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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BOLA AHMED TINUBU'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

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Abstract

Language is capable of revealing the ideologies of a speaker during a discourse. Through language, politicians communicate their views, thoughts and ideologies to the electorates and citizens during campaigns, manifestoes or inaugural speeches directly or indirectly. The speech delivered by President Bola Ahmed Tinubu on the day of his inauguration as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria reveals his ideologies and thoughts. The paper is corpus-based and is qualitative in nature. Through Fairclough's 3D Model of Critical Discourse Analysis, the President's address is analysed focusing on detecting his ideologies. The study finds that the speaker conveys the message of optimism, dedication, reliability, tolerance, peace, unity, development and so on to Nigerians. He clearly declares his mantra of *Renewed Hope* with his mastery of diction that is appropriate for his audience. This reveals the ideologies of the President as being optimistic, dedicated, reliable, tolerant, peace-loving, a unity champion and an icon of development. Any future research could be on a pragmatic analysis of the same inaugural speech. The impact of language in investigating political ideologies is immeasurable and for this reason, this research is a quality addition to the existing pieces of literature in the field of critical discourse analysis.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Language, Ideology and Politics, Political Discourse in Nigerian Politics, Inaugural Speech, Fairclough's 3D Model

Introduction

Language is a means and instrument of expression with which people communicate their ideas, feelings and thoughts. Leadership at all levels hinges on the instrumentality of language as a tool. The ideas and thoughts presented through language contain ideologies, power and control and reveal the specific purposes of communication. Thoughts embody specific ideologies in society and power relations among different people, social groups or classes. Language, therefore, has an indispensable role in politics and political games.

Ajayi, Alli and Ogunrinde (2018) submit that language has a crucial role in the ideological process. It is the linking element between individuals' knowledge of the world and their social practices since it mediates individuals' thought and behaviour. Fairclough (2005) asserts that

language reflects ideology and can thus be used not only as a means of communication but also as an instrument of power and control. Ideologies are sets of ideas involved in the ordering of experience, making sense of the world. Language supplies the models and categories of thought and in part, people's experience of the world is through language.

It is mainly in discourse that ideologies are transmitted and meanings and values are learned and taught. One of the most important discourses in bringing out the ideologies is through political speeches. Through political discourse genres, such as manifestoes, campaigns, and speeches, among others, politicians reveal their ideologies directly or indirectly to the electorates. Political speeches are not rendered in a vacuum. Through the use of language in a discourse, the intentions as well as the ideologies of the speaker follow the subject matter of the discourse. Since President Bola Ahmed Tinubu presented his inaugural speech as the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, it is pertinent to study his ideologies against the vision he has for Nigerians. The research aims to examine the ideologies of the newly elected Nigerian president at the 2023 general elections through his inaugural speech. This is done by investigating the discourse text of his inaugural speech.

Conceptual Literature Review Critical Discourse Analysis

In its simple terms, discourse refers to an expression or communication in written or spoken form. The study of discourse often deals with language, language use, interaction of people and political phenomena. The study of discourse often deals with language, language use, interaction of people, and political phenomena. According to Woods (2006), discourse analysis finds out the hidden ideologies and relations between text and people. It investigates the text and power relations in, between, and behind the super-sentential constructions. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned with the study of the application of political and socio-economic power relations through written/spoken text or speech.

CDA is a type of discourse analytical research tool that primarily studies the way social power, dominance, abuse, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk (discourse) in social and political contexts. It is a research perspective that targets instances of dominance and inequality in texts and talks with a view to exposing the covert use of language to the disadvantage of the less powerful members of society. Critical in CDA does not mean critique in the negative sense of it but fostering in-depth interpretation of texts and talks so as to open up hidden power relations. The objective of CDA is to raise consciousness towards the ideological workings of language since "it is the first step towards emancipation" (Fairclough, 1989:1). In line with this, Mey describes it as 'liberating' or 'emancipatory' (Mey, 2001:310).

Critical Discourse analysts contend that public communication should not be accepted at its face value, but should be subjected to critical analysis for evidence of ideology. They, therefore, target power elites who enact, perpetuate and ignore social inequality, and show solidarity with the less powerful who are the victims of discursive power abuse.

According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA analyses written and spoken texts to reveal the hidden relations and ideologies among the sources of power, dominance, racism, bias, and inequality. It deals with how texts are structured and restructured in social, political, and historical contexts. Richardson (2006:26) explains that CDA is a bridge that connects both society and its sociopolitical issues with the critical analysis of language. According to Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2009), critical discourse analysis provides comprehension of the relationship

between language, society, politics and economy. It attempts to build up the links of language with power. Therefore, language is the focal point of CDA because it highlights the beliefs and identities. It not only tries to seek the relationship between power and language but also gives a chance for criticism over the practices of power, and ethnic, economic and cultural dominance. In the view of Carroll (2004), CDA gives different perspectives on analysing a text because it provides a theory and its application of using the data for the analysis of postmodern and sociological analysis of a text.

Critical discourse analysis is a linguistic trend developed from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Its source is critical linguistics. Representatives include mainly anti-mainstream linguists and sociolinguists in the UK, France, and Germany, such as M. Fourcault, N. Fairchlugh, G. Kress, R. Fowler, and others (Li and Zhang, 2019).

Language, Ideology and Politics

The political atmosphere takes shape through the use of communication tools, and language. The language of politics is connected with persuasion. Virtanen and Halmari see the strong side of persuasion, as stated "in all linguistic behaviour that attempts to either change the thinking or behaviour of an audience or to strengthen its beliefs" (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005:3). Besides, politics has always been about persuasion and persuasion plays an increasing role in political discuss among various politician across the globe.

Chilton (2004:3) points out that "politics involves reconciling through discussion and persuasion so communication is said to be central to politics". According to Aristotle, a political speech is "an encouragement and incentive to do something or not to do something" (Wrobel, 2015:417). Moreover, language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level. In Aristotle's definition of humans, humans are classified as "creatures whose nature is to live in a *polis* and who have the capacity for speech and are nicknamed as political animals – '*politikon zoon*' (Chilton, 2004:5). Firstly, Aristotle was convinced that language had evolved to perform social functions that would in fact correspond to what we understand as 'political'. Secondly, politicians themselves recognise the role of language because its use has effects and because politics is very largely the use of language (Chilton, 2004:13).

In fact, political discourse involves the promotion of representations and pervasive features of representation. It is necessary for political speakers to imbue their utterances with evidence, authority and truth. This process is referred to in broad terms, in the context of political discourse, as "legitimisation". Human minds possess an innate "cheater detection" ability and the task of political speakers is that they have to guard against the operation of their audience's "cheater detectors" and provide guarantees for the truth of their sayings (Chilton, 2004:23).

Brown and Yule (1983) uphold that the way language is used does not only provide the meanings of things rather it is well beyond this simple naming things theory. The purpose of conducting critical discourse analysis is to understand how and in which context the language has been used and how it impacts the society. In the same vein, Corson (1995) asserts that CDA uses certain linguistic techniques to search for the relationship between language and power, language and politics, language and society, and language and identity. As a result, Van Dijk (1991) links the discourse to media as a tool of political discourse. There is a strong connection between a leader, politics and media because media play an important role in spreading the political views and beliefs of a politician. He adds that the media is the mouthpiece of the political elite in implementing their agenda in the society (Hassan, et al, 2019).

The analysis of language is thus central to the study of ideology since language is one of the principal media through which meaning is mobilised in the social world (Thompson, 1987). Another realm in which the influence of ideology becomes noticeable is in the realm of discourse. Ideology is at best expressed through discourse structure (Shkumbin, 2018).

It is of great significance for a user of a language to be aware of ideological relationships in the sociopolitical contexts in which a language is positioned and functions and the multiple meanings that are fostered in each. Specifically, it is pertinent to find out which ideological categories are used in different languages to manifest the mental representations of ideologies in the discourse of politics (Nahrkhalaji, 2019).

One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies is discourse, which in turn also influences how we acquire, learn or change ideologies. Discourse is to be seen as a form of social action, always determined by values and social norms, by conventions (as naturalised ideologies) and social practices, and always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical processes (Wodak, 1995).

Political Discourse in Nigerian Politics

Language, in itself, is generally meaningless without context. Hence, language use may be said to be (mis)representative and manipulative in different settings. When it comes to political context, language use can be manipulative, deceptive, and persuasive, and always aims at winning people's minds. According to Otieno (2016: 24), political discourse in politics is characterised by attempts to present politicians in a positive light to win over the audience and electorates who then adopt the speaker's perspective on issues. It is believed that politically motivated discourses always contain linguistic strategies of persuasion and manipulation.

According to van Dijk (1997: 38), political discourse analysis has much to offer political science as well as the field of linguistics because it can address important political issues and increase public awareness of political processes or realities. This is particularly true when "it focuses on features of discourse which are relevant to the purpose or function of the political process or event whose discursive dimension is being analysed."

With over 250 ethnic groups, the largest of which are the Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo, and 36 states (provinces), Nigeria is home to an estimated 227 million people (United Nations, 2024) of over 500 hundred languages and varieties of languages. One is compelled to assume that individuals with eloquence must practise politics in Nigeria due to the vast number of electorates in the nation. To put it another way, politicians must use a variety of persuasive language techniques to win over voters, particularly in English, which is the universal language. This means that those with stronger discursive strategies may have an advantage in the political arena. Because of these various linguistic techniques, politicians may, more often than not, use language to manipulate the audience by appealingly portraying their identities. Nigerian politicians use language mainly on printed and social media forms, such as posters, pamphlets, speeches, billboards, and internet sources, purposely selected across Nigeria.

Oparinde (2018) submits that Nigerian politicians employ language to self-represent, in order to sway peoples' opinions and earn their votes. The Nigerian political discourse is embedded with connotative expressions, topicalisation, passivation, persuasion and promises, euphemism and repetition (Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2010), propaganda (Sharndama, 2016), metaphors, hyperboles,

idiomatic expressions, parallelisms and songs, positive self-representation and negative other representation as ideological instruments of persuasion (Ike-Nwafor, 2015). The linguistic arena is also featured with pictures, images and symbols as visual tools of political campaigns and this also includes customised vests, caps Ankara fabric (Ademilokun & Olateju, 2015).

Inaugural Speeches

An inaugural speech refers to a significant address delivered by an individual assuming a new position or office, typically as a form of introduction, declaration of intent, or laying out a vision for the future. These speeches are often given during formal ceremonies or events, such as presidential inaugurations, where the speaker takes on a new role or responsibility. In the context of political leaders, inaugural speeches are crucial as they set the tone for their term in office and articulate their vision, goals, and policy directions. They may include reflections on the current state of affairs, an outline of key priorities, and a call for unity or collective action.

After winning an election, the president must address the country in a way that elegantly packages their goals, aspirations, and ideas while also expressing their plans and programmes when they come into office (Velez, 2022). Every president knows that his or her words will reverberate as a reflection of themselves throughout the duration of their term and beyond, as evidenced by the fact that the inauguration speech is cited as a preserved piece of the historical record (Velez, 2022).

The tenets of political discourse are supported by politicians' inaugural addresses given following elections. Inauguration speeches try to inspire the audience to have faith in the new government, in contrast to campaign speeches that try to persuade or force the audience to do something they do not want to do. The content of an inaugural speech is full of hollow promises in the form of policy recommendations that are only derived from the issues that are looming large in society (Sharndama 2016: 24–25).

Theoretical framework

This research adopts Fairclough's (1989) model of CDA for the analysis. The model is pertinent to the research in order to identify and examine the themes, ideologies and sociopolitical interests of the speaker to understand the vision of *Renewed Hope*. The model is based on three categories stated below:

- 1. Discourse as Text: In the first category, the text is analysed under some criteria. The questions deal with text analysis on a grammatical level, sentence level, vocabulary level and cohesion level.
- 2. Discourse as Discursive Practice: This analytical category involves three functions as the production of the text, distribution of the text and the usage of the text. In this analysis, the text highlights the relationship between the participants involved in the text.
- 3.Discourse as Social Practice: The last category of the analysis takes discourse as an activity performed in a society or social context.

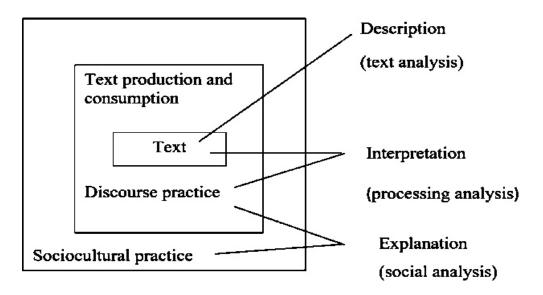


Figure 1.
Fairclough (1989) three-dimensional (3D) mode of discourse analysis

Ghani and Hussain (2021) in line with Fairclough (1989) state that this model plays a significant role in discourse by relating text directly to society in terms of interactions. Fairclough (2001) mentions that text and meaning productions are the outcomes of production and interpretation activities, which involve social context that affects the conditions in which texts are produced and interpreted. So, for the critical analysis of any discourse, these three factors are necessary to dissect the layers of the texts concerning hidden motives, power relations and social inequalities.

What is useful about this approach is that it enables one to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtaposing, their sequencing, their layout and so on. However, it also requires one to recognise that the historical determination of these selections and to understand these choices are tied to the conditions of the possibility of that utterance. Fairclough's approach to CDA is so useful to the examination of discourse because it provides multiple points of analytic entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as in the end, they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds the interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained.

Research Methodology

The study is corpus-based research carried out on critical discourse analysis of President Tinubu's inaugural speech using Fariclough's 3D model of discourse analysis. The aim of the research is to examine the ideologies, motives and social power relations between the speaker and the audience.

The source of data for this research is President Ahmed Bola Tinubu's Inaugural speech delivered on 29th May, 2023 at Eagle Square, Abuja, in the presence of Nigerians and some international guests. The manuscript (autography) of the speech was downloaded from an online source, *The Cable News*, retrieved on 29th September 2023, from https://www.thecable.ng/full-text-tinubus-inaugural-speech-as-president-of-nigeria

In the process of analysing the data, both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis are

adopted. Qualitatively, the text based on vocabulary, grammar and structures is analysed, described, interpreted and explained using Fairclough's 3D model to discover a subjective understanding of the text about social power relations. On the other hand, the quantitative approach (analysis in figures and numbers) is also adopted to ascertain unbiased scientific results. To this end, a simple Microsoft Word Count is used to examine the words and their occurrences.

Data analysis and discussion

The speech is subjected to examination using Fairclough's 3D model by analysing the text, discursive practice and social practice of the text.

Discourse as Text

The speech is a text and it is analysed from its grammatical, vocabulary, cohesion and sentence structures. According to Wordcount and the calculation of the researcher, the text contains 1976 words with 9906 characters. There are 125 sentences (on clause level) in the speech. The speech was delivered verbally and it was not grouped into paragraphs due to the fact the media house recorders could not ascertain when a paragraph ended.

i. Vocabulary

According to Fairclough, any text can be analysed on semantic, syntactic, morphological and cohesion levels. Words show experiential values and subject matters in themselves. Any word that can be noticed immediately in the text is known as ideologically contested. In the analysis presented below, frequent words that contribute to the subject matter of the speech are brought to the limelight. These words include: Nigeria, country, nation, Nigerians (the people), power, law, democracy, economy, security, subsidy, agriculture, policy, citizens.

Nigeria 10 Nigerian(s) 10 Economy(ic) 9 Policy 9 Day 9 People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Words	Frequency (Times)
Nigerian(s) 10 Economy(ic) 9 Policy 9 Day 9 People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Nation	14
Economy(ic) 9 Policy 9 Day 9 People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Nigeria	10
Economy(ic) 9 Policy 9 Day 9 People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Nigerian(s)	10
Day 9 People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Economy(ic)	9
People 6 Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Policy	9
Security 6 Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Day	9
Great 4 Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	People	6
Africa(n) 4 Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Security	6
Law 3 Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Great	4
Power 3 Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Africa(n)	4
Democracy 3 Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Law	3
Subsidy 3 God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Power	3
God 3 Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Democracy	3
Life 3 Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Subsidy	3
Social 3 Hope 2 Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	God	3
Hope	Life	3
Agriculture(al) 2 Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Social	3
Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Норе	2
Citizen 2 Subregion 2 Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Agriculture(al)	2
Lives 2 Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Citizen	2
Mission 2 More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Subregion	2
More 12 Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Lives	2
Shall 28 Will 19 Must 8	Mission	2
Will 19 Must 8	More	12
Must 8	Shall	28
	Will	19
Need 3	Must	8
	Need	3

The speaker addressed Nigerians with a sense of responsibility and dedication of service to his nation, the main reason the word 'nation' is the most used in the speech, appearing in 14 instances. The speaker is fully conscious of the problems ravaging the nation, which he would govern, and the problems range from economy, and policy to security he prioritises these problems in his speech and these are some of the key words frequently used in the speech.

I. Cohesion

Cohesion involves the techniques used in an essay to create a link between the parts or components of the sentence. The devices such as rewording, overwording, parallelism, antonyms, synonyms, demonstrating and personal references and functions and lexical words, etc.

iii. Parallelism means using similar words, clauses, phrases, sentence structure, or other grammatical elements to emphasise similar ideas in a sentence in order to create aesthetics and make the sentences concise, clear, and easy to read. The speaker intentionally adopted the use of parallelism in order to show his level of language control. The parallelisms used emphasise his vision to govern Nigeria and lead her to the promised land. For instance: 10 We are too great a nation and too grounded as a people to rob ourselves of our finest destiny... In the expression above, the first independent clause is parallel to the second one while the conjunction 'and' is used to join them. This emphasises the value the speaker accorded to the nation and her people. Equally, the speaker expresses how his government will govern Nigerians through the use of parallelism. In the expressions below, each sentence has two independent clauses joined together by 'but' and each independent clause is paralleled to its counterpart: '32 Our administration shall govern on your behalf but never rule over you. 33 We shall consult and dialogue but never dictate. 34 'We shall reach out to all but never put down a single person for holding views contrary to our own.' (sc, 34). He also used parallelism to link the history and future of Nigeria in appraisal of the inaugural day: The course of our past and the promise of the future have brought us to this exceptional moment (sc, 122). The two noun phrases that form the subject are joined together by 'and' and are parallel.

iv. **Reference** involves the symbolic relationship that exists between a noun and its referential pronoun in a sentence. Its usage in the speech shows the textual linkage of pronouns and their antecedents as well as contextual linkages. The speaker made a reference to his predecessor, Muhammadu Buhari, who just handed over the governance to him (Tinubu) a while ago. After mentioning his name, the speaker uses the pronouns such as 'you' and 'his'. In addition, he also used lexical words such as Mr President, honest, patriotic leader, worthy partner and friend to refer the former presidents (sc, 18-20). By implication, the readers will be informed that there is a cordial relationship between the outgoing president and the incoming. In addition, the speaker also made a reference to the election which scored him victory to become the president. He states: '...election that brought us to this juncture. It was a hard-fought contest. And it was also fairly won.' (sc, 36-38). Subsequently, the speaker used the pronouns 'they', 'them' and 'their' to refer to his opponent whom he defeated during the contest (sc, 42-47).

Rewording: Rewording deals with the systematic substitution of words for one another in a sentence. In the speech, there are usages of rewordings by the speaker. These can be found in instances as follow: 'for me' (sc 56) and 'all I see' (sc 57), 'you all' and 'the people of Nigeria'. The president used rewording to emphasise himself as a president that would not discriminate among his subjects on the axis of political affiliations rather the subjects are encouraged to take his

victory in 'national affinity' and 'brotherhood' for they are all Nigerians.

Synonyms are words with similar substitutable meanings with a little difference. Some of the synonyms used by the speaker include Fitting and excellent (58), Peace and stability, Growth and development (74), Nigeria and nation (122), Unwavering and absolute (3-4), Honest and patriotic (18), Partner and friend (19). These synonymous words are used to point towards the development of his ideologies which range from optimism, dedication, peace and unity, reliability and so on directly or indirectly. They are systematically used to emphasise the meaning of the words that carry the subject matters of the speech.

The use of tense in the speech is categorically dominated by the combination of present and future tenses. This aligns with Fairclough's (1989) idea that selection and arrangements of grammatical features help introduce the ideologies of the speaker through words and the process that dominates the text, thus, the regular usage of 'shall' and 'will'. In addition, the speaker makes use of modality to show how his statements should be perceived by the audience. The modal verbs used include: 'shall', 'will', 'need', 'must', 'dare', 'may', and 'should'. He uses 'shall' to lay emphasise and dedication to some promises he makes as he states, for instance: 'to effectively tackle this menace, we *shall* reform both our security DOCTRINE and its ARCHITECTURE' (78). The structure of the speech shows that it is written and delivered in formal language. It is devoid of informal expressions because of the intensity of the gathering. All these are used to create coherence in the text which contributes to the development of the subject matter and ideological stands of the speaker.

Discourse as Discursive Practice

According to Fairclough, this mode of analysis deals with text production, its consumption its distribution and its interpretation. The processing analysis differs in discourse according to social contexts and factors surrounding the texts. It focuses on the speaker's ideology and understanding of the listeners what they perceive from the discourse and how it is conveyed in society.

The production is related to the questions of who and what. This study shows that the President produced the text. Irrespective of who could have written the manuscript, the fact that the president presented the speech as his own validates his authorship. The purpose behind the text is to declare his vision to his subjects upon assuming the 'sacred mandate' given to him by the electorates. The outgoing administration has been labeled with a series of speculation on corruption, nepotism, and poor economic policies, among others, the inaugurated president found it necessary to educate Nigerians about his vision of the *Renewed* Hope agenda. The speaker shows his clear beliefs and ideologies towards the socio-economic and political transformations of Nigeria by targeting a higher GDP growth (81). After a series of inciting campaigns that divided Nigerians along ethnic and religious lines in the pre and post-electoral squares, the president deems it necessary to send his signal of renewal of unity among the people across ethnic and religious lines. He states: 'My supporters, I thank you. To those who voted otherwise, I extend my hand across the political divide. I ask you to grasp it in national affinity and brotherhood. For me, political colouration has faded away. All I see are Nigerians' (53-57). The speakers a stream of promises ranging from improving the security (77-79) of the nation to alleviate the security challenges, job (90-92) creation to alleviate poverty among the youth, removal of fuel subsidy (102-104) to block the leakage of funds into private covers, building on the works of his predecessor in terms of infrastructure (100-101), improving agriculture (84-97) for large production of food, review the recent monetary policy (105-107) that crumbled the economy, intervening in crises in Sudan and other West African countries (112-116) as a will of brotherhood and neighbourhood and so on. He appreciates Nigerians, his opponents, the outgoing president and God Almighty for their support to make the day the 'proudest' of his life.

The text consumption process is related to how people perceive the content of the speech. To some Nigeria, the speech brings hope and assurance of good governance free of nepotism and political persecution of the opponents. The set of these people believe the president has hit the ground running by clearly stating his vision of Renewed Hope to the citizens. Among the promises include the outright removal of fuel subsidy whose process has been initiated by the outgoing administration. They share in his vision that the subsidy is a scam which directly goes into some personal pockets depriving millions of Nigerians of the benefits. They believe the president has made the right choice and pronunciation of removing the subsidy. As the president highlights his vision of creating more jobs, improving the agriculture and economy, and boosting security and international relationships, the set of people who believe in his ideologies of bringing relief, optimism, dedication and empathy share in this vision with the president. On the other hand, many citizens do not believe in these ideologies because they feel the president is a politician and according to them, every politician is a potential deceit. For instance, they feel the pronunciation of the subsidy removal is a mistake by the president and should not have been declared gone. They may be right because fuel marketers and filling stations start hoarding PMS immediately after the pronunciation. The price of the fuel jumps from N240 to an average of N 500 depending on the location. The issue of the subsidy takes the central theme of the speech and this set of the people care less to read the remaining aspects of the speech. They feel since the head is bad, the whole body is faulty.

In the distribution process of the text, many participants are involved. The speaker presented the speech but was distributed by different agents. The text encompasses Nigerian citizens, politicians and other world countries. Some Nigerians were present at Eagle Square, Abuja, when the speech was being delivered. Many Nigerians watched the broadcast on TV while many read it in the national dailies. Many citizens did not listen or watch the broadcast but asked people what the president has for Nigerians. In respect of any of the ways, the consumption of the text was done by the target audience. Nigerian news agencies including media houses as well as international media houses helped in sharing the text to the audience.

Discourse as a Social Practice

The process of this analysis reveals the relationship of participants through discourse because without society the discourse has no meaning. The analysis throws light on the speaker's social class, and individual, political, religious and cultural identity as these are reflected in the presentation of the text. The ideologies of the speakers in relation to societal norms as well as the context of the speech are revealed through his diction. At the beginning of the speech, the choice of diction and the references the speaker made express his religious identity. The speaker attributes his faith to 'God Almighty' whose hand he seeks for provision of moral strength and clarity of purpose in the enhancement of his human capacity (4-5). His choice of words such as 'sacred mandate', 'love for this nation', and 'confidence in its people' identify that the speaker's belief and confidence in people make him win the election – which he describes as 'a hard fought contest' (37) and become the president of the country – the assignment he describes as a sacred mandate' because God is involved in his victory.

Nigerians have passed through some unjustifiable tests of hardship ranging from inflation, insecurity, economic devastation, political upheaval, religious turmoil, corruption, unmerited policies, poverty and joblessness among others between the years 2015-2023 which spans the

administration of the immediate past president, Muhammadu Buhari. He says: 'We have endured hardships that would have made other societies crumble' (12). Having kept these problems at the back of his mind, the incoming president uses his diction to convince his audience of what plans he has for Nigerians in summary:

Today, Fate and Destiny join together to place the torch of human progress in our very hands. We dare not let it slip. We lift high this torch so that it might shine on every household and in every heart that calls itself Nigerian. We hold this beam aloft because it lights our path with compassion, brotherhood, and peace. May this great light never EXTINGUISH (27-31)

Using the allusion of 'touch' (light) to refer to the optimistic nature of his agenda he has for Nigerians, he names it *Renewed Hope*. Throughout his speech, he emphasises his will to reform the nation from her rotten nature, thus, the top most usage of the models 'shall' (28 times), 'will' (19), 'must' (8), 'need' (3) and so on. Unfortunately, many Nigerians do not share the same ideologies with the president. Upon declaring subsidy 'removed', many Nigerians feel several untold hardships that lead to many hues and cries in the company. This makes a number of Nigerians to be pessimistic about the agenda of the president and declare his *Renewed Hope* 'Renewed Shege'. To them, Nigeria has never been degraded to this point. The above instance reveals the ideological stands of optimism and dedication of the president.

The president proposes to foster unity and progress for Nigeria and Nigerians irrespective of one's geopolitical zone. His ideology of being tolerant is revealed through the use of allusion to some parts of Nigeria and their various unique contributions to the economy and growth of Nigeria. In the speech, he preaches that the South and the North must always have an interest in each other as this will be helpful to the regions. He states:

The South must not only seek good for itself but must understand that its interests are served when good comes to the North. The North must see the South likewise. Whether from the winding creeks of the Niger Delta, the vastness of the northern savannah, the boardrooms of Lagos, the bustling capital of Abuja, or the busy markets of Onitsha, you are all my people. As your president, I shall serve with prejudice toward none but compassion and amity towards all. (65-68)

He mentions the 'winding creeks of the Niger Delta' to reveal the contribution of the Niger Deltans to the development of the nation. The Niger Delta region is popular for mining crude oil and fishing because the area is vastly blessed with water. Therefore, many fishermen and local miners live on creeks on rives unlike in many parts of the North where there are abundant savannah forests. The allusion to the 'northern savannah' shows the president's recognition of large food production in the north. Northern Nigeria produces rice, beans, millet, guinea corn, onion, pepper and livestock, etc in large quantities for the benefit of the region and of course, other parts of the country. Southwestern Nigeria, especially, Lagos State, is known for its numerous industries, companies and factories engulfed in skyscrapers. Being an industrial hub of the country, the allusion, the 'boardrooms of Lagos', signifies the contribution of the region to the growth of the nation. Abuja is known for its beauty and accommodation and the bustling nature of its people being the capital of the country. This is the fact that various people of different ethnic backgrounds and socio-economic classes reside in the city and this is different from the 'busy markets of Onitsha'. Onitsha is one of the busiest commercial hubs in Nigeria and its contribution to her economic growth is inevitable.

The speech also shows that the president is reliable in his dealings with Nigerians. With his choice of words and confidence, he makes vows with the promises he makes during the rendition of the address. He says: 'With full confidence in our ability, I declare that these things are within our proximate reach because my name is Bola Ahmed Tinubu, and I am the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria' (124). Upon making vouch to boost security, improve the economy, develop the agriculture, create jobs, improve the infrastructure, remove the fuel subsidy, review the monetary policy and so on, the president projects himself and is reliable and trustworthy to bring these changes to the country.

Conclusion

This study investigated the ideologies of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria by analysing the inaugural speech delivered by the president on 29th May, 2023 during his inauguration. That involved the examination of linguistic components of the speech, the intention and perception of the audience as well as the social factors that made up the speech. Fairclough's 3D model of Critical Discourse Analysis which defined a discourse in three structures was deployed to examine the speech to understand the ideologies, future strategies and vision of the president. The speaker, through the speech, conveys the message of optimism, dedication, reliability, tolerance, peace, unity, development and so on to Nigerians. He clearly declared his agenda of *Renewed Hope* with his mastery of diction and consideration of his audience. This reveals the ideologies of the president as being optimistic, dedicated, reliable, tolerant, a peace and unity champion and an icon of development. This study leaves gaps for subsequent research. Future researchers interested in studying ideologies and thematic preoccupation of political speeches can investigate the ironies and actions of the speech using stylistic tools and also the use of pronouns and references in the speech.

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