DISCOURSE STRUCTURES AND STRATEGIES OF SELECTED ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTHWEST NIGERIA (2011-2015)

BY

FAGBAYI THOMAS ADEBAYO
MATRICULATION NUMBER: 120075
B.A (Hons) Ife, M.A. (Ibadan)

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this research was carried out by Fagbayi Thomas Adebayo with the Matric. Number 120075 of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan under my supervision.

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Supervisor   **Date**
Prof S.O. Oyetade
B.A, M.A., Ph.D (Ibadan)
Department of Linguistics &
African Languages
Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

Electioneering campaigns feature a specialised political language pivotal to the decision making of the electorates. Existing studies on political campaigns have largely given attention to the styles, ideologies, metaphors, sociolinguistic approaches, with little attention paid to the discourse structure and its peculiar linguistic features. This study, therefore, examined discourse features, linguistic functions and strategies employed in selected campaigns with a view to establishing the nature of political language in Nigerian context.

The study adopted Searle's Speech Act theory and Bach and Hanish's Mutual Contextual Beliefs. Ethnographic and survey designs were used. Data were collected from six states in the Southwest Geo-political zone: Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo through participant observation and unstructured interviews. Data consisted twelve gubernatorial political campaign speeches as well as interviews with politicians from dominant political parties (APC, PDP, LABOUR and ACCORD) across the six states between 2011-2015. These were transcribed and subjected to discourse analysis.

Four common discourse structures were identified in the sampled data namely awareness, presentation of party manifestoes, introduction of aspirants and speech and support speeches. Awareness stage featured political songs to entertain, slogans, insignia and captions for awareness creation and affiliative support for the aspirants. Presentation of party manifestoes was characterised by greetings to show cultural affiliation and politeness, verbal highlight of the party's vision, verbal condemnation of the opposition party. Introduction of aspirants and speech entailed self-promotion, elucidation of state/national problems and messianic projection. Persuasion stage witnessed projection of promises and other palliative measures and orientation on voting procedure. Four lexical features characterised the four structures: self praise and party promotion, promise, support garnering and attack and ridicule. Awareness and presentation of party manifestoes were distinguished by lexicon of self praise and party promotion, support garnering within commissive, assertive and expressive acts. Introduction of aspirants and speech highlighted lexicon of promise, support garnering and attack and ridicule situated in assertive, directive and commissive speech acts. Nine specific speech acts captured the linguistic functions namely welcoming, promising, boasting, assuring, vowing, ridiculing, requesting, persuading and appreciation. Seven strategies characterised the speeches: orientation to cultural values, evocation of religious and ethnic affinity, allusion to sacred books, affinity to political heroes, blunt condemnation of opposition achievements, defamation of character and projection of messianic figure.

Electioneering campaigns in Southwest Geo-political zone of Nigeria manifest a canonical discourse structure, which deploys lexical features, speech acting and discourse strategies for persuasive effect. Discourse architecture, therefore, is a veritable tool used by the Nigerian political class to achieve political goals.

Keywords: Discourse in politics, Electioneering campaign, Southwest Geo-political zone Nigeria

Word count: 413

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the study

Communication is very important in politics. One of the important (if not the most important of the) systems of communication in politics is language. This importance is underlined by the view of language and its functions in the day-to-day activities of man. Language operates either at the spoken or written level. Though primarily spoken, the written mode preserves, makes language accessible and anchors literacy. This, in essence, means that the written language is learned and can be variously applied and employed to suit the intention of man.

Thus, human language can be employed to discuss a multiple range of issues that cut across all facets of human endeavour: education, politics, economics, medicine, journalism and even religion. According to Thorine (2008:47), human language either spoken or written, can in principle be employed in expressing anything and everything, whether real or imagined. It is not restricted to any particular topic, view or idea but free enough to include any message at all, that can ever be conceived by man. This then lends credence to the claim held by Austin (1962) that man actually does things with words. With language at man's disposal, he can transform the world from one stage into another.

This view about the indispensable value of language, in all that man does endears language to a wide range of study and research from different angles of human endeavours (social, economic, political and even religious to mention but a few). One common feature to these disciplines and area of studies is communication, and what makes communication possible is language.

There have been several approaches to the study of language and politics, both at the international and national levels; the interest of researchers remain inexhaustive because of the dynamic nature of 'Language and Politics'. The written aspect and the literate-community have gained more permanence from the colonial era by the British colonial masters to the time of Nigeria independence and post independence. Research works (have been mostly concentrated on the elite politicians with their imposed foreign language (English) as means of communication.

However, this study attempts to throw its light on the effects of language on politics in Southwestern Nigeria, covering the period 2011-2015, although with few reminisce of the old politics. .Since politics is a universal phenomenon, we shall endeavour in this work to consider the Yoruba people's contribution to self government, via the pre-independence struggle and moves, their penchant for fairness and equity – all of which were realized through communication using language.

1.2   Language and discourse

Language and discourse are not mere instruments of communication but instead loaded with power. They are action oriented and capable of influencing and controlling people's mind and thoughts. Bradford (1997) and Alo (1998) describe language as a psychological or social behaviour, in that it (language, as well as discourse) is a powerful tool which allows human beings to articulate the sequence of intentions, decisions, responses, acts and consequences that make up human lives.

However, non-linguists take these roles, played by language and discourse for granted most times, or to simply say that the non-experts seldomly have the real consciousness of the power of language to lead or mislead. Also the cognizance of the effect of the user's choice of discourse styles on readers/listeners is not sharply observed neither is the awareness that human perception, conviction, thoughts and actions are shaped by language generally (Malcom 1997).

Language is considered as a resource for meaning; the code (i.e what language is) as a systemic resources, a meaning potential and the behaviour (what people do with language) as the actualization of that meaning potential in real life situations. In this process of actualization, language functions to fulfill a range of human needs, and the richness variety of its functions are reflected in the nature of language itself, in its organization as a system (Halliday 1973: 20)

The sustained growth of sociolinguistics from the recent past makes it convincingly clear that language is closely linked to its context. This then brings us to the domain of this study which centres on how politicians use language and its impact on the electorate or masses. In this respect, we are compelled to focus on language as the power that makes politics works. However, because of the broad nature of the two key words in the topic (language and politics), we shall consider its (language) usage during electioneering campaign, having the

South West geo-political zone of Nigeria in focus. Considering the role of language in political communication, Schudson (1997:311) avers that:

> Political communication can be understood as any transmission of message that has or is intended to have, an effect on the distribution or use of power in society or on attitudes towards the use of power. The above submission by Schudson reflects clearly on what politicians (ruling or aspiring to rule), use language for; language is therefore not only the channel through which rulers get to power, but also means of governance.

Language functions as a delicate, sophisticated instrument and a blunt tool. It serves as a direct means of communication from man to man and it serves as an issue or a foil, to achieve social and political goals. Whatever functions we consider, it is necessary to keep in mind the enormous potential of language as a multipurpose instrument, the same phrase, the same figure of speech can convey substantially different meanings in different situations. Hence, it is impossible to dissociate language from the contexts in which they are employed and used.

1.3   Songs and politics

Besides the literal functions of language as discussed above, another vehicular means of making language instrumental in politics is through songs. Political songs according to Ademilokun (2013), are "channels of multiple significations which transcends the territorial corridors of entertainment but ultimately devolving into a myriad of ideological, psychological, socio-cultural and idiosyncratic imperatives" thus we attempt to reveal in the course of this study that songs are also effective mode of political communication constantly in operation in the South Western politics.

The relationship between music and politics has been an age-long one. Street, Hague and Savigny (2007:1) agree that music and politics have long been connected. Political fora create an enabling environment for politicians and their followers to use songs among others to convey their political ideologies. Apart from using music to praise some people, it could also be used for sentiments in emotional ways. Also in some cases, music being an agent of change is used for protest by different categories of people especially to condemn the bad leadership traits of people in higher positions. In the African milieu, especially the Yoruba people, some songs in their culture are labeled "Orin owe" (proverbial songs) as

well as "orin ogun" (war songs), they could be both politically deployed. The first could be employed to protest or reject the superiority being asserted by a senior or superior person such as the case of an old and the new wives who got married to the same husband, and the latter could be between two warring communities.

Investigation has revealed that there is a strong correlation between politics and music and they have long been connected. The effort to democratize, which involves matters of constitutional choice that transcends multiparty elections or replacement of one group by another in government; the task to evolve governmental regime which will provide opportunity for all and sundry to contribute in the governing process help to bring the issue of music and its importance to politics to mind. Music therefore, has been tested and reliably discovered to have the power to educate and mobilize the populace into participating in the elections and other national burning issues and policies.

Apart from Nigeria where music plays significant roles in politics, there are other examples of developed countries where music has been a tool to inspire, motivate and energize campaigns. For instance, George Washington effectively used" God save Great Washington" (a parody of "God save the king"), Franklin Roosevelt used "Happy Days Are Here Again" by Milton Ager and Jack Vellen, and President Barack Obama used "signed, sealed, delivered I'm yours" by Stevie wonder just to mention but few of the president campaigns where music was so much instrumental to the successes recorded.

In Nigeria, music is capable of reflecting on the happenings in the society, hence musicians use it to chronicle events, recreate and reshape the history and culture of their people, commenting on aspects of societal values that have diverged from historical reports, and suggesting the ways by which society could be restored to the normal order. Therefore, in order to achieve these aims, the musical social critics cannot but resort to the employment of the tool of satire to deride the prevalence of any social ill in the society, thus confirming the didactic function of music towards correcting them.

History has revealed, especially in Nigeria, the impact of music on politics. Musicians had at different times in this country contributed their own quota to the growth of the nation by appraising good leadership/government and also condemning the bad ones through songs. These songs especially those that criticize, are capable of sensitizing the public to react to the ugly realities in the country. A good example of such Nigerian musician who employed

songs to checkmate government excesses at different times of Nigeria's political impasse was the late Felá Aníkúlápó Kútì popular known as "Abàmì Èdá". Some of his music used as tools against the military tyranny was titled "Zombi" and another one which was meant to induce the masses into realizing their woes in the midst of plenty was titled "Suffering and Smiling".

Apart from the fact that music can be used to make political statements, it could also be used to promote and edify politics or government. Often times during electioneering campaigns, politicians engage the services of musicians/cultural troupes to convince the masses about their candidate. This quality of music in politics consists in its use to create festivity or aesthetics in politics. Not only that the presence of these musicians add colour to such occasions, but the credibility of such candidate is also being confirmed.

Some studies have been carried out to corroborate the inter-relatedness of music and politics in Nigeria, although one cannot say categorically that this relationship has been exhaustively subjected to academic research, (although an attempt shall be made in this study), especially viewing it from the linguistic perspective. However, one of the visible works in this area was carried out by Bateye (1997) titled "Music and partisan politics: An American and Nigerian Experience". Bateye recognized that there are mainly two kinds of political music in Nigeria and America, this he referred to as campaign music and non campaign music. According to him, the deployment of music in Nigerian politics can be traced back to the 1950s when two prominent Southwest (then western region) politicians – Chief Obáfémi Awólówò and Chief Adégòkè Adélabú contested for the same office/seat of the Premier. The scholar noted that although the songs used at that time were in chants but the messages contained therein were very clear; to praise party leaders while political opponents were also humiliated. Besides songs, the scholar added that non-campaign music such as music theatre and songs or album from different artists were used to communicate political messages and meanings in those days.

This practice continues till date where we have some poet-singers like Kúnlé Ológundúdú and Oláńrewájú Adépòjù who use songs to condemn government and/or political inadequacies. But, good as the role of music in politics is, as another means of communication of political messages, it would not have been possible without language. Thus, whether music, speech delivery (written or oral), they all still go through the vehicle of language.

1.4   Language study and its unique status

Linguistics is a science that concerns itself with all aspects of language. The academic study of language is conducted within many different disciplinary areas and from different theoretical angles, all of which inform modern approaches to linguistics. For example, descriptive linguistics examines the grammar of single languages, theoretical linguistics develops theories on how best to conceptualize and define the nature of language based on data from the various extent of human languages. Sociolinguistics studies how languages are used for social purposes and social functions of language. (as it applies to our study with the political arena in focus) Neurolinguistics studies how language is processed in the human brain and allows the experimental testing of theories. Computational linguistics builds on theoretical and descriptive linguistics to construct computational models of language often aimed at processing natural language or at testing linguistic hypotheses, and historical linguistics relies on grammatical and lexical descriptions of languages to trace their individual histories and reconstruct trees of language families by using the comparative method.

Human language is unique in comparison to other forms of communication, such as those used by non-human animals. Communication systems used by other animals such as bees or non human apes are closed systems that consist of a closed number of possible things that can be expressed. In contrast, human language is open-ended and productive, this means that it allows humans to produce an infinite set of utterances from a finite set of elements and to create new words and sentences. This is possible because human language is based on a dual code, where a finite number of meaningless, elements (e.g. sounds, letters or gestures) can be combined to form units of meaning (words and sentences). Furthermore, the symbols and grammatical rules of any particular language are largely arbitrary, meaning that the system can only be acquired through social interaction. The known systems of communication used by animals, on the other hand, can only express a finite number of utterances that are mostly genetically transmitted.

Human languages differ from animal communication systems in that they employ 'grammatical and semantic categories', such as noun and verb, present and past, to express exceedingly complex meanings. Human language is also unique in having the property of recursivity: the way in which, for example, a noun phrase is able to contain another noun phrase (as in the Chimpanzee's lips) or a clause is able to contain a clause (as in "[I see [the

dog is running]]n). Human language is also the only known natural communication system that is modality independent, meaning that it can be used not only for communication through one channel or medium, but through several others. For example, spoken language, uses the auditive modality, whereas sign languages and written use the visual modality.

With regard to the meaning that it may convey and the cognitive operations that it builds on, human language is also unique in being able to refer to abstract concepts and to imagine or hypothetical events as well as events displacement (such as the communication of 'bees' that can communicate the relation of sources of nectar that are out of sight), the degree to which it is used in human language is also considered unique.

1.5   Language and politics

In view of our earlier discussions and considerations of language as an entity and phenomenon that deals with various facets of human endeavour. It is our desire here to further consider its usefulness and characteristics in politics.

Language as earlier defined as a means of communication, also creates an enabling environment of expression in politics; whether politics is understood in terms of interpersonal relationships in society or as a course of "human action" in a social system. For us to understand and appreciate the usefulness of language in politics, we may have to agree with Schlesninger (1976: quoted in Ozimede,1986:254) that politics itself is symbolic and can also be said to be a linguistic phenomenon. In this semiotic sense, politics comes to represent human actions and relationships. But a more useful approach would be that of attempting to clarify the underlying representativeness of politics, and how language (in style and meaning) become a significant part of politics.

There are different forms of political communication for different purposes, viz: political speeches, political adverts, political campaign rallies, political interviews and political debate among others. All of these make use of language as a medium of interaction. However, our main focus in this study is political rallies which constitute an important part of political campaigns by politicians and political parties before election. Also a few number of political speeches during campaign will be considered.

Language, through the discourse art called "Rhetoric', plays a prominent role in politics in that, it aims to improve the capability of writers or speakers that attempt to inform,

persuade, or motivate particular audience in specific situations. As a subject of formal study and a productive civic practice, rhetoric has played a central role in the western tradition.

Rhetoric typically provides heuristics for understanding, discovering, and developing arguments for particular situations, such as Aristotle's three persuasive audience appeals, 'logos', 'pathos' and 'ethos'. The spoken word (logos) is the locution and the fundamental base of any subsequent action or reaction. Whereas, the arousal of feelings either of pity or sorrow from the word, is referred to as pathos, while the behavior or attitude of the people towards what has been said in line with their existing culture is known as ethos. Furthermore, he mentioned the five canons of rhetoric which trace the traditional tasks in designing a persuasive speech as invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery.

Rhetoric is a Greek word 'rhetorikos' which means to be oratorical, which is simply an attribute of a public speaker on that which is said or spoken, using words that is derived from the Greek verb 'lego' meaning to speak or say. Apparently therefore, a Rhetorician makes use of reasoning (inductive or deductive) to construct an argument leading to the persuasion/conviction of his audience. Thus, we observe public speakers/writers using words to move their audience into actions with arguments. This is what Aristotle refers to as logos. A good example of users of words in such a strong and persuasive manner we have in politicians, although most times not consciously, politicians employ literature either written or spoken to arouse feelings of pity, sorrow or even encomiums and eulogy to sharpen the environment and situation in order to alter the audience's judgment. This process is referred to and described as 'pathos' by Aristotle.

Meanwhile, it is also observed and argued by Aristotle that there is always a distinctive spirit and attitude about a given people, which could also be in form of their culture or practice and belief. Rhetoric provides the advantage for the speaker to observe, acknowledge and therefore influence his audience by using his own character and credibility to making the audience believe him. The recognition/application of such credibility of character on the audience and people by the speaker or writer helps in no small measure to influence and control the thoughts of the targeted audience.

Rhetoric is therefore the art of discourse that aims to improve the capability of writers or speakers who attempt to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations. For instance, an aspirant who attempts to score more points in an environment

which he/she may claim to know better than any of his/her opponent, may chose to include some genre which acoustically may help to convince the listeners about the relatedness of the speaker to the people. Such literally composed artistic work like "Oríkì" is like a key to the padlock, just the way a cloudy sky gives the hopes of rainfall.

Aristotle therefore concluded his analyses on rhetoric with the five canons that serve as a guide to creating persuasive messages and arguments. They are;

1.   Invitation – The process of developing an argument
2.   Style – A way of determining how to present the argument
3.   Arrangement – The process of organizing the argument for extreme effect
4.   Delivery – This refers to the gestures, pronunciation, tone and pace used when presenting the persuasive arguments.
5.   Memory – This is the process of learning and memorizing the speech and persuasive messages.

The ancient Greeks highly valued public political participation, hence rhetoric emerged as a crucial tool to influence politics. Consequently, rhetoric remains associated with its political origins. This phenomenon has generated many debate and contributions among the different schools of thought. For instance, the original instructors of Western speech – the sophists – disputed this limited view of rhetoric. They opine that a successful rhetorician could speak convincingly on any topic, regardless of his experience in that field. This method suggested rhetoric could be a means of communicating any expertise, not just politics.

Thus, we observe in our study that rhetoric is an instinctive tendency which may not need any logical thought and thus could be a vice-versa opinion to the sophists, in that, an expert in any field different from political science can also be well successful rhetorically. This argument therefore is backed up by the Nigeria political situation where bankers, engineers, medical practitioners etc, and even artisans who may not be well educated, yet will be very rhetorically sound and balanced.

Although Plato, another rhetorical theorist slightly disagrees with the sophists by defining rhetoric as a means of discovering the truth as against means of deceit earlier opined by the sophists. He (Plato) argues that rhetoric is an act of persuasion of ignorant masses within the courts and assemblies. He agrees to the fact that rhetoric may be a form of flattery and

functions similar to cookery, which masks the undesirability of unhealthy food by making it taste good. Thus, Plato considered any speech of lengthy prose aimed at flattering as within the scope of rhetoric.

Plato noted in his application of the concept "rhetoric" to the civics, that it is a weapon capable of shaping opinion. He argues that since the masses were incapable of analyzing or deciding anything on their own, they would therefore be swayed by the most persuasive speeches. The implication therefore is that the civic life would be controlled by the one who could deliver the best speech. However, from both proponents, we could deduce a common baseline that rhetoric is an instrument of conviction in any speech making or writing.

Individuals engage in the rhetorical process anytime they speak or produce meaning. Even in the field of science, the practices of which were once viewed as being merely the objective testing and reporting of knowledge, scientists must persuade their audience to accept their findings by sufficiently demonstrating that their study/experiment was conducted reliably and resulted in sufficient evidence to support their conclusions.

This vast scope of rhetoric is therefore difficult to define. However, political discourse remains in many ways, the paradigmatic example for studying and theorizing specific techniques and conceptions of persuasion, considered by many a synonym for "rhetoric".

Rhetoricians have studied the discourses of a wide variety of domains, including the natural and social sciences, time art, religion, journalism, history, fiction, cartography and architecture along with the more traditional domain of politics and the law. Many contemporary approaches treat rhetoric as human communication that includes purposeful and strategic manipulation of symbols. Public relations, marketing professional and technical writing, and advertising are modern professions that employ rhetorical practitioners.

1.6   Language influence on politics

The fact that language remains an instrument of communication among human beings, to interact and pass on messages in the day-to-day activities of man stands valid. These include politics-our main focus in this study, and so many other socio-economic aspects of life such as education, religion, health, etc. Each of these makes use of language to achieve their goal and objective; either to create a favourable atmosphere for a particular group, or

products or to malign their targeted opponent. Hence, we consider here how and to what extent language could have influence on politics.

Since in politics, every party and its contestants wishes to win the election, therefore, a number of efforts are made by aspirants to retain their supporters as well as convince the opponents to change their minds through the powerful effect of language. According to George Lakoff (2000) quoted in News-center of 27th October, 2003 by Bonnie Azab Powell, "Politicians have spent decades defining their ideas, carefully choosing the language with which to present them, and building an infrastructure to communicate them". One of such infrastructures he referred to as "framing". Therefore, "framing" here means the modest way to convey a message through the vehicle of language.

Lakoff (2000) opines that "every word is defined relative to a conceptual framework". He gave example of a word like "revolt", that implies a population that is being ruled unfairly, or assumes it is being ruled unfairly. If such people succeed in throwing off their rulers who they consider unfair, the action would be seen as good but that's a frame. He explains further by saying "if you add the word "voter" in front of "revolt", what you get is a metaphorical meaning saying that the voters are the oppressive ruler, that they have ousted him and this is a good thing". All of that comes up when you see a headline like "voter revolt". This however, is what most people read but never noticed. Although such changes can be affected by reporters and very often, by the campaign people themselves.

The above word example (revolt) given by Lakoff (2000) captures the helpless state of the Yoruba people and the ugly fate they suffered in the hands of the British colonial masters before Nigeria's independence. Safe for the enlightenment of the few educated slaves who later returned to agitate for self rule through formation of groups and parties, Nigerian independence might probably be a dream till date.

1.7   The Yoruba people of the Southwest and Politics

In explaining the need for structural change in the society, Dahrendorf (1958;182) argues that "political conflicts in totalitarian states aim more and more at sudden replacement of the ruling class". This view was corroborated by Benson (1977) and Zeitz (1980) quoted in Gricar et al (1981:879) that;

> …high power groups seek to maintain and enhance
> their   advantages,   and   low-power   groups   who

> recognize their interests may organize to challenge the unfavourable distribution of resources. The resulting interactions may produce intense conflict or rapid social change.

The above scholars' position explains the experience of the Yoruba nation in particular, and the black race in general, in the hands of the 'whites' (British) before independence. It requires a historical journey, for one to understand the contributions that the Yoruba people (now mostly found in the South West geo-political zone of Nigeria) made to the development of the Nigerian state and nation. This is a task that cannot be fully accomplished within the space of this study where our focus is mainly on "language of politics" and not mainly their contributions. However, we cannot avoid totally a trip into the political adventure and contributions of this unique people, who have language as a major tribal mark and their culture distinction, as well as their roles towards the emancipation of self rule in Nigeria.

1.7.1 Pre-Colonial and Independence Era

Before the contact with the whites, the black race was about two thousand years behind in the struggle of life (Coleman 1958:39), this was followed by the period of gross humiliation and economic devastation on the territories of Africa, as a result of the nefarious but lucrative slave-trade by the whites. The scenario began in 1444, when the Portuguese first blazed the trail into Africa to import slaves and gold dust. Other things they imported include pepper and ivory, for which they exchanged spirits, arms, cowries iron bars, European cloths and beads.

After the monopoly of Portugal which was initially aided by the Papal Bull of 1493 by Pope Alexander VI was broken, the British merchant did not want to be left out in the slave-trade business. This intention was assisted by the scuffle between Henry VIII of England and the Pope. Consequently, the Pope's order was violated by the English people and the monopoly of the slave trade thereafter ceased.

According to Ajayi; 2015: 3, in his book

> To say that Nigeria played a major role in the nefarious business of slavery, slave trade and slave raid would be an understatement

The thirteen major slave trading ports in West Africa with not less than seven of them located in Nigeria (old 4 New Calabar; Badagry, Benin, Bonny, Brass and Lagos) corroborated the above view. The adverse effect of slavery and slave trade will remain with many Nigerians for quite some time. Thus, Allan Burns in his book 71–73, regretted the brutality unsurpassed in magnitude on Africans by the white saying;

> These men created an even-widening circle of cruelty and destruction that at length, wrecked African civilization nearly everywhere.

To cap this piece, it will be of value to allude to the comments of David Livingstone – an English man who came to Arcadia in East Africa and found the 'heart of darkness', a new outburst of the slave trade. This, he described as the open sore of the world". His last words was quoted and written in brass on his tomb in West minister Abbey in London saying:

> All I can add in my solitude is, may heaven's rich blessing come down on every one – American, English or Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world

Language in this regard has played a very unique role not only in describing and giving us the imagery insight into the plight of the blacks (Nigerian and Yoruba nation inclusive) before independence. It has also helped us to see how this havoc had been made possible due to the simple fact of language barrier from the illiteracy of our fore-fathers which made them passive to the white men antics.

Language barrier no doubt then, created a wide gap between the white who came in contact with the African race, thus making the white minority to dominate the majority (African). This was possible because the minority group were literates, thus had become alerted, enlightened, resourceful and ambitious.

This scenario was on until some of the Africans that were taken away as slaves, who had the opportunity to access western education came back as enlightened people. Foremost in this trend was Anthony William Amo – a Ghanaian, who earned a doctorate degree in philosophy and jurisprudence from the university of Hallein Germany in 1734. He was followed by a Nigerian – Olandah Equiano. These enlightened few individuals and others who joined the league (like Bishop Ajayi Crowther) later started the struggle against slave trade through the "Abolitionist Movement".

1.7.2 The Yorùbá Nation

Notwithstanding the interference of the white, and before the advent of their slave trade, the black race had existed and had their ways of life, culture, belief, religion and political unity. Prominent among the black race are the Yoruba, the race according to the scholars claim, is apparently one of the largest homogenous ethnic nationalities among Africans. (Clark: 1854-1858 pg.189). But who are the Yorubas and where do they belong?

1.7.2.1 Origin: Although there are diverse histories as to the origin of the Yorubas. Researchers and historians which include Reverend Samuel Johnson Bíòbákú and Prof. Adé Àjàyí among others have given different accounts about the origin of the Yoruba race. One of the popular views on the source of the Yorùbá as recorded by Samuel Johnson reveals that the Yorùbá originally came from the northeast of Africa with slight reference to Egypt or Yemen who were the inhabitants, originating from the remnant of the children of Canaan who were of the tribe of Nimrod. These emigrants under the leadership of Odùduwà after a long journey taking decades or centuries eventually settled in Ile Ife. Subsequently, Odùduwà who by the account established a big growing kingdom at Ife, also organized his sons and grandsons to found several Yoruba kingdoms. The other historical version which scholars and historians have noted to be more of mythology, claims that Ile Ife was the centre from which the world was created.

It would appear that the foregoing views are contradictory, although when carefully considered, they seem reconcilable. On one hand, that both views acknowledged Odùduwà as leader while on the other hand there exists a belief in a government and/or kingdom or better still rulership.

1.7.3 The (Yoruba) Geographical Location and Political Unity

The Yorubaland lies between the area of Badagry to near Niger around latitude 9^0N, and the area close to Nupe from latitude 5^0N, it spreads Westwards cutting across Dahomey reaching towards the East of Togo. In number, the Yoruba people will be well over thirty million occupying Ekiti, parts of Kwara and Kogi, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo States. (Akinjogbin and Ayandele ,1980)

Although, quite a number of these people (Yoruba) are in the republic of Benin and Togo, while other Yorubas in diaspora are found as well in Brazil, Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago.

Besides, there are other groups of people who have their settlements around the geographical spread of the Yorubas who can also be described as part of the Yoruba numerical strength because of their languages that are closely similar to Yoruba. These include the Itsekiri, Benin and Ebira.

The existence of the Yoruba could be traced back to over 15th BC centuries. According to Ajayi the linguistic evidence suggested that the Yoruba language had been spoken continuously within Yorubaland for upwards of 4000 years…" This claim is corroborated by a publication in the Nigerian Tribune of Wednesday 20th August, 2014, where more light was thrown on the account of the finding in Ìsàrun, Ilẹ̀ Òwúrò. It was gathered that in 1965, an English Archaeologist – Professor Thurstan Shaw with his team excavated bones of a stone Age man in a cave. The findings from this ancient town, near Akure, the state capital of Ondo state revealed that skulls and bones of human beings found there when subjected to radiocarbon dating instruments confirmed part of activities that took place in the forest some thirteen thousand years ago.

To further substantiate our claim Yoruba people and Hsynage age – long existence, Ajayi (2015 : 28), traced the reign of the female Oòni (LINOGBAGIDA) to about the mid 10th – 11th centuries. This he claimed was based on earliest radiocarbon dates from archaeological excavations which are associated with pottery fragment, this fact was corroborated on the list of Odùduwà dynasty made by Sir Adésojí Adérèmí who believed to be the forty-eighth Oòni. If Luwo the sixteenth Ooni was on the throne in the tenth century, then it will be safe and dependable likelihood that Odùduwà might have ascended the throne as Oòni two centuries previously.

Whereas, one of the two prominent versions of the Yorùbá origin claimed that Odùduwà the Son of Lámúrúdu came to meet the foremost Yorùbá settlers in Ilé Ifẹ̀, on his way from the north east of Africa. From the foregoing therefore, Yoruba language had long existed with the people before the advert of Odùduwà and his followers.

Our claims have therefore include the establishment of kingdoms by the direct Odùduwà descendants and the existence of the Yoruba nation who had their way of governance culture and beliefs among other things before the advent of the white and Western education. The words of Akinjogbin(1818:9), in his book "Dahomey and its Neighbours" lends credence to this..."

> …that at the end of 18th century, fourteen kingdoms, all   founded by the sons of Odùduwà, appeared to be large and prosperous.

Extolling the virtues of the Yorubas, again, Clark (1854:291) says:

> They (the Yoruba) have this nature of being kind, affectionate, confiding, hospitable, most forgiving character molded after the tradition laws, customs and usages of their fathers and consequently affected by the religion, debasing in its tendency, which they have inherited; genius for more than supposed, and latent, because every avenue for its exercise and development has been closed, yet it is continually manifested in the transaction of their own affairs, the government of themselves, and the retaining of so many of their rude arts that tradition has left them. They are a people, without a doubt of mind and thought and show it on nearly all occasions whenever they enjoy the opportunity.
>
> Their children are apt to learn, quick, intelligent and sprightly, while there are many instances now living in their capacity of acquiring knowledge to any extent, even after the years of maturity. …for the sake of perspicuity, I shall often speak of the Yoruba and the genus of which the surrounding tribes are mere species.

From the above extraction, some facts about the virtues and standard of the Yoruba tribe are well established. This ranges from culture and customs to behaviour, habit and beliefs. Other qualities include intelligence and quick approach to learning which earned the tribe an outstanding quality.

As earlier mentioned that language is a significant feature that distinguishes the Yoruba from other tribes in Nigeria, with linguistic evidence of its usage for upwards of 4000 years. This language distinction is therefore partly responsible for their grouping and nationhood standard right from inception to the time of regional and geo-political zones invocation respectively.

This aspect of the Yoruba traits of virtue and values may not be complete without mentioning their penchant for justice, fairness and self respect. This attributes no doubt, are the true hallmark of Democratic system of government which forms a basic part of this

study, alongside its major operational tool – language, having the Southwest geo-political zone (Yorubas) as our focus.

This belief in fairness and equity by the Yorubas was attested to in the description of the Yorubas by Johnson S. (1921:98). According to him:

> …Love of independence, a feeling of superiority, over all others, a keen commercial spirit, and of indefatigable enterprise, that quality of being never able to admit or consent to a defeat… are some of those qualities peculiar to them. Each of the leading tribes has special characteristics of its own… the whole people are imbued with a religious spirit, reverential in manners, showing deference to superior and respect to age, where they have not been corrupted by foreign intercourse, ingrained politeness is part and parcel of their nature.

As shown in the above extraction, a well defined style, custom and institution of an entity of people is being commended, little wonder therefore, the frontline role of some Yoruba leaders in the pre and post independence political history of Nigeria.

It is pertinent however, to mention here that a large scale and duly organized political system at various kingdom levels headed by the kings had existed before the British intrusion and the formation of political parties in Nigeria.

For example, history reveals to us that Oyo was the political seat and headquarters of the Yorubas, prior to the independence and formation of political parties in Nigeria. The Aláàfin of Òyọ́ and his council (chiefs) ruled over a kingdom which surpassed in size of any of the northern emirate except Kano and Sokoto (see Coleman J.S in "Background to Nationalism"(1958:25 – 26). Thus governance, rulership and followership, rules and regulations constituted authority and its roles, and all that governance stands for were not alien to the Yorubas before the era of party politics. Laws were made by the council and respected, offenders too had a way of being reprimanded. No doubt, language (though not written) had remained the means of their communication and the tool employed for their day-to-day activities including political matters.

At the end of 16th century, the political organization of Yoruba kingdoms, which were quite similar, had been completed and taken firm root. Each of the kingdoms, especially in the case of paramount rulers had a capital city or town, around which a number of other

towns and villages, markets and farmlands are situated. But in all cases in Yorubaland, each king will make a claim of being an Odùduwà descendant and a significant feature of their kingdom is 'Àdfin' (Palace).

In accordance with the Yoruba organized system and practice, every individual in the community, even the king, has obligation to the community and also give observance to what the Yorubas call 'Èèwọ̀' (taboo) under pain of sanction.

Capping this view about the Yorubas is the comment of a great scholar and author – J.S Coleman who stated that:

> The Yoruba people may rightly claim to be the largest cultural aggregation in West Africa with a history of political unity and a common historical tradition… Additional distinguishing feature of the Yoruba are of significance. One is the comparative large scale political organization which existed before the British 'intrusions… the whole Yoruba system was marked by check and counter-check; and the superstructure was essentially that of a constitutional monarchy.

1.7.4 Political Parties in Nigeria and the Yoruba Involvement

As earlier mentioned, some Nigerians who were taken away by the whites as slaves had access to Western education. Some of them who returned along with others who have been educated in Nigeria between the period of 1918 and 1941 had Lagos as their base. Although some of them could still trace their original homes to some of the hinterland Kingdoms like Ègbá, Ìjèbú, Òyó, Ìjèshà and Èkìtì, but Lagos was not only a centre for liberated slaves as at then but also a Yoruba coastal city; a development that made social group and association of the literates possible. These two groups – the Westernized Yoruba and the returnees, dominated the social, economic and political life of Lagos.

According to Arifalo (2001:2) "The earliest political organization in Lagos began as protest movement against particular issues, in which some leading Lagosians defended the rights of their people, as they conceived them, against the encroachments of European intruders"

The protests seemed to be stages where minor issues degenerated into brawl. The bases of such arguments and protest most times can not be far-fetched. The reminiscence of the untold hardship caused on their Kinsmen (Nigerians and Yoruba in particular) and the

economic sabotage by the whites can be described as the bedrock for the agitations of Nigerian self-government. As Coleman J.S (1958:14, 20) puts it.

> These early protest were in the nature of 'primary resistance' to the British presence, in that they were particular responses to particular imperial measures deemed oppressive or onerous, rather than fundamental challenges to imperial rule or positive affirmation of the objective of Nigerian self-government.

Frontline in the formation of unions and groups was "The People's Union" founded in 1908 by two leading African doctors – John Randle and Òrìsádípè Obasá, chairman and secretary respectively. It was a union formed to resist the proposed exorbitant water rate by governor Egerton. It was the belief of the protesters that the proposed water scheme was discriminatory and would only benefit the Europeans. Hence, the leaders of the union organized and staged mass rallies and urged people to protest the proposal outrightly. Many other territorial issues including that of land "The Peoples Union" spear headed on behalf of and with the support of the society. The persistence opposition of some of the unions informed the decision of the European government to include some educated Lagosians and the chiefs in the interior in government administration.

Due to the flip flop attitude of the "people", The Reform club came as substitution. One feature that is common with these unions is the mobilization of peoples' opinion against unpopular government actions.

After the change in the constitutional system of Nigeria in 1922 by Clifford, which led to the abolition of the Lagos legislative council, there was an increase in the council membership of Nigerians to forty six, although, their competence and decision was still subject to the governor's veto and reserved powers. Leaders and educated Nigerians still consider inadequate the number of Nigerian electorate. This proved significant enough to stimulate the rise of an important political party and establishment of newspapers. The first political party that emerged was the Nigeria National Democratic Party. (N.N.D.P).

Herbert Samuel Macaulay – a grandson of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a civil engineer and journalist with his friends founded the N.ND.P. Herbert Macaulay served as the party secretary, while Joseph Egerton Shyngle and Eric Moore (both lawyers) were elected president and vice president respectively. More other eminent personalities like J.T.

Caulcrick and Adéyemo Alákijà made the party members. Among the political programmes provided in the party's constitution at an executive committee reads:

> To secure the safety and welfare of the colony and the protectorate of Nigeria as an integral part of British Imperial Common Wealth and to carry the banner of 'Right, Truth and Justice' to the empyrean heights of democracy until the realization of its ambitious goals of government of the people by the people for the people (Arifalo S.O 2001:17).

Many other useful and progressive objectives the party (NNDP) had, to better the lots of the society, as contained in their memorandum of 1926, presented to the colonial officer mission to West Africa. Hence, A West Africa journal described it as comprehensive and constructive manifesto.

Another particular success recorded by this party was the ability to carry the traditional elite along in their affairs. It is apposite to recall here that, a major mistake made by earlier groups, such as National Congress of British West Africa, the People's Union and the Reformed club was that they did not enjoy the support of the chiefs and traditional rulers.

Although, Herbert Macaulay was believed to be a good manager of people and noted for his remarkable genius organization of people, this belief was attested to by the large number of his party followers especially women, led by the market women chairperson – Madam Alimotu Pelewura. However, another elite Yoruba man who was not satisfied with the activities of the NNDP, which he described as not being truly national was Obáfemi Awólówò. He therefore accused Herbert Macaulay of being over-bearing and imperious. His (Awolowo) words.

> Herbert Macaulay in his time, a political colossus and all those who assembled under the shadow of his giant stature obeyed his words without question. Anything short of this was unthinkable and was unacceptable to the Mogul

The above in effect is the opinion of selected few, and of course a political way of maligning someone. The reason being that, the same Awolowo later eulogized Herbert Macaulay calling him "the Wizard of Kristen Hall" It's obvious here that, the use of language for the expression of personal interest and opinion had started its manifestation even right within the same party. Thus, the Democratic Party (NNDP) went on relentlessly

in the critique of government policies which they considered not beneficial to the black society.

Prominent also in the struggle for liberation and good governance was the Nigerian press. Record shows that only four papers were regularly published as at 1912, but the numbers greatly increased to about thirteen in 1926. These pressmen all together revealed a growing concern with government policies as it affects social, economic and political issues. They relied on the power and efficacy of pen using language as tool with the political parties, to sharpen the society.

Another fact worth mentioning here is that the prominence of these groups and political parties as at then was only in the South. This was due to the hostile attitude of the British colonial officials in the North aided by the Northern Emirs and leaders. For instance, a courageous Northerner who was a teacher, attempted to join the Nigeria Youth movement founded in 1934. He was reportedly sacked because the NYM was believed to be a Southern party, even though, it had a national coverage as at then, but simply because such was not allowed in the North.

That simple fact was a good reason that placed the South ahead of the Northerners in politics coupled with the large number of elites in the South, during the first republic up to the 80s.

The need for a national front to lead Nigeria into independence continued even after the Second World War. This led to the emergence of many other political groups which include the National Council that was later re-christened National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC). The party founded in 1944 had Herbert Macaulay as the president, while Azikwe was the General secretary, other political parties were the Action Group, (AG) led by Chief Obáfémi Awólówò.

Action Group formation was conceived by the politically inclined members of "Ẹgbẹ́ Ọmọ Odùduwà". The birth of the party (AG) was officially announced in March, 1951 after about a year of secret meetings.

 It is necessary to mention here that certain reasons actually led to the emergence of the political parties founded along ethnic lines. A good example is the Action Group (AG). The fall of the Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) which had hitherto raised the political hopes of

Nigerians towards independence made people like Obáfémi Awólówò and Nnamdi Azikwe became disappointed. For instance, Awolowo expressed his disappointment in the following sentences "I saw no future for the movement but if the movement became moribund or extinct what followed? It was a baleful thought" perhaps, the situation led him (Awolowo) to change his political position and idea to a federal system of government in Nigeria, since a single nationalism according to him will not allow ethnic group to develop socially, politically and economically.

It is good to note that language was a major weapon used by the nationalists in their fight for freedom. Could it be that these leaders recognized and believed in the social, political and economic liberation through the power of language and discourse employed?. For instance, Chief Obáfémi Awólówò with few other Yoruba patriots from the South West had this belief that one doesn't have to deny his primordial origin in order to appear to be a good Nigerian. To them, a good Yoruba man or woman cannot be a good Nigerian unless he/she is a good Yoruba first. This is not a contradiction in any form, but rather an encouragement to the vast majority of Yoruba to keep their pride in the Yoruba nation without allowing it to contradict or subvert their Nigerian-ness. Such languages and words used by these leaders that define their integrity and honour in all several endeavours and engagements, include 'Ọmọlúàbí', 'Olúọmọ, Ògidì-ọmọ' and 'Ọ̀kanlọmọ' etc concepts – These words simply explain selflessness, integrity and good accountability. Unwavering commitment to principles and their cause and commitment to ensuring the well deserved happiness for the greatest number of people of Nigeria.

In that manner, political parties erupted along ethnic groups and regions after independence just as the old ones like the Action Group (AG) and Northern People Congress (NPC). Just the way the AG was an offspring of a semi-cultural organisation, the NPC too which has its formation in 1948 and became a political party in 1951.It was a cultural party founded to bring the people of Northern origin together. Others that co-existed in the second republic having the same ethnic and regional formation after their leaders were National Party of Nigeria (NPN), People's Redemption Party of Nigeria (PRP), Great Nigeria People Party (GNPP) and later National Advanced Party of Nigeria (NAP). Although the latest had no ethnic colourisation, just like the NCNC too that had its formation from hunger and strife for the African existence.

The introduction of free education which benefited millions of people and other establishments and structural developments like the first television service in Africa (NTA), Liberty stadium and the 25-storey cocoa house to mention but few were all to the credit of political leader like, Chief Obáfémi Awólówò.

The Yoruba who are architects of the South west politics have undoubtedly made their marks, and are still making unparalleled contributions to the development of Nigeria not only in politics, but in diverse areas such as in the business and the private sector, public service, military etc, thus bringing leadership, credibility, integrity, discipline and exemplary commitment to principles. This feat achieved within the zone is not unconnected with communication ease between the elected and the electorates. Thus, in this study we shall attempt to show language as a distinctive feature of the Yoruba people in that it (Yoruba language) helps them to discuss issues of regional/national interest in a language they all understand, therefore leaving other people who may not be from any part of the region or understand their language out of their crucial political agenda.

To further buttress the roles of language in the development of politics especially in the South west and among the Yoruba people in particular, we wish to also attempt to showcase in the course of this study, how other local dialects that are spoken in these different states in the South west are employed as occasions demand to boost the chance of candidate during electioneering campaign or convey a specific message across to the same dialect speakers of the language by the contestant. This could be done intermittently with other languages such as Yoruba and English depending on the audience.

For example, an Ìlàje man who may be contesting a gubernatorial seat with an Àkókó man, though both from the same Ondo state, but different dialects spoken locally, may choose to address his audience in Ìlàje dialect at any electioneering campaign organized in his domain. This may be a deliberate act to outshine the opponent, and thus deprive him/her from getting/scoring appreciable votes from the area. The power and weapon employed in this situation was neither money nor thuggery but simply language. According to Hoffmann (1994) "language choice is determined by a number of variables such as location, commodity structure, situation, topic and interlocutors."

What this means is that in a community, like exemplified above, with multi-lingualism; language choice becomes inevitable since speakers are bound to vary in their language use

within such a speech community. That is why Oyetade (2001) rightly observes that certain languages are intimately bound to particular domains. In his words.

> With regard to Nigerian situation, the polarity between indigenous language and foreign comes to the fore when the various domains of language use are examined.

Therefore language (local dialects for example), can consciously serve as an instrument to sidetrack, malign, and subvert an opponent in the domain of politics (where two unrelated languages co-exist) and also remain a tool to influence communities from local to national levels.

In Nigeria, the primary domains (which accord with the soft sectors of life, involving family, kingship, local markets, cultural life and the like) are for the indigenous languages, while the secondary domain which correspond with the advanced areas of life where issues like education, science and technology, government, administration, judiciary etc are involved, are reserved exclusively for the foreign languages and notably the English language.

For the political domain however, both the local and foreign languages serve as tools in the hands of politicians and may be employed alternately or as situation or environment demands to defraud the unsuspecting electorate in a bid to achieve their goals. This therefore, and the various means o achieving this aim, shall be our focus in this study, having the Yoruba in the southwest as our focus.

1.8   Statement of the problem

It is imperative to note that there are specific purposes for expressing political speeches, campaign expressions and party slogans. Some important and eye opening studies as to the roles of discourse and its social relevance in Nigeria political arena have been carried out by researchers. They include: Opeibi (2005), Ayeomoni (2005), Idiagbon (2010) and Asiyanbola (2010), to mention but a few. These scholars had tended towards the description and analysis of style, innovative and persuasive strategies of politicians through the linguistic tools to champion individual and group interests.

However, this study focuses on investigating the structures of the language employed by the politicians towards unearthing the hidden meanings that are not physically present but

embedded in the underlying structures of the texts. Therefore, beyond the level of style and innovative use of language in politics, there is much vacuum left to be filled by language analysts, which political speeches have created. This include manipulation and control of the electorate's minds through language and the deliberate expressions of opinions and actions (Propaganda), for predetermined ends through psychological manipulation.

These multiple roles of language in political discourse have increased the intuition of language analysts towards the desire to further liberalise the ambiguity created in campaign speeches through language. Since every electorate has expectation which may be clearly expressed or otherwise, but such expressions are usually measured against with certain symbols particularly language expressions, which tend to present different meanings in the context of political campaigns. This study therefore increases the level of consciousness of both the producer and consumer of political discourse which has hitherto been blurred with language. Each participant becomes awakened to the implication of the linguistic usage/acceptance to further enhance competence in politics in Nigeria, especially in the Southwest geo-political zone.

1   Aim and objectives

The aim of this study was to investigate the discourse structure and strategies employed in electioneering campaigns in Southwest Nigeria. The objectives were to:

i.   Examine the selected gubernatorial election campaign speeches and songs as pieces of discourse.
ii.   Identify the hidden meanings in the campaign speeches and songs;
iii. Determine the linguistic expression with ideological colourations in the text and how their discursive formations sustain power.

1.10   Scope of the study

This is undertaken to examine selected campaign speeches and some other political discourse including songs used during gubernatorial elections in the South-Western Nigeria. The campaign speeches (with at least one) from the six Southwestern states were between 2011 and 2015 elections in the various states. The area of coverage of our research work is dominated by the Yoruba people who are apparently sensitive to politics. The choice of our years of coverage is informed by the fact that it was a period of political

parties diversity in the Southwest, a development that is alien to the zone since the advent of party politics in Nigeria. There were three different political parties (People's Democratic Party - PDP, Action Congress of Nigeria - ACN and LABOUR Party) ruling different states within this periods this of course is a good reason for competition and healthy rivalry among the different parties and their candidates. However, this game would have become a difficult one and non-realistic without language the major tool for communication.

The campaign speeches and other political discourse that constitute our data in this study were painstakingly analyzed using a systemic functional model that is very effective at analyzing patterns created by long speeches of texts.

Significantly, the selected texts highlight varieties of discourse and pragmatic features and rhetorical devices employed by the politicians; a clear attempt to gain attention from the electorates.

1.11 Significance of the study

A lot of research works on political discourse have been carried out by scholars with emphasis on the communicative strategies used in political processes, such as electioneering campaign, and the role of the media (print and electronic), in the dissemination of political messages. In particular, the appropriation of language as a political resource in political campaign and the speeches of notable politicians, human rights activists, freedom fighters and social critics have attracted the attention of scholars. (see Ozimede, 1985 Anderson, 1997, Oha, 1998; Ayoola, 2005; Opeibi, 2005; among others.

This study is however significant in that, it showcases the richness and the originality of the message and context in a given language like Yoruba, to explain the extra-linguistic contents that are residual in the various political messages employed by the politicians during electioneering campaigns.

The use of language by different political parties and their candidates makes a remarkable interest, especially, in the original languages-Yoruba, through which such messages are conveyed before translation. Hence, the study is significant in that, it explores the richness of the language and the cultural values that characterize the Yoruba people mainly in the

South West of Nigeria. Record shows they actually stand conspicuous among other ethnics and races in the political history and development in Nigeria.

With close reference to this study, the manipulation of language in the management, reduction and (if possible) resolution of political power and appointment into offices is significant. Besides, it would reveal how language is used for political purposes to protect not just the interest of the main actors but possibly certain associations or ideological groups they represent; for example, the politicians (office seekers) and the electorates. Also, since politics has to do with the entire social system, the use of language between the ruler(s) and the ruled would yield interesting insights.

This study is significant in that the interplay of linguistic structures/communicative strategies and the peculiar political contingencies of the South West (Yoruba) people, with their long political antecedence and urge for equity and fairness in government which are all embedded in their culture and expressed in their language, would be quite insightful.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

This chapter attempts a review of scholarly works that are relevant to the structure and pattern of language use in politics which is the major focus of this research work. As earlier mentioned, linguists have agreed that the vehicle of communication is language, as a result of this, many people have looked into the process of communication for an explanation of meaning in natural languages.

From the review of opinions on language, context and situation, we find that the relationship between language and situation is not just a matter of language being one of the elements found in the context, but also that language depends on and performs certain functions in its context of use. As Nesbit and Plum (1988:10) have succinctly put it:

> All language is language functioning in context. And all language is language systematically related to its context, change the context in which language is functioning and the language changes. Language varies according to context and the variation is systematic and predictable.

The point then is that the variability of language according to context or its contextual approach, shows those functions of language. These functions have been specified in fairly different terms by some language scholars. But the problem is not just what to call these functions rather, it is what particularly makes one function distinct from another.

2.1   Language variation

Language, as an important instrument of communication, is remarkably varied. Every language has considerable internal variation and speakers make constant use of the many different possibilities offered to them. According to Francis, (1983), "no language spoken by more than a very small number of people is homogenous" people therefore constantly exploit the nuances of the language they speak for a wide variety of purposes.

Wardhaugh, (1986) views speakers' use of varieties as a way of reflecting such matters as their regional, social or ethnic origin and at times sex (or gender) and their particular ways

of speaking. This comes to fore when individual makes choices of words and even rules for conversing as certain social requirements demand.

In a similar vein, as Ursel and Prideaux (1989) opine, social context, age of participants, degree of formality, relative intimacy of the participants, subject matter being discussed, relative differences in perceived power and authority of participants and a host of other features as expectedly contribute to variation in language use. However, whatever the factors are that motivate variations in language, the aim is to accommodate all the needs and situation that speakers look for in order to enhance social interaction. The above position corroborates the description by Ferguson (1971) of variety of language as

> anybody of human speech pattern which is sufficiently homogenous, to be analysed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertoire of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all norms contents of communication.

These views justify the sense in which for instance, Nigerian English, British English, American English and political language, (English, Yoruba or any other), which is the focus of this study, is closely related with the situational, psychological and social context factors that contribute to variety of language. Thus, these three factors or contexts (situational, psychological and social) are considerably related, especially, regarding their relevance to the analysis of the political speeches (written or spoken), that constitute the data to be used for this study.

2.2   Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics

Our previous discussion about functions of language confirms language as an instrument of communication among human beings. That is, they interact through language by talking to one another; this talk is termed "discourse" and in order to study and account for its organizational structure, hence "discourse analysis". Whereas, meanings emanating from such discourse have to be analyzed, here comes in semantics. Moreso, for the meaning to become relevant, the context and situation must be established and how these situational contents are used for specific purpose to carry specific message, are also accounted for and studied by pragmatics.

According to Brown and Yule (1983:26) quoted in Osinsanwo (2003:5).

> In discourse analysis as in pragmatics, we are concerned with what people using language are doing; and accounting for the linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing.

This simply reveals to us that a number of features are common to discourse analysis and pragmatics. These include speech acts, context, inference, presupposition and implicature, but with slightly different goals and levels of emphasis. Having in mind that both of them deal with human interactions through language, they should then be seen as cousins or linguistic relations. What is more, these two models of analyzing discourse would be employed in our data analysis.

2.2.1   Critical Discourse Analysis

Firth (1939) and Austin's speech act theory of 1962 are two pioneer works which recognize the power of words and utterances. Firth was interested in the cultural background of language. This made him to use Malinowski's notion of the context of situation and built it into his own linguistic theory. To Firth, linguistics was the study of meaning and all meaning was function in a context. Although he observed that the Malinowski's conception of the context of situation was not general enough for the purposes of a linguistic theory, being that the theory was primarily concerned with the study of specific texts which was meant for expanding the meaning of particular instances of language use. Firth wanted the concept that could be used for the study of texts as part of a general linguistic theory.

Firth and Austin's work that gives recognition to the power of word and utterances has been pushed further by some scholars who assert that our statements and utterances are purposeful rather than being arbitrary (Fiske (1994), Sheyhalislami (2001), Henry and Tator (2002) even if we are not aware of this fact, which implies that our words are not neutral. Hence, the roles of language in politics are immensurable; as such Beard (2000:2) avers that, "the deployment of linguistic facilities in campaigns is the first determiner of the acceptability of a candidate".

According to Szanto (1978:7) the features of the language of politics have been identified as "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".

The fact that politicians and their agents employ language in a unique way is seen in Idiagbon (2010:32) where he asserts that political campaign is:

> An important tool politicians use to express their views and feelings to the public with the sole intention of reshaping and redirecting the opinion of the electorate to agree with others.

It is an attempt to persuade and cajole, humiliate or condemn the opponents. Politicians tend to say less and mean more. Critical discourse analysis sees the man as being essentially a political animal whose political instinct is always manifesting in the choice, use and usage of words. Therefore, a conscious attempt must be made to critically assess the ideological political undertone behind his/her utterances. Research effort of scholars such as Ruth Wodak (2001), Teun van Dijk (1993-2000), Michael Toolan (2002), Norman Fairclough (2006), among others, gave birth to the "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)". The aim is to go beyond textual analysis to uncover hidden meaning and messages as well as possible interpretation, either social or political, inherent in a linguistic expression and its consequences on the hearers.

CDA is an instrument used by individual or group to champion their personal interests like ideology, politics, sexism and social class; and the instrument they use to achieve this aim is linguistic communication which also is the primary focus of the theory (CDA). It (CDA) helps to create a thought provoking/awakening mechanism by appealing to the reasoning of the reader.

It is an eye opener to inequalities and injustices, as being enacted, reproduced and legitimated by text and talk (van Dijk 1993:132). To support this view, Dellinger (1995) cautions the reader to be on the alert when reading or hearing a linguistic communication. He therefore highlights some characteristics of a language discourse based on CDA.

According to him, a discourse has an overtly political agenda that shows inequality between the speaker(s) and the hearer(s), most often in terms of power relation, exposure, status, knowledge and social class; thus, there is a strong tendency for information manipulation on the part of the producer of the text.

Although, CDA is not solely about politics, it goes beyond it. Primarily, it focuses linguistic communication as an instrument used to construct and champion either individual or group interest. Thus, linguists believe that every text has some "hidden" meaning, and strongly

advocates a critical reading of, or listening to texts with a view to uncovering the hidden messages. This they do by paying attention to linguistic and extra linguistic features of discourse in relation to the user and society.

The linguistic features that form the components of the CDA include sentence form, choice of clauses, phrases and words. While non- linguistic features include among others, the background knowledge the speaker/writer deployed in producing texts which the hearer/reader must be able to access to have a full import of the speakers/writers piece.

This claim is supported by Fairclough (2000) who explains that the CDA believes in a set of functional principles and tenets. Linguistics and analysts of language therefore believe that discourse shapes and constrains our identities, relationships, knowledge and beliefs the same way social structures also shape and constrain a discourse. Thus, an analyst approaches a text with the aim of studying the socio-political undertone that informed the choice of words, expressions and style in a language discourse.

Van Dijk (2000) asserts that there is no unitary theoretical framework or methodology for CDA because it encompasses a range of possible approaches of analysis. We shall, therefore examine two methods of analysis; the first is that of Huckin (1997) while the second is that of Fairclough (2000). The two methods have many things in common except that they both differ in terms of explication and classification. Fairclough (2000)'s method is in three stages; these are micro, meso and macro levels of analysis. Micro-level, also known as the textual level, is one in which the analyst studies the text to be acquainted with the content. At the meso-level, the analyst considers the discursive practices like norms and culture as they affect linguistic composition. Macro-level which is the last stage is where the analyst considers how the social context affects the text.

Huckin (1997) divides his methods into two stages; analysis of non-linguistic textual features and analysis of linguistic features. He opines that in the first part, the analyst will approach a text in an uncritical manner to have an idea of the content by paying attention to how details are framed, how headlines and keywords are used to foreground certain concepts. The second stage of analysis is on the observed linguistic concepts here; the analyst focuses on the following items:

Topicalisation: This is a concept that explains what and how the speaker is focusing?

Mood system: What is the subject/object relationship in the utterances?

Active/passive voice: How and why does she/he switch to either of the voices?

Rhetorics – This explains how the thoughts and actions of 'others'-electorate can be influenced through persuasive words.

Modality: What tone and style is the text made of?

Pronouns: Pronouns like first person to indicate truth or objectivity and third person to indicate falsehood or subjectivity.

For the analysis of campaign speeches, it is pertinent to pay special attention to linguistic features such as morphological, synthetic, figurative, metaphoric, etc, in written speeches, while stylo-linguistic features like rhetoric and para-linguistic features are evident in songs and slangs as shall be made evident in this study. Also important is the use of specific abstractions and generalizations versus the presentation of issues or events as well as the use of analyses, illustration drawn from nature and religion. Other characteristic features of style are the choice of words and coinages, e.g, the use of short simple statements, numerous colloquialisms and slang expressions. In what follows, we expatiate on the observed linguistic concepts mentioned in the foregoing.

2.3.1 Topicalisation and the mood system

As earlier briefly mentioned and defined, topicalisation is the aspect of discourse that explains the focus of the speaker; while mood system reveals the relationship of the subject/object in the utterance. These two aspects usually appear to work together symbiotically in political speeches. Every aspirant/campaigner attempts to showcase his political visions in topical bits like power supply, education, job creation, health, justice, etc, in the order that he chooses to prioritize them, based on the prevailing socio-economic position and condition of the particular nation/state. Although, the problems with these sectors are not recent, yet he as a way of presenting himself or herself more suitable than others, wishes to improve these sectors in such a way that the lives of the electorates become positively impacted. For instance, the statement "we all lament the decay of our infrastructures over decades" and "the forgotten millions of our fellow citizens" used by Akhigbe in his presidential campaign speech, are examples of topicalization and mood system respectively (Idiagbon, 2010). While the former (although not itemized) refers to

the decay nature of infrastructures such as, roads, agriculture, technology, etc, the latter, however is used as the object in the sentence. But if we may ask here, who forgets those people? This at times is cleverly avoided by politicians since most of them cannot actually divorce themselves from the situation because they have served in various capacities as political office holders in the past, but only using language as disguise and umbrella for protection.

2.3.2 Active/ Passive Voice

The process whereby the subject performs the action in English sentences as being denoted by the verb is referred to as Active Voice. This is a case where the use of passive sentences in which grammatical object turns subject, although the subject may not necessarily be the topical or real performer of the action in a sentence.

The following examples reveal the subjects performing action expressed by the verb.

(1a)   The man must have eaten four plates of rice.

(1b)   John mailed the letter.

(1c)   Colourful parrots live in the rain forests.

In (1a) above, the subject (The man) underlined is doing the eaten, which is the verb.

Also in (1b) John – the subject is doing the mailing (verb) while in (1c) colourful parrots is the subject performing the action living – verb.

The fact is that the subjects do or act out the verbs in these sentences. Thus, they are said to be in the active voice.

On the contrary, when the action performed in a sentence by the verb is traced to the object, this is known as passive voice. This can be done by changing the normal word order of many active sentences (those with direct objects); so that the subject is no longer active but instead being acted upon by the verb.

Let us consider the examples in 1a & b as we change the word order.

(2a) Four plates of rice must have been eaten by the man

(2b) The letter was mailed by John

Note that example 1c cannot be changed to passive voice because the sentence does not have a direct object.

To change a sentence from active to passive voice we have to (1)move the active sentence's direct object into the subject slot; (2) place the subject of the active sentence a phrase beginning with the preposition 'by' and (3) add a form of the auxiliary verb (be) to the main verb and change the main verb's form.

Therefore, in a bid to covertly avoid commitment, politicians engage and employ passivisation as they believe it is an avenue that provides an escape, a way out from particularization, thereby encouraging anonymity.

Ozimede (1985: 259 – 261) asserts that for politicians to achieve their objective "the speaker has to use words that will appeal to the needs of the hearer. The appeal is couched in promises, overt or covert…, utterances that contain overt or covert promises which are made up of certain lexical items that immediately distinguish them from other types of utterances".

We shall engage in further discussions of other linguistic concepts when we attempt the pragmatic features of campaign speeches.

2.4   Discourse Features

Discourse analysis is a very important field in the study of language, hence the need has arisen for a careful discussion of the features of discourse and the various processes or procedures embedded in discourse itself and its analysis.

The language of politicians, especially, when speaking in public has been carefully studied to be an interesting mixture of old and new; it displays much of the ritual phraseology and consciousness of precedent which we associate with law or religion (Crystal, 1996:371,374). Although, these people are aware that they are playing games of language, but it is a game with the most serious of consequences, so they must play it with no restriction.

Crystal, (1996: 380-388) observes that politicians make use of many of the rhetorical and dramatic techniques which we associate with advertising or the media, the result of such practice therefore is deceptive and misleading it is a variety which is much abused. One of

the society's great paradoxes is that we elect to power people whose language we readily say we do not believe.

Like Crystal, (1996), one would ordinarily express shock and even query why this is so. What happens to language when people stand up in public to discuss or defend issue? Many of the electorates who may be aware of how frail and inconsistent individual politicians can be when they are not on a one-to-one basis in their home locality, seem so different when we read the words of these same people in the press, or listen to them making speeches during electioneering campaign. However, there should be questions of personal consistency and credibility; does the language say the same thing as it did on the previous occasion that the speaker addressed the subject? Do the claims made by the language live up to the actions which the speaker has undertaken?

However, his choice of words in this segment is necessary because he believes he must be on guard; so that his words would not implicate him bearing in mind that the entire audience or community may not be in support of one candidate. It is only possible to survive such demands by developing a style of language which is at times opaque, unspecific and empty. Since politicians believe that if one has not said something, then one cannot be accused of lying. Politics has therefore become the world of the half- truth. This has brought more suspicion to the words of politicians by the enlightened public.

Besides the features of CDA mentioned and explained earlier, we like to state clearly here that there still exists so many other processes and features that are applicable to the analysis of discourse, especially political speech which is our real focus.

In summary, the goal of critical discourse analysis, according to McGregor (www.kon.org), is to analyze discourse to find hidden meanings. In other words, Critical discourse challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having particular meaning on a particular historical, social and political condition.

2.5   Pragmatics

According to Encyclopedia Americana (1994), the word 'pragmatics' has been traced to Charles Morris (1938), who sees it to be an aspect of semiotics. Morris explains that the word "pragmatic" is from the Greek word 'pragma' which means deed or action.

Kempson (1986:561) describes pragmatics as "the study of the general cognitive principles involved in the retrieval of information from an utterance". This is in furtherance and agreement to her earlier work that pragmatics refers to the study of sentences in use in a particular text (Kempson, 1975). Looking at 'pragmatics' from a different angle, Leech and Short (1987:290) say:

> The pragmatic analysis of language can be broadly understood to be the investigation into that aspect of meaning which is derived not from the formal properties of words and constructions, but from the way in which utterances are used and how they relate to the context in which they are uttered".

Although, Kempson, Leech and Short are dealing with the same issue –pragmatics, it is however, obvious that they are defining it in clearly different terms. While Kempson's definition focuses on how a language is used to enable any speaker to communicate with the hearer (Kempson, 1975:138), Leech and Short emphasize on the meaning the hearer could derive not from the physical properties of the statement but in relation to the context in which, it is used.

Other contributors who have some consideration for language user are Watson and Hill (1993:146). According to them;

> Pragmatics is the study of language from the view point of the user, especially the choices, the constraints he meets with in employing the use of language and the effects the use has on the communication situation.

In a similar vein, Mey (2001:6) says, "Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society" while Dada (2004) opines that "Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis share an undefined frontier as it is evident in their definitions. In addition, he cited topics such as H.P Grice's (1975) conversational maxims and the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) as common areas of interest in these two macro linguistic disciplines. Our choice of the application of these two theories (Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis) in this study shall is not as to give either priority but to objectively apply each as appropriate in analyzing the speeches of the politicians serving as our data here. Having examined Discourse Analysis in the previous sections, we shall at

this juncture attempt to review pragmatic terms which have also been considered as useful tools to our study.

2.5.1 Pragmatics – a theory of utterance interpretation

Sperber and Wilson (1981:281) see pragmatics as "the theory of utterance interpretation". According to them:

> The aim of pragmatic theory is to provide an explicit account to how human beings, interpret utterances. To do this, one would have to say how disambiguation is achieved, how reference is assigned; how sentence fragments are interpreted; how ungrammatical utterances are dealt with; what role presupposition phenomena play; how implicature, that is intended inferences, are worked out; how contextual and encyclopedic knowledge is brought to bear; and so on.

Any organized set of answers to these and similar questions would constitute a pragmatic theory to some level of adequacy.

Kempson (1997:68–69) further reviews the aim of pragmatics in an explicit way by saying:

> …the explanation of how it is that speakers of any language can use the sentence of that language to convey messages which do not bear any necessary relation to the linguistic context of the sentence used.

So a pragmatic theory concerns itself with both encoding and decoding of utterances within a particular context. Pragmatics as a branch of linguistics is premised on the belief that users not language, tend to contain less and mean more. This must have informed Lawal's (1997) view that pragmatics evolved as a result of the limitations of structural semantics to capture satisfactorily the sociological dimensions of human communication. Therefore, for a pragmatic theory to effectively capture meaning in language, Lawal (1997:152) avers that such theory must revolve around speech act function, presupposition, and implicatures as well as other mutual contextual beliefs (MCBs) such as the cooperative principle put forward by H.P Grice (1975).

In what follows, attempt is made at explicating the pragmatic concepts enumerated in Lawal (1997) in view of the fact that the data analysis is hinged on these concepts.

2.6 Speech acts

Speech Acts has attracted the attention of different scholars who have at different times classified it in different ways. The classification and approach of Searle to the explanation of the Speech Act theory, broadens the scope of the theory towards better understanding. According to Searle (1969), Speech Acts can be classified into five groups namely; Assertives, Directives, Comissives, Expressives and Declaratives,. This position he took based on the deficiencies discovered in Austin's classification and is considered very applicable to this study. In contrast to the earlier theorists, Adégbìjà (1982,1985) in his pragma-sociolinguistic theory requires the understanding of the historical, personal, environment, socio-cultural and linguistic speech of context relation (to the control) in which a particular discourse took place. He states further that from this comprehensive view of meaning, the theory seeks to explain the meaning of an utterance at the master speech act level and to develop this versatile theory specifically from his research efforts into the use of the English language in a second language situation such as Nigeria. Meanwhile, Lawal (1997) offers the cosmological context as an addition to Adegbija's (1982) pragma-sociolinguistic context. According to him,'' an illocutionary act is presented to be direct or indirect. The directness or indirectness implies and mean what has been said and also mean another illocution with a different propositional context'' (Adegbija 1999: 196-197). He states further that an understanding of the mappings helps to illustrate that a pragmatic interpretation of utterance goes beyond the meaning of lexical components and the structural semantic relations among them.

2.6.1 Direct speech acts

Certain utterances are direct speech Acts when there is a direct relationship between their structures and their functions. (Osisanwo 2003:69). Taking the structural forms of English for our illustration, a declarative sentence is expected to make a statement, the interrogative should be in question form while imperative gives a command or a request. When these features appear in sentences, the speech acts are direct. These are shown in the following examples

1. You are putting on a white helmet (declarative)
2. Are you putting on a white helmet? (interrogative)
3. Put on a white helmet! (imperative)

2.6.2 Indirect speech acts

On the contrary, when there is an indirect relationship between a structure and a function, indirect speech act occurs. For example;

(i)   I hereby request of you that you pay your debt. (this is a declarative statement which has been used as a command/request; hence it is an indirect speech act).

(ii)   Do you have to stand on my head? (it is an interrogative used for a command, so it is an indirect speech act)

Conclusively, direct and indirect speech acts belong to pragmatics. Interestingly, politics is one of the major fields of human activities that employ speech to carry out acts such as; political meetings, campaign, rallies and broadcasts. Indirectness is another device used by politicians in the south-western Nigeria to drive home their points. Indeed, communicative devices like idioms, figures of speech, etc. are tactfully employed by politicians to achieve their goals.

Dada (2004) in his treatment of speech acts analysis states that the effect of an utterance on the behaviour of the hearer, can be studied using a threefold distinction namely: locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act.

Locutionary Act- A locutionary act as defined by Austin (1962:94), is the production of a meaningful utterance. This, according to him, is:

> The utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a construction and the utterances of them with a certain "meaning" in the favourite philosophical sense of that word, i.e. with a certain sense and certain reference.

Dada (2004) explains that, 'at the level of locutionary act, a communicative act takes place for example:

(i)   The lecturer said 'stand up'

Note that the lecturer had actually said something, it means that a locutionary act has been performed. The word 'said' indicates that something has been said or uttered, thus, the utterance is seen as a statement. Therefore, a locutionary act can be said to be the act of saying, producing meaningful sounds, words with certain reference.

Austin (1975:92) classifies a locutionary act into three components viz; phonetic component (phonological), phatic component (syntactic), and rhetic component (meaningful, both sense and denotation). Locutionary act in that sense refers to the formal and literal meaning of an utterance.

Illocutionary Act: An illocutionary act is a non-linguistic act performed through a linguistic or locutionary act (Osisanwo 2003:63). That is, an act performed as a result of the speaker making an utterance such as statement or promise, issuing a command or request etc. At this illocutionary act level, 'saying' and 'doing' are at the equal level. Also at this level, a speaker is seen to have performed an act and a force normally accompanies the act.

The act shows whether what has been said is a statement of information, statement of order or command or statement of question (Dada, 2004:152).

He substantiates his claim with this analysis.

> (ii)   The lecturer said "stand up" (imperative)

At the illocutionary level, the lecturer gave a command. Thus, illocutionary acts are the core of any theory of speech acts (Dada, 2004:153).

Perlocutionary Act: This is the effect the speaker's utterance has on the listener through his/her reaction or the consequence of the utterance on the hearer. He may feel amused, persuaded, threatened etc. as the effect of an utterance (Dada, 2004).

Kempson (1975:51) quoted by Osisanwo (2003) put the distinction among the three speech act types thus:

> Speakers utter sentences with a particular meaning (locutionary act) and with a particular force (illocutionary act) in order to achieve a certain effect (perlocutionary act) on the hearer

For example, if speaker X says to hearer Y

> (iii)   See a snake behind you!

If this statement brings about a fright on the part of the hearer Y, a perlocutionary act has then taken place, or if a mother tells her child "I won't give you this toy", the child may likely cry, the child's cry therefore is the perlocutionary act.

In summary, the end effect (feeling, thoughts or action) produced by the utterance of a speaker on the hearer and at times the speaker himself is referred to as "perlocutionary act".

Performatives and Constatives as expended (in Kempson 1974:38-46)

Performatives and Constatives have been argued to be on constative levels (Kempson 1974: 38-46). This submission was out of her proposition of the limitation of a truth-based semantics which are performatives, and the non-indicatives (imperatives and question).

Austin's (1962) definition of performative utterances was supported by Kempson as utterance that have no truth value. She explains that such verbs which can be used to make explicitly performative utterance all have two properties:

1) They describe an act which can only be carried out by speaking (or some other form of communication).

2) In the first person present tense, the notion depicted by the speaker is not so much described by his statement as carried out by that statement. According to her "I promise to go" is not a description of a promise but will itself constitute a promise when it is uttered.

The main argument presented in support of the isolation of performatives as non-statements is the contrast between the simple present and the progressive tense. Here are some examples (Kempson 1974: 35)

    i.   I warm you that Edward will leave

    ii.   I am warming you that Edward will leave.

This Kempson argues is a contrast which is said to be explained by the contrast between performative and constative utterances. However, she noted also that this use of the simple present is not restricted to verbs capable of being performatives since most verbs of thinking and judgment have a present tense which is neither the generic nor the so-called historic present as they appear in these examples.

    iii.   I regret that we went to Turkey.

    iv.   I believe that capitalism is an unavoidable evil.

However, Austin (1962:46) posits that an utterance is constative if it describes or reports some state of affairs such that one is able to verify its correspondence with facts as either true or false. Levinson (1983:20) goes almost the same way to describe constatives as statements that can either be true or false. Giving as example, if I say "This is a boy", I am here stating the fact of the sex and age of the person which under close examination may be true or false. Other examples are:

(i)   The weather is hot

(ii)   The man is fat

(iii)   His life is in danger

For constatives, before they can be accepted as actually constituting speech acts, their truth status must be verified and confirmed. Hence, for constatives, saying it does not make it real.

Performatives on the other hand, can be said to be the nucleus of Austin's theory of the things we do with words. Lawal (2003:15), in his view, sees performatives as "the category of utterances that lack a true or false value but have certain acts performed through their production" Meanwhile, Bussman (1998:878) views performatives from the contextual perspective when he claims that "performatives refer to utterances, the uttering of which given in a certain appropriate contextual situation result in the performance of particular actions". The same context Austin (1962:14) identifies as felicity conditions. In this regard, performatives do not describe, report or regularise anything and are neither true or false.

The uttering of the statement is part of the doing of an action. Performative utterances can therefore be said to be those uses of language that involve some ritual aspect, which are themselves a kind of action and whose very utterance brings about some result. For example, in uttering the sentence "the majority leader of the state house of assembly is hereby declared wanted", I am not uttering just a statement that is true or false but actually performing the act of declaring wanted.

2.7   Explicit and Implicit performatives

According to Lyons (1981:175), an explicit performative is that which the utterance contains as expression reveals clearly the type of act the speech act utterance is anticipated to perform. This, in quite a similar way, Thomas (1995:47) supports when he describes an

explicit performance as a process which allows the speaker to remove any possible misunderstanding of the force behind a particular utterance. For example:

(iv)   I order you to vote for my candidate.

(v)   Will you vote for my candidate?

The first example reveals the imperative proposition of the speaker to the hearer to make him vote for a particular candidate, which the speaker probably supports. He (speaker) obviously makes the performatives explicit by employing the word 'order' hence removing any misunderstanding or ambiguity; Therefore, making both the intention and message in (i) clear.

On the other hand, the second utterance (ii) is ambiguous and without the appropriate context. This ambiguity goes in these two different ways:

(a)   It can be either taken initially to be a yes or no question, or

(b)   As an indirect request or even a command to vote for the candidate. Hence, it may constitute problems to any individual reading this in the aspect of decoding the writers intention. Therefore such a case amounts to loss of communication between the speakers and the hearer which is central to any conversation.

2.8   Inference

Inferences are the meaning or possible interpretation that can be derived from our background or conventional knowledge of our culture in a text. Thus a piece of information which is not overtly or directly stated in the text can be inferred as part of the meaning or possible interpretation of the text. Inference is another significant element of language that is usually employed during conversational exchanges by participants.

Dada (2004) says "an interesting aspect of inferences is that they are treated as likely or possible interpretation, which hearers or readers will easily abandon if they do not fit in with some subsequent information".

He gave this example:

If one comes across a note sent to somebody by another person which has the inscription "from your son" at the end of the note. But if one doesn't have adequate knowledge of the

receiver's family composition, and besides the religious or social practice of child's adoption, he is most likely to infer from the note he saw as follows.

(1)   That the receiver of the note is married

(2)   That he has, at least, a son, and so on.

But in case one now accuses the receiver of the note by saying "oh so you have a son" and he replies, "how possible when I am not married" it therefore means that your earlier interpretation arising from inference must be set aside.

Dada added that to make the matter simple, the receiver of the note may go further to say "that was the boy I won for Christ when I went to Lokoja for a crusade.

In another example by Dada (2004), a statement like "John goes to school every day" may have the inference that John is either a teacher or student.

2.9   The Cooperative Principle (CP)

The cooperative principle is another proponent and hypothesis that further supports the analysis of communication. Grice (1975) describes this theory as one that concerns itself with both encoding and decoding of utterances within a particular context. Hence the cooperative principle is a theory that provides us with a framework within which we derive an explanation of how speakers succeed in using sentences(s) of language to communicate information which is unspecified by the internal meaning of the sentence(s) in question.

According to Dada (2004) "one of the conversational behaviour expected of participants in every normal circumstance of discussion is that of cooperation", this is because there is a noticeable feature already formulated as a principle of conversation, hence to a reasonable extent, conversation is sustained by the principles referred to here as maxims which are as follows;

Quantity

(1) Make your contributions as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).

(2) Do not make your contribution more informative than required.

Quality

(1) Do not say what you believe to be false

(2) Do not say that which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation – Be relevant

Manner – Be perspicuous

This was further broken down into four sub-parts by Schiffrin (1994:194), via;

i.   Avoid obscurity

ii.   Be orderly

iii.   Avoid ambiguity

iv.   Be brief (Avoid unnecessary profligacy)

These maxims testify to the value of communication in a cooperative endeavour, although this is governed by specifiable conditions. It has also been observed that these maxims are many times broken, not keenly observed/preserved like linguistic rules. For instance, many people make irrelevant statements and some people tell lies too. Also, in an attempt to convey some extra information which is in accordance with the cooperative principle, speakers break these roles (maxims) deliberately, having the assumption that the hearer can work it out. This extra information is what Grice calls an implicature (Dada 2004).

2.10   Conversational Implicature

Implicatures are non-trivial inferences that prevent breakdown in communication. Kempson (1977:143) defines conversational implicature as:

> …assumptions over and above the meaning of the sentence used which the speaker knows and intends that the hearer will make in the face of an apparently open violation of the cooperative principle in order to interpret the speakers' sentence in accordance with the cooperative principle.

Let us consider the following example of Kempson (1977) such as:

 (1)Andrew is an elephant.

This is a statement that flouts the maxim of quality. It is a metaphorical expression that shows no linguistic knowledge of the world for the hearer to interpret it. Grice's implicatures provide us with a natural explanation of the interpretation of metaphors. So, in order to interpret this utterance in accordance with the cooperative principle, the hearer must assume that the speaker is conveying an extra information other than the literal meaning of the sentence. Since "elephant" is a very large forest animal with much skill, the speaker is then saying that Andrew is powerful and skillful.

Therefore, the notion of conversational implicature provides us with an explanation of utterance interpretation.

2.10.1 Limitation of the Cooperative Principle

A close study of the Grice's cooperative principle has generated some criticism hinged on the fact that it does not adequately capture real language use. For instance, Larkin and O'Malley (1973) faulted the conversational constraints of the cooperative principle because most declaratives are not "information-bearing" in function. Also Keenan (1976) argued that some maxims of the cooperative principle do not apply to some linguistic communities, and thus posited that the maxims of the cooperative principle (CP) are not language universal. Nevertheless, Leech (1983) is objective as he argues that:

> To reject the CP on purely quantitative grounds would be to mistake maxims for statistical norms-which they are not, and no claim has been made that the cooperative principle (CP) applies in an identical manner in all societies.

The Cooperative Principle (CP) has profitably provided us with insight to utterance interpretation. Although, there are some language instances which cannot be satisfactorily explained by the cooperative principle. This supports the weakness of the theory as maintained earlier by Larkin and O'malley (1973).

An example of such a case is given below;

(2)   a) We'll all support Ade and James, won't we?

        b) Well, we'll all support Ade.

The example 2b given above violates the maxim of quantity in his confirmation of 2a's opinion because, he partially confirms it by saying; "Well, we'll all support Ade", without the inclusion of James, thereby supplying less information than is required. Also an implicature is derived from 2b, as it shows an opinion that we will not all support James. However, the implicature is not arrived at solely on the basis of the cooperative principle because 2b could have added, "…but not James", which would have provided us with enough information; rather the implicature was arrived at on the knowledge that 2b withheld saying; "but not James" in order not to be impolite to a third party.

Another example is

(3)   a) Somebody took my pen

        b) It wasn't me.

The above example (3b) that gives reply to (3a) breaks the maxim of relation. The reaction by 3(b) appears as if 3a directly accused him of taking his pen. Here, 3b's clear breach of the maxim of relation could be explained thus; suppose (3a) is not sure who took the pen, but suspects it is (3b); it therefore means that (3a) politely suppresses a direct accusation by using an impersonal pronoun 'somebody' for the second pronoun 'you', (3a)'s remark is therefore interpreted as an indirect accusation. Also, (3b)'s response to this indirect assertion implies that (3b) may have taken the pen because (3b) denied an offence of which he has not been directly accused. This suggests that (3b)'s irrelevant reply was initiated by an implicature of (3a)'s indirect utterance which was motivated by politeness.

The above examples practically reveal the inappropriateness of the cooperative principle to explain the relation between sense and force of non-declarative sentences and also it cannot explain people's motivation for indirect illocution. Because of these, the politeness principle is involved at a deeper level of interpretation and thus complements the cooperative principles.

2.10.2 The Politeness Principle (PP)

"Apart from the superficial function 'of being civil' which politeness performs, it is also an important missing link between the CP and the problem of how to relate sense of force" (Leech 1983:104).

Politeness is about the relationship between two participants in a conversation. The two participants can be referred to as 'self' and "other". The speaker(s) is usually referred to as "self" while the hearer is referred to as "other". In cases where the conversation is shown to a third party who may not be present, the third party is also referred to as other. However, politeness varies in kind and degree in different situations.

Leech (1983:105) formulates the politeness principles (PP) in its negative form: "minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs", and a corresponding positive version: maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs", Leech (1983) derived the 'positive' and 'negative' aspects of politeness from Brown and Levinson's (1978:64) distinction between positive and negative politeness.

In examples (2a) and (3a) above, the following expressions "we wont support James" and "you have taken my pen" are the suppressed impolite beliefs. Polite beliefs are 'favourable' to the hearer while impolite beliefs are unfavourable'.

As evident from the foregoing, the cooperative principle and the politeness principle both perform the function of regulating language users, but while the cooperative principle enables one participant in a conversation to communicate on the assumption that the other participant is being cooperative, thereby, "regulating what we say so that it contributes to some assumed illocutionary or discoursal goal(s)", the politeness principle, on the other hand, "maintain(s) the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place (Leech 1983:82).

It has been noted that the politeness principle prevents breakdown in communication to the extent that it sometimes overrules the cooperative principle at the expense of the maxims of the cooperative principle. Indeed, people sometimes break the maxim of quality by telling "white lies" in order to be polite. For instance, a student who does not feel like attending her association's dinner party may feel that the only way to politely decline her president's invitation is to pretend that she has a headache. This is outright a "white lie" and such "white lies", according to Leech (1983) are meant to deceive the hearer and they should be distinguished from apparent breach of the maxim of Quality. What is more, the politeness principle (PP) enhances communication. No wonder, it is greatly employed when making ironical remarks. Thus, the politeness principle is necessary for the explication of the concept of the cooperative principle and that of the irony principle (IP)

2.10.3 The Irony Principle (IP)

Irony according to encyclopedia Briannica (Micropedia), is described as a speech in which the real meaning is concealed or contradicted by the literal meaning of the words, or a situation in which there is an incongruity between what is expected and what occurs. Mbisike (2012:229) states that this takes place if the speaker overvalues the politeness principle by deliberately breaking a maxim of the cooperative principle so as to uphold the politeness principle. Quoting Leech (1983:82) which avers that:

> If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly by way of implicature.

For example

(4)   A: Susan will be visiting us this weekend

        B: O! I LOVE the idea!

According to (Mbisike: (2012:230), there's a clear breech of the maxim of quality in this example. The irony of 4b's statement is made clear by 4b's contradictory tone of the utterance which is indicated by capitalizing LOVE. The true meaning of 4b is: O! I hate the idea! Although, the implicature derived from the irony principle in this case is approximately: 'What B says is polite to Susan and is clearly not true. But, what B really means is impolite to Susan and true"

By this example, we can see how much exploit had been done on the politeness principle in observing the irony principle and to uphold the cooperative principle at a "remoter level". Therefore, she opines that the person who is being ironic apparently deceives the hearer at the expense of politeness.

It is therefore observed that in contrast with the cooperative and the politeness principle which clearly support and promote effective interpersonal communication, the irony principle's function depends on the cooperative principle and politeness principle for exploration. (Leech, 1983:142).

Presupposition: This theory has generally been defined by linguists as that which the speaker assumes to be true as opposed to what he asserts to be true (Kempson 1974:54).

Presupposition has been an extremely fashionable term used, although often indiscriminately to apply to almost every conceivable relation-either semantic or pragmatic. Hence, one of the major problems of knowing the nature of presupposition is the fact that the boundary between pragmatics and semantics has not been truly defined.

Another major discovery by Kempson (1977) is the suggestions that sentences containing verbs such as regret and realise presuppose the truth of the complement sentence following the verb. Therefore, sentence like:

1a.   John regrets that the captain was in prison

b.   John didn't regret that the captain was in prison

Both presuppose the truth of the sentence "the captain was in prison"

Osisanwo (2003: 86) argues that "in speech writing, there are some basic assumptions which the speaker or writer must make concerning the hearer or reader in relation to the subject matter on ground". Going by this assertion, it shows that such assumptions will be void of challenge(s) by the interlocutors since they promise and assumed common ground. Osisanwo, however, classifies presupposition into two major types: Semantic presupposition and Pragmatic presupposition.

Although saying it in a different way, Dada (2004:148), seems to agree with the above scholars as he defines presupposition as the provision of the essential information needed for the understanding of a subsequent utterance. Such presupposing items he claims include deictic expressions like he, it, they, that, here, tomorrow, now and the article "the".

Dada (2004:148) provided the following examples:

2a.   The book you stole from the library is interesting – Assertion.

b.   When did you steal the book from the library? – Question

c.   See that you take back the book you stole from the library – Command

d.   What an interesting book you stole from the library! – Exclamation

Although the four sentences above show different forms, each however carries the presupposition that the hearer stole 'a book' from 'a library'. Therefore, what a speaker assumes that is true or known by the hearer is referred to as presupposition.

Another example given by Dada (2004) quoted from Yule (1985:15) include:

3a)   My car is a wreck

3b)   My car is not a car

It is obvious that the two sentences have opposite meanings, but they share a common underlying presupposition which is "I have a car".

2.11   Mutual Contextual Beliefs

Language at all levels is dynamic in nature and the political arena is not exceptional. A major aspect of its dynamism is the shared knowledge or "mutual conceptual beliefs' (MCBs) which interlocutors exhibit during conversation. This concept – mutual contextual beliefs (henceforth MCBs) was first conceived by Bach and Harnish (1979). In their opinion, the speaker has an intention while the listener or hearer will make some inferences, upon which both will base their roles on certain facts shared by them.

According to Dada (2004), mutual contextual beliefs is like 'presupposition' and 'implicature' in that they all rely on background information. Thus, we can describe MCBs and its performance as a branch of pragmatics which apart from the grammatical and/or semantic situation, also include the context of situation, socio-cultural situation and psychological situation. (Dada 2004)

This inter-relationship between Pragmatics and MCBs is further strengthened by Olaniyi (2010) quoting Lawal (2003) that

> The main issue which any pragmatic theory explains revolves around speech act functions, along presuppositions, implicatures and other mutual contextual beliefs (MCBs) such as the 'cooperative principle' (CP) and face maintenance (FM) in relation to politeness in conversation.

Lawal (2003: 152) quoted by Dada (2004) says "MCBs centre around the speaker's intention and the listeners inference". He went further to state that 'a speech act is performed with the aim that the listener will be able to understand and identify the intention of the speaker'. Thus, the listener needs to put certain facts together to decode the speaker's intention. These facts Dada avers, which are well known to both interlocutors are referred to as MCBs.

Many researchers have written on political campaign speeches in Nigeria. For instance, Opebi 2005 worked on "Political Marketing or Political Macheting?" in which he observed that political aspirants in Nigeria focus more on marketing themselves and directing attacks on their opponents, rather than engaging on positive issues of national interest.

This phenomenon he attributed to factors such as voters' educational level, political literacy, content and structure of the adverts, personality of the sponsor among others. In examining the structure and functions of language, use in campaign adverts, he classifies political campaign adverts into three: The first is positive advert, which focuses only on the merit of the candidate; the second is contrast advert, which apart from highlighting the positive side of the candidate, also discredits the other opponent(s); the negative advert, which is the third category, sets out to attack the opponent(s) in full force. However, much as this study would have taken the form of the third category, our focus here is not mainly on the attack but the game of politics through words. Investigation revealed to us that, the game of politics takes different forms such as satiric, allegation and counter allegation, support garnering that differ from forceful attack. This pattern, thus disagrees with Opebi's conclusion that Nigerian politics belongs to the last category of his political campaign classification.

Another perspective is that of Omozuwa & Ezejideaku (2007) in their book titled "A stylistic analysis of the language of political campaigns in Nigeria". In their bid to unravel the significance of the aesthetic use of language in campaign speech, they insinuate that Nigerians consider 'politics' as an exercise often associated with lies, deceits and propaganda.

According to them, political campaign language is characterised by propaganda through attack on party, exaggeration, vagueness and diatribes. In addition, rhetoric in form of promises, religions allusions, repetitions, figurative expressions, coinages pidgin are also observed as essential components characteristic of the language of campaign.

Although, many of the essential components of the language of campaign mentioned here agree with those in our study, yet like the previous work, it is not ideologically driven and does not probe into the underlying intentions beneath the speakers mind.

At the international level, Orwell (1946), writing on language of politics in England, observes that the language is characterised by lack of precision, perhaps, because either the

speaker has a meaning and cannot express it or he/ she inadvertently says something else, or better still being indifferent to whether his/ her words mean anything or not. He describes this phenomenon as vagueness and sheer incompetence and laments that political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible truthful and murder respectable.

However, this study falls in line with Fairclough (2006) who opines that campaign language is capable of weaving visions and imaginaries which can change realities, obfuscate realities and construe them ideologically. This attempt is being made here, using songs, discourse, slangs and other political utterances by the Yoruba people of the Southwest as our tools to unfold the realities and ideological bases underlying political speeches.

Furthermore, Lawal (2003:139), quoted by Olaniyi (2010), explains the systematic correlation among the concepts of pragmatic and how they dependently function. Using a descriptive framework for the pragmatics analysis, he reiterates the central functional role of the MCBs, especially between the speaker and the listener as he states that:

> The mutual contextual beliefs (MCBs) is at the base
> of utterance box linking the speaker and the listener
> together for easy understanding of the speaker
> meaning and necessarily utterance meaning in case
> particular contextual conditionals fail.

In his view, Osinsanwo (2003:89) states that contextual beliefs operate at the level of language and at the level of situation. This simply means that both language and situation play vital and noticeable roles between interlocutors for a smooth flow of interaction. According to him:

> When we talk about the level of situation, the life
> experience of the interactants plus their shared code,
> linguistic or non-linguistic, come into play…

This life experience of the interactants which involve their independently acquired level of profession, status or social group is capable of influencing an interlocutor's understanding of a conversation in these three ways enumerated by Osisanwo (2013:90):

(1) Shared knowledge of subject matter or topic

(2) Shared knowledge of choice of words, references and referents

(3) Shared socio-cultural experiences acquired previously or on the spot.

From the foregoing, we have been able to unveil and relate the dynamism of the Speech Acts theory and its locutionary effects, also, the relatedness of MCB's which has as its focus the shared knowledge between interlocutors in a conversation. These theories are therefore efficient with their encompassing ways, in analyzing the context and underlying structures that revolve around speech acts, the grounds which political speeches explore. We, therefore, express confidence in the fact that Speech Act, MCB's and many others in group-relation shall be of much value and our guiding principles and parameters to justify our data in the subsequent chapter of this work.

2.12   Analytical approach

In the Nigeria political history, efforts have been made by scholars, using different linguistic approaches to explain the linguistic contexts and meaning emanating from the speeches and utterances of the Nigerian politicians, thus using the existing different linguistic approach to critically describe the Nigerian political situation. Some of the linguistic features available as options to be explored include: Text linguistic approach, Discourse Analysis, General and Linguistic Stylistic Approach and so on.

In the political study of the elite in Nigeria carried out by Ayeomoni M.O (2005), he adopts a general stylistic approach to mirror the language of the Nigerian political elite while discussing the business of politics. The attempt was to find out functional reasons for the features that characterize this language variety.

The selected elite politicians who cut across the nation (except) South-South Zone) in the study include:

Chief Obáfémi Awólówò (South West), Chief Nnamdi Azikwe (South East), S.G. Ikoku (South East), Chief Nnafor Orizu (South East) Mr. Tunji Braithwaite (South West) Chief Bólá Ìgè (South West) Tafawa Balewa (North East) Alhaji Shehu Shagari (Norht West), General Aguiyi Ironsi (South East), General Badamosi Babangida (North Central, General Olúségun Obásanjó (South West), and Major Nzeogwu (South East).

The lists of these elite politicians are those who played key roles in political practictioning and politicking in Nigeria since independence, both civil and military. Since either of the military and civilians administration has produced its leaders, hence we can say they have

both contributed and made significant contributions to the building and development of Nigeria political history.

Ayeomoni (2002) agrees that there is a common relationship between language use and socio political situations. Defining stylistics itself (in line with Chapman (1973) Romano (2000), Babajide (2000) and William (2000), Ayeomoni agrees that it is a linguistic study of different styles and a product of social situations. Therefore, stylistics in this wise, is taken as an integral part of sociolinguistics, in the sense that it studies humans in relation to their society.

Another perspective to stylistics according to Ayeomoni (2000) is its description as an academic field, which studies certain aspects of language variation. This lends credence to the assertion of Crystal and Davy (1969:10) that "stylistics aims at analyzing language habits with a view to identifying, from the General mass of linguistic features common to English as used on every conceivable occasion. Ayeomoni therefore asserts that the general stylistic method of analysis applied, offered three major benefits in the study:

Firstly, it helps analysts to be aware of the structural pattern of language, permeating a text so as to be able to identify the prominent or foregrounding stylistics features of the text. Also, it enables analysts to be consciously aware of the kind of social variations, which the inherent linguistic features are identified with. Finally, the approach provides for the analysts the opportunity to know the technique of putting these features down systematically in order to reveal the internal patterning of various texts. This phenomenon has induced Crystal and Davy (1969) to argue that the central requirement of stylistics is to provide a single technique of description with which to cope with any piece of language. They opine that:

> The central requirement of any linguistically oriented approach to the classification of stylistic effect is that it should provide a single, clear technique of description which will allow the student to cope with any piece of language he wants to study (Crystal of Davy: 13 – 14)

This technique of description of language is what Ayeomoni (2005) quoting Chapman (1973) and Crystal and Davy (1969), refers to as codes and linguistic levels of analysis respectively. According to these analysts, the level could be phonetics//phonology/graphology, grammar/lexis and semantics. Ayeomoni therefore

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adopted these linguistic parameters and processes in his course of addressing the political issues of the elite in his research work. They are;

(a) Nature of the lexical choices and functions

(b) Forms or types of sentence prominent in the speeches and functions

(c) Rhetorical devices prominent in the speeches and functions

(d) The contextual semantic implication of the features with how each of the speeches is analysed were studied critically with a view to identifying the nature of the features of the linguistic parameters above. The identified features are then related to their contexts with the intention of drawing the concomitance between the features and the intended messages.

The analysis of the linguistic features that manifested in his (Ayeomoni 2005) data were explained under these categories

(i)   Simple declarative sentences and clauses: Example

> You are all aware that the constituent assembly has completed its task of fashioning out a new constitution for our country; you are also aware that I have formally expressed the gratitude of the nation and that of the supreme military council to the entire members of the Assembly for the successful completion of their historic assignment… (Ojiako 195)

Ayeomoni avers that all the sentences in the above speech extract are in declarative form. Thus, all the obligatory sentence elements of (SPC) – subject, predicator and complement are present. For instance

S   P   C

You/ are all aware/ that the constituent assembly had completed…

Beside the declarative feature, the sentence also are of simple typological forms; this he claims is a simple and determining attitude of the politicians in getting what they want.

Another example that has the linguistic features explained above was contained in the acceptance speech of the first executive president of Nigeria – Alhaji Shehu Shagari

      S   P

"/I/ was declared/ the first executive president of the federal republic of Nigeria… (SPC)

Another linguistic feature that was showcased by Ayeomoni is the metaphoric manifestation in the speech. An example he cited was the speech of Ikoku – the secretary general of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) in the second republic.

> We in the PRP have no doubt that the entire country
> will draw a conclusion from this precipitate action
> that Alhaji Shagari is the favoured baby. (Ojiako 209)

The above speech is highly figurative especially in terms of metaphor. He (Ayeomoni) pointed out the phrase "precipitate action" in the speech as a metaphor, so also the normal phrase "favoured baby". The idea of the political elite group trying to force their way by making it convincing according to Ayeomoni was responsible for the usual figurative.

This style of politicians making their ideas impressive by the use of metaphoric and figurative languages can also be illustrated with example of Chief Obafemi Awolowo's speech used as another data by Ayeomoni.

> …. Our experience during the past 6 years has
> shown… that though we are (ostensibly) free as a
> nation, yet as a people we remain, tightly shacked in
> the chains of ignorance, disease, want and native
> tyranny"… (Awolowo 110)

The phrase "shacked in the chains of ignorance, disease, and want and native tyranny" in the above speech is metaphorical. This metaphor according to Awonuga (1988) quoted by Ayeomoni could be linked with Chief Awolowo's attitude and reaction to colonialism, capitalism and socialism. In this regard, the metaphorical chains in the above quotation refer to colonialism and neocolonialism, which should be destroyed by all means.

Apart from the metaphoric nature of the speeches of the elite politicians as examined by Ayeomoni (2005), it could also be symbolic. For instance Chief Bólá Ìgè declared in one of his speeches thus:

> I promise, once again, that during my own time, life
> will be made more meaningful. I will turn stone to
> bread; the poor will reap the fruits of their labour. I

know that, you my fathers and mothers will pray for
me and our state and your prayers shall be heard" (Ige
3)

Beside the presence of metaphoric expression in the speech quoted above, some words like 'stone', 'bread', and 'fruit of labour' are highly symbolic. They simply represent removal of hardship; while 'fathers', 'mothers' will either represent mentors and supporters, or a stylish way of endearing oneself to the electorate.

A critical examination of the elite politicians speeches also reveal a good usage of rhetoric devices and style for the purpose of convincing their listeners. Such example we observe in the speech by Tunji Braithwaite, one time Nigerian Advanced Party (NAP) Chieftain during the second republic. He rhetorically presented his manifesto in one of his campaign speeches thus:

We are going to produce food in abundance not only
for all Nigerians, but also to export abroad and earn
foreign exchange… (Ojiako 2005)

The above speech according to the analyst is not only sensational, but also appealing to the collective sense of the people. This tendency is shown in phrases like "to produce food in abundance" and to "earn foreign exchange". He described the step as liberal and exaggerative style, adopted in order to woo and lure the people in the speaker's party and cajole them about the party's designed programmes.

In a related manner, Dr. Nwafor Orizu declared in his broadcast to the nation in thirteen years of military rule that:

I have tonight been advised by the council of
ministers that they had come to unanimous decision to
voluntarily handover administration of the country to
the armed forces of the … it is my fervent hope that
the new administration will ensure the peace and
stability of the Federal Republic of Nigeria…
(Ojiako:6)

Dr. Orizu's speech above was described to be mild exaggerative and appealing in phrases like "have been advised, unanimous decision, "to voluntarily handover", connote that he respects the popular opinion and interest of the people. Then the call for "peace and

stability", equally shows his liberal postures and avowed interest in the promotion of oneness and the peace of the country.

Other linguistic features present in the analyses of the political elite by Ayeomoni include "coercive feature", which he described to be a common feature used by the Military. (Again, he observed the "collective pronominal reference; 'We' 'you' 'us' etc, features are revealed in the example below.

> …you all know as I do, the military remains the bastion upon which the survival of the Nigeria polity rests… if we allow the military as an institution to be ruined or humiliated, then the consequences…" (Gen Babangida I.B. 1989).

2.13 Lexical borrowings and allusions

The feature of lexical borrowings and allusions are equally preponderant in the political language of Nigerian elite. In this respect, it is discovered that words are often taken from various sources and fields of human endeavours like Geography, Economics, Judiciary, Sociology etc. This is done to convey the precise communicative intention of the speaker, as it gives a vivid picture of the situation. So, in an attempt to achieve this aim, allusions to relevant fields of the society become inevitable. We can find a good example of this in the speech of Major Nzeogwu in 1966, who alluded to the geographical feature of Nigeria by saying:

> … I leave you with a message of good wishes and ask for your support at all times, so that our land watered by the Niger and Benue between sandy waters and gulf of Guinea washed in salt by the mighty Atlantic shall not detract Nigerian from gaining sway in any great aspect of international endeavour (Ademoyega:88).

The speech above reveals the use of the following words and phrases; land, watered, sandy waters, gulf of Guinea, Niger and Benue and Mighty Atlantic. These are real geographical terms commonly found in the lexical register of geography. In the context of the usage here, they perform demarcating functions as it identifies and specifies the geographical terrain affected as covered by the speech, and of which subjects being addressed.

But from the linguistic perspective and analyses, the speech is meant to adore and shower praises on the Creator for the natural blessing and gifts to this country, and this also is a way of exposing the greatness of the country. However, the political function language performs here is to woo the populace to accepting a new ruler who acknowledges the large endowment and also ready to manage them well.

2.14   Political discourse analysis of presidential speech

Again, in the course of tendering Nigeria democracy that has been described by many politicians to be still 'young', many political leaders and heads of government have taken the advantage in their various speeches and/or broadcast to pass across certain messages on the issues and polity of Nigeria, as well as their interest and information on few national issues that may not be overtly stated in the lexical structures of such speeches.

A good example of such review, is the Political Discourse Analysis of President Obasanjo's 46th Nigerian Independence Speech by Asiyanbola (2010). The title of the presidential independence anniversary speech, used as the data was "Nigeria at 46". We've done very well "so far" this was published in Punch newspaper of 1st October, 2006.

According to Asiyanbola, the speech borders on various issues such as agriculture, transportation, science and technology; economic development, health information, communication technology, politics and education. He rounded up the content section by describing the speech as a very encouraging as well as frank one, especially on Nigeria polity and economy issues.

However, the author avers that, beyond the surface structure, the application of Critical Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics to the total meaning of the text, revealed various important bits of information that are not structurally present in the literal interpretation of the text. Therefore, the application of the theories to the text helps to unravel and illuminate various aspects of human life which involve language use that are originally hidden in the text.

Referring to the close nature of the two theories, the author emphasizes on the importance of language which they both hinge on. This, according to him, is based on the common agreement and scholars (see Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Brown and Yule, 1983; Bosmajian, 1985; Kempson, 1986; Leech and Short, 1987; Awonuga, 1988; Yusuf 1990-2003; Ayoola,

2005) views and explanations of the two theories. While Discourse Analysis is defined as the study of language in use, pragmatics is agreed to be the study of language in a particular context of usage. Thus both theories have discourse as the domain of their operation in that, while Discourse Analysis concerns itself with what people using language are doing and with regard to accounting for the linguistic features in a discourse as the means of word appropriation, pragmatics concentrates on the investigation into that aspect of meaning which is derived not from formal properties of words and constructions, but from the way in which utterances are used and how they relate to the context in which they are uttered (Leech and Short, 1987).

On the basis of the above therefore, the author sets out to do the analyses of president Obasanjo's 2006 Nigerian Independence Speech, adopting the offsprings of Discourse Analysis and Pragmatic theories viz: speech act theory of Austin, 1962, Searle, 1969 and Cohesion theory of Halliday and Hasan 1978.

Applying the three branches (locution, illocution and perlocution) at the speech acts level, Asiyanbola explains that it is through the locutionary acts that the illocutionary acts can be identified, also, the perlocutionary effects can only be generated from the locutionary and illocutionary levels. In other words, we analyse and discuss critically the linguistic (lexical and syntactic) forms of the speech in the first place. In the second place, through the linguistic forms, we are able to determine the functional implications (illocutionary acts) of the speech. Furthermore, the meaning extension or effect of the speech is derived from both the locutionary and illocutionary acts.

2.15 – Text Implication

The text like others in this setting usually commences with introduction involving the use of vocatives e.g. "my dear compatriots" - **Locution**. The choice of statement like this is commonly found to be a deliberate one, often times to present a president who is on the same comradeship level with the citizens in the pursuance of the task of nation–building **(Illocution).** This type of gesture at the introductory level of the speech again functions as formal greeting or salutation. Other examples that perform the same function are: fellow countrymen, fellow Nigerians or, my country people etc. The listeners/reader therefore build their confidence in a servant-leader president-perlocutionary.

The author's (Asiyanbola) analysis of the text revolves round the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of the president; also, contextual clues such as pronoun reference, modal auxiliaries, synonyms, repetition and pragmatic clues such as the exploitation of the authorial knowledge of the speaker, audience, society, medium, situation and context surrounding the production of the text are explained.

The presidential speech **(locution)** that makes the data for the study according to the author, is about fifty paragraphs of varying number of sentences. They are further classified into major and minor sentences; influenced by Hudson (1971) and Aremo (2004). Also on the subject, predicator, complement and adjunct classification of the sentences (although this is not our focus here) he is guided by Scott, Bawley, Brocket, Brown and Goddard (1971).

He went further to explain that, since the classification of the sentences in the speech are major ones, they have the **locutionary** acts of full sentences. But for the **illocutionary** acts of the president behind the sentences, these can be implicitly determined through the performative verbs that are not overtly stated. The lexical and syntactic structures are the channels through which the **illocutionary** acts are determined.

Finally, in determining the **perlocutionary** act or the effect of the speech on the readers, generated in the sentences of the text, a critical examination of the illocutionary acts must be undertaken. Other linguistic features considered by the author in the analysis of the text include repetitions, synonyms, etc. The following therefore is the further review of the presidential speech analysed by Asiyanbola (2010), in line with the focus of this study, employing the parameters of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis.

2.16   National Issues

This aspect dwells richly on the prospects and problems of economy, the progress made by his administration on national issues like economy, welfare indication, health, transport, banking reforms and pension scheme, as they all reflected in the text.

In reflecting on the past, we have such statements that unfold in a flash the records of past achievement as well as gray areas that need present and future attention. For example, in a statement like:

(i) "Yes, we have had some miss-steps and challenges, mistakes have been made, difficulties have been created, but in all these, God has made us to continue to survive as one strong indivisible nation"

(ii) ''Our agricultural policies are yielding very positive results as we are now self-sufficient in poultry products and vegetable oil"

The above quoted statements are both 'locutions' which reflect at the illocutionary level, the past challenges and the hitherto-made errors that are responsible for the economic woes. However, as sad as the effect part of the news might have brought to the citizens of Nigeria, there's also a succor in that, the present government is working to sustain the improved agricultural buoyancy. The perlocutionary effect therefore is a strong belief in a hopeful nation by the citizens.

2.16.1   Exposition of Government Policies and Initiatives

Under this sub-heading, the president rolls out in summary the focus of his administration. Such attempts have been labeled by leaders with different terms like "seven point Agenda" "Roadmap to development", Our plan for you", etc. Here, the politicians usually premise their initiatives and focus on the failures of the past administrations. Promises and lots of mouth-watering statements characterize their speeches. For example;

> (i) … Our electricity shall move its status from epileptic to a stable one" – (locution).
>
> (ii)… Importation of rice will stop, as farmers shall be developed and aided locally for maximum output – (locution).
>
> (iii)… more value shall be added to lives and property with the provision of adequate security-(locution).

The type of statements above are commonly part of broadcast and speeches by politicians on special occasions and gatherings, to show their commitment to the development of the society. Although, often times, the politicians play to the gallery when delivering such speeches (written and/or not written) at functions, like religious gatherings (Churches and Mosques), as well as community celebrations like towns and cities-day-celebrations. Other functions where politicians take such advantage is wedding or birthday reception program where they are made chairmen or have the opportunity to address the congregation with

the aim of scoring political points, especially, against the opponents present. This in effect, is the illocutionary functions of the message.

In furtherance to this is the achievements made so far, well packaged and chronicled for self aggrandizement, to achieve their political goal, the opponents are not spared with their rods of chastisement through discreditation and malignity. Such attempts for political ego are displayed with colossus donations of public funds to influence supporters at functions.

2.16.2   Instrumentalities:

The information of the politicians about their party's responsibility and credibility is most times passed on to the public at such public functions. Hence, Churches, Mosques, and other social gatherings serve as good and effective avenues to reach hundreds and thousands of the electorate.

The audience, majority of whom may not be aware or conscious of the speakers (politicians) intention, get carried away and sometimes confused and convinced about the messianic appearance of the party or candidate. This constitutes part of the illocutionary function of the message on the hearers.

This type of broadcast or political speech delivery in the public, most times, impress the desire on the electorate to change their political party and join government in power, thus enhancing them to have more members. The practical experience of such is the open defection of political party members to another at rallies and political assembles, which has been rampant in today's politics. Such effect and generated result on the public based on the locution and the illocution is referred to as the perlocutionary effect.

2.17   Summary

From the analysis of the political speeches given by analysts in this paper, the language of the political elite more often than not, exhibits some unique language features. Also, the analyses have revealed to us the inseparable link between language and politics. The use of language by these politicians in various forms can be described to be a deliberate action towards acquisition and consolidation of power, and also to achieve their political intention and goals.

Linguistic features such as shared knowledge of the speech – (MCBs), between the speaker and reader/listeners, use of collocations, synonyms, as well as the determination of the illocutionary acts from the locution, through performative verbs, and the subsequent generation of perlocutionary acts, which is the effect of the speech on the hearer, through a critical observation of the illocutionary acts among others as revealed in the text are evidence to show that politicians speeches are not arbitrary

Their style of adopting simple declarative sentence, figurative and metaphoric language, strategic usage of liberal and exaggerative rhetoric (which tone is soft mild and appealing) is all aimed at projecting/printing their impression and intention on the minds of their listeners in a lasting way. All of these are done as strategies while campaigning or trying to 'market' their programmes and entrench themselves in office.

The analyst also exposed briefly the coercive way of compelling people to submission by the military. Although the speeches of the military could also at times show some rhetoric, this is what Perelmal and Tytecas (1969:82) described as coercive rhetoric.

Truly, these studies have much to contribute to knowledge but we wish to reveal that the concentration has been mainly on the elite politicians (Civilian and Military). No attention has been given to the non-literate politicians who form the bulk of the electorate. Therefore, since both the elite and non-elite engage in political game and make use of language irrespective of the form (written or spoken), it will be justifiable and broad enough to also beam our search light on the language and styles of this neglected group who are key players in the game of politics from the onset. Besides, previous studies have concentrated largely on style and the descriptive analysis of political discourse rather than critical textual analysis which this study provides.

Finally, since the style of language or strategy adopted at a particular socio-political setting, depends on a number of variables such as subject matter, participants or audience, as well as context, then we believe the aim of this study has a good basis for justification.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework on which this study is based and it also examines the methodology employed for data collection and analysis. These shall be discussed under the following headings:

1.   Theoretical Framework

2.   Research Design

3.   Procedure for data collection

4.   Method of data analysis.

3.2   Theoretical framework

Searle's Speech Acts theory of 1969 which enables a broader perspective to Firth(1939) and Austin's (1962) approach, provides the theoretical framework for this study. This is complemented by Bach and Hanish (1979) whose Discourse Analysis approach include Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCB's), Implicature, Inference.

Since Discourse which has been defined as "language beyond the sentence", concerns itself with the study of language in texts and conversation. Also, the acceptance of discourse as a social practice means having to reveal the concealed nature of social process embedded in discourse. Thus, as a social process, discourse is linked intricately to the socio cultural context from which it operates. It is neither produced, nor can it function in a vacuum. It is rather a contextual discourse that is embedded within social and institutional system of ideology.

Social practice entails the actual human activities, such as utterances or writing. According to Fairclough in his book 'Discourse and Social change 66', social practice   also includes economic, cultural, political and ideological orientations. However, many speakers are unaware of such practices and analysts may have the problem of identifying these. This clue CDA provides by proposing that a close and systematic analysis of discourse can unveil the nature of social practice in discourse. This is realizable through the examination

of the social practices of individuals and institutions that involve concerns such as the use and abuse of power, hegemony, ideological operations, social change as well as conflict, domination, race and leadership (Fairclough, 67, VanDjik 77, Wodak, 224).

In this study, the search for the pattern of language use, that may be linked to social or political structure with ideological colourings becomes imperative. Furthermore, the processes/analysis of the discourse features, lexical features and functions, as well as the strategies employed by politicians, are accounted for through Searle's theory and the complementing Discourse Analysis tools.

In relation to above, the tools deployed, take explicit position and effectiveness to investigate and expose the ambiguity and other forms of manipulations which language is subjected to in the political context. This idea is a step towards the achievement of the central claims of Discourse Analysis that, the very certain realities that is talked and written about is not just random but deliberately patterned.

3.3   Research design

Towards the achievement of our goal to uncover the hidden meanings, relating to the political relationship between the politicians and the electorate, via the use of language, the ethnographic research design is employed. This approach captures in a unique way, how the aspirants through the employment of language which has certain manipulations of linguistics facilities influenced and controlled people's thoughts, beliefs and minds in order to woo them to ensure the aspirants/party's victory at the polls.

Furtherance to the achievement of this goal, the qualitative approach will be used to detect discursive structures within the transcript of the speeches in other to discover the hidden meanings embedded in the underlying structures. Since the major concern of qualitative research is its ability to reveal the essence of individual expressions, actions and thoughts in everyday life, in order to give them meaning (Wodak and Busch, Handbook media studies 105).

Qualitative research is guided by these research traditions, phenomelogical sociology, symbolic interactionism aid ethnomethodology (Traudt 33).

Phenomelogical sociology pays attention to the study of what people say as a pointer to how they view the world. Thus, those who believe in this approach, study utterances in

order to understand people's meanings and utterances. However, symbolic interactionism studies how the mind of the language user works in relation to their perception of self and roles in social settings. This approach sees the individual as social actors putting forth roles which facilitates the understanding of how the self and the mind work. Ethnomethodology studies everyday talk in particular natural settings of language use. An example of such work is Sinclair and Coulthard's study of teacher – pupil talk (McCarthy:6).

3.4 Procedure for data collection

This study adopts two major instsruments for the collection of its data. These are participant observation and unstructured interviews. The corpus for the research consists of twelve electioneering campaign speeches of gubernatorial candidates of dominant political parties (All Progressives Congress-APC, Peoples Democractic Party-PDP, LABOUR and ACCORD) accross the six South-western States between 2011 and 2015. The selected speeches were recorded live, transcribed and subjected to discourse analysis. The recroded speeches of the aspirants and the interviews with some politicians were complemented with other write-ups and publications sourced from the libraries and archives. These materials include personal memoirs of some notable politicians who have positively impacted the stability of the Southwest politics and Nigeria by extension.

The various utterances employed by the politicians and collected as our data; vary in length and number of sentences. Each relevant text will be studied for identification of extracts that project the image and personality of the speaker and most times, at the detriment of others.

3.5 Method of data analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis scholars believe that it (CDA) cannot be undertaken effectively using only one theoretical framework or method of analysis. This is due to its grounding nature to issues which relate to the social and political lives of language users. A combination of different level of analysis and different analytical tools were therefore recommended by the scholars. This tool for political exegesis was refer to as multi method approach. They believe that texts are not simply products of a sender who has embedded a certain message intended for a receiver, but a representation of a complex set of rules and influences which are sometimes visible but most often not.

The first part of the name for this type of analysis is the word 'critical' which requires the analyst to observe the invisible relations between people expressed in language. Hence, the reader does not only have to be critical of his subject of investigation, but also of his own context.

To further establish the conjoined nature of discourse analysis and pragmatics and the common boundaries they share via language, the speech acts theory of Searle is applied. This explicates the different forms of linguistic functions in language at the levels of locution, illocution and perlocution, towards revealing the hidden meanings in the electioneering campaign speeches of gubernatorial aspirants in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2015. By this, both the meanings produced through the formal linguistic elements and those produced using the background knowledge or information, are considered for total description and interpretation of the data.

3.6 Summary

The data to be used in this study, the research design as well as the method employed for the analysis, have been carefully enumerated in this chapter. Reasons for our choice of Research Design and some decisions made were also given. These we hope shall help to form a basic level of understanding of the analysis of the selected texts used as our data, which shall be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data which is structured into three different parts: discourse features that characterise political speeches, the linguistic features and functions of the speeches and the strategies deployed by the politicians in the speeches. These will be analysed in turns.

4.2 Discourse features of campaign speeches

Sequentially, five discourse features characterized political campaign speeches in Southwest Nigeria. These were identified in the data for this study. These certain linguistic forms are peculiar to each discourse feature and are particularly significant in unpacking the language of politics in Nigeria. Chronologically, the campaign speeches are classified into: Awareness, introduction of the Aspirant and party's chieftains/presentation of the party's manifestoes, Aspirant speech and Persuasion. The theory of Fairclough on language as a tool for representation and misrepresentation of realities is applied.

4.2.1 Awareness/Entertainment

Awareness relates to a state of excitement creation on the audience for what is to come. In this context, this is a projection of promising, warm and enlightenment of the people by the politicians and their hired musical or cultural troupe. This is done to avoid boredom and exhaustion on the electorates who are waiting for the arrival of the aspirant and other leaders of the party. The entertainment process does not only create awareness but also makes the crowd more resilient as they await the arrival of the game players. The types of music featured here could either be Juju or Fuji music, or better still, cultural troupe depending on the environment.

Apart from the entertainment purpose that the music provides, it also creates awareness about the aspirant just as the aspirant's name and other party stakeholders' names are repeatedly mentioned by the musicians and candidates' supporters. Although, such introduction of the campaign actors take an informal pattern, and it usually features three major events: Songs, Slogans and Inscriptions.

4.2.1.1   Songs

Here, political songs that are purposely composed to eulogize the featuring political party and its candidates are employed. Findings reveal that most of these politically motivated songs have their sources from folklores and religion. (Christianity, Islamic or African tradition). Except for the wordings that change the tune and the rhythm most times are preserved. As earlier mentioned they serve as good complements to verbal statements during electioneering campaigns as they are intermittently used with verbal statements for the applauding of the candidate and party. Examples of such songs for awareness and entertainment under this section include:

Text 1:

 Rájí Fáshọlá ló ní n kí gbogbo yín o
 Ó ní n kí gbogbo yín lọ́kọ̀ọ̀kan

Translation:

Raji Fashola requested me to greet you all

He said I should greet every individual--- (Babatunde Raji Fashola Lagos State Re-elect 2011).

The above song excerpt was used by King Wasiu Ayinde Marshal (KWAM 1) to create awareness and notification of the candidacy and best regards of the gubernatorial aspirant in Lagos State (BRF). The song in accordance with the Yoruba culture depicts courtesy and respect for all set of people present, young and old, man or woman. It is a means to present the candidate as an amiable and respectful leader who will always be thankful for their coming out and will not in any way wish to waste their time hence this song was employed to appreciate the people for being patient as the aspirant tarries.

 The Yoruba people relates well with guest and other people and often show their courtesy more in greetings. Thus, most of their intentions and feelings are expressed through greetings which come in different forms to express different state of minds.

Text 2:

Ta ló sọ pá ò ní baba

Káì a ni baba

Asíwájú (Bola Ahmed) baba wa

Káì a ni baba.

Translation:

Who says we have no father

Sure! We have father

Asiwaju (Bola Ahmed) our father

Sure! We have a father.

--- (Babatunde Raji Fashola re-elect 2011 in Lagos.)

Example 2 above was one of the songs employed by the Lagos market women (Iyalojas) to applaud Tinubu and acknowledge him as the 'Lagos Political King maker'. Since it was the general belief that Asiwaju Tinubu was recently the force behind the nomination and installation of most political office holders in Lagos including the incumbent governor who was seeking re-election. Although, the ideology behind the formation and usage of the song may not be a conventional one, as this might be the opinion of selected few, yet the message is clear as it reflects the political roles of Tinubu not only in Lagos State but in Nigeria as a whole. The song was to create awareness about the political- fatherly roles of Tinubu who is not less in status than a political father and exemplary leader.

Text 3:

À m bọ̀ ò
A m bọ̀
À m bọ̀ ò
A m bọ̀
Èkó ṣẹ̀ṣ☐ è bẹ̀rẹ̀ ni ò
À m bọ̀ ò

Ègbè - Gbogbo wa la lèkó

  Gbogbo wa la lèkó o e.

Translation:

We are coming
We are coming
Lagos is just starting
We are coming

Chorus: Lagos is for all of us – (2014, Lagos State gubernatorial campaign by Ambode)

The above example like others in the series was employed to create awareness of the advent of a vibrant and truly prepared aspirant who was ready and had all it takes to transform Lagos. The song was not in any way deployed to slight his predecessor –Fashola, but rather a testament to the fact that his (Ambode) coming on board will truly usher in new development that will complement the good works and achievements of his predecessor.

Beside the fact that the song was widely chorused and became famous among Lagosians, the import and message of unity and sense of belonging it carries become evident. Lagos, being a number one cosmopolitan city in Nigeria, because of its accommodation of virtually all the tribes in Nigeria. The song therefore depicts equity, justice, condusiveness and even distribution of democracy dividends among all the citizens. Thus, the purposes for its deployment which include promise and garnering support for the candidate and his party, were never defeated just as the name of the aspirant (Ambode) went viral.

Songs like the example above, functions to create a lasting memory beyond the election period and the tenure of the candidate. The longer the existence of such songs, the sharper the memory and message conveyed. Such lasting impression created by a particular political party, via songs and other means, creates a better chance for acceptance of the party and also increase the winning chances of its candidate.

Text 4(a)

Eléyìí ọmọ wa
Ẹ̀rẹ̀kú ẹwẹlẹ
Eléyìí ọmọ wa
Ẹ̀rẹ̀kú ẹwẹlẹ

Translation:

This one is our child

Celebration! Celebration!!

--- (Governor Ibikunle Amosu election campaign in Ogun, 2011)

The excerpt above was the song employed by a former governor in Ogun State Aremo Olusegun Osoba to create awareness for the APC candidate -- Ibikunle Amosun, at the electioneering campaign held at the Alake's palace in Abeokuta. The song and its message produce a level of mutual understanding as to the source of the aspirant. This folklore turned political song, gave an evidence of the former governor's support and endorsement to the candidacy of Sen. Ibikunle Amosu. Although, the song sounded entertaining, but the message was clear in its awareness creation of the parternity of Amosu which rekindles the hope of the people of a trusted candidate.

This ideology of 'Godfatherism' is fast becoming a popular one in the Southwest and Nigeria politics as a whole. The strategy here is the affiliation of an aspirant with the people that matters in the state or nation for a better chance to win an election. This development was recently tagged 'anointed candidate' while the political mentor and sponsor is referred to as 'godfather'. The employment of this song by a political juggernaut in the state, carries a lot of weight based on his status and antecedents.

Although, this song was an expression of support for the gubernatorial candidate, by his political godfathers, the message however, in the original folklore where the song originated is contrary.

Text (4b)

A ó mérin jo☐ba
Èrèkú e☐we☐le☐
A ó mérin jo☐ba
È☐rè☐kú e☐we☐le☐.

Although, both songs depict appraisal and used at celebrations, nevertheless, the latter in conjunction with the attendant myth has some satiric undertones. The drumming of support by the tortoise, at the supposed installation of the elephant as the king of animals, was later found out to be hypocritical.

Text 5:

Èkìtì Dialect.

Fáyẹmí rọra a rìn

Ìwọ mọ̀ lojú kete í ò

Ọ̀ mọ̀ rọra a rìn

Ìwọ lojú kete í ò

Yorùbá meaning ;

Fáyemí máa rìn pè☐lé☐

Ìwo☐ ni gbogbo ojú ń wò

Máa rìn pè☐lé☐, iwo☐ ni gbogbo ojú ń wò

Translation:

Fayemi tread softly

All eyes are on you

Tread softly

All eyes are on you – (JKF 2014 re-elect in Ekiti State).

The above song discourse was employed by the market-women association in Ado Ekiti, to kick off the re-elect electioneering campaign of Governor Káyò☐dé Fáye☐mí in Ekiti State. The women at this rally presented Fáye☐mí as the hope for Ekiti for continuation. Although, the song was composed in Ekiti dialect to show solidarity with the governor and to also create awareness and present Fáye☐mí to the entire Ekiti people as their own child, only with a mild instruction in the song, of his need to exercise caution in its striding efforts. This replicates people's love for Fáye☐mí and their wishes to see him succeed, just the way a good parent will caution their ambitious and hardworking child.

4.2.3 Slogans

These are key phrases, specially branded and distinctive by nature, used in association with personal group or product in advertising. They are cognate words or catchy expressions accompanying the logo or brand that encapsulates the aim and objectives of the political candidate and his opinions. Thus, they became famous tools to politicians in the advertisements of their political products. The phrases which sometimes appear in form of

abbreviations and coinages are meant to create awareness and give recognition to the personality or group to which they are attached .

Examples of such political party's slogans are;

Text 6

Example 1; A G ! for 'Action Group**'**

Example 2; U P N ! for 'Unity Party of Nigeria'

Example 3;. NPN ! for 'National Party of Nigeria'

Example 4; PDP ! for 'Peoples Democratic Party'

However, each of these acronyms is associated with the party's intention / vision to make a complete party slogan. For instance, 'A C N' is followed by the response "Progress !'' while PDP has "Power !'' as its attendant to make the Peoples Democratic Party`s slogan. They (slogans) function as quick words or expressions to present political parties agenda. The examples below function to unveil the goals of some political parties.

Example 5; --- U P N -- Unity Party of Nigeria -- (Progress)

Example 6; --- N P N -- National Party of Nigeria – (One Nation)

The logo of the UPN was a lighted candle inside the map of Nigeria which symbolises illumination and truthfulness, while the NPN logo which is the house building prototype, explains the party`s vision to make housing available and affordable for all. There is therefore a communication link between a political party logo, slogan and the electorate who are recipients of these messages,

Example 7; -- Labour Party! –Welfare! – The logo has man and woman and youth which represents the workforce. This is towards the provision of good welfare for the labour force and all groups. The representation of these three personalities is an attestation to the party's intention to run an inclusive government.

However, some ethnic groups in Nigeria that have some ideological, socio-cultural beliefs and colourations, have been observed to have certain affiliation with some

political parties. This development is not totally strange to Nigeria politics since the advent and formation of political parties in Nigeria is not unconnected with ethnic groups. This fact therefore accounts for the correlation between "Afenifere" slogan which the Alliance for Democracy party (AD) aligned with.

Example 8: ---   Afẹ́nifẹ́re! --   ire owó!

Afẹ́nifẹ́re! –   ire ọmọ!

Afẹ́nifẹ́re! –   ire Àlàáfìà!

Translation:

Afẹ́nifẹ́re!   -- For riches!

Afẹ́nifẹ́re!   --   For procreation!

Afẹ́nifẹ́re!   --   For peace/ good health!

Example 9: - ACN! - Progress!

ACN is the vehicle! – Progressives are driving!

The above cited slogans and lots more with their attendant logos, represent the various ways of capturing the electorates' awareness, as well as explaining what each party stands for in relation with their vision. This factor (vision) most times, determines the choice of party of a candidate aspiring for a particular position and the electorates also. The reason being that, the party that has the best vision in terms of solution to the need of the masses stands the better chance of winning the election.

4.2.4 Inscriptions

Politics today enjoys the richness of information technology, such as digital and print media that are used to inform and create awareness for the public during occasions with no exemption to electioneering campaign as part of political events. The use of photographs, pictorial and image symbols in newspaper, obituary papers as iconic signs for the identification of individual memories in the context of time and place are good examples among others.

The adoption of such strategy, even in politics, convey a sense of reality through a display of words, interjected with pictures and projections of important features of individual or group for public information and possible convictions. During electioneering campaigns,

verbal expressions interjected with pictures, images and symbols are displayed on posters, billboards, selected objects or places like a wall or car, as well as outfits specially designed for the purpose of electioneering process. For example:

Text 6:   **Do not disturb, Fashola is working, Lagos is working (2014 BRF re-elect)**

The above excerpt represents a strict warning to opponents not to disturb or side- track Lagosians from voting governor Fashola for second time. The message written boldly on placards by Fashola supporters at a campaign rally in Lagos, presents and Fahola's candidacy as the collective will of the people. Apart from the awareness created for the electorates to remain committed to Fashola's second term bid, a clear instruction and warning message also went to detractors under whatever guise to stay off.

Oftentimes, captions like this and the message(s) attached are mere propaganda and threats against the opposition. While this attempt functions as a strategy to market Fashola as a credible and workaholic candidate, it also serves as an attempt to weaken the opponents.

Text 7:   Ṭẹní bẹ́gi lójù

Translation:

> The one who cuts down the tree has done his worst,
>
> nevertheless, the leaves of the tree have blossomed again.

 The above excerpt is another grass-root way of creating awareness, hence the statement comes out in Yoruba Language for wider publicity. Although, the statement and the message seem ambiguous, indefinite and somehow confrontational, because no party name or intention was reflected. However, the name of the aspirant and the position he's aspiring for accompanies the inscription. Such names appear in form of nickname or acronyms, e.g, Iroko, Oluomo, BRF etc. This coded language thus creates an effect of sympathy apart from the awareness created about the aspirant.

Text 8:   Liberation! - Ìgbàlà dé!
The above is another simple but catchy expressions of words which also came in association with the Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN) party's logo. Awareness statements like these are religiously rooted and most times have direct affiliation with the holy books

especially the Holy Bible. Nigerian Politicians oftentimes try to present and associate themselves with either of the popular religion (Christianity or Islam), an indication to make people believe in their closeness to God. This statement which is commissive deploys a vowing act deliberately packaged in a bilingual form to convey a wider understanding of the message.

Text 9: Tested, Proven and Trusted.

This is another statement of awareness creation about the leadership qualities of the gubernatorial candidate in Ondo State. This inscription for awareness was printed on T-shirts worn by the supporters of Governor Olúse◻gún Mímíko who was seeking re-election in Ondo State. His political agenda was also affirmed in a similar structure "Development and sustainability. The statement thus goes beyond awareness creation, to the level of soliciting for support. This awareness is not done in error but having a particular target and focus.

Text 10:   We are the Messiah –(JKF 2014 in Ekiti)

Here is another catchy lexicalization foregrounded during one of the 2014 Ekiti gubernatorial campaign rallies. It was an inscription on T-shirts worn by supporters of APC candidate; this was part of the support given to Governor John Fáye◻mí who was seeking re-election. Although, some of these promises expressed through catchy words are unrealistic from experience, as the fulfillment of some of the promises remained a mirage as their dreams and desires are not met. Nevertheless, it has become a common practice for the politicians, to employ such catchy words and phrases to create awareness about the aspirant and his good intentions. The inscription brings to a reader an imagery of the state of affairs which include economy, health, education security and the general welfare of the people that are in dire need of a saviour. On such sensitive areas of governance/administration, the aspirants of the opposition party dwell to sway fortunes to their camps.

4.3 Presentation of party manifestoes

4.3.1 Introduction

This section presents three important features that characterise the process of party-manifestoes' presentation. They are; greetings which is an effect for capturing the attention of the audience, highlight of the party's vision where the aims and objectives of the party as well as the strategy to use are foregrounded, and the deployment of various verbal means of attack and condemnation on the candidate in the opposition and the party he represents.

4.3.2 Greetings

In the Yoruba context, greeting is an important phenomenon that fits into every aspect and actions of man. It is an ideology that expresses different actions and modal situations. Greetings also serve as a prelude to every conversation or address, hence, it would be so unethical for a speaker not to acknowledge his audience through greetings first before his speech. This development has become an integral part of the Yoruba people and culture. However, it sometimes goes beyond the display of cultural affiliation to the effect of awareness creation and a step towards building a good relationship. In the light of the above therefore, greeting is considered to be playing an essential role in the political arena as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

This medium therefore affords politicians to easily become acquainted with their target audience, as well as the cultural values and ordinances of the particular environment they find themselves.

At this stage of the party's manifestoes presentation, a master of the ceremony is usually in charge to anchor the affair, such person with eloquence and good knowledge of the party, antecedent and structure, takes the floor by presenting some forms of salutations to the crowd. This he does after the shouts of party's slogan to elicit responses and an effect to calm down the crowd. Such greetings include the following:

Text 11:   Ẹ kú ilé o,

        Ṣe dáadáa la báa yín ?

Translation:

       We greet you all as we arrive

       Hope we meet you well?

Text 12:   Ẹ kú ìkàlẹ̀ o,

        Ṣe dáadáa la báa yín ?

Translation:

We greet you for this orderly manner of waiting

Hope we meet you well?

Text 13:   Ẹ kú ìdìde wa ò

Ṣé àlàáfíà ni ilé wà

Translation:

We greet you all for honouring us with your presence

Hope your house is peaceful?

Text 14:   Ẹ kú ọrọ̀ ìlú o

Alálẹ̀ ilẹ̀ yìí yóò jẹ́ kó ṣeéṣe o

Translation:

We greet you for your concern for our land.

May the owners of this land grant us success.

4.3.3   Highlights of the party's vision

This is a core segment of a political campaign in that; it is the section that showcases the various visions and plans of a political group. It is an outline of the party's side of social contract with the people, what they found that needed to be fixed, the motive behind the birth of the party especially if newly created, and the change they intend to introduce.

At this important level of any electioneering campaign, each political party is aligned with the good legacies of foremost political leaders like late Chief Oꝏbáféꝏmi Awólóꝏwòꝏ in the Southwest, Nnamdi Azikwe from the East, Tafawa Balewa, a Northerner and a host of other political leaders who made different landmark achievements in their various regions or Zones. This is why therefore, any political party in the Southwest that must make any impact has to replicate and key into the ideology and political ideals of the late sage- Chief Oꝏbáféꝏmi Awólóꝏwò.

The vision of the Political Party is hereby carefully presented to the excited audience who are curious to know and observe anything different or new in the party and what they have to offer. The manifestoes of a particular party therefore speaks volume about its chances of winning an election or otherwise. If the points raised are well identified and tended towards

solving the society's problems, their chances of winning becomes bright and vice-versa. Thus, who is who in the party's hierarchy take turns to present what their political party stands for and their ideologies. For instance, the APC party in one of its gubernatorial campaign held in favour of Senator Ìbimkúnlé Amósù in Abeokuta Ogun State associated themselves with the ideals and ideas of Late Chief O□báfé□mi Awóló□wò as well as partially replicating the logo of the old Action Group. In the claims made by Senator Dúrójaiyé, a staunch member and leader of the APC, the broom adopted as APC logo, which is a product of the palm tree, partially replicates the AG group's logo. The broom he argued was a useful product from the palm tree. Just like the palm tree has multiple functions and usefulness, so the broom to clean dirt, kill insects and flies among others.

The manifestoes of a party therefore incorporates a wide range of the society's needs and challenges. These are sequentially presented with catchy words to persuade the electorates. We have the following as examples.

Text 15: Looking at the manifestoes of the various parties that have won elections to be in government, Nigeria should not have been where we are today. But what do we see now? Millions are suffering in abject poverty in spite of the numerous juicy promises given. APC has come to chase away poverty-- (APC regretting the 16 years rule by PDP at the Buhari Presidential rally in Ibadan).

Text 16:   Poverty in our land is real as a result of unemployment and preventable, but it takes only capable and selfless people to lead and take care of the problems confronting the nation. That party with such people is APC-- (APC National leader –Ahmed Tinubu at the presidential campaign rally in Ibadan).

Text 17:   We of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) of Nigeria, conscious of our historic mission to build a modern state founded on Justice, Equity and fair play – (President Goodluck Jonathan campaign speech at the National stadium, Surulere. Lagos).

Text 18:   We shall remain committed to

-         Democracy and good governance
-         Freedom, human rights and human dignity.

Text 19: Integrity, transparency and accountability in the conduct of public affairs Providing good governance that ensures probity and participatory democracy. Providing the

political environment that is conducive to economic growth and national development through private initiative and free enterprise – (PDP Lagos State gubernatorial aspirant's (Jimi Agbaje speech).

Text 20: Our principle is of social justice and the equalities of opportunities for all citizens – (Labour Party Gubernatorial aspirant – Dr Olusegun Mimiko's speech in Akure, Ondo State)

The various visions of the different political parties highlighted above, show different degrees of discourse with different intentions and purposes. These range from poverty eradication to accountability, good governance and selfless services. Areas of sensitive interests usually form the basis of each party's vision and manifestoes in order to impress the electorates and win their conscience.

4.4 Condemnation of the opposition

Condemnation of the opposition (aspirant or party) has become a prominent feature in Nigeria politics. It is a major strategy employed by the politicians to arouse the electorates feelings against the opponent. The phenomenon simply explains a deliberate attempt to run a party or its candidate down through verbal attacks, defamation of characters, fabrication of lies and other forms of political propaganda in a bid to outsmart the opponent. This idea generates from unhealthy rivalry, inordinate ambition for offices and desperate attempts to win elections as against the spirit of sportsmanship. This development makes a sharp distinction between sportsmanship of the olden days politics (where even the looser will crack jokes and congratulate the winner), and the 'do or die' tendencies of today's politicians.

Anyim (1958 :34) described the Lagos municipal elections of 1949 when he wrote!

The first man to crack jokes with the prophesy was chief Ayo Williams himself, who in his reply to the sympathy shown by a friend said "those youth movement chaps are devils, they said I would score the plate number of my car and it happened''. These were the days of politics without bitterness.

The above excerpt represents the "sportman'' nature of politics among the old politicians. The sense of humor demonstrated by chief Williams in spite of his defeat to the National Youth Movement Party candidate is highly commendable. It was revealed that someone had earlier predicted this defeat in a proverbial way by saying some NNPDP candidate

would lose their deposits and others would score the exact plate number of their cars. Meanwhile, the outcome of the election showed Mr Williams had 66 votes which was the exact registration number and figure on its Opel car (L66) The defeat notwithstanding , Mr Ayo Williams only reacted with jokes.

Although, a similar thing was replicated in the same spirit of sportsmanship in Nigeria politics, when the former President-Goodluck Ebele Jonathan lost the election to the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari. The former did not wait for the final result before congratulating Buhari the assumed winner of the election. But this is a case of one in a thousand, as today's politics reveals more hostility than sportsmanship that should characterize politics. We have the examples of such attack and condemnation statements below:

Text 21: Ó lárùn ọpọlọ

   Ó lárùn ọpọlọ

   Gómìnà tó dagbálẹ̀ ọjà

   Ó lárùn ọpọlọ

Translation:

   He's mentally deranged

   He's mentally deranged

   A Governor that stoops so low

   To become a market sweeper

   He's mentally deranged.

The above text was used by the PDP Party members to attack the APC group. The evolution of the APC party was with much popularity while their adoption of broom as the party's logo heralded a new trend in the Nigeria politics. The display of broom as the party logo was unprecedented because no political party had hitherto reduced its symbol to such visible object for membership identification. The broom to the APC members is an instrument to sweep away the accumulated societal mess and political rubbles, just the way a broom clears dirt. Furthermore, the broom was explained to be a product of the palm tree which was the logo of the old AG. Hence, a political affiliation is being made with Awóló□wò□ and his ideology being replicated.

Findings show that leaders of the APC sooner than later became identified with brooms, having each of the party supporters displaying the object as their party logo. This development however led to the high cost of brooms in the society because of the high demand for it.

What therefore led to the invention of this song was the exuberance of the APC leaders including governors, sweeping the stage during electioneering campaigns. A good reference was the visit of some PDP national leaders to Lagos for a political function. It was gathered that Senator Bola Tinubu, an APC leader led a team of party supporters with brooms down to the old toll gate towards the outskirt of Lagos to sweep away their (PDP) footsteps. This simply connotes a cultural way of rejecting an unwanted visitor that might likely bring ill-luck to a place with his presence.

However, these actions by the APC leaders generated swift reactions from the Peoples Democratic Party leaders, hence the invention of this song to raise suspicion about the sanity of a number one citizen in the state turning to a market sweeper. This also corroborates the earlier rumour that some of the leaders might likely be into drug abuse and addiction.

Like we earlier observed, most of these political songs were coined out of the existing religious songs, especially Christian religion. The above song was a derivative of Evang. Bisi Alawiye song in one of her previous albums, with some of the wordings and sentences retained. The tune oftentimes, is hundred percent the same, but the message depends on the contextual usage. While the inflection form took a whip at the political opponents, the message from the original album was a 'rebuke of the idolaters'. The composer wondered why a professed Christian will have to be an occultic group member, the state of sanity of such person is in doubt, the singer affirmed.

The original song:

Ó lárùn o□po□lo□

Ó ń fé□ ìtó□jú ńlá

E□ni tó ń pe Jésù Jésù

Tó tún ń s□e yépà yépà

Ó lárùn o□po□lo□.

Translation:

He's mentally deranged
He requires serious medical attention
He who calls on Jesus
And still indulges in occultic practice
He's mentally deranged.

Another example of condemnation mode we have in the song text below:

Text 22: Do you know Obasanjo maa sewon leekan si?
I know Obasanjo maa sewon leekan si.

The above discourse (song) was the prelude to the speech by Professor S□o□lá Adéye□yè at the post humors birthday ceremony in honour of Late Chief Bola Ige, held at Premier hotel Ibadan. Present at the occasion were families and friends of the late icon, as well as political associates. Adéye□yè, an academic turned politician opened the floor of his speech with this song that elicited warm response from the audience. This was an effect to show agreement and mutual knowledge in the belief that Obasanjo's led government was responsible for Ige's death. Ige who served as a minister for Justice and Attorney General of the Federation was gruesomely murdered and years after his death, the government could not do anything to unravel the mystery behind his death even as a serving minister. There was therefore suspicion that the government in power shouldn't have found it difficult to bring the culprits to book except for their complicity.

Although an investigative panel was set up to unravel the mystery of chief Bola Ige's death but no success was recorded. This development raised much curiousity and many Nigerians especially , the Yorubas had no choice than to speculate that Obasanjo should be asked about the death of Bola Ige even as the wound of his (Bó□lá Ìgè) death remained fresh. The dialectal political song below reveals some component of verbal condemnation:

(Akure Dialect)	(Yoruba Form)
Text 23: Erukutu la rí o	Eruku la rí o
Á mò̩ ró̩dà	A ò tíì rí ò̩dà

Jìbìtì/ Ọ̀ràn mè í o   Jìbìtì/ ọ̀ràn nìyí o

Baba olè   Baba olè

Translation: Although we expected a tarred road

                But all we could see now is heavy dust

                Caused by the grading of the road

                What a misfortune in the hands of

                Dishonest / fraudulent leaders.

The song text above represents the reactions of the Ondo State indigenes towards the failed promises of Governor Olusegun Mimiko who was seeking re-election on Labour Party platform. The APC which was a strong opposition party in Ondo State mobilized its members to capitalize on some of the uncompleted roads project to condemn Governor Mimiko's second bid. The reality is that, no governor could actually complete state projects within few years of his tenure owing to the fact that governance is about continuity. Some of these uncompleted projects might have been rescheduled for the second term which will be another four years. This second term bid of Governor Mimiko was therefore resisted by the APC referring to the uncompleted projects as abandoned. Areas of inadequacies are usually good foundations for the opposition to build on and every weakness of their opponent counts, and they easily become avenues to attack.

Statements of attack and condemnation are not new to politics especially in Nigeria. Interviews conducted with the old politicians too revealed some level of attacks on opposition parties right from the first republic. These were either in verbal words or songs. Apart from the attack on individuals (Aspirants), party logo also was a good objects of criticism as they appear in the examples below.

Text 24:   Inú igbó lọ̀pe ń gbé

                 Inu igbo lope n gbe

                 Ẹnòkan kìí kọ́lé adẹ́tẹ̀ sígboro

                 Inú igbó lọ̀pe ń gbé.

Translation:

        The palm tree has its abode in the forest

        The palm tree has its abode in the forest

        No one will ever situate lepers colony in the city

The palm tree has its abode in the forest.

The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun led by Late Azikwe employed the song text above to condemn the Action group. Here, the party's logo which is palm tree, was described as an object and product from the bush and only fit to remain in the bush. The song metaphorically compares the party's logo with a leper, who is forbidden to live with people. This also led to a swift reaction by the AG when they attacked back using another song text below:

Text 25:   Òpẹ ló ni wẹ́ẹ̀sì

Òpẹ ló ni wẹ́ẹ̀sì

Lójú kòlòkòlò, kí ladìyẹ lè ṣe

Òpẹ ló ni wẹ́ẹ̀sì

Translation:

The Southwest is for AG

The Southwest is for AG

What can the cock do

At the sight of the fox?

The Southwest is for AG

The fact that songs during political rallies and electioneering campaigns have formidable role to play in almost every society lends credence to the scholars view that no phenomenon void of utility survives in a society. Thus, we align with the fact that composers of these songs and their users are in their own right political enigma, held in awe by their supporters, and capable to sway fortunes in favour or otherwise of any political party or group. There are other means and weapons used for downgrading the value of the opponents available to the politicians, but prominent among them are songs with different messages and purposes.

Text 26:   Pònkí la ó máa ṣányán

Ponki la o maa sanyan

Bọ́wọ́ o wa bá bà 'kùkọ

Pònkí la ó máa ṣányán

Translation:

> We shall eat pounded yam with relish
>
> We shall eat pounded yam with relish
>
> If we lay our hands on the cock
>
> We shall eat pounded yam with relish.

4.5   Introduction of aspirants / speech making

This section in relation to the above comprises three important steps that are crucial to electioneering campaigns. Greetings comes first as means of showing courtesy, which is followed by self- promotion by the aspirant as an effect to outshine other aspirants in the opposition; and closely followed is the process of problem elucidation. This latest stage also attempts the messianic projection by the aspirant in order to influence and control the thoughts of his audience towards getting their support.

4.6.1   Greetings

Like we have earlier noted, our discussion continues on the importance of greetings as part of socio-political life of the Yoruba people. This earlier position is being corroborated by establishing the significance and symbolic role of greetings in electioneering campaigns under this section also. Greetings complement the uniqueness of this important aspect of electioneering outing as a good starting point. This categorization is about the most important in that; while previous stages (awareness/ entertainment of presentation of party's manifestoes) are meant to play the role of John the Baptist in preparing the way for the messiah, this section unveils the appearance of the real actor and can be described as the business of the day.

However, a good starting point for any aspirant in order to present himself a cultural and amiable candidate for acceptance dwells on how he opens the floor of his discussion. The greeting ideology in the Yorubaland depicts, respect, culture, courtesy, charity and lots more. This however comes in different forms depending on the situation, gathering and other contextual situations. Findings revealed that there's appropriation of different forms of greetings by the politicians to elicit desired responses. This gesture is targeted at gaining support for themselves and setting a good pace for their speech delivery.

We have our examples in the following:

Text 27:   Ẹ kú ìkàlẹ̀ o

Ẹ sì kú ojú lọ́nà ìjọba titun

Translation:

We greet you for this orderly manner of waiting

We also congratulate you for the anticipation of a new government.

The example above shows the aspirant's appreciation of the electorate's presence and a way of raising their hopes for a new dawn in governance. Although, this is a wishful thinking, nevertheless, it is here presented as if there is a hundred percent assurance of winning the election. This is a development that is common to most aspirants in Nigeria politics, a situation where every contestant sees himself as the winner of the game, even when it is obvious that their chances of winning is slim, yet they keep hope alive.

Text 28:   Ẹ kú ìfẹ́ o

Àjùmọ̀ṣe wa kò ní bàjẹ́ o

Translation:

We greet you for the love expressed.

May our relationship never go sour.

The example above is a reciprocal of the love shown by the people to the aspirant. It also connotes a desire by the aspirant for a lasting relationship. This type of mutual understanding, people believe is needed to make the political future of any politician bright.

Text 29:   Ọ̀rànmíyàn ló ń kíi yín o

Ọ̀rọ̀ gbogbo wa á yàn á yanjú o

Translation:

Oranmiyan (appellation) greet you all

May our matters all have desired solutions.

The example above was a version of salutation adopted by Governor Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá during one of the electioneering campaign for his reelection. Aré□gbé□so□lá like many other politicians, has "Ò□rànmíyàn" as his appellation or political name. The name is linked to one of the Yoruba deities who was a direct descendant of the Yoruba progenitor – Odùduwà. The name which simply means "my own issue is resolved", was not only adopted by Aré□gbé□so□lá as a sobriquet, but also have some cultural affiliations, that soothes the user towards identifying himself with the good works and solution-procurement which the names suggests. Thus, a rousing response greeted his salutation whenever this name is used. It is therefore a strategy to appeal to the people's conscience.

Text 30:   Ẹ kú àsìkò yì o
                  Ẹ sì kú ìrójú

Translation:

>   We greet you for this situation
>   We greet you for your endurance too

Greetings like the example above are politically motivated. They go beyond ordinary salutation to explaining and showing empathy for the pains or related condition which people have been subjected to. Usually, the opposition is the object for attack here, especially the outgoing government, using whatever inadequacies noticed whether genuine or otherwise. The response of the audience to such greetings is spontaneously loud and with excitement, especially, when they are tired of the present government and situation. Thus, we assert here that these forms of greetings have certain basis of mutual beliefs between the speaker and his audience. It also facilitates a conducive and good relationship atmosphere for the aspirant's speech, since a relaxed and friendly environment has been created. Sometimes, the aspirant's greetings could be religiously affiliated. This is done to align with the popular religion being practiced in that environment. In order to be on the safe side, the two popular religion in Nigeria would be used to convey greetings to the electorate . This practice could also be attributed to the fact that some of these politicians are not true adherents of a particular religion, they cleverly employ the greeting as strategy to cover up. Being a public person it is believed that they have to give each religion its due recognition, as well as the adherents of such religion.

Below are examples of such greetings.

Text 31:   A sallam allaikun

Translation:

> Peace be unto you all

Text 32:   A kí gbogbo yín lórúkọ Jésù Kristi Olúwa wa.

Translation:

> We greet you all in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4.5.2   Self promotion

This aspect explains the ideology of an aspirant, whose interest is to present him/herself and his/her group in a positive way, while making negative presentation about others. This s/he does by selecting some socially shared mental model with a negative connotation to capture different ideological positions. Language being the commonest form of social representation with the "common sense assumption" which we rely on , is used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs.

 Although, it has been observed that, it is not generally simple to find which specific belief system is available in each sentence. However, a sign of a content being affected by a specific philosophy exists in investigating the vocabulary of content. This setting has been recommended by scholars to be utilized to decide such absence of clearness.

Some self–projection lexical items are residual in the examples below:

Text 33:   You have all watched our last debate and you
                    Have all listened to what we stand to offer,
                    Unlike those who had nothing to present…
                    --- (Babatunde Raji Fashola Lagos Island Campaign Speech)

Just like we have it in the text above, every aspirant devotes time to make a good autobiography of himself in a brief manner. Such self projection is characterized by past achievements and records of positions held, the richness of the aspirant's curriculum vitae

and few other attainments that the opponent may be lacking in order to outshine him. These are carefully presented alongside few allusion of the opponent weakness which provides a platform for criticism.

The above excerpt was credited to Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola, who openly acknowledged his robust achievement during his first term of four years in office. This conviction raises his hope for the continuation of future developmental projects in the state, thereby presenting himself as better than any other aspirant in the state.

The allusion of "empty presentation" or " poor performance" was targeted at the candidate of the main opposition party (PDP)- Mr Jimi Agbaje, whom the APC suspected would enjoy the Federal support.

Text 34:   My emergence as the governor of this state is not an
"impromptu'' I have taken years to know the challenges
of our people. My antecedents and various positions held
are testimonies for my fitness for the job, I have served
you before and I will serve you again
-- (Dr Olusegun Mimiko's speech at Idanre, Ondo State).

The above extract gives a clear projection of the candidate (Dr Olusegun Mimiko) as the right person for the position of Ondo state governor. Although, seeking for reelection, he reflected on his political career from when he was a commissioner and later secretary to the state government as factors for his vast experience and better qualification than any other. There's evidence of self-promotion here, and a level of mutual contextual beliefs about his personality among the Ondo state electorates. This must have aided his victory twice, a very rare development in the state. The belief of people in his personality and his contribution to the society no doubt, paved way for a new and isolated party like "Labour" to win an election in a politically competitive state like Ondo. This is a clear indication that people vote a candidate not because of the political party he belongs, but because of the candidate's personality.

In some cases, the self promotion of an aspirant could be premised on his journey through the rough path of life towards success, like we had in the life-experience and declarations of former Nigerian President- Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. "I had no shoes". This phrasal

expression of the former president went viral to attract empathy from the Nigerian masses who had been longing for a leader that was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. A leader that will truly understand what poverty means provided he had tasted such before. This no doubt was one of the convinction that made Nigerians voted en-mass for him.

We have yet another example in the excerpt below.

Text 35:   We know how many kilometers of roads that are in Lagos
We have calculated how many gallons of water you'll need daily
We have found out how many pupils we have in our schools and the number that should be in a class. Who among them know all these?
Let him come out and tell us! - (Babatunde Raji Fashola re-election campaign)

The discourse above reveals in a number of ways a pattern of self-promotion as captured in the pronominal phrases "we know" and "we have" which refers to the aspirant. They are clear cases of self-projection and appraisal about the areas of achievement in the state and other pending developmental projects to embark on. This type of self aggrandizement and the points raised were probably possible because Fashola had served in the cabinet of his predecessor - Bola Tinubu, a development that must have afforded him to be more conversant with Lagos terrains. However, all these were obvious attempts to outshine other candidates aspiring to become Lagos state governor, as Fashola threw out the challenge to anyone of them who could provide answers to the issue raised.

Governor Fashola had frequently promoted himself and his party as he constantly acknowledged to have gone through the tutelage of his predecessor. This according to him is a boost to his candidacy, while the opposition suffers the negative effect of the leadership and influence of his godfather – Senator Bola Tinubu. However, most Lagosians have surrendered to fate to support whoever Aṣíwájú Bọ́lá Tinubu may present as his anointed candidate, hence the frequent reference to him by Fashola who was Tinubu's political son. Such reference and open acknowledgement, was meant to portray himself as a superior candidate. The below is another example:

Text 36:   … Experience they say is the best teacher. Those of us who have gone
through the hands of Asiwaju have acquired the experience and the

knowledge. Lagos is too broad and cosmopolitan to be entrusted into the hands of mediocre. (BRF Lagos Island Mega Campaign).

The phrase "those of us who have gone through the hands". Is a deliberate attempt here to sideline other aspirants who may not have political affiliation with Asiwaju or share the same political ideology with him. The speaker through this statement seemed to have fenced out others while establishing an affinity with Asíwájú Bólá Tinubu in whose support he believed he would emerge winner.

4.5.3   Elucidation of problem

Another prominent feature in the game of politics is the aspect where politicians (especially the aspirant), sheds light on what the electorate should have and enjoy which previous governments have denied them. There is in this aspect, various clarification of the masses plight and suffering arising from the non-provision of the basic amenities by the government.

Politics is like a football game where every team aims at scoring higher goals than the opponent. Thus, the instrument for the game is mostly the inadequacies and weaknesses of one another. Here, we have a fault–finding state where every little sin counts and deserves punishment, a time of unending investigation into the private and public lives of aspirants, especially, in the areas of past and present shortcomings for necessary crucifixion.

In furtherance to the individual faults that count, there is always the eagle eyes of the opponents watching over the affairs of governance. While the achievements are hardly mentioned or celebrated, the areas of failures receive a wider range of publicity. Although opposition and constructive criticisms are good for the growth and stability of democracy if only people (opponents) do not overheat the polity. That is, every failure or disaster, some that may even be natural is not traced to the "incompetence" of the incumbent or past administration(s).

Politicians are prompt at accusing one another over issues relating to leadership and governance, even when it is obvious that the public is responsible for imbalances. Example of such public sabotage to the socio-economic services include vandalization, theft, hoarding etc of government/public products and services to the disadvantage of the masses.

Every aspirant/candidate enumerates various challenges confronting the society. These range from basic amenities (food, shelter, etc), to security, education and health among others. These items are well presented in the order of their priority of the needs of the society, with emphasis on the laxity on the approach by the government in handling each. The failure on the part of government is usually justified by revealing to the public the huge sum of the monthly allocation and other internally generated funds that accrue to such state. This aspect therefore creates a good level of comparison, between the income and the achievement made which either commensurate or not by each administration.

This process of fault-finding via the elucidation of the society's challenges, is a strategy for hope and emancipation for the masses. This, the politicians cleverly employ to project their good image and create in their listeners a messianic impression about their candidates.

Text 37: We are aware of the failure of the federal government in providing us with a stable power supply. This has turned most youth to okada riders, but I'm ready to tackle that in Lagos state. Electricity problem will be solved as we are already doing 700,000 megawatts of electricity. I will increase it by 540,000 watts to make it 12,240,000 megawatts soon. There shall be enough provision to make you prosper.

<div align="center">(Babatunde Raji Fashola campaign speech at Lagos Island).</div>

Text 38: My administration will employ thousands of youths in the state and service. For those who cannot get immediate employment, I will pay each person a monthly allowance of ten thousand naira till you are fully employed.

<div align="center">(Babatunde.Raji. Fashola campaign speech at Lagos Island).</div>

Text 39: We truly appreciate your impressive turn out, and we are going to reward you for your loyalty. Water problems in our villages all over the state shall be attended to immediately after the election

<div align="center">(Ogbeni ' Rauf Aregbesola 2014 campaign speech in Iwo , Osun State).</div>

Text 40: We are going to do more in the health sector. Pregnancy in this state will no longer be a death sentence for our women. I'm proud to say our " Abiye program has positively affected every home in the state.

(Dr Olusegun Mimiko re-election campaign speech at Idanre, Ondo state)

4.5.4 Persuasion

Persuasion is the aim of every speech and thus it is a part of life. The speaker in every persuasive speech seeks to change the listeners minds completely to his own side of the argument. Since the jobs of persuaders is first to create psychological imbalance, in the persons they seek to persuade and then, to close off undesired re-balancing mechanism. "Hence, some scholars agree that persuasive is meant to influence opinion and behavior, and change peoples attitudes, beliefs, values and actions.

People observed that, we all involve in a certain amount of persuasion. This is an effect to make people to do things that they would otherwise not have done with some encouragement or influence. This action therefore is in tandem with Timm's (1981.170) definition of persuasion as "a conscious effort to modify or change the attitude, beliefs, or behavior of other people through the use of communication. This is therefore the need to have an accurate knowledge of the audience so as to be able to adopt to their needs. Bearing in mind that lines of argument that serve the need of one part of the audience, may upset the other part of the audience. This principle and parameters work better in politics, this is because of the various interests and groups that the electorate represent.

In the light of the above therefore, persuasion becomes a psychological activity that involves a lot of mental give-and-take between a speaker and his audience, so as to enable the speaker know how effective he is. Thus, he leaves no stone unturned to neatly tie up all loose ends. It is therefore expedient for a persuasive speaker to make his speech appealing and convincing. A convincing speech in this sense must have the features and characteristics of being factual , of value and truly innovative.

4.5.5 Promises

This section discusses another major weapon employed by the politicians to influence and control the thoughts of the electorate. The weapon and influence are contained in 'Promise', a phenomenon that explains the state of commitment towards the welfare of someone or people. The effectiveness of its application has endeared many politicians to its usage.

Electioneering campaign has "promise" as a unique tool of its operation. Since politics is a game of numbers and every candidate aspiring for an elective post does everything possible to outwit his opponent. A popular way of achieving this goal in Nigeria politics with no exemption to the Southwest is by assuaging the electorate of their various burdens and challenges through promises. This, to the masses is the right medicine for their immediate relief from their ailments. Thus, promise depicts the subtle analysis of someone's challenges, with a means of finding solutions. Promises in politics take the form of identifying the problems as well as suggesting clues. Some promises a times remain a mirage because, many of such dreams never come to reality. The employment of promise as a tool in politics is an attempt to influence people's minds and thought. The strategy is aimed at re-orientating the minds of the people towards the formation of good opinions about a candidate or his political party.

Promise making comes to the electorate in different ways, depending on the prevailing socio, political and economic situations of the state involved. A number of figures of speech (metaphor, exaggeration, hyperbole, etc) feature prominently during promise making. Some lies are also noticed due to the non-reality of such declarations. But the truth is the electorate usually desire statements that show commitments from different aspirant/political parties, to enable them take the right decision based on what is available. Promise-making remains an indispensable tool of politics in that, every vision, intention of good works contained in the agenda of the candidate is related to the electorate in a convincing manner. Thus no politician in any part of the world especially in Nigeria, will toy with this sensitive aspect that's a nucleus part of political speech making. In other words, the rhetorical richness of a politician in this aspect is sine-qua-non to his chances of winning an election. That is to say, the higher an aspirant could go in convincing the electorate, the brighter and better his chances.

We have in the examples below excerpts of promises from the campaign of some gubernatorial candidates

Text 41: I'm going to promise you today, that, within the next six months of my administration, I will restore city hall to its pride of place. We are going to continue to have our annual prayer festival in the city hall and I will be with you on this ground where we stand, This is the ground I will use to promote

professional football in Lagos, because I want to turn it to a mini stadium and Onikan will become world-class stadium, because we have completed the one at Surulere. One more thing we require of you is your vote.

(Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola, Lagos Island campaign speech for re-election.

There's embedded in this excerpt some Speech Acts which reveal a number of promises of many beautiful projects in the area of sports development in Lagos state. The pronominal "I" shows a deliberate act against "we" to create the effect of responsibility and commitment by the speaker. The listing out/upgrading of three different stadia within Lagos, with the specific locations given, reveals a proof of the governor's knowledge and familiarity with the terrains and facilities within Lagos and the interest of people in sporting activities. No doubt that this promise will go a long way in motivating the interest of the sport-loving people of Lagos not only to support the candidate but in the anticipation of upgraded sport facilities that add beauty to Lagos state and a good complement of its centre of excellence status.

A similar evidence of promise-making is revealed in the excerpts below, which was part of the campaign of a former governor of Oyo state – Senator Rasheed Ladoja who sought another chance to Agodi government house.

Text 42:   You were all witnesses to the range of developments that took place when we were there, this time around, we are ready to deliver more. I'm ready to build upon the foundation I laid few years ago, since nobody seems to look in that direction. My own type of development shall spread over cities, towns and villages for even distribution of our collective resources. I promise you that no area or sector will not receive adequate attention.

(Sen. Rasheed Ladoja campaign speech at Igbo-ora, Oyo state).

The above excerpt is an expression of ambition by the former governor to come back to power. This intention/message he conveyed to the Oyo state citizens through his promise/declarations, was to consolidate on his earlier moves towards development when he was first elected the governor of the state. Ladoja was impeached as PDP governor, under a controversial circumstance. He regretted the non-continuity of many of the

developmental projects he initiated while in office by his successor. This to him was a betrayal of people's trust and a good reason for him to re-contest, but now under Accord Party.

The awareness for his return to power, was persuasively orchestrated in his speech that was adorned with promises of what he's up to, based on the experience shared by the people , at his first outing as the governor of the state. There exists here therefore, a shared knowledge between the speaker and his listeners, as to the credibility or otherwise of the former governor's claims.

However, this type of development where some ex-governors seek return to power , usually generates some controversies among the electorate of such states. While some people are convinced about the credibility of such a candidate and his proven ability, a certain group might be skeptical of the poor performance that usually characterize the second term of most governors in office.

Another example of promise-making we can find in the example below:

Text 43: I thank you once again, please don't be confused about   those making noise. They are just boasting, even though they claim they didn't see what we have done. But the truth is that our people can see what they didn't see. Their lifestyle is characterized with lies using their FM radio called 'Adaba'as platform. That is not enough, let them go and establish Odidere' and 'Atioro' radio stations, that will still not change the truth that we have served our people and we still want to render more services.This promise and pledge I renew before you today that by the grace of God almighty that I serve, I will continue to serve you, having the hope that you will not let us down by giving us your vote again.

(Olusegun Mimiko mega campaign speech at Alade-Idanre, Ondo state).

Although the above excerpt shows a good degree of acrimony and propaganda that exist among politicians, this is evident in the early part of the discourse before the message of further commitment and service to people by the speaker. There is a clear evidence of 'self versus others' in the speech. The messag for the second term bid of the governor was also revealed in the speech as embedded in his promise to serve the people with an appeal to the electorate not to let him down.

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Such commitment of service to the people become inevitable for the speaker because of the political dichotomy that existed in the Southwest. As at the time, the APC political party rules the six states except Ondo state that was captured by the Labor Party. The need to reiterate his commitment to the development of the state, to prevent encroachers, and to also boost the state electorate's confidence in his leadership became an imperative one. Therefore, nothing must be left to chances because of the desperate attempts by other political parties to hijack the state, hence the constant and consistent assurance and promises. This resilience and doggedness in pursuing a particular goal, must probably have distinguished Mimiko from other governors who have ruled Ondo state since its creation. Apart from being the only governor to rule the state for two consecutive terms, the attitude also earned him the nickname 'Iroko' of Ondo politics, which connotes strength .

4.5.6 Palliatives

In politics, every means of winning the electorate's souls matters, therefore, different measures are taken to achieve this objective since politics is a game of outsmarting the opponent, clever politicians (aspirants) usually carry out their research to know the immediate and domestic needs of the masses.

In most cases, because of the level of poverty caused by the misappropriation of public funds, by the previous governments, aspirants usually dawned on the electorate with food items provision. This comes in small packages or sachets, such as rice, garri, groundnut oil among others. These items usually rationed but customized for the purpose of identification of the donor, are distributed to the electorate. They are meant to serve the immediate needs of the people and provide temporary reliefs from poverty even though, it politically represents strategy for support garnering.

The idea of this palliative sharing to the electorate has been in existence for sometime. Notable and relevant cases of such practice was the 'Amala and Gbegiri' motivation for Oyo state especially Ibadan indigenes, by the late Ibadan/Oyo state political mogul – Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu.

Investigation revealed to us that, the political chieftain who had the control of Oyo state politics for some decades, used this strategy as his major weapon to capture people. The serving of the prepared meals were done at his Molete's compound in Ibadan on a daily

basis. This is similar to what obtains in Ilorin the capital state of Kwara, on selected occasions during the times of late Olúsꞏoꞏlá Sꞏàràkí, now taken over by Sen. Bùkóꞏlá Sꞏàràkí.

Another recent instance was the distribution of other domestic items such as kerosene and drinkable water by the governor Ayodele Fayose in the early 90s, when he was contesting for the seat of the governor in Ekiti State. This idea no doubt metamorphosed into his recent introduction of 'stomach infrastructure' that gave priority to food welfarism of Ekiti people. One however wonders how such a state whose citizens are pre-dominantly farmers could be so in need of food, safe for political motives.

Other materials apart from food items that are distributed to the electorates during electioneering campaign period include customized T- shirts, caps, handkerchiefs, and educational materials such as exercise books and pens. Although, cash are sometimes distributed to people but rarely in the public because of the negative consequence it could generate. Cash distribution oftentimes, was handled by the party agents for private distribution to as many individuals they could contact.

All these moves are geared towards getting the support of the masses and creating a good impression about the candidate(s) and the political parties they represent. The harvest period for these products is usually towards the election time, so as to create awareness and support for candidates.

4.5.7   Orientation on voting procedure

This aspect usually rounded up the process of campaign. It is the climax and concluding part of all the activities that characterize electioneering campaigns. This is the point where the electorate, especially, the non-literates, are educated on how to cast their votes. This is necessary in order to avoid confusion and mistakes.

This step is sensitive and crucial to the winning chances of a candidate/party, because of the constant change in the election/voting system provided by the regulating body from time to time. Apart from the changes in the election process, theirs is also constant change of the names and logos of political parties from one political dispensation to the other. Investigation revealed that Nigeria's politics has given birth to about one hundred different

political parties since the party–politics inception. Most of these political parties also had their traces and supporters everywhere including the Southwest.

The need to further orientate voters about the name and logo of the party, since the aspirants may not be physically present (in a case of open ballot system) for easy identification, is a step in the right direction. From time memorial, the logo of each political party is more important at this point than the name of the candidate. Although, some old system allowed the aspirant's photograph at the polling booth, the party logo becomes the major means of identification of the candidate/party to vote during elections. The simplest means of educating the voters on the right party to support is hereby employed, using the language the voters will comprehend easily.

In achieving this goal, various coinages are deployed to ensure compliance by the electorate. These include:

Text 44:   'Umbrella' ni o!

Translation:

Mind you, it's umbrella!

Text 45:   Tè☐é☐ sójú è☐

Translation:

Ensure your voting is rightly done.

Text 46:   E☐ ríi dájú pé ìgbálè☐ ni ò

Translation:

Make sure it is the broom logo.

Text 47:   Number 3 látòkè la wà o

Translation:

We are in the third place from the top.

The texts above were differently employed by politicians to orientate voters on the voting process in favour of the various party they represent and candidates they present. These various forms of educating voters in different languages and coinages which include code-mixing and switching forms of communication, are employed by politicians to sway fortunes to their side and ensure victory of their candidates at the polls.

4.5.8 Findings

From the foregoing, we have been able to establish that electioneering campaigns are organized efforts which seeks to influence the decision-making process within a specific group or environment. It can also be viewed as the mobilization of forces either by an organization or individuals to influence others with the aim to effect an identified and desired political change. It reveals people and particularly, aspirant's ability to sensitize the political community in relation to making the society see them as potentials and better representatives of the people.

In this light, every campaign stage is unique and the ultimate goal of every political campaign is to win election. Although, there may not be any best campaign strategy, since the right strategy employed by individual candidate differs from one another for each election.

4.6   Lexical features

This section enumerates the four different lexical structures that characterize the discourse features earlier discussed. They are lexicon of self praise and party promotion, promise, support garnering and that of attack and ridicule. These lexical structures embrace the various processes of discourse features of electioneering campaign in the Southwest of Nigeria.

The categorization of these discourse features into the four lexical structures is significant in that, it provides an insight into the complementary roles and contributions of linguistics to politics. This of course, lends credence to the scholars view that language and politics are interwoven and they both share a common domain of discourse.

Besides, the inter-relatedness between language and contexts and their conjoined roles in political discourse unfold more, through the various linguistic processes applied in this

analysis and study. Thus, this application help to explicate meanings attached to each discourse both literally and otherwise.

This lexical structure constitutes the channel through which, the various discourses credited to the politicians for the achievement of their political goals; which include manipulation, attack, persuasion etc, are linguistically accounted for. Each of the lexis expresses different opinion and actions in conformity with the thoughts and goals of the speakers. Although, without consideration to the linguistic implications the message carries, politicians perform a lot of psychological and emotional actions on their listeners through discourse. Discussion of each of the lexical feature and examples are hereby taken in turns.

4.6.1 Lexicon of self praise and party promotion

These two features of electioneering campaign situate in commissive acts. They are grouped together because of the similarity in the functions they perform, as well as the common boundary shared by the person(s) performing the acts. While the aspirant that projects himself and his party as better options, has the party as his constituency, his supporters who share the vision with him also combine to achieve the same purpose. Hence, the task to project the candidate /party is a joint one, with the same objective to win elections. In other words, victory for the candidate means victory for the party. This of course is why political parties ensure to field personalities with influence to boost the image and winning chances of the party. In achieving this goal, self praise and party promotion are good paths to follow. Hence, every campaign process that is geared towards winning the support of the electorate, exhibits much of self praise of candidate and promotion of the party. These acts as earlier mentioned come to fore in different forms, verbal and non verbal, sign and insignia and captions among others. The below excerpts reveal self praise and party promotion features:

Text 48: We of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) of Nigeria, are conscious of our historic mission to build a modern State founded on Justice, Equity and fair play – PDP Manifesto.

The above discourse reveals some elements of party promotion , starting with the pronominal 'we' and 'PDP' as the subject, the mission of the party which is to build was qualified with the adjective 'historic' to give the party the credibility of an age-long

process and planning. Also, the three structures highlighted (Justice, Equity and Fair play) are not only relevant but essential to the growth and stability of democracy.

Text 49:   Ládọjà dé!

           Ìrọ̀rùn dé!

 Translation:

           Ladoja has arrived!

           Comfort has arrived!

Self praise is a popular idea among party/candidate's supporters This they do by displaying short but attractive and persuasive comments about the candidates they support, using strategic places like walls or pedestals. Placards are also good means of displaying such inscriptions that attempt to create or form good impression about their candidates.

Some politicians and their supporters sometimes go as far as fixing their inscriptions to the top of trees along major roads to make them conspicuous enough for road users. An example of that was the PDP/Fayose supporters in Ekiti who engage many trees along major roads of Ekiti State with inscriptions like:

Text 50:   Fayo☐se Again!

Text 51:   Òṣòkòmọlẹ̀ is here.

Each of these captions creates awareness and projects the personality of the aspirant. While that of former Governor Ladoja shows self praise and good impression about the man who have the means of relieving people from their hardship, the latter ones were simply introducing the candidates personality and strength with a reflection on the first term experience as the governor of the state. Òṣòkòmọlẹ̀ describes Fayose's fearlessness with allusion to a popular masquerade in Ekiti that was dreaded by people. Meanwhile, the Noun phrase 'Fayose again' can pragmatically be interpreted to mean 'another time', 'once more' or 'return'.

4.6.2   Promise

As earlier discussed, Promise is another important phase in the process of electioneering campaign. It is employed by the aspirants purposely to convince the electorate and win

their support. This phenomenon therefore becomes inevitable at every stage of the campaign, because the electorate want to know what the candidate is up to. This idea is spontaneous and crucial to the yearnings and expectation of the electorate, towards the provision of the basic needs and facilities needed in a given community.

Some of the examples of lexis that show promises are usually preceded by the pronomials 'I' and 'We' to represent the aspirant (as an individual, and the collectiveness of his led administration when he gets to power), respectively. The excepts below account for this process:

Text 53:   We shall banish poverty in Ekiti

Text 54:   I promise better life for rural dwellers if I am elected.

The above both reveal the speakers intention towards combating poverty in the state. The clause "we shall banish poverty'' and the pronominal phrase "I promise'' respectively, are evidence of lexical words for promise-making and are very weighty in their meanings.

 Promise making during electioneering campaigns employs different figurative expressions like metaphor, exaggeration, hyperbole etc, to give the pictures of the aspirant's intending programmes for the purpose of influencing the thoughts of the electorates. Such statements that display some of these figurative features are given below.

Text 55:   We shall make Ekiti the Ban-galore of Nigeria

                           - Governor Káyò⬜dé Fáye⬜mí mega campaign in Ado-Ekiti.

Text 56:   They sell and buy things in Dubai,

                    Now we have brought Dubai to your backyard

                           - Babatunde Raji Fashola, Lagos island campaign's speech.

There is descriptive power captured in the texts above. It vividly reveals the ideological projections of the candidates. These metaphoric and exaggerated expressions are meant to promote the speakers. These figurative expressions strategy of course explores the sense of imagery of their listeners for better comprehension. Figures of speech are peculiar features of political propaganda. While it ascribes unimaginable quality which an event or object

would not have had, it also explodes the little wrongdoings of the opponents in order to create a bad impression about the opponent.

Such an example of negative representation can be found in text below.

Text 57:   What have they done, that they are shouting about, the whole world has rejected them, our plan is to give all the jobless graduates employment.

The latter part of the text above was a strategy to entice the jobless youth to accept the candidature of the speaker. However, the former part indicates indictment to the opposition to out rightly condemn their achievements. The employment of these lexical items can therefore be described as not being arbitrary but rather deliberate.

4.6.3   Lexicon for support garnering

Just like we had earlier posited, the ultimate objective of any electioneering campaigns is to win election. Support garnering however remains a major contributing means of achieving this goal. This process which entails the use of rhetoric to persuade, elicit and win support through political speeches are designed to hold the attention of the members of the audience. This is an effect to gain the approval and support of the electorate for the politicians messages including the sentiments being expressed in their speeches.

The above development characterise the Nigeria politics and Southwest in particular. It is a situation where the good and bad actions of political leaders/office holders are sometimes promoted and defended respectively by their supporters. Instead of applying the appropriate judgment to each situation as it arises, the wrong actions of the leaders are defended instead. This trend had existed from the inception of party politics in Nigeria as revealed in the excerpts below from the old politics:

Text 58:   Ẹ má pariwo Áwò Áwò mọ́
           Es-El-Ee ni kẹ́ẹ máa pè

Translation:

        Stop this shout of Awo's name,

        we are representing government and not

political party, rather, <u>hail SLA</u>

Text: 59.

> Kí ètò ìṣèjọba bàé le rọrùn, olórí
> Ìjọba náà ló gbọ́dọ̀ ṣe olórí ẹgbẹ́.

Translation:

> That government may became easier,
> the Premier should also head the political party.

The texts above were part of the statements used by the supporters of Chief Akíntó□lá against the leadership of Awóló□wò□. While Akíntó□lá was the Premier, Chief O□báfé□mi Awóló□wò□ was the head of the Action Group. However, the greed and inordinate ambition of Akíntó□lá was orchestrated through his supporters towards making Awóló□wò irrelevant. In the first text, S.L.A (Akintola's) name was appropriated and preferred to that of Awóló□wò, hence the instruction/appeal contained in the clause "rather hail SLA".

The second text followed the same process of persuasion, to convince Awo's supporters towards the need to merge the two offices of the Premier and party leader in favour of Akíntó□lá. Hence, lexical items like "governance" and "became easier". This ideology of canvassing support is an age-long one and it has since become an integral part of the Nigeria's politics with no exemption to the Southwest.

Another feature of support garnering can be found in the text below::

Text 60:   This administration has the number of female political appointees in the history of this state, as well as the highest number of female legislators in the state house of assembly. Every form of spousal abuse has been criminalized, thereby giving our women peace of mind to pursue their aspirations.

<div align="right">- JKF, re-election campaign speech in Ado-Ekiti.</div>

There is a calculative attempt towards women. Findings revealed that women form the largest part of voters and they are easier to manipulate than men. The market women that came out in large number to receive governor Fáye□mí, created a good impression about the aspirant towards winning the election, if women could jointly throw their weight behind him. Hence, lexical items, such as 'highest number', 'female political appointees', 'female legislators' and 'peace' are functioning towards persuading women to support the reelection of the candidate.

A similar case to this effect of support garnering was the declaration of unwanted death of pregnant women in the state, as contained in the text below:

Text 61:   Pregnancy in this state will no longer be a death sentence for our women. Our Àbíyè program has positively affected every home in the state

– Dr Olusegun Mimiko.

The above text also revolved around women welfare. This strategy works better in the contextualization of larger women society like ours. The lexical items selected in the text (no longer, for our women, Àbíyè and positively affected) are deployed towards gaining support from women.

It is however note-worthy to say, that every step taken and every aspect of electioneering campaign including attack, reflects an attempt towards eliciting favour and support for one at the detriment of the opponent.

4.6.4   Lexicon of attack and Ridicule

Unlike any other means of persuasion and winning the support of the electorate, the lines between the process of attack and ridicule and others is a parallel one. While the former is directed and employed as a tool against the opposition, others (self praise and party promotion, promise and support garnering) are used to encourage supporters. The former plays a negative role with the aim to frustrate, intimidate and discourage the opposition but others are used to assuage the electorates and boost their confidence.

However, the final destination for the deployment of all is the same, with the common goal of winning the election. In other words, when politicians are busy canvassing for support, they are also not relenting tackling any element that could come in form of obstacle.

Attack and ridicule are carried out on the opposition in different forms; verbal and non-verbal. However, the two function to achieve the same purpose of defeating the opponent. The verbal attack takes the form of satiric songs, ridicule, verbal insults, lies and backbite plus other terms of defamation of character.

The non-verbal forms of attack and ridicule include, petition-writing, thuggery and the use of money- power among others.

This process features prominently in Nigeria's politics and the Southwest in particular. Although, it was observed to be at the increase with more uncontrolled hate speeches that characterize the nation's democracy at this period of our study, with no exemption to the Southwest.

The following texts corroborate our claims of lexical items for attack and ridicule.

Text 62: Someone who had never contested an election and won, the only election he won was as a result of the support he enjoyed from the prince when he was in the prison

– (Ò□gbé□ni 'Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá, Osun State).

Text 63: They rigged the 2007 election he contested, and he was declared a thief when we took him to court

- (Ò□gbé□ni' Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá, Osun state).

Text 64: He should be serving another jail term now, if only there's a jail term for election malpractice, yet they still brag about shamelessly

- (Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá, Osun state)

Text 65: Who does not know that a thief is a thief? Someone who stole votes and the one who stole money are both thieves

- (Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá, Osun state).

The texts above are examples of campaign speeches with different lexical items of attack on the personality of the opponent by the speaker.

The pronoun 'someone' as well as the noun 'prince' are strategies to cover up with the names of the accused persons. Although, the message found its owner within the contextualization of the events, also, the adjective 'thief' and verbal phrase 'stole votes' were foul languages to discredit the opponent by the speaker. All these attempts were meant to run down the opponent and create a wrong impression in the electorate about the non-eligibility of his political rival.

Another example of electioneering campaign discourse with lexical items of ridicule and approach is given in the song texts below:

Text 66:

> Kò ì kàn ẹ́ o 2x
> Nígbà tó bá kàn ẹ́ o
> A ó fi ẹ́ joyè
> Kò ì kàn ẹ́ o

Translation:

> It is not your turn 2x
> when it is your turn
> you will be installed a chief
> it is not your turn.

Text 67:

> A báa sọ́ o, kò dè gbà 2x
> Ẹni a fi jẹ lèmọ́mù
> Ó tún fẹ́ jẹ Sẹ́ríkí
> A báa sọ́ o, kò dè gbà.

Translation:

> We advised him, but he refused 2x
> After making him Imam

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He wants Sheik in addition

We advised him, but he refused.

The song texts above are not only satiric but contain lexical items of attack. They both serve to condemn the inordinate ambition noticed in the opponent, in order to establish the process of turn-taking and contentment respectively.

However, in some cases, this is what some candidates who are not the anointed ones suffer in the hand of their political leaders. Lexical items such as 'refused' 'your turn' are instruments to portray the political opponent negatively.

The different four lexical features that were employed which are; self praise and party promotion, promise, support garnering and attack and ridicule, have been explicated above. This analysis buttresses our claims of the various linguistic processes present in political discourse using language as tools.

4.7   Speech acts of electioneering campaigns

A speech act in linguistics is an utterance that contains performative functions embedded in the language of its communication. In this section, four different speech acts performing nine specific functions captured the various discourses of electioneering campaigns of the Southwest geo-political zone. These are discussed in turns below, with their related examples given to drive home our points.

4.7.1   Assertives

The acts performed under this section are such that commit the speaker to something as the case may be. They include, suggesting, putting forward, swearing and boasting as revealed in the following texts.

Boasting Act.

An act of boasting is such that expresses a loud praise about oneself. This idea which is an effect for persuasion, is a common characteristic of most politicians. Examples:

Text 68:   Our intention is genuine and our interest is impersonal

Text 69:   Those of us who have learnt under Asíwájú have acquired the experience and the knowledge.

Text 70:   We have made unprecedented advancement in infrastructural development.

Text 71:   We are planning to get a brand new general hospital and a free healthcare program of free grounded. Prevention program, free malaria treatment and free ante-natal fee will continue.

Text 72:   We are the Messiah.

    The various texts above exhibit the acts of boasting performed within the Speech Act category of Assertives. Each of the utterance revealed a common feature of image projection via boasting by the aspirants.

4.7.2   Directives

These are the speech acts that function to cause the addressee to perform an action, such as asking, ordering, requesting, inviting, advising or begging.

The texts below have some of these features under each heading:

Persuading Act:

A persuading act reveals the process of putting up strong argument towards influencing and controlling the minds of the audience. This process is crucial to the winning chances of any aspirant because of its effectiveness. Example:

Text 74:   Your votes are your weapons against your oppressors, use it wisely this time. Vote for the progressives!

Requesting Act:

This act is such that elicits a particular obligation from the addressee or listener, it is such an inevitable one in the game of politics that is characterised by 'give and take' process. Example:

Text 74:   I need your mandate L
                    Let's present a common front

Let's protect our democracy.

Advising Act:

An advising act as the name suggests is a subtle way of guiding/encouraging someone towards taking a position over a particular development that requires some decisions. This however, is an effect by the politicians towards the persuasion of the electorate. Example:

Text 75:   At this juncture, what is more important to us is not the right thing, but the next thing.

Ordering/Advising Acts.

The acts being performed in the sentence below come in two folds. This is revealed in the instructions being given by the speaker. While the first sentence came out as an order, the concluding part of the discourse took an advising mode. Example:

Text 76:   Stop this shout of Awo's name, we are representing government and political party, rather hail SLA.

Assuring Act.

The act that is performed here is that of assurance towards fulfilling a particular promise or agreement reached between two parties. This is necessary in order to boost the confidence of the electorate about a candidate contesting for a particular office. Example:

Text 77:   We shall cast away the jinx of poverty
We shall reform all sectors
House for all by the year 2014.

The above selected texts demonstrated various speech acts of persuading, requesting, advising, ordering and assuring. All these functions were carried out within the 'directives' speech acts domain.

4.7.3 Commisives

This category of speech act explains a situation whereby the speaker is committed to doing something in the future. Such intending acts could either be positive or negative. The kinds include: promising, planning, vowing, betting and opposing .

These performatives are embedded in the texts given below as examples

Promising Act.

Text 78:   I'm going to promise you today, that within the six month of my administration, I will restore the city Hall to its Pride of place.

Promising Act.

Text 83:   We will be creating a new business centre district in Ibeju Lekki so that you don't need to travel far.

Ridiculing Act.

Text 84:   They said they wont do the fourth mainland bridge, how can a serious person say that? Don't follow them.

Vowing Act.

Text 85:   We are going to continue to have our annual prayer festival in the city hall and I will be with you.

Betting Act.

Text 86:   God has given Osun state to the progressives and it will never go back to them .All their bad dispositions are just 'demo', they have failed.

The texts above revealed different performatives, situated within the commisive speech act. These acts differently function to impress the electorate in taking certain decisions which ordinarily, they wouldn't do without being motivated.

4.7.4 Expressives

These are acts that express the speaker's feeling about a particular situation. They include, thanking, apologizing, welcoming, deploring. The following texts have some of the characteristics.

Deploring Act.

Text 87:   We should remember how Ekiti state was a colony at the mercy of overlords, we should not forget how we became the one week, one trouble state.

Thanking Act.

Text 88:   We are happy that you came out en masse… we thank you and we shall reward your loyalty.

Thanking Act.

Text 89:   Let me begin by expressing appreciation to the leadership and members of our great party – The All progressives APC and to you my good people of Ekiti State.

Deploring Act.

Text 90:   Nigeria shouldn't have been where we are today, but what do we see now?. Millions are suffering in abject poverty, in spite of the numerous juicy promises given.

Thanking Act.

Text 91:   I want to pledge before you again today that by the grace of the almighty God, the God that I serve, that I will continue to work for you, once again I thank you.

4.8   Strategies deployed in electioneering campaigns.

This section summarizes the different strategies that were deployed by the politicians to achieve their political goals, as explicated at different stages of their application. There are seven strategies altogether, that are peculiar with this study.   They are; orientation to cultural values, evocation of religious and ethnic affinity, allusions to sacred books, affinity to political heroes, blunt condemnation of opposition achievements, defamation of character and projection of messianic personality. Each of these shall be briefly discussed in turns, towards establishing our claims on the inter-relatedness of politics and language in this study.

4.8.1   Orientation to cultural values

This aspect focuses on certain obeisance of the societal cultures and values by the politicians, which attests to their level of acculturation and respect for the traditional values that exist in a particular society. This disposition also, truly reflects the cultural background and affiliation of the candidate. Such elements for cultural display here include; language (mother tongue or local language) dressing, prostration/ kneeling, greetings and the use of proverb among other related demeanors that express value for cultural local/traditions.

These processes are evidently integrated into politics and have become so crucial towards the winning chances of any candidate within a given society like Yoruba in the Southwest of Nigeria.

 Example of the verbal expressions are given in the texts below:

Text 92:   Ẹ kú ìròlẹ́ o ẹ̀yin bàbá àti ìyá wa gbogbo

Translation: Good evening our fathers and mothers.

Text 93:   Ìdòbálẹ̀ làá kí baba o

                   A kìí k'ọ́ba ní ìdúró nílẹ̀ yí o

Translation: We prostrate while greeting fathers
                   No one greets a king standing.

The above texts both reveal processes of greetings that are culturally based. The former does not only take the pronominal plural form to show courtesy to many people (fathers and mothers), but also indicates respect for an individual elderly person, as the same 'e' would. still be used if only one father was involved. This is one of the cultural heritage and a dignified way of honoring elders in the Yoruba world, which has become a way of life and pattern in the political arena too.

The second text is also related to the first in that, it also exhibits total regard and acknowledgment of leadership position especially, that of the king who is the father for all in the society. It is the common practice for politicians to pay the king a courtesy visit first in his palace, before the campaigns begin. It was even observed that some of the electioneering campaigns actually took place in palaces' vicinity , Hence the compulsory acknowledgment and regard for the "oba".

These verbal expressions and ways of showing courtesy, are complemented with dressings in the existing cultural and traditional ways of the particular society to show adherence to the society's culture.

This is why in most cases, politicians go out on electioneering campaigns in native wears such as 'Agbádá', 'Bùbá and S□òkòtò' with native cap to match. Although there may be other customized dressings for supporters, but it is rather considered not ethical for an aspirant to go to a campaign ground too casual.

4.8.2   Evocation to religious/ethnic affinity strategy

This is another political tool deployed by the politicians to reflect their religio-cultural background . It is a strategy by the speaker to make his listeners believe in his religious affiliation and prowess, as an added advantage to his political career. The use of religious evocation is not an empty device. It is rather deliberately deployed to give spiritual credence and to enhance the persuasive effect of the speaker's text by providing strong evidence and backing from the holy books to foreground beliefs or faiths in his listeners. This allusion to sacred books enhances more persuasion and is effective in erasing the negative impressions in the people. In of excerpts below, different expressions that have this feature are given.

Text 94:   We are the messiahs.

Text 95:   I am taking the batton from him by the grace of God.

Text 96:   By the grace of God, we shall conquer our familiar enemies.

Text 97:   In this God we put our hope.

Text 98:   Insha Allahu, we shall be there.

The various expressions shown above reveal different speakers' allusion to the shared religious convention that existed between the speakers and the audience. This becomes necessary because of the belief that Nigerians are religiously inclined. The strategy therefore facilitates the presentation of the politicians images in positive ways and imposes common sense of assumption as a means to drive home important messages. Besides, these religious allusions also projects God as the supreme determiner of all things, to the point of His irreversible power.

Indisputably, the Nigeria society with no exemption to the Southwest, demonstrates a high level of religious inclination and sometimes to the extreme. To this extent, the religion to which a candidate belongs determines to a large extent, the support he receives from the populace. Hence, all candidates see a unique opportunity in being religious and inclusion of religious sensibilities into their discourse.

4.8.3   Allusion to sacred books

With a situation that is closely similar to the former, politicians make constant references and extractions from Biblical and Quranic passages and stories to strengthen their discourse. This ideology is an effect to present politics and the aspirant as divinely ordained assignment and messenger respectively. This is also an effective way employed by politicians to solicit support and outsmart others who may not be so religiously grounded.

The various Holy books extraction/stories allusions are meant to vindicate, exonerate, distinguish and justify their candidacies and positions in the political race. Hence, they liken themselves to other servants of God that have made meaningful impacts to the society and affected mankind positively.

Below are some of the examples of holy books allusions:

Text 99:   The God of Elijah is behind us.

Text 100:   Their fire cannot burn us, because we are serving the God of Shedrach, Meshack and Abednego.

Text 101:   Idinna sirantal mustakimah

Translation: God is the disposer of our ways.

Text 102:   Tawakalitu

Translation: With God we stand.

Text 103:   God is our Alpha and Omega

These Biblical and Quranic references above, and many more are the examples of the politicians allusions to sacred books to substantiate their political claims.

4.8.4   Affinity to political heroes strategy

In Nigeria politics, 'godfatherism' is a well grounded phenomenon. Most times, any would-be governor or political office holder must necessarily tie himself/herself to a godfather that is well respected in the political arena. This presupposes that, every aspirant has a godfather with the intention to support and project the candidate and his political party, for whatever office the candidate is aspiring for .

Besides the 'godfatherism' ideology, there were also some political heroes, those who were known to be juggernauts in their lifetime. Prominent among them in the Southwest (Yorubaland) was Chief Obafemi Awolowo who remains a relevant point till date in the politics of the Southwest and beyond. Such heroes usually become point of references which candidates like to identify themselves with because of their good names and successes in politics.

We have the following as examples of such heroic/political affinity by aspirants:

Text 104:   We have a master, those of us who have learnt under Asiwaju have acquired the experience

-- (Babatunde Raji Fashola)

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Text 105:   We know our lineage, Awo is our progenitor, we are not political bastards!

--- (Ògbéni Rauf Arégbésolá)

Text 106:   If all that I have done could project me to be compared with Awólówò,
I will appreciate it – (Tinubu)

This ideology is crucial to personality profiling which is also a major pre-requisite to the popularity and acceptability of a candidate. Since personality is a key to political business, the aspirants are therefore cognizant of the fact that, their chances of winning the election have much to do with their affiliation with successful predecessors (living or dead). This belief also accounts for the dressing code of the politicians as well as some body language that have links with their political heroes.

Examples of such are the adopted Awo's cap and eyeglasses among others.

4.9   Condemnation of oppositions' achievements

This aspect explains the process of projecting the image of the other derogatorily. It could be in form of verbal assault or act of relegation done to the personality of the opponent by the other. In politics, apart from attacks on personality, other objects of attack and condemnation include achievements made by the opponents, such as the predecessor or opposition candidate. This trend atimes degenerates to the level of discontinuation of government developmental schedule and abandonment of the uncompleted projects of the predecessor.

This type of scenario, although, not absolutely peculiar to the Southwest politics, rather features as a recurrent feature among politicians in the Southwest. Here, this same strategy that plays out to deface the opponents alongside their whole entailments, also endears the speaker towards the favour and empathy of the electorate.

These examples are found in the texts below:

Text 107:   Can you compare the roads we are constructing now with theirs?
The road they constructed did not last three years

– Rauf Arégbésolá.

Text 108:   Can they compare death with sleep?

… their party came out but nobody honoured them, we have weighed them, they are too light for the job

<div align="right">– Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá.</div>

Text 109: That very Tuesday, we phased out our enemies… our party, APC is the boss, others are bundles of rubbish. They thought they are wise, but the whole world has rejected them.

<div align="right">- Rauf Aré□gbé□so□lá.</div>

Certain lexical items in the texts above have negative connotations of the opponents. Such words as "light", 'enemies' and 'rubbish' are attempts to relegate the opponents and the parties they belong.

This trend being an effective strategy to reduce the status of the opponent and as well portray the opposition party negatively, has gained much prominence in Nigeria politics and the Southwest in particular. It is simply a denial of the opponents' achievements and successes.

4.10   Defamation of character

Similar to the above discussed situation, the game of politics in the Southwest and Nigeria by extension is degenerating daily into a battle-field of affront defamation of character and such other negative and unruly disposition , with the opposition at the receiving end. This unrestrained phenomenon include, petitions, attacks on personality on pages of the newspapers as well as endless backbiting against the opponent. Every opportunity available to some politicians became the platform for malignity and running down of the opponent. Such political utterances that depict defamation of the character of the opponent include:

Text 110:   A thief is a thief, the person who stole votes and the one who stole money are both thieves.

Text 111:   Their university degree can not be traced, they belong to the Toronto class of certificates.

Text 112:   Their style of bad leadership has plunged the state into financial mess. They have no good name everywhere

Text 113: Let them tell us what they did with the Federal allocation running to several billionns. There is nothing on ground to justify the huge amount, all they have succeeded leaving behind is poverty and pains.

The excerpts above are some of the different ways of running down the opponent and devaluing their worth. Characters of the opponent could be attacked in so many ways, depending on the weakness of their victim and what is intended to be achieved by the speaker. However, some of the points used as allegation atimes are fabricated or bogus. But they are well packaged to make them acceptable to the electorate for their support garnering.

This development, although not new to the Southwest politics, is taking a new dimension daily. The media and other news channels, especially the private owned radio and television stations, became platform of hate speeches and unbridled insults. These were done on the personality of the opponents by different aspirants, supported by their cohorts.

4.10.1 Projection of Messianic figure

In politics every aspirant ensures the good packaging of his product. This does not only create awareness but it goes further to discourage and manipulate the supporters of other candidates towards changing their minds. The tool employed by these aspirants is discourse which is characterized by promises, projection of personality and other measures of relief from the present pains and hope-raising statements about the future.

Although some of the promises made here later became a mirage, as they remain unfulfilled dream all through the tenure of the aspirant. That notwithstanding, the strategy becomes indispensable, because of its effectiveness in swaying fortunes to the aspirant's camp. Findings reveal that some of the reasons why some of the promises remains unfulfilled include; the enormous nature of state project within the space of time available, fund mismanagement and the bogus nature of the campaign promise itself.

The following texts contain some lexical items of messianic figure projection:

Text 114:   I bring prosperity and hope for the youths of the state

Text 115:   We have made unprecedented advancement

Text 116:   We pronounce that pregnancy will no longer be a death sentence.

Text 117:   That within six months of my administration, I will restore city hall to its pride's place.

Text 118:   We did all these to secure your future

Text 119:   Nobody will sleep with empty stomach when we become your government

Text 120:   Many farmers millionaires will emerge under our policy.

Text 120:   We are here to chart the path of undestructable legacy.

4.11   Conclusion

The section above has given us an insight into the four major Speech Acts (Assertives, Directives, Commisives and Expressives) and their performatives acts that were relevant to our analysis. The speech acts and their functions, are part of the linguistic features and processes that characterize the different stages of electioneering campaigns in the Southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria. They have been employed by these politicians at different stages of their discourses, although with little attention or consciousness to their linguistic functionalities, to influence the thoughts of their listeners and also to manipulate their decisions.

Electioneering campaigns as shown here therefore, enlist a wide range of linguistic processes towards the orientation of the electorate, in order to sway fortunes to the speakers side. These various political calculations and the attendant successes, are made possible through discourse using language as its operational tool.

The electorate and users of the various songs texts and speeches are from time to time in dilemma of creating a balance between the messages of the song texts and speeches and the truthfulness of their leaders. That notwithstanding, these data revealed the political discourse strategies, pragmatically encoded to satirize, eulogize, persuade, warn etc, the Nigerian people towards social change.

The research has therefore shown that the findings justify its hypotheses in that:

(1) The text and song texts apply a number of significant discourse markers in their composition to achieve pragmatic functions.

(2) The pragmatic and discourse texts embedded are critical discourse strategies targeted at social change.

(3) These discourse strategies are pragmatically encoded to satirize, discredit or denounce. They also function as the process to motivate, praise, eulogize, encourage and persuade.

(4) Ideology is reflected in language in terms of what is said, how it is said and what is left unsaid.

Figurative expression, like metaphor, exaggeration and hyperbole play important roles in the discourses employed for messianic projections. Such discourse attempts strong, striking and persuasive effects on the electorate. They are effective in projecting the ideologies of messianic and redemptive missions of a particular candidate.

Metaphor is often used in political discourse to manage the most threatening speech act, and to minimize the accountability of the speaker. It becomes comfortable for politicians to convey weightier subjects that may seem difficult to express by plain language through metaphors. This therefore, works out to reduce the likelihood implication of such statement but rather projects the speaker in a positive way for better chances of winning.

This chapter has therefore exposed us to the different analysis of the effectiveness of discourse as an indispensable tool in the politicians hands. But beyond this established fact, the various linguistic processes that accounted for the different styles and strategies employed were analysed and allotted linguistics functions in line with Fairclough's position on language as a means of representation and misrepresentation of realities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Summary

In this study, the researcher has presented electioneering campaign procedures and speeches that unveil different discourse structures and linguistic functions. Embedded therein are meanings and messages in the linguistic expressions used. The linguistic and extra-linguistic variables of the communicative event including the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-linguistic indices of the environment which influence the structure and the functions of the political messages were also considered. In the study, the researcher has demonstrated that discourse has structure, meaning and action. This however is in line with Fairclough's opinion that discourse reflects an action. Secondly, there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures, in which social structures determine and create social process. Efforts have also been made to give a comprehensive account of the structure, hidden meaning and communicative actions and effects of the pieces of discourse used as electioneering campaign texts produced during the election period.

The approach of Fairclough in his Discourse Analysis of language and power, as well as Bach and Hanish's Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCB's) theories were employed by the researcher in the course of the inquiry. This theoretical framework is efficient to describe and explain the role of discourse in the appropriation and sustenance of political office and power. This shows how language is used and abused by Nigeria politicians in different contexts to project ideologies strategically and to manipulate the greater number of unsuspecting electorate. The work also established the fact that the background knowledge which is brought into the production of a discourse is revealing and designed to interpret the context of the text.

This inquiry has confirmed the assumption that electioneering campaign language is capable of weaving visions and imaginaries which can change realities and construe them ideologically. This study is not merely concerned with the linguistic analysis or general discourse analysis of the texts but probes deeper into the discursive strategies for the attainment and sustenance of political office. The study accounts for how background information/context in which the text is produced impinges on the meaning of the texts.

Thus, it advances the research a step further in the field of political discourse by providing the inspiration which text producers and consumers need on how to use and accept certain discursive practices.

The study has revealed the strategic roles of discourse in politics by showing how textual items as well as literal processes achieve pragmatic information in political speeches; using these linguistics features. The use of the lexical items which contain positive and negative expressive values are mainly designed achieve various personal and collective political purposes and to project different ideological strategies as weapons of persuasion and negotiation. Further to this is the positive self-projection and negative representation of others, and of course, a strong weapon of personality profiling. Sometimes, the speaker's intention could be informing advising, confirming, commanding or condemning through the use of any of the lexical features to create a corporate ideology or the play down on his authority. The application of different linguistic structures in discourse to covey different political calculations, have revealed a lot about language and its relevance to politics in the Southwest of Nigeria. Some of the major findings drawn from the analysis are stated below.

The application of these analytical tools (Fairclough's members' resources van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach and Halliday's system of mood and modality)   has enable the researcher to describe the electioneering campaign discourse as a strong tool for creating, enacting and sustaining power and ideological functions. Besides, several discursive strategies were employed by the politicians to project the individual, group and corporate ideology. It is shown that political discourse can serve as a weapon of persuasion and manipulation, positive self-promotion and negative other representation. It is also observed that sometimes, the politicians isolate their political party to project and promote self interest.

The method of approach adopted in this inquiry has helped the researcher to account for the interface between structures of discourse and structures of power involved in the electioneering campaign speeches. The method show the power of language as strategies for domination, liberalism, mind control (which is a form of manipulation) and ideological projections as instrument for isolation/personality projection, negotiation, positive self and negative other representation.

The study shows that the use of 'power' as a strategy for domination is mainly achieved through language which allow the speaker to impose his opinion on others. These are revealed in lexical pronominal items like 'I', 'We', 'our', 'us', 'their', and 'them' which are deictic references for projecting different interests and positions in political campaign speeches.

The study also reveals that electioneering campaign deploy a strategy of negative other representation through the enactment of lexical items with negative expressive values. The choice of words or expressions with negative connotations is an attempt by the speaker to present the 'other' party in the negative light, deface them and make them unpopular: in this case, the candidate goes extra-mile to attack the personality of the individual contesting for the party.

Moreover, language as noted in the study can be used as an instrument of personality projection, self-promotion or what van Dijk calls self-glorification strategy. The purpose is simply to win the support of the electorate. The aspirants know that in the Southwest of Nigeria, personality comes before the party affiliation. So, they try to promote themselves beyond measure in order to achieve the much desired self-glorification.

The study also shows how contextual features and background knowledge (MCBs) function as carriers of meaning in discourse production and interpretation. In the sampled data, the linguistic items drawn from the speaker's cognition were accounted for by Fairclough's members' resources. It reveals that the knowledge of both the physical and social environment where a discourse is produced can have significant impact on the nature of discourse and the meaning or communicative acts accomplished through the use of language.

The research also reveals the creative use of figurative expressions as strong weapons to woo voters to support a candidate and his candidature. Through these figurative elements, the speakers implicitly project their own image and political programmes by attacking their opponents in a subtle manner. For instance, this study has led to the emergence of contextual or socio-culturally-constrained expressions of proverbs, composed political songs, which are used to capture some of the ideological projections of the candidates. Besides, idiomatic expressions, parallel structures and hyperbolic expressions were ideologically used to promote the candidate and to elicit support. The study noted in a

special way how rhetorical device such as songs can be used for persuasion by drawing and sustaining the attention of the audience and by evoking their emotions for necessary support.

5.2   Conclusion

It is important to re-emphasize that language has great power potentials to influence and shape public opinion. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, language plays a vital role in manifesting, enacting and sustaining political affairs and ideological structures of the society. This idea of political office appropriation was examined by the application of certain linguistic devices. Such linguistic devices, as text production strategy, could be seen in the use of strong and mild imperatives, enactment of lexical items with negative expressive value, use of song texts and figurative expressions among others. The study reveals amazingly discourse structures that have implications for the game of politics as it uncovers hidden meanings and messages that are embedded in the linguistic expressions employed.

Part of the strategy employed to influence and chart a common front with the audience as observed by the researcher, is the use of rhetorical question, while the allusion to religion is to awaken that shared religious sensibility which will align the electorate with the mindset and projections of the aspirant. It is obvious, therefore, that politics is a game that can be successfully played through skillful manipulation of language to project ideological positions that do not always square up with the realities of the day. On a final note, it is important to remark that politicians take advantage of the low literacy level of the majority of the electorate as well as the bread mentality of the poor masses to manipulate their thinking and decision on who to support, especially during gubernatorial elections.

It is important also to note that Discourse Analysis is an important analytical tool for the study of electioneering in Nigeria. Its provisions as a theoretical framework contain necessary features for demystifying lexical ambiguity and ideological positions that are embedded in political discourse with hidden intentions. To this effect, a broader perspective to the study of politics, enabled by language has been created through this study. This therefore is a confirmation of language dynamism aided by the socio-political nature that is never static.

5.3   Recommendations

It should also be stated that this study does not contain the final word in the study of the process and language of electioneering campaigns. Further electioneering campaign of other geo-political zones, as well as other political offices below or higher than the gubernatorial can still be studied, using the same theoretical approach.

It is through this study that the ethos and cultural-values of the Yoruba that have become integrated into their political and social lifestyle, expressed through language, shall be preserved for the advantage of the next generation.

It is also hoped that further researches in the field will help to produce results that will be more rewarding. The study, therefore, concluded that in actual sense, most of the gubernatorial election candidates in the southwest of Nigeria, took the advantage of their electioneering campaigns, not only for gaining support but also for establishing, maintaining and sustaining political offices, using language as their major tool.

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