

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES OF IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN SELECTED SPEECHES OF SIR ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA OF NIGERIA

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Abstract

To gain political power, political actors often times adopt linguistic and rhetorical strategies that help them to communicate effectively with their intended audience. This has reinvigorated the study of language of politics as an academic practice. This study carries out a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa to examine the role of language in establishing ideology and therefore sustaining power as well as ideological discursive structures in political speeches. The study discretely investigates linguistics expressions which carry ideological tenets in speeches under review. The study used qualitative research method and textual analysis as its design. Purposive sampling approach was used to select five speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the analysis was structured thematically. The study employed Fairclough's model of CDA (1989) which presents discourse

as a social practice because it focuses on the reality of text and discourses and its suitability for the study. The study unearth how ideologies are being handled through certain discursive structures by discussing metaphor, disclaimer, pronouns, rhetorical questions, strong moral obligation, intertextuality and evidentiality. Furthermore, the study revealed how discursive structures produce and uphold power and its asymmetry between Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and his audience. The research summarises that politics as a game, uses language for discursive enterprise and concludes that Balewa's speeches were designed to maintain, and sustain power and power relations across a range of different groups.

Keywords: Discourse-Analysis, Ideological Strategies, Political Representations

Introduction

Power, by its nature, is dynamic and relational rather than absolute. It is exercised in the social, economic and political relations between individuals and groups. Consequently, it is unequally distributed among groups; some individuals and groups have enormous control over the resources of power while others, who are at the bottom of the social strata have very little or no control at all. The degree of power of an individual or group is correlated to many kinds of resources they are opportune to access and control.

There is a great level of interconnectivity between language and politics, and politics has been used to achieve different purposes. Language is a means through which individual or group's, political aspirants expressed their intentions to others, and they rely on it to accomplish their mission. It is the intimacy or otherwise the affinity between language and politics that made Beard (2000) posit that political branch of Discourse Analysis needs to be taken more seriously. Beard

(2000:2), “ looking at the language of politics as an occupation is important because it helps us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power, and those who wish to maintain power”. It is crucial to indicate that one important thing about political speeches is that politicians rely on language in other to control their audiences. This position is buttressed by Fairclough (2012) as he state that: “Language is significant in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. Indeed, it is a political tool employed to grab the attention and support of the electorate and manipulate their minds with the view to gaining and maintaining political power (P.74) Addae, Alhassan, and Yaw-saikodia (2022:142). Fairclough’s submission in the extract above displays that politics is one vocation that is indispensably yoked with language. In several situations politicians use persuasive techniques in other to win votes. Based on this, speakers in the cause of manifesto presentations use language to maneuver the minds of their audience. Language therefore is a great tool in politics.

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was Nigeria's first and last Prime Minister under the parliamentary system of the first Republic of Nigeria. He was adjudged as having a near native competence in English and was therefore nick-named the Golden Voice of Africa. His oratory portrayed a good diplomatic image for Nigeria. It is, therefore, important to look at the historical contexts and

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determine how that period and the preoccupation of the government at the time were reflected and represented in his selected speeches in terms of lexical isotope, concord, and the construction of ideology.

Critical Discourse Analysis is concerned with discourse as an instrument of social construction of reality of language use in its original form (Leeuwen, 1993:193). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) deals with social problems and so it is not directly concerned with language or language use alone but it takes together all the linguistic features of social and cultural processes that are structured in the text. Essentially, Critical Discourse Analysis is interdisciplinary as it also investigates how ideology, identity, knowledge and power are constructed, construed, formulated and reformulated in selected discourses of the former Nigerian Prime Minister. The work also focuses on how the linguistic elements are deployed as social practice to achieve ideological representation in the selected speeches (Okpe, 2017). As a linguistic theory, Critical Discourse Analysis is a study of language in social and institutional contexts and it reveals how people in their expressions, infer power equation, differentials and discrimination.

A brief profile of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was a political icon and an elder statesman in Nigeria. He was born on December 1st 1912, and was an indigene of Tafewa Balewa area of Bauchi State. Balewa began his education at a Qur'anic school in Bauchi. When the colonial administrator began to push for western education in the Northern region, Balewa was among the children sent to Tafawa Balewa Elementary School after the Qur'anic school.

Before joining politics, he worked for the Bauchi Native Authority and he rose to the position of a Headmaster. He was a member of the Northern Region House of Assembly and the House of Representatives in 1947. He was appointed Prime Minister by the British Government in 1954-1960. He also became the first and only Prime Minister of an independent Nigeria from 1960-1966.

Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was an orator, as a result of this that he was granted an interview by Emmanuel Omatsola on May 7 1964 on the death of President J.F Kennedy of America. Sir Abubakar Tafawa died on the 15th January, 1966 following a military coup led by Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu and Emmanuel Ifeajuna.

Literature Review

The review of related literature and the conceptual frame

work of critical Discourse Analysis are in this case sacrosanct. The practice of critical Discourse Analysis in view of Fairclough is referred to the use of ensemble technique to the study of textual messages and the use of language as a facial and cultural practice. Discourse of this kind examines social power, abuse domination, oppression, and inequality which are formulated, produced and resisted through text and talk both in social and political contexts. To this end, CDA focuses on the relationship between power and discourse. To support this, Fairclough as stated in Bulus (2017) maintains that CDA systematically explores often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discourse practice, events and text and (b) wide social event cultural structures to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of ideological shaped relations of power and struggles over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationship between discourse and society is itself factors scoring power and hegemony (Bulus 2017:135).

Definition of Discourse

Discourse is much more central to the discourse analyst and therefore it wins Sympathy and attention of theoretical explanation. Ibileye (2017:1) avers that: "Discourse has been variously conceived by scholars as the authentic product of human interaction as well as being the concrete aspect of the abstraction of communication." Scholars such as Stubbs, Coulthard and Gee submit that discourse defines the human essence as it reflects what a speaker wants, who the speaker is and what the speaker does. In other words, discourse shows us human as using the language to do things and to depict our identity in the discourse that we so produce. That is why studying discourse has a vast potential of revealing the true nature and essence of human relations.

Discourse Analysis

The approach adopted for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse means language use. According to Osisanwo (15), language is an instrument of communication among human beings. He affirms that human beings of the same origin or different, from far or near interact through language by talking to one another. He further says that talking is termed "discourse" and its organisational structure has to account for and be studied in everyday language. Thus, the meaning of Discourse Analysis emanates from such talks within an eventually analysed text. He also maintains that for meaning to be relevant, the context and situation must be fully established and how this situational context is used

for special purpose so as to convey special message. This aspect of fabricated meaning as sprang from the context and situation is affirmed by Odebunmi (2006:25) as cited in Onucheyo (2022:3).

Contrary to this, Stubbs (2015:31) observes that Discourse Analysis is language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogues between speakers. In fact, Discourse Analysis deals with what language is used for and not the formal properties of language. The concern here is about different types of conversations. He dwells on the different social contexts, their organisation and the process of encoding and decoding meaning in talk or in an utterance.

Sani, Isah and Obashola (2021) captioned their study as “critical discourse analysis of pronominal choices in Governor Buni's Inaugural speech of 29th May, 2019.” They introduced their work by affirming that language is a form of practice (Fairclough 2016:16) and that it is also a purposefully means of communication, severally, it is considered as expressive mechanism which assist an individual to express himself and to create relationship with each other. The researchers employed utterances to reveal position and intentions; based on this, it is obvious that language is a force or power that is used to achieve different goals in different circumstances.

All over the world, politicians constantly seek avenues to sell their ideas to the electorates through tactful use of personal pronouns to persuade their audience which provides politicians with instrument of manipulating the electorates' mind since they are noted with multiple identities. The study further says that politicians mostly use pronouns to convey the status of their political power to shoulder responsibility for their actions, show solidarity with the electorates and also to reveal the level of commitment during speech delivery sessions.

The concept of pronouns has to do with words class element that can grammatically substitute nouns and Noun Phrase (NP). The research presents pronouns as words that substitute for noun and noun phrases in sentences. Egbe (2000:88) refers to pronoun as such nouns which occur as their antecedents in the sentences or passages where they are used and are sub categorised into personal, demonstrative, possessive, reflective, interrogative, reciprocal, indefinite and relative pronouns. In the grammar of English language, three grammatical persons are permissible: first person (I, we, us, our and ours) second persons (you), and third persons (He, she, it, they, them,) in the subjective case, objective case, and possessive since they project multiple meaning. Bramley (2001) maintains that political offices holders use pronouns in different contexts, depending on which

of their senses they want to construct.

“I, for instance, present multiple meanings. It represents references to the person speaking, and also points to his/her public and private discourse identities in politics.” The work also draws our attention to the fact that politicians jump between various identities, whether they choose to be private or public depends on the context and the effect the politicians are seeking. The use of “I induced on the politicians the power of influence on decisions and that of assertion on behalf of the masses (Nakaggwe 2021:7). The pronoun “You” as a second person functions in multiple ways in different sentence patterns. Branley (2001:261) avers that “you” as a pronoun is difficult to understand by an unsuspecting audience. It is by nature, always pointing at the entire audience. This is the sole reason why Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) identify three uses of you:

- i. Refrential 'you' identifies a specific person
- ii. Impersonal 'you' which is also referred to as indefinite or generic 'you'. The impersonal 'you' can mean anyone or everybody.
- iii. Vague 'you' refers to a specific but unidentified individual.

Allen (2017:4) submits that the impersonal 'You' can be used to refer to the speaker as a replacement for 'I', and for the speakers to include themselves as a typical member of a social order over which they have no control. In all, political leaders and speakers adopt the feature of 'You' to present their beliefs and opinions as common sense or familiar knowledge and the audience are cajoled to accept them without probing their authenticity. It is a strategy use by the provision to pass their message across to their audience. CDA is described as “linguistics with a conscience and a cause” aimed at making discourse free from domination and offending human sensibilities in order to create a social structure where every institutional subject is objectively represented in the discourse (Wardhaugh 2006:10; Widdowson 1996:77). CDA is recognised as an approach that is based on the union of language studies and social theory (Fairclough, 1992). CDA investigates how social power is misused and how text and talk represent, procreate, and resist dominance and inequality in the social and political context. The prominent figure in this domain is Norman Fairclough who developed a three dimensional framework for studying of discourse. The target of this framework is to integrate few dimensions into analysis of language text. In another term, it is refers to analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption) and analysis of invents.

The main aim of CDA is public speech, such as political speeches, newspapers, coronation, ordination, advertisement, official documents and so on. CDA's focus is to examine the relationship between the language, ideology, and power; in addition, it is guided by finding out the assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text. In present days, one of the top most linguistic theory correlated with a critical discourse approach is Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. This is supported by scholars such as (Couliariaki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 1992 and Kress, 1985) who used it for analysing texts on systemic functional grammar.

Theoretical Framework

Discourse is language in use which we study not as an abstract system (Grammar), but in terms of actual utterances or sentences in speech or writing in a given context. It is particularly vital to distinguish between Fairclough (1995, 1989) and Fowler (1991) and its later modified form by Courliaraki and Fairclough (1999), and the developed, upgraded and coherent, (i.e) in the so-called socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis by Van Dijk (1991) and his team, the vennese discourse historical school, championed by Wodak (Wodak et al. 1990, Wodak 1996, 2007). This study adopts the socio-cognitive theory of Van Dijk which allows readers to collude in their ideological discourse (Breeze 2011: 4994). Discourse as a social practice model (CDA) is employed in the analysis. The model provides the overall picture of place of language in the society. This approach establishes the relationship between power, language and society.

Research Methodology

This segment is concerned with methodology adopted by the study. This portion of the study contains-the preamble, the research design, sources of data, data collection, method of data collection, instrument used for the data collection and site for the study.

Research Data

With regards to the sample of the data, the speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (on the internet) were selected on the ground of how well ideologies and ideological discursive structures were embedded in those constructs. There were many speeches published on the internet from which the research selected the persuasive ones among them which have ideological implications. The research also selected the speeches based on their being considered the most important ones in Balewa's speeches. In addition, the speeches were selected along

their success not because of the presence of ideologies but because of the occasions during which they were made and the general effect they had on the generality of the public. This method of sampling ensured that the relevant data must align with the objectives of the study.

Research Design

In this investigation the study adopted qualitative research approach. The work used the design because of these two major reasons. Firstly, CDA itself as a method of analysis is qualitative in nature (Fairclough, 1992). Secondly, the qualitative research approach is a text-oriented study that provides a highly systematic, adequate and robust description, analysis and interpretation of events that are unread in real-life situations (Fairclough, 1992; Marianne & Louise, 2012). Asiru (2016:73) equally agrees with (Jick, 1984; Mackey & Gas, 2005) who maintain that sometimes in qualitative data description and when necessary, qualitative measures are incorporated for statistical qualification of linguistic features.

Sources of Data

The data for the study were drawn from the primary source which is the original texts that contain Tafawa Balewa's political speeches in and across periods at different political positions and power. The selected speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as mentioned before were retrieved from internet sources and some were collected from oral national broadcast most especially the speech he delivered on 1st October, 1960. For accuracy and to maintain higher level of originality, a total of five speeches were used for the analysis. These may include some of his speeches as leader of Northern People Congress (N.P.C) and those he delivered as a Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Method of Data Collection

The data for this research were carefully collected through the use of internet, radio and television broadcasts and textbooks. Each of the speeches of the prime minister were downloaded from different websites and later printed, and in addition, some were listened to during its oral presentation on live broadcasts on Nigeria Television Authority (N.T.A) as in replay of 1960 independence broadcast production and a reprint of his life interview on the death of President J.F Kennedy (President) of United States of America was equally retrieved. The five speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa collected are:

- i. The Northern Nigeria Call for Independence (1958)
- ii. Motivation Africa (New York 1960)

- iii. First speech as Prime Minister to Federal Republic of Nigeria (1962)
- iv. United Nations General Assembly (1960)
- v. Inspirational Speech, Read, Read and Never stop Reading (1960)
- vi. Interview and Reaction to the death of J.F Kennedy (1964). See interview according to Nwogu (1991: 56).

Instrument for Data Collection

This research adopts written records of selected speeches of former Nigeria Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (the Golden Voice of Africa) from 1957 to 1966. His essays were analysed in order to unravel the ideology embedded and reproduced through the use of language. The study addressed occasions and motivations which prompted the speaker to produce such discourse.

Finally, the research is situated within social and political contexts of the post-independence Nigeria. The thesis is concerned with how the speeches exhibit political and linguistic features. In the textual analysis the researcher looked into the comprehensive textual information which was handled with a systematic analysis of ideology that invariably reveals identity. To achieve the three areas of textual analysis mentioned, three stages of analytical procedures proposed by Fairclough (1989) were employed. The three components of the analytical procedure are:

Description: This level has to do with formal properties of the text.

Interpretation: Which is concerned with seeing the text as the product of process of production and also a source in the process of information and explanation – this is all about the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the production channel, their interpretation and their aftermath effects. On the whole, all the linguistic features and other discursive effects in political language of Balewa were handled at different levels of linguistic analysis. The first stage is restricted to the analysis of coding (labeling) the formal text properties. This level concentrates on the identification and labeling system and the various kinds in the speeches. The second phase is that of cognitive impact/process of the participants and their natural interactions. This of course is the under-tune of the ideological mindsets that stirs and controls the different available choices of linguistic types. Conclusively, in the third stage, the focus is to examine the relationship between social events, ideology and identity, and power structures which have effect on these events and are equally affected by them.

Site of the Study

This study was carried out in Nigeria in West Africa sub-region. The country is politically divided into six (06) geopolitical zones. National Daily Newspapers (2006) reported and this is shown in a table.



S/N	GEOPOLITICAL	CITIES	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
1	North East	Bauchi	4.6Million People	3.34%
2	North West	Kano	9.3Million People	6.78%
3	North Central	Benue	4.2Million People	3.0%
4	South West	Lagos	9.0 Million People	6.44%
5	South South	Rivers	5.1 Million People	3.70%
6	South East	Anambra	4.1 Million People	2. 99%

The Geographical isolations of the cities shown in the map above, Adapted from (Asiru Hameed Tunde, 2016:76).

Analysis and Discussion

This segment is concerned with the ideological discursive strategies used by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in his speeches.

Fluidity of Pronouns Selected as Ideological Strategies

Traditionally, pronouns are presented as word class elements that are used to replace nouns especially to avoid tautology (Eka, 2004). This research reveals that Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa strongly relies on pronouns to pass across his ideologies to his targeted audience. Sharndama (2015:22) as cited in Aikins, Hamidu and Yaw – Sarodies (2022:148) “The use of Pronouns in political discourse goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar to self-emphasis, self-responsibility inclusiveness, solidarity, and unity of purpose” as reflected in this study, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa also uses pronouns as rubber-band to unit with people.

Extract 1:

We have awaited it with increasing patience, compelled to watch one county after another overtaking us on the road when we had so nearly reached our goal. But now we have acquired our rightful status and I feel sure that

history will show that the building of our nation proceeded at the wisest pace. It has been thorough, and Nigeria now stands well built upon firm foundations.

Extract 1 above shows how the “we” that opens the paragraph I referring to all of us Nigerians who waited patiently for the new dawn of independence. Everything that points at Nigeria independence was visualised as a form of mirage (thing that is not realisable). Dates upon dates were set and later postponed. The penultimate was to be in April 1960 yet it was later adjusted to October 1st 1960. The independence which the colonial masters granted Nigeria made the country to be large on the map of Africa and the entire world. It marked the take off point for economic and politically development.

Extract 2:

We cannot live in isolation, apart from the rest of the world, even if we wish to do so. All too soon it has become evident that for us independence implies a great deal more than self-government.

Extract 3:

“I am proud to speak to my fellow countrymen tonight. I am proud, and I am humble too when I think of the enormous responsibility which has been placed upon me, and my colleagues.”

In extract 1, Balewa is using his position to cry out that Nigeria needs independence even more than mere self-government, then he compared Nigeria with other countries and posits that we (Nigeria) and Nigeria as a country cannot live in isolation. For inclusiveness, Balewa uses 'we' to show that whatever it was, Nigeria's case cannot be a different one.

The 'I' in extract 3 is a personal pronoun and it singled him out as a politician. Politicians in political arenas seek appropriate means of marketing their ideas to the electorate through the tactful use of personal pronouns to convince their audience which Nnamdi (P.156) readily referred to as politicians with multiple identities. Political office holders make use of “I” to refer to the speaker and also point to his/her public and private discourse entities. The use of “I” gives them an edge on political influence in terms of decision making.

Evidentiality as a Discursive Strategy

In his premiership, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa employs evidentially in reforms of analogy statistics, figure and stories in his speeches for ideological perspectives. Firstly, he coins stories to bring back memories in order to persuade people and make his message sink into them and to make them appreciate the meaning. The rationale behind **evidentiality** is to uphold

trustfulness and validity of source of the message (Palmer, 1996). Palmer states that evidentiality reveals the power that the speaker has over whatever he says as true or false. Thus evidentiality displays total control or authority that the speaker has over his audience as regards the topic under discussion. In extract 4, Balewa is projected as someone who has an in-depth knowledge and evidence (Proof) of what he is talking about. This can be seen below.

Extract 4:

The skilled or those who have read and are continually reading are rewarded with the important position or roles in the society, for example, it is hard to imagine a governor, a president, a doctor, an engineer, a pilot, or a professor who cannot read or who do not previously read in other words, who is not educated.

As it can be observed from extract 4 above, Balewa upholds reading culture in high esteem; this he says, would make many people in Nigeria to discover their potential.

Extract 5:

It was then on, that human beings invented memory and culture, the capacity needed to shape the mould of the Eiffel pot, to mould clay of a certain pattern to build the houses in certain styles, to mark day and night, and time with purpose, to store food for the next day, and to seek to know who they were in relation with mountains, rivers, trees, rocks, and other human beings.

Extract 5 above is a linguistic exercise which is linked to assigning lexical properties to their pairing folds, e.g. 'day and night' which also alludes to Biblical injunctions in the book of Genesis (1:5). The evidence and the authority that the speaker has over all that he says are taken for evidentially.

The creativity in man is considered as an asset thus his style in speech and in his world view completely is commendable and as the same time it typifies attention to the reason why we should use every opportunity well. In all our doings, we need to be futuristic.

Extract 6:

Strong modals of Obligation as Discursive Strategies

During the course of his speeches, Balewa employs some model verbs to show power and dominance between him and his audience. The extract below recalls such devices in his speech.

We must seize the opportunity which has been offered to us to show that we are able to manage our own affairs properly, every Nigerian, whatever his status, and whatever his religion, has his or her share to contribute to

this crucial task.

Extract 7:

"I must emphasize that Nigeria has today taken another important step forward and if we are to succeed, we must have the loyalty of all Nigerians and expatriate officers in this vital period before self-government is achieved".

In extract 6, power and dominance are enacted through linguistic choice. The use of strong modal obligation 'must' reveals how powerful Balewa is. And again it shows that the Prime Minister (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa) was giving out the kind of responsibilities that heaped on his people to be able to stand firmly and achieve the goal. To a great extent, the power gap between Balewa and his listeners is best displaced in the strong modal obligation 'must' which has been employed to commit the people into action.

Extract 8:

"On no account should we allow the selfish ambitions of individuals to jeopardize the peace of the thirty three million law abiding people of Nigeria. It is the duty of all of us to work for the unity and encourage Members of our Communities to live together in peace and harmony."

Deducing from the ongoing discussion, 'should' reflects opinions, advice, and what is required or less desirable – it is usually seen as carrying less force as 'shall' or 'must' and for that reason is a weak form of modal.

Extract 9:

"We must all turn our minds to Almighty God and seek his guidance and assistance – by his grace we shall succeed."

Extract 9, just like that of 7, displays a strong modal obligation using 'must' which reveals a sign of Superiority and Command. Taken from another dimension, politeness is injected into the act of command by lexical selection "by his grace" meaning not by his might or power but that of God.

Adjuncts as a discursive Strategy

An adjuncts is used in discourse to add an extra information to a sentence which creates an extra meaning and makes the expression more specific. E.g. the word 'today' as used in the text below adds extra information. It is a clause that can be removed from a sentence without making it ungrammatical (cf. Chomsky 1995, Rapaport 1999 and Stepanov, 2001).

Extract 10:

Today, we have with us representatives of those who made Nigeria, Representatives of the regional

governments, of former Central Government, of the missionary Societies, and of the Banking and Commerce enterprises, and Members, both past and present, of the public service. We welcome you, and we rejoice that you have been able to come and share in our celebrations. The various groups mentioned were ideologically considered as the in-group, thus they are friends to the government.

Manifest of intertextuality as a Discursive Strategy

Fairclough (1992) affirms, that manifest intertextuality is a pronounced form of intertextuality where by texts explicitly draw on other texts, by citing them. The Prime Minister resorts to use intertextual as a means of persuading the audience when the need arises. Applying intertextuality approach is a harmonious style to loop I'll oblige the discussants (interlocutors) to enable him cling unto a point of view. Intratextuality serve as ideological discursive strategy in which a superior voice is invoked to captivate the audience to listen to the speaker, as evident in 11. Balewa relies on manifest intertextuality to show how reference could be used for human beings to develop passion for reading.

Extract 11:

Indeed, such experience such as refinement comes and can come only with the passion to read. It is reading which makes possible for many to recall the human spirits or what is called Culture, the pursuit to metrification, knowledges, spiritual growth, and what the great 19th century English human is Mathew Ornuld called in a memorable phrale – sweetness of light or best that has been taught and said in the word.

As revealed in Extract 11, Balewa quoted the exact words of a notable English humanist whom he referenced in his work. He (Balewa) talked about the degree of importance and value attached to reading; he advised that people, both young and old should read

Van Dilk (2003) avers that the decision of whether to leave information implicit to make it explicit is not ideological neutral. At lexicalisation level, meanings and ideologies are more explicit.

Metaphor as a Discursive Strategy

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:453) view metaphor as a device for poetic imagination and rhetorical flourish which constitute both language conceptual systems. This on the basis that ideals we think and act are all metaphorical in nature. Metaphor is an attribute of direct or compressed comparison of object or person, Amaechi (2021:5). The matter of inclusiveness and exclusiveness breeds polarity of "in-group" and "out-group" in a decision, thus it is ideological.

Extract 12:

"We in Nigeria have been fortunate in achieving our independence without bloodshed or bitterness and I hope that this will lend weight to the proposals which I am about to set before you"

Extract 13:

"The first of these is that Africa must not be allowed to become a battle ground in the ideological struggle. For this reason Congo situation must be a matter to be dealt with primarily by African states at political level"

In extract 13 above, the lexical selection of "battle ground" is metaphoric, and "African states means leaders, heads of government from Africa and not Europe or any other parts of the world. As evident in extract 12, Balewa refer to us as fortunate people because we (Nigerians) attained independence without rancour, war or any act of bloodshed. Deep down the miles, bloodshed or bitterness symbolises evil that Nigerians never witness before the liberations. By implication postponement and deadlock in some meetings organised by the colonizers would have spilt an air of revolt against the white bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, in extract 13, Balewa presented Nigeria's decision on problematic Congo, thus he calls for the idea of checking and disconnecting several possibilities that could promote chaos and war in Congo, and as a matter of ideology, African union should politically develop a central machine to quell the crises in Congo since the union itself is an epitome of peace.

Extract 14:

Thirdly, we shall not forget our old friends, we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the British Commonwealth. But nevertheless, we do intend to allay ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the power blocks. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations if founded.

Extract 15:

Fourthly, Nigeria hopes to work with other African state for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African Territories to a state of responsible independence.

In extract 14, it is shown that Nigeria by status is stepping ahead from non-membership to a membership position in Common wealth of Nations.

Thus the idea of 'old friend' is a matter of implicature. Does this mean that they are old friends that are still friends or old friends that have now turned enemies? What this implies is hydra-headed. But it implies that the

relationship between Nigeria and other countries is already decayed and by implication Nigeria has gone ahead.

Similarly, in extract 15, it is evident that, the genesis of Nigerian foreign policy is strictly concerned with their leadership position in Africa; it typifies that all the activities and programmes of Nigeria is focused on the success of Africa. By implication, it means issues concerning Africa as a continent rank first on the scale of Nigeria's attention.

Rhetorical Questions as a Discursive Strategy

The term rhetorical questions, naturally by their tradition demand no answer. E.g God why? Rhetorical questions are those that do not require direct answers which are implied by what they say (Addas, Alhassan & Yaw Sarkodi, 2023:153). Rhetorical questions are used for ideological projections, to present a level field between Balewa and his audience to evoke thought provoking issues and to take socio – economic and socio – political matters that are of interest to the generality of the populace as an ideology strategy; the audience is saddled with the responsibility to provide the needed answers to those questions principally, the target is to arose the senses of the people to be alive with their own decisions. Such speeches include:

Extract 16:

Will the result be a confederacy or a federation?

Extract 17:

What sort of government machinery is available to execute whatever policies may be decided upon the Congolese Government?

It is obvious from extracts 16 and 17, that Balewa relies on rhetorical devices to navigate and project the ideology of government policy for instance, in extract 15, Balewa employs the idea of whether the results would be confederacy or that of federation. This of course point at power sharing either power is concentrated at the top (i.e) federation or otherwise too much power at the state confederation. All these are a matter of leadership and ideology with regards to extract 17. The ideological decision on Togo could be that of "peacekeeping mission" or "war" regarding the existing foreign policy.

Emphasis as a Discursive Strategy

Emphasis is achieved through repetitive structures and is a pointer to a vital message or information (cf Kwon and wodak 2024, Allen and Lester 1995). Among other emphasis Balewa says;

Extract 18:

"Here I would say that to my mind it is important that none of the great powers should be represented on the fact finding commission because, however honest their intentions, it would be inevitable that they should be regarded as having a particular interest in the problem".

Extract 19:

"I repeat, I think it would be advisable to exclude the greater powers."

Extracts 18 and 19 refers to Balewa's stand on fair treatment as regards trouble in Congo. This implies that the room for familiarity or politics of interest should be thoroughly checked, because in politics there is no permanent enemy or permanent friend but what is permanent is INTEREST.

Disclaimer

The notion of disclaimer has to do with the presentation of something positively and then rejecting it with a particular term such as 'but' (Van Dijk, 2003:50). It is a form of ideological semantic structure which is common in prejudiced discourse where there is presence of group polarisation. It usually presents ingroup positively and outgroup negatively. The part of such discursive structure expresses positive representation of the ingroup while the later clause expresses negative representation of the outgroup (Van Dijk, 1997; Asiru, 2016:202).

Extract 20:

I would like to say a word to the civil service. We are grateful to all the civil servants, through whose work the country has reached the present stage of political development. I know that every constitutional advance puts a great strain on the civil service. Not only in the additional work to be done, but some officers find it hard to accept the new changes.

With this approach it is deduced that Tafawa Balewa first applauded the greatness of the Nigerian's civil servants and he confirmed of the nature and quality of good jobs and services they have been rendering to the nation but beyond this, he castigates some the officers who are not ready to imbibe innovation.

Conclusion

The study deals with discursive strategies of ideological representations of selected speeches of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria. Based on the findings therefore the study concludes that Nigerian politicians use language to gain power, to exercise power and to maintain power. In addition they also use language to persuade the minds of their audiences to act in their

favour politically.

The work aligned with much evidence to conclude that politics is purely a game that can be well played through the use of language choice. Politicians all over the world and specifically Nigerian politicians mask their ideologies in their language in a way that would not be immediately understood or noticed by the audience. The main reason for concealing these ideologies is that, in most situations, they do not match the realities of the time.

Ideally, we submit that politicians milk the advantage of the rate of low literacy of their members as well as the naivety ratio of their members to manipulate their minds and impose their dictates on them (Pronounce who they should vote for) this is a critical issue in Nigeria's politics most especially when people cannot decipher their rights from their lefts.

Finally, it is important to conclude that this investigation has truly confirmed that CDA is an important theoretical and methodological property for the study of how discourse functions ideologically, as it helps to unearth hidden ideologies in discursive constructs.

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