

Admiralty Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, ISSN 1597–278X

Language, Ideology and Power Dynamics: Reflections on President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's 2023 Inaugural Speech

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Authors' Contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration among all authors.
All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

Research Article

ABSTRACT

Language, ideology and power constitute the main themes of Critical Discourse Analysis. Scholars working in the field of discourse have argued that political discourses such as campaigns, parliamentary debates and political speeches are enactments, legitimisation and (re)production of ideology and power relations in discourse. The aim of this paper is to analyse President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's 2023 inaugural speech from the context of Critical Discourse Analysis by investigating how competing ideologies and the dynamics of power are established and reinforced through language use. The study adopts Van Dijk's tripartite model of discourse, cognition and society, otherwise known as the Socio-Cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis to interpret the linguistic, cognitive and social dimensions of discourse. A qualitative research paradigm was adopted in this study. Findings in the study showed that the author employed discursive structures such as pronominals and lexicalisation to demonstrate the polarity between in-group and out-group. Social structures in the text were indexed through polarisation, identification, self-description, norms and values, interest and activity. The dialectical relationship between discursive practices and social structures were mediated through mental models, attitudes and ideologies. The study concluded that by studying political discourse through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis, one can uncover conflicting ideologies, social inequalities and asymmetrical power patterns embedded in discourse.

Keywords: Cognition, dominance, ideology, power dynamics, speech

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INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 2001). It is the study of the correlation between discursive practices and social structures. CDA lends itself to insights from different disciplines such as sociology, socio-psychology, rhetorics, anthropology, philosophy, cognitive science, literary studies, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics. Ruth Wodak remarks that CDA is:

A problem-orientated interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agenda. What unites all these approaches is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, and political-economic, social, or cultural change in society (Wodak, 2014, p.303).

The discipline draws on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics to explain how social relations of ideology and power are constructed through spoken and written texts in different social situations. Wadok maintains that:

Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as "socially conditioned" (Wadok, 2014, p. 304).

Studies in CDA provide insights into the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or dominance. These issues are usually embedded in ideologies and asymmetrical power relations. This explains why Wodak (2009a) argues that the concern of CDA is fundamentally to analyse opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language; and can be seen as a means for deconstructing the implicit ideologies embedded in a text.

Researchers in CDA focus on the ways discourse structures enact, legitimise, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. According to Fairclough (1995), language structures and language events are "constrained by social conventions, norms and histories" (p. 71). This means that social norms, values and conventions of a group, which are constructed by the sociocultural, political and economic conditions of a society are reproduced in discourse.

Fairclough (1995) draws a distinction between 'descriptive' discourse analysis and CDA. According to him, descriptive discourse analysis is that which focuses only on the linguistic properties of a text such as lexical features of a text, turn-taking, politeness principles and so forth, while CDA considers both the linguistic and social structures or conditions of a text in the interpretation of discourse. It considers social conditions such as ideological differences arising from class, race, gender, history, identity, norms and values as well as asymmetrical power relations in the interpretation of discourse.

Power relations in CDA are demonstrated through dominance of one group over another and resistance against such domination. For instance, the power of the political class over electorates, employer over employee, parents over children, police

over the public or a teacher over a student. CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse.

Proponents of CDA include Fairclough, Sc, Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Van Leuven and their studies have shown that discourse shapes and is shaped by various social practices, competing ideologies and power relations. Scholars working in the tradition of CDA generally argue that linguistic practice and (non-linguistic) social practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use.

CDA shares similar concerns with pragmatics which prioritizes the role of context in the interpretation of discourse. CDA examines not just the textual properties of a text but also the situational or socio-cultural context within which a text functions. By critically examining language use, CDA aims to promote awareness, understanding, and social change, by encouraging more inclusive, equitable, and just society.

CDA has been successfully applied in different domains such as politics, media, gender studies, law, medicine, education and everyday conversation. CDA scholars believe that a text needs to be understood not only in terms of what it includes, but also what they omit, that is, alternative ways of constructing the world. CDA has been used to examine rhetorics in political speech acts, and any forms of speech that may be used to manipulate the impression given to the audience.

From the introduction, we can deduce that CDA as an approach to language studies is not only concerned with the nature of discourses but goes further into

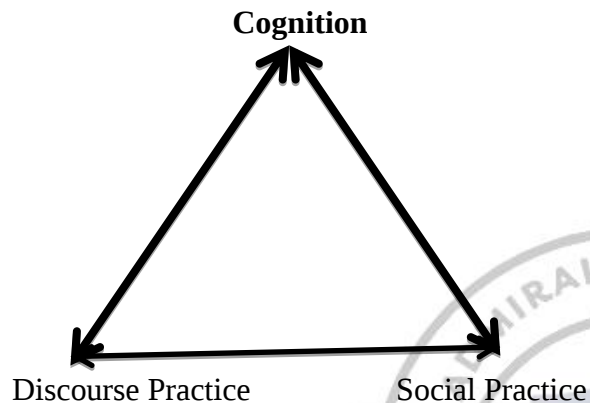
examining the social relationships between discourses and their social context.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are several approaches and theories to CDA. They include Norman Fairclough's (2001, 1995), Three-Dimensional Model, Van Dijk's (2000, 2012, 2014) Socio-Cognitive Model to CDA and Ruth Wodak's (2009) Discourse - Historical Approach. Fairclough's three-dimensional model incorporates analysis of text, discourse practices and social processes. This is similar to Van Dijk's socio-cognition approach, but it differs only on the grounds that Van recognises memory and cognition in the interpretation of discourse. Wodak places emphasis on historical information in the interpretation of discourse. This study will focus on Van Dijk's theory.

Van Dijk's approach is called the "Socio-Cognitive Approach". The socio-cognitive theory claims that the relationship between discourse structures and social practices are cognitively mediated. In other words, discourse structures and social practices are linked through mental processes. As observed by Van Dijk "Discourse structures and social structures are of a different nature, and can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members (Van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer, 2009a, p. 64). Consequently, discourse influences social interaction and social structures through the cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 64). Van Dijk argues that the cognitive mediation between discourse structures and social practices is as obvious as it is fundamental since language users not only talk, write, listen, and read when they use language but also think when they do

so" (Van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer, 2009a, p. 64). Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach is divided into three components: Cognitive Component, Social Structure Component, and Discourse Component. He conceptualises this in the form of a triangle which he refers to as "the discourse-cognition-society triangle"



Cognition includes personal, social and mental models; discourse practice covers communicative events which include written and oral texts, and conversation or other multimodal means of signification; and social practice includes logical microstructure of situated face-to-face talk and global macro structure of social practices.

Discourse Component

The discourse component is the main task of a critical discourse analyst. Discourse components, which may range from metaphors, pronouns and co-reference, global meanings or topics of discourse, phonological stress, syntactic word order, topic and focus, the structures of propositions, frames, implications, presuppositions and argumentation, local coherence relations between propositions, indexical expressions, terms of appraisal, among others, should be described in terms of various cognitive component, especially

those of information, beliefs, or knowledge of participants.

The most important characteristic of his model is that he elevates the analysis of structures to something more than the mere analysis and interpretation of structures of texts (that is, the analysis of the grammatical components of the text). Van Dijk (2015) believes that discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure; rather, it is a communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes.

Cognitive Components

Van Dijk sees cognitive component, as the mediation between the discourse component and social component. The cognitive components include personal cognition such as memory, mental models (situation and context) and social cognition (which comprises knowledge, attitudes and ideologies). Personal cognition involves mental or memory structures, representations and processes in discourse and interaction such as beliefs, evaluations and emotions. Society includes both micro-structures of interactions as well as societal and political structures such as group relations, institutions and political systems. For Van Dijk:

Human memory accommodates cognitive processes, which includes: thinking, perceiving, knowing, examining, understanding, hoping and interpreting. Importantly, these various kinds of cognitive process operate on specific cognitive structures called mental representations which allow such

cognitive processes to be formed, changed, stored or (de)activated. (Van Dijk, 2015; p. 70)

Thus, thoughts, knowledge, beliefs, interpretations, plans, attitudes or ideologies are different kinds of mental representations (Van Dijk, 2015). These mental representations activate and control all human action and interaction and hence also all language use and discourse. The Human memory, according to van Dijk (2015), is divided into two: Working Memory (WM) – also known as Short-Term Memory (STM) and Long-Term Memory (LTM).

"Mental Models are human personal experiences, as processed in WM, and are represented as subjective, unique, individual mental models, stored in Episodic Memory" (van Dijk, 2015), a part of LTM. Mental models are "subjective event representations involved in the production and comprehension of discourse such as news reports or stories, and more generally to engage in everyday social interaction" (van Dijk, 2014, p. 7). "Mental models are described to have a standard hierarchical structure of a spatiotemporal setting (place; time), participants (which include their identities, roles and relations), action/event (and its intention or purpose)" (van Dijk, 2014, p. 7).

In summary, van Dijk emphasises "that language use and discourse always presuppose intervening mental models, goals, and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values) of the language users" (Wodak, 2014, p. 309).

Social Component

Power and domination are important aspects of the social component within the socio-cognitive approach to discourse since

one of the interests of CDS is based on the critical analysis of discursive power abuse or domination. Much CDA research is concerned with differentiating the modes of exercising power in discourse and over discourse in the field of politics (Holzscheiter 2005). Holzscheiter (ibid. p. 69) defines power in discourse as actors' struggles over different interpretations of meaning. This struggle for "semiotic hegemony" relates to the selection of "specific linguistic codes, rules for interaction, rules for access to the meaning-making forum, rules for decision-making, turn-taking, opening of sessions, making contributions and interventions." (ibid. p. 69).

For van Dijk (2015, p. 70), social component of discourse deals with "power abuse of dominant groups or the resistance of dominated groups, as well as with organizations, institutions, enterprises and nation states, among other societal macrostructures.

Ideology simply refers to attitudes, set of beliefs, norms, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted. At a more general level, language ideologies can be viewed as "cultural ideas, presumptions and presuppositions with which different social groups name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices" (Gal, 2006, p. 13). It is the belief of scholars in CDA that every instance of language use is produced from an ideological perspective.

Van Dijk approaches CDA on the basis of understanding ideological structures and social relations of power involved in discourse. He focuses on the psychology of text processing. Political scientists have identified four central characteristics of ideology: a. Ideology is more important than

cognitions. b. It is capable of guiding individuals' evaluations. c. It provides guidance through action. d. It must be logically coherent. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 8)

ARCHIVAL CONSIDERATION AND PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Scholars across different cultures have studied the correlation between discourse practices and social structures. Fairclough (1995) examined tendencies in the representation of media discourse and how these tendencies relate to ideologies, which are implicit in the practice of news production. He adopts a discourse representation approach in order to reflect the ideological positions demonstrated in the news report. He uses articles which appear in five British national news papers on Friday 24th May, 1985 about a report of the house of Commons Home Affairs Committee on hard drug abuse. Fairclough submits that there is: a. high incidence of ambivalence between primary and secondary discourse. b. low boundary maintenance and correspondingly high incorporation and dissemination. low stylisticity and situationality, and d. a high degree of setting.

More so, Van Dijk (2015a) explores the racist and xenophobic propaganda employed by the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the 2014 Parliamentary elections as well as anti-racism as a system of opposition against racist domination in government policies in Brazil. His study shows how the polarization between Us vs Them (black vs white), as well as basic categories (Identity, Actions, Aims, Norms, Values, Allies/Enemies and Resources) show in specific attitudes about quotas and finally in a series of discourse structures. The interface between discursive practices and social structures are demonstrated through polarisation,

lexicalisation, self-description, group representation, norms and values and argument.

Closely related to these conservative and more liberal ideologies are the ideologies about who belong to Us, and who do not -- ideologies of nationalism, race and ethnicity. Van Dijk (2012) maintains that much of the debate is controlled by the usual polarization, first between Us British and Them Foreigners and especially refugees, and secondly between genuine (good) and bogus (bad) refugees. Mrs. Gormanin, in the study, attributes all possible negative things (fraud, abuse of benefits, laziness, etc) to the bogus refugees, and the overall picture is clearly a racist definition of the others. The political response of Labour in this case is to emphasize opinions inspired by a humanistic ideology, to advocate human rights and in the text to elaborate on the miserable situation and the terrible experiences of the refugees.

In Nigeria and other African countries, some scholars have conducted researches bothering on the correlation between discourse and social practices. One of such studies is the one done by Addae, Alhassan and Kyeremeh (2022). The study examines the discursive strategies of ideological representations in political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Their aim is to undertake a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah to investigate the role of language in creating ideology and sustaining power as well as ideological discursive structures in political speeches. The study specifically investigated linguistic expressions which carry these ideological colourations in the speeches under review. The study employed a qualitative research approach and textual analysis as the design. The purposive sampling method was used to select five speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, and the analysis was done thematically. The study

adopted Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA to analyse the speeches. The study revealed that the ideologies were carried out through these discursive structures: evidentiality, pronouns, agency, metaphor, intertextuality, rhetorical question, and strong modal of obligation. The study further revealed that the discursive structures produce and sustain power and unequal power relations between Nkrumah and his audience. The study, therefore, concludes that the speeches that were analysed were used as a means of establishing, maintaining, and sustaining power and asymmetrical power relations.

In a similar vein, Nwabunwene and Enisire (2023) explore a Critical Discourse Analysis of Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah's 2022 Easter message and examined the implications of the social structures articulated in the text to discursive practices. The study adopts Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to Critical Discourse Analysis beginning with the description, explanation and interpretation of text. The ideological differences which characterise the social structure of the text are also revealed through discursive practices. The study confirm the argument that, language is a constituent of society and that by studying the forms of language, one reveals the social processes and specific ideologies embedded in discourse.

Again, Taiwo (2007) examines language, ideology and power relations in Nigerian newspaper headlines. A total of three hundred Nigerian newspaper headlines were randomly selected from six Nigerian newspapers and they were examined for peculiarity in the vocabulary and rhetorical devices used in order to identify the ideologies that lie behind their constructions. The study generated two typologies of headlines based on the theme addressed and the surface structures. The study reveals that

the headlines have hidden ideological meanings, being divided along some ideological lines reflecting the views of those whose interest is being served and those whose interest is being undermined. The author concludes that headlines are emotion-inducing strategy in the hands of the editor used to initiate, sustain discourse and shape the views of the readers on national issues. This study is similar to the current study in terms of their titles. However, in this study, attention is on polarisation across ideological lines among different newspaper headlines, while in the current study attention is on a particular speech and the ideological undertones and power patterns embedded in the speech.

There is no doubt that the extant studies provided the background for the current study, however, from the works reviewed, no study has been carried out on the discourse vis-a-vis social implications of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's 2023 inaugural address. To fill this gap, some questions become pertinent: What are the discourse practices in this speech? What are the social structures in the speech? How does the linguistic or discourse practices in the text interface with social conditions of the text to create meaning? The current study therefore intends to fill these gaps in knowledge. Findings from the study will also validate or refute extant knowledge on the correlation between discursive practices and social structures in discourse.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative approach is adopted in this study. President Bola Tinubu's 2023 inaugural speech is analysed in three levels, namely linguistic (discourse component), contextual (social component) and psychological (cognitive component). However, these three components are not to be taken as separate units but are mapped out into one another as an integrated whole.

The discourse components identified in the study are pronominals and lexicalisation, while the social component includes identification, polarisation, activity, interest, norms and values. The cognitive component provides the link between discourse components and social components. For all of these, excerpts from the speech are collected, highlighted and analysed to demonstrate the correlation between discourse practices and social structures in the text. The primary data for this study is sourced from the article published on the website of the Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation. This would be a critique of the major properties of the text, and most importantly how it is situated within political discourse.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Discourse Components

Pronominals

Members of the same ideological group typically use the 'political' pronoun "we" and sometimes "us" or "ours" to refer to themselves and fellow group members. Members of one's group (ingroup) are usually referred to using first person pronouns (I, we, us, ours), whereas members of other group (outgroup) are referred to with third person pronouns (they, them, their).

There is a preponderance of first person pronoun in the speech while the third person pronoun appears only a few times. The speech begins with the phrase "**My** Fellow Citizens" (Paragraph 1, Line 1), "**I** stand before you....." (Paragraph 2, Line 1). Other instances of first person pronoun used in the text include phrases such as "**My** confidence in..." (Paragraph 2 line 3), "**I** know that..." (Paragraph 2 line 5), "**we** have long ago..." (Paragraph 4 line 1), "**we** are too great a nation..." (Paragraph 6 line 1-2), "**we**

have endured hardships..." (Paragraph 8 line 1), "**our** trust in God" (Paragraph 11 line 3), "**our** believe in our ability..." (Paragraph 11 line 5), "**we** have stumbled at times..." (Paragraph 14 line 1), "permit **me** to say a few words to..." (Paragraph 12 line 1), "the election that brought **us** to this juncture..." (Paragraph 22 line 2 and 3), "**my** supporters **I** thank you" (Paragraph 30, Line 1), "**our** mission is to improve **our** way of life..." (Paragraph 34 Line 1), "**we** shall defend the nation from terror..." (Paragraph 40, Line 1), "**we** shall remodel our economy" (Paragraph 30, Line 1), "**our** government will continue to take proactive steps..." (Paragraph 44, Line 1), "**my** administration must create meaningful opportunities for **our** youths" (Paragraph 55, Line 1 and 2), "**we** shall honour **our** campaign commitment..." (Paragraph 55, Line 2 and 3), "**I** ask you to join **me** in making Nigeria a more perfect nation and democracy..." (Paragraph 72, Line 1 and 2). President Tinubu uses more of first person pronouns which refer to ingroup members. On the contrary, third person pronouns such as "they", "them", "those" and "their" are used sparingly in the speech. He uses the pronouns "they" and "them" to refer to members of opposition parties:

Excerpt 1

... My victory does not render me any more Nigerian than my opponents. Nor does it render **them** any less patriotic.' (Paragraph 23)

They shall forever be my fellow compatriots. And I will treat **them** as such. **They** represent important constituencies and concerns that wisdom dare not ignore'. (Paragraph 24). **They** have taken **their** concerns to court. Seeking legal redress is **their** right and I fully defend **their** exercise of this right...' (Paragraph 25)

He also uses third-person pronouns to refer to members of the opposition parties in Paragraph 30, Lines 1 and 2 "...**those** who voted otherwise". In ideological discourse, there is a tendency for one to attribute positive self-representation to members of one's group (ingroup) and negative other representation to members of other group (outgroup)' (Van Dijk, 2015a). However, in this case, the president employs diplomacy. This is in consonance with Van Dijk's claim that politicians, in order to prevent a revolt, "form a consensus with members of the outgroup (members of other political parties)" (Van Dijk, 2012).

Apart from the four paragraphs cited above, another time that the author uses third-person pronoun in the text is when he refers to the founding fathers of Nigeria. Instances of such phrases include: "the labour of **those** who came before us..." (Paragraph 27, Line 1-2), "...in the journey **they** began" (Paragraph 28, 1-2).

Lexicalisation

This involves the use of lexical items to create an overall ideological strategy for positive and negative presentations. Some positive lexical items used in the text are "love" (Paragraph 2, Line 2), "peace" (Paragraph 68, Line 1), "progress" (Paragraph 18, Line 2), "prosperity" (Paragraph 45, Line 2), "compassion" (Paragraph 37, Line 6), "justice" (Paragraph 45, Line 3), "resilience" (Paragraph 14, Line 2), "collaboration" (Paragraph 35, Line 4), "cohesion" (Paragraph 35, Line 5). The negative words used in the text include: "sublime" (Paragraph 9, Line 2), "hardship" (Paragraph 8, Line 1), "violence" (Paragraph 45, Line 4), "dimness" (Paragraph 4, Line 2), "menace" (Paragraph 46, Line 1), "insecurity" (Paragraph 45, Line 3), "conflict" ((Paragraph 67, Line 6). Generally, these words express hope but

also portray the glaring challenges that the country is confronted with.

Social Component

Ideological discourse structures that feature prominently in this text include:

1. Identification and Polarization

The main category of group ideologies is their identity. Members of ideological groups knowingly and unknowingly identify with 'their' group, and express such identification in many ways. Underlying ideologies are demonstrated through individual or group identity. For instance, the last paragraph of the speech reads:

Excerpt 2

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. (Paragraph 73).

The author employs this discursive strategy to announce his current identity as the new president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. His position as the President and Commander in Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria gives him the power to enforce all the things that have been said. It emphasises his dominance over members of his group and members of other groups. Holzscheiter (2005) maintains that much of CDA research is concerned with differentiating the modes of exercising power in discourse and over discourse in the field of politics. Kress supports this view when he remarks that CDA has from the beginning had a political project: broadly speaking that of altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies" (Kress, 1996, p. 15). The exercise of power or dominance is evident in the authority

conferred on the speaker as president. However, since this authority emanates from the people, he uses more of the 'political' pronoun "We" rather than "I." This apparently demonstrates the ideology of a democratic government which is people-oriented.

In demonstrating his power and dominance the president forms a consensus with members of the outgroup (other political parties). This supports Van Dijk's claim that politicians, in order to prevent a revolt, "form a consensus with members of the outgroup (members of other political parties)" (Van Dijk, 2012). To achieve this, politicians employ diplomatic strategies aimed at winning the support of outgroup members. Rather than disparage the opposition, President Tinubu recognizes his new role as president of all Nigerians, and thus, forms a consensus with members of opposition parties by acknowledging them. All through the speech, the President identifies with other Nigerians with phrases like "My fellow citizens," (Paragraph 1, Line 1), "My fellow compatriots" (Paragraph 32, Line1). He identifies with every citizens without prejudice to ethnicity, class, age, religion or gender. He identifies with the young and the old, men and women, the Igbos, Yorubas, Hausa, Ijaws among other ethnicity nationalities that make up the country, Nigeria.

Activities

Ideological groups are often identified by what they do or what their typical activities are. Thus we may expect that ideological discourse typically deals with what 'We' do and must do, to defend or protect the group or address critical challenges. Three things are significant about this speech:

- a. The speech marks the end of one administration and the beginning of

another. It marked the end of the President Muhammadu Buhari's administration and the beginning of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration.

- b. It marks the end of the fuel subsidy regime resulting in hike in the price of petrol and consequential hike in the price of goods and services.
- c. It marks the end of the currency crisis arising from the monetary policy of the Central Bank under Godwin Emefiele.

An ideological group is often identified by what they do, what their typical activities are. In the same breadth, an individual's ideology is identified by what he/she does. President Bola Ahmed Tinubu takes practical steps that marked a new trajectory in the economic development of the country. He demonstrates his pragmatic character by choosing to confront the challenges before us. The removal of fuel subsidy was indeed a tough decision to make. Yet it bears a more promising future in the economic fortune of Nigeria. The money recovered from fuel subsidy removal will enable the country pay up her debts (the debts incurred by successive administrations) and embark on massive infrastructural transformation and industrial revolution.

His decision to retain both the old and new currency resolved the currency crisis that had gone out of control leading to a cash crunch and other attendant economic crisis. This decision demonstrated President Tinubu's capacity to resolve complex challenges in the simplest ways. Nigerians can rest assured that they have a leader that will take sound decisions that will bring solutions to pressing challenges that confront us as a people.

Norms and values

Ideologies are built on norms of (good) conduct, or values of what should be striven for, such as Freedom, Equality, Justice, Independence or Autonomy. These may be implicitly or explicitly expressed in many ways in discourse, especially in all evaluative statements about groups of people. They typically appear in the Aims we want to reach.

President Tinubu is a democrat and demonstrates this in the manner in which he addresses his political opponents in this speech. He does not arrogate any form of superiority to himself but considers himself as sharing the same identity with every other citizen. He upholds the underlying principles of democracy which are: equality, probity, equity, fairness and the rule of law. As expected of a true democrat he upholds the principle of inclusiveness rather than imposition:

Excerpt 3

Our administration shall govern on your behalf but never rule over you. We shall consult and dialogue but never dictate. We shall reach out to all but never put down a single person for holding views contrary to our own. (Paragraph 20)

The tone in the above excerpt shows that the President is poised running an inclusive government.

Interests

Ideological struggle is usually about power and interests. Thus, ideological discourse typically features many references to our interests, such as basic resources (food, shelter, wealth and health) as well as symbolic resources such as knowledge, status, or access to public discourse.

President Tinubu outlines his priority areas in the tenth paragraph of his speech. These priority areas include security, job creation, rule of law, food security, youth/women inclusiveness and fight against corruption:

Excerpt 4

The principles that will guide our administration are simple:

- a. Nigeria will be impartially governed according to the constitution and the rule of law.
- b. We shall defend the nation from terror and all forms of criminality that threaten the peace and stability of our country and our sub-region.
- c. We shall remodel our economy to bring about growth and development through job creation, food security and an end of extreme poverty.
- d. In our administration, Women and youth will feature prominently.
- e. Our government will continue to take proactive steps such as championing a credit culture to discourage corruption while strengthening the effectiveness and efficiency of the various anti-corruption agencies. (Paragraph 39 - 44)

Through these interests, priority areas or agenda, one can gauge the mindset and philosophy of the government. One can tell if the government is really concerned about the critical issues that confront the country at the moment or simply playing to the gallery. Indeed the issues highlighted above are germane and reveals that the government understands the challenges that are before us: the security challenges, food scarcity, unemployment, political apathy among youths, corruption and poverty.

Cognitive Component

The discourse component and social component of language is mediated by the cognitive component. The cognitive component deals with the mind, human memory or thought processes. Human memory accommodates cognitive processes which may include but not limited to thinking, perceiving, knowing, examining, understanding, hoping, interpreting.

Importantly, these various kinds of cognitive processes operate on specific cognitive structures called mental representations which allow such cognitive processes to be formed, changed, stored, or (de)activated. Thus, thoughts, knowledge, beliefs, interpretations, plans, attitudes or ideologies are different kinds of mental representations. These mental representations activate and control all human action and interaction and hence also all language use and discourse.

In the speech, the President says "...my name is Bola Ahmed Tinubu, and I am the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria". (Paragraph 73). This is not to offer new knowledge, because most of his audience do know the facts that he is the new president of Nigeria. Rather, they function as reminders and emphasis for the necessity of the current situation.

Furthermore, the polarisation and references usually achieved through the use of pronouns are represented through mental association. This is also applicable to interest, activity, norms and values. The speaker demonstrates clear knowledge of the sociopolitical currents in the country such as issues of insecurity, currency crisis, and political crisis in the sub-region among others. This shared knowledge also helps the reader who is abreast about the social conditions in Nigeria and beyond to understand and interpret the speech. The cognitive component also incorporates

attitudes and ideologies which are discussed in the social component.

SUMMARY

This study demonstrates the correlation between discourse structures and social practices, mediated through mental representations. Discourse influences social interaction and social structures through the cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. Ideological discourse structures in the text manifest through identification, polarisation, norms and values, interest and activity. Ideological groups are often identified by what they do (their activities) as well as their interests, norms and values. Their identity is that which members of the group (ingroup) have in common and this distinguishes them from non-members (outgroup). The distinction between ingroup and outgroup is termed polarisation.

The exercise of power or dominance is demonstrated in the text in many ways. First, it is evident in the authority conferred to the speaker as president. However, since this authority emanates from the people, he uses more of the 'political' pronoun "we" rather than "I." This apparently demonstrates the ideology of a democratic government which is centred on the people. Again, the preponderance of first person pronouns which refer to ingroup members, and only a few third person pronouns referring to outgroup members represents the domination of ingroup over outgroup.

Conclusion

This study has shown how discursive practices are used to enact, legitimise and produce or reproduce ideologies and power patterns. The study demonstrates how language users apply linguistic devices to embed knowledge systems, beliefs and values in discourse. It has shown how

structural relationships of power can be seen as a means for deconstructing implicit ideologies embedded in discourse.

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