used to provide concrete facts that will authenticate the speaker's claim or assertion. For instance, in order to authenticate his allegation that the former governor of Ekiti State, Kayode Fayemi was masterminding election fraud, the Director General of the Ayo Fayose Campaign Organisation (AFCO), Chief Dipo Anisulowo was quoted to have alleged that the All Progressive Congress (APC) was buying eligible voters card at "N5, 000 per card", and that "no fewer than 35, 000 cards have so far been

bought." He went further to allege that "200 fake election observers" had been recruited; also, the governor plans "to sack 7,000 workers" (*New Telegraph*, May 7, 2014). Catch phrases are also used by politicians to arouse the masses' emotions and support, for instance, the "transformation agenda", "one man one vote" (of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan); "seven point agenda" (Yar Adua), "uncommon transformation" (God'swill Akpabio), and so on. Simple sentences are favoured by politicians when they intend to be explicit, but in most cases they use complex sentences to achieve vagueness and indirectness, especially when the topic is apparently not favourable to the speaker.

2.2.6. Language and politics

There is an inextricable relationship between language and politics. It is pertinent to describe the term politics before considering its interrelationship with language, since language has earlier been discussed in chapter one of this work. The term "politics" is derived from the Greek word *polis* which refers to the ancient Greek city-state. The definition of politics has become so elusive that there had been no single and explicit definition by political scientists. Consequently, van Dijk (www.discourses.org) asserts that "the whole discipline of political science is the answer to such a question." Yet, no meaningful engagement of political discourse can be made without discerning politics. Studies in antiquity conceive politics as associated with the state. However, the current reality is that politics is pervasive, that is, it permeates all human endeavours. Commenting on political activity, Ball (1988) observes that it "involves disagreements and the reconciliation of these disagreements." In other words, political activity is concerned with conflicts and the resolutions of such conflicts.

Chilton (2004:3) considers politics in two different dimensions as follows: first, as "a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" and second, as "cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like". These two views could be tinkered with to mean the struggle for power and the mechanism for resolving conflict of interest in human societies. Almond (2006:1) posits that politics involves, "the activities associated with the control of public decisions among a given people and in a given territory, where this control may be backed up by authoritative and coercive means. Politics refers to the use of these authoritative and coercive means – who gets to employ them and for what purposes". It is "applied to a particular social phenomenon as well as to a systematic study of that phenomenon" (Gauba, 2007:66). For Bayram (2010:24) it is "a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice." It is

sometimes conceptualised to mean a branch of study. In this sense, it is synonymous with political science.

Following Gauba (2007:66), one could summarise the general characteristics of politics as follows:

i. It involves conflict or dispute regarding allocation of values

ii. It is concerned with public goals and decisions

iii. It requires authoritative decisions

iv. It involves interest groups

v. It is an instrument of conflict resolution

As our operational definition, we would, therefore, describe politics as chiefly concerned with the struggle for legitimate power to control both human and material resources, and the resolution of conflict in a society. To achieve either the struggle for power or resolution of conflict in a society, language is deployed. The use of language from a general perspective is very complex and dynamic such that it accommodates disparate configurations. However, for certain purposes, especially in restricted situations greater precision is required to facilitate explicitness and avoid ambiguity. This restricted form of language could also be referred to as specialised language. By specialised language we mean a language that is meant for special needs or purposes. It is a language that is characterised by the use of specific linguistic means of expressions. The specific linguistic means of expressions usually include subject specific terminology and phraseology and may also cover stylistic or syntactic features.

Sometimes, part of the function of special languages is deliberately to mislead and debar the rest of society from gaining easy access to meaning of the encoded message (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2003). Such languages may even become wholly inaccessible to those who do not share the same experience of the text world. To achieve maximum understanding of any text therefore, contextual variables such as "shared knowledge of the subject/topic, shared knowledge of word choices, referents and references; and shared socio-cultural experiences, previous or immediate" (Odebunmi, 2006:32) need to be considered. This is why political texts, and indeed all other specialised texts when considered out of their contexts, pose some problems to accurate semantic and pragmatic interpretations. However, this is not the main purpose of most specialised languages. Most professionals such as lawyers, doctors, politicians and engineers foster their own vocabulary and usage, in order to enhance the dignity of their profession, skills and also to increase their efficiency (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2003).

Kuiper and Allan (1996:10-11) observe that "while the rules of language allow us a great deal of freedom to say whatever we like, external circumstances place constraints on this freedom". Unarguably therefore, particular occupations and tasks also place restrictions on language use. For instance, "the language of medicine is quite restricted in the choice of appropriate register by its practitioners in order to uphold the dignity and ethics of the profession. This restricted medical language is achieved through the use of symbols, medical terminologies, phraseologies and figures" (Ellah, 2011:14 – 15). However, the language of politics is more dynamic since politics influences all aspects of human endeavour. Yule (1996) opines that in many ways, speech is a form of social identity and is used, consciously or unconsciously, to indicate membership of different social groups of different speech communities. This gives credence to the fact that every field of human endeavour possesses certain registers and terminologies that are idiosyncratic in relation to language use in society, and thus, foster group identity.

Furthermore, the language of any human interaction is "determined by socio-cultural, historical, ideological, and institutional conditions. In relation to politics, we can say that the specific political situations and processes (discursive practices, such as parliamentary debates, political press briefings [media interviews]) determine discourse organization and textual structure of a variety of discourse types (or genres) in which political discourse as a complex form of human activity is realized" (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010:2). In this wise, the meaning of a word or any utterance is determined by the context, and not the other way round. Language is used by the political class to persuade and lobby others to their side. And this type of language is what we refer to as political language. Political language involves the manipulative use of language, that is, "the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others" (Fairclough, 1989:6). Rozina and Karapetjana (2009:113) contend that "Pragmatically speaking, linguistic manipulation is based on the use of indirect speech acts, which are focused on perlocutionary effects of <u>what is said</u>." Edelman (1985:1) avers that political language is "about political events and developments that people experience, even events that are close by take their meaning from the language used to depict them. So political language is political reality; there is no other so far as the meaning of events to actor and spectators is concerned." It is used to reflect ideologies and construct "beliefs about the significance of events, of problems, of crises, of policy changes, and of leaders" (Edelman, 1985:1).

Szanto (1978:7) describes political language as a "lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicules, and reproach, pleading and persuasion, colour and bite permeated. A language

designed to valour men, destroy some and change the mind of others." Embedded in Szanto's (1978:7) description is the dynamic and multifaceted functions of politics which is achieved through the use of language. Political language is the manipulative and persuasive use of language to gain holistic power and authority to control scarce resources of the society. It incorporates all forms of political communication which cover all "activities directed towards the formation, mobilisation and deployment of parties and similar political movements; all forms of organized campaign designed to gain political support for a party, cause, policy or government, by influencing opinion and behaviour (and the course of elections); many processes involving dissemination and also 'management' of public opinion (this includes informal and interpersonal discussion" (Adum, 2007:208 – 9). All political communications have the aim of eliciting "desired response from the public (audience)" (Adum, 2007:208). The response from the public is dependent on the deployment of appropriate linguistic items or expressions. Political language plays a pivotal role in the socio-political advancement of a nation. Among the functions of political language are: information, agenda setting, interpretation and linkage, projection to the past and future, and action stimulation (Graber, 1976 cited in Adum, 2007: 210).

In discussing the language of politics, many scholars from different climes and theoretical orientations have come to the consensus that it is confrontational and deceptive. It makes use of rhetoric, propaganda, circumlocution, allusion, analogies, metaphor, approximation, figures, citations from the Holy books, indirectness; ambiguous, vague, wishy-washy, hedgy, obscure, tricky, question-begging and twisted language (Edelman,1985; Obeng, 1997; Zheng, 2000; Mullany, 2002; Li, 2008; Omozuwa and Ezejideaku, 2008; Kulo, 2009; Al-Rassam, 2010). It is pertinent to add that most political metaphors are derived from "sport[s] and war, both of which involve some form of physical contest" (Essien and Okon 2003:98 cited in Awonusi). For instance, it is common to hear expressions such as "in this game of politics, dribble, manoeuvre, tactics", etc. among Nigerian politicians.

Wilson (1990:118 – 19) posits that "politicians use words and sentences in an emotive manner; it is part of their aim to create a feeling of solidarity, to arouse emotions such as fear, hate or joy." Accounting for the ambiguous nature of political language, Edelman (1985:2) argues that:

> the aspects of events, leaders, and policies that most decisively affect current and future wellbeing are uncertain, unknowable, and the focus of disputed claims and competing symbols. Even when there is a reasonable consensus about what observably happened or was said, there are conflicting assumptions about the causes of events, the motives of officials and interest groups, and the

consequences of courses of action. So it is not what can be seen that shapes political action and support, but what must be supposed, assumed, or constructed.

This implies that the dynamic nature of political language is influenced by the dynamic nature of political leaders which results in diverse conceptualisations about individual and group interest with respect to political events and policies.

2.2.7. Political and media discourses

In today's world, there is a paradigm shift in information dissemination. It has moved from the hitherto traditional way of using a town crier to print and digitization, thereby affording the masses the leverage of accessing information of all kinds easily and timely too. To this end, political actors have embraced the use of the media in propagating their political ideologies and positions to the people.

The term "discourse" has been variously defined by different scholars. For instance, Foucault (1972:46) cited in (Mullany, 2006:160) refers to it as the "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak." Fairclough (1989:24) describes it as "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part". For Cook (1992:2), discourse refers to "text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants (who are both parts of the context and observers of it)." Werth (1995:95) opines that discourse is "a deliberate and joint effort on the part of producer and receiver to build up a 'world' within which the propositions advanced are coherent and make sense".

Tinkering with the above scholars' views on discourse, we would describe discourse in this study as any meaningful text on a particular subject that is jointly and collaboratively produced in interaction by participants. It is pertinent to note that discourse is used for different purposes such as persuasion, assertion of power, expression of ideology and many more. While commenting on the identification of gendered discourse, Mills (1997:17-18) avers that:

> a discursive structure can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within particular context… women and men behave within a certain range of parameters when defining themselves as gendered subjects. These discursive frameworks demarcate the boundaries within which we can negotiate what it means to be gendered.

Implicated in the above quotation is the fact there are different types of discourses such as political, gendered, religious, educational discourse et cetera. These discourse types are distinguishable based on the "ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving" (Mills, 1997: 17) that are influenced by the context.

Having surveyed the meaning of discourse, it is, therefore, considered safe to turn our attention to the meaning of political discourse. Political discourse could, therefore, be described as any form of discourse practice that covers all forms of political engagements or enterprises. In other words, it is any discourse practice that encapsulates all forms of political engagement whether through action or talk. Under the broader scope of political discourse, different trajectories of other sub-genres are identifiable. These sub-categories include political campaigns, interviews, debates, parliamentary debates, and so on. All of these offer veritable research outlets for linguists and other scholars.

van Dijk (www.discourses.org) asserts that "political discourse is identified by its *actors* or *authors, viz., politicians.* Indeed, the vast bulk of studies on political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidenta[sic] and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels." In essence, political discourse is an umbrella term for all forms of politics related discourses. It is not limited to the politicians, but also covers the masses who are the recipients of all political activities and processes. Schaffner (1996) approaches it from two broad perspectives, namely, functional and thematic. From a functional criterion, political discourse is characterised by the effect of the political activities, while the thematic dimension deals with politics related topics.

In highlighting participants in political discourse, van Dijk (www.discourses.org) argues that "from the interactional point of view of discourse analysis, we therefore should also include the various *recipients* in political communicative events, such as the public, the people, citizens, the `masses', and other groups or categories. That is, once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage." Lending credence to the immediate foregoing, Burkhardt (1996) cited in Schäffner and Bassnett (2010:2) establishes "a broad distinction between communicating about politics (e.g. ordinary people in a pub talking about election results), political discourse in mass media, and political communication (i.e. discourse originating in political institutions)." This study is basically concerned with the last two – "political discourse in mass media, and political communication (i.e. discourse originating in political institutions)." Alic (2018:228) posits that political deals with "matters and concepts such as democracy,

property, rule of, equality, citizenship, justice, civil rights, liberty or sovereignty". Alic's (2018) view of political discourse provides a concise scope of politics, that is, it outlines some key terms in political discourse.

In summary, political discourse is any discourse enterprise that falls within the domain of politics. This discourse enterprise has attracted the attention of linguists who attempt to investigate "the linguistic structures used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfill a specific function"; such investigations "cannot ignore the broader societal and political framework in which such discourse is embedded" (Schaffner, 1996 cited in Odebunmi and Oni, 2012:35). The immediate foregoing highlights the fact that contextual variables must be factored into any linguistic analysis of political discourse.

Print media political interviews involve the use of language in specific political contexts; hence, they are instances of political discourses. This follows the definition of discourse as "a study of language in [actual] use" (Brown and Yule, 1983:3). We should be mindful of the fact that under the broader scope of political discourse, a host of other sub-genres such as political campaigns, manifestoes, presidential and parliamentary debates, presidential address, inter alia can be identified. It is also pertinent to point out that these are institutionalised discourses that operate within specific contexts, that is, they follow the dictates of the contexts (immediate and remote) and the participants involved in the discourse.

Highlighting the importance of participants to the shaping of discourse, Heritage (1997:164) remarks that participants in institutionalised discourse are prone to use linguistic expressions that conform to the specifics of the situation. It is believed that participants play specific roles in discourse and that their roles affect their choice of words and expressions. In adversarial political discourse, for instance, participants engage in "intentional and explicit face threatening (or face-enhancing) acts and systematic impoliteness is both sanctioned and rewarded" (Harris, 2001:451). But in a political campaign speech, the politician though indirectly attacks the opposition, focuses more on rhetoric to convince the electorate. The need for the difference in the nuances is important to the institutional context (Heritage, 1997:164).

In communicating their political ideologies, beliefs, support, protest, policies, and so on to the masses in good time, politicians depend on the media which has been described by many socio-political commentators as the "fourth arm of government."

Media discourse is a broad term for all media engagements. Chiluwa (2006: 88) describes it as "language use in the mass media" which "concerns the interactive process that goes on between journalists and the general public". This means that media discourse is a social practice that involves media practitioners (that is journalists) and the people in a society. Our use of media discourse in this study specifically refers to print media political interviews.

The media generally performs the functions of information dissemination, education and entertainment of the masses. It is also an indispensable instrument in the hands of the political class for the articulation of their vision, manifestoes, policies, programmes and achievements. In Nigeria, for instance, the media help in creating political awareness in the people, providing a platform for the articulation of views on national issues (Ogbuoshi, 2011:153).

Irrespective of the laudable functions of the media, the Nigerian media sometimes tilt towards the dictates of their proprietors, be they the government or the private owners. They sometimes conceal any truth that may taint the image of their owners. Ogbuoshi (2011:155) states that "they sometimes tend to be very biased about what they report to people and take sides irrespective of the implications to the society. Some other tunes, also distort, manipulate or misrepresent information in order protect the special interest of certain sections of the society." The underlying claim here is that Nigerian media are sometimes subjective in their reportage.

2.2.8. Language and ideology

Language is arguably one of the major conveyer of human experiences, perceptions and worldviews. It is a potential medium used to influence, control and dominate, hence, it constitutes a tool in the hands of the powerful or dominant group in the society to wield power and influence. According to Odebunmi (2016a:3), language "is a distinctively human endowment that has empowered the human race with expressivity." This implies that language enables human beings to express their worldview.

Ideology, on the other hand, could simply be described as a set of beliefs and principles that guide the behavioural patterns of a person or members of a particular group. In other words, ideology is a set of beliefs on which a political, economic, religious or social system is based, or which strongly influences the way people behave. Polynton (1985); Fairclough, (1989) cited in Chiluwa (2013:239) view it as "a set of beliefs, socio-political and cultural convention upon which people's actions or discursive practices are based".

The concept of ideology has, however, been viewed from different perspectives such as linguistics, psychology and politics. Wodak (1996:18) sees ideologies as "particular ways of representing and constructing society, which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation". From a multidisciplinary perspective, van Dijk (2011) conceptualises ideology to include "cognitive and social psychology, sociology and discourse analysis." The cognitive dimension of ideology is concerned with the shared "social cognitions" of a group's members. The social definition deals with the different types of groups in the society, their inter-relationships, institutions and how all these influence ideological exploration. The discourse aspect of ideologies provides explanation to the influence of ideologies on "our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society" (van Dijk, 2011:4). In other words, ideologies are the "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination (Fairclough, 1992:87).

van Dijk (2011) states that Destutt de Tracy's writings on ideologies relate to shared "systems of ideas" which could be political, economic, religious or social, by group members. Rather than use the "vague and ambiguous notion of 'ideas'". van Dijk uses the term *beliefs*, which is mostly used in psychology to refer to 'thoughts' of any kind. Consequently, he describes ideology as "a form of social cognition, and more specifically as the basic beliefs that underlie the social representations of a social group" (van Dijk, 2011: 16).

Eagleton (1991) argues that the term ideology has not been given a single adequate and comprehensive definition by scholars over the years because of its diverse functional meanings which are sometimes not compatible with one another. Hence, he contends that ideology is a "*text* woven of a whole tissue of different conceptual strands; it is traced through by divergent histories, and it is probably more important to assess what is valuable or can be discarded in each of these lineages than to merge them forcibly into some Grand GIobal Theory" (Eagleton, 1991:1). As a result of this, he came up with a list of some definitions which are currently in circulation. They include:

a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;

e) systematically distorted communication;

f) that which offers a position for a subject;

g) forms of thought motivated by social interests;

h) identity thinking;

i) socially necessary illusion;

j) the conjuncture of discourse and power;

k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;

l) action-oriented sets of beliefs;

m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality;

n) semiotic closure;

o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure;

p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality.

These definitions point to the preconceived notions held by scholars on what ideology signifies as a set of beliefs. They also reveal an overlap in ideas and opinions, as well as diverse opinions.

The representation, construction and reproduction of ideology can only be accomplished through the instrumentality of language, hence, Odebunmi (2010) contends that "Since ideology involves the politicization associated with language use, language is the site of ideological representations, language can be investigated to expose implicit stances, attitudes and political leanings of people." The relationship between language and ideology has earlier been well established by other scholars such as Fairclough (1989:15) who posit that "language connects with the social through being the primary domain and through being both a site of and a stake in, struggles for power." Language and ideology are, therefore, two interrelated human phenomena. This implies that different ideologies are both expressed and accessed through language. Ideologies are transmitted and expressed in discourse through language, therefore, there is a dialectical relationship between language and ideology. Fowler and Kress (1979:185) argue that "world view comes to language users from their relation to the institutions and the socio-economic structure of their society. It is facilitated and confirmed for them by a language use which has society's ideological impress." Hence, it would be logical to say that one's ideology influences one's language use. This explains why Ike-Nwafor (2015:5) citing Fairclough (1992) argues that in CDA, "every language use is ideologically motivated; that all linguistic usages encode different ideologies resulting from their different situations and purposes; and that by these means, every language works as a

form of social practice." The implication of this is that ideologies influence language and discourse, and these ideologies could be learnt through different platforms, viz: reading and listening to group members; mass media (e.g. television, radio, magazine, newspaper), or everyday conversations (van Dijk, 1998).

In discussing the interface between language and ideology, van Dijk in *Ideological Discourse Analysis* points out that:

> Ideological analysis of language and discourse is a widely practised scholarly, and a critical endeavour in the humanities and the social sciences. The presupposition of such analyses is that ideologies of speakers or writers may be uncovered by close reading, understanding or systematic analysis, if language users explicitly or unwittingly express their ideologies through language and communication (p. 135).

Although van Dijk in the same work opines that "the theory that relates discourse and these underlying ideologies is far from explicit" (*Ideological Discourse Analysis,* p. 135), the interconnectedness between ideology and language remains indisputable. Ideologies are structured, encoded or expressed implicitly or explicitly in discourse through language. This manifests in the deliberate lexical, phonological or syntactic choices that language users make.

Van Dijk (1985: 143) proposes that ideological discourse analysis "is not merely to 'discover' underlying ideologies", but it involves the systematic connection of discourse structures and ideological structures. The discourse structures are definable at the levels of language description – phonological structures (prosodic features), graphical structures (headlines, bold characters), lexico-semantic structures, syntactic structures, pragmatic structures, interactive (van Dijk, 1985:145). van Dijk (1998:44) provides a four structure ideological framework, which he calls "ideological square" that can be applied in the analysis of discourse structures:

    i.   emphasize positive things about Us

    ii. emphasize negative things about Them

    iii. de-emphasize positive things about Them

    iv. de-emphasize negative about Us

This implies that most texts are ideologically polarised in such a way that interactants ensure that "negative information about Us will not be topicalized, whereas negative information about Them tends to be topicalized" (Matric, 2012:60).

2.2.9. Political interviews

In general terms, an interview is an interaction between at least two discourse participants in which one of the participants tries to obtain information from the other. Political interview, therefore, is a form of political communication which involves at least two participants, that is, an interviewer (journalist) and an interviewee (usually a government representative) with the main aim of gaining information. Like every human communication which is a social process that involves "the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals" (Gumperz, 1982:1), political interview is an interaction between two or more participants who are engaged in discussing politically related topics. In other words, political interview is a constructed encounter between the journalist and the politician. According to Mullany (2002), political interview is "a genre of the mass media, set up to produce discourse for an overhearing audience". In nature, political interview is predominantly an argumentative activity type that aims at convincing the immediate discourse participant and the general public about any issue of politics (Andone, 2010:34). In such interviews, the interviewer assumes the role of the masses by making the politician account for his or her actions and statements in terms of clarification or justification of his or her actions or statements (Andone, 2010:35).

Political interviews take the format of question and answer exchange in which the questions are used to inform, seek clarification, express opinion, and elicit response from politicians on an issue. Andone (2010: 35) avows that from the standpoint of argumentation, political interviews operate in four stages, namely, (i) initial situation, which delineates participants' difference of opinion or view; (ii) starting point, that is, the agreed format of exchange and participants' roles in which the interviewer is viewed as the protagonist, while the interviewee is seen as the antagonist who must account for his or her actions and statements; (iii) argumentative means and advancement of criticism stage, where the interviewer evaluates and holds the politician responsible for some actions and statements; and (iv) possible outcome where participants try to establish the result of the resolution of their difference of opinion. It is informative to add that the argumentative means and advancement criticism stage is constrained by two main conventions, viz, "explicit procedural conventions" which are established by government regulatory body, and "implicit conventions" which are informally and jointly agreed to by the participants, especially with regards to who controls and allocates turns throughout the encounter.

Political interviews take different platforms, for example, radio, television and print media. However, in this work, we concentrate on print media political interviews. Print

media political interviews are, therefore, printed forms of human communication that survive principally on the collaborative efforts of the participants involved. They are institutionalised discourses that operate within political communicative contexts, and are often times pre-arranged between journalists and the interviewees in order to give the prospective interviewees adequate time to prepare. They perform the basic function of "soliciting statements of official policy, holding officials accountable for their actions, and managing the parameters of public debate" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002) cited in Baym (2013:490).

These interviews are information focused, unlike chat shows and talk shows that "fluctuate between being information focused and entertainment focused" (Rama Martinez 2003) cited in O'keeffe (2006:46). Other forms of institutional discourses include legal, medical, classroom, and so on. Print media political interviews fall within the broad scope of media political discourse which is conceptualised here to mean all forms of interactions or discourse events and practices that involve three major stakeholders: politicians, media practitioners and the public. In this study, therefore, we will situate print media political discourse within the context of political and media discourses where it has strong affinity. The encyclopaedic knowledge of media discourse is that it involves journalists and the public; while political discourse concerns the politicians and the people. In other words, media discourse "mainly concerns the interactive process that goes on between journalists and the general public" (Chiluwa, 2006:87). As an instance of language use, media discourse:

> takes advantage of the socio-cultural and historical relationship
> that exists between people and society and the role of language in
> constructing this relationship discourse mediates social interaction
> and readers [listeners] are participants in this practice (Chiluwa,
> 2006:87).

Print media political interviews, and indeed other forms of political interviews overtly demonstrate how politicians, that is "the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity" (van Dijk) actively involve themselves in the negotiation of their political ideologies and display their political diplomacy through language use. The interviews largely seek action, information and expression of opinion (Harris, 2001).

By interview we mean a form of media interaction in which the interviewer (usually a journalist) poses series of questions to the interviewee in order to elicit answers for public utility. Most of the questions are usually prepared or pre-set (structured interview), while others are spontaneous (unstructured interview). The structured interview is rigid and does not give room for exploration of related topics to the questions on questionnaire schedule,

while the unstructured form of interview is more flexible and allows the respondent to react to the topic and explore other relevant topics. Interviewers adopt two strategies for initial questioning, namely: funnel questioning (which begins with a general or open-ended question, then followed by narrow or specific ones) and inverted funnel questioning (which begins with a narrow or specific question, then followed by general questions) (cf. Hasan, 2013:592).

As a form of media interaction, interviews conform to the basic principles of turn-taking. And there is an asymmetry role relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee since the interviewer exercises more influence and authority in directing the dimension and direction that the interview goes. O'keeffe (2006:4) states that media interactions are distinguishable from ordinary conversations because:

> they take place in an institutional setting and with this comes institutionalized roles and in turn institutionalized turn- taking rights (see Drew and Heritage 1992; Koester 2006). Institutional power is bestowed upon the presenter/host/interviewer. It is within the gift of this power- role holder to decide when and how to open the interaction, and how to frame it, and with this comes the right to be the questioner following up on each answer with a new question, and so on.

In Nigeria, relational issues such as "mitigation, respect, deference", and so on are extensively employed in print media political interviews to foreground different socio-political and interpersonal functions of language. Also, print media political interviews in Nigeria reveal how "men of phenomenal power, wealth, and ambition ... negotiate conflict, cultivate alliance, and broker uneasy compromises" (Hall, 2009:3). The politicians who constitute a "community of practice"; that is, "an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, and values - in short, practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999:186) cited in Christie (2002: 27); explore context and express their ideologies through language. Wodak (2007:203) cited in Al-Rassam (2010:2) asserts that "various pragmatic devices such as insinuation, allusions, word play, presuppositions and implicatures can be analyzed in their multiple functions in political discourse where they frequently serve certain goals." Watts (2003:30) avers that "in all human cultures, we will meet forms of social behaviour that we can classify as culturally specific forms of consideration for others. Cooperative social interaction and displaying consideration for others are universal characteristics of every socio-cultural group…" In the same vein, Nigerian politicians constitute a socio-cultural group, and therefore, exhibit some

"forms of behaviour" that are peculiar to them. Their alignment or disalignment with certain political positions is indexed through their use of language in specific contexts.

Therefore, it becomes obvious that print media political interviews in Nigeria explore how "social actors use language to shape and form relationships in situ" (Locher and Graham, 2010:1). Participants take positions either by affiliating or disaffiliating with certain propositions. The context/ or activity type of the interviews enhance the understanding of participants' ideological orientation.

It is imperative to add that print media political interviews index contextualisation influences on language use. Locher and Graham (2010:3) assert that "research in sociolinguistics has further established that the use of language is influenced by a variety of factors such as age, gender, ethnicity or socio-economic background." This assertion implies that such language use builds and "shapes relations between people" (Locher and Graham, 2010:3) and thus negotiates and creates identity.

2.2.10. The language of the print media in Nigeria

Nigeria is a multilingual speech community with over 400 indigenous languages, French (which is a proposed second official language) and the English language, which is its official language. The English language which is basically a colonial legacy has become a major means of communication in Nigeria while the indigenous languages such as Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, Efik, Tiv and many more are largely restricted to family and other informal domains of language use. However, some of these languages are used in the media. For instance, the first indigenous newspaper, *Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba Ati Yoruba* (*Iwe Irohin* for short) was written in Yoruba. Other newspapers that are equally in indigenous languages are *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* (Hausa) and *Ogene* (Igbo). These newspapers are highly regional since their circulation is mostly circumscribed to their immediate and local environments.

Some scholars such as Bello and Ayelaagbe (2015) have argued for the use of French language in Nigerian print media. The premise of their argument is that since Nigeria is bordered mostly by francophone nations, the utilisation of French would foster greater collaboration which would ultimately lead to national security and transformation. As convincing as their summation appears, French is yet to be used for such purpose because of its insignificant utility value in the Nigerian sociolinguistic environment. It is hardly used outside the classroom where it is taught. This, therefore, makes it difficult to be used in Nigeria print media.

The predominant language of the mass media in Nigeria: print and electronic media is the English language. This is informed by the fact that English is Nigeria's official language and it is used by the majority of Nigerians; it is even the language of education, law, international diplomacy, government and politics, and trade and commerce. Print media such as *The Sun, Guardian, The Nation, Tell, Newswatch* and so on are written in English. The language use of most of these print media is highly sensational. Ojo, Odegbenle and Akinreti (2013: 72) observe that Nigerian print media are replete with "malapropism, tautology and use of archaic expressions".

Bittner (1989:13) asserts that "mass communication does not operate in a social vacuum as a machine does." This implies that it operates in a society which in turn influences it. In other words, the individuals and social groups that constitute a society influence or affect reportage in the society. This influence is manifested in the language use which reflects the "social identities, social relations and systems of culture and beliefs" (Chiluwa 2006:87). Human beings and institutions (mass media inclusive) perceive the world differently and this is evident in their linguistic choices (cf. Trew, 1979; Chiluwa, 2006).

2.3. Theoretical framework

This study adopts an eclectic approach by deploying six theories for analyses. This is to enable us adequately account for the diverse pragmatic and discourse features in the data at our disposal since politics is a complex human activity. The theories utilised here are: Context, Stance, Common Ground, Face Constituting Theory, Systemic Functional Grammar and Critical Discourse Analysis. In what follows, we review all the above listed theories.

2.3.1. Odebunmi's model of context

Odebunmi (2016a) draws insights from Fetzer (2002, 2004) to classify context into the broad categories of context as a macro concept, and the narrow conceptualisation of context as influence from outside in, context as influence from inside out, context as influence within itself and context as orientation to both *apriori* and emergent interactive cues. This classification is adopted in this study because it is more comprehensive and subsumes other types of contexts. We shall review them presently.

2.3.1.1. Context as a macro concept

Context as a macro concept covers the broad and traditional notion of context which Auer (1995) refers to as "pre-theoretical" dimension of context. Fetzer (2004:35) cited in

Odebunmi (2016a:15) considers it to be "a holistic conception of context embedding its constitutive parts of model user, conversational contribution, surrounding and their presupposition." Fetzer (2002, 2004) outlined three types of macro context, namely cognitive context, linguistic context and social context.

The cognitive context is the mental representation of propositions and assumptions. In other words, cognitive context is "the mental host of inferences and reasoning" (Odebunmi, 2016a:15). Fetzer (2004:35) describes it as "mental representations, propositions, contextual assumptions and assumptions."

Linguistic context, otherwise referred to as co-textual context is 'the context of the text itself' (Cutting, 2002:8); and it is achieved through grammatical cohesion (endophoric reference, substitution and ellipsis) and lexical cohesion. Every text (written or spoken) is realised through the union of appropriate words. In essence, 'meaning is largely determined by the lexical items that surround the particular word that interests a linguist, or user of a language. This is the idea of co-text' (Odebunmi, 2006:38). Co-text simply means other lexical items (words) that surround or come before and after a word; and that determine the meaning of such word. Fetzer (2011:35) argues that linguistic context 'comprises language use and is delimited by the constraints and requirements of genre.' Odebunmi (2016a:15) asserts that "There is a linguistic context when the meaning of a text is constrained by its structural and lexical environment." He identifies two levels of linguistic context, namely, "syntagmatic relationships and referential relationships". The syntagmatic relationships relate to collocations, while the referential relationships deal, especially with lexical references that ensure cohesion. Let us look at the following constructed example:

> The Catholic priest is a perfect man of God. He commits his entire life to the service of God and humanity. Since his ordination fifteen years ago, he has continued to help the poor and the needy; and raze the walls of ethnicity among Christians and non-Christians.

From the above excerpt, the meaning of "perfect man of God" is determined by the preceding 'Catholic priest' and the succeeding 'service to God and humanity.' Also, 'He' and 'his' in the second and third sentences anaphorically refer back to 'The Catholic priest' in the first sentence.

Social context refers to the non-linguistic context. It deals with what the interlocutors know and can see around them. Akman (2000:753) sees it as "the immediate situation in which the unit is employed, and the awareness by the author and reader of what has been said

earlier plus the pertinent *belief system* (i.e., those beliefs and presuppositions germane to the text at hand)". For Cutting (2002:4), it is "the immediate physical co-presence, the situation where the interaction is taking place at the moment of speaking." Situational context employs adverbials, and either distal or proximal deictic such as that, those; this, and these. Let us instantiate with the following constructed interaction between speaker A and B:

> **Speaker A**: Look at that palm frond! Who hoisted it there on that piece of land?
>
> **Speaker B:** His Royal Highness the Ntul-Atul (Paramount Chief) gave the order last week.
>
> **Speaker A**: That means nobody will work on it again until the dispute is resolved.
>
> **Speaker B:** Certainly!

From the short conversation above, the situational context can conveniently be taken to be somewhere in a farm land or construction site; and **Speaker A** is probably pointing to palm frond at his front. His use of the demonstrative pronoun "that" indicates something distal in front, while his use of the adverbial, "there" obviously points to the place. Without the surrounding situation or physical presence of **Speaker B**, the conversation would have little or no meaning.

2.3.1.2. Context as influence from outside in

This context considers situation as core to the explication of meaning. It de-emphasises "conversation-intrinsic features" and stresses "conversation-extrinsic features, which rely heavily on model user's common ground" (Odebunmi, 2016a). This implies that the interpretation of an utterance is based on shared knowledge rather than the immediate interaction, that is, contextual features do not emerge from the ongoing discourse but rather from the situation and prior knowledge of the interactants. It deals with "situation, environment and extralinguistic factors in meaning construction and comprehension" (Kecskes, 2010:2889). This type of context reverberates Mey's theory of pragmatic act (pragmeme) which is anchored on situation. According to Mey (2001:43), "the context determines what one can say and what one cannot say".

2.3.1.3. Context as influence from inside out

Context as influence from inside out stresses the importance of linguistic expressions in shaping the meaning of an utterance. This view of context opposes Mey's exclusive view of context as situation. Here, the choice of words defines the context. Kecskes (2010:2889) asserts that:

> Mey is right emphazing the importance of situation, environment and extralinguistic factors in meaning construction and comprehension. However, the "wording" of linguistic expressions is as important in shaping meaning as the situation in which they are used and supplemented by extralinguistic factors. Both sides are equally important contributors in meaning construction and comprehension.

Odebunmi (2016a) observes that "Kecskes' candidate resources for the wording category are situation-bound utterances (SBUs), which strictly specify their own contexts." Kecskes (2010) cited in Odebunmi (2016a:21) opines that "In SBUs… the communicative meaning, the sense of the utterances, is encoded, and fixed by pragmatic conventions. Consequently, prior context encoded in them can create actual situation context." For example, the expression "please accept my heartfelt sympathy" suggests the context of condolence; while "congratulations!" suggests the context of celebration.

2.3.1.4. Context as influence from within itself

The view of context as influence from within itself is based on the argument that context is inbuilt in conversation, that is, it is "conversation-intrinsic condition. In other words, context resides within the sequential confines of a conversation and does not require influences outside of the conversation" (Odebunmi, 2016a:22). This view toes the line of conversation analysis, and it is related to "adjacency pair, conditional relevance, and the turn taking system on the micro level, and [to] institution on the macro level, whose order is captured through context-independent and context-sensitive constraints and requirements" (Fetzer 2004) cited in (Odebunmi 2016a:22).

2.3.1.5. Context as orientation to both a*priori* and emergent interactive cues

This is a conflation of context as influence from outside in and context as influence from within itself. This view of context is couched in Kecskes' (2010, 2014) socio-cognitive approach (SCA) to pragmatics that attempts to reconcile the contending issues about context. It shows the symbiotic relationship between the *a priori* intention and the *post factum* intention. In a nutshell, it "emphasises that there is a dialectical relationship between a priori

intention (based on individual prior experience) and emergent intention (based on actual situational context)" (Kecskes, 2014:7).

This present study benefits from context as a macro concept by utilising the cognitive, linguistic and social contexts to account for the negotiation of meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media. The study also uses context as influence from outside in to account for the contribution of "conversation-extrinsic features" to the negotiation of meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

2.3.2. Stance theory

Given the fact that in negotiating context, participants in print media interviews assert their different attitudes and feelings on issues, it is pertinent to employ a theory that can explain such linguistic configurations that express attitudes and feelings. Consequently, stance theory is chosen. Stance is a linguistic approach that is concerned with a speaker's or writer's expression of attitude. In other words, stance is the linguistic resources that enable individual speakers or writers to express their subjective positions in utterances. Du Bois (2007:163) succinctly describes stance as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through over communicative means of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field." Through stance, participants in interaction "commonly express personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements, or assessments" (Biber et al, 1999) cited in Odebunmi 2016b: 3). By the same token, Du Bois (2007: 139) posits that stance is used to assign "value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value". It primarily index evaluation of some sort explicitly or implicitly. Speakers and writers explore linguistic features like modals, references, deixis, passivisation, tone of voice, code switching, verbs, adverbials, adjectives, and so on to express different stance types in different contexts of language use (cf. Osunbade, 2016:207).

Four types of stance have been identified, namely, "epistemic stance, evidential stance, evaluative stance and affective stance (the emotion expressed by the speaker)" (Odebunmi, 2016b:3). Epistemic stance relates to the stance type that speakers or writers take to show the amount of knowledge they have, that is, the amount of certainty or possibility that a speaker or writer shows in a proposition. Through the evidential stance, the stance-taker provides evidence for the source of knowledge expressed in his or her utterance. Evaluative stance which is equivalent to the concept of assessment in conversational analysis is used to express

value "judgement of beauty, goodness or other specific socio-culturally determined attributes expressed by the speaker" (Odebunmi, 2016b:3) or writer. In other words, in evaluative stance, the stance-taker "orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value" (Du Bois, 2007: 143). The main linguistic elements that are used in taking this stance are the adjectives. Affective stance expresses the psychological and emotional state of a speaker or writer. This stance type is usually realised through the adjectival and adverbial elements like happy, glad, very sad, et cetera. Central to the theorisation of stance are the stance-taker who is responsible for an utterance, the stance object which is the target that stance is directed, and the stance predicate which is the linguistic element that shows an action.

This theory is applied to this study to account for how participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media strengthen their affiliative and disaffiliative positions while negotiating their interactional goals through some pragmatic strategies.

2.3.3. Common ground theory

Common ground has been conceptualised by many scholars (cf. Clark and Marshall, 1981; Clark, 1985, 1996; Stalnaker, 2002; Kecskes and Zhang, 2009; Odebunmi, 2006, 2016b) as the type of information that is shared by discourse participants in an interactive event. Clark (1996:94) describes common ground as "a form of self-awareness – self-knowledge, self-belief, self-assumption – in which there is at least one other person with the analogous self-awareness". It is the "information shared and drawn upon by people during a social interaction" (Ortactepe, 2014: 161). Depending on their perspectives and orientations, scholars have variously referred to it as "mutual knowledge", "common knowledge", "presupposition", "shared beliefs", et cetera. Odebunmi (2016b:3) avers that:

> Common ground demands joint or participatory actions which are characterised by salience, sufficiency and solvability. With salience, participants exhibit mutual expectations about events or actions. With sufficiency and solvability principles, they relate to salience on the basis of assumed fullness of information and jointly orienting to the issues emanating from the contact immediacy of interaction.

The "joint or participatory actions" entail that discourse participants must "agree on the common ground so that they can negotiate meaning" (Ortactepe, 2014: 162). The information that is considered to be common ground by interlocutors must be mutually understood to be so in order to ensure collaborative meaning-making. Keyser (1997:256) states that "the proposition *p* is shared information for persons A and B if A knows that *p* and B knows that

p, but it is part of common ground only if they also mutually know that *p.*" Three types of mutual knowledge, namely community of membership, physical co-presence and linguistic co-presence (Clark and Marshall, 1981) have been identified. Community of membership relates to the common ground that is gained by virtue of the fact that the discourse participants belong to the same community or place, hence, it is based on "long-term structures" (Keyser, 1997:256). In other words, it refers to the interactants' socio-cultural experiences. The physical co-presence which Clark (996) calls "perceptual co-presence" refers to the immediate physical context. It covers the physical or material elements that interlocutors share in discourse. In other words, it is what discourse participants can see. Clark and Marshall (1981:38) see it as "the strongest evidence of mutual knowledge that people are in general prepared to accept." Linguistic co-presence is simply the shared linguistic knowledge.

Three main views of common ground exist in the literature, namely, pragmatic (core common ground) (e.g., Stalnaker, 1978; Clark and Brennan, 1991; Clark, 1996) cognitive (emergent common ground) (e.g. Barr, 2004; Barr and Keysar ,2005; Colston and Katz, 2005) and socio-cognitive view (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009).

Pragmatic approach is an "intention-directed practice approach, which considers communication as a joint activity that expands the common ground of the participants through the inclusion of new information" (Renkema, 2004) cited in Ortactepe (2014: 161). It perceives common ground as "an *a priori* mental state of interlocutors that facilitates cooperation and successful communication" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:334). In other words, pragmatic approach sees common ground as "a category of specialized mental representations that exists in the mind *a priori* to the actual communication process". The pragmatic view in line with Clark's contributory theory (1996) and Clark and Brennan's (1991) joint action model emphasises the importance of cooperation between interlocutors. It considers "communication-as-transfer-between-minds", and treats "intentions and goals as pre-existing psychological entities that are later somehow formulated in language" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:332). However, Sperber and Wilson (2002:254) argue from the Relevance theoretic perspective that "the human cognitive system has developed in such a way that our perceptual mechanisms tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli, our memory retrieval mechanisms tend automatically to activate potentially relevant assumptions, and our inferential mechanisms tend spontaneously to process them in the most productive way". This implies that discourse participants have the free will to be cooperative

or uncooperative depending on what they consider to be relevant to the communication process.

Cognitive approach to common ground stresses the role of "egocentrism of speaker-hearer in mental processing of communication" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:336) as opposed to the pragmatic view of cooperation. It argues for emergent common ground and proposes that interlocutors violate "mutual knowledge in social interactions since" they "prefer to draw from their own knowledge instead of mutual knowledge" (Ortactepe, 2014: 162). It considers intention as *post factum* element of communication rather than *a priori*. This view is in consonance with Arundale's (1999) conjoint co-constitutional model of communication.

Socio-cognitive approach to common ground merges the pragmatic and cognitive views of common ground by showing the dialectical relationship between cooperation and egocentrism. This approach emphasizes how communication is affected by "the interplay between intention and attention based on the socio-cultural background" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:339). The approach is built within the framework of dynamic model of meaning (DMM) (Kecskes 2008) which sees communication as "interplay of intention and attention on a socio-cultural background" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009). The dynamic model of meaning identifies two components of common ground, namely core common ground and emergent ground. These components align with the pragmatic and cognitive approaches to common ground respectively.

The core common ground relates to "the assumed shared knowledge", that is "*a priori* mental representation" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:331). It involves "common sense, cultural sense, and formal sense, and mainly derives from the interlocutors' shared knowledge of prior experience" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:333). In other words, it is "what individuals bring to the conversation as part of their shared knowledge or experiences" (Ortactepe 2014: 162).

The emergent common ground came as a result of recent research in "cognitive psychology, linguistic pragmatics, and intercultural communication" which look at "how the mind works in the process of communication" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:332). They contend that:

> *a priori* mental representation of common knowledge is not as significantly involved in the process of communication as pragmatic theories have claimed; instead, they formed a more dynamic, emergence-through-use view of common ground which conceptualizes it as an emergent property of ordinary memory processes (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:332).

The emergent common ground refers to the actual situational context, that is, "emergent participant resources, *a post facto* emergence through use" (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009). It is:

> composed of shared sense and current sense, and mainly derives from the interlocutors' individual knowledge of prior and/or current experience that is pertinent to the current situation. The construction of common ground is a dynamic process; *it is the convergence of the mental representation of shared knowledge that we activate, shared knowledge that we seek, and rapport as well as knowledge that we create in the communicative process* [italics by the authors] (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009:333 – 334).

Put differently, "the emergent common ground develops in the immediate discourse as a result of interlocutors' sharing information with each other" (Ortactepe 2014: 162). This implies that intention is only negotiated in interaction.

This study draws from this comprehensive socio-cognitive approach to common ground because of its ability to holistically negotiate meaning. The assumed shared knowledge and the actual situational aspects of socio-cognitive approach to common ground are specifically used in this study to complement the theory of context in examining the discursive contexts and their related issues in the selected data.

2.3.4. Face constituting theory

Face constituting theory (henceforth FCT) was proposed by Arundale (1999) as an alternative theoretical model of communication to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory which was to a large extent anchored on Gricean 'encoding/decoding' principle. The theory is concerned with how discourse participants achieve face in face-to-face interactions. FCT views face as "participants' interpreting of relational connectedness and separateness, conjointly constituted in talk/conduct interaction" (Arundale, 2010:2078). This implies that FCT orients to participants' perspectives of language use and that the knowledge people have of things is co-constituted in the interactions they engage in over time.

Face constituting theory is rooted in two conceptual framing, namely, the conjoint co-constituting model of communication as a means of achieving "meaning and action in interaction" (Arundale, 2010:2078), and the conceptualisation of "face as a relational phenomenon at both culture-general and culture-specific levels" (Arundale 2010:2078).

The conjoint co-constituting model of communication is a communication model that emanates from "works on interaction as a system" and which sees interaction as a joint enterprise between the interactants (Arundale, 1999). The model is built on three basic principles of adjacency pair, recipient interpreting and speaker interpreting. Adjacency pair are sequences of two utterances that are produced by different speakers in an interaction and

which are arranged as first part and second part. They are usually adjacent or next to each other in conversation, except where separated by insertion sequence. Adjacency pairs entail that participants in conversation interpret the second part of an utterance in relation to the immediate prior utterance. For example, invitation requires acceptance or rejection; question requires answer, et cetera. Recipient interpreting on the other hand entails the use of knowledge and expectations that emerge from prior utterances to interpret meaning of current utterance by ascribing, assessing and invoking relevant shared knowledge. The principle of speaker interpreting deals with the projection of the recipient interpreting by the speaker as a basis for the production of an utterance. It involves the speaker's complex inferences about what the recipient will ascribe, assess and invoke in his or her utterance.

This model according to Arundale (1999) "has implications for a number of issues in language pragmatics." However, his conceptualisation of the model was to offer it as a distinct alternative to politeness following Brown and Levinson's (1987:48) projection that "social interaction is remarkable for its emergent properties which transcend the characteristics of the individuals that jointly produce it; this emergent character is not something for which our current theoretical models are well equipped".

The conjoint co-constituting model of communication highlights the fact that ideology is pervasive in every human interaction (Althusser, 1971). This theory implies that:

> what individual human beings know is co-constituted in inter-action with other human beings, and that as humans come into contact with one another over time, across the multiplicity of events in which they co-constitute interpreting in talk-in-inter-action, they can be seen to socially construct certain knowings (Arundale, 1999:120).

Central to the successful construction and co-constituting of "certain knowings" and "interpretings" is context/or contextual beliefs which interlocutors explore.

The concept of face as relational phenomenon entails a holistic approach to face construction which involves not only the individual, but also socio-cultural factors since it draws from individual and social relationships that are established in interactions. As a relational phenomenon, FCT considers "face threat, face stasis (no change in face), and face support are conceptualized as evaluations that participants make of the projectings or interpretings of face that arise as they design or interpret utterances" (Eelen, 2001 cited in Arundale, 2010: 2092). The concept of conjoint co-constituting model of communication is explored in this study because of the affordances it allows the researcher to analyse conversation in context, which enables the researcher to account for how meaning in political

interviews in Nigerian print media is co-constructed and negotiated between the discourse participants.

2.3.5. Systemic functional grammar

Systemic functional grammar (henceforth SFG) otherwise referred to as systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has its roots in anthropology. The theory is associated with M.A.K. Halliday whose work was influenced by "the works of Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, John Rupert Firth and Benjamin Lee Whorf" (Mbah and Mbah, 2017:306). SFG considers language as a network of systems that offers the language user possible options and choices to make. It employs sociological and function-based approach to the study of language. This sociological and function-based approach makes Berry (1977:1) to conclude that the main concerns of SFG are behaviour, function and situation. As a function-based approach, SFG studies language as a social behaviour or "semiotic" (Chiluwa, 2006:90), and provides "useful descriptive and interpretative framework for viewing language as a strategic, meaning-making resource" (Eggins, 1994:1). In other words, systemic approach is "a functional-semantic approach to language which explores both how people use language in different contexts, and how language is structured for use as a semiotic system" (Eggins, 1994: 22-3).

SFG comprises two main aspects, namely system grammar and functional grammar. The system grammar which accounts for the "internal relationships in language as a system of network, or meaning potential" (Akindele, 2016: 283) consists of four categories of abstraction: unit, structure, class and system. The category of unit, deals with morpheme, word, group, clause and sentence which constitute a hierarchy of taxonomy that is bound by rank. Structure relates to elements that are involved in syntagmatic relationships within units, namely: subject, predicator, complement and adjunct (SPCA). Class is made up of "nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, items which can be substituted for one another at certain points in a unit." System refers to the systematic relationship between elements of structure, such as concord and voice. These categories together enable the linguist to analyse the text horizontally or vertically (Ufot and Thomas, 2016:466).

The functional grammar aspect of SFG attempts to present language as a means of achieving certain goals by its users in social interactions. Halliday (1978) identifies three meta-functions of language to characterise the "functional components of grammar" (Chiluwa, 2006:90). They are ideational function (accounted for by the transitivity system), interpersonal function (examined by the mood system) and the textual function (examined by

the theme system). The ideational function of language is used to "express content and to communicate information" (Bustam, 2011:23). In other words, the ideational function of language accounts for the experiential meaning of the speaker's real world. Teich (1999) cited in Ufot and Thomas (2016:466) describes it as "that part of the grammar concerned with the expression of experience, including both the processes within and beyond the self – the phenomena of the external world and those of consciousness – and the logical relations deducible from them". Basically, the analysis of a text for its ideational function is to consider how information and experience are represented by participants (speakers or writers) in clauses. And this is based on the transitivity system, which we shall return to shortly.

The textual function of language is concerned with the creation of a text through the use of language, and in relation to the context. It is analysed by the theme system which could be classified into thematic structure (theme and rheme) and information structure (NEW and GIVEN). Finally, the interpersonal function deals with the use of language to establish and maintain social relations. This function is analysed by the mood system which has two main elements, namely, mood and residue.

In this work, however, we focus on the transitivity system to examine the lexico-grammatical patterns that reveal ideational or experiential meaning. Consequently, we turn our attention to it in the next section.

2.3.5.1. The notion of transitivity system

Transitivity system is used to show how socio-political actors and entities represent their experiences in discourses. Halliday's use of transitivity transcends its use in traditional grammar where it distinguishes between verbs that take direct objects (transitive verbs) and verbs that do not take direct objects (intransitive verbs). Transitivity in the sense of SFG is concerned with the representation of meaning in a clause. Haig (nd:48) considers it as "the entire system of representational resources made available by a particular language at the level of the clause". In other words, transitivity patterns "are the clausal realization of contextual choices" (Eggins, 1994: 270). They deal with the encoding of events in a clause and the participants involved. A clause is conceptualised in the sense of transitivity to mean "the simultaneous realization of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings" (Halliday,1981: 42). It is also considered to be "the product of three simultaneous semantic processes. It is at one and the same time a representation of experience (ideational), an interactive exchange (interpersonal), and a message (textual)" (Halliday, 1985: 53).

Matu and Lubbe (2007:411) assert that "transitivity is concerned with propositional meanings and functions of syntactic elements. The representations that can be attested within a transitivity model are said to signal bias, manipulation and ideology in discourse." Transitivity has three main components, namely, the process (which is realised by the verbal group), participants (human/non-human who are participating in these processes [in the noun group]), and circumstances (the when, where, and how the processes take place [in the prepositional phrase and adverbial group]). The process consists of mental, material, behavioural, verbal, relational and existential processes. They are briefly discussed below:

2.3.5.1.1. Material process

The material process of the transitivity system is concerned with doings or actions, that is, experiences of the material world. It is the process that expresses concrete happenings in a clause and which is indicated by verbs or action words. The material process accounts for the interrogation "What did X do?" (Eggins, 1994). It involves an Actor (performer of an action), Goal (receiver of an action), Range (another name for the process itself) and beneficiary (the element for whom the action was performed and who benefits in one way or the other). There are two participant roles in the material process, namely, actor and goal. An example of material process is given below:

John	Played	the ball
Actor	Material process	Goal

2.3.5.1.2. Mental process

The mental process deals with encoding the meaning of thinking, sensing, and feeling (experience of consciousness). The mental process answers the question "What do you think/feel/know about X? (Eggins, 1994). From the interrogation, and following Halliday, we could classify the mental process verbs into three types, namely, mental process verb of cognition (verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding), mental process verb of affection (verbs of liking, fearing) and mental process verb of perception (seeing, hearing). There are two participants in the mental process, namely, the senser (a conscious being) and the phenomenon (what is thought, felt or perceived by the senser). An example of the mental process is provided below:

I	Saw	the man
Senser	Process: perception	Phenomenon

2.3.5.1.3. Verbal process

The verbal process represents verbal action. It is the process of saying something. The participants of the verbal process are the sayer (the participant that says something), the receiver (addressee, that is, the person to whom the verbalized message is addressed) and the verbiage (the verbalized message). However, in a situation where the sayer acts verbally on another direct participant, using verbs such as abuse, insult or praise, another participant called the target emerges. Examples are given below:

The principal	Announced	To the students	That there would be fee drive on Monday
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Verbiage

The lecturer	is always praising	John	to other students
Sayer	Process: verbal	Target	Receiver

2.3.5.1.4. Behavioural process

This process represents physiological and psychological behaviour such as laughing, smiling, coughing, crying, breathing, and so on. The verbs in this process are usually intransitive and they indicate activities that both the mental and physical components can not be separated. The participants involved in this process are the bahaver and the circumstances. Let us illustrate with the following example:

He	smiled	at his success
Behaver	Process	Circumstance

2.3.5.1.5. Existential process

This process represents experience by stating that "there was/ there is" to indicate that something exists or happens. The word, "there" is dummy, that is, it plays no function. Existential process usually uses the verb "be"; 'exist', 'arise' and other verbs that express existence. Its compulsory participant is Existent. It would be instructive to give an example below:

There	Was	a meeting yesterday
	Process: Existential	Existent: event

2.3.5.1.6. Relational process

This process accounts for how "being" could be expressed in an English clause. It attributes some quality to an identified participant or shows the relationship between two things. The process has two modes: 'attributive' and 'identifying'. "In the attributive mode, an Attribute is ascribed to some entity (carrier), while in the Identifying mode, one entity (identifier) is used to identify another (identified)" (Sadighi and Bavali, 2008:16). By this, we can say that participants in relational process are: identified, identifier, carrier and attribute. There are three types of relational process, namely Instensive 'x is a' (which shows relationship of equal entities), Circumstantial 'x is at a' (this identifies the entity in terms of location, time and manner) and Possessive 'x has a' (this indicates that one entity owns the other).

Transitivity is used in this work to account for the linguistic features in the selected data. Specifically, it is used to examine the clausal representation of experiential meaning in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

2.3.6. Socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is a discourse analytical tool that examines language function in relation to socio-political structure of a particular human society. It is a multidirectional and multidisciplinary approach that draws insight from linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and sociolinguistics. CDA maintains that language in itself is not powerful, rather, it "gains power by the use powerful people make of it. CDA focuses on "the relationship that exists among language, ideology, and power. It is political in intent, viewing social practices and their linguistic realization as inseparable" (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996) cited in Adesina (2009).

From the foregoing, it becomes obvious that CDA is an appropriate linguistic tool in the analyses of the language of print media political interviews as social action and ideological imprint, since it "explains the relationship between language as a social process and ideology which is mediated by language" (Chiluwa, 2006: 89". Also, it accounts for the 'ideologies and discourses of power' (Johnson, 2006:213) relations that constitute print media political interviews. This becomes pertinent because "texts are not just effects of linguistic structures and orders of discourse, they are also effects of other social structures, and of

social practices in all their aspects, so that it becomes difficult to separate out the factors shaping texts" (Fairclough, 2003:29).

Different approaches of CDA exist with each having similar or slightly different inclination. Some of these approaches include discourse-historical approach (DHA – Wodak 2001, 2006), which focuses on the influence of historical and socio-political factors on language use and views language as a manifestation of social process and interaction. The other is discourse socio-cultural approach (DRA – Fairclough, 1992, 1995) which emphasises the relation between language and social structures. In other words, this model involves the analysis of concrete instance of language use in relation to the social structures of the society. Another model of CDA is the socio-cognitive approach (SCA) by van Dijk (1995, 2006) which we adopt in this work because of its ability to account for ideologies in context.

Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (SCA) emphasises the interface between discourse, cognition and society. In this tripartite theorisation, discourse refers to any communicative event such as spoken or written text, gestures and any other `semiotic' or multimodal signifier. Cognition represents "both personal as well as social cognition, beliefs and goals as well as evaluations and emotions, and any other `mental' or `memory' structures, representations or processes involved in discourse and interaction" (van Dijk, 2001:98). Society entails "both the local, microstructures of situated face-to-face interactions, as well as the more global, societal and political structures variously defined in terms of groups, group-relations (such as dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations, social processes, political systems and more abstract properties of societies and cultures (van Dijk 2001:98). Synthesising social and cognitive components of the model, van Dijk (1998:18) describes social cognition as "the system of mental representations and process of group members." The socio-cognitive model stresses the relationship between discourse, social structures and ideology.

Van Dijk (1998:44) proposes two main discursive strategies for the analysis of ideology in discourse. They are: 'positive self-representation' (semantic macro-strategy of in-group favouritism) and 'negative other-representation' (semantic macro-strategy of derogation of out-group) (cf. Rashidi and Souzandehfar, 2010). Developing these strategies, he provides a four structure ideological framework, which he calls "ideological square" that can be applied in the analysis of discourse structures:

   i.   emphasize positive things about Us
   ii. emphasize negative things about Them
   iii. de-emphasize positive things about Them

iv. de-emphasize negative things about Us

These ideological discourse structures are achieveable through the utilisation of the following twenty-seven (27) categories of ideological discourse analysis: Actor description, authority, burden (topos), categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactuals, disclaimers, euphemism, evidentiality, example (illustration), generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, negative other-presentation, norm expression, number game, polarization, populism, positive self-presentation, presupposition, vagueness and victimization (van Dijk, 2006).

This approach, therefore, offers itself in the analysis of ideology in print media political interviews because it is context based and it enables us to analyse participants' cognition or perception materalised in the categories of ideological discourse analysis. In particular, this approach used in this work to unpack the ideological postures or orientations of participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

2.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have considered some relevant concepts to our study such as pragmatics, register, ideology and political interviews. We have demonstrated that pragmatic meaning and interpretation is context dependent or sensitive, whether viewed from the perspective of linguistic-philosophical or socio-cultural, or socio-cognitive pragmatics. Register has also been seen as a broad linguistic phenomenon that indexes specific communication. Furthermore, we have viewed ideology as being dynamic and pervasive in all discourses, and influencing how discourses are shaped, produced and perceived. Again, we have attempted to show the symbiotic relationship between language and politics in such a way that each influences the other. The language of politics has been characterised to be confrontational, deceptive and emotive.

Also, we have looked in some detail at some scholarly works on political discourse, ideological discourse and media political interviews. From the review of relevant literature, we have shown that, though very insightful, previous studies have yet to give adequate attention to the exploration of the combined contribution of pragmatic and ideological resources to the negotiation of meaning in print media political interviews in Nigeria. It is this gap that we identified as our impetus for this study. To successfully fill this gap, we also reviewed six theories (context, common ground, stance, face constituting theory, systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis) that the study is anchored on. The next chapter deals with methodology.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology which covers the research design, the sampling technique, the data collection methods, the method of data analysis, and the analytical procedure and framework.

3.1. Research design

The research design adopted in this study is descriptive research design. The descriptive research is capable of handling both qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative aspect, which is premised on three main research traditions, namely, phenomenological sociology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology (Traudt, 2005 cited in Ike-Nwafor, 2015: 98) was adopted. Phenomenological sociology examines people's utterances as representation of how they view the world, while symbolic interactionism studies "how the mind of the language user works in relation to their perception of self and their roles in social settings". Ethnomethodology "studies everyday talk in particular natural settings of language use" (Ike-Nwafor 2015:98). This study benefits from phenomenological sociology and symbolic interactionism because they conflate linguistic, psychological and sociological approaches to the study of language use which enable the researcher to appropriately describe and explain the linguistic, contextual and ideological features in political interviews in Nigerian print media. The approach as feeds on pragmatic and discourse theories to provide systematic descriptions of the context-driven meanings, ideological oriented meanings, pragmatic strategies that are used affiliatively or disaffiliatively to negotiate interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria. It also provides explanation to the various stance types observed in the selected data. In summary, this research design offers a systematic description of discursive contexts, interactional goals, ideological postures and pragmatic strategies in selected political interviews in Nigerian print media.

3.2   Study population

Four Nigerian newspapers, namely, *The Sun, ThisDay, Vanguard* and *The Punch* were selected and subjected to pragmatic analysis. The rationale for the selection of these newspapers is because of their wide circulation and robust coverage of political interviews in Nigeria.

Forty-one (41) political interviews with a corpus of 248 interactional turns were

selected from *The Sun* newspaper, forty-two (42) political interviews with 345 interactional turns were selected from *Vanguard* newspaper, while ten (10) political interviews with 92 interactional turns were got from *ThisDay* newspaper, and seven (7) political interviews with 106 interactional turns were selected from *The Punch* newspaper. The reason for the uneven distribution of political interviews is that the selected newspapers did not have equal coverage of political interviews. The selected newspapers, the dates of the political interviews, number of political interviews and the number of interactional turns are presented in the tables below:

Table 3.1: Selected Political Interviews in *The Sun* Newspaper

Newspaper	Date of Interview	No. of Political Interviews	No. of Interactional turns	Page
The Sun	13th February, 2014	1	10	34 & 36
	7th April, 2014	5	a. 8	52
			b. 10	52
			c. 5	57
			d. 5	58
			e. 6	59
	28th April, 2014	4	a. 5	34
			b. 7	48 – 49
			c. 7	52
			d. 4	55
	7th June, 2014	2	a. 6	61 – 62
			b. 7	61 – 62
	4th July, 2014	4	a. 8	34 & 36
			b. 6	47
			c. 5	48
			d. 3	48
	20th September, 2014	2	a. 5	67 – 68
			b. 35	69 – 70
	23rd October, 2014	2	a. 3	33
			b. 4	34
	12th November, 2014	3	a. 13	28 & 38
			b. 2	31
			c. 4	38
	11th December, 2014	2	a. 5	52
			b. 8	53
	23rd December, 2014	3	a. 7	32
			b. 8	49
			c. 9	50
	13th March, 2015	5	a. 6	32
			b. 13	45
			c. 6	47
			d. 5	49
			e. 8	49
	2nd May, 2015	4	a. 15	60 – 61
			b. 14	62 – 63
			c. 7	66
			d. 13	57 – 58
	5th July, 2015	2	a. 13	63
			b. 9	64
	1st August, 2015	2	a. 9	37 – 38
			b. 5	42
Total		**41**	**248**	

Table 3.2: Selected Political Interviews in *Vanguard* Newspaper

Newspaper	Date of Interview	No. of Political Interviews	No. of Interactional turns	Page
Vanguard	7th October, 2014	1	8	27 – 28
	8th November, 2014	1	7	49
	5th February, 2015	1	12	42
	22nd March, 2015	6	a. 7	8 – 9
			b. 3	10
			c. 14	45
			d. 2	46
			e. 14	48 & 50
			f. 8	49 – 50
	8th September, 2015	1	9	34
	4th October, 2015	5	a. 9	9
			b. 4	12
			c. 6	13
			d. 3	35
			e. 12	48
	3rd January, 2016	2	a. 8	11 – 12
			b. 9	36 & 38
	17th January, 2016	3	a. 17	21 – 22, 24
			b. 17	23
			c. 6	25
	24th January, 2016	3	a. 10	22 – 23
			b. 10	26 & 28
			c. 13	27 – 28
	31st January, 2016	2	a. 5	15 – 16
			b. 6	34
	21st February, 2016	4	a. 5	9 & 11
			b. 4	10 – 11
			c. 5	15 – 16
			d. 8	31
	28th February, 2016	3	a. 8	22
			b. 9	23
			c. 8	27 – 28
	27th March, 2016	1	7	15 – 16
	17th April, 2016	3	a. 11	8 – 9
			b. 2	9
			c. 6	10
	29th May, 2016	6	a. 12	16 – 17
			b. 17	22 – 24
			c. 7	41
			d. 4	43
			e. 5	44
			f. 8	45 – 46
Total		**42**	**345**	

Table 3.3: Selected Political Interviews in *ThisDay* Newspaper

Newspaper	Date of Interview	No. of Political Interviews	No. of Interactional turns	Page
This Day	15th March, 2015	3	a. 9	82 – 83
			b. 6	84
			c. 5	85
	22nd November, 2015	2	a. 16	72 – 73
			b. 4	74 – 75
	10th January, 2016	1	13	87
	28th February, 2016	3	a. 11	80 – 82
			b. 9	83
			c. 6	87
	13th March, 2016	1	a. 13	80 – 81
Total		**10**	**92**	

Table 3.4: Selected Political Interviews in *The Punch* Newspaper

Newspaper	Date of Interview	No. of Political Interviews	No. of Interactional turns	Page
The Punch	23rd June, 2014	1	8	24
	14th March, 2015	1	12	50 – 51
	22nd March, 2015	1	28	14 – 15
	13th June, 2015	2	a. 20	18
			b. 12	44 – 45
	6th March, 2016	1	9	57
	9th April, 2016	1	17	28 – 29
Total		**7**	**106**	

3. 3. Sampling technique

Sampling technique adopted for the study was purposive sampling technique. The newspapers were selected because of their accessibility, patronage and robust coverage of political interviews in Nigeria.

Another sampling technique that was adopted in the selection of the print media interviews was the stratified sampling technique. This method was employed to classify print media interviews according to their forms, that is, to divide the interviews into political, economic and entertainment interviews. Political interviews on States and Federal Government were then purposively selected for analysis, since they deal with a wide range of issues that affect other forms of interviews. The political interviews that were purposively selected were the ones that dealt with interactions that relate to political relevant issues like provision of infrastructure, security, economy, electioneering and obedience to the laws of the land.

3.4. Methods of data collection

One hundred and fifty political interviews of different political actors at States and Federal Government levels were purposively sampled from the four selected newspapers. One hundred of the political interviews representing 67% were purposively selected and subjected to pragmatic analysis. This enabled the researcher to study Nigerian print media political interviews as institutionalised discourses, which have their specific and definable shapes and pragmatic implications. Two sources were used to collect the data, namely: buying and borrowing from friends. Specifically, 70% of the papers were bought from newspaper vendors, while 30% were borrowed from friends. The editions of the newspapers that were studied were published between January 2014 and June, 2016. This period is particularly important in the Nigerian political landscape because it was full of political activities, since, it was an electioneering period and a period that witnessed the transfer of power at the Federal level from the incumbent ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the then opposition party, All Progressive Congress (APC). This situation attracted a lot of political commentaries resulting in many politicians and political office holders granting various interviews. Attention was, therefore, given to interviews that manifested political features.

3.5.   Method of data analysis

The analysis of the sampled data is anchored on context (especially, macro context and context as influence from outside in), stance, common ground, face constituting theory, systemic functional grammar and socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis. Each of these contributes to the analysis of print media political interviews in this study.

There are different models of context in the literature. Therefore, Odebunmi's (2016a) model has been considered to be relevant in the analysis of print media political interviews in Nigeria. The macro and micro (context as influence from outside in) aspects of the model were deployed to account for the influence of mental representations or inferences, grammatical and lexical cohesion, physical situation, co-texts; and introduction of extrinsic elements on negotiating meaning by participants in print media political interviews.

Stance helps to provide theoretical explanations for the deployment of "mapping feelings" (Martin and White 2005: 42) and the taking of subjective positions as negotiated in the texts by participants. It is used to strengthen participants' positions (affiliative or disaffiliative) in the deployment of their pragmatic strategies to negotiate contextual cues and interactional goals in political interviews.

The theory of common ground provides affordances for the account of shared knowledge which the participants in interactions used to negotiate meaning. It offers explanation for the exploration of shared knowledge or information by participants through the utilisation of community of membership, the physical co-presence and linguistic co-presence. Also, Arundale's face constituting theory is useful because it helps us to explain how interaction is achieved through the collaborative and joint effort of the participants.

The systemic functional grammar accounts for the lexico-grammatical content of the interactions. It provides interpretation to utterances in actual use or different social situations or contexts. In particular, the transitivity system helps to indicate the events, process and states and how they influence meaning negotiation and explication in print media political interviews through material processes which are used to negotiate goals of concrete actions, mental processes which are used by participants to project mental pictures, existential processes which are deployed by interactants to state the existence of something, and the verbal processes which are utilized to state or deny some propositions.

Finally, van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis accounts for how the underlying ideologies of interactants influence participants' contributions to the

conversation "since meaning in language is so inseparable from ideology and both are determined by social structure" (Chiluwa 2006: 89). Specifically, the van Dijk's socio-cognitive model that is adopted here enables us to show how ideologies, communicative event, mental representations and social structure influence lexical choices and meaning explication in print media political interviews. The analysis is based on the framework below:

3.6.   A FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF CONTEXT, IDEOLOGY AND NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA
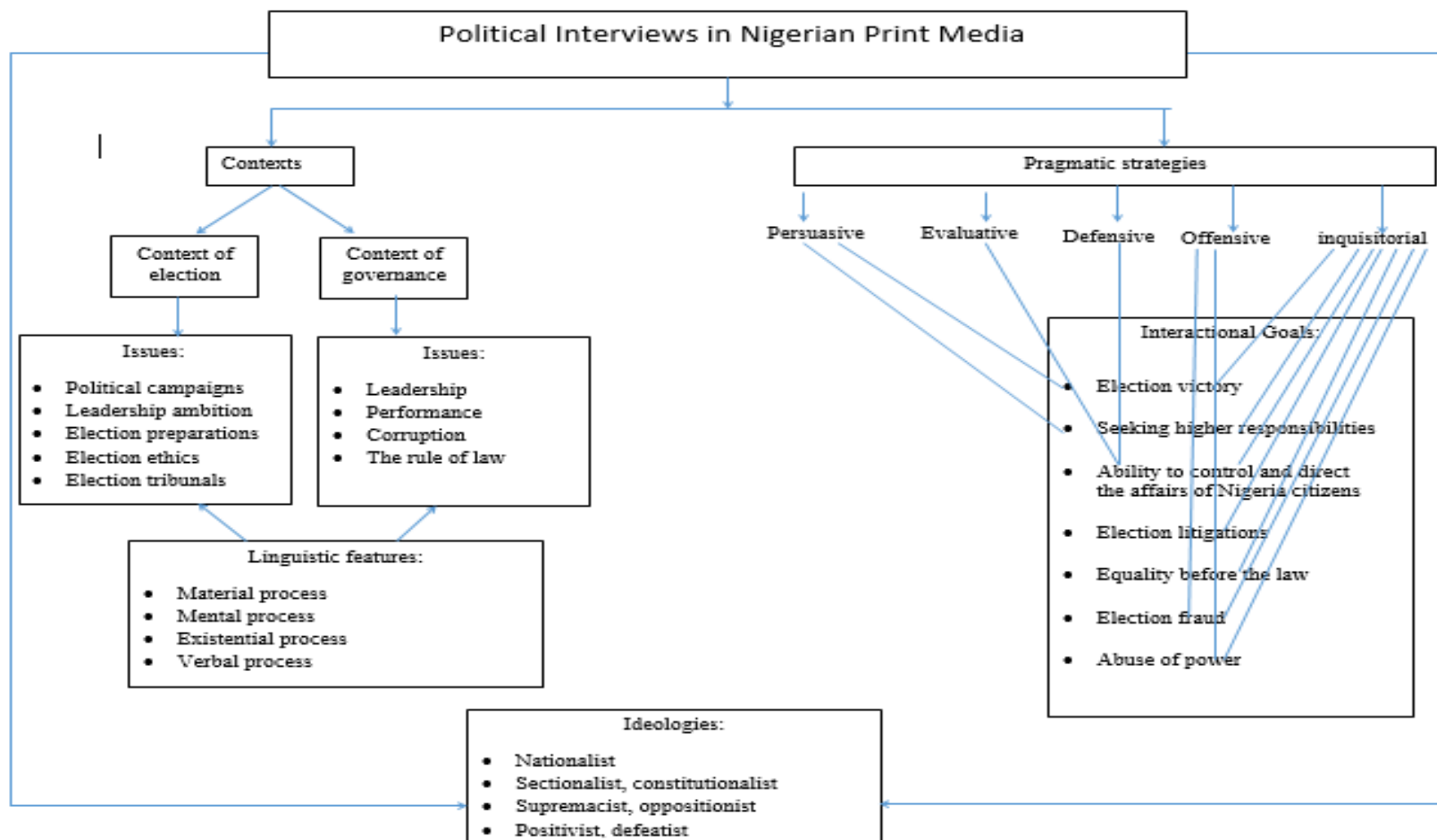
Fig. 3.1. A proposed model for the analysis of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media

The model represents the framework for the analysis of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media. It illustrates the contributions of discursive contexts, ideological construction and pragmatic strategies to the negotiation of meaning and interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria. The theoretical framework is basically a combination of Odebunmi's (2016) model of context, stance, common ground, face constituting theory, systemic functional grammar, and van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis.

The model shows that participants in print media political interviews explore two discursive contexts, namely: the context of election (CE) and the context of governance (CG). While exploring the context of election, participants discursively negotiate election related discourse issues such as political campaigns, leadership ambition, election preparations, election ethics and election tribunal. Similarly, participants explore governance related discourse issues such as leadership, performance, corruption and the rule of law in the context of governance. These issues provide a multi-faceted contextualisation of the activity type. Also indicated in the framework are the linguistic features, namely: material, mental, existential and verbal processes through which the discourse issues within the two contexts are negotiated. These linguistic features are derived from Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. Specifically, the linguistic features are achieved through the utilisation of transitivity system of Systemic Functional Grammar.

The pragmatic strategies in the framework, viz: persuasive, evaluative, inquisitorial, defensive and offensive strategies are deployed affiliatively and disaffiliatively by participants to negotiate their interactional goals. The interactional goals that are negotiated with the pragmatic strategies are election victory, seeking higher responsibility, ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens, election litigations, election fraud, abuse of power and equality before the law.

Also, the model shows that different ideologies: nationalist, sectionalist, positivist, defeatist, supremacist, oppositionist and constitutionalist ideology are constructed in print media political interviews in Nigeria. These ideologies are processed through participants' mental representations or architectures and linguistic features. Consequently, all these account for the effective contribution of discursive contexts, linguistic features, ideological constructions and pragmatic strategies to the explication of meaning and negotiation of interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria.

3.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have discussed the research methodology, which includes research design, sampling technique, data collection technique and the analytical procedure. The impetus for the selection of the data has been explained. A diagram was drawn to explain the joint roles of discursive contexts, ideological constructions and pragmatic strategies to the configuration and explication of meaning, and the negotiation of interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria. We have also attempted the justification of the selected theories and their applicability in this study. It provided reasons for the choice of stance, common ground, face constituting theory, systemic functional grammar, Odebunmi's model of context and van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of CDA at the expense of several other theories for the analysis of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

4.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the identification and discussion of the contexts, contextual cues and linguistic features that participants explore in print media political interviews in Nigeria as reflected through the indices present in the selected excerpts. The analyses in this chapter are anchored on Odebunmi's (2016) model of context, common ground theory, face constituting theory and transitivity system of systemic functional grammar.

4.1. Context in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Context is the conditioning constraints that determine the understanding of the propositions of an utterance, event or discourse (Odebunmi, 2016a:13). In this work, we conceptualise it to be the activity type or speech event that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria discursively negotiate. There are two different discursive contexts that have been identified in this work, namely, the context of election and the context of governance. These contexts are discussed below:

4.1.1. The context of election

Election is fundamental to modern democracy or representative government. The context of election relates to the processes and activities that are aimed at selecting a person for a political position. This context is characterised by five discourse issues, namely: political campaigns, leadership ambition, election preparations, election ethics and election tribunal. Each of these discourse issues is discussed separately below:

4.1.1.1. Political campaigns

Political campaigns are central to any electoral process. They involve canvassing for support and votes by contestants, supporters and political parties for a particular election outcome. During political campaigns, individuals make proposals and present their manifestoes to others. Interactants in the selected print media political interviews discursively explore the context of political campaigns in their interactions. Political campaigns in this study take the form of promises, recommendations and casting of aspersions on opponents.

4.1.1.1.1. Promises

Promises are statements or utterances that commit a speaker to take a future action. In this study, interactants make promises for themselves and on behave of their principals to the people for better socio-economic and political development if elected into office. We instantiate this with the following example:

Example 1

Background: In this interview, a stalwart of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Osun campaigns for the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan and makes some campaign promises.

Thisday **Interviewer:** You are one of PDP [sic] chieftains almost permanently on the road, campaigning for Mr. President's re-election. What are you asking Nigerians and particularly, South-west to buy from him?

Interviewee: As a seasoned lawyer and civil servant I know a government that is doing well and one that is just there for personal interest. The Goodluck Jonathan and Sambo government is there to better the lots of Nigeria with the various transformation agenda and programmes we are witnessing by the day. From a woman angle and a lawyer the 35% women affirmation action is worth the women-folk rolling out their drums and give maximum support to Mr President considering the strategic appointments given to women such as Finance, Defence, FCDA, Environment, Housing and Urban Development… It is therefore, not surprising that the leading socio-political groups, the Obas and Yorubas at large have endorsed President Goodluck Jonathan for another four years. This will go a long way to free the country of most of its bottlenecks and make room for the realization of our great potentials as a nation.

(*Thisday* March 15, 2015:84)

From the above excerpt, political campaign as a discourse issue of election is linguistically indexed by verb phrases such as "campaigning for", "give maximum support to" and "asking Nigerians". The interviewer, in a bid to be convinced by the interviewee about her choice candidate, asked her for convincing reasons why he (interviewer), the people of the south-west, and indeed the entire Nigerian populace should support the re-election of President Jonathan. Through the speaker's interpreting, the interviewer pragmatically projects political campaigns to prompt the interviewee's recipient interpreting

to enunciate and elaborate on President Jonathan's leadership qualities and performance in governance that would guarantee his election victory for a second term. Following the principle of adjacency pair, the interviewer's request consequently activates the interviewee to provide evidence of his performance as a contextual cue for his election prospects. This is done by citing "the various transformation agenda" and the "35% women affirmation action" which make him a better candidate for the presidency than other contestants.

To fully achieve their communicative goal, both interactants also rely on their joint efforts and shared knowledge of community membership, physical and linguistic co-presences. The interviewer's inquiry indicates that they both have the shared knowledge of:

i. the interviewee's journeys during political campaigns

ii. an existing government

iii. election in Nigeria.

The interviewee's journeys are in consonant with political campaigns when contestants and their supporters move around to canvass for the support of the electorate. In "permanently on the road, campaigning for Mr. President's re-election", the interviewer rides on common ground to evoke the physical co-presence of an existing government and the electioneering period. The sharedness of the knowledge of an existing government and electioneering between the interactants is a clear utilisation of extrinsic element (context as influence from outside in). The interrogation "what are you asking Nigerians and particularly, South-west to buy from him?" seeks justification for the interviewee's endorsement of the President. The interviewee in her response does not deny this, but rather co-textually orients to and aligns with the campaign for President Goodluck Jonathan, thus yielding the community membership of the interactants as citizens of Nigeria who are aware that the President is seeking re-election. She exploits the linguistic context in the assertion "better the lots of Nigeria" which is co-textually determined by the preceding, "The Goodluck Jonathan and Sambo government". Also, "the 35% women affirmation action" co-textually influences "worth the women-folk rolling out their drums and give maximum support to Mr President". This also leads the interviewee to make a promise in line with the nature of political campaigns. As a way of canvassing support for the re-election of President Jonathan, the interviewee implicitly promises freedom and growth for the country. This implicit promise is expressed in the statement "This will go a long way to free the country of most of its bottlenecks and make room for the realization of our great potentials as a nation." All these provide the necessary contextual cues of election victory.

4.1.1.1.2. Recommendations

Recommendations refer to statements or utterances that suggest that something is good, or that a person is suitable for a job. Expressions of recommendations of political aspirants or candidates for elective positions constitute the basis for political campaigns in this study. This is obvious in the example below:

Example 2

Background: In this interview, the President of Delta Ijaw Peace Movement (DIPM), and a stalwart of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Delta State comments on the 2015 general elections and the chances of some candidates.

Sun interviewer: What is your reaction to the emergence of Senator Ifeanyi Okowa as the gubernatorial candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Delta State?

Interviewee: I must say that his emergence as PDP's flag bearer is a welcome development and this calls for celebration because Okowa is a man that can be trusted with the resources of the state and he is a man that has worked with those that are in power today.... He is a man that we are very sure of, that he can deliver if given the opportunity to serve as governor. He was a one time commissioner, SSG and now a senator.... He has done many things that could speak for him as a man to be trusted... I am supportive of everything that should be done to ensure he emerges as the governor of the state in the 2015 election.

(*Sun* December 23, 2014: 50)

In example 2 above, the interviewee uses the adjective "supportive" to linguistically index political campaign as a discourse issue of election since in political campaigns the citizens support and canvass for candidates of their choices. The interviewer through his enquiry about the interviewee's reaction to the emergence of Senator Ifeanyi Okowa as the gubernatorial candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Delta State" pragmatically wants to know whether the interviewee supports Senator Okowa's candidature or not. This enquiry consequently activates the interviewee's approval of his candidature, and his ultimate recommendation of Senator Okowa for the governorship position of Delta State. The interviewee's recommendation is configured in the expressions, "Okowa is a man that can be trusted with the resources of the state and he is a man that has worked with those that are in power today", "He is a man that we are very sure of, that he can deliver if given the opportunity to serve as governor." His recommendation is based on Senator Okowa's trustworthiness, experience in public service and ability to perform well as governor.

Participants in this example jointly and collaboratively construct meaning in the interaction through the principles of adjacency pair, speaker's interpreting and recipient interpreting as they both co-construct their background knowledge of the electioneering period in Nigeria and the emergent of Senator Ifeanyi Okowa as the PDP governorship candidate in Delta State through shared knowledge of community of membership and physical co-presence.

4.1.1.1.3. Casting aspersions on opponents

Aspersions are condemnations or unkind expressions that are made against an individual or group of individuals. In this study, aspirants or candidates canvassing for the support of their political ambitions sometimes cast aspersions on their opponents. This is evident in the example below:

Example 3

Background: In this interview, a governorship aspirant of the All Progressives Congress (APC) in Ondo State bares his mind on his reason for contesting for the position.

Vanguard interviewer: The theme of your campaign is 'less politics, more governance.' How did you arrive at this and what do you mean exactly?

Interviewee: As you rightly observed, that is the theme of my campaign. Less politics, more governance. The reason we get into governance is because of the electorate: to provide services to the people, security, social services and employment and so on. But we see that politics is given more time than governance. At a time government should busy itself with governance all you hear of is political scheming, re-alignments, camping and decamping, etc. The amount of time that ought to be given to governance, relative to what it should be, is not so.

(*Vanguard*, February 21, 2016:31)

In this excerpt, the interviewer ostensibly orients to political campaign in the preface to his question which is assertively formulated as "campaign". This evokes the mental representation of the interviewee's political interest and his campaign slogan which they both share. The sharedness of this knowledge (slogan) is confirmed by the interviewee in his affiliative response "as you rightly observed" which refers to "less politics, more governance". In "but we see that politics is given more time than governance", he evokes the physical co-presence to jointly construct the poor performance of previous administrations,

which he now uses as a campaign weapon, thus providing the cue for the interpretation of election victory.

The interviewee uses unkind remarks about other politicians who he alleges have abandoned the essence of governance which are "to provide services to the people, security, social services and employment and so on" to focus more on politics. He asserts that, "At a time government should busy itself with governance all you hear of is political scheming, re-alignments, camping and decamping, etc." This aspersion on other politicians is deployed as a campaign tool in order to position himself as a better alternative.

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4.1.1.2. Leadership ambition

Leadership ambition relates to the strong desire and determination for a political position in order to control human and socio-economic resources of the state. Interactants, especially the interviewees interactively explore contextual affordances to reveal their political- ambitions. Through leadership ambition, interactants show their willingness to take responsibilities and willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people.

4.1.1.2.1. Willingness to take responsibilities

Willingness to take responsibilities entails a person's readiness or preparedness to do something and to accept the consequences of his or her action. It also refers to readiness to be in charge of somebody or something and to be praised or be blamed for anything that happens to that person or thing as a result of your actions or inactions. In this study, participants seeking elective positions usually express their readiness to take responsibilities that come with such positions. This can be seen in the following example:

Example 4

Background: In this interview, a Member of the Anambra State House of Assembly talks about his intention to contest for the House of Representative position.

Sun **interviewer:** You are a Member of the Anambra State House of Assembly, why are you vying for the House of Representatives seat?

Interviewee: It is a good question. The State House of Assembly seat that I currently occupy has presented me with an opportunity to impact on the lives of my people but has not given me the scope that I want to operate in.

Sun **interviewer:** What do you mean by the State Assembly not giving you the scope?

Interviewee: My attitude to service is to continually seek higher responsibilities and opportunities to help more people. The House of Representatives and the House of Assembly are two different legislatures. In the House of Representatives, your horizon changes, the scope of what you can bring to your people changes, and your capacity to impact the nation changes too. For instance, you would agree with me that there are projects that are better addressed by the Federal Government due to the finances involved. Unless you have a capable voice to raise these issues, lobby the executive, and argue these cases effectively to have them included in the national budget, such problems would linger for a long time.

<div align="right">(The Sun, March 13, 2015:45)</div>

In this example, the interactants orient to leadership ambition through the deployment of the verbal groups such as "vying for", and "to continually seek higher responsibilities". The *Sun* interviewer works within cognitive context to evoke the factual assumption that the interviewee already holds an elective position, still, he is seeking for a higher position. The knowledge that the interviewee is a state legislator is shared by both interactants, hence, the interviewer explores the interviewee's leadership ambition as captured in the interrogative, "why are you vying for the House of Representatives seat?" which the interviewee co-constructs and affiliates to in his response, "It is a good question". In "in the House of Representatives, your horizon changes…", the interviewee further strengthens his negotiation for leadership ambition by cognitively evoking the physical co-presence or what Clark (1996) calls "perceptual co-presence" of the benefits of a higher leadership role.

The fact that the interviewee is already a state legislator, and yet aspires to be a federal legislator only reveals his willingness to take more responsibilities in order to impact better on the lives of his constituents. He sees himself as willing and capable of engaging the Federal Government and attracting meaningful projects from it to his people. This is implied in the expression, "Unless you have a capable voice to raise these issues, lobby the executive, and argue these cases effectively to have them included in the national budget, such problems would linger for a long time." From this expression, one can pragmatically infer that the interviewee implies that he is the "capable voice" of his people. This therefore, projects his willingness to take the responsibility of representing his people effectively at the Federal House of Representatives.

4.1.1.2.2. Willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people

Willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people refers to the desire or preparedness to change a system through deliberate policies and decisions for the purpose of improving the lives and wellbeing of the people. Expressions of preparedness to effect reforms or changes that will bring about rapid socio-economic development occur in the sampled data as we will see in the following example:

Example 5

Background: In this interview, a governorship aspirant of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Zamfara State talks about his governorship ambition and the reforms that he will introduce to the state if elected.

Sun **interviewer:** You want to run for governorship, what blueprint do you have for the people?

Interviewee: Although I may not go into details; but as an overview of what I think that the state needs mostly [sic] is education, education and education. With education you develop ideas and with ideas you rule the world. When you educate the citizens, you open their mind. Through education, you have good governance; doctors and nurses in your hospitals; move the economy forward; revolutionize agriculture; people will be able to fend for themselves; have enlightened minds and interface with the world. You need to have good and well-equipped hospitals, because when the people are not healthy, then there is a problem…

(*The Sun* July 4, 2014:34)

Leadership ambition is constructed in the above example through the choice of the verbal group "want to run for". Operating within the ambit of cognitive context, the interviewer evokes the fact that the interviewee intends to contest for governorship. This rides on community membership and physical co-presences which the interlocutors share that in Nigeria, the governorship position is by election, and not by appointment or military coup. The interviewee affiliates to the interviewer's propositional content and goes on to elaborate on the fact that "education" will be his area of priority when elected. At the level of linguistic context, the phrasal verb "to run for" limits the choice of a noun which in this instance is "governorship".

The interviewee expresses his readiness to radically and positively reform the educational and health sectors of Zamfara State if elected as governor of the State. This

reform agenda is well expressed in the expressions, "what I think that the state needs mostly [sic] is education, education and education" and "you need to have good and well-equipped hospitals, because when the people are not healthy, then there is a problem". He anchors his willingness to effect educational and health reforms on the fact they will improve the lives of the citizens and ensure holistic development of the state.

4.1.1.3. Election preparations

Preparation deals with getting ready for something. In election context, preparation involves the readiness of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to conduct free, fair and credible elections in the country. It is characterised by three main stages, namely: pre-election preparation, election-day preparation (e.g. security of election materials and personnel) and post election preparation. Interactions in this study deals more on pre-election preparation, therefore, we base our analysis on it.

4.1.1.3.1. Pre-election preparation

Pre-election preparation involves the readiness of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to conduct free, fair and cr1edible elections in terms of party registration, voters' registration and education; procurement and distribution of materials; personnel training. This can be instantiated in the examples below:

Example 6

Background: In this interview, a Resident Electoral Commissioner of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Cross River State, speaks on the commission's preparations for the 2015 general elections.

Sun interviewer: As we approach 2015 elections, how prepared is INEC, the electoral umpire towards ensuring a credible election?

Interviewee: We are preparing and it is work in progress. Let me take this opportunity to say that between 2011 and now, we have organized one General election and several gubernatorial and legislative elections and by-elections, with better outcomes than in many other instances in the electoral history of Nigeria as acknowledged by the people of this country and international observers. This is not just my claim; it is based on the assessment of the decline in the number of petitions and litigations following such elections, 1,291 cases in 2007 and 729 in 2011. This is not accidental. It is mainly because the evidence trail for the electoral process has improved tremendously...

Sun interviewer: Some State governors like that of Lagos complained bitterly about the permanent voters card distributions. What do you think are the challenges?

Interviewee: On the furore regarding the PVCs and CVR, we acknowledge some operational challenges in terms of the number of LGAs for the take-off of the exercise of the PVC distribution as there was a re-scheduling for the remaining nine LGAs that were conducted subsequently.....

(The Sun, December 11, 2014:52)

Preparation as an issue of election context is linguistically indexed here by "ensuring credible election", "are preparing", "work in progress", "operational challenge", "CVR" and "PVC distribution". Election preparations in Nigeria is often characterised by complaints from the citizens. This is graphically represented in the expressions, "complained bitterly about the permanent voters card distributions" and "On the furore regarding the PVCs and CVR".

Worthy of note is that, both parties (interviewer and interviewee) utilize context as influence from outside in. The inquiry, "As we approach 2015 elections, how prepared is INEC...?" addressed to the interviewee with reference to Nigeria's general elections is "a clear indication of extrinsic knowledge brought into the conversation" (Odebunmi 2016:18) since we see that the interviewee affiliates to it in his response, "We are preparing and it is work in progress" without asking any question for clarification. It shows that the interlocutors share the common ground knowledge of general elections in terms of community of membership and physical co-presence.

The interviewer in his second turn introduces specific issues of pre-election preparation as he refers to the complaints of some state governors like Lagos "about the permanent voters card distributions". This rides on community of membership and physical

co-presence which the interlocutors share that in Nigeria effective distributions of permanent voters' cards is crucial to election preparation because without a permanent voter card (PVC) an electorate will be disenfranchised. The interviewee affiliates to the interviewer's propositional content and acknowledges initial operational challenges in the take-off of the distribution of PVCs in some Local Government Areas which were later re-scheduled for the distribution.

Another example is cited below:

Example 7

Background: A former Commissioner in Imo State comments on the preparedness of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for the 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

Sun interviewer: What is your evaluation of the level of preparedness of INEC against the backdrop of what looks like lack of confidence in its impartiality?

Interviewee: …. Honestly, whatever image crisis INEC suffers today was self- inflicted. It was avoidable. One finds it disturbing that given what is on ground, some Nigerians still believe that INEC was coerced into shifting the polls. One expected Prof. Attahiru Jega to have owned up that despite security reports, the commission needed more time to put its house in order. If the election had been conducted as scheduled, this country would have witnessed the highest strings of post-election litigations…. How can any person defend a situation where any Nigerian is disenfranchised for no fault of his?…. But for a Nigerian to be denied the opportunity to exercise his or her franchise simply because the electoral body disenabled him ab initio prepares the ground to fault the outcome…. Furthermore, the fact that the numbers of PVCs collection in the war theatres in the North were more than the relatively safe zones again strengthened the suspicion that INEC had things to hide.

(*The Sun,* March 13, 2015:47)

In example 7 above, the participants conjointly construct pre-election preparation for the 2015 general elections in Nigeria through lexical choices such as "level of preparedness of INEC", "shifting the polls", "PVCs collection", "security report", "the commission needed more time", "post-election litigations" and "disenfranchised". The communicative exchange in the interaction above is influenced by the social context of postponement of the 2015 Nigerian general election as a result of preparation challenges. The use of the acronym, INEC, to refer to Independent National Electoral Commission (the electoral body in Nigeria)

is constrained by this social context. The interviewer exploits the cognitive context in, "…what looks like lack of confidence in its impartiality?" to evoke distrust as a result of the poor preparation. This is affiliated to by the interviewee in, "…whatever image crisis INEC suffers today was self- inflicted." This rides on the common ground knowledge between the interactants that INEC is being criticised because of its poor preparation for the general elections. This knowledge is an extrinsic feature that is brought into the conversation.

By and large, the interviewee's interactional contribution centres on the collection of PVCs by eligible registered voters as central to pre-election preparation. He argues that failure of the INEC to effectively distribute the PVCs would mean disenfranchising the affected persons, and this will not guarantee free, fair, credible and acceptable election. This is again based on community of membership and physical co-presence which the interlocutors share that in Nigeria effective distributions of permanent voters' cards is critical to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections

4.1.1.4. Election ethics

Ethics refers to a set of moral principles that govern the conduct of an individual or an activity. In other words, ethics are "rules of behavior based on ideas about what is morally good and bad" (www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethic). In the context of election, ethical issues bother on free, fair and credible elections. Therefore, in this study participants jointly negotiate election irregularities as an ethical issue in the context of election.

4.1.1.4.1. Election irregularities

Election irregularities refer to any fraudulent manipulation of the electoral process which may include vote buying, illegal interference with the electoral process or outright rigging. This study shows that participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media co-construct election irregularities in election ethics as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 8
Background: In this interview, a senatorial candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC) in Benue-South Senatorial District comments on the conduct of the 2015 rerun election in the district.

Punch **interviewer:** What is your assessment of the February 20 rerun in the district?

Interviewee: Although there was a lot of improvement from previous elections that had been held in Benue-South, we cannot completely rule out irregularities and acts of non-compliance with the extant electoral law during the election. And that is why the election is short of being considered as a free and fair contest as there were malpractices and rigging. My assessment of the election is that I defeated David Mark with landslide victory. What made him to have those votes was merely the padding of results.... The election lasted into late hours of the day and that was the period they began to manipulate results as usual by mass thumb printing of ballot papers and stuffing of ballot boxes.

(The Punch, March 6, 2016:57)

In example 8 above, both parties share the knowledge that there had been an election in the senatorial district before. This shared knowledge is implicated in the expression, "the February 20 rerun" election to indicate that the current election was repeated. The interviewer negotiates election ethics with the interviewee with election assessment inquiry. The interviewee co-constructs election ethics with his assessment: "Although there was a lot of improvement from previous elections" there were still elements of "irregularities and acts of non-compliance with the extant electoral law during the election". He also explores the contextual cues of election fraud in his claim, "I defeated David Mark with landslide victory", yet it was David Mark that was declared winner of the election due to, "padding of results". The word, "padding" here is used to lexicalize a form of election irregularities in which a particular candidate's votes earned are fraudulently increased to ensure that he or she wins. The contextual cues of election irregularities or fraud are further given by the interviewee in the alleged voting beyond the regulated time which ultimately led to the manipulation of results through "mass thumb printing of ballot papers and stuffing of ballot boxes".

Let us consider another example.

Example 9:

Background: In the following excerpt, a one-time senator and governorship candidate of PDP in Osun State speaks on the conduct of the 2014 governorship election in the state.

Vanguard **interviewer:** Free and fair election

Interviewee: There were some malpractices admitted by the APC, it shows that the election was not free and fair but was skewed in favour APC. I am not a lawyer, but I believe that if two parties, particularly the respondents agreed to irregularities and infractions, supposedly blaming it on the electoral process, then that process was not free.

(*Vanguard*, February 5, 2015:42)

Election ethics is linguistically negotiated in example 9 above by the interviewer through lexicalization: "free and fair". This prompts the interviewee to orient to contextual cues of election fraud as captured in the lexical items: "malpractices", "skewed", "irregularities" and "infractions". These words generate the inference that there had been election fraud which of course, triggers the interviewer's enquiry that bothers on adherence to election principles.

The interlocutors in the above encounter cognitively share the knowledge that there had been election which results are being challenged in the election tribunal for alleged contravention of the electoral law.

4.1.1.5. Election tribunals

A tribunal is a special court that is granted the official authority to deal with a particular situation. In Nigeria, tribunals play very crucial role in building the nation's democracy, especially, in dealing with litigations and complaints about electoral matters. Election tribunals in this study is characterised by confidence in the judiciary and discontent with judgements as will be discussed presently:

4.1.1.5.1. Confidence in the judiciary

Confidence in the judiciary relates to complete faith and trust in the dispensation of justice by the judiciary. Analysis in this study reveals that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria discursively negotiate their confidence in election tribunals as their last resort. This is clearly demonstrated in the examples below:

Example 10

Background: In this interview, the candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in the Osun State 2014 governorship election expresses his hope in the positive outcome of the Election Petition Tribunal in the state.

Vanguard interviewer: What are your expectations from the Osun State Election Petition Tribunal, which judgement is being awaited?

Interviewee: I believe that with the proceedings at the tribunal, with what I saw, the witnesses, the evidence laid before the tribunal, the conduct of counsels and witnesses, the elections were not free and fair. The All Progressive Congress, APC, also admitted that the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, gave them more votes.

Vanguard interviewer: Free and fair election

Interviewee: There were some malpractices admitted by the APC, it shows that the election was not free and fair but skewed in favour of APC. I am not a lawyer, but I believe that if two parties, particularly the respondents agreed to irregularities and infractions, supposedly blaming it on the process, then that was not free. That shows that the malpractices were huge and warrant[sic] that the tribunal declare the PDP and myself the winner of the elections.

Vanguard interviewer: You raised the issue of irregularities, what were those irregularities?

Interviewee: I do not want to pre-empt the tribunal.

(*Vanguard*, February 5, 2015:42)

In example 10 above, the context of election tribunal is first signaled by the interviewer's enquiry, "What are your expectations from the Osun State Election Petition Tribunal…?" This shows that the interviewee was dissatisfied with the outcome of the election results which did not favour him, thus, he expressed his discontentment by challenging the results at the election tribunal. This litigation is based on the interviewee's belief in the judiciary as the last resort that could be trusted to deliver justice to all. The interviewee jointly constructs election tribunal by orienting to various legal registers such as "proceedings", "witnesses", "evidence", and "counsels". Considering collocation as an aspect of context, we see that in the utterance, "I believe that with the proceedings at the tribunal", the choice of "tribunal" is restricted by the choice of "proceedings". Participants in this example jointly construct "interpreting in talk-in-inter-action" (Arundale 1999) as both co-operate to co-construct their background knowledge of the pending election petition before the Osun State Governorship Election Tribunal. Hence, the interviewer without any further explanation asks, "What are your expectations from the Osun State Election Petition Tribunal?" This question attracts a response that pragmatically indexes the interviewee's belief in the judiciary.

Also, in the second segment of the interview, the interviewee claims that, "There were some malpractices admitted by the APC", which in his belief will make the tribunal to "declare the PDP and myself the winner of the elections." This implies that the judiciary gives justice on the merit of the case, especially based on the evidence presented before it. Finally, the interviewee's response in the third segment of the interview shows his complete trust in the judiciary as he declines to "pre-empt the tribunal" when he is asked to expatiate on the irregularities that were admitted to by the respondents in the suit. His refusal to "pre-empt the tribunal" is solely because he lacks the legal competence to do that, but believes that the tribunal has the competence to clearly define irregularities in this context.

Example 11

Background: In this interview, the interviewee who was recently declared winner of the 2015 governorship election in Abia State by the Appeal Court expresses his optimism that the Supreme Court will uphold the judgement.

Vanguard **interviewer:** What are your expectations from the Supreme Court?

Interviewee: I do not see how the Supreme Court will not uphold the decision of the Court of Appeal. The issues are very clear. If you go by the registered voters, there were about 1.3 million voters in Abia 17 local governments. The PDP knew they were not going to win that election, so all they did was to isolate three local governments that they could use to rig…. I challenged the outcome but the judges at the lower tribunal misunderstood the case and gave judgement in their favour. We did not call people to the streets because we have more people than the PDP, but we went to the Court of Appeal where we were declared victorious. What we would have expected a democrat to do was to exercise his option of going to the Supreme Court rather than calling elders to the street to protest …

(*Vanguard,* January 17, 2016:25)

Election tribunal is pragmatically negotiated in example 11 above by the interviewer through the interrogation, "What are your expectations from the Supreme Court?" The choice of the nominal group, "the Supreme Court" is linguistically significant as it indexes election tribunals in the interaction. Other linguistic items that point to the issue of election tribunals in the interaction are, "challenged", "judges", "case", "judgment", tribunal and "Court of Appeal". The interviewer through his interrogation operates within the range of cognitive context to evoke the fact that the interviewee is expectant of the Supreme Court ruling on his

election petition. This rides on community of membership and physical co-presence which the interlocutors share that there was an election which outcome is challenged at the tribunal. At the level of linguistic context, the verbal group, "uphold the decision" is contextually influenced by the choice of the nominal groups, "the Supreme Court" and "the Court of Appeal".

The interviewee affiliates to the interviewer's propositional content of his "expectation from the Supreme Court" to assert his belief in the judiciary that it will give him justice based on the merit of his petition. This belief is clearly expressed in the expression, "I do not see how the Supreme Court will not uphold the decision of the Court of Appeal. The issues are very clear."

4.1.1.5.2. Discontent with court judgments

Discontent with court judgments is conceived in the context of this study to mean a feeling of dissatisfaction with the outcome of the ruling of election petition tribunals. Participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media express their discontent with some rulings of election tribunals as we will see in the following example:

Example 12

Background: In this interview, a former Minister of Information and the APGA candidate for the 2015 governorship election in Nasarawa State expresses his disappointment at the ruling of the Governorship Election Tribunal in the state.

> *Vanguard* **interviewer:** So how come the tribunal said you did not prove your case?
>
> **Interviewee:** It is shocking that the tribunal, which is supposed to be a neutral empire [sic] between the petitioner and respondents, decided to play the role of legal counsel to the respondents. Where the lawyers of the respondents failed to answer questions, the tribunal provided the answer…. What happened when the tribunal gave its verdict was daylight robbery which should not be the case in a democratic era…. I am highly disappointed by the outcome of the tribunal…
>
> (*Vanguard*, October 4, 2015: 12)

Election tribunal is linguistically negotiated in example 12 above by both participants through the following lexical items: "tribunal", petitioner", "respondents", "legal counsel", "lawyers" and "verdict". All these words are from the larger pool of legal register. The

interviewer explores cognitive context through the shared knowledge of community of membership and physical co-presence that:

    i. there was an election tribunal decision

    ii. the tribunal's decision was not in favour of the interviewee.

This prompts the interviewee to assert his displeasure and dissatisfaction with the outcome of the tribunal.

      The interviewee claims that instead of being an unbiased umpire or adjudicator in the matter, the tribunal became "counsel to the respondents", a situation that is unethical and unprofessional of the legal profession. In his words, "It is shocking that the tribunal, which is supposed to be a neutral empire [sic] between the petitioner and respondents, decided to play the role of legal counsel to the respondents. Where the lawyers of the respondents failed to answer questions, the tribunal provided the answer". He therefore, unequivocally registers his discontent in the following expressions: "What happened when the tribunal gave its verdict was daylight robbery" and "I am highly disappointed by the outcome of the tribunal".

4.1.2. The context of governance

Governance implies the process of policy making and implementation. It could be judged to be good or bad depending on the government's ability to meet the needs of the citizens. In view of this, the context of governance, therefore, relates to the process of policy making and implementation by a particular government. This context manifests four pertinent discourse issues in the sampled data, namely: leadership, performance, corruption and the rule of law. These discourse issues are discussed in turn below:

4.1.2.1. Leadership

A leader is any person who leads and directs other people in an organisation or society. Leadership, therefore, is the ability to initiate, direct and take responsibility for an action. It is, "the art of leading others to deliberately create a result that wouldn't have happened otherwise" (https:// angiepetershughes.wordpress.com). Leadership as an issue is central in the discussion of governance in print media political interviews because the growth and development of every society depends largely on the ability of its leaders to effectively manage both human and material resources of the society for the wellbeing of all. Leadership in this study manifests in the form of competence and tolerance which are used to distinguish good leadership from bad leadership as will be discussed presently.

4.1.2.1.1. Competence

Competence in leadership relates to a leader's ability to positively respond to or influence the wellbeing of the people through good policies and decisions. It is used to describe leadership as being good or bad. This is illustrated in the following examples:

Example 13

Background: In the following excerpt, the interviewee comments on the poor leadership qualities of President Muhammadu Buhari.

Vanguard **interviewer:** How do you rate the Buhari administration one year after?

Interviewee: It is quite obvious that this administration is a complete failure and does not have the capacity to solve any problems [sic]. The unfortunate thing is that the situation in Nigeria is so bad that the electorate is now cursing their luck for electing it. Even though he is incompetent, President Buhari when compared to those that would be coming in 2019, he will be better than them….

(*Vanguard*, May 29, 2016:44)

In example 13 above, the interviewer's construction of leadership is couched in his inquisitorial, "How do you rate the Buhari administration one year after?" This prompts the interviewee to evoke the context of bad leadership through the adjectivals "complete failure", "incompetent" and the clause, "does not have the capacity to solve any problems." These negative adjectives are used to describe incompetency of the present administration in addressing issues of national interest. This marks bad leadership. Both participants in the above interaction share the same knowledge of physical co-presence and community of membership; they both understand that the Buhari administration in question refers to the APC led Federal Government of Nigeria. The respondent explores linguistic context in painting the state of affairs in Nigeria. For example, the "situation in Nigeria" co-textually selects the adjective "bad" to describe the effects of poor leadership in Nigeria.

Example 14

Background: In this interview, a former deputy governor of two former governors in Abia State compares the administrations of his former principals.

> **Vanguard interviewer:** As Governor T. A. Orji's former deputy, can you lead us into knowing more about the administration's legacy projects?
>
> **Interviewee:** As is the case with all legacies, there is a driving ideology behind the legacy projects of the Governor T. A. Orji [sic] administration. First, he has used these legacies to set an agenda for in-coming administrations, something that was lacking under the Orji Uzor Kalu['s] administration. We need to make constant reference to Ochendo's provision of critical infrastructure, provision of security that was not there when Kalu was governor, good governance and sustenance of the physical environment. If you look at the provision made to revamp the health sector, you cannot but applaud the governor. T. A. Orji is governing Abia State very well and is leaving a huge footprint.
>
> (*Vanguard*, Tuesday, October, 2014:28)

In example 14 above, the interactants orient to competence in leadership with the use of nominal groups such as "legacy projects"**,** "provision of critical infrastructure", "provision of security". Also used to highlight competence in leadership is the verbal group, "revamp the health sector" and "is governing Abia State very well".

The *Vanguard* interviewer works within cognitive context to evoke the factual assumption that the interviewee is a former deputy governor, and that he (the interviewee) is aware of Governor T. A. Orji's administration legacy. The knowledge that the interviewee, being a former deputy governor to Governor T. A. Orji has more knowledge about the administration's legacy is shared by both interactants. Consequently, the interviewer in his question, "can you lead us to into knowing more about the administration's legacy projects" constructs leadership competence in governance as he asks the interviewee to highlight the administration's legacy. The interviewee co-constructs and affiliates to leadership competence in his response as he elucidates Governor T. A. Orji's competence as reflected in his ability to initiate and execute programmes such as, "provision of critical infrastructure", "provision of security" and revamping "the health sector" in order to improve the living conditions of the citizens. This makes the interviewee to conclude that, "T. A. Orji is governing Abia State very well and is leaving a huge footprint" to emphasise the governor's competence in leadership.

4.1.2.1.2. Tolerance

Tolerance is conceptualised in this study to mean a quality of good leadership in which a leader willingly accepts criticisms and insults without taking any repressive action against those who criticise or insult him or her. This is enunciated in the example below:

Example 15

Background: In the following excerpt, the interviewee comments on the good leadership qualities of former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan.

Sun **interviewer:** But his critics have always insisted that he lacks the capacity to lead the country. How do you react to this?

Interviewee: No, I disagree with that position…. Goodluck Jonathan is one God-given man, who has the ability to tolerate, he has the calmness as a leader to allow people to express themselves. No President has been insulted and criticised openly as they have done to Goodluck but this man is not vindictive and he has proven to be a democrat. He is doing things steadily to the extent that he has not offended anybody. He has not arrested or put anybody in prison…. They should not take his calmness for granted, he is just being a good leader and that is one good quality of a leader.

(*The Sun*. Tuesday, December 23, 2014:50)

In example 15 above, leadership is constructed through the interviewer's reference to President Jonathan's critics' allegation that "he lacks the capacity to lead". The interviewer goes further to inquire about the interviewee's view on the President's alleged lack of leadership capacity. The interviewee conjointly constructs leadership in the context by disaffiliating and disaligning with the critics as indicated in the expression "No, I disagree with that position". He constructs good leadership for the President in the expression, "Goodluck Jonathan is one God-given man, who has the ability to tolerate, he has the calmness as a leader to allow people to express themselves." This is used by the interviewee to project his positive evaluative stance about the President's good leadership qualities through the use of positive adjectivals.

At the level of the participants' common background knowledge, the interviewee in "this man is not vindictive" and "He has not arrested or put anybody in prison", "assumes that within the range of shared space of the interaction, these references will be interpreted within local shared knowledge" (O'keeffe 2006) to mean that some Nigerian Presidents are characteristically "vindictive" and they usually arrest and incarcerate their critics unlawfully.

From the interaction, we realise that President Goodluck Jonathan "has been insulted and criticised openly", yet he exudes tolerance in his ability "to tolerate" and allow people "to express themselves" freely. His tolerance is further demonstrated in the fact that he "is not vindictive" and he "has not arrested or put anybody in prison".

4.1.2.2. Performance

Performance relates to how well or badly an individual or society fares. In governance, a leader's performance is measured by how well or badly he or she meets the aspirations and expectations of his or her people, among other things, in terms of infrastructural and economic development; and security. In this study, we discuss performance in terms of provision of infrastructure.

4.1.2.2.1. Provision of infrastructure

Infrastructure refers to the basic things or systems that are needed to enhance the living standard of the people. Provision of infrastructure in the context of this study deals with the provision of electricity, roads, schools, hospitals and so on. In the following example, the interactants evoke provision of infrastructure to negotiate performance in the context of governance in print media political interviews.

Example 16

Background: In this interview, a Senator and member of the 2014 National Conference talks on the forthcoming 2015 general election and the transformational agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan.

Vanguard **interviewer:** Is your view on power supply not informed by your stint as Chairman of the Senate Committee on electricity because many people are complaining of poor power supply and crazy bills?

Interviewee: Sincerely, from my observations of the past administrations, President Jonathan has made huge progress in improving on the power sector. Without any contradiction, I travelled to my village in Anambra State recently, I realized there was electricity for the whole two weeks of my stay. In 24 hours we had electricity for up to 17 hours. When I travelled to Asaba, there was power supply for up to 15 hours in a day.

(*Vanguard,* November 8, 2014:47)

In example 16 above, good performance is indexed by the adjectivals, "huge progress" and "improving". The interviewer brings in the extrinsic knowledge of the interviewee's position as the "Chairman of the Senate Committee on electricity" in his inquiry. This is not denied by the interviewee in his response because both parties cognitively share the propositional knowledge that (i) there is a legislative body in Nigeria known as

Senate (ii) the Senate has a committee on electricity (iii) the Senate Committee on electricity has a chairman. From the perspective of linguistic context, the word "progress" is conditioned by the lexical choice of the adjective "huge".

The interviewee through this exchange orients to provision of infrastructure in his claim about the availability of power supply in his village. His reference to having power supply "for up to 17 hours" in a day shows the good performance of President Jonathan in respect of electricity, especially in Nigeria where we hardly have steady power supply.

4.1.2.3. Corruption

Corruption relates to any dishonest and fraudulent behaviour by those in power, especially involving bribery. Corruption has become endemic among most Nigerian leaders, thus, making it an issue in print media political interviews. Participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media explore corruption in terms of looting of public treasury. This can be instantiated with the following examples:

4.1.2.3.1. Looting of public treasury

Looting is the act of stealing something. Looting of pubic treasury in the context of this study relates to the stealing of public funds by public officers for their personal use at the expense of the citizens. In the following examples, the interactants evoke looting of public treasury to discursively negotiate corruption in the context of governance in print media political interviews.

Example 17

Background: In the following excerpt, a former governor of Kaduna State in the Second Republic comments on the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

> *Vanguard* **interviewer:** Is the President on the right track on his anti-corruption fight?
>
> **Interviewee:** It is obvious that this government is targetting select individuals who served in Jonathan's administration. We are all aware that this country was wrecked by the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, and those now in the All Progressive

Congress, APC. We also know that 70% of the leaders in the APC were in the PDP before they jumped ship, and that they participated in bringing down this economy, destroying the name of PDP in the process. If really you are fighting corruption, you must not look at only one of the two sets of politicians. As things stand presently, record shows that only those who served under the PDP administration of former President Jonathan are being targetted in the anti-corruption war. However, corruption has been going on in Nigeria ever since the military seized power in 1966. Government should go back to 1966 to effectively fight this war.

(*Vanguard*, February 28, 2016:23)

In example 17 above, the context of corruption is highlighted through expressions such as "anti-corruption fight", "this country was wrecked" and "they participated in bringing down this economy". The interlocutors in the above excerpt exploit common ground to evoke physical co-presence and community of membership. Through the physical co-presence, the participants are able to establish the fact that (1) there is corruption in the country, (2) there is also a President of the country that is fighting corruption. This shared knowledge of the existence of corruption and a president that is fighting it exemplifies the deployment of extrinsic element (context as influence from outside in). This shared knowledge is further facilitated by the participants' evocation of community of membership as Nigerians who are aware of the devastating toll corruption has taken on Nigeria and the need to fight it, which was the crux of APC's campaign promises. To demonstrate that the participants belong to the same community, the interviewee uses the inclusive pronominal "We" in "We are all aware that this country was wrecked by the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, and those now in the All Progressive Congress, APC. We also know that 70% of the leaders in the APC were in the PDP before they jumped ship…." In these expressions, the interviewee implies that both the interviewer, himself, and to a large extent, the entire citizens share the knowledge that the present members of PDP and majority of the current APC leaders who were former members of PDP all collaborated to perpetrate corruption in the country, hence they should also be brought to book. It is pertinent to note that the choice of the lexical item "wrecked" is used in this context to index massive looting of the public treasury.

The participants also utilise linguistic context to index corruption. The interviewer's use of "anti-corruption" collocates with "fight". The choice of the word "fight" is deliberate because the interviewer recognises the negative effect of corruption which cannot be overcome with ease, except through force. Also, the use of the verbal element "targeting" by the interviewee is co-textually influenced by "anti-corruption war" because in a war there are usually targets.

Example 18

Background: In this excerpt, the National Chairman of the ruling party, APC, speaks on President Buhari's one year in office.

Vanguard **interviewer:** Tell me about the anti-corruption fight of the regime. Are you satisfied with the way your government is going about it? Some persons believe you are being selective in your approach. Are you?

Interviewee: I have read a lot of comments by very well-meaning Nigerians on this corruption fight and, at the end of the day, the President wants simple fact. We were almost rendered prostrate as a nation by the level of corruption that has ruined virtually every institution and the ability of government to take care of the needs of the Nigerian people. It is a massive problem. So when people talk of selectivity, it makes me wonder. You have to start somewhere....

(*Vanguard*, May 29, 2016:23)

In example 18 above, the interviewer explores corruption when he says "Tell me about the anti-corruption fight of the regime." This thrives on the participants' common ground to evoke the physical co-presence of an existing government and the fight against corruption. This shared knowledge of an existing government and anti-corruption war illustrates the deployment of extrinsic element (context as influence from outside in). This knowledge is further enhanced by the participants' invocation of community of membership as Nigerians who understand the level of corruption in the country and the need to fight it, which in the first instance formed an integral part of APC's campaign promises. To indicate that the participants belong to the same community, the interviewee says "We were almost rendered prostrate as a nation by the level of corruption…". The use of the pronominal "we" is inclusive to show that they both share the same experience. The request of the interviewer in "Tell me about the anti-corruption fight of the regime" seeks explanation and justification of President Buhari's and the APC led government's fight against corruption in Nigeria. This is informed by the claim in some quarters that the anti-corruption war is selective against the

opposition, especially members of PDP. Both participants also exploit linguistic context. The interviewer uses "anti-corruption fight", while the interviewee makes reference to "corruption fight". In both instances, the meaning of "fight" is co-textually influenced by "anti-corruption" and "corruption", respectively.

4.1.2.4. The rule of law

The rule of law emphasises supremacy of the law, that is, all arms of government and citizens should be treated equally according to the law of the land. It deals with obedience and respect for the law of the land. This study reveals that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria negotiate compliance with the provisions of the law in relation to the context of governance as will be discussed shortly.

4.1.2.4.1. Compliance

Compliance in this study relates to adherence to the rule of law, especially in relation to court orders. This is revealed in this study as instantiated with the following example:

Example 19

Background: In this excerpt, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) and the Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Anti-Corruption speaks on President Buhari's one year in office.

Vanguard **interviewer:** There is no doubt that President Buhari means well for Nigeria. As someone who believes in the rule of law, people are perturbed about the President's refusal to abide by the rule of law. For instance, how would you feel if a court grants you bail but the government of the day refuses to abide by the decision?

Interviewer: Well I have heard that several times. It is about Dasuki, not so? In the case of Nnamdi Kanu, even the Court of Appeal has refused him bail, his own issue does not arise at all. In the case of Dasuki, what I know is this, there are so many charges against him and it is in connection with the law he has allegedly transgressed, which he has not been granted bail, that he is being held. For instance, if you committed ten offences and you are granted bail for five of the offences, you can still be arrested and detained on the basis of the remaining five. This is the way I understand it.

(*Vanguard*, May 29, 2016:23)

Interactants in example 19 above extract explore obedience to the rule of law through the exploitation of linguistic resources, especially the verbal elements such as "granted bail", "abide by the decision", "arrested and detained". The use of the nominal group, "offences" also indexes the rule of law.

The interviewer works within cognitive context to evoke the factual assumption that the interviewee is a proponent of the rule of law, especially as he is a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN). The knowledge that the interviewee is a SAN is shared by both interactants, hence, the interviewer explores the interviewee's professional interpretation and feelings about the alleged non-compliance to the rule of law by President Buhari in the inquiry, "how would you feel if a court grants you bail but the government of the day refuses to abide by the decision?" The interviewee co-constructs the rule of law in his response, "Well I have heard that several times." This response strengthens the negotiation for the rule of law in governance. The interviewee further explores common ground to evoke the physical co-presence of an existing case of alleged breach of the rule of law. His reference to "It is about Dasuki, not so?" shows that both participants work on community of membership as Nigerians who are aware that the former National Security Adviser, Col. Dasuki Sambo who is facing corruption charges is yet to be released on bail by the government against the ruling of a court of competent jurisdiction. However, he argues that an accused with multiple charges against him or her could be exonerated on some of the charges, yet within the confines of the rule of law still be punished where found culpable of other offences. Pragmatically, the interviewee by this implies that the federal government is right in detaining Dasuki. The interviewee also makes reference to the continued detention of the Director General of Radio Biafra and leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Nnamdi Kanu. In this case, he dismisses it outright that, "even the Court of Appeal has refused him bail, his own issue does not arise at all". Ultimately, the pragmatic implication of this exchange is to explore the micro context of the rule of law.

4.2. Linguistic features in political interviews in Nigerian print media

This section examines the experiential meanings that are expressed by participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media. Transitivity system of the systemic functional grammar is mainly applied in this section to account for the lexico-grammatical choices that are made by the interactants. Four types of transitivity processes have been found to be used in the exchanges, namely: material, mental, existential and verbal processes. These processes are discussed below in relation to their functions and contexts of occurrence.

4.3.1. Material processes in PMPIs

Material processes are jointly utilised by both interviewer and interviewee to project physical and concrete actions in the discourse. In this regard, the interactants present real actions relating to competition, adjudication, declaration, consultation, fraud, construction, and inspection in the sampled interviews. Each of these is examined in turn below:

4.3.1.1. Material process relating to competition

The material process relating to competition describes concrete actions relating to an attempt or struggle by an individual or group of individuals to be more successful than others in a contest. Interactants in political interviews in Nigerian print media use a lot of action verbs to indicate their struggle to be more successful than others in their quest for political power within the context of election. The excerpt below illustrates this:

Example 20

Background: In this interview, the candidate of the All Progressive Congress speaks on the conduct of the rerun election in Benue-South Senatorial District.

The Punch **interviewer:** How did you get the party's ticket to contest the Benue-South Senatorial District election?

Interviewee: Like every other person, I contested for it since I was qualified by all standards. By age and educational standard, I was qualified. I am also a member of a political party. I purchased the intent form and I went into the primary and emerged as the candidate of the APC for the senatorial district.

(*The Punch*, March 6, 2016:57)

In example 20, both participants utilise resources from the material process of transitivity system to index competition in the context of election. The material process relating to competition in the excerpt above is picked out by the material process verbs such as "get…", "contest", "purchased", and "emerged" which show the interactant's concrete actions of obtaining or buying the party's nomination form, competing with other aspirants, and then defeating them to become the party's Senatorial candidate. The interviewer's enquiry "How did you get the party's ticket to contest…?", specifically draws our attention to the material process verbs, "get" and "contest", which imply that the interviewee was engaged in a struggle or process of competition to outwit others in order to be selected as the Senatorial flag bearer of his party, the APC.

The material process verbs in the interviewee's segment also foreground competition. For example, the expression, "I contested" picks out the competing action taken by the interviewee. Also, "I went into the primary and emerged as the candidate of the APC for the senatorial district" is used to indicate that the interviewee did not just get the party's ticket on a platter of gold, but through conscious and deliberate competitive involvement that ultimately led to his success, which is represented by the material process verb, "emerged". The choice of the actor, "you" and "I" by the interviewer and the interviewee respectively refer to the APC candidate for Benue-South Senatorial District as an agent of the process of competition.

4.3.1.2. Material process relating to adjudication

This type of material process signals concrete actions that relate to passing judgements or making decision over a dispute between individuals or group of individuals. It is used to index the legal resolution of conflicts. Interactants in the selected political interviews in Nigerian print media express their experiential meaning by using verbs of concrete actions of delivering judgements or passing verdicts on litigations that emanate from election petitions. The material process relating to adjudication which is predominant in election tribunals within the context of election ensures a change in the socio-political status of the affected persons as we will see in the following example:

Example 21

Background: In this interview, a chieftain of APGA bares his mind on his appeal against the judgement that removed him as the party's national Chairman.

The Sun **interviewer:** Your appeal challenging the judgement of the Federal High Court, Abuja, which had removed you and your entire leadership of APGA from office, has been slated for hearing on April 29, why are you on appeal and what are the major issues for determination?

Interviewee: On January 15, 2014, Justice Abdulkadir Kafarati of the Federal High Court delivered a judgement sacking my leadership of APGA, and made an order that Maxi Okwu and his group are the authentic leaders of the party.... I went to the Court of Appeal because I was the one that was sued. My colleagues were not sued. But in that matter, he sacked the entire leadership of APGA. I took the matter on appeal to the Court of Appeal, Enugu Division, where I raised the issue of jurisdiction. Two, I raised the issue that APGA was not a

party in the suit. Three, I challenged all the decisions he made in that judgement. When I filed the appeal, I also filed a stay of execution of that judgement…

(*Daily Sun*, April 28, 2014: 48)

Example 21 above shows a preponderance of material process of adjudication. With this process, many actions of legal decisions are highlighted by the participants in the discourse. The interviewer for instance, describes the removal of the interviewee and the entire APGA leadership from office in "…had removed…" and the interviewee's action, "appeal challenging the judgement." The interviewee's decision to seek redress from the appellant court further projects the fact that the court has the official right to adjudicate over matters in order to resolve conflicts.

The material processes of adjudication in the interviewee's segment of the encounter are signaled by verbs such as "delivered", "sacking", "made an order", "sued", "filed", among others. The verbs, "delivered", "sacking", and "made an order", which go with the Actor, Justice Abdulkadir Kafarati are used to emphasise the power of adjudication.

Justice Abdulkadir Kafarati's official decision to sack the interviewee and other members of his executive triggered the interviewee to seek redress in the Appeal Court, thus, undertaking several material processes which are realised through the verbs, "took", "raised", "challenged" and "filed…." These foreground the fact that the matter could still be adjudicated upon by a higher court. In the expression, "I was sued" the active agent responsible for the material process, "sued" is not identified. Ultimately, the material processes in this example reveal a lot of information about the legal processes and the process of adjudication.

4.3.1.3. Material process relating to declaration and consultation

A declaration in the context of this work is an official or public statement made by an individual or group of individuals about a plan. And consultation on the other hand entails meeting with someone with a viewing to discussing (a) matter(s) and making an informed decision on the matter(s). Politicians make public statements, and consult other people about their political ambitions. Consequently, the data reveal some material processes that index declaration and consultation, especially in interactions that relate to the issue of leadership ambition within the context of election. Let us examine the following example:

Example 22

Background: In this interview, a governorship aspirant in Delta State talks about his desire to serve as the governor of the state.

The Sun **interviewer:**

> **Interviewee:** Why I am in 2015 governorship race. It is the passion for service. As you are aware, I was one of those, apart from Obielum that started our quest for aspiration as the next governor of Delta State to take over from James Ibori. Fortunately and unfortunately, Emmanuel won and his tenure would expire in 2015. After due consultation with my friends and associates, I decided to declare and offer myself as also one of the candidates or aspirants or whatever nomenclature you think for the position of the governor of Delta State. Right now, as you are aware, INEC has not lifted the ban on politics, so what we are doing now is consultation and I have been meeting with various stakeholders and opinion leaders…
>
> (*The Sun*, September 20, 2014: 67)

Example 22 above indicates different kinds of actions relating to declaration and consultation. The Actor "I" which refers to the interviewee undertakes a concrete action relating to the declaration of his political intention to contest "for the position of the governor of Delta State." The material process relating to declaration is signified by the verbs "decided", "to declare" and "offer myself". These verbs clearly indicate the interviewee's concrete action of public declaration of his leadership ambition. The interviewee, that is, the Actor also embarks on consultations with some political leaders, hence, he utilises the material process "have been meeting…." In politics, politicians meet to consult with those they believe could help them to achieve their political ambitions, hence the interviewee undertakes the physical action of "meeting" with some political and opinion leaders to inform them of his political ambition and to seek their endorsement of his ambition. In this case, the active agent consults with "various stakeholders and opinion leaders" who would help him to realise his governorship ambition.

4.3.1.4. Material process relating to fraud

Material process relating to fraud covers the concrete actions of dishonesty. In this study, the material process relating to fraud portrays the fraudulent nature of Nigerian politicians and public office holders as indicated in mass rigging of elections, and diversion of public funds

or property to personal use as it was obviously demonstrated in the discussion of election ethics and corruption in the context of election and the context of governance respectively. This is exemplified in the excerpts below:

Example 23

Background: An APC chieftain in Anambra State examines the 2015 general election.

The Sun **interviewer:** Let's go back to the elections. The APC didn't do very well in the South-East despite parading well known political figures. What transpired in that election?

Interviewee: Well, what happened was what we call daylight rigging. The elections in the South-East I can tell you were not a true reflection of the will of the people.... Take for example in my home state, Anambra, the PDP used the military and other security agencies to rig the polls; they deployed thugs armed to the teeth to snatch ballot boxes and beat those who challenged them... they then manipulated the election figures, paid huge bribes to officials who shamelessly compromised their offices and then went on to announce results that were fake.... So it wasn't a matter of the APC doing poorly in the South-East, it was rather the unfair manipulation of the electoral process which was shamelessly skewed to favour the PDP.

(*The Sun*, July 5, 2015:64)

In example 23 above, the interviewee deploys a preponderance of material process verbs such as "rigging", "snatch", "compromised", "manipulated" and so on to foreground the fraudulent acts of PDP members. The material processes in the example reveal the dishonest and dubious nature of Nigerian politicians who win elections through undemocratic means that include rigging, bribing of the electoral officials, and outright change of the election figures. Also foregrounded in the excerpt is the use of violence to perpetuate election fraud. This is clearly expressed in the expression "they deployed thugs armed to the teeth to snatch ballot boxes and beat those who challenged them". The two material processes: "deployed" and "snatch" in the expression reveal information about the use of violence in election, which of course is contrary to the Nigerian Electoral Act, and any other modern democracy. A consideration of another example will be instructive here.

Example 24

Background: In this interview, the Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Anti-corruption examines the administration of President Muhamamadu Buhari.

Vanguard interviewer: What has changed in Nigeria under the Buhari administration?

Interviewee: A lot has changed, it is a totally new world. Now you have a government with integrity trying to provide selfless service rather than serving itself as it used to be. The government is trying to salvage this country which was on its way to a complete crash. The government is recovering money that was stolen, it is putting a public conduct that you must serve with integrity and honour and that the greatest pride you get being in government is that you have the privilege to serve, and not the privilege to be a locust that will destroy all our resources for personal gain.... You have all sorts of criminally-minded people, who have run down this economy by collecting our common patrimony for themselves, being brought to book and our money being returned.

(*Vanguard*, May 29, 2016:43)

The material processes in example 24 above are used to index financial fraud or crime. They are picked out by the following verbs: "was stolen", "run down", and "collecting…". In the clause "The government is recovering money that was stolen", the fraudulent action that is represented by the material process, "was stolen" is relayed without an actor. However, in the expression "You have all sorts of criminally-minded people, who have run down this economy by collecting our common patrimony for themselves" where the material process of financial fraud is tracked by the verbs "run down" and "collecting", the Actor is simply given in a categorised form as "criminally-minded people".

4.3.1.5. Material process relating to construction

Construction refers to the building or making something. Interactants in political interviews in Nigerian print media use the material process relating to construction to discursively discuss performance of a particular political leader in terms of provision of infrastructures like schools, electricity, hospitals, roads, railways, et cetera in the context of governance. This is obviously utilised in the following example to foreground the achievements of an administration in terms of infrastructural development:

Example 25

Background: A governor in one of the States in the North in this interview with a *Vanguard* correspondent speaks on the performance of his predecessor in governance.

Vanguard interviewer: The former administration claimed it invested heavily in education?

Interviewee: Yes, they constructed ring roads around the town. We are not investigating how it was constructed. They invested in the Government House which they said gulped over N10b. The first contract, according to them, was about N8. Something billion, and it was reviewed before it was upped to over N10b. We didn't manufacture it, the records are from the previous government. They made some roads, all of them, without exception, have broken down in less than two years…

(*Vanguard*, January 17, 2016:22)

This excerpt lucidly illustrates the deployment of material process relating to construction. This material process is picked out by the verbs "constructed", "made" and "invested". The expression "they constructed ring roads around the town" is used to specify in concrete terms what the previous administration built. In another clause "They made some roads" the material process of construction is signaled by the verb "made" which denotes an act of building. The Actor of these material processes is represented by the pronominal "they" which refers to members of the previous administration.

4.3.1.6. Material process relating to inspection

Inspection entails a careful check and examination of something in order to know more about it and to determine whether it is good or not. Material process relating to inspection in this study relates to participants' exploration of official visits to a place for fact finding and assessment of a situation or thing, especially the inspection of infrastructure. This material process as will be illustrated in the following example is used within the context of governance.

Example 26

Background: A sitting governor in one of the States in the North response to question on performance in governance.

ThisDay interviewer: What have you been able to achieve in your focal areas, because, you mentioned education for instance?

Interviewee: For instance, we immediately set up an education committee even before election and the education committee had a responsibility of looking at the foundational education, that is visiting all the primary schools and we have an infrastructural committee that followed them to all the schools they visited and they visited 22,272 primary schools, public primary schools across the

> state and also visited all the over 387 junior secondary schools in the state.
> They gave us condition report of the schools, that is 70 percent of the classes
> at the primary level were virtually no longer what you can call classes…
>
> (*ThisDay*, February 28, 2016:80)

The experiential meaning in example 26 above is largely expressed through the material process relating to inspection which is indicated by the verb, "visit". With the material process "they visited…", the interviewee reveals the visitation of the Education Committee and the Infrastructural Committee to primary schools with a view to finding out the true state of the schools. Such inspection enables the government to plan appropriately for the welfare of the citizens since it ensures on the spot assessment of the people's need. This material process verb, "visit" is central to the administration, hence, it is repeated four times in different realisations. The Actor, "they" refers to members of the two Committees who are conscious being that undertook the concrete action of visiting primary schools in the state for inspection of facilities in order to take necessary actions about the infrastructural development of the affected schools.

4.3.2. Mental processes in PMPIs

The mental processes are used to encode meanings of thinking, perception and feelings in the sampled print media political interviews. In other words, mental processes in this study are used to account for the psychological and emotional consciousness of participants with respect to how they think, perceive, feel, or what they know through the mental process verbs of cognition, perception and affection. They are deployed by participants in the data to encode their "mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them" (Matu and Lubbe, 2007:411). In this regard, the interactants present experience of consciousness relating to knowledge, contemplation, sight, hearing, and conviction. These experiences are developed separately below with some illustrations:

4.3.2.1. Mental process relating to knowledge

This type of mental process is used to encode experience of awareness or consciousness of information and understanding based on one's learning and experience. Interactants in political interviews in Nigerian print media utilise the mental process relating to knowledge in the context of election and the context of governance usually through the use of the cognitive verb "know" as seen in the example below:

Example 27

Background: In this interview, a stalwart of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Osun State expresses her optimism that President Goodluck Jonathan will win the 2015 Presidential election in the South-West

Thisday **Interviewer:** You are one of PDP [sic] chieftains almost permanently on the road, campaigning for Mr. President's re-election. What are you asking Nigerians and particularly, South-West to buy in him?

Interviewee: As a seasoned lawyer and civil servant, I know a government that is doing well, and one that is just there for personal interest. The Goodluck Jonathan and Sambo government is there to better the lots of Nigeria with the various transformation agenda and programmes we are witnessing [Pr: mental] by the day. From a woman [sic] angle and a lawyer, the 35% women affirmation action is worth the women-folk rolling out their drums and give maximum support to Mr President considering the strategic appointments given to women such as Finance, Defence, FCDA, Environment, Housing and Urban Development…

(*Thisday* March 15, 2015:84)

In example 27 above, the interviewee uses mental processes to encode the meaning of knowing, and to justify her campaign for President Jonathan. The process is largely signaled by the cognitive verb "know" and the verb of perception "witness". In the clause "I know a government that is doing well…", the interviewee, represented by the personal pronoun "I" is activated as the Senser, while the verb "know" is the mental process which shows her awareness, and "a government that is doing well" is the phenomenon. The interviewee attempts to justify the fact that her knowledge is based on her professional training and experience as expressed in "As a seasoned lawyer and civil servant".

Another instance of the deployment of the mental process is found in the clause "the various transformation agenda and programmes we are witnessing", where the interviewee provides information on President Jonathan's good performance. In the clause, "we", that is, the Nigerian citizens are activated as the Senser, while the verb of perception, "witnessing" is the mental process; and "The various transformation agenda and programmes" is activated as the phenomenon.

4.3.2.2. Mental process relating to contemplation

The mental process relating to contemplation offers information on participants' psychological consciousness with respect to thinking about a future course of action. This category of mental process is found both in the context of election and the context of governance. It is usually picked out by cognitive verbs of "think", "consider", and so on. We instantiate this with the following example:

Example 28

Background: A former Commissioner in Lagos State fields questions on his ambition to represent Lagos Central Senatorial District in the Senate.

Sun **interviewer:** What informed your decision to continue in politics?

Interviewee: I knew that I would have to continue in politics and I thought of a strong party to join and decided to join the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). In 2010, I made up my mind to contest for an election, but rather than go for the governorship again, I decided to limit my intention to my area of strength and that is the Lagos Central Senatorial District…. I started my political career in Apapa, I lived in Surulere and I do business in Eti-Osa everyday and I have a good reach there. I have gone through my leadership training as a member of the Junior Chambers International, and as a member of this chamber, we are taught to do our best in any competition.

(*The Sun*, October 23, 2014: 34)

Example 28 above is laden with clauses of mental processes relating to different things such as awareness as reflected in the verb "knew". However, our concentration here is on the clause that expresses the mental process relating to contemplation. This is projected in the clause "I thought of a strong party to join". The mental process which is signified by the cognitive verb "thought" reveals the psychological engagement of the interviewee, that is, the Senser "I" about the Phenomenon "a strong party to join" (Phenomenon). This process is very important in view of the fact that politics requires a lot of thinking and calculations. It is also important because in Nigeria, where independent candidacy is not allowed, every politician considers the viability of a political party very seriously before joining it. Consequently, the interviewee had to be engaged in this mental process that relates to contemplation, in this instance, within the context of election. This was to enable him to make a right decision on a viable political party to contest on in order to realise his leadership ambition of becoming a Senator to represent Lagos Central Senatorial District in the Senate.

4.3.2.3. Mental process relating to sight

The mental process relating to sight is used by interactants in this study to communicate their experiential meaning in relation to their ability to see, notice or observe something in the context of election and the context of governance. It is revealed in the data to manifest in form of some verbs of perception such as, "see" and "observe". The following example will be instructive:

Example 29

Background: In this interview, a Governorship aspirant under the platform of APC in Ondo State talks of his agenda, and why he is the best person for the position.

Vanguard interviewer: The theme of your campaign is 'less politics, more governance.' How did you arrive at this and what do you mean exactly?

Interviewee: As you rightly observed, that is the theme of my campaign. Less politics, more governance. The reason we get into governance is because of the electorate: to provide services to the people, security, social services and employment and so on. But we see that politics is given more time than governance. At a time government should busy itself with governance all you hear of is political scheming, re-alignments, camping and decamping, etc. The amount of time that ought to be given to governance, relative to what it should be, is not so.

(*Vanguard,* February 21, 2016:31)

Two clauses expressing the mental process relating to sight are used in example 29 above. The interviewee's evaluative stance of the interviewer's observation of his campaign theme is lexicalised through the mental process relating to sight in the clause "as you rightly observed". In this expression, the interviewee relays the interviewer's, that is, "you" (Senser) act of noticing the theme of his campaign. The mental process relating to sight in this clause is highlighted by the verb, "observed". Also, the interviewee encodes meaning of sight in the clause, "we see that politics is given more time than governance" to lexicalise his evidence that governance has not been given the needed attention. The Senser "we", that is, the citizens are presented as active participants that are engaged in a conscious mental process of seeing "that politics is given more time than governance". The interviewee's choice of the plural personal pronoun "we" is inclusive.

4.3.2.4. Mental process relating to conviction

This mental process is used to give information and explanation on a person's belief about a particular thing or situation. In this study, the mental process relating to conviction is used by interactants in the context of election and the context of governance to index their belief and faith in something. This can be seen in the example below:

Example 30

Background: A winner of the Abia State Governorship Election Appeal Court judgement expresses hope that the Supreme Court would uphold his victory.

Vanguard **interviewer:** What do you make of the claim faulting the composition of the Appeal Court panel that heard your appeal?

Interviewee: I saw a petition they wrote. That petition came 24 hours before the composition of the panel. Frankly, I do not know how panels are set up. I understand it is the President of the Court of Appeal, who set[sic] up panels. The reality is that the Court of Appeal is the Court of Appeal. If you followed a case that Governor Nyesom Wike filed that went up to the Supreme Court, I believe when the case was decided, the Supreme Court said the Court of Appeal is the Court of Appeal regardless of where you sit. If they decided to sit in Abuja or anywhere, that is their prerogative. PDP, unfortunately, is not in a position to determine the membership of the panel, neither was I, if they want us to start talking about the things we have heard, we can start doing that, but we don't have the proof. I know that the Chairman of the panel does not come from Lagos except if they just transferred her from [sic] Lagos.

(*Vanguard*, January 17, 2016: 25)

In example 30 above, the clause, "I believe when the case was decided, the Supreme Court said the Court of Appeal is the Court of Appeal regardless of where you sit", illustrates the semantic state of mapping a clause onto the mental process relating to conviction in the context of election tribunal. The interviewee, that is, the Senser, "I" reveals his psychological state of conviction about the decision of the Supreme Court with regards to where an Appeal Court sits. This mental process relating to conviction is indexed by the cognitive verb, "believe".

4.3.2.5. Mental process relating to hearing

This mental process discloses the information that has been heard. It is realised by participants in this study in the context of election and the context of governance through the lexical item, "hear" and its different manifestations. An example is provided below:

Example 31

Background: In this excerpt, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) and the Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Anti-Corruption speaks on President Buhari's one year in office.

Vanguard **interviewer:** There is no doubt that President Buhari means well for Nigeria. As someone who believes in the rule of law, people are perturbed about the President's refusal to abide by the rule of law [Phenomenon]. For instance, how would you feel if a court grants you bail but the government of the day refuses to abide by the decision?

Interviewee: Well I have heard that several times. It is about Dasuki, not so? In the case of Nnamdi Kanu, even the Court of Appeal has refused him bail, his own issue does not arise at all. In the case of Dasuki, what I know is this, there are so many charges against him and it is in connection with the law he has allegedly transgressed, which he has not been granted bail, that he is being held. For instance, if you committed ten offences and you are granted bail for five of the offences, you can still be arrested and detained on the basis of the remaining five. This is the way I understand it.

(*Vanguard,* May 29, 2016:23)

In example 31, the interviewer uses the verb of affection to negotiate the people's worries about the government's breach of the rule of law in the clause "people are perturbed about the President's refusal to abide by the rule of law." Here, "people" is the Senser, "are perturbed" is the mental process, and "about the President's refusal to abide by the rule of law" is the phenomenon. The interviewee's propositional meaning encoded in the clause "well I have heard that several times" is an exploration of the mental process relating to hearing to show his perception of the alleged non-compliance with the rule of law by the government. In this instance, "I" is the Senser; "have heard" is the mental process; while "that several times" is the phenomenon.

4.3.3. Existential processes in PMPIs

Existential process captures the existence or occurrence of something. It is used to indicate the existence of somebody or something. Existential process is used by interactants in political interviews in Nigerian print media to provide information on the existence of fraud, infrastructure and good governance in the context of election and the context of governance. These are discussed in turn below:

4.3.3.1. Existential process relating to fraud

This type of existential process is used to show the existence of fraudulent acts in the society. This study reveals that participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media use existential process relating to fraud to expose irregularities in the context of election and financial impropriety in governance. The following example shows the exploration of existential process relating to electoral fraud in Nigeria:

Example 32

Background: A former governorship candidate in Osun State comments on the integrity of the election and his expectations of the outcome of the election tribunal.

Vanguard **interviewer:** Free and fair election.

Interviewee: There were some malpractices admitted by the APC, it shows that the election was not free and fair but was skewed in favour of APC. I am not a lawyer, but I believe that if two parties, particularly the respondents agreed to irregularities and infractions, supposedly blaming it on the electoral process, then that process was not free. That shows that the malpractices were huge and warrant that the tribunal declare [sic] the PDP and myself the winner of the election.

(*Vanguard*, February 5, 2015: 42)

Example 32 above illustrates the use of existential process by the interviewee to substantiate his claim of election irregularities. In the clause, "There were [Pr: existential] some malpractices [Existent] admitted by the APC", the interviewee through this process intends to prove to the interviewer and the reading audience that he was robbed of his election victory as a result of the existence of election malpractices in the state. This, therefore, explains why he challenges the election results at the Osun State Election Tribunal with a view to getting justice.

4.3.3.2. Existential process relating to infrastructure

Existential process relating to infrastructure is used to provide information on the existence of basic social amenities and structures that enhance good living conditions of the citizens. This form of existential process is found to be used by participants in their discussion of performance within the context of governance to comment on the existence of roads, electricity, schools, hospitals, and other kinds of infrastructure. The example below illustrates this:

Example 33

Background: A former governor of Ekiti State speaks on his achievement in office in this interview.

Sun interviewer: Are all the federal roads fixed now?

Interviewee: Virtually all the federal roads that we have in Ekiti have been fixed. There are some that are still maintained on a continuous basis by FERMA …

(The Sun, February 13, 2014: 34)

Example 33 above shows the use of existential process relating to infrastructure by the interviewee to support his assertion that almost all the roads in Ekiti State have been fixed and those yet to be completely fixed are receiving the needed attention. The interviewee posits that the maintenance of roads in Ekiti is on-going in the clause, "There are [Pr: existential] some that are still maintained [Existent] on a continuous basis by FERMA". The interviewee through this process intends to prove to the interviewer and the reading audience that he has performed well in terms of infrastructural development of the state, hence, his bid for a second term in office to continue his good work for the people.

4.3.3.3. Existential process relating to good governance

This type of existential process reveals the existence of good governance that ensures the security and wellbeing of the citizens. Participants in this study express their experiential meaning that index the existence of good governance in the context of governance. This is instantiated in the following example:

Example 34

Background: A former Speaker of the House of Representatives in 2003 speaks on some national issues.

Vanguard interviewer: What would you say the Buhari government has done differently from the previous government?

Interviewee: I think from what is happening today, there is a greater commitment by the Buhari administration to tackle insurgency. Thanks to that commitment, a great deal has been achieved. In other areas, time must be given to the administration to begin concrete undertakings before any value judgement can be made. In the realm of rhetoric, of course there have been some achievements. But those achievements need to be concretized. For example, there has been an improvement in power supply ….

(*Vanguard*, January 3, 2016: 11)

The interviewee in example 34 above deploys the existential process relating to good governance to positively evaluate the Buhari government. This becomes necessary because governance depends largely on the existence and happenings of certain things that would benefit the people. He uses the clause, "there is [Pr: existential] a greater commitment [Existent]" to represent the existence of concerted effort by the Buhari government "to tackle insurgency" which threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria. This, however, implies that the previous administration was less committed to the fight against insurgency. Assessing the Buhari government further, the interviewee posits that, "there have been [Pr: existential] some achievements [Existent]" to indicate the existence of some achievements. In yet another instance of existential process, the interviewee gives an example of an existing achievement of the Buhari led administration in the clause, "there has been [Pr: existential] an improvement in power supply [Existent]". All these are used to reveal the existential value of good governance.

4.3.4. Verbal processes in PMPIs

Verbal process in this study captures the verbalisation, that is, saying of something that is meaningful. Participants in print media political interviews engage in verbal actions, that is, saying things with a view to winning support; defending their stance or explaining an issue in the context of election and the context of governance. This is exemplified in the examples below:

Example 35

Background: In this interview, a female member of the Lagos State House of Assembly explains why she wants to be the first female Speaker in the State.

> **Sun interviewer:** There are five or six of you in the race at the moment, and I think you are the only woman. What is your cutting edge?
>
> **Interviewee:** People always say what a man can do, a woman can do better. But I always say that what a woman cannot do, cannot be done. I feel that in terms of experience, I have gained a lot of that over the years. I was the Deputy Chief Whip in 2003 when I first came into the House. After that, I became Deputy Speaker. Those are two principal offices compared to my fellow lawmakers also aspiring to become the Speaker…
>
> (*The Sun*, May 2, 2015: 62)

Example 35 above shows that the interviewee uses verbal process to express her verbal action of saying. This process is utilised in two clauses above: 1) "People [Sayer] always say [Pr: verbal] what a man can do, a woman can do better. 2) But I [Sayer] always say [Pr: verbal] that what a woman cannot do, cannot be done". These clauses illustrate that in political interviews, politicians assert their views and ideologies through the action of saying. In this instance, the interviewee, that is, the Sayer expresses her feminist ideology that places the woman as supreme, hence, whatever that cannot be done by a woman cannot be done at all. Let us look at another example again.

Example 36

Background: A former Presidential candidate of the defunct All Peoples Party (APP) talks about his alleged involvement in financial fraud.

> **Vanguard interviewer:** What's your involvement in the $2.1 billion arms money from Dasuki?
>
> **Interviewee:** I want to say with all emphasis that I never took even one naira from Dasuki. Beyond that, I want to assert that I never had any relationship with Dasuki. I knew Dasuki way back in 1986 – 87, when he was ADC to General Babangida and I was Secretary to the Federal Government. Since he left that government around 1987, I had no contact or dealing with him; absolutely none…
>
> (*Vanguard*, January 24, 2016: 22)

The example above illustrates the use of verbal process by the interviewee, that is, the Sayer to deny his involvement in the corruption allegation against the former National Security Adviser, Col. Dasuki Sambo. In the clause, "I [Sayer] want to say [Pr: verbal] with all emphasis that I [Sayer] never took even one naira from Dasuki [Verbiage]" the

interviewee emphatically denies his involvement in the corruption allegation. He verbalizes his denial through the verb, "want to say" that, he "never took even one naira from Dasuki [Verbiage]".

The verbal process is also realised through the verbalization of the verb, "assert" in the clause, "I [Sayer] want to assert [Pr: verbal] that I [Sayer] never had any relationship with Dasuki [Verbiage]". Through this clause, the interviewee stresses his denial of involvement in corrupt practices.

4.3. Concluding remarks

With insights drawn primarily from the theoretical tools of context, common ground, face constituting theory and transitivity system, this chapter has examined the discourse of print media political interviews in respect of contexts and linguistic features. Two main discursive contexts, namely: election and governance contexts characterised by nine discourse issues, namely: political campaigns, leadership ambition, election preparation, election ethics, election tribunal, leadership, performance, corruption, and the rule of law have been observed in the discourse. The negotiation of these contexts thrives on the interactants' joint action and shared knowledge to enhance the interpretation of the discourse

We have also demonstrated in this chapter that the lexico-grammatical contents of the selected interviews were largely sourced from material, mental, existential and verbal processes of the transitivity system to encode the meanings of concrete actions, thinking, feeling or perception; existence, and saying. The summary of this chapter's findings can be seen in the tables below:

Table 4.1: Context of Election, Discourse Issues and Nature of the Issues

Context	Discourse issue	Nature of the discourse issue	Linguistic element	Examples
Election	Political campaigns	Promises Recommendations Casting aspersions on opponents	Verbal	Campaigning for, give maximum support to (Example 1)
	Leadership ambition	Willingness to take responsibilities Willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people	Verbal	Vying for, to continually seek higher responsibilities; to run for (Examples 3 and 4)
	Election preparations	Pre-election preparation	Verbal Nominal	Ensuring credible election, are preparing Work in progress, operational challenge, CVR and PVC distribution (Example 6)
	Election ethics	Election irregularities	Verbal Nominal	Padding of results, mass thumb printing; skewed Irregularities and non-compliance with the extant electoral law…; malpractices, infractions (Examples 8 and 9)
	Election tribunals	Belief in the judiciary Discontent with judgements	Nominal	Proceedings, witnesses, evidence, counsels (Example 10)

Table 4.2: Context of Governance, Discourse Issues and Nature of the Issues

Context	Discourse issue	Nature of the issue	Linguistic element	Examples
Governance	Leadership	Competence Tolerance	Verbal Adjectival Verbal	Governing Abia State very well (Example 14) complete failure, incompetent (Example 13) Has the ability to tolerate, allow people to express

		Adjectival	themselves, has been insulted and criticised openly (Example 15) God-given, calmness, not vindictive (Example 15)
Performance	Provision of infrastructure	Verbal	Has made huge progress in improving on the power sector (Example16)
Corruption	Looting	Nominal	Anti-corruption fight, this country was wrecked (Example 17); we were almost rendered prostrate as a nation, corruption that has ruined virtually every institution (Example 18)
		Verbal	Bringing down this economy (Example 17)
The rule of law	Compliance	Verbal	Has not been granted bail, refusal to abide by the decision, arrested and detained (Example 19)

Table 4.3: Linguistic Features in Political Interviews in Nigerian Print Media

S/N	Transitivity process	Activity	Examples
1	Material process	Competition	"contested", "get", "emerged" (Example 20)
		Adjudication	"appeal", "delivered", "made an order", "sacking", "sued" (Example 21)
		Declaration and consultation	"decided", "to declare", "offer myself", have been meeting…" (Example 22)
		Fraud	"rigging", "snatch", "compromised", "manipulated" (Example 23); "was stolen" (Example 24)
		Construction	"constructed", "made" (Example 25)
		Inspection	"visit" (Example 26)
2	Mental process	knowledge	"know", "witness" (Example 27)
		Contemplation	"thought" (Example 28)
		Sight	"observed", 'see" (Example 29)
		Conviction	"believe" (Example 30)
		Hearing	"heard" (Example 31)
3	Existential process	Fraud	"there were some malpractices" (Example 32)
		Infrastructure	"there are some that are still maintained on continuous basis by FERMA" (Example 33)
		Good governance	"there is greater commitment…", "there have been some achievements", "there has been an improvement in power supply" (Example 34)
4	Verbal process	Stating	"people always say" (Example 35); "I want to assert…" (Example 36)

Table 4.4: Highlights of Findings on Context and Linguistic Features in Political Interviews in Nigerian Print Media

S/N	Context	Issues	Nature of the Issue	Linguistic Features			
				Pr: material	Pr: mental	Pr: existence	Pr: verbal
1	Election	Political campaigns Leadership ambition Election preparations Election ethics Election tribunals	Promises Recommendation Casting of aspersions on opponents Willingness to take responsibilities Willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people Pre-election preparations Election irregularities Belief in the judiciary Discontent with judgements	Competition Declaration/ consultation	knowledge Contemplation Conviction Sight Hearing	Fraud	Stating
2	Governance	Leadership Performance Corruption The rule of law	Competence Tolerance Provision of infrastructure Looting Compliance	Construction Inspection	knowledge Contemplation Conviction Sight Hearing	Fraud Infrastructure Good governance	Stating

CHAPTER FIVE
IDEOLOGY IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

5.0.   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the ideological orientations of participants in the sampled print media political interviews in Nigeria. Seven ideologies were found to be constructed by participants in the sampled data. The seven ideologies found to be constructed are: the nationalist, sectionalist, supremacist, positivist, defeatist, oppositionist, and constitutionalist ideology. These ideologies are projected through van Dijk's detailed ideological structures together with material, mental, existential and verbal processes of transitivity system.

5.1.   Sectionalist ideology

Sectionalism relates to a person's loyalty to a particular group or region within a larger nation. It also entails group or regional allegiance in which an individual's socio-economic and political "interests are best guaranteed over and above loyalty to the nation state" (Medubi, 2002:1). Sectionalist ideology, therefore, is contextualised in this study within the scope of group or regional alignments of the participants in the print media political interviews, especially with respect to ethnicity, culture, and the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. This ideology characterises interactions in PMPIs basically because the Nigerian political system is an emerging one fraught with, among other challenges, ethnic and regional loyalty, especially in terms of voting, political appointments and the provision of infrastructure.

This ideology is negotiated in both election and governance contexts, and it is largely expressed linguistically through material, mental and verbal processes together with the discursive strategies of lexicalisation, polarisation, authority, hyperbole, self-glorification and negative other-presentation. In example 37 below, material process relating to support and the mental process relating to contemplation; and discursive strategies of lexicalisation and authority mark out the ideology.

Example 37
Background: In this interview, the President of Aka Ikenga, the Igbo intelligencia group alleges that President Muhammadu Buhari has discriminated against the Igbo in his few months in office.

> **The Sun interviewer:** The South-East didn't support Muhammadu Buhari, what do you think are the chances of the Igbo under his regime in terms of appointments?
>
> **Interviewee:** The constitution actually takes care of any fear of any group. The South-East and the South-South didn't vote for President Buhari.... The same constitution talks of Federal Character. Section 13 and 14 of the 1999 Constitution, takes care of all these things.... Therefore, it is wrong for him to discriminate against any section of Nigeria on the bases of voting...
>
> (*The Sun*, August 1, 2015:42)

In the excerpt above, ethnic and regional loyalty appears to be stronger than national interest. With the use of the material process relating to support (e.g. "didn't support…", "didn't vote for…"), the discourse participants linguistically construct sectionalist ideology, with particular reference to political support and appointments based on geo-political zones. The interviewer orients to sectionalism which was reflected in the voting pattern of the 2015 Presidential election in which the two main contenders: Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari from the southern and northern parts of Nigeria, respectively, got more support from their respective political zones. This is expressed in the material process clause "The South-East didn't support Muhammadu Buhari" to imply that the South-East, and indeed the Igbo people did not endorse Muhammadu Buhari, thus, displaying their sectionalism. He therefore, alludes that the South-Eastern zone would not benefit from the Buhari administration, especially in terms of appointments. He does so through the utilisation of lexicalization as he strategically singles out "the South-East" as the region that "didn't support Muhammadu Buhari" which indexes voting based on sectionalism. Through the same material process relating to regional support, the interviewee agrees that "the South-East and South-South didn't vote for President Buhari"

The interviewer also deploys the mental process relating to contemplation to foreground the psychological consciousness of the discourse participant on what he thinks about the prospects of the Igbo with respect to political appointments vis-a-vis the fact that they did not support President Buhari during the election. This mental process relating to contemplation is projected in the interrogative "what do you think are the chances of the Igbo under his regime in terms of appointments?" With the mental process which is realised by the cognitive verb, "think" the interviewer intends to reveal the psychological engagement of the interviewee, that is, the Senser, "you" about the Phenomenon, "the chances of the Igbo". This process helps to underscore sectionalist ideology because the interviewee is made to think only about the chances of a particular group of people, that is, the Igbo.

The discourse strategies that are used to realise this sectionalist ideology in the above example are lexicalization and authority. The lexical choices of "South-East" and "Igbo" to show political support and the chances of political appointments connote sectionalist ideology. To further pursue his sectionalist agenda, the interviewee cites authority, that is, Sections 13 and 14 of the 1999 Constitution that recognize Federal Character principle. The constitution is referred to as an authority that guarantees the interests of the different sections of the country. In example 38 below, we further exemplify the use of material and verbal processes, and the strategic use of lexicalization, polarization, evidentiality, glorification, negative other-presentation and hyperbole to underpin sectionalist ideology in PMPIs in Nigeria.

Example 38

Background: A leader from the South-Eastern part of Nigeria talks about the alleged marginalization of the region, especially with regards to the appointments that have been made by President Muhammadu Buhari.

The Sun **interviewer:** The President said the economy was badly managed by the last administration. The person whose name is repeatedly mentioned is Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. What is your view on this?

Interviewee: I see it as a case of Edo State Governor, Comrade Adams Oshiomole, on vendetta mission, in which there is no substance.... He is just trying to raise enough dust so that President Buhari would try to destroy this our brilliant first class lady. I'm just reminding him that whatever that goes around comes around, and by this time next year, he would no longer be the governor, and would be looking towards the centre. The witch-hunting of Ngozi reminds me of the former Chief of Army Staff, General Ihejirika. As soon as he finished serving his tenure, they went after him. They want to extend this witch-hunting to Mrs. Allison Madueke. Demonizing Ngozi or demonizing the South-East sounds funny, and the same thing has moved into appointments. With all the appointments that have been made, none for South-East. With about 16 appointments, 14 went to the North; about two to South-West. When we complained, what were we told that it was purely on merit [sic]? I'm happy that they are talking about merit. The same people talking of merit were the same people, who made it impossible for our children to go to school. When it comes to admission in schools, they would say it is not based on

merit but quota system. When something good is going to come to Igbo land, we are told that it is purely on merit, and if on merit believe you me, Igbos will come first. It is mind bugling that in the list of highly educated officers from the rank of Brigadier and above, that there is no Igbo officer worthy enough to be a service chief....

(*The Sun*, August 1, 2015:42)

Example 38 above explicitly underscores sectionalist ideology in PMPIs through the preponderance of material and verbal processes. With the material process relating to persecution (e.g. "destroy", "went after him", "demonizing") the interviewee foregrounds the victimisation of the Igbo of South-Eastern Nigeria, thereby, revealing his sectionalist ideology as somebody who is more concerned about the welfare of his Igbo people. Also highlighted is the actual expression of sectionalist ideology: "With all the appointments that have been made, none for South-East." Although, the identity of the actor is not given, the material process verb "have been made" shows the concrete action that has been taken against the South-Eastern Region. The statement, therefore, realises sectionalist ideology because the interviewee expresses his group interest rather than seeing all other appointees as Nigerians.

With the verbal process, "The President said the economy was badly managed by the last administration", the interviewer expresses the President's belief through attribution, so as to remain neutral about the matter. However, the interviewee through the same verbal process in "When we complained, what were we told that it was purely on merit" takes a subjective position on the matter through ascription and therefore, expresses his sectionalist ideology in respect of the perceived marginalization of his people. The verbal process is also seen in the clause, "I'm happy that they are talking about merit" where the pronominal, "they" is activated as the sayer, while "talking" is the verbal process. This verbal action is realised in the text differently as, "say", "told" to index the excuses made by those who persecute the South-East.

The discursive strategies that have been utilized in the example to foreground sectionalist ideology as earlier hinted are lexicalization, polarization, evidentiality, glorification, negative other-presentation and hyperbole. Through lexicalization, the interviewer alleges that the name of "Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala" is "repeatedly mentioned" in the purported badly managed economy by the past administration. His reference to Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is not only informed by the fact that she was the

Finance and co-coordinating Minister of Economy, but because he cognitively knows that she is from the South-East. He attempts to be hyperbolic in the use of "repeatedly mentioned" to imply that Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is at the centre of the alleged poor management of the Nigerian economy.

Responding to the allegation against Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, the interviewee deploys polarized terms to present Mrs. Okonjo-Iweala in glorified terms as "our brilliant first class lady". The choice of the possessive pronoun, "our" within the context implies that Mrs. Okonjo-Iweala belongs to the South-East. To further use glorification terms about his people, the interviewee says "…if on merit believe you me, Igbos would come first." He presents the accusers of Mrs. Okonjo-Iweala and other Igbo indigenes negatively through negative descriptions such as "witch-hunting", "demonizing". He deploys evidentiality to prove that the South-East has been marginalized and discriminated against by the Buhari administration in the expression, "With about 16 appointments, 14 went to the North; about two to the South-West." The interviewee also gives concrete example of how no Igbo officer was found "worthy enough to be a service chief". This situation arouses empathy from people that the zone has been marginalized. Ultimately, the overall result of the interviewee's deployment of all these strategies is the expression of a sectionalist ideology.

5.2. Nationalist ideology

Nationalism is a political ideology that is "based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass other individual or group interest" (www. Britannica.com).The concept of nationalism is one that demands that individual ambitions and interests be put after the interest of the nation. It is one that recommends unity, peace and concerted efforts for the good of the nation. Nationalist ideology in the data represents the fostering of patriotic feeling toward, or socio-economic and political interests of the nation as a whole rather than loyalty and allegiance to a group or region by the participants of the selected print media political interviews. This ideology is realised through the linguistic elements that indicate non-alignment, inclusiveness and collectivity in the context of election and the context of governance. The specific linguistic indices of nationalist ideology in PMPIs are material, verbal and mental processes together with lexicalization, evidentiality and positive self-presentation discursive strategies. Let us instantiate with the following example.

Example 39

Background: The Chairman of Akwa Ibom Lawyers Forum in Lagos speaks on his group's intention to support President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan for a second term in office.

Vanguard interviewer: Can you tell us what your forum stands for and why you are supporting Jonathan for 2015 Presidential election?

Interviewee: To begin with, Akwa Ibom Lawyers Forum in Lagos is a group made up of lawyers from different parts of Akwa Ibom State. As professionals, we understand what the constitution as well as the law of the land says about election process. Our ultimate goal is to work together to support the unity of Nigeria and national development. Our decision to support the President was reached by the forum after an exhaustive deliberation on Jonathan's effort to move the country forward despite the challenges. We also look at his commitments to ensure the unity of Nigeria by ensuring that the nation remains one united entity notwithstanding the diversity of ethnic groups… we should look at his developmental programmes for the country and give him a chance to consolidate on major projects. His approval of the CONFAB's report for full implementation is a great achievement of Jonathan, which would remain indelible in the history of Nigeria. Today, it is on record that Jonathan is the first Nigerian President who summoned the courage to convene the National Conference, what other administrations could not do. He successfully privatised the power sector and handed over the assets of Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) to private sectors….

(*Sunday Vanguard*, March 22, 2015:10)

The interviewee's response to the question on why his group supports the re-election of President Jonathan is couched in the expression of nationalistic view. His group's decision to support the President is premised on their belief in the unity and development of the country, and not on any other sentiments such as ethnic, party or pecuniary gains. This nationalist ideology is expressed through the linguistic resources of material, mental and verbal processes which are foregrounded by lexicalisation, evidentiality and positive self-presentation. Through the material process relating to support "Our ultimate goal is to work together to support the unity of Nigeria and national development", the interviewee explicitly expresses his nationalist ideology since the basic interest of his group is "to support the unity of Nigeria and national development", and not any parochial interest. Also relevant to the actualization of nationalist ideology in the encounter is the material process in the clause "…

Jonathan's effort to move the country forward despite the challenges", which provides reason for their decision to support him (Jonathan) since he is working in the interest of the entire nation. The material process verb in the clause is "move" which indicates concrete action; and the actor of the process is "Jonathan" who is a conscious being that undertakes the action of making the country to progress.

Many instances of mental process are also found in the text, but of particular relevance to the realization of nationalist ideology in the interaction is the mental process relating to awareness in the clause "As professionals, we understand what the constitution as well as the law of the land says about election process", which cognitively shows that the group's decision to support Jonathan is based on their epistemic knowledge of the law and governance which is gained through their professional training as lawyers. As lawyers who are generally referred to in Nigeria as "learned" people, their views about the nation are expected to be nationalistic. Other mental processes are marked in the text by the perceptual verb "look" which is repeated twice to point to Jonathan's commitment to national development, thus forming the basis for the interviewee's support as a means of asserting his nationalist ideology. With the verbal process in the expression "Can you tell us what your forum stands for and why you are supporting Jonathan for 2015 Presidential election?", the interviewer requests to know the philosophy of the interviewee's group and why they endorse Jonathan for re-election.

Through the strategy of lexicalisation, the interviewee chooses words such as "support", "unity of Nigeria", "national development", "one united entity", "developmental programmes" and so on to index his nationalist ideology. Through the strategy of evidentiality, the interviewee refers to President Jonathan's political will to convene a National Conference and approval of the full implementation of the conference report. He uses positive self-presentation to describe President Jonathan by referring to his "courage" and successful privatization of the power sector, but describes the previous administrations before him negatively as not being able to convene a National Conference.

Ultimately, the interviewee portrays President Jonathan, his group (the Akwa Ibom Lawyers Forum in Lagos) and himself as nationalists whose interest is centred on the development and cohesive existence of Nigeria.

5.3. Defeatist ideology
Defeatism relates to the belief that one would not succeed in a particular endeavour. It is the acceptance of defeat without resistance. A defeatist is therefore, "a person who surrenders

easily without any struggle" (dictionary.com). He or she cannot help a particular bad situation, but rather resigns to fate. The defeatist ideology in the context of PMPIs in Nigeria is observed in the interactants' readiness to give up when faced with difficult issues of governance. This ideology is linguistically realised in the data via material and mental processes in addition to the discursive strategies of lexicalisation, evidentiality, negative other-presentation, positive self-presentation and empathy. The following example illustrates the expression of defeatist ideology.

Example 40

Background: A Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria speaks on the menace of Boko Haram insurgency in some parts of Northern Nigeria.

The Sun **interviewer:** The Emir of Gwoza, the traditional ruler of your home town has been murdered believably by Boko Haram and your senatorial constituency (Southern Borno) is under Boko Haram attacks in recent times. How do you view all these?

Interviewee: It is not about my constituency alone. All the villages from Bama to Gwoza have been attacked by the insurgents and many of the villages and towns have been deserted. If you see anybody staying in these places; about 16 towns and villages, it is either they are too old to move or they do not have any other place to go.... As a representative of the people and an indigene of Borno, our Emir (of Gwoza) was killed and I can only go for the burial with heavy escort by security personnel and hurriedly go back to Maiduguri. There is no sad moment than this and the burden is so much on me because I am a Senator but I am helpless. I cannot even help myself not to think of helping my people. I cannot even sit down with my people to sympathize with them or receive ordinary condolence messages as religion and tradition permit in my own town.... We can only continue to pray to God to intervene and bring this insurgency issue to an end as quickly as possible....

(*The Sun*, June 7, 2014:61)

The interviewee in example 40 above presents himself as a defeatist who cannot salvage his people and himself from the ravaging attacks of the Boko Haram insurgents. He begins by painting the devastating nature of Bama and Gwoza. He neatly weaves his defeatist ideology linguistically through material and mental processes. With the help of the material process relating to violence, the interviewee in the clause "All the villages from Bama to Gwoza have been attacked by the insurgents", codes the defenselessness and helplessness of

the victims and himself who cannot do anything to ameliorate the situation. Also, in yet another clause of material process, "towns have been deserted", the interviewee further exposes his helpless situation as his people have abandoned their ancestral home as a result of the incessant attacks by Boko Haram. Still exploring the material process relating to violence and expressing his defeatist ideology in the context of the serial attacks, the interviewee says "Emir (of Gwoza) was killed". This is particularly important to the indexation of the defeatist ideology because in traditional African society the killing of a traditional ruler in times of violence metaphorically means the defeat of that society.

The mental process relating to sight in the clause "If you see anybody staying in these places…", indicates that the interviewee has lost hope that any able bodied person, except the vulnerable (the aged and those who have no other place to go to) could still be found in the affected areas.

The interviewee frames Boko Haram insurgents negatively through negative other-presentation as attackers and killers of his people, but presents his people in a positive light as victims of attacks leading to the abandonment of their ancestral homes. He deploys evidentiality by stating that "about 16 towns and villages" have been deserted as a result of Boko Haram attacks.

The defeatist ideology is expressed succinctly through lexical choices such as "helpless", "I cannot even help myself not to think of helping my people", "I cannot even sit down with my people", and "We can only continue to pray to God to intervene". These lexical choices reveal an extremely sad and helpless situation, thus, his resignation for God's intervention. The utilisation of such expressions portrays the interviewee's total surrender. To further express his defeatist ideology, the interviewee employs empathy in, "I cannot even sit down with my people to sympathise with them or receive ordinary condolence messages as religion and tradition permit in my own town". This is used to emphasise his helplessness, and to possibly induce sympathy from people.

5.4. Supremacist ideology

Supremacism refers to the belief that a particular person or group of people is superior to others. A supremacist is therefore, a person "who believes that a particular type or group of people should lead or have control over other types or groups of people because they believe they are better" (www. dictionary. Cambridge.org). Participants in our sampled data express their supremacist ideology in their attempt to show that they are better than their political opponents; or that their political party and candidates are superior to others, especially in the

context of election. The linguistic resources that are used to achieve this ideology are material, mental and verbal processes with positive self-presentation and self-glorification strategies. This is instantiated in the following example.

Example 41

Background: In this interview, a loyalist of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) speaks on why he is the most qualified aspirant for the governorship of Benue State.

Sun **interviewer:** Why did you join the 2015 governorship race in Benue State?

Interviewee: I am in the race because I am competently qualified and I strongly believe that I am one of the most qualified persons to contest the governorship position. I am from Guma Local Government Area and I am coming in with a depth of pedigree that will measure and even surpass that of other contestants. So, I am competently qualified to contest. I am in the race because I believe that there is need to usher in a leadership in Benue State that will consolidate on the gains of the present leadership and then take the state beyond the level where it is now. I believe I am poised to do that. I have the experience and I am coming in with wide knowledge and exposure that [is] necessary to get the job done. I said I am the most qualified because I have many years of working experience in other countries, particularly the USA. I have the educational background, the committee experience and exposure. I come from a political background and I have seen all these things and believe that with the network of people I have come to know globally, I would be able to tap from their experience and expertise to be able to deliver Benue State by adding value in such a way that the state will be reckoned with in the committee of states.

(*The Sun*, April 28, 2014:34)

The material process relating to competition is used in the above example to demonstrate that election is a contest of supremacy. The exploration of this material process is initiated by the interviewer in the clause, "Why did you join the 2015 governorship race in Benue State?" In this clause, the material process is signaled by the verb "join" and the goal is represented by the nominal element, "governorship race" to indicate competition. The interviewer's interrogation that projects the utilisation of material process yields another material process relating to competition from the interviewee in the clause "I am coming in with a depth of pedigree" that underscores the interviewee's supremacist ideology. The

material process verb, "coming" which signifies readiness for the contest is repeated twice in the text.

The interviewee also explores the mental process relating to conviction to indicate his supremacist ideology. For example, in the clause "I strongly believe that I am one of the most qualified persons to contest the governorship position", the senser "I", (that is, the interviewee) encodes his supremacist ideology with the cognitive verb "believe" which is modified by the adverb "strongly" to express his psychological consciousness of being better than all other contestants. The cognitive verb "believe" that marks the interviewee's conviction that he is the best man for the governorship position is repeated about four times in the text to emphasise the interviewee's supremacist ideology.

Through the verbal process as expressed in the clause "I said I am the most qualified", the interviewee, represented by the sayer, "I" verbalizes the verbiage, "the most qualified" to ascribe superiority to himself, hence, asserting his supremacist ideology.

In fact, the whole of the interviewee's response portrays his supremacist ideology. He presents himself as the best candidate for the governorship position of Benue State. This positive self-presentation is lexicalised through superlative adverbials such as "competently qualified", "most qualified". These superlative terms are deliberately deployed to index his supremacist ideology. He sees himself as the most competent person who would "take the state beyond the level where it is now." He further resorts to self-glorification in talking about his experience, exposure, educational and political background. This is illustrated in the following expressions: "I am coming in with a depth of pedigree that will measure and even surpass that of other contestants", "I have the experience and I am coming in with wide knowledge and exposure", "I have many years of working experience in other countries, particularly the USA. I have the educational background…. I come from a political background and I have seen all these things and believe that with the network of people I have come to know globally, I would be able to tap from their experience and expertise to be able to deliver Benue State…" In using this self-glorification strategy, the interviewee strives to establish his supremacist ideology.

The interviewee, still touting his supremacist ideology sees himself as the messiah that will "deliver Benue State", which implies that the state has been in bondage. The ultimate pragmatic goal of expressing this supremacist ideology in the context of election is to win the support of the electorate.

5.5. Positivist ideology

Positivism is an optimistic feeling, thinking or disposition about the success of something. Positivist ideology is the belief held by interactants in PMPIs that they will succeed in an election or that any situation could get better in Nigeria, especially, situations that concern governance. This ideology is derived from the disposition, desire and need of the interactants to be considered as people with strong will and belief in the growth and development of Nigeria. This ideological stance makes interactants in PMPIs to always assert their hope and optimism about their electoral chances and a better Nigeria. The linguistic resources of positivist ideology in PMPIs are material and mental processes. These are projected by some discourse strategies which include metaphor, positive self-presentation, self glorification, negative other-presentation and polarization as seen in the following example:

Example 42

Background: In the following interview, a Special Assistant and close associate of Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno State speaks on the politics of the State and Boko Haram insurgents.

The Sun **interviewer:** The damage and destruction in the areas infested by the insurgency is mindboggling. The challenges thrown by the issue of internally displaced persons (IDPs) is equally troubling. How do you situate this in relation to the future?

Interviewee: It is indeed a big problem that has constituted a drain in the resources of the state. A large chunk of the resources goes directly into the security architecture in place to secure life and property. It is a miracle that the governor could still have something left to take care of millions of displaced persons, pay salaries, develop infrastructure, provide and maintain all the essentials, keep the state going and still keep his cool and maintain sanity. It is no mean achievement and I am still marveling at the man's courage and candor. But by the special grace of Allah, Borno has seen the worse of this insurgency. The future from now onwards will be brighter. The blackmail by the political [sic] spent forces against the state and our hardworking governor,

as they struggle to remain afloat will no longer serve the purpose of assuaging for their political misfortune [si]. Borno will definitely rise from the ashes of this insurgency and the political blackmail. We have a history of overcoming deep-rooted challenges and this cup too will pass by the Will of Allah. Other Nigerians need to applaud us for our tenacity and endurance, we have faced this hell and we are still on our feet is something unimaginable, we have refused to cow to the agents of destruction and despite the fire of their fury and mindlessness, Borno, by the power of All, has remained strong and steadfast.

(*The Sun*, March 13, 2015:32)

The interviewer in example 42 above intends to know how the Borno State government would cope with the security and socio-economic challenges caused by the Boko Haram insurgents. Although Borno State has been literally shattered by the Boko Haram insurgents, the interviewee remains resilient and resolute in his belief that his State will overcome its difficulties. He presents himself as somebody who does not surrender to defeat easily. He describes the Boko Haram insurgency as "a big problem" that has gulped "a large chunk" of the State's resources. This terrible situation gives him the opportunity to express his positivist ideology through a preponderance of material process. For example, in the clause "…pay salaries, develop infrastructure, provide and maintain all the essentials, keep the state going and still keep his cool and maintain sanity", the interviewee shows his optimism in the governor's ability to lead the state successfully out of the devastating effects of insurgency. Also, in another material process relating to recovery, "Borno will definitely rise from the ashes of this insurgency and the political blackmail", the interviewee portrays his unfaltering belief that the current bad situation in the State will improve, thereby asserting his positivist ideology.

The interviewee uses self-glorification to praise his Principal, the Governor for his "courage" and "candor" in maintaining the State despite the challenges. His speech portrays him as an optimist. His optimism is expressed using lexical expressions such as "The future from now onwards will be brighter", "definitely rise", "this cup too will pass by the Will of Allah". These expressions are deliberately used to express his hope for a better Borno State. In fact, by using "definitely rise" he asserts that the State will overcome its predicament irrespective of what it would take. He anchors his hope and optimism in Allah and makes

allusion to Jesus' statement on the cross that "let this cup pass away", where "cup" here is used as a metaphor for difficulties and pains.

Having expressed his hope, the interviewee deploys positive self-presentation by first referring to the Governor's "courage and candor", and then Borno citizens' "tenacity and endurance", which have enabled them to face all their difficulties. He utilizes negative others-presentation to describe those that he considers to be the opposition group as "politically spent forces", implying that they have outlived their usefulness. He also employs polarisation in the expressions "our hardworking governor, as they struggle to remain afloat". The use of the personal pronouns, "our" and "they" is to indicate that the "hardworking governor" belongs to him and his allies; and to categorise non-allies of the Governor as "they". He also uses polarised terms such as "our tenacity and endurance" and "the agents of destruction". In this instance, the interviewee sees the good qualities of tenacity and endurance as his and that of his friends and allies, but negatively describes the opposition as "agents of destruction".

Another example is examined below to show the construction of positivist ideology in the context of election:

Example 43

Background: In this encounter, a PDP Senatorial aspirant expresses his optimism to win the election

The Sun **interviewer:** Do you think you have what it takes to defeat the sitting Senator, Oluremi Tinubu considering the fact that she is Bola Tinubu's wife?

Interviewee: We all know and even she knows that she has not been able to do much. The job needs to be taken more seriously than we have taken it in the past. We need quality people in the Senate who understand the issues and with my experience, I believe that I understand a lot about leadership and that is why I am confident that I would win.

(*The Sun*, October 23, 2014:34)

Through the use of the mental process relating to conviction in the clause "Do you think…", the interviewer probes the interviewee's psychological workings with respect to his hope of winning the Senatorial election. The interviewee also uses the mental process relating to awareness in the clause, "We all know and even she knows…" to talk about his and other constituents' knowledge about the fact that the current Senator representing the Senatorial District is not efficient. He therefore, on the basis of this knowledge, expresses his

positivist ideology in the material process clause, "I would win" to indicate his optimism for success.

Lexical choices such as "confident" and "would win" are made by the interviewee to index his positivist ideology. These lexical choices show the interviewee's conviction and optimism that he would be successful in the election.

5.6. Oppositionist ideology

Political interviews are usually confrontational and oppositional, especially when the participants share different political views and belong to different political parties. Oppositionist ideology is, therefore, constructed as a political ideology in PMPIs, or participants' shared belief or attitude that predisposes them to counter or antagonize government and its policies with a view to entrenching democratic principles, good governance and development in Nigeria. Oppositionist ideology in the context of PMPIs in simple terms is the belief in the objection to the socio-economic and political views or dispositions of others, especially those in positions of authority. The linguistic mechanisms that are used to explicate oppositionist ideology are the material, the mental and the verbal processes with lexicalization, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, rhetorical questions and evidentiality as its discursive strategies. The following examples illustrate how participants in print media political interviews express their oppositionist ideology.

Example 44

Background: In the following interview, an executive Governor under the platform of PDP opposes the APC led Federal Government administration headed by President Muhammadu Buhari.

Vanguard interviewer: On the National Economic Council, NEC, retreat in Abuja

Interviewee: It is a good idea if we do not have the same rhetorics…. So we have had a lot of these things. We have been through such a gathering (economic retreat) but, at the end of the day, will it not be the same old rhetorics, same strategies? Is it not a diversionary move to make Nigerians think you are working on the economy? Meanwhile, this is a government that was elected almost one year ago, but which doesn't know what it is doing, doesn't know what it wants, doesn't know why it got there…. He is limited by old age. He is limited by academic competence and he is limited by exposure…. So with his APC family, they ought to have had an economic team, economic master plan for Nigeria…. I don't blame him for the drop in oil price, but the fact is that I blame him for not being proactive to finding solution to those challenges. Secondly, we should ask the President why Nigerians are suffering under him more than ever before. Look at the electricity tariff. In most cases, people will never get supply of electricity; they get it maybe once a month. Yet, they get what we call estimated bill…

(Vanguard, March 27, 2016: 15)

The interviewee in example 44 above deploys material, mental and verbal processes as linguistic mechanisms to assert his opposition to the economic retreat and the APC led government in the country. With the material process "this is a government that was elected almost one year ago…", the interviewee asserts that the electorate consciously selected their leaders who have now disappointed them in their inability to better their lots. With the mental process, "doesn't know" which is repeated thrice in different utilisation, the interviewee demonstrates his consciousness of the APC led Federal Government's visionlessness and ineptitude, hence, his opposition to such a government. He also uses the verbal process to state his indisposition to President Buhari's leadership style. This could be seen in the clause "I blame him for not being proactive to finding solution to those challenges" which shows that the sayer "I" disapproves the receiver, "him" in the verbiage, "not being proactive to finding solution to those challenges". In another verbal clause "ask the President why Nigerians are suffering under him more than ever before", the verbal action "ask" is used to criticise the President. All these are used by the interviewee to index his oppositionist ideology.

The discursive strategies for explicating the underlying workings of the oppositionist ideology in the above excerpt are lexicalisation, negative other-presentation, rhetorical

questions and evidentiality. With the use of lexicalisation, the interviewee chooses negative expressions such as "he is limited by age", "limited by academic competence", "limited by exposure" to show that President Buhari is ill-equipped to govern the country. He also chooses the lexical items, "diversionary move" to refer to the economic retreat organized by the Federal Government. These choices succinctly foreground the interviewee's opposition to President Buhari and his policies.

The interviewee also uses rhetorical questions in "will it not be the same old rhetorics, same strategies? Is it not a diversionary move to make Nigerians think you are working on the economy?", to express his distrust of the government and assert his underlying oppositionist ideology. Negative other-presentation is graphically captured in the mental process clauses "doesn't know what it is doing", "doesn't know what it wants" and "doesn't know why it got there" which are used to describe the ineptitude of the APC led government. This ineptitude is evident in the sufferings of the citizens who get estimated electricity bills for the power they never consumed.

Let us examine one more example below:

Example 45

Background: One time Press Secretary to the Head of State during former President Olusegun Obasanjo military regime, and erstwhile Chairman, Eastern Nigerian Traditional Rulers Council and Anambra Council of Traditional Rulers opposes a former Speaker of House of Representatives, Alhaji Ghali Na'Abba.

Vanguard **interviewer:** You must have read the paper where former Speaker Ghali Na'Abba lambasted your former boss, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, asking President Buhari to refrain from taking his advice. How does it sound?

Interviewee: First and foremost, Obasanjo is still my boss not my former boss. Former President Obasanjo is one of the greatest leaders we have in Africa today. You can say anything about Nigeria but you hurt him once you talk about dividing the country.

Vanguard **interviewer:** And you don't think Ghali Na'Abba should have been speaking for a reason?

Interviewee: It is ignorance. After all, who is Ghali Na'Abba and what has he done for this country? Where is his footmark in this country? People just jump, open their mouths and begin to say anything that they like to get attention.

(*Vanguard*, January 17, 2016:23)

In example 45 above, the interviewer in the first turn of the interview refers the interviewee to a newspaper publication in which the former Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, Alhaji Ghali Na'Abba was confrontational to former President Olusegun Obasanjo. This presents Ghali Na'Abba as an oppositionist as evident in his challenge of the former President. His reported oppositionist ideology is captured in the material process clause, "…former Speaker Ghali Na'Abba lambasted your former boss…", where the choice of the lexical item "lambasted" points to oppositionist ideology. Responding to this face threatening act, the interviewee deploys positive self-presentation to describe the former President as "one of the greatest leaders" and a nationalist who would tolerate anything, but the disintegration of Nigeria.

Not being very satisfied with the interviewee's response which has not clearly addressed Na'Abba's attack on Obasanjo, the interviewer in his second turn probes further for the interviewee to respond to Na'Abba's statement. The interviewee therefore, becomes very aggressive and his speech is laden with negative other-presentation, with this 'Other' being Ghali Na'Abba. His confrontational feelings are expressed by using lexical expressions such as "ignorance", "people just jump, open their mouths and begin to say anything that they like", which is pragmatically intended to discountenance Ghali Na'Abba's negative comments about Obasanjo. In fact, by using the lexical items, "ignorance" and "just jump", the interviewee opposes Ghali Na'Abba's stance, also intends to show that Ghali Na'Abba lacks the requisite knowledge to disparage Obasanjo. He continues presenting Ghali Na'Abba negatively through the rhetorical questions, "who is Ghali Na'Abba and what has he done for this country? Where is his footmark in this country?", implying that he (Ghali Na'Abba) lacks the moral justification to criticise Obasanjo since he has not had any positive impact on Nigeria. Ultimately, the interviewee's expressions underscore his oppositionist ideology towards Ghali Na'Abba's position.

5.7. Constitutionalist ideology

Constitutionalism is the belief that a group of people or country should be governed based on the constitution. It "is a political philosophy based on the idea that government authority is derived from the people and should be limited by a constitution that clearly expresses what the government can and can't do" (study.com). It is the legal limitation of government's power and authority. Constitutionalist ideology in PMPIs relates to participants' belief in the supremacy of the constitution, that is, participants advocacy for strict adherence to provisions of the constitution and the rule of law both in governance and election. The linguistic

elements that are used to assert this ideology are the material, the mental and the verbal processes together with lexicalization, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This type of ideology is expressed in the following example:

Example 46

Background: One time Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and member of Akwa-Ibom State Elders Forum talks on the good performance of Governor Udom Emmanuel of Akwa-Ibom State, and President Buhari's alleged breach of the constitution.

Vanguard interviewer: What is your view on alleged skewed appointments so far made by President Muhammadu Buhari?

Interviewee: Well, we know that is directly in breach of the constitution. The President maybe, heard what I said recently in an interview that he has been operating as a Sole Administrator and there is no provision in the Constitution of this country for the business of governance to be conducted in that manner. Again; even in the attempt to people his administration, what we have had is a clear breach of the Constitution. The very foundations of this country are very clear. The foundations demand recognition of the differences that have ensured the emergence of a country and it is unacceptable where you fail to recognize the federal character of our make up as a country. This is not only condemnable but poses real danger for the future of this country.

Vanguard interviewer: Breach of the constitution

Interviewee: …. So, in a nutshell, President Buhari is operating in breach of the constitution, he is in breach of the Nigeria Constitution by the way and manner he is approaching governance and that is an impeachable offense.

(*Vanguard*, September 8, 2015:34)

The linguistic mechanism of material process has been used in the clause, "he has been operating as a Sole Administrator" to pragmatically condemn the President's mode of administration that has no recourse to the provision of the constitution, which has no room for a Sole Administrator. This is explicitly expressed in another material process "President Buhari is operating in breach of the constitution… and that is an impeachable offense". The projection of the President's non-adherence to the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution, and the prescription of impeachment as the appropriate penalty for such act help to foreground the interviewee as a person who believes in the supremacy of the constitution, thereby, asserting his constitutionalist ideology.

With the mental process of knowledge in the clause "Well, we know that is directly in breach of the constitution", the interviewee shows his knowledge and understanding of the constitution. Equipped with the appropriate knowledge of the constitution, the interviewee constructs his constitutionalist ideology by asserting that the President's action is in violation of the constitution. This implies that he wants the President to act according to the constitution, and nothing else, because the constitution is supreme and binding on all irrespective of their socio-political positions. With the verbal process "I said recently in an interview that he has been operating as a Sole Administrator and there is no provision in the Constitution of this country for the business of governance to be conducted in that manner", the interviewee, through the sayer "I" attributes the condemnation of the President's non-adherence to the provisions of the constitution to himself.

The interviewer strategically constructs his constitutionalist ideology by exploring lexical choices such as "skewed appointment" allegedly made by the President to indicate the President's breach of the constitution. This implies that the appointment is inappropriate and has contravened the Nigerian constitution with respect to Federal Government appointments that recognizes the Federal Character Principle. The interviewee explicitly constructs his constitutionalist ideology through lexicalization by using lexical items such as "breach", "constitution", "impeachable", and "federal character" to point to constitutional matters. He condemns the President's action as "directly in breach of the constitution" and asserts his belief that the country should be run according to the constitution, as he says "there is no provision in the Constitution of this country for the business of governance to be conducted in that manner". He uses the inclusive pronominal "we" as a positive self-presentation of people like him who adhere to constitutional provisions, but uses negative other-presentation to describe President Buhari as "a Sole Administrator" whose offences are "impeachable". He goes further to say that the President's action "is not only condemnable but poses real danger for the future of this country". This paints a very bleak future for Nigeria if the President continues to govern without strict adherence to the constitution of the country.

This view presents the interviewee as someone who believes so much in the constitution as the only thing that guarantees good governance; and anything to the contrary becomes inimical to the people and the nation.

5.8. Concluding remarks
This chapter has investigated the ideological constructions of print media political interview participants in the selected data. The investigation has shown that participants in PMPIs in

the selected data construct seven ideologies, namely, nationalist, defeatist, supremacist, positivist, oppositionist, and constitutionalist ideology. These ideologies were found to be realised linguistically through material, mental and verbal processes of transitivity system, which were foregrounded by lexicalisation, evidentiality, negative other-presentation, positive self-representation, hyperbole, empathy, self-glorification, polarisation, rhetorical questions, empathy and metaphor.

The table in the next page provides a summary of our findings in this chapter.

Table 5.1: Highlights of Findings on Ideological Constructions in Political Interviews in Nigerian Print Media

S/N	Ideology	Associated Context	Linguistic Resources	Discursive Strategy	Example
1	Sectionalist	Governance/ Election	Material, mental and verbal processes	Lexicalisation, polarisation, hyperbole, self glorification, negative other-presentation	"our brilliant first class lady" (Example 37)
2	Nationalist	Governance/ Election	Material, mental and verbal processes	Lexicalisation, evidentiality, positive self-presentation	"support the unity of Nigeria and national development", "we also look at his commitment s to ensure the unity of Nigeria" (Example 39)
3	Defeatist	Governance	Material and mental processes	Evidentiality, empathy, lexicalisation	"I am helpless", "I cannot even help myself not to think of helping my people", "we can only continue to pray to God" (Example 40)
4	Supremacist	Election	Material, mental and verbal processes	Positive self-presentation, self glorification	"I am in the race because I am compentently qualified and I strongly believe that I am one of the most qualified persons to contest the governorship position (Example 41)
5	Positivist	Election/go vernance	Material and mental processes	Self glorification, metaphor, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, polarisation	"The future from now onwards will be brighter", Borno will definitely rise from the ashes of this insurgency and political blackmail" (Example 42)
6	Oppositionist	Governance	Material, mental and verbal processes	Lexicalisation, evidentiality, Positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, rhetorical questions	"It is ignorance. After all, who is Ghali Na'Abba and what has he done for this country? (Example 44)
7	Constitutionalist	Election/ Governance	Material, mental and verbal processes	Lexicalisation, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation	"Well, we know that is directly in breach of the constitution" (Example 46)

CHAPTER SIX
INTERACTIONAL GOALS AND PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS IN NIGERIAN PRINT MEDIA

6.0.   Introduction

This chapter examines the interactional goals and the pragmatic strategies deployed by participants in the selected political interviews in Nigerian print media. It also considers the positions taken by the participants while exploring such strategies. The analysis reveals that the participants negotiate seven interactional goals and deploy five broad pragmatic strategies and two main positions. These positions taken are realised through different stance types which are used to strengthen the positions. In this chapter therefore, we analyse the data under the seven interactional goals and the five main pragmatic strategies. We integrate the analysis of stance into the strategies.

6.1. Interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Interactional goals are the intentions of the discourse participants. Print media political interviews in Nigeria thrive on participants' interactional goals and ability to interpret the negotiation of such goals through appropriate contextual cues. Seven different interactional goals which are jointly negotiated and interpreted by discourse participants occur in the data. They are: election victory, seeking higher responsibilities, ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens, election fraud, election litigations, abuse of power, and equality before the law. These interactional goals are explained below:

6.1.1. Election victory

Election victory relates to the success of an aspirant or candidate. Interactants in print media political interviews negotiate election victory through persuasive strategy as shown in section 6.2.1. However, the goal of election victory is contextually cued through words that portray electorate positive response reference, performance reference, and unity and internal democracy. These are situated predominantly in the discourse issue of political campaigns.

6.1.1.1. Electorate's positive response reference

This category of contextual cues of election victory is the one with which participants make reference to the electorate's approval of their preferred candidate as a cue to election victory.

The electorate's positive response is very important in every democracy because it represents public opinion about a candidate, hence, its reference in discourse provides adequate contextual cues of election victory. It manifests through definite (lexical items used to identify specific persons, places or things), indefinite (lexical items used to refer to particular but not precise or specific persons, places, or things) tokens, and phoric references. This is instantiated in the examples below:

Example 47

Background: In this interview, a female law maker in the Lagos State House of Assembly talks on her chances of becoming the first female Speaker in the State.

The Sun **interviewer:** As you said, you have been consulting. What has been the response?

Interviewee: The response has been impressive. Even when I don't initiate meetings, some of my colleagues in the House do, that we should talk to the fresh people, and so on and so forth. You can see the zeal in my colleagues that I should lead them. I have also spoken to several notable people in the society and the response has been very encouraging.

The Sun **interviewer:** What about the party leadership? Are you also reaching out to them?

Interviewee: I have reached out to them and the response is very good. Being a woman who has been very loyal to the party, being somebody who has been steadfast and always of help to make sure that Lagos continues to be on the world map as a centre of excellence, I have been sufficiently encouraged by the party leadership to become the Speaker of the Lagos House.

(*SaturdaySun*, May 2, 2015:62)

In example 47 above, the participants explore positive responses from colleagues and party leaders as contextual cues of election victory. The interviewer's interrogation "What has been the response?", implies that the people's or electorate's responses are necessary contextual cues of election win. This is accurately interpreted by the interviewee as she makes definite and indefinite references to the positive responses she gets from her colleagues and party leaders.

By making use of expressions such as "the response has been impressive", "the zeal in my colleagues that I should lead them", "the response has been very encouraging", "the response is very good", and "I have been sufficiently encouraged by the party leadership to become the Speaker of the Lagos House", the interviewee provides the necessary contextual cues for the interpretation of her utterance as expression of hope for election victory based on

the positive response of the people. It is observed from the above that reference to positive response is lexicalised using different synonyms, namely; "impressive", "zeal", "encouraging", and "very good" for reiteration. This lexicalization is pragmatically used as contextual cues of election win, since, the interviewee enjoys so much favour from her colleagues and party leaders.

Example 48

Background: A former Secretary to the Edo State government, and now a governorship aspirant speaks on his aspiration.

Vanguard **interviewer:** How optimistic are you of picking the PDP ticket?

Interviewee: I'm not the only aspirant. At the last count, we were five. I think all the aspirants are all qualified.... I have gone round the local government areas to see our party members and I can say that many of them see me as a very serious minded person, who knows what it takes to win and has an understanding of government. I want to believe that that confidence and knowledge will help me clinch the party's ticket...

(*Vanguard*, January 31, 2016:34)

In example 48 above, the interviewee relays his political campaign experience, and provides cues for his election victory. The interviewee in the statement "I'm not the only aspirant" implies that there are other aspirants contesting for PDP's governorship ticket. However, the positive responses of the people give him the confidence that he would win the election. This is pragmatically woven in the expression "many of them see me as a very serious minded person, who knows what it takes to win and has an understanding of government". In this expression, the plural pronoun "them" refers to the party members, whose positive perception of the interviewee serves as contextual cue of election win. The interactional intention of the interviewee's reference is to provide cues of election victory.

6.1.1.2. Performance reference

The contextual cues in this category refer to a leader's ability to meet the welfare needs of his or her subordinates. These cues are deployed to negotiate an aspirant's or a candidate's bright chances of election victory based on his or her performance in government. They relate to election campaign in the macro context of election, and performance in the macro context of governance. Participants in this situation explore references to candidates' performance in

relation to their election campaign promises as logical cues for their subsequent election victories. Let us consider the following examples:

Example 49

Background: In this interview, a governor in one of the states in South-West, Nigeria, comments on what will determine a candidate's election fortunes in the forthcoming governorship election.

The Sun **interviewer:** What do you mean by the election being a referendum on your performance and are you sure you have done enough to guarantee you a second term?

Interviewee: First, what do I mean by the statement – an election is necessarily a referendum of what an incumbent has done or failed to do in the judgement of the electorate. Somebody running for the first time can only make promises and hope that the people will believe his promises. As an incumbent, I am running on the record of the public goods that I have delivered in every community and constituency. I have been on the campaign trail for three weeks now and in every place I get to, the people are the ones who reel out what we have done in their communities. It is a much taller order for me in the sense that I must present tangible, palpable, verifiable evidence of what I have done…. To your second question, have I done enough to earn a second term? I ran in 2007 on a platform popularly known as the Roadmap of Ekiti Recovery – My 8point Agenda…. When you talk about social security – if you read my inaugural speech, you will find social security benefit to the elderly there. If you read my inaugural speech, you will see laptop for every child there. There is nothing that we have done in this state that we have not picked from the 8-point agenda. And everyone who is objective can attest to the fulfillment of what we promised Ekiti State people…. So I think the answer to your question is, yes. My performance has earned me a reason to believe that I would be re-elected.

(*The Sun*, April 28, 2014:55)

Example 49 above elucidates performance reference as contextual cues of election victory. The interviewee in an earlier turn of the interview claims that election is a referendum on one's performance. The interviewer based on his shared knowledge, requests the interviewee to confirm the possibility of his re-election based on his performance by

asking, "are you sure you have done enough to guarantee you a second term? This inquisitorial no doubt provides the cue that election victory, especially for an incumbent seeking a re-election, is based on his or her performance in government which is usually measured in tangible terms of how he or she has delivered the dividends of democracy to the people.

Also, the interviewee explains his assertion that "an election is necessarily a referendum of what an incumbent has done or failed to do in the judgement of the electorate" to mean one's ability to deliver on one's electoral promises determines one's winning prospects in subsequent elections. He foregrounds the contextual cues of election win through performance references such as "I am running on the record of the public goods that I have delivered in every community and constituency", "people are the ones who reel out what we have done in their communities", "you will find social security benefit to the elderly there", and "you will see laptop for every child there" to show what he has done. His good performance as seen in social security benefit to the elderly, provision of laptops to children in every community and constituency as enunciated by the people constitute the contextual cues for his election victory. He, therefore, concludes that he would be re-elected based on his performance in the expression "My performance has earned me a reason to believe that I would be re-elected." The interactants in this encounter succeed to pragmatically negotiate the meaning that election victory is based on performance. In other words, good performance in government guarantees election win, while poor performance results in election defeat.

4.2.1.3. Unity and internal democracy

This category of contextual cues of election victory alludes to party unity and internal democracy, especially, as it concerns the selection of its leaders and flag bearers. Participants in print media political interviews refer to unity and internal democracy as prerequisite for election victory because it guarantees the selection of the best candidate for the party, and also ensures peace and harmony among party members. It is predominantly located in the micro context of campaign as we can see in the example below:

Example 50

Background: In this interview, a chieftain and governorship aspirant of PDP talks about some past mistakes of his party that cost the party election victory.

Vanguard **interviewer:** What are those things people like you are trying to change in the PDP as opposed to the past?

Interviewee: The mistakes we made at the party level include lack of internal democracy; trying to please certain persons. In that process, impunity became the order of the day and rules were ignored…. When people started leaving the party when they felt they were not well accommodated, their genuine cries of marginalization were not addressed. Nobody made any serious effort to call them back because they thought there was no opposition. Those were some of the mistakes the PDP made.

(*Vanguard*, January 31, 2016:34)

In example 50 above, the intention of the interviewee is to use implicit language to establish the fact that PDP performed poorly in the 2015 general election, especially as it lost the presidential election because of disunity and "lack of internal democracy". The lack of internal democracy was done with "impunity" which led to the disintegration of the party as witnessed in some people "leaving the party when they felt they were not well accommodated, their genuine cries of marginalization were not addressed". The disintegration was exacerbated by the inability of the party's leadership to assuage the aggrieved members to return to the party.

Ultimately, the interviewee implicitly gives party unity and internal democracy as contextual cues of election win. This pragmatically means that election win is based on unity among party members, and fairness to all in all internal party affairs.

6.1.2. Seeking higher responsibilities

Seeking higher responsibilities reveals one's aspiration for higher political position. This is largely negotiated through persuasive strategy, and contextually cued in through linguistic expressions such as "ambition", "run for", contest for", among others. As observed in the data, this goal is basically associated with the discourse issues of leadership ambition and political campaigns in the context of election. This goal is captured in the example below:

Example 51

Background: In this interview, a former Deputy Governor speaks of his ambition to become a governor in the 2015 general election.

The Sun interviewer: Is it true that you will run for the Imo governorship in 2015; or are you supporting someone else again?

Interviewee: Well, in very clear terms, I will contest for the governorship seat of Imo State in [si] 2015 general election. As you all know, in 2007, I set out to massively rebuild the infrastructure in my state. As I told you, at the time, we had over 900km of state-owned roads to pave and an excess of 1400km of local government roads to stabilize…. The potential for growth given the ongoing reforms in the power sector with Imo in the middle is enormous. Therefore, we need a sincere and very competent manager to drive the affairs of Imo State for the common good of our people. We must restore the confidence of our people in our government and ourselves. That is why I am offering myself for the governorship seat of Imo State in 2015.

(*The Sun*, April 7, 2014:57)

In example 51 above, the interactants negotiate leadership ambition based on their existing knowledge of the 2015 general election. The interviewer sets out with the intention of establishing the interviewee's political ambition by exploring the contextual cues of seeking higher responsibilities, since the governorship position is higher than the position of a deputy governor which the interviewee had earlier occupied in the state. This is obvious when he asks "Is it true that you will run for the Imo governorship in 2015? This question clearly gives the required cue of seeking higher responsibility. The position of a governor comes with more responsibilities, thus, to contest for it is to seek higher responsibilities.

The interviewee confirms his desire for higher responsibilities in the expression "I will contest for the governorship seat of Imo State in 2015 general election". This implies that he wants higher responsibilities to effectively manage the affairs of his state for socio-economic growth. He claims that the people of Imo State "need a sincere and very competent manager to drive the affairs of Imo State for the common good of our people". Ultimately, he sees himself as the best person to take up such responsibilities. Consequently, he employs persuasion in the expression "that is why I am offering myself for the governorship seat of Imo State in 2015." Offering himself for the governorship based on the immediate discourse means that the interviewee seeks to assume higher responsibilities of directing and controlling the affairs of his State. And this can only be achieved through election, that is why he has decided to "run for" and "contest for the governorship seat" which will offer him the appropriate platform to take on the responsibility of the state government.

6.1.3. Ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens

This deals with the manner in which political leaders exercise their ability to effectively control the affairs of the citizens. This goal is mainly associated with the discourse issues of leadership, performance and political campaign as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 52

Background: In this interview, the President of Delta Ijaw Peace Movement (DIPM), and a chieftain of PDP speaks about the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan in the 2015 general election.

The Sun interviewer: Are you in the vanguard of those canvassing for the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan in the 2015 election?

Interviewee: Yes. Jonathan as President of this country and from where he came from in mind, people really don't expect so much because generally they assumed that he would not be able to perform but between me and you, today in the area of power, road and infrastructure, even in terms of our economy, he has done wonderfully well. To this end, if somebody is performing or that he has performed beyond our imagination, I don't see any reason he should not continue. So, I am very much in support of President Jonathan coming back in 2015 to continue the good works that we all know that he is doing.

The Sun interviewer: Let us narrow it down to the Niger Delta, how has he done well for your people?

Interviewee: If you look at Niger Delta today, you will discover that the issues of insecurity and militancy have become a thing of the past because President Jonathan has initiated processes that guarantee peace and security in the region. Though we still have pockets of kidnapping here and there, militancy in the region had been put under control such that today, the oil companies are operating

unhindered and oil production is increasing. Today, look at the East/West Road, though there were a lot of issues but in recent time they already positioned contractors so that by 2015 they will commission this road. We have maritime school…

(*The Sun*, December 23, 2014:50)

Example 52 above shows that the interviewer in his first inquiry intends to negotiate election victory in political campaign. The interviewee on his part, negotiates the goal of ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens in his attempt to establish the manner in which President Goodluck Jonathan directs and controls the affairs of the country. The President, according to the interviewee, effectively initiates, mobilizes and deploys human and material resources for the welfare of his citizens. The interviewee uses reference as contextual cues of the President's good leadership ability and performance. In the first turn of the conversation, he refers to the improvement that is witnessed, "in the area of power, road and infrastructure, even in terms of our economy". This reference implies that the President is able to effectively co-ordinate the affairs of the country to ensure better living standard for his citizens. The ability of the President to ensure the welfare of his citizens, and the economic growth of his country is connected to leadership and performance issues, which are in turn used to score political points during campaigns as observed in the data.

In the second turn, the interviewer jointly orients to negotiate the goal of ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens when he asked the interviewee to specifically comment on the President's performance with respect to the development of the Niger Delta region. This is an indirect request for contextual cues of the President's ability to control and direct affairs of his citizens, which of course, the interviewee does not hesitate to provide. In his response, the interviewee shows the President's political acumen in dealing with security, infrastructure, and other socio-economic issues of the region. This is aptly captured in the expression, "If you look at Niger Delta today, you will discover that the issues of insecurity and militancy have become a thing of the past because President Jonathan has initiated processes that guarantee peace and security in the region." This expression suggests that the President has been able to successfully contend with the security challenges of the region that hitherto affected the peace of the people, and oil production in the region. Also, the construction of "the East/West Road" and the establishment of "Maritime School" point to the President's good leadership qualities and performance.

6.1.4. Election fraud

Election fraud relates to non-adherent to electoral principles that emphasise free and fair elections. The data reveal that participants discursively negotiate violation of electoral rules by political actors in order to expose election fraud in Nigeria. This goal is negotiated through the contextual cues that are associated with the discourse issue of election ethics as discussed in the examples below:

Example 53

Background: In this interview, a recently declared winner of the 2015 Abia State governorship election by the Appeal Court expresses his hope of winning at the Supreme Court. He also talks about election malpractice that took place during the election.

Vanguard **interviewer:** What are your expectations from the Supreme Court?

Interviewee: I do not see how the Supreme Court will not uphold the decision of the Court of Appeal.... The PDP knew they were not going to win that election, so all they did was to isolate three local governments that they could use to rig.... On the day of the election, they removed original result sheets for ward and local government collation. And they ensured that there was maximum violence in those local governments. They will come to a polling unit, shoot into the air, people will run away while they carry electoral materials and take off. What they now did was to wait until collation started. At the 14th local government, I was leading with about 60, 500 votes and they quickly filled those original result sheets that they had taken from INEC in connivance with some electoral officials and forced them into the collation centre. Those results from Osisioma, Obingwa and Isialangwa were fake results written at the Government House...

(*Vanguard*, January 17, 2016:25)

Example 54

Background: In this interview, a chieftain of PDP fields in questions on President Jonathan's re-election bid.

Saturday Sun **interviewer:** As a PDP man, can you say Jonathan will win the 2015 election?

Interviewee: How many times have I told you? He can win. He can rig election. When we went for the convention, the one he contested with Atiku, Jonathan gave

$7, 000 to each delegate. It wasn't naira. What are you talking? Nigeria is a terrible country. Then, he gave bribe to delegates in dollars. Now he can give more.

(*Saturday Sun*, September 20, 2014:69)

Apart from providing cues of election litigations as seen in the reference to the Appeal Court judgement and the expectation from the Supreme Court, the participants, especially the interviewee in example 53 above, uses linguistic expressions that foreground activities of some politicians that point to election malpractice in order to foreground his interactional goal of exposing election fraud in Nigeria. This is negotiated within the discourse issue of election ethics. For example, the expression that the PDP, "removed original result sheets for ward and local government collation" is used to demonstrate the violation of the electoral act, thereby constituting election fraud. Also, the use of "violence", shooting "into the air" to scare the voters, carrying away the electoral materials, and filling the "original results that they had taken from INEC in connivance with some electoral officials and forced them into the collation centre" are all indications of election fraud.

Also, in example 54, the interviewee explores the goal of election fraud. He paints a gloomy picture of Nigeria's electoral process that is characterised by fraud. His reference to the rigging of election through financial inducement as witnessed in the bribing of delegates with "$7,000" pragmatically reveals election fraud because the Nigerian electoral act clearly prohibits the buying and selling of votes by both the candidate and the electorate respectively, therefore, the expressions, "He can rig election", "Jonathan gave $7, 000 to each delegate", and "he gave bribe to delegates in dollars" are used as contextual cues to index the goal of exposing election fraud.

6.1.5. Election litigations

Litigation is concerned with taking matters to a court of law. Election litigations, therefore, relate to legal actions that are related to the fallout of an election. Participants in print media political interviews discursively negotiate assessment of election litigations in the discourse issue of election tribunal to indicate or signal their satisfaction or dissatisfaction about an election process. An example is given below:

Example 55

Background: In this interview, a governorship candidate of APGA in the 2015 general election expresses discontentment with the decision of the State Governorship Tribunal.

Vanguard Interviewer: How do you feel over the judgement of the tribunal?

Interviewee: I want to first of all thank the people of Nasarawa for their overwhelming support during the April 11 governorship election and the period of the tribunal. You will agree with me that during the sitting of the tribunal, people from all over the state were coming to show solidarity with me even when I was not at the tribunal in person.... If you study the period of proceedings from day one till the last day, our supporters continued to show support religiously.

<div align="right">(Vanguard, October 4, 2015:12)</div>

The overall interactional goal in the example above is to negotiate assessment of election litigations. The participants in the interview use linguistic expressions to elucidate legal battles that emanate from the outcome of an election as contextual cues of election litigations. These contextual cues are foregrounded through various legal words such as, "judgement of the tribunal", "sitting of the tribunal", and "period of proceeding". In fact, the repetition of the word, "tribunal" is predominant in the extract through which the participants used to give information on election litigations.

6.1.6. Abuse of power

Abuse of power refers to the different manifestations of the misuse of public office. This could come in form of financial fraud which is the deliberate and intentional act by an individual to deceive others for his or her personal benefit. One of the interactional goals by participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media is to expose abuse of power in the Nigerian political system through the participants' discursive negotiation of acts of financial dishonesty and other forms of incongruous behaviour by public office holders as manifested in the selected data. These fraudulent activities ultimately result in abuse of power since those who commit these acts are usually in positions of trust and authority. As indicated in the data, this goal and contextual cues are connected to corruption in governance, as shown below:

Example 56

Background: In this interview, the Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Anti-corruption comments on the changes that have taken place in Nigeria under the administration of President Muhamamadu Buhari.

Vanguard **interviewer:** What has changed in Nigeria under the Buhari administration?

Interviewee: A lot has changed, it is a totally new world. Now you have a government with integrity trying to provide selfless service rather than serving itself as it used to be. The government is trying to salvage this country which was on its way to a complete crash. The government is recovering money that was stolen, it is putting a public conduct that you must serve with integrity and honour and that the greatest pride you get being in government is that you have the privilege to serve, and not the privilege to be a locust that will destroy all our resources for personal gain…. You have all sorts of criminally-minded people, who have run down this economy by collecting our common patrimony for themselves, being brought to book and our money being returned.

(*Vanguard*, May 29, 2016:43)

The overriding interactional intention or goal in the example above is to negotiate the existence of abuse of power in governance through financial fraud. The interviewee implicitly establishes the fact that the previous administration exhibited the abuse of power when he alleges that the present government is, "trying to provide selfless service rather than serving itself as it used to be". It is important to note that any government that serves itself to the detriment of the public abuses public trust and power. This abuse of power and public trust manifests in financial fraud as seen in the looting of the public treasury.

The contextual cues of financial fraud are linguistically characterised in the expressions, "money that was stolen", "locust that will destroy all our resources for personal gain", and "criminally-minded people, who have run down this economy by collecting our common patrimony for themselves". These expressions show that financial fraud was committed by the previous administration as reflected in the stolen money the present "government is recovering". The use of the word, "locust" metaphorically refers to the public officers who plundered the national economy by dishonestly and deceitfully appropriating the nation's common wealth to themselves. This pragmatically shows the corrupt nature of the leaders.

6.1.7. Equality before the law

Equality before the law implies equal and fair treatment of all citizens before the law without any form of prejudice. The data show that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria discursively negotiate the goal of obedience or disobedience to the law of the land within the discourse issue of the rule of law as demonstrated below:

Example 57

Background: In this interview, an APC candidate who lost a senatorial election expects the election to be declared inconclusive and a re-run election to be ordered for based on the margin of win and the cancelled votes.

The Punch **interviewer:** What do you think would have been done?

Interviewee: We expected the same thing to have been done in this election because the law cannot be selective. INEC cannot choose where to apply the law of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The law must be equally and fairly applied to all. What I feel in this issue is that when big names were involved, the law took its due course but because a humble and poor person is involved and appears not to have any godfather anywhere to stand for him, there was this fragrant impunity by INEC to have gone ahead to declare Mark winner…. We are calling on INEC to rescind its decision. Whether it is possible or not to rescind, the answer is also with the recently conducted election in Kogi that was held on February 20. The INEC declared the election inconclusive and the following day it rescinded its decision because, according to the INEC officials, they had found results that closed the gap to ensure that the number of cancelled votes was less than the margin of win. They rescinded their decision and declared one of the candidates winner…

(The Punch, March 6, 2016:57)

In example 57 above, participants in the discourse jointly negotiate the interactional goal of equality before the law by calling for equal treatment of all citizens "because the law cannot be selective". The interviewee, through some expressions, points to non-adherent to the principle of equality before the law in respect of INEC's declaration of a winner in the senatorial election that he took part in which the winning margin does not justify the declaration in view of the cancelled votes. He argues that, though INEC had already declared a winner, it could still rescind its decision just as it did with "the recently conducted election in Kogi" in which it "declared the election inconclusive and the following day it rescinded its decision". The essence of this Kogi election analogy is to emphasise the fact that, everybody is equal before the law of Nigeria, hence, "The law must be equally and fairly applied to all".

6.2. Pragmatic strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media

This study reveals that the participants in political interviews in Nigerian print media explore five broad pragmatic strategies and two main positions to negotiate seven interactional goals

that were discussed in the preceding section. The pragmatic strategies identified are persuasive, offensive, inquisitorial, defensive and evaluative strategy. The positions include affiliative and disaffiliative positions. These positions taken are realised through different stance types which are used to strengthen them.

6.2.1. Persuasive strategy

This strategy is used to convince or to influence the opinions of others about a particular thing. Through persuasion, interactants attempt to change or strengthen the opinion of their co-interactants on a certain subject or issue. This strategy is largely explored by the interviewees in the sampled data to achieve election victory and seek higher responsibility. It features appeal to personality, reason and emotions as its main devices.

6.2.1.1. Appeal to personality

Appeal to personality involves persuasion based on one's personality, character, credentials or reliability. The data reveal the use of appeal to personality. The example below illustrates this:

Example 58

Background: In this interview, a chieftain of the PDP talks about President Jonathan's bright chances in South-West for the 2015 general elections.

Thisday interviewer: You are one of PDP chieftains almost permanently on the road, campaigning for Mr. President's re-election. What are you asking Nigerians and particularly, South-West to buy in him?

Interviewee: … As a seasoned lawyer and civil servant I know a government that is doing well and one that is just there for personal interest. The Goodluck Jonathan and Sambo government is there to better the lots of Nigeria with the various transformation agenda and programmes we are witnessing by the day. From a woman angle and a lawyer the 35% women affirmation action is worth the women-folk rolling out their drums and give maximum support to Mr President considering the strategic appointments given to women such as Finance, Defence, FCDA, Environment, Housing and Urban Development….

President has shown he is a democrat indeed by upholding the rule of law ensuring that his party and his government always obey the decision of the court and following the extant rules in government and the constitution at all time.

<div align="right">(Thisday March 15, 2015:84)</div>

In example 58 above, the interviewee persuades by first convincing her co-interactant that she fully understands what she is talking about. This knowledge was gained through her professional training and experience as a lawyer, thus, giving her the competence to comment on governance. The interviewee takes an affiliative position with the interviewer that she is campaigning for the President's re-election through three stance types that help to strengthen her persuasion; namely epistemic, evaluative and evidential. The interviewee expresses her epistemic stance based on her personal experience in the expression "As a seasoned lawyer and civil servant", to affiliate with the interviewer that she has been campaigning for the President. In "I know a government that is doing well", the stance verb, "know", epistemically points to this prior source of knowledge (Osunbade 2016: 217) which equips her to canvass for President Jonathan. The use of the pronominal "I" and the stance verb, "know" to assert the certainty of her knowledge with respect to her competence to persuade index her political and administrative experience.

The interviewee expresses her evaluative stance through the deployment of the verb phrase "better the lots of Nigeria" to orient to a positive judgement of President Jonathan's administration. To further explore this evaluative stance, the interviewee deploys the adjective, "democrat" to describe the President. She validates her evaluative stance with evidential stance which is lexicalized through the nominal group "the strategic appointments" and the verb phrase "given to" which work pragmatically with another nominal element "women" that serves as the direct beneficiary to provide evidence that the President has done well for the women. The President's obedience to the rule of law and court decisions further provides evidence that he is a democrat. The overall pragmatic significance of the expression of these stances is to canvass support for the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan.

6.2.1.2. Appeal to reason

This entails persuasion through the use of reason to justify an argument. It is based largely on facts and reality. The data show that participants explore it to convincingly persuade their co-

interactants and the reading audience. The following example will help in illustrating the utilization of appeal to reason as a persuasive device in the data:

Example 59

Background: A member of the House of Representatives from Benue laments the alleged massacre of the Agatu people by the Fulani herdsmen.

Punch **interviewer:** By implication, you are saying the people of Benue have not received enough protection from government?

Interviewee: If we have had enough protection, our people wouldn't be killed cheaply. Like I told you, even before the Agatu massacre, at least 10 persons were killed in my own local government….

(*Punch* April 9, 2016:29)

Example 59 above, vividly illustrates the use of persuasion as a strategy through appeal to reason. Both interactants jointly negotiate the context of poor governance. The expression "If we have had enough protection, our people wouldn't be killed cheaply" demonstrates the interviewee's logical reasoning that the government has failed in its statutory responsibility of providing protection for its citizens. The reference to the killings is deliberately deployed to appeal to the interviewer's and the reading audience's emotions and sense of reason.

In this example, the interviewer's pragmatic interpretation of the interviewee's earlier statement that Benue State has been neglected by the federal government generates an affiliative response from the interviewee. This position is strengthened through epistemic, evidential and evaluative stances. The epistemic stance is indexed by "Like I told you" to indicate the interviewee's certainty of his claim. Evidential stance is indexed by the verbal element, "killed" which provides evidence of lack of protection. Evaluative stance is expressed using the adverbial clause "if we had enough protection", which is used to assess the level of safety and security in Benue State.

6.2.1.3. Appeal to emotions

This relates to appeal that relies on the emotional or personal connection of an individual to an issue. The example below shows the use of appeal to emotions in the selected interviews:

Example 60

Background: In this interview, a former Commissioner and an aspirant for the Lagos State Central Senatorial District speaks on his senatorial ambition.

Daily Sun **interviewer:** Do you think you have what it takes to defeat the sitting Senator, Oluremi Tinubu considering the fact that she is Bola Tinubu's wife?

Interviewee: … I would make sure that the proper laws to support these things are enacted and I would continue to push for the special status for Lagos through the Lagos Metropolitan Development Authority. For instance, we need better quality representation at the National Assembly to ensure that the infrastructural problem at Apapa which also involves reducing traffic gridlock is dealt with once and for all.

(*The Sun* October 23, 2014:34)

The interviewer in the above example inquires to know the possibility of the interviewee becoming victorious at the pools against not just an incumbent Senator, but also the wife of APC's national leader, Bola Tinubu. Working on the cue provided by the interviewer's inquiry, the interviewee not only co-constructs his leadership ambition, but also delves into canvassing for support for himself by appealing to the emotions of the interviewer and indeed the entire Lagos State citizens. He does this by promising to "continue to push for the special status for Lagos through the Lagos Metropolitan Development Authority." He also appeals to the people's emotion by invoking the need for "better quality representation" that would ameliorate the "infrastructural problem at Apapa" which would ultimately reduce the "traffic gridlock" experienced by the residents of, and visitors to Lagos. The overall goal of this persuasion is to negotiate election victory.

The interviewer's question produces an affiliative assertion by the interviewee. This position is taken through the help of evaluative stance, which is expressed by the adjectival, "better quality representation".

6.2.2. Offensive strategy

The data analyses reveal that participants engage in offensive strategy through criticism, accusation and outright condemnation of an individual, party, policy or government to ultimately negotiate the goals of election fraud and abuse of power. The offensive strategy in the data is mostly deployed by the interviewer, who could sometimes be blunt or veiled.

6.2.2.1. Blunt offensive

Blunt offensive strategy relates to the use of outright and unmitigated criticisms. The data reveal that participants in print media political interviews engage in direct, head on and frontal criticisms, accusations and condemnations of others, especially those in power with a view to obtaining the truth from the interlocutor. This is demonstrated in the example below:

Example 61

Background: A sitting governor of Delta State comments on his administration in this interview.

Vanguard **interviewer:** The expenditure approval limit for two former Governors of the State, Chief James Ibori and Dr. Emmanuel Uduaghan, was N50 million, but I understand that you have increased yours to N250 million and reduced that of your Commissioners from N2 million to N200,000, can you justify the rationale of[sic] this decision given the downturn in the economy?

Interviewee: In the course of my campaign, I promised to be real, I promised to speak the truth to Deltans…I thank God for my predecessors who had approval limits of N50 million. If for instance, N50 million was the limit in 1999, I believe, as at then, N50 million was able to construct a one kilometer road or two. Today, N50 million cannot construct even half a kilometer of road….

(*Vanguard* May 29, 2016:46)

The *Vanguard* interviewer fires a blunt offensive that bothers on the interviewee's integrity. He does not adorn his accusation and criticism with any form of euphemism, but bluntly states it. By this, the interviewer frontally criticises the Governor of (i) appropriating funds to himself more than any other previous Governors (ii) injustice in reducing the Commissioners' allocations and increasing his (iii) insensitivity to the poor economy. In all these, the interviewer implies that by doing so, the Governor is corrupt. The ultimate intention of the interviewer is to negotiate the exposure of abuse of power and to make the interviewee to defend himself. The interviewee responses to the offensive without any trace of rude or impolite "defensive reaction" (Odebunmi 2009) since it is considered appropriate within the context of media political interviews.

The interviewer's criticism on increment in expenditure attracts an affiliative response, but a disaffiliative response on arbitrary increment. This is achieved through the expression of epistemic stance in "I believe, as at then, N50 million was able to construct a one kilometer road or two. Today, N50 million cannot construct even half a kilometer of

road….." Here, the interviewee demonstrates his knowledge of history on the cost of road construction and other things. He uses this to justify his action of increasing his expenditure.

6.2.2.2. Veiled offensive

Veiled offensive relates to the deployment of subtle criticism, accusation and condemnation that is not direct. It makes use of circumlocution and roundabout language instead of direct expression for strategic reasons. Participants in print media political interviews explore this device. This is further expatiated with the following example:

Example 62

Background: In this interview, a sitting APC Governor fields questions on President Buhari's performance.

Vanguard **interviewer:** Before the President came in, there were so much expectations. Now, people think he is not tackling the problems on ground as fast as they expected.

Interviewee: No. First of all, the country is now safe and people have confidence in themselves, they feel honoured outside the country, unlike the situation before….

(*Vanguard* January 17, 2016:22)

The interviewer in the above interaction veils his criticism of the President's poor performance by attributing this criticism to some unnamed persons when he said, "people think". The interviewer exercises caution about disclosing any person's name, since perhaps, there is no official document to support such claim. Still veiling the criticism, he uses "think" instead of "say". The interviewee who correctly understands the interviewer's statement to be a subtle criticism of the APC led Federal Government swiftly defends with a disaffiliative claim, "No" to refute the allegation that the Federal Government led by President Buhari has not performed well so far.

6.2.3. Inquisitorial strategy

Inquisitorial strategy seeks to gather general information about a particular issue. In our data, it is largely employed by the interviewer to negotiate all the seven goals. Two forms of inquisitorial strategy manifest in our data, namely: direct and indirect. Each of these is developed below with relevant instance.

6.2.3.1. Direct inquisitorial

The direct inquisitorial form is used to ask direct questions without circumlocution. This form of inquisition is often introduced by wh-questions or other direct interrogative words. An example is provided below:

Example 63

Background: The Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriation speaks on the controversial 2016 National Budget.

Vanguard **interviewer:** The executive arm of government is claiming that with the amount of distortions in the budget, it cannot be worked on. What do you have to say about that?

Interviewee: Year after year, when the NASS does its job thoroughly, they never come up with any tangible excuse other than that the input of the NASS has made the budget unimplementable. We are used to getting such excuses. We did a thorough job on the budget and we went through it page by page and we gave the heads of MDAs opportunity to defend their budgets and they came up with a very good report which we studied and also placed it side by side and, at the end of the day, we came up with a good document that is implementable.

(*Vanguard* April 17, 2016:8)

In the above example, the interviewer first interactively negotiates the goal of abuse of power with the alleged manipulation of the budget by the legislators. This goal is linguistically indexed by the lexical choices of "distortions in the budget". This offensive is followed by a direct inquisitorial which is lexicalized by the interrogation "What do you have to say about that?" As expected, the interviewee attempts a defence with the adverbial "when the NASS does its job thoroughly…" He further launches an offensive on the executive in "they [executive arm] never come up with any tangible excuse…" In this defence, we see that the interviewee disaffiliates with the purported executive position that the National Assembly has distorted the budget.

The interviewee achieves in taking his position by exploring the epistemic and evidential stances. In expressing his epistemic stance he asserts that "we are used to getting such excuses" to indicate his knowledge and certainty that the executive arm is in the habit of making unnecessary excuses to cover up its shortcomings. He goes further to state that "we did a thorough job" to express the certainty of his claim that the budget was not distorted. His

reference to the input of the heads of MDAs and their "good report" provides evidence that the National Assembly was free of the allegations.

6.2.3.2. Indirect inquisitorial

This relates to the non-use of actual or known question form for strategic purpose. The data reveal that participants use non-direct forms of question to veil their inquiry for the purpose of politeness. This form is usually used as a follow up of an earlier direct inquiry. This is demonstrated in the following example:

Example 64

Background: In this interview, a PDP stalwart and governorship aspirant in Benue State speaks on why he is the most qualified person for the governorship position of the state.

Sun **interviewer:** Critics have dismissed your chances in the race. They say you lack the pedigree and political wherewithal to embark on the project.

Interviewee: I think political background and experience is not a necessary yardstick to leadership. I can count on my fingers many people who were very good politicians but never occupied any political leadership position. I can also mention many people who were limited in terms of their political participation and yet became leaders. If I may just look at what happened since 1999; Obasanjo came out of prison with limited political exposure to become an elected President of Nigeria and by all accounts rendered service....

(*The Sun*. Monday, April 28, 2014:34)

The above excerpt shows the deployment of indirect inquisitorial by the interviewer who veils his inquiry about the interviewee's reaction to the criticism of his political or leadership ambition which has earlier been negotiated in the first turn of the interview. Expectedly, the interviewee interprets the statement as an inquiry that needed his explanation and defence. The interviewee therefore, takes a disaffiliative position with the proposition that he lacks "the pedigree and political wherewithal to embark on the project" (that is, contesting for the 2015 Governorship election in Benue State).

The interviewee's disaffiliative position is achieved through epistemic, evidential and evaluative stances. He expresses the certainty of his knowledge that not all good politicians occupy leadership positions in, "I can count on my fingers many people who were very good politicians but never occupied any political leadership position." He goes further to assert that, "I can also mention many people who were limited in terms of their political

participation and yet became leaders." He supports his epistemic stance with the evidential stance that, "Obasanjo came out of prison with limited political exposure to become an elected president." This pragmatically implies that though, he is politically inexperience, he could still win the governorship election. Finally, the interviewee orients to positive judgement of a "politically limited" Obasanjo "by all accounts rendered service." This entails that he could be a better leader than the so called politically experienced people.

6.2.4. Defensive strategy

Defensive strategy involves making a possible attack, that is, criticism, accusation and condemnation unattractive. It is configured to fend off or counter criticism, accusation and condemnation. The data show that interviewees use defensive strategy to negotiate the goal of ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens by positively judging their performance in government. The following example would be quite instructive:

Example 65

Background: In this excerpt, the *Daily Sun* interviewer interviews a member of the Anambra State House of Assembly, and a People's Democratic Party (PDP) House of Representatives candidate for Ihiala Federal Constituency.

Sun **interviewer:** There is nothing to show that PDP is doing better than APC right now...

Interviewee: I totally disagree with you. I can emphatically tell you that our great party is doing very well. We will not come out in the public to tell you our strategies and efforts to ensure we win overwhelmingly in a free and fair contest. But I can assure you that what we have on ground today will enable PDP to have a landslide victory. PDP is the only party that commands membership in every nook and cranny of our nation. It is not just a social media party. We are on ground.

(*The Sun*, Friday, March 13, 2015)

In the example above, the interviewer in a blunt and unmitigated manner accuses the interviewee's ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) of poor performance. His overriding pragmatic intention is to make the interviewee to defend the allegation, and negotiate the party's ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens. The interviewee without any hesitation defends his party and positively judges its performance. The defending co-text can be seen in the assertive forms: "I totally disagree", "our party is doing very well", "we

are on ground". The interviewee uses these co-textual forms to defend the fact that his party, (PDP) is doing better than APC.

The interviewee expresses his disaffiliative position through the epistemic and evidential stances. The epistemic stance is expressed through "I can emphatically tell you that our great party is doing very well" to state the certainty of his claim. The pronominal "I" at the subject position works pragmatically with the stance verb, "tell" which is modified by the adverbial "emphatically", which is used to stress his epistemic knowledge of the fact that PDP is doing better than the APC. The interviewee further substantiates his claim by exploiting the evidential stance in "We are on ground". This implies that the party is well known and accepted by the people, hence, it "commands membership in every nook and cranny of our nation."

6.2.5. Evaluative strategy

Evaluative strategy entails critical assessment of situations, persons, policies, party or government in order to assign value and judgement. The data reveal two forms of evaluation, which are used to positively or negatively assess performance, thus, negotiating the goal of the ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens. These forms of evaluation are: objective and subjective judgements. These forms of evaluation are considered separately below:

6.2.5.1. Objective judgment

Objective judgement relates to assessment based on concrete facts without bias. The data reveal objective judgement as can be seen in the following example:

Example 66

Background: In this interview, a former governor of Anambra State and Deputy Director-General (South) of the Jonathan Campaign Organisation speaks on why President Jonathan should be re-elected for second term.

Thisday interviewer: What is your take on the claim that the Nigerian economy is now the biggest in Africa?

Interviewee: Clearly, President Jonathan has achieved more in economic development than any of his predecessors. All sectors have been positively affected since 2011, when he came into office. The rebasing of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product ranked the nation's economy 1st in Africa and 26th globally; from 3rd and 46th respectively. It also showed that the economy had been more widely diversified than before...

(*Thisday* March 15, 2015:85)

The interviewer's interrogative required the interviewee's evaluation of the government's economic performance, which ultimately orients to the goal of the ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens. The interviewee in an affiliative response objectively evaluates the nation's economy to have developed positively under President Jonathan. He cites "The rebasing of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product ranked the nation's economy 1st in Africa and 26th globally; from 3rd and 46th respectively" and diversification to be concrete indices for the economic growth.

6.2.5.2. Subjective Judgment

Subjective judgement involves biased, sentimental and emotional judgement. The following shows how subjective judgement is used in the data selected.

Example 67

Background: In this interview a former Speaker of the House of Representatives comments on the government of President Jonathan.

Punch interviewer: What is your impression of his government?

Interviewee: My impression of him is someone who doesn't carry people along. There is so much disconnect between him and the people of Nigeria. First of all, this is somebody who has never for once worked at the centre; he has been a provincial person all his life.

(*The Punch,* March 22, 2015:14)

The interviewer's interrogation requires the interviewee to evaluate Jonathan's administration, that is, his ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens. The interviewee assesses his (Jonathan's) government negatively, but in a subjective manner. His judgement is not based on facts or objectivity, but sentiments. Instead of providing an

objective evaluation of Jonathan's performance as is required by the inquiry, the interviewee deviates to evaluate his social life by saying, "he has been a provincial person all his life", which does not necessarily mean that he has no administrative acumen or that his government is not good.

6.3. Concluding remarks

This chapter has examined the pragmatic strategies deployed by participants to negotiate interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria. From the examination, it was discovered that PMPIs exhibit the deployment of five pragmatic strategies to negotiate seven interactional goals. These are: the persuasive strategy which deployed appeal to personality, reason and emotions to negotiate election victory and seeking higher responsibility; the offensive was exploited to negotiate election fraud and abuse of power through blunt offensive and veiled offensive; the inquisitorial strategy investigated election litigations, equality before the law, and all other goals through direct inquisitorial and indirect inquisitorial; the defensive strategy was explored to negotiate ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens; and the evaluative strategy was employed to negotiate the ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens through objective and subjective evaluations.

The chapter also probed the positions taken by participants in the encounter, and observed that two positions, namely, affiliative and disaffiliative positions were favoured by participants in the selected data. These positions taking were realised basically through three stance types, namely, epistemic, evaluative and evidential stance, which were used to strengthen the participants' positions.

The tables below summarise our findings in this chapter:

Table 6.1: Interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media

S/N	Interactional goal	Context	Discourse issue	Examples
1	Election victory	Election	Political campaigns	"I have been sufficiently encouraged by the party leadership to become the Speaker" (Example 47)
2	Seeking higher responsibilities	Election	Political campaigns Leadership ambition	"I will contest for the governorship seat of Imo State in 2015 general election" (Example 51)
3	Ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens	Governance	Leadership Performance Political campaigns	"the issues of insecurity and militancy have become a thing of the past because President Jonathan has initiated processes that guarantee peace and security in the region." (Example 52)
4	Exposure of election fraud	Election	Election ethics	"… removed original result sheets for ward and local government collation", "they quickly filled those original result sheets that they had taken from INEC in connivance with some electoral officials…", "violence" (Example 53) "he can rig election", "Jonathan gave $7,000 to each delegate", "he gave bribes to delegates in dollars" (Example 54)
5	Assessment of election litigations	Election	Election tribunals	"sitting of the tribunal", period of proceedings" (Example 55)
6	Exposure of abuse of power	Governance	Corruption	"money that was stolen", "locust that will destroy all our resources for personal gain", "criminally-minded people, who have run down this economy by collecting our common patrimony for themselves" (Example 56)
7	Equality before the law	Governance	The rule of law	"the law cannot be selective", "the law must be equally and fairly applied to all" (Example 57)

Table 6.2: Highlight of Findings on Interactional Goals and Pragmatic Strategies in Political Interviews in Nigerian Print Media

S/N	Strategy	Devices	Negotiated Interactional goal	Context	Stance type	Examples
1	Persuasive	Appeal to personality Appeal to reason Appeal to emotions	Election victory Seeking higher responsibilities Ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens	Election Governance	Epistemic Evaluative Evidential	"As a seasoned lawyer and a civil servant, I know a government that is doing well" (Example 52); "If we have had enough protection, our people wouldn't be killed cheaply" (Example 53)
2	Offensive	Blunt offensive Veiled offensive	Exposure of abuse of power Exposure of election fraud Ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens	Governance Election	Epistemic	"The expenditure approval limit for two former governors of the state… was N50 million, but I understand that you have increased yours to N250 million and reduced that of your Commissioners from N2 million to N200, 000, can you justify the rationale of this decision given the downturn in the economy?" (Example 55) "People think he is not tackling the problems on ground as fast as they expected" (Example 56)
3	Inquisitorial	Direct inquisitorial Indirect inquisitorial	All goals	Governance Election	Epistemic Evidential Evaluation	"… what do you have to say about that? (Example 57), "Critics have dismissed your chances in the race. They say you lack the pedigree and political wherewithal to embark on the project." (Example 58)
4	Defensive		Ability to control	Governance	Epistemic	"I totally disagree

					Evidential	with you. Our party is doing well" (Example 59)
5	Evaluative	Objective judgement Subjective judgement	Ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens	Governance	Epistemic Evaluative	"All sectors have been positively affected since 2011, when he came into office" (Example 60) "My impression of him is someone who doesn't carry people along" (Example 61)

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.0. Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by providing the summary of the findings and making generalisations. It also draws conclusions based on the findings and highlights the contributions of the study to scholarship. The application and limitation of the study are also discussed here. Finally, the chapter also makes recommendations for further research endeavours.

7.1. Summary of findings

This study investigates context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media. The study has revealed some significant findings. These findings are summarised under the following headings:

    i. Context in political interviews in Nigerian print media

    ii. Linguistic features in political interviews in Nigerian print media

    iii. Ideological constructions in political interviews in Nigerian print media

    iv. Interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media

    v. Pragmatic strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media

7.1.1. Context in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Two main discursive contexts are identified in this study, namely: the context of election and the context of governance. These two discursive contexts manifest nine discourse issues, five of which are related to the context of election, while the other four are connected to the context of governance.

7.1.1.1. The context of election

This context which relates to the processes of selecting a leader is marked with five discourse issues, namely: political campaigns, leadership ambition, election preparations, election ethics, and election tribunals. All these discourse issues portray activities that are central to the context of election in political interviews in Nigerian print media.

7.1.1.1.1. Political campaigns

This study reveals that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria explore political campaigns to present political proposals and canvass for support as reflected in the

data selected. It also shows that political campaigns are characterised by promises, recommendations and casting of aspersions on opponents. This is made possible through linguistic resources (for example, verb phrase), shared knowledge of community of membership, physical and linguistic co-presences.

7.1.1.1.2. Leadership ambition

The study reveals that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria jointly explore the desire to seek leadership position through linguistic resources and physical co-presence. This discourse issue is characterised by willingness to take responsibilities and willingness to effect reforms and impact positively on the people.

7.1.1.1.3. Election preparations

Participants discursively negotiate planning for election which involves activities such as voter registration, voter education, security, personnel training, procurement and distribution of election materials to ensure the smooth conduct of a free and fair election.

7.1.1.1.4. Election ethics

The data show that participants discursively engage in the discussion of the moral principles of the conduct of an election. The study reveals that election ethics is negotiated in PMPIs in relation to election irregularities.

7.1.1.1.5. Election tribunals

The study observes that participants in the selected data discursively negotiate litigations and disputes that emanate from the outcome of an election. This post-election activity ensures the peaceful resolution of election related disagreements. This discourse issue is characterised by the participants' expression of their confidence in the judiciary and discontent with some judgements.

7.1.1.2. The context of governance

This context accounts for governance related issues. Four governance related discourse issues are revealed in this context, namely, leadership, performance, corruption, and the rule of law. The data reveal that these discourse issues are marked by activities that deal with the welfare of the citizens.

7.1.1.2.1. Leadership

The study indicates that leadership as reflected in the data is associated with a leader's ability to initiate, direct, and take responsibilities for actions. It explores the effective management or otherwise of the nation's resources for the good of the citizens.

7.1.1.2.2. Performance

The study reveals that performance as negotiated by participants in the selected data is marked by a leader's concrete and measureable output or achievements in terms of, for example, infrastructural development.

7.1.1.2.3. Corruption

Participants projected by the data for this study discursively negotiate the dishonest behaviours and acts of those in positions of authority. These corrupt behaviours, include, but not limited to looting.

7.1.1.2.4. The rule of law

The data indicate that participants in their interactions show adherence and non-adherence to the law of the land by some political leaders in Nigeria.

7.1.2. Linguistic features in political interviews in Nigerian print media

The linguistic features of the discourse are observed through the transitivity system. The study reveals the deployment of material, mental, existential, and verbal processes. Our observation reveals that these processes occur in both the context of election and the context of governance. The material process is used to indicate physical and concrete actions relating to competition, adjudication, declaration, consultation, and fraud in the context of election; and construction and inspection in the context of governance. The mental process is used to project mental and psychological pictures of knowledge, contemplation, sight, hearing, and conviction in the two discursive contexts. The existential process is used to encode meaning of existence of financial fraud and infrastructural development in the context of governance, and election fraud in the context of election; while the verbal process states assertions and denials in the two discursive contexts.

7.1.3. Ideological constructions in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Seven types of ideologies are observed in this study. They are the nationalist, sectionalist, supremacist, positivist, defeatist, oppositionist, and constitutionalist ideologies.

7.1.3.1. Nationalist ideology

Nationalist ideology places national interest above personal or any other interest. It shows the love for one's country. This ideology is expressed in the selected data through material, mental and verbal processes which are foregrounded by lexicalization, positive self-presentation and evidentiality.

7.1.3.2. Sectionalist ideology

This ideology favours the interest of participants' ethnic and geo-political zones at the expense of national interest. The ideology in this study is realised via material, mental and verbal processes which are projected through lexicalization, polarization, self-glorification, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, and evidentiality.

7.1.3.3. Supremacist ideology

Supremacist ideology indicates discourse participants' feeling of superiority. The ideology is indexed by material, mental and verbal processes which are achieved through the discourse strategies of positive self-presentation and self-glorification.

7.1.3.4. Positivist ideology

The study reveals that participants in the selected data demonstrate optimism and resilience even in difficult situations. This ideology is achieved through material and mental processes, and it is realised through the discourse strategies of self-glorification, positive self-presentation and polarization.

7.1.3.5. Defeatist ideology

Defeatist ideology in this study shows participants' pessimism and hopelessness about some situations. The linguistic resources deployed in this ideology are material and mental processes, and the discourse strategies that are employed to construct the ideology are evidentiality, lexicalization and empathy.

7.1.3.6. Oppositionist ideology

Oppositionist ideology relates discourse participants' confrontation and disagreement with those in authority. It is expressed in the data through material, mental and verbal processes together with the discourse strategies of positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and rhetorical questions.

7.1.3.7. Constitutionalist ideology

Constitutionalist ideology in this study portrays the discourse participants' belief in the supremacy of the constitution. This ideology is constructed and projected through material, mental and verbal processes with lexicalization, positive self-presentation and negative self-presentation as its main discourse strategies.

7.1.4. Interactional goals in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Seven interactional goals are observed to characterise the discourse of print media political interviews in Nigeria. They are: election victory, seeking higher responsibilities, ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens; election litigations, equality before the law, election fraud, and abuse of power. Four of these interactional goals are associated with the context of election, two are connected to the context of governance, while the other one is negotiated in both the context of election and the context of governance.

7.1.4.1. Election victory

The data reveal that the goal of election victory is central to print media political interviews in Nigeria. This goal is negotiated in political campaigns, which is situated within the discursive context of election. The goal is indexed by contextual cues of unity and internal democracy, electorate positive response reference, and performance reference.

7.1.4.2. Seeking higher responsibilities

The goal of seeking higher responsibilities is an important goal that depicts participants' desire for political positions. It is negotiated in leadership ambition and political campaigns which are located in the discursive context of election. The goal is cued in by linguistic expressions of aspiration.

7.1.4.3. Election litigations

Election litigations are marked by court suits in order to address election related disputes. It is negotiated in the discourse issue of election tribunals which is situated within the context of election. This goal is cued in contextually through linguistic expressions that depict legal tussle.

7.1.4.4. Election fraud

Election fraud is negotiated by participants as a result of perceived violation of the electoral law by some politicians. It is negotiated in election ethics within the discursive context of election. This goal is revealed in the data to be contextually cued in through reference to various activities of election malpractice.

7.1.4.5. Ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens

The data reveal that ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens is negotiated in political campaigns in the context of election; and in leadership and performance in the context of governance. The contextual cues used in the negotiation of this goal are references to performance.

7.1.4.6. Equality before the law

The data reveal that the negotiation of equality before the law is done by participants' insistence that all the citizens should be treated equally and fairly before the law of the land. This goal is negotiated in the issue of the rule of law which is situated in the context of governance.

7.1.4.7. Abuse of power

The data reveal that abuse of power takes different dimensions such as financial fraud. This goal is negotiated within the discursive context of governance.

7.1.5. Pragmatic strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media

Five main pragmatic strategies and nine devices have been identified in the discourse of print media political interviews in Nigeria. These strategies are used affiliatively and disaffiliatively to negotiate the seven interactional goals in the discourse. The persuasive strategy which deploys appeal to emotions, appeal to reason and appeal to personality is used to negotiate election victory and seeking higher responsibilities; the evaluative strategy

which utilizes objective and subjective judgements is deployed to negotiate ability to control and direct the affairs of Nigerian citizens; the inquisitorial strategy which exploits direct and indirect questions is deployed to negotiate election litigations, equality before the law and all other goals; the offensive strategy which uses blunt and veiled offensives is utilized to negotiate election fraud and abuse of power; and the defensive strategy which is also employed to negotiate ability to control and direct the affairs of the Nigerian citizens.

7.2. Generalisations

Media political interviews provide a veritable platform for the negotiation and realization of interactional goals and the construction of ideological framework. Consequently, as demonstrated in this study, discourse participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria jointly explore discourse and pragmatic tools to negotiate interactional goals within the identified discourse contexts of election and governance. The discourse issues found in the two discourse contexts are jointly negotiated by the participants *post factum* and not *apriori.* The study also indicates that participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria discursively orient to, and construct different ideologies that guide their conversational contributions.

7.3. Conclusions
7.3.1. Contributions of the study

This study contributes significantly to the existing studies on pragmatics and discourse analysis in general. Specifically, the study serves as foundation for the combined study of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media, an area that has largely been neglected. Unlike some existing studies that have focused on general stylistic, rhetorical, discourse and pragmatic features as seen in the review of related literature, this study draws insights from a combination of discourse and pragmatic tools. Specifically, the study benefits from the theories of context, stance, common ground, face constituting theory, socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis, and systemic functional grammar. A combination of these theoretical perspectives provides a clear and systematic description of the print media political interviews in Nigeria. Consequently, this present study has contributed in enhancing scholars' understanding of contexts, ideologies and negotiation strategies in the discourse of print media political interviews in Nigeria. The study has developed and utilized a framework for the analysis of context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media which would help

scholars, politicians and the general public to understand how meaning in political discourse can be accessed.

The succinct utilisation of aspects of contextual theory accounts for the situation that conditions the uttering of some utterances, thus, it enables scholars to appropriately establish the relationship between context and the explication of linguistic and pragmatic meaning of the discourse of print media political interviews in Nigeria. The study also contributes to the understanding of the joint negotiation of interactional goals in politics related interactions among participants in print media political interviews in Nigeria from a pragmatic perspective. Again, the study has been able to effectively deploy the transitivity system of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar to neatly handle the experiential or ideational meaning of the discourse, thereby, unpacking the representation of activity type or reality and participants.

It is practically difficult to separate participants' ideological orientations from their interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria, hence, van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis has been inestimably helpful in unearthing the ideological projections and constructions of the discourse participants; as a result of this, the research helps the interactants, scholars, political class, and other interested persons to understand the ideological constructions in print media political interviews in Nigeria. The study also has some merit in uncovering the pragmatic strategies that are used by the discourse participants to negotiate their interactional goals. This study, therefore, has successfully contributed to the pragmatic and discourse analysis dimensions of print media political interviews in Nigeria as an important material for linguists and other scholars who are interested in understanding print media political discourse, especially, how contexts and ideologies are discursively negotiated and projected; and how pragmatic strategies are deployed to achieve interactional goals.

7.3.2. Application of the study

This study has provided valuable insights into the influence of contexts, ideologies and negotiation strategies on the joint negotiation of interactional goals in print media political interviews in Nigeria. The study could be of pedagogical benefit in teaching media political discourse in a language based class. Also, researchers in the field of pragma-discourse could draw insights from this study to advance the field. Political analysts, commentators, and Nigerian citizens through this study will gain insights into the complex nature of governance

and how to be better leaders. The Western countries will gain insight into emerging democracies, especially, in Nigeria.

Knowledge from this study could also serve as the bedrock for synergy between linguists, political scientists, media communicators, and even historians on studies in political governance in Nigeria. In summary, the relevance of this study largely depends on the usefulness of its findings to linguists, political scientists, historians, and media communicators.

7.3.3. Limitations of the study

This study could neither cover all the genres of print media, nor all the national newspapers in Nigeria because of their large number. The research was limited to one hundred political interviews from four widely read Nigerian daily newspapers, namely: *The Punch, The Sun, ThisDay* and *Vanguard* published between 2014 and 2016. It has not considered political interviews from the electronic media. The researcher could not interview the affected political class for logistics reason and the bureaucracy involved in the granting of such interviews. Perhaps, more interesting facts will be revealed if live interviews with the politicians are organised. This work cannot, therefore, be said to be an exhaustive study of the discourse of media political interviews in Nigeria.

7.3.4. Suggestions for further Studies

The present study has focused on context, ideology and negotiation strategies in political interviews in Nigerian print media. Although the study has made significant contribution to scholarship, it is obvious that the investigation of language use in media political discourse cannot be exhausted in a single study due to its broad and complex scope. This explains the reason for concentrating on political interviews from four national newspapers. This implies that there are still other research outlets that could still be explored. Consequently, further studies could be carried out on other newspapers and magazines. In addition, a comparative study could be carried out on the language use of participants in print media and electronic media political interviews in Nigeria. Also, further investigations could be made by comparing the exploration of context, ideology and negotiation strategies by African participants and European participants in media political interviews.

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