LANGUAGE, REPRESENTATION AND IDEOLOGY IN THE NIGERIAN 2011 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION NEWSPAPER REPORTS

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NOVEMBER, 2016
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work, except where due citations have been made, and has not been previously presented for a degree or any other award in any university.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and all my teachers.
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Operational Definition of Terms

**Cognition** is the interface between social practice and discourse.

**Context models** are the participant’s subjective definition of the communicative event or situation i.e. what the participant’s feel relevant to the situation.

**Discourse** is here used as the national newspaper reports of the 2011 Nigerian presidential election.

**Headlines** are the general summary of the news reports on the front pages of newspapers.

**Ideologies** are beliefs and opinions that are produced and transmitted by media institutions to the public.

**Ijaw** are the predominant indigenous people in the Niger Delta Region (Bayelsa, Delta, Rivers, Edo, Akwa Ibom, Ondo, Abia and Imo states) of Nigeria.

**Lead articles** are the major articles which are presented first in the newspapers.

**Macro Propositions** are global units of meaning constructs which are expressed in headlines and lead paragraphs.

**Macro-Speech Acts** are acts assigned to larger stretch, such as discourse at the global pragmatic level, and they are organised by macro-rules.
Media Discourse is an interaction that takes place through daily newspapers platforms and oriented to the readers.

Mental Models are the subjective personal experiences and interpretations of an individual of the 2011 presidential elections.

Metadiscourse means utilization of the media discourse to represent political events, practices and their language use.

News reports are the daily accounts of the presidential election as published in daily newspapers.

Political Discourse refers to activities performed within the political processes such as elections to achieve political goals.

Propositions are statements or assertions that express opinions or judgments in the news reports.

Representation is the representation of the presidential election, activities, and people in the news reports.
Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCCT Crisis Combination Communication Theory

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CL Critical Linguistics

CMA Critical Metaphor Analysis

CNN Cable News Network

DHA Discourse-Historical Approach

DRA Dialectical-Relational Approach

FOX Fox News Channel

JMTF Joint Military Task Force

NBC National Broadcasting Cooperation

PDP Peoples Democratic Party

SCA Sociocognitive Approach

SRs Social Representations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USIP United States Institute of Peace
Abstract

This study examined the language, representation and ideology in the Nigerian 2011 presidential election newspaper reports. Specifically, the study identified and interpreted the macro speech acts that characterized the newspaper reports with an assumption that the representations concealed some underlying ideologies. The study also investigated the structures of the micro propositions in the reports to establish the nature of the newspaper representation of the election. In addition, the study identified the imbued ideologies and described their discursive structures, and how the micro propositions exhibited power relations. To achieve the objectives stated, the study was situated within van Dijk’s (2009) framework of Sociocognitive Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis and integrated Austin’s (1962) and Searle’s (1976) classifications of speech acts in the Speech Act Theory. The study adopted a descriptive study design and a multistage sampling technique. Six daily national newspapers were selected across the six geo-political zones in Nigeria and two news articles (the lead article and any other one related to the election news reports) were purposively selected from each newspaper to make the articles twelve in number. To enable analysis, the articles were labeled as samples 1-12 and all the paragraphs in each article were numbered to allow the construction of macrostructures and identification of macro speech acts. The thesis has three analysis chapters: chapter four identifies and interprets the macro speech acts in the news reports; chapter five investigates the structures of the micro propositions; and chapter six combines two objectives. It identifies and analyses the ideological propositions, and how the propositions exhibit power relations. From the analysis, the study discovers the prevalence of *verdictives* which suggests that the newspapers approved of the outcome of the elections as free, fair and peaceful. The structures of the micro propositions indicate newspaper bias of the representation in favour of the ruling party while the discursive and cognitive structures of the ideological propositions in chapter six show how the ideologies were couched in the news reports and the polarization that exist therein. Finally, the study observes that the newspaper reports were used to exhibit more of dominance than resistance in terms of power relations. Chapter seven presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations for further studies.
CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by drawing attention to the importance of language to man as a tool of communication. It posits that language has a complex nature and the potentials of being manipulated in the service of power and ideology by powerful institutions, such as the media. In addition, the media itself, specifically newspaper, can be under the influence of other powerful institutions. This background leads to the statement of problem of the study, objectives, research questions, assumptions, justifications and significance, and scope and delimitations of the study. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

Language is a social tool for human communication and it has been under various analyses since time immemorial, yet, its complex nature still requires further examination from different perspectives. It is a phenomenon that may be considered one of the miracles of humankind because of the many functions it is able to perform. One of such function is to create and recreate our world. That is, our language does not merely reflect our reality; it creates it by means of discourse (Taiwo, 2007). For
instance, the way a particular object or issue is discussed and presented through discourse influences how such an object or issue would be reacted to by the public. This view coincides with that of Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p.1) that discourse is a ‘particular way of talking about and understanding the world’. However, language can be under the dominance of powerful institutions, hence, the social functions of language should be placed under critical revision (van Dijk, 1998a).

The general views about language as a means of communication and passing information; ‘transactional view’ (Brown & Yule, 1983, p.1) are complemented by the negotiation and construction of meaning in our world which come under the social functions of language ‘interactional view’. That is why Gee (2005, p.1) in his opinion argues that language is not just about giving and receiving information but ‘scaffolding the performance of social activities’ and ‘human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions’. These functions are connected because social groups and institutions can shape social activities.

Among the powerful institutions that can shape social activities are the government and the media. Newspaper is generally believed to possess the power to shape the agenda of political actors, just like political actors can also influence what is to be communicated through the newspaper to the public. This role comes to manifest itself when the newspaper is able to set
the stage for political news, manage political agenda, source and control the information to be communicated to the public (Devaney, 2013). The sourcing and constructing of news are both linked to the opinions and ideology of the media organizations or owners. Similarly, as a result of setting the agenda on political issues and activities, the range of perspectives and arguments are streamlined because the attention of the public would now be focused on the set agenda. Therefore, the media may actively shape and frame our perception of the world and indeed affect the nature of that world and how we interact with it.

Chilluwa (2011), in his assessment of media power asserts that the press may conceal truths that need to be told in some particular representations and may also legitimize particular label or identity in the interest of certain people or government. This claim may be possible because media is a contested vacuum and not everybody in the contest is of equal power (Devereux, 2009). That is, many social actors and other social institutions, with different interests, are usually in contest to influence what media produces, given its power and significance. This lies on the background understanding of the media as a social site for discursive struggles for dominance through its production and reproduction of meanings. In other words, media production of meanings has political consequences which are geared towards ideological dominance of one powerful social group over other contending groups.
Barton (1979) posits that official control of the media is a common denominator in his overview of print media in Africa. That is, governments as one of the powerful institutions and contenders for media space, controlled the flow of news in the past in order to make information more attuned to what they conceived as their national priorities (Hyden & Leslie, 2002). The control guaranteed an inclusive relationship between the media and the government. That legacy continued to influence the media situation in Africa throughout the 1980s. In Nigeria, the situation was not different because some of Nigeria’s founding fathers were involved in journalism and they owned media outlets for propagating their views (United Nations development Programme [UNDP], 2005). However, with the advent of democratic rule, almost across all of Africa, freedom of the media is gradually becoming a reality.

That freedom, as the present study believes, only removes the obvious control of the government but does not mean that the media is totally free from external control and influence because profit is one of the factors that drive the existence of media organizations. The exercise of power in all forms from the government’s perspectives puts the government at an advantage and it is necessary because ‘it allows the system to function in particular ways, without which the system would disintegrate or cease to operate effectively’ (Blommaert, 2005, p.1).
Many of the studies on media and political discourses in recent times have been primarily anchored on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis because it investigates the relations between language use and social power, (Li, 2013). The concept of power has received considerable attentions from various scholars from Gramsci, Foucault, Althusser, Fairclough, van Dijk and many others. The concept has metamorphosed from ‘coercive state apparatus’ which privileges the use of force in order to control and exercise power over the less powerful or subjects to ‘ideological state apparatus’ where media becomes an instrument of power and influence without the knowledge of the subjects. The latter form of power and ideology is what the present study aims to unveil in the media representation of a political event. This will be unearthed using linguistic tools such as lexicalization, transitivity, presupposition, implicatures, among others.

Based on the foregoing, this study, therefore, examines the representation and ideology in the Nigerian 2011 presidential election newspaper reports in order to: identify and analyse the macro speech acts in the newspaper reports, investigate the structures of the micro propositions in them, identify the imbued ideologies and their discursive structures, and examine how the micro propositionsexhibit power relations.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Newspapers may have a great impact on political processes such as campaigns and elections because they can inform and influence the attitudes and perceptions of the electorate. These roles can consequently influence the outcome of elections. The newspaper medium as a social institution is therefore expected to be neutral and objective in its presentation of political processes such as elections.

However, in Nigeria, media generally is still being perceived as a ready tool to be used by powerful institutions. In that case, newspaper representation of events, such as the 2011 presidential election and other political activities in the country, may not be value-free but may be imbued with certain underlying ideologies and power play which, in turn, could impact on the outcomes of political events. There is therefore the need to unravel the bias and consequent ideologies enacted in the newspaper reports of the election and the implications of such to the general public. Using linguistic tools within an interdisciplinary framework to unveil the structures of the bias and ideologies in the newspaper is a lacuna that requires research attention.
1.3 Research Objectives

The broad aim of the study was to examine language use and representation of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election by newspapers.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

O1. Identify and interpret the macro speech acts in the newspaper reports.

O2. Investigate the structures of the micro propositions in order to establish the nature of the representations.

O3. Identify the ideological propositions in the newspaper reports and analyse their discursive structures.

O4. Examine the power relations in the newspaper reports.

1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

Q1. What are the macro speech acts that characterize the Nigerian 2011 presidential election newspaper reports?

Q2. How are the micro propositions structured in the newspaper representations of the Nigerian 2011 presidential elections?
Q3. What are the ideological propositions and their discursive structures in the newspaper reports?

Q4. How are the micro propositions used to exhibit power relations in the newspaper reports?

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

All the countries on the African continent have witnessed different political issues in the 21st century and those issues have resulted into tribal conflicts, and in some cases, disunity and secession. Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa with over 180 million people according to the results of the National Population Commission’s census of 2006. It has experienced its own instability too. The experiences have attracted studies from different fields of human endeavour and linguistics is not an exception. For instance, the recent waves of studies into political and media discourses have resulted into studies, such as language, ideology and power relations in newspapers and magazines headlines (Oyeleye & Osisanwo, 2013); styles in political slogans (Osisanwo, 2011); patterns of metaphorical language use in Kenya’s political discourse (Orwenjo, 2010); representation of people in the news in the Nigerian print media (Alo, 2008); discourse pragmatics of news headlines and lead stories (Chiluwa, 2005) and many more. From these studies, those that center on ideologies have, basically, considered the linguistic choices (such as passivisation and lexicalization)
and rhetorical strategies (such as metaphor and tropes) in the texts to convey ideological meaning.

However, there is still a paucity of studies from the vantage point of Sociocognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis which does not only examine the linguistic features in discourse but also their social and cognitive interconnectedness. There is need to broaden this critical area of contemporary academic inquiry into discourse analysis through studying newspapers reports because of their important link with the masses and the government.

This study, therefore, provides more insights to the multidimensional nature of Discourse Analysis by examining election reports in newspapers which differ from campaign speeches. This attempt will contribute to the few existing literature on newspaper reports analysis. It will also give insight into the likely effectiveness of an interdisciplinary approach which marries Linguistics, Mass Communication and Psychology in the study of discourse analysis.

In addition, the choice of Nigerian 2011 presidential election is significant. On one hand, it was the first time, in the history of the country’s democracy, in which someone (Ijaw man) from the minority group, would become the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria after many years
of ‘political marginalization’ (Higgins, 2009). On the other hand, the 2011 presidential election was the most violent as it claimed eight hundred (800) lives over three days in some parts of Nigeria and displaced 65,000 people, (United States Institute of Peace, Peacebrief 103, 2011).

A study of this nature is important and significant because it examines the use of language, representation and ideologies by newspapers in a presidential election. The study also contributes to further understanding of the ideological role of language in newspapers, particularly, news discourse in the construction of political events.

Finally, the findings of this study, on the practical aspect, can be of benefit to consumers of newspapers and other media products in general. It will make them to be more critical so as to question media representation of political and other social issues that could enhance the unity or cause disunity in the country.

1.6 Scope and Delimitations of the Study

The study is on language, representation and ideology in the Nigerian 2011 presidential election newspaper reports. The data for the analysis are drawn from the following six national media outlets: Punch, Nigerian Tribune, The Guardian, New Nigerian, Daily Trust and Vanguard. They are all prominent newspapers with interest in politics and other national
issues. They are also regional newspapers that are well read in their respective geo-political zones. The study included all the lead articles in the sampled newspapers because lead articles are usually the ‘selling point’ for newspapers and the major article to attract readers. The data for the study was also restricted to 2011 presidential election news reports because the election was the most violent in Nigeria.

The study did not consider radio and television media in the country because of some reasons. There is no doubt that television and radio both constitute avenues where many people get to understand and have a first-hand information of happenings around them. But in Nigeria, the largest television and radio networks are the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the Radio Nigeria with over forty-five and twenty-five stations respectively and are spread across the country. They are owned and financed by the Federal Government and their reportage could be bias in favour of the government. This may, therefore, not be representational and objective considering the presence of other radio and television stations in the country which are owned by private individuals but are not spread across the country.

Secondly, this study is interested in written discourse so as to examine the structures that ideologies take in news reports and not the images that accompany the words. This can best be accounted for in newspapers
because there is no need for transcribing the data, it is in its natural form. In radio and television data, transcription of the news items is compulsory and may not be devoid of errors in the process.

1.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the objectives of the study and the need for it to be undertaken by connecting the background of the study to the statement of problems. The chapter also demarcated the scope of the study by justifying areas that are not included in the study. The next chapter looks at the literature reviews that will connect this study to the previous studies that have been done in the area. It will also map out its theoretical framework.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with review of relevant studies and theoretical framework for the study. The review of studies, among other things, places the relevance of this study in the larger contexts of previous researches. This is achieved by looking at studies on media representation, political discourse and ideology. The review begins by examining the concepts that are related to the study so as to enhance its understanding.

It is important to clarify that this study did not investigate political discourse (such as the social events that political actors participate in or the social practices within those events and their language use as part of those practices) but a kind of a metadiscourse whereby media re-presents political events, practices and their language use. Finally, the different theories associated with previous researches are reviewed as well as the theoretical position that the present study adopts.

2.1 Literature Review

The relevant literature reviews are streamlined along different paradigm shifts in discourse analysis. The reviews represent different paradigm shifts
in political discourse which include: mediated political discourse (which deals with media representations of political events); and the cognitive shift in political discourse analysis (where emphasis is on the ideological focus of political discourse and how such can be accounted for through language).

Having introduced the procedures, firstly, we try to examine the different perspectives and meanings that ‘discourse’ has and how various studies have worked around it.

### 2.1.1 The Meaning of Discourse

Discourse is seen as ‘a very trendy word referring to a very trendy concept’ (Richardson, 2007, p.21). It is one of the most vigorously contested concepts in academia because of its usage which transcends linguistics. To Alba-Juez (2009), discourse is an ambiguous word capable of many differing meanings, but with interrelated focus which is language use. Despite its ambiguity, Schiffrin (1994) argues that there are two general approaches to the concept: the Formalist/Structuralist and the Functionalist.

The Formalist/Structuralist sees discourse as a particular unit of language, specifically, unit above the sentential level. Discourse analysis from this perspective looks at patterns or structural organization of the various units above the sentence. These include the cohesive devices which make
different but connected (related) sentences to form a unified whole (discourse). However, the formal structures in discourse cannot adequately and comprehensively ensure meaning. There is need to, most times, rely on context, (social, historical and cultural knowledge) in order to comprehensively make sense of a discourse. Based on this, the Formalist definition of discourse may not be adequate as ‘it underestimates the social ideas that inform the way we use and interpret language’ (Richardson, 2007, p. 23).

The second perspective is the functionalist approach. It takes cognizance of the social aspect of language. That is, discourse is seen as ‘language in use’. Its analysis is not ‘restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which the forms are designed to serve’ (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 1). This definition takes into account ‘what and how language communicates when it is used purposefully in particular instances and contexts’ (Cameron, 2001, p. 13). That is, language is used to perform actions and in order to understand the actions that language is put to achieve, recourse to its context of use is important. This approach is also similar to Blommaert’s (2005) semiotic approach; he sees discourse as all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity, seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and development of use. Similarly, Strauss and Feiz (2014) seem to combine the two definitions because there is no discourse without the elements of language. That is why they
understand discourse as the social and cognitive processes that reflect, create, shape, re-create and reify meaning in the life world. This means that, the processes of putting the world into words by combining elements of language with other elements of semiosis.

In the same vein, Fairclough (1989, p.24) states that ‘discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part.’ This view does not narrow discourse to physical text or a finished product but a whole social interaction. This is similar to Titscher et al (2000), who note that discourse is a broad term with various definitions which integrate a whole range of meanings from various disciplines, such as Linguistics, Psychology, Philosophy, Political science and Mass Communication.

The present study pitches its tent with the idea that discourse is social and cognitive processes that have great influence on our perceptions and beliefs of different activities in our society. This is because the 2011 presidential election newspaper reports in Nigeria are capable of shaping our perceptions and attitudes. This means that both formalist and functionalist approaches are necessary in understanding the news reports under investigation. In addition, the position of Richardson (2007) supports this idea because he notes that in written and broadcast journalism, meaning is always tied to context by assigning sense and reference to linguistic structures.
The next section looks at the various perspectives of political discourse.

### 2.1.2 Political Discourse

Political discourse is also polysemous, just like the term ‘discourse’, because it has many likely senses depending on the focus of the user. Orwenjo (2010) shares this sentiment when he asks whether political discourse is by politicians, for politicians, about politicians, or with politicians. It can mean discourse that is political; in that way, all instances of language use can be said to be political (Shapiro as cited in Wilson 2001). This is premised on the fact that politics is played everywhere, at home, in school and other social instances. It equates all social actions to preference of ‘this/that’; ‘inclusion/exclusion’; (‘insiders’ as against ‘outsiders’) (Howarth & Stavrakakis as cited in Orwenjo, 2010, p.60). The danger of such perspective is that all social activities would be seen as political. This position is in line with Wilson (2001) that, if all discourses are considered as political, it might result to overgeneralization of political discourse.

On the contrary, the other perspective of political discourse could mean discourse of politics, as enacted by political actors, and political institutions in political situations, such as elections and campaigns. van Dijk (1997) is of the view that the easiest definition of political discourse is to identify it by its actors or authors who are politicians. It is also of interest to note that
it is not only politicians who take part in politics; citizens, demonstrators,
pressure groups also take part in political activities and processes.
Schaffner (1996) asserts that political discourse is *functional* when the
discourse is as a result of politics and it is historically and culturally
determined. Also, political discourse could be thematic when the topics of
discourse are primarily related to politics, such as political activities. These
perspectives have received many approaches in the study of political
discourse analysis, such as critical, descriptive and psychological
approaches.

In recent time, political discourse analysis integrates social theory and
This claim is also held by Schaffner (1996) that, in political discourse,
linguists have always been interested in the linguistic structures used to get
politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfill a
specific function. Orwenjo (2010) equally notes that, the influence of
Hallidayian Functional Linguistics also paves the way for the possibility of
linking linguistics to political activities. However, the focus on linguistic
structures alone is narrow because the broader societal and political
framework in which such discourse is embedded is important. According to
Wilson (2001), the combination of social theory with linguistic theory in
political discourse analysis is not to lose linguistic rigor for the sake of
sociopolitical claims. It is not equally targeted to simply continue to
produce language-based analyses which do not fully consider why, in social and political terms, specific linguistic choices have been made.

Having examined the various perspectives on political discourse and the importance of social theory integration, this study adopts the position where political discourse is limited to the activities performed within the political processes, such as elections, campaign, and protest to achieve political goals. This decision may not be novel in Nigerian political discourse analyses as the same was adopted by Kamalu and Aganga (2011) and Olaniyi (2010). They studied declaration of interest by a candidate in Presidential primaries, and political inaugural speech of a President respectively. The study also adopts an eclectic approach where linguistic theories, such as the Speech Act Theory and Sociocognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis are combined.

The next section examines the other key terms in this study, Newspaper discourse, representation and ideology.

2.1.3 Newspaper Discourse and Ideology

Though, the primary function of language is to serve as a means of human communication i.e. exchange of information, expression of attitudes and emotion, it also shapes attitudes. This is carefully done in the newspapers by
framing events with the intention of shaping the way that the public should understand the event.

According to Gee (2001), the primary function of language is to perform social activities and to scaffold human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions. This is premised on the belief that cultures, social groups and institutions shape social activities. Thus, language as a social activity does not only influence the society but it is also being shaped by the society or institutions. Therefore, language use in newspapers may have unique potential of shaping attitudes and beliefs. The act of presenting events which may shape attitudes by the media to the public is referred to as representation.

Representation is a key concept in media studies. It is the presentation of people, ideas, values, beliefs and the world at large. Media, as a social institution, is a paramount organ of the society and it functions primarily in disseminating information to the public. However, newspaper presentation of events to the public is not neutral because newspaper goes through a process of decision making which determines what and how an event should be produced for the consumption of the society. Therefore, newspaper representation constitutes points of view about social events and people (Chiluwa, 2011). This includes versions of social reality, as produced by media institutions, which ultimately echo their purposes or
ideologies in subtle ways. Such ideologies are expressed through the media’s use of language.

The choices of words favoured by newspapers are therefore capable of shaping the thoughts of the consumers with different underlying ideologies. Fairclough (1995a) therefore, suggests that, analysis of representation should account for structures of propositions and how these are suggestive of ideology and relations of power. (See Section 2.1.6) This opinion suggests, therefore, that ideologies reside in discourse because they are constitutive of judgments and opinions of media institutions.

van Dijk, as cited in Chiluwa (2011) observes that the above position is different from the traditional view of the study of ideology which equates ideology to merely the study of system of beliefs, ideas, class, often associated with group interests, conflict and struggle. In the modern study of ideology, it is concerned with how the use of language can account for the expression and reproduction of ideologies in society (van Dijk, 1998a). This stand was also advocated for by Fowler (1979) and his associates in critical linguistics. They were concerned about how media language might work ideologically. They examined how ideologies could be embedded in linguistic structures such as vocabulary and syntax.
Ideology is a complicated term having different meanings depending on the focus of the researcher (Croteau, 2002). An ideological person, for instance, is a derogatory compliment to label or stigmatize someone as rigid. In newspaper discourse, parts of the interests of analysts are to focus on the images and structures of the society that the media projects. van Dijk (1998a) defines ideology as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group with specific functions. In other words, he sees ideology as the axiomatic foundation of social cognition. Ideologies are belief systems that are socially shared by a member of a group and they are not individually upheld or personalized. However, this is not to ignore the fact that ideologies can serve to sustain relations of dominance just like Thompson (1984) suggests; ideology is meaning in the service of power. It is a characteristic of all societies where domination is maintained by means other than direct coercion.

This study takes the position of van Dijk (1998b) that ideologies are socially shared. This is because the study examines newspaper representation of a social event which was conducted on the basis of groups’ interests, that is, political parties. The study also takes a similar position about newspaper discourse. The study does not look at an individual journalists but media as an institution. Therefore, political parties and media can both be ideological because they satisfy certain
levels of social criteria such as continuity, permanence and interests (van Dijk, 2006a) in their generic make ups.

The next section traces the historical trajectories of mass media in the politics of Africa. In this study, mass media is limited to national daily newspapers.

2.1.4 Media and Politics in Africa

What are generally termed as mass media are radio, television, newspaper and magazines, and they attract large number of audiences. Mass media is generally believed to have taken a pivotal role in politics in the African continent since the colonial period. Mass media functions as a window to the outside world, and it possesses the ability to shape public knowledge and attitudes (Devaney, 2013). Traditionally, the public function of mass media was to serve as watchdog; a critical surveillance of government (Rioba, 2008). This is an important aspect of the democratic functioning of the media. It makes the media defensive by protecting the interest of the public from excesses of those in power. For instance, during the democratization period of Africa, the media were the mouthpieces of the nationalists (Hyden & Okigbo, 2002). The media supported the nationalists’ agenda through their committed efforts to get away the common ‘enemies’ who were the colonialists. In Kenya for instance, there was Muigwithania ‘the reconciler’ as the mouthpiece of the Kikuyu Central
Association. *Mfanyakazi* ‘the worker’ also served as the mouthpiece of the politically powerful Trade Union Movement in Tanzania (Hyden & Okigbo, 2002).

In a similar vein, Nigerian media also had their own efforts during the first wave of democratization. According to Fred Omu, as cited in Hyden and Okigbo (2002) newspapers served as vanguard of the resistance to the imposition of alien rule and they helped provide the intellectual leadership for the nationalist struggle. The media during this period served as creators of discursive realm by focusing on the rights and duties that Africans should enjoy. In fact, Nationalist leaders, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo, served on the editorial boards of some of the media. After the media’s pivotal roles in promoting democratization in pre-independence Africa, they became suppressed by those they had helped ascend to power (Hyden & Okigbo, 2002). That is, they were turned to instrument of propaganda by serving the interest of the political elites.

In the light of the above background, the Nigerian newspapers are potentially capable of playing out important roles in the 2011 presidential election. Their representation of the 2011 election news reports could, consequently, influence the beliefs and attitudes of the public. This is because mass media is generally believed to have power.
2.1.5 Microstructure and Macrostructure

Newspaper reports can have local and global structures. These structures are not only about description of isolated sentences in terms of syntax, semantics and pragmatics; these account only for local structures of news reports (Aljayrudy, 2011). For van Dijk, (1998b), a comprehensive description of news reports should account for both the micro level and macro level structures.

At the microstructural level, newspaper reports are organised in propositions through different means, such as lexicalization, coherence, implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, metaphors and rhetoric. A proposition is the smallest unit of meaning constructs which are used to denote facts (van Dijk 1988). For instance:

a) *HurricaneJonathan knocks outBuhari, others (THE PUNCH Monday April 18, 2011).*

This example contains one argument and a predicate and it is verifiable as true or false. In newspaper discourse, an argument can be persons, groups and institutions. Meanings and ideological stands can therefore, manifest through microstructures, such as lexicalization. The lexical items can reveal the ideological bias of the writer. For instance:
b) A **confident** President Jonathan...promised to quit his position if he fails to win the election. (*Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011, page 2*)

The use of *confident* to qualify President Jonathan may not be neutral bearing in mind the caption of the article which claims that ‘*Jonathan and Buhari are in a tight race*’. Also, this can enhance ideological awareness because putting ‘*confidence*’ at the sentence-initial position may represent the view of the newspapers. This may portend that the other contender, Buhari is not confident. However, many of the structural properties in discourse, such as implicatures and presuppositions make their ideological beliefs implicit in discourse. For instance:

c) ‘*Jonathan sweeps South-West*’. (*Sunday Vanguard, Monday April 17, 2011, page 1*)

The meaning in this example is contextually signaled. The context helps to presuppose that the reader is aware of the elections and that there are contenders and a region called South-West. Similarly, the verb ‘*sweeps*’ connotes an overwhelming victory for Jonathan in the South-West, a zone that is regarded as the stronghold of the opposition. Without the background knowledge, it would be problematic assigning meaning out of context to this example. That is why it is of interest to note that most information required to understand and interpret discourse are socially
shared by language users and members of a society. Therefore, speakers may not necessarily be explicit in most cases because they expect their listeners to activate their shared knowledge of the situation and culture in the interpretation of discourse.

The above expectation is required across newspapers stories and we can guess that much of the information that is captured is left implicit or presupposed. According to van Dijk, (2006, p.12) ‘discourses are like proverbial icebergs; most of their meanings are not explicitly expressed but presupposed to be known, and inferable from general sociocultural knowledge’.

Presuppositions are propositions which are assumed by the writer to be known by the reader based on what is included in the sentence and their shared social cultural knowledge. Some presuppositions are tied to the meaning of the lexical items while some are grammatically signaled. Reah (2002) suggests three linguistic measures of how presupposition could be marked in discourse. First, certain lexical category, such as ‘change of state verbs’ and ‘implicative verbs’ (stop, begin, manage, forget) have presupposed meanings. For instance, ‘have you stopped stealing?’ presupposes that the person had stolen before. Secondly, the definite article, ‘the’ and possessive articles, ‘his/her------’ presupposes existence of something. For example, ‘the CPC candidate’(Sunday Vanguard, April
presupposes there is a candidate contesting under the CPC party and an existence of a party called CPC.

Presupposition could also be triggered by wh-questions, such as ‘why, who, when’ and this is evident in example like, ‘why do you want to abandon your family?’ presupposes that the person being addressed does want to abandon his family. Richardson (2007) came up with another category in furtherance to Reah (2002). He calls the category nominal presupposition and it can be triggered by nouns and adjectives used to qualify noun phrases, ‘Britain’s asylum system takes new hammering’ (Daily Express, 25 Feb, 2005). The adjective ‘new’ presupposes that Britain’s asylum has experienced old or past hammerings.

Yule’s (2010) categorization of presupposition triggers are in six (6) groups. They include: existential, factive, lexical, structural, non-factive, and counter-factual. However, Potts (2015) came up with seventeen categories of presupposition triggers and what is observable in his categories is that many of the categories could be collapsed into Yule’s (2010) groupings. The categories are: Aspectual predicates like ‘continue’ and ‘stop’; Attitude predicates like ‘know’, ‘realize’, and ‘regret’; Definite determiners and demonstratives; Indefinite determiners; Pronouns; Proper names; Quantifier domains; Sortal restrictions; Additive particles like ‘too’ ‘also’, and ‘either’; Adjunct clauses headed by prepositions like ‘before’
and ‘after’; Appositives Clefts; Discourse particles like ‘even’ and ‘only’; Implicative verbs like ‘manage’ and ‘fail’ Intonational contours, including topic and focus accents and verum focus; Evidentials; and Manner adverbs like ‘quickly’. This study adopts Khaleel’s (2010) categorization of presupposition triggers. They are existential, lexical and structural with their sub-categories.

Existential Presupposition:

This is achieved through names or definite phrases and possessive constructions. By using names or definite phrases as triggers, the writer is assumed committed to the existence of the referents he names. The sentence below illustrates that.

\textit{a) President Goodluck Jonathan...broke into the stronghold of the opposition.} (Vanguard, Sunday April 17, 2011)

The example presupposes the existence of a place acknowledged as the opposition’s territory. It also implies that there is a group referred to as opposition.

Lexical presupposition:

This is a form of lexical items, such as verbs and adjectives which are interpreted when used as presenting some forms of non-asserted meanings. Lexical presuppositions include implicative verbs, factive verbs,
change of state verbs, counter-factual verbs, conventional items and iteratives. Below is the explanation of each category.

Implicative Verbs: In using implicative verbs, certain presupposition is invoked. For example, forget, try, manage, fail, etc. To Yule (1996) these types of verbs have asserted and presupposed meanings in their very usage. In Karrtunen’s example, ‘John managed to open the door’ presupposes that he tried to open the door and he succeeded. If we have another example like, he tried to escape from the police. This means that the personmade attempts but he did not succeed in escaping from the police.

Factive Verbs: They presuppose the truth of their complement clauses. The presupposed information is usually realized on verbs, such as know, regret, realize, amuse, agree, forced to, saw, appreciate, and phrases like it is odd, it is sad, it is unfortunate, bear in mind etc. These verbs are also referred to as ‘attitudes predicates’ (Beaver, 2010). For Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) cited in Levinson (1983, p. 181), factive verbs could also include: ‘know, be sorry that; be proud that; be indifferent that; be glad that; be sad that’. Consider the example below:

a) …It was high time politicians realized that power belongs to the people. (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

The example presupposes that the complement clause after the verb ‘realized’ is presented as a fact. It means that politicians did not realize before the
election that power belongs to the people. The factive verb ‘realize’ presupposes that power indeed belongs to the people.

Change of state verb: This is also referred to as ‘aspectual predicates’ (Potts, 2015) and it is another type of lexical presupposition where the verbs switch from one state to another such that the presupposed meaning in the verb did not hold prior to the change. The verbs include: *finish, enter, come, go, begin, stop, continue; take; leave, start, carry on, cease, arrive, etc.* Consider the sentence below:

a) *INEC stopped the announcements of the results at the Abuja collation centre…* *(The Punch, Monday 18, 2011)*

The asserted meaning here is that the action is no longer in process but was in progress at some time in the past. It also means that the announcements of result took place at the Abuja collation centre.

Counter-Factual Verbs: These are verbs that presuppose the opposite of what is being proposed in a complement clause construction. This means that such verbs are contrary to facts. Also, conditional expressions in subjunctive mood could also trigger falsity in expressions.

Conventional Items: Presupposition can also be triggered by conventional meanings of lexical items despite the arguments by scholars that presupposition does not belong to semantic but pragmatic domain
(Levinson 1983). He claims that presuppositions are not stable or context-independent aspects of meaning, and as a result, it should belong to pragmatics. However, Palmer (1981) is of the opinion that presupposition is associated with specific features of lexical items. Levinson (1983, p. 206) also supports the same opinion that presuppositions could be ‘part of the conventional meaning of expressions, even though they are not semantic inferences’. The conventionality of meaning of words is not restricted to verbs, other classes of words such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs could also have presupposed conventional meanings. Consider the example below:

a) ‘He lost the election’.
b) ‘He is a Nigerian’.

The conventional meaning and the context of usage of the verb ‘lost’ presupposes that he contested and did not win. Similarly, part of the conventional meanings of the noun ‘Nigerian’ is that the person is from Africa.

Iterative: Iterative is a term used to refer to an event which takes place repeatedly (Crystal, 2008). Levinson (1983) states that iterative presupposition is associated with certain words, such as: another; again; repeat; anymore; returned; another time; to come back, and restore. They are often adverbs, adjectives or main verbs. The main verbs are those that have morphological evidence of reiteration. In English, iterative could
be marked morphologically, typically by adding an affix on the verb. An example like ‘The police decided to reinvestigate the money laundry case against the president’ is presupposed information triggered by the morpheme (re). It presupposes that the police had investigated the case against the said president before.

Iterative could also be done by reduplication (Greenberg et al 1978) where the verb is mentioned successively. John coughed and coughed is iterative in its interpretation. It could mean John coughs repeatedly, and each time, he coughs with more intensity or for a prolonged period of time. Also, the words (yet, anymore) are adverbs while (another) is an adjective and (rewrite) is a verb. Adverbs like ‘too’ and ‘again’ also presuppose some sorts of repetitions. He locked the gate again presupposes he locked the gate before.

Consider the following example from the data:

a) The PDP had a smooth sail too in Benue,...

The above is an example of iterative. It is triggered by the underlined adverb too which presupposes that PDP had won earlier in other places.

Structural Presuppositions:

This occurs when part of a sentence structure is presupposed or assumed to be true conventionally and regularly. When this type of structure occurs, the information therein is treated as true. Yule (2010, p. 28) believes that such
structures could ‘be used by speakers to treat information as presupposed (i.e. assumed to be true) and hence to be accepted as true by the listener’.

According to Blaze (2013, p.446), ‘structural presuppositions are effective in the form of a question where the option to negate the question, or otherwise answer in the negative, has been eliminated’. The various forms of structural oppositions are cleft constructions, wh-questions, adverbial clauses, comparative constructions, counterfactual conditionals and non restrictive clauses.

Wh-Questions: Wh-questions are also known as ‘information questions’ (Quirk et al, 1985, p. 817) and are formed with the aid of simple interrogative words, such as who, whom, whose, what, which, when, where, how, why. The wh-elements (the clause element containing the wh-word) come first in sentences. In wh-questions, normal statement order of elements is altered through the inversion of subject and operator, and they have positive and negative realizations with their corresponding presuppositions. The presupposed statement contains an indefinite expression such as ‘somebody’ in place of the wh-element.

The presupposed statement is assumed to be true by the user of the question. Levinson (1983, p. 184) opines that Wh-questions ‘introduce the presuppositions obtained by replacing the wh-word by the appropriate existentially quantified variable, eg. who by someone, where by
somewhere, how by somehow, etc. Levinson’s example ‘Who is the professor of linguistics at MIT’ presupposes that someone is a professor at MIT. For Richardson (2007), an example like this has two questions: an explicit request to name someone and the presupposed question which is left implicit. Therefore, ‘Who is the professor of linguistics at MIT’ requests the person being addressed to name the professor of linguistics at MIT and it also presupposes the existence of a professor of linguistics at MIT. Consider another example below:

a) ‘When did he buy the house?’

This example is mostly likely to be interpreted conventionally that the information after the wh-question is already true. This presupposes that the person bought a particular house. It also presupposes an existence of ‘he’ and ‘the house’.

Relative/Adverbial Clauses: Adverbial clauses are clauses that function as adverbs. They are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, such as because, when, soon, until, before, if, provided, since, though, while, etc. An adverbial clause modifies verbs, adverbs, and adjectives by signaling their place, time, manner, reason, condition, etc. The placement of adverbials in sentences could be initial, middle and final. They enjoy freedom of positioning. Adverbial clauses could trigger presuppositions in their main clauses. Consider the example below:
a) Former Chief of General Staff, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, became vice-president under the Ibrahim Babangida military regime after the removal of Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe ...

The underlined is an adverbial clause of time or reason and it presupposes or confirms that Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe was removed.

Entailments and implicatures are also two concepts that are related to presuppositions. Entailment is also known as implication and according to Levinson, (1983, p.174) ‘A semantically entails B iff every situation that makes A true makes B true (A ||-B)’. In other words, it means that one proposition is contained within other proposition. For instance:

d) General Sanni Abacha was Nigeria Head of State in 1998.

This means that Sanni Abacha was a Nigerian and was in the Military. The proposition, ‘Head of State’ entails another proposition which is ‘Sanni Abacha was in the Nigerian Army’. Similarly, the word ‘General’ also includes another proposition which is ‘Sanni Abacha was a soldier’. This type of implication is a strong one because the relations between the propositions are obvious in the sense that, a General, for instance, is known to be a rank in the military. However, it is not in all cases that the meaning of the entailed proposition will be obvious or strong.

e) ‘I am indeed happy that we are consolidating democracy’ (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011).
The above sentence does not have direct or obvious entailed information which may be signaled by the lexical items in the sentence but that the president is ‘indeed happy’ presupposes his acceptance and belief in the exercise. There can also be weak or subjective implications; these are referred to as implicatures. They are not explicitly said or written in discourse. That is why van Dijk, (1988) observes that implied or presupposed proposition which is not expressed directly or explicitly in discourse is implicit information. In news discourse, many things are left implicit or taken for granted and all these information can be accounted for or realized through the understanding of the background knowledge that produces the particular news report. All these structural properties and examples are at the local level of discourse. (See section 5.4 for details)

At the macro level structures, there are global topics, global themes and macro propositions which are organised at the global semantic level or semantic macrostructures. At the global pragmatic level, news reports accomplish macro speech acts. At the syntactic level, there is a syntactic or organizational pattern in form of news schemata which organizes the overall meaning of a text (syntactic superstructures) just like a syntactic form which also organizes meaning at the sentential or micro level. For instance, in everyday narrative schema, categories such as, Summary, Setting, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda are likely features (van Dijk, 1988). This is also similar to Labov’s (1967) oral
narrative stages; Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Result/resolution and Coda. If a category is missing from these categories, it may render the story as either incomplete or uninteresting.

Newspaper reports also have a similar hierarchical schema. They consist of conventional categories, such as headlines and lead, which form the summary category; body of the text which includes main events, context and history form the background category; verbal reactions or comments category can also include smaller categories, such as evaluation and expectations. Of all these categories, the most obligatory categories are the Summary and Episode categories (Bell, 1991 and van Dijk, 1988) which include headlines and lead paragraphs. The present study will therefore examine these two categories at the macrostructural level. Both micro and macrostructures can be deployed to achieve some form of representation of events and people.

The next section looks at meaning of representation in discourse.

2.1.6 Representation

Stuart Hall, a sociologist, is considered as one of those in the forefront on studies relating to media’s role in society. He advocates a perception of representation that is actively and creatively involved in the way people perceive the world. Representation, as he sees it, is how meaning is given to
things through images or words which stand for what is being represented. It is the ways in which media portrays particular groups, experiences, ideas, or events from a particular ideological perspective. Murdock (1999) is of the opinion that representation is double-faced; the rhetorical and ideological process of the description of something and how it appears; or the concrete action of representing someone by way of speaking on behalf of that person. In this study, the former is applicable because the study deals with the representation of people and 2011 presidential elections. Representation is not merely a reflection but creation or re-presentation of a new reality through mediation. The meaning of representation relates to whether the portrayal of something is an accurate reflection or a distorted reflection of that object of representation.

In the same vein, linguistic representation of events ensures that particular events, people and objects are perceived in a particular way, thereby leading to a change of action which affects or influences our social practices and actions. In that case, if representation could affect or influence the ways situations are perceived by the public, there is bound to be some form of struggles over what should be taken or accepted as the preferred representation. This form of power struggle or ‘politics of representation’ (Holquist, 1983) is to ensure that individual group’s framing of an event predominates or prevails and one of the dominant avenues of representation is through the media. Therefore, representation is
not about how media simply reflects or mirrors reality; it is about how media serves to re-present or to actually create a new reality.

Having explained some concepts and decisions related to this study, we now look at some reviews in the section below.

2.1.7 Studies on Mediated Political Discourse

It may no longer be news that we live in a media-saturated world because most of the information we get on daily basis are largely from media. Our everyday experiences have actively been shaped by media to the extent that our identities, beliefs and cultural values have all been re-fashioned. This claim is in line with Matheson (2005) who notes that studying media is because of an assumption that it plays an important role in mediating society to itself. Similarly, Talbot (2007) observes that the importance of media in the modern world is incontrovertible because it has replaced older institutions which used to serve as the primary sources of understanding our world.

To linguists, the media is a subject of scrutiny. Through it, analysts can study the nature of representation of the social world it portrays, and the kind of interactions it sets up between different classes of people in the society. In mediated political discourse, the approaches are informed by CDA and other linguistic theories, such as SFG. The studies reviewed
below have ideological concerns and different representations of political events by the media. The studies are relevant to the present study because they are about how media represented political events which is also the focus of this study; language use, different forms of representations that predominate, and ideology of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election newspaper reports.

Oyeleye and Osisanwo in the year 2013 explore the linguistic feature of lexicalization in media representation of the 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria with the aim of accounting for how different ideologies that permeated the representation of the elections are lexically anchored. The study relies on Fairclough’s (1992) theory on wording to see how ideologies are expressed in *Tell and the News*; two famous Nigerian magazines. In their findings, they contend that lexicalization helps to unveil some of the ideologies of the selected magazines in respect to the general elections. Some of the ideologies are: election is fraudulent, rigged, dirty game and that the power of incumbency plays a crucial role in dictating the pendulum of the election. These claims are further investigated through overlexicalisation and re-lexicalization by adopting Osisanwo’s (1986) formula to work out the thematic preoccupations in the news stories. It concludes that lexical choices are non-neutral because they could reveal the ideological focus of the magazines.
Their findings confirm the earlier study conducted by Alo and Ogunbeye in 2012. They studied lexicalization in news stories of some Nigerian national newspapers so as to unmask the ideological bias which are likely embedded in the news stories. This decision is based on the assumption that a reporter’s language and style can have profound influence on the opinions of the readers, either positively or negatively. The consequence of which may lead to misrepresentation of the people or events based on the writer’s prejudice and most times, being dictated by the institutions or owners of the media organizations. The findings reveal that lexical patterns lead to differential judgemental stance which consequently controls the attitudes of the readers towards the people and various events depicted in the news stories. These studies are relevant to the present study because of the analysis on lexicalization. However, while their studies compare the patterns of lexical items in magazines and newspapers, the present study restrict itself to news reports in daily newspapers so as to find out their patterns of ideological representations.

Taiwo (2007) takes issue with language, ideology and power relations in Nigerian Newspaper headlines. He situates the study within the framework of CDA and observes the peculiarity in the vocabulary and rhetorical devices in the selected Newspaper headlines. The study is not a completely political discourse study because it includes headlines on religious discourse, health and education. The study observes that the headlines have
hidden ideological meanings and leanings which are polarized between the powerful people or groups whose interests are being served and those whose interests are being undermined. This review, though largely a quantitative classification of headlines along their themes and surface structures, is significant because it lays a foundation for the present study by demonstrating that headlines are not ideologically neutral. They are the most powerful persuasive and auto-promotional tool used to attract newspapers readers (Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996). Similar conclusion can be drawn from the study conducted by Mahfouz (2013).

The linguistic structures of two Egyptian newspapers, ‘Al-Gomhuria’ and ‘Al- Dostour’ in their framing of police news story were analyzed by Mahfouz (2013). He takes a comparative look at a totally state-controlled newspaper and an independent newspaper using CDA framework to explore the nature and scope of the newspapers’ ideologies. This attempt is borne out of an assumption that language can be used in constructing ideologies and the ideologies can exercise a great deal of power in shaping the reader’s interpretation. The study, therefore, examines the words of the headlines, the lead and the structure of the news stories to decipher ideological polarity between the newspapers.

The study observes that ‘Al-Gomhuria’, in its style and tone, follows the official line by showing solidarity with the police and downplays their
negative side while ‘Al-Dostour’ is biased against the police. The findings in this study are further evidences that news reporting is shaped by the ideologies of the owners which in turn usually have elements of bias against the other group. That is, news reporting is never neutral and ideology-free. That is why there is careful construction of news headlines, lead paragraphs and structures of news stories in order to reflect the ideological slant of the writer. The findings in this study could be predicted because it compares a government-financed newspaper and a privately-owned newspaper. The ideologies that the state-owned papers would portray may not be different from the state’s ideologies.

In the present study, we examine newspapers that are not owned by the government of Nigeria with the possibilities that those newspapers could be driven by different motives. The next review is a media representation of Nigeria’s Joint Military Task Force (JMTF) in the Niger Delta Crisis.

The role of the media in the manipulation of the people’s perception and the public opinion of the activities of the JMTF in the Niger Delta Crisis was examined by Chiluwa (2011). The study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis framework and identifies two recurrent themes in the newspapers analyzed: theme of war and violence, and kidnapping and abductions. He posits that the newspapers construct an environment that is devoid of law and order which necessitated the intervention of the troops. The study also
identifies the careful characterization of the actors and their actions wherein the JMTF is represented in positive light and the native insurgents are represented negatively. Agency attribution in the newspapers portrays the militants as the causal agents of the crisis and the JMTF as, usually, the victims that only respond to, or resist attacks from the native insurgents.

The study observes that through nominalization and passivisation, the agents are deleted thereby making some actions of the JMTF inexplicit. It concludes that the themes are meant to legitimize the deployment of the JMTF in the region and to subsequently justify the killings there. Thus, this review has scrutinized the role of media and consequently challenges the traditional assumptions that media discourse is objective. It may be evident from this study that media representation may not be objective because it often acts as the foundation on which people base their understanding, judgment and conceptualization of the world. A similar media representation studies was carried out by Lemmouh (2008).

Lemmouh explores a critical linguistic analysis of the representation of Muslims in The New York Times by examining the recurring lexical and syntactic features that project a stereotyped image of Muslims in the newspaper. With the combination of Critical Linguistics (CL) paradigm and Corpus Semantics (CS), his study observes a systematic construction and stereotyping of Muslims and he contends that using linguistic tools in
the examination of this representation is essential because media is substantively linguistic and discoursal in nature.

Therefore, the study examines the lexical items referring to or associated with Muslims, the distribution of Muslims and other participants occurring as subjects and agents in active and passive clauses and it also examines the type and distribution of actions occurring in transitive active and passive clauses with Muslims and other participants as actors. The study discovers 78% preponderance of non-neutral words used to refer to Muslims while the neutral words used to refer to Muslims are 22%. These lexical items include fundamentalist, militants, terrorists, etc. Also, the distribution of Muslims and other participants reveals that 58% of transitive active clauses present Muslims as subjects and 42% presents other participants as subjects. The implication of this is that Muslims are responsible and intentional actors of violence reported in the news reports. The study concludes that the findings signal a stereotyped representation of Muslims in the *New York Times*.

In conclusion, the findings of these studies help to further lay credence to the power of media in the representation of people and events in the society. Secondly, the reviews show that representations of people and event could only better be unveiled when critical scrutiny of media ‘products’ is done most especially in linguistics. The next section is the
observed shift in the foci of both political and media studies in recent times.

2.1.8 Studies on the Cognitive Shift in Political and Media Discourses

There has been an experience of cognitive turn in recent years in researches on political discourse (Li, 2013). The awareness is on the role that minds play in interacting with the world. Guillem (2009) contributes to this cognitive shift by proposing a socio-cognitive and discursive approach to argumentation in parliamentary debates. His research goes beyond the structural analysis of text and talk; it emphasizes the interplay amongst discourse, cognition and society in understanding the concepts of argumentation and metadiscourse. Also of importance in this shift are studies on metaphor because metaphor plays a crucial role in ideological construction of media and political discourses. Contributing to this dimension is Palmero’s (2008) study on mental representation of Atomic Energy.

Palmero examines the contribution of the mass media to the creation of the mental model of the Atomic Energy. The study focuses on the ideological effects of media discourse in creating the mental models of the Atomic event. The study adopts van Dijk (1998b) Sociocognitive theories in order to establish the ideological constructions of the news stories. It triangulates cognition, ideology and discourse to understand the complex networks that
operate within a mental model. The study also examines the metaphorical expressions in the news stories by adopting Lakoff and Johnson, (1980) Conceptual Metaphors so as to analyse how mental models operate and how they are created. He identifies some conceptual metaphors such as; the atomic energy is a monster, a cosmic object, or a sacred element.

In addition, Filmore (1987) Frame Semantics and Coulson (2004) Conceptual Blending are also operationalized in the study to prove that there are other ideological structures at the cognitive level that contribute to the configuration of mental models. The study observes that Lawrence’s representation of the atomic energy and atomic bomb, in his news stories, is something positive for the American society. Aljayrudy (2011) in his thesis also contributes to the cognitive shift by examining ideological representations in news reports.

Aljayrudy analyses the thematic structures in English and Arabic news reports with the aim of discovering their ideological representations. The study adopts the Hallidayian Theme and Rheme linguistic tool in order to identify the underlying ideologies in the representations of Syria in mainstream online news media. The conceptual framework in the study combines structural, ideological and linguistic approaches. The study assumes that news reports presentation in English and Arabic are different, and such differences may be linked to different social representations and
their peculiar underlying ideologies and the reader’s expectations of the contents of the news reports. Based on that, it analyses and compares the choices of Theme and Rheme, nominalization and lexical variations in the thematic structures of news reports and their implications and attribution of causality and responsibility. It concludes that, as a result of the recurrent preferences in the thematic structures of the selected corpus, the structural, ideological and linguistic approaches he developed as a model help to identify the underlying ideologies in the presentations of Syria in Arabic and English news reports.

In relation to the present study, all the reviewed studies are significant because, apart from being concerned with political and media discourses, they demonstrate how language can potentially be used for charting different ideological courses and power play. However, the present study differs because it looks at the structures of the newspaper representations, structures of the imbued ideologies and their implications. The next section looks at studies in media and political discourses that use the Speech Act Theory.

2.1.9 Studies on Speech Act Theory

Akinwotu (2013) is a study that examines the crucial role that language plays in the communication and interpretation of speaker’s intentions by looking at the acceptance of nomination speeches of two prominent Yoruba
Presidential aspirants in 1983 and 1993. The study is anchored on Austin’s and Searle’s Speech Act Theory. This is based on the assumption that acceptance speeches perform certain illocutionary acts functions, such as seeking further support from people through persuasive means. After classifying the speeches into different illocutionary acts they elicit, the findings reveal that assertives, expressives and commissives are mostly used. The assertives are used by the speakers to commit themselves to the task of leading the country by pontificating on the challenges observed in the way the country is being run, while expressives abound in the form of appreciating and congratulating their supporters for reposing their trusts in them and for being on a just course. Commissives are also used to dedicate themselves to the task ahead by promising and assuring their supporters of hope for a better future together.

The study also notes that acceptance speeches are also similar to inaugural speeches because they both, mostly, comprise of assertives, expressives and commissives while their difference lies in the fact that acceptance speeches are used to mobilize people in order to win their votes. The study uses Speech Acts theory and its illocutionary classifications at a micro level analysis which is different from the present study. The present study, however considers illocutionary acts at macro level. Nevertheless, the review contributes to the studies on political discourse in Nigeria while
showing how speeches can be categorized according to different illocutionary acts they elicit.

Agbedo (2008) is another instance of Speech Act analysis of political discourse in Nigeria but his study is on the felicity or infelicity of the speech acts performed by Bayo Onanuga and Yakubu Mohammed of The News and Newswatch magazines. They are both editors and professionals whose speech acts during the reception of the 2005 winner of Pulitzer for International Reporting, Dele Olojede are examined. The findings of the study reveal that their speech acts are infelicitous because the acts do not go in consonance with Austin’s felicity conditions of sincerity, preparatory, executive and fulfillment.

Therefore, their infelicitous acts have negative implication on Nigerian journalism considering their positions and the need to stem the tide of unethical practices of such journalism in the country. Though, this review is different from the present study because it concerns itself with confirmation of felicitous or infelicitous acts, it still clearly links the study to print media and its implication to journalism. The present study, in its scope, situates the Speech Act theory within a broader framework of CDA in order to account, at macro level, for macro speech acts in the news reports.
The reviews above have shown that there are various linguistic theories and tools that are important in political discourse but in recent time, CDA as a framework has come to be well adopted. The next section therefore, examines the theoretical framework of CDA as applicable to the present study.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This section focuses attention on the theoretical framework that helps to give guidance and methodology in terms of analysis to the present study. It also shows how the theories are integrated to form a holistic analytical approach in order to achieve the objectives set out in the study.

For the purpose of this study, the CDA framework is adopted. This approach is relevant because it can be operationalised in doing a critical analysis of political and media discourses so as to uncover hidden meanings. The theory could be used to uncover hidden meanings in language use and to analyse structures of ideology and power relations in news reports which the present study aims to achieve. Moreover, Bell and Garrett (1998) opine that CDA is the standard framework for analyzing media texts.

Similarly, many researchers working on media discourses have adopted CDA framework in their studies. For instance, van Dijk (1991) studies
news discourse and uses a Sociocognitive model of CDA to focus on the nature of the reproduction of racism by the press. Chouliaraki (2004, 2005) analyzes the television footage of the September 11th attacks and the Iraq war using the same framework. Therefore, the adoption of CDA in media discourse is no longer novel, and irrespective of the different dimensions and models of the above researchers, ‘the focus of their studies remains the same; studying the linguistic features of media texts’ (Macdonald, 2003).

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The critical study of language was motivated as a result of the underestimation of language as a tool in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power (Fairclough, 1989). The critical approach therefore, aims at increasing consciousness about how language can contribute to the domination of some group over others. These ideas are absent in mainstream linguistics because it (mainstream linguistics) is an asocial way of studying language therefore, it has nothing to say about relationships between language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1989).

For instance in Sociolinguistics, though, there is recognition for the social aspect of language, such as how social variables determine language use, little attention is given to language and power. Fairclough further notes that, from a critical perspective, pragmatics is individualistic because action is thought of as emanating from the individual. Pragmatics does not
specify the extent to which action/utterance is constrained by and derives its individual identity from social conventions. These are some of the reasons why Fairclough believes that mainstream linguistics is *asocial* and the need for a critical study of language. What then is the foundation of CDA?

The foundation of CDA can be traced to Critical Linguists’ idea of language as an integral part of social process (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, Trew, 1979). Critical linguists set up an argument for Critical Linguistics, based on the assumption that ‘there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structures and social structures. This possibly led the way for other scholars like Fairclough (1989) and van Dijk (1993) to also view language as a social practice and the need to reveal the dialectical relationship between language and society. Similarly, Strauss and Feiz, (2014) admit same opinion that, CDA is a broad, interdisciplinary methodological approach to language and society which centers on discourse as social practice. That is, discursive practices are social in nature and social practices are inherently built on and around discourse.

CDA is also a movement which accommodates different approaches within discourse analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). van Dijk (1993, p.131) states that CDA is ‘not a homogenous model, not a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse
analysis’. CDA as a movement has the following features as highlighted by Faiclough and Wodak (1997, p. 271).

1. Social practices are partly linguistic-discursive: It means that social and cultural reproduction and change take place partly through discursive practices in everyday life.

2. Discourse is constitutive and constituted: Discourse is seen as a form of social practice which constitutes the social world and it is being constituted as well by other social practices.

3. Language use should be empirically analysed within its social context: CDA should engage in concrete, linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interaction.

4. Discourse functions ideologically: It means that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups. It also looks at the role that discursive practices play in furthering the interests of particular social groups.

5. Critical research: It is an approach that is politically committed to social change by uncovering the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of unequal power relations and ultimately geared the efforts towards social change.

The above features of CDA as a movement, presuppose that there are many proponents and practitioners within discourse analysis and other
disciplines, such as Psychology and Political Science, who are also engaging in and contributing immensely, through their researches to the development of CDA. In relation to the present study, election newspaper reports are regarded as social practices which could have ideological undertone and should therefore be studied critically.

Some of the main approaches that have greatly influenced the framework of CDA are the approaches from its main proponents. These approaches are Fairclough’s Dialectical-Relational Approach, Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach and van Dijk’s Sociocognitive Approach. The approaches are explained below starting from Dialectical-Relational Approach, Discourse-Historical Approach and Sociocognitive Approach respectively.

2.2.1.1 Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA) to CDA

Norman Fairclough is a sociolinguist who has contributed greatly to the theoretical and methodological framework of CDA. He draws insights from Michael Foucault, (on the constitutive nature of discourse and the primacy of intertextuality of discursive practice); Gramsci, (on the concept of hegemony for investigating political and ideological dimensions of discursive practice) and Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics which sees language as being shaped by social functions (Li, 2013). Fairclough names his approach the Critical Language Study in his work on Language
and Power (1989) which forms the basis of his critical approach to language study.

His approach is a textually-oriented and socialised form of discourse analysis which tries to unite three traditions. The traditions are detailed textual analysis, (in syntax, semantics, morphology, phonology and other levels of linguistic study); macro analysis, (of social practice and how social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations which are often opaque to the people) and micro-sociological and interpretative tradition. His first aim of a critical approach to the study of language is to correct the negligence in relation to the significance of language in the creation, maintenance and changing of the social relations of power. This forms the theoretical nucleus of his approach (Fairclough, 1989). In the practical sense of his approach, Fairclough seeks to raise the awareness on how language can influence the dominance of one group over the others. In the present study, at textual level of discourse description, Fairclough’s (1992) ‘wording’ which is equivalent to Fowler’s (1991) ‘lexicalization’ is used to complement the analysis on structures of micro propositions, (See section 5.1). In 1995, Fairclough’s opinion about CDA is captured as follows:
By ‘critical’ discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p.132 - 133)

Figure 1: Fairclough’s three dimensional model for CDA

Text (newspaper reports); discursive practice (production, interpretation and consumption of news reports) and social practice (relation of ideology and power) operate dialectically within every discursive event. In Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics view of language, texts are ‘the configurations of a representation and signification of world experience, constitutive of social identities and interpersonal relations’ (Li, 2013, p.
It is, therefore, at the micro level of description of linguistic forms that textual analysis lie.

The discursive practice is the intermediate level which serves as the link between text and social practice. It focuses on the text production, interpretation and consumption. The analysis at this level combines, both ‘micro and macro analysis’, i.e. textual and the description of the relevant broader discursive context in which the text is situated; the ‘orders of discourse’ (Fairclough, 1992, p.85).

The social practice relates discourse to ideology and power which are embedded into discursive practices. The primary task of CDA is therefore to uncover the hidden ideologies at the textual and discursive practice levels.

2.2.1.2 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA

The establishment of Discourse-Historical Approach in the study of CDA is credited to Ruth Wodak and her colleagues, and students in Vienna University. The approach is interdisciplinary and problem oriented. As a sociolinguist, she was influenced by the works of Jurgen Habermas, Basil Berstein and Aaron Cicourel in their Critical Theory (Kendall, 2007). Engel and Wodak, as quoted in Strauss and Feiz, (2014) opine that DHA rests on the systematic integration of historical background information and
prior related discourse as necessary and essential to the interpretation of specific current texts. What is largely reported as her contribution to Discourse Analysis is the focus on ‘interdisciplinary and implementing interdisciplinarity’. Wodak notes that being critical is making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. She considers discourse as a complex set of synchronic and coherent linguistic acts that emanate in genre and text. Text is therefore, the production of linguistic acts while context is understood as mainly historical.

2.2.1.3 Sociocognitive Approach (SCA) to CDA

The fundamental issue in Fairclough’s model of CDA is that the notion of context is viewed traditionally (van Dijk, 2006b). That is, there is an assumption of a more or less direct relationship between socio-political elements and the structures of discourse. van Dijk remarks however, that socio-political constraints do not directly influence discourse because they share no connection. That is, social or power groups and discourse structures have different natures. He further argues for an interface to accommodate the contextual elements so that social resources and discourse could be connected. The interface that van Dijk alludes to is a cognitively defined notion of context. It was this argument that led to a Sociocognitive approach to CDA.
Sociocognitive Approach to CDA can thus be credited to Teun van Dijk. He opines that CDA should be performed based on a sound theory of context and that if contexts control discourse at all, it is only possible when they are conceived as cognitive structures of some kind (van Dijk, 2006b, Wodak, & Meyer, 2001). A similar opinion is held by Chilton, (2005) (as cited in Li, 2013) that CDA should attend to the cognitive dimension of discourse in social and political contexts. This is because cognition is seen as the lost segment of many Critical Linguistics studies.

Therefore, mental models and context models are the major tenets of sociocognitive model of CDA. It means that, for discourse to be produced and comprehended, mental model is crucial. Discourse production and comprehension involve the formation, activation or actualization of a mental model which is long-stored personal experience (Li, 2013). Mental model is therefore a subjective representation of the events that make up the discourse. It includes personal knowledge, beliefs and opinions of the writers which may be controlled by ideologies. Context is the participant’s subjective definition of the situation i.e. what is relevant to the social situation by the participants (Van Dijk, 2009). Context models therefore, are the ‘participants’ mental models of communicative situations’ (Van Dijk, 2006b, p.170). Contexts manage the mental models of any event regarding the knowledge to be considered relevant for the immediate communicative situation (Li, 2013).
This model (SCA) is adopted in the present study because it can relate discursive structures to social structures through the cognitively defined notion of context. Similarly, the model becomes handy when examining the discursive structures of ideology. The model provides the linkage of how ideology is acquired, i.e. the collective frames or sociocognition of the society.

CDA does have critiques, some of which are examined below.

2.3 Critiques of CDA

The framework of CDA has had many criticisms from scholars working within the ‘critical’ paradigm and other critics right from its inception (Breeze, 2011). Some of the criticisms are related to the very essence and philosophical foundations of CDA. Widdowson (2007) criticizes that CDA analysts are ideologically biased; their beliefs lead them to read meaning into texts, rather than reading meaning out of texts. He also alleges that CDA analysts select only texts which will confirm their beliefs. This is true as Haig, (2004) also observes that very few studies explicitly display or explain how their data were gathered. He suggests that there is need to establish the representativeness of samples through statistical survey or other methods. CDA also pays relatively little detailed description of formal textual features of language but have a committed connection of texts to the widest possible social contexts through social theory.
In this study, the criticisms above have been attended to as much as possible in terms of sampling techniques for the data (cf. 3.4), the methodology for data analysis and the study also accounts for the formal structures of media representation and ideology in the data.

The next section explains the Speech Act Theory. The theory is used in chapter 4 to identify and analyse the macro speech acts in the news reports.

2.4 The Speech Act Theory

According to Yule (1996, p.3) pragmatics is the ‘study of meaning as communicated by a speaker and interpreted by a listener’. That is, meaning is a negotiated enterprise between the speaker and the hearer. The philosopher, J.L. Austin has been greatly credited with what has come to be referred to as pragmatics due to some factors. On one hand, the timely appearance of his most influential papers, *How to do things with words*, which was published posthumously in 1962 at a time when the limitations of *Truth Conditional Semantics* were frustrating. On the other hand, his writing is clear and accessible; his argument represents a consistent line of thought and his work foreshadows many of the issues in pragmatics today (Thomas, 1995). Austin is the first philosopher to investigate the ability of words to perform actions. He is of the opinion that language is not only to make statements about the world but also about performing actions which
can affect or change the world in a way. He believes that three actions are performed when an utterance is made by a language user.

The actions are locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. The locutionary acts are the actions of encoding a message into words, that is, an act of producing meaningful utterances. To Osisanwo (2003, p. 58), locution ‘is the act of saying, producing meaningful sounds, words with certain reference’. Illocutionary acts are the speaker’s intentions or the ‘communicative force’ behind every utterance. The force or the intention of any utterance could be to inform, threaten, commend, promise, etc. The perlocutionary acts are the effects the utterances have on the listeners or readers. These three acts are what constitute the Speech Act Theory. According to Searle, (1969) the locutionary act is the actual utterance and its exterior meaning, the illocutionary act is the real intended meaning of the utterance; its semantic force, while the perlocutionary act is the practical effect of the utterance, such as scaring, persuading and encouraging. Locutionary acts include phonetic acts, phatic acts, and rhetoric acts. Phonetic act is the act of pronouncing sounds, phatic act involves uttering words or sentences in accordance with the phonological and syntactic rules of the language to which they belong, and rhetoric act is an act of uttering a sentence with sense and more or less definite reference.

f) My dogs are not friendly.
The locutionary act is the act of making the above meaningful statement, that is, the actual words uttered. The illocutionary act is the force or intention of the speaker which could be a *warning* to trespassers or the speaker may be *scaring/threatening* a friend that he is not welcome in her residence. The perlocutionary effect is when the listener is able to keep off from the speaker’s residence.

In further development of the theory, Linguists and Philosophers have tried to classify and present a detailed framework of the Speech Act Theory. The linguists and philosophers include Searle (1976), Traugott and Pratt (1980), Bach and Harnish (1979), and Verschueren (1985). Traugott and Pratt (1980) propose six main categorizations of the Speech Act Theory, building on the earlier work of Searle, (1976). The categories are representatives, expressives, verdictives, directives, commissives and declarations.

a) Representative acts seek to represent a state of affairs.

b) Directives and Verdictives are attempts by a speaker to get the hearer to do something. They however, differ because Directives influences the actions and behaviour of an audience while Verdictives seeks evaluation, judgment and assessment of a situation.

c) Expressives acts are used to express the psychological and emotional states of a writer, or speaker, such as liking or disliking.
d) Commisives involves a commitment on the part of a speaker to some course of action, such as promising.

e) Declarations involve bringing into existence the state described in the proposition or performing an action, such as blessing or baptizing.

Austin recorded five classifications which are: verdictives, exercitives, commisives, behavitives and expositives.

a) Verdictives involve the exercise of judgment or delivering a finding; official or unofficial.
b) Exercitives deal with exerting influence or exercising power.
c) Behavitives involve attitudinal reaction or to express feelings, such as congratulating or cursing.
d) Commisives is being committed to a particular action e.g promising.
e) Expositives assert or expound views, clarify reasons or arguments.

All the various classifications are customarily related to sentences/utterances at micro level of discourse. However, it is equally possible to relate the above classifications to a whole discourse at global pragmatic level where macro propositions which describe the meanings of a whole paragraph can be assigned a macro speech act. For instance, we may perform macro speech acts of promising, warning, stating, congratulating or accusing using a whole discourse (van Dijk, 1977). This
is typical in conventional or institutional cases, such as laws, contracts, advertisements, indictments, etc. Moreover, one question that remains pertinent is that, under what conditions may sequences of speech acts be assigned to one macro speech act? These conditions, as van Dijk, (1986) postulates are information reduction strategies. In the strategies, irrelevant or predictable information are deleted and several units of propositions are combined into a higher level of macrostructures.

In Nigeria, several studies have adopted the Speech Act Theory in political discourse analysis, such as Waya and Nneji (2013); Akinwotu (2013); Josiah and Johnson (2012); Agbedo (2008); to mention a few. However, none of these studies has operationalised the macro speech act in a larger context or a whole discourse at global pragmatic level; a gap which this study tries to fill. This is necessary to uncover the macro speech acts that characterized the Nigerian presidential election news reports. The Speech Act Theory would enhance the working out of the macrostructures in each paragraph of the data in order to arrive at the different macro speech acts that characterized the newspaper reports (See section 4.1 for details).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study is adapted from van Dijk’s (2009) Sociocognitive approach to CDA. This approach examines the relations between cognition, discursive interactions and society. In the present study,
analyzing the ideological propositions in the news report requires a theory of ideology which could be accounted for at the cognitive phase of the sociocognitive model of CDA. This model also helps to integrate the Speech Act Theory in order to account for the macro speech acts in the news reports. The diagram below shows the conceptual framework for this study.

**Figure 2:A Sociocognitive Framework for Newspaper Discourse**
In the conceptual framework above, the diagram shows a theory of ideology and media formulated within a broader framework of CDA. It shows the interconnectedness of society, cognition and discourse as important elements in ideological analysis. This framework is on the assumption that discourse structures do not have a direct connection with social practices, hence, the need for an interface which can link them. This interface is the cognition which is in form of mental representations. The representations are socially shared and usually presupposed in discourses. Ideology is one of the mental representations just like beliefs, attitudes and knowledge which are located within cognition in the sociocognitive model. In the diagram, ideology is located outside cognition purposely because it’s the main target of the analysis, and all the arrows indicate that ideology in the study is inclined from all levels; social, discursive and cognitive. This framework is helpful in analyzing the ideological propositions in the news reports. It is also helpful in identifying the structures of the micro propositions which are the formal part of the textual account in the newspaper reports. The integration of Speech Act Theory is also important because it helps to account for the macro speech acts.

The example below sheds light on how mental models as cognitive interface come to play in discourse interpretation and comprehension.
g) ECOWAS Observation Mission, yesterday, in Abuja, said the Presidential election met the criteria of fairness and transparency and commended INEC for its leadership and professionalism.

First, this is an opinion of ECOWAS Observation Mission and the proposition is that the presidential election was fair and transparent. The context of the above is a presidential election reports and readers must have had different mental models of the events that unfolded from their own subjective interpretations. In the same vein, a reader who knows who is or what ECOWAS represents can activate a more detailed context of the discourse by considering the ideological background of the body and their goals. This will make the proposition contestable, depending on the subjective mental representation of the individual concerning the presidential election. If ECOWAS claims that the exercise is peaceful, does it mean the exercise was devoid of irregularities as ECOWAS Observation Mission is purportedly claiming? What ECOWAS does is a careful attempt to naturalize the activity as generally acceptable; however, this is not ideologically free. The claim is also emotionally anchored on the feeling of transparency and fairness which are attributes of positive presentation as against violent election which creates a feeling of fear and malpractices.

Similarly, the Commission (ECOWAS) performed another act; commending the leadership and professionalism of INEC which is another
attempt to represent the activity in a positive light. In actual fact, the proposition that the presidential election meets the criteria of fairness and transparency may be regarded as an auxiliary condition for the act of congratulating INEC. Hence, if those criteria are not there, INEC would not have been commended. Therefore, the whole discourse can be subsumed under a macro speech act of behavitives (act of commending the INEC) which is achieved through verdictive (assessment or judgment of the electoral process as transparent and fair). That is why in the conceptual framework, the study integrates the Speech Act Theory into the model.

The next example further shows how different sentences in a paragraph could be subsumed in order to arrive at macro propositions.

h) President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has won the last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest rivals, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). Jonathan also scored the highest number of votes in 24 states and polled over 25 per cent of the vote in over 26 states, including the Federal Capital Territory. With this, he has satisfied the constitutional provision of having the majority of the votes cast, as well as having 25 per cent of the votes in a two-thirds (24) of the nation’s (36) states. (Nigerian Tribune, Monday, April 18, 2011)

The propositions in the paragraph are:

1. Jonathan has won the last Saturday’s election.

2. He defeats his closest rivals Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)
3. He scores the highest number of votes in twenty four (24) states’
4. He satisfies the constitutional provision of having the majority of the votes cast’

The above propositions can all be subsumed under one macro proposition or a topic, such as ‘President Goodluck Jonathan has won the presidential election’. This is made possible through deletion of proposition 2 because it is an auxiliary proposition. Election involves more than one person except when the candidate is unopposed. In this case, there are other contestants who lost in the context, so stating those who are defeated may not be necessary. Similarly, generalization and construction take place in propositions 3 and 4 because they are necessary conditions for winning an election. Therefore, the above sequences could be subsumed under a global proposition.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the review of related literature and the theoretical framework for this study. The literature review has helped to indicate or enhance the relevance of this study amidst studies on media and political discourses.

The next chapter describes the methodological details which the study uses in gathering and analyzing its data.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the methodological details appropriate for this study. It highlights the research design, site of the study, target population, sampling techniques and sample size, data collection procedures, data analysis and presentation and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design

The study is a descriptive research. It adopts, mainly, qualitative data description and where necessary, quantitative measures are incorporated for statistical quantification of the linguistic features that are observed in the data. This synergy is important because, apart from the fact that qualitative and quantitative data descriptions are best seen as complementary approaches, (Jick, 1984; Mackey and Gass, 2005), they also enhance maximal reliability and objectivity (Aljayrudy, 2011). In this study, for instance, there is the need for quantification of some linguistic features, such as speech act category, presuppositions triggers, processes in the lead paragraphs, and voice projection percentages as to account for the type that is dominant in the news reports.
For qualitative method, McEnery and Wilson (1996) opine that it is the one aimed at a complete detailed description of the observable linguistic features in data. That is, qualitative method studies linguistic phenomenon in depth as against quantification or measurement which is the practice in quantitative method. This is a similar opinion held by Mackey and Gass (2005) that qualitative research usually involves, among other characteristics, rich description (involving careful and detailed description) natural and holistic representation (studying a phenomenon in its natural setting without controlling it) and fewer participants or data.

In this study, qualitative method was used in describing the lexical features, implicature and presupposition which are the focus of research objective two. Therefore, the descriptive design is helpful in the following ways:

1. To identify and interpret the speech acts categories
2. To investigate the structures of the micro propositions
3. To identify and describe the ideologies
4. To examine the power relations in the news reports

In addition, this method is not only used to describe the news reports but can also be used for ‘creating understanding, for subjective interpretation and for critical analysis as well’ (McNabb, 2009). The justification for the selected research design lies in the nature of the newspaper discourse. It is
natural; that is, the data was collected from a concrete instance of language use which has already been documented and cannot be influenced in any way.

3.2 Site of the Study

This study was carried out in Nigeria. The country is divided into six geopolitical zones. The national daily newspapers used for the study were selected from the most populated states across the six geo-political zones (Lagos, Rivers, Anambra, Benue, Bauchi and Kano). This is shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: The most populated city in each of the six Nigeria’s Geopolitical Zones (NPC, 2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geopolitical zones</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>4.6 Million people</td>
<td>3.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>9.3 Million people</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>4.2 Million people</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>9.0 Million people</td>
<td>6.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>5.1 Million people</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>4.1 Million people</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The geographical locations of the cities are shown in the map below.
3.3 Target Population

The study examined only the national daily newspapers. It is important to state that there is no up-to-date statistics, to the best of our knowledge, which states the actual number of registered newspapers in Nigeria and the criteria for being called national dailies. However, the Nigerian Press Council came up with 46 daily newspapers in their 125 pages inventory of newspapers and magazines published in Nigeria. All daily newspapers
attribute relevance to themselves by claiming that they are national. Therefore, this study posits that national dailies are the newspapers that discuss national issues and they are widely circulated in the most populated cities in Nigeria and can also be found in the repositories of the national libraries. These newspapers, as we found out, are *Punch, Nigerian Tribune, The Guardian, New Nigerian, Daily Trust and This Day*. The newspaper reports were the ones published on 17th and 18th April 2011, after the presidential elections. The two days that were chosen were the days that many of the daily newspapers in the country published their reports and unofficial results of the presidential elections.

### 3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

Sampling techniques are definite strategies for obtaining a sample from a given population. The techniques have been categorized into two broad typologies: probability and non-probability sampling (Aber, 2001). Each of the categories has sub-divisions, such as simple random, systematic, stratified and multi-stage (probability) while non-probability includes convenience and purposive samplings. For this study, a multistage sampling technique was adopted. This is because it involves different stages owing to the large number of daily newspapers in Nigeria. Also, each paper has several news articles and there is therefore the need to narrow down our selection to the needed news articles. As a result, the
initial stage had to do with random sampling of two national daily newspapers from each of the most populated states in the zones; Lagos, Kano, Benue, Bauchi, Rivers and Anambra. The outcome gave us twelve national daily newspapers.

The second stage was to random sample one newspaper from each city. These newspapers were selected from the national dailies that were kept by the national libraries in each of the states selected for this study. The total numbers of the newspapers are six.

The last stage adopts a non-probability purposive random sampling whereby two (2) election news articles (the lead articles and one other news article) were selected from the newspapers. The total sample consists of (twelve) news reports selected from six (6) different newspapers in the country. The sampled news articles gave account of the voting processes, counting and the announcements of results by some electoral commissioners from some states of the federation. The selection is represented in table 2 below.
Table 2: The sampling procedures adopted in the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>Random sampling of two national daily newspapers from each of the most populated cities in the zones;</td>
<td>Punch, Nigerian Tribune, Guardian, New Nigeria, Daily Trust, Daily Triumph, Vanguard, This Day, The Nation, Trumpeta, The Truth, The Pointer</td>
<td>12 newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Selecting one newspaper each from each geopolitical zone</td>
<td>Nigerian Tribune, Punch, Guardian, New Nigeria, Daily Trust, This Day</td>
<td>6 newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Non-probability purposive random sampling of two election news reports</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 news articles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selected newspapers are: Punch, Nigerian Tribune, The Guardian, New Nigerian, Daily Trust and This Day.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures

In collecting the data for this study, a research authorization letter from Kenyatta University Graduate School was used to seek permission from the Nigerian Press Council to make use of the newspapers. Unfortunately, the selected newspapers editions could not be photocopied directly because they have been fastened together monthly, hence the need to visit the National Libraries in the chosen states for the collection of the newspapers. The reference librarians helped to locate the newspapers from their archives and photocopy the editions needed since the papers could not be
taken out from the libraries. The newspapers were six in number and they were previous publications. The articles were scanned and affixed as appendixes at the back of this study.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedures and Presentation

The first attempt towards the analysis was to read all the selected articles several times so as to be familiar with their contents. After several readings, the articles were numbered as samples from 1-12. Then the content in each article was numbered paragraph by paragraph so as to identify the macro proposition in each paragraph. This method helped to reduce the propositions in each paragraph. The macro propositions were reduced using the information reduction strategies ‘macrorules’ (van Dijk, 1988). Secondly, the global meanings; topics/headlines which embody the most important information of the articles were categorized into Performatives and Constatives to know which is dominant and also to quantify the result statistically. This stage of the analysis represents the macro phase of the analysis and it attends to the first research objective. The objective discovers a preponderance of verdictive acts in the news reports.

At the second phase of the analysis is the microstructure level. This level investigates the structures of the micro propositions in order to establish the nature of the newspaper representation of the election. Therefore,
lexicalization, transitivity, implicature, presupposition, and social actor representation were examined by underlying the verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives that were used in the articles. Then the lexical items were examined considering their connotative tendencies in addition to their denotative meanings and how they frame the news story in direct or indirect ways. This helped reveal the form of representations and how the pragmatic features are implemented and sustained in the news reports.

Similarly, all the headlines and lead paragraphs were subjected to transitivity analysis in order to identify the process that is most dominant. This was later presented in bar chart. As for the representation of the major social actors in the articles, the study strictly follows the category identified by Leeuwen (2008) (See section 5.3). After social actor representation, the study examined implicatures and presuppositions and the result of the findings were presented in bar chart.

At the cognition level, the study examines the different discursive structures of ideologies in the newspaper reports using van Dijk’s (2009) cognitive approach. The approach has cognitive, social and discursive levels. The cognitive level is the socially shared beliefs, i.e. social representations which examine the internal components and structures of ideologies and what they look like in discourse e.g. religious beliefs and political beliefs. The social level or macro-level examines the
social functions of ideologies such as power, control and hegemony. The discursive level or the micro-level examines the language use in terms of how ideologies are acquired, expressed and reproduced in discourse. The ideological schema and structural categories of ideology identified by van Dijk (2003) was used in this study. The propositions that fall under van Dijk’s classifications are then explained to further understand the underlying meanings or ideologies related to the news reports. This stage observes that the news reports were used to mainly sustain the dominance of the ruling party. For the data presentation, the study used tables, charts and discursive interpretations.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

A letter of permission was written to the Nigerian Press Council in order to seek their consent and approval. This was backed up by a Research Authorization letter from the Graduate School. A copy of the authorization letter from the NPC is attached to this report as appendix.

3.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has presented the details about the research methodology. The next chapter examines the data analysis starting with the macro speech acts in the news reports.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE MACRO SPEECH ACTS IN THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter fulfills the first research objective which is: to identify and analyse the macro speech acts that characterized the newspaper reports of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election. The chapter adopts van Dijk’s (1988) categories of macro-rules of information reduction strategies which are ‘deletion, generalization and construction’ in working out the macro propositions. Secondly, the chapter uses Austin (1962) and Searle (1976) speech acts classifications to identify the macro speech acts in the news reports.

Finally, the chapter discusses the different perspectives the macro speech acts advanced in the minds of the readers and the actions they are capable of inviting. The analysis in this chapter projects from macro level because the objective is about macro speech act. Even though the two methods of doing discourse analysis usually project from micro to macro levels, there is no rule that negates its reversal in any analysis and that is why the analysis in this chapter is from macro analysis perspective.

Having introduced the chapter, we begin with brief explanations on macro speech acts.
4.1 Macro Speech Acts

Macro speech acts are sequences of propositions that could be mapped onto one macroproposition through the use of macro-rules, such as ‘deletion, generalization and construction’ (Van Dijk 1988). In our analysis, the study did not look at the propositions in each sentence because of the bulk of the data (208 paragraphs). Instead, the study examined the macro propositions in each paragraph. The study, thereafter, looked at the classifications of the speech acts in each paragraph based on their contribution to the realization of the different macro speech acts in the news reports. We also deem it necessary to clarify the distinction between macro proposition and macro speech acts. While macro proposition in each paragraph represents the global message or theme in the paragraph, macro speech acts represent the global action or speech acts performed in the paragraph.

However, arriving at a macro speech act in each paragraph may not be possible without what I call ‘minor’ functional acts such as ‘preparatory speech acts, component speech acts, auxiliary speech acts and consequence speech acts’ (van Dijk, 1977). The categories could help relate act sequence/sentence to one another in the form of coherence. The ‘minor’ functional acts were used to arrive at the macro speech acts in the articles.

a. Preparatory speech acts are speech acts which are geared towards establishing the main act.
b. Component speech acts are necessary parts of the compound or complex actions.

c. Auxiliary speech act is an act which the result is intended as a sufficient condition for the successfulness of a main act.

d. Consequence speech acts are acts which spell out the outcome of a particular action.

It must be noted that there is no clear-cut demarcation among all these acts but the contexts of use and actions they refer to define or determine their classifications. Having explained what macro speech acts are, there is a need to show how the categories of macro-rules mentioned above were applied to the data under analysis.

Firstly, the data was numbered paragraph by paragraph in order to find out the macro proposition or topic in each paragraph. (This was done in form of summary by finding out how the sentences are related to the topic sentence using van Dijk’s (1988) macro rules of information reduction and construction). Secondly, the macro propositions were categorized into Austin (1962) and Searle, (1969) classifications of speech acts. Thereafter, similar macro propositions were generalized, reconstructed or deleted depending on whether the macro proposition is an auxiliary, preparatory, condition, component or consequence actions. Based on the categorizations of the propositions, the speech acts that could subsume other acts
performed in each paragraph were identified as the macro speech acts. Finally, some explanations were given on the macro speech acts that characterized the data. The macro speech acts were also interpreted along their ideological imports.

Apart from the steps highlighted above, there is also the need to show, by way of tabulation, the specific news reports that are used for the analysis in this section. This will help connect the analysis to the source of the data and for easy reference.

Table 3
The headlines in the news articles, the names of the newspapers and the dates of publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hail to the Chief Jonathan!</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour rates election high, lauds voters</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan, Buhari in tight race</td>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>April, 17, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others</td>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan floors Buhari, Ribadu</td>
<td>Nigerian Tribune</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend in Nigeria politics, a wind of Change</td>
<td>Nigerian Tribune</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan sweeps presidential poll</td>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>April, 17, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Poll: massive turnout, generally peaceful</td>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan sweeps South-West</td>
<td>Vanguard</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie laud peaceful election</td>
<td>Vanguard</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan wins the big prize</td>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>April, 17, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence, Fraud mar Presidential poll</td>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>April, 18, 2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Data Analysis of the Macro Propositions in the Samples according to their Paragraphs

Specific attention was paid to how sentences that make up each paragraph relate to the topic sentence of the paragraph before generalizations were made on the macro propositions. That is, for sentences to be connected, the facts they denote must also be related. Also, our intuition (implicit or explicit knowledge) also becomes helpful in order to arrive at macro propositions. For van Dijk (1986, p. 239), the macro-operations for semantic information reduction are possible by:

- deleting irrelevant or predictable information and combine several units into a higher level, more general unit. For speech acts as well as for actions in general, this would mean that preparatory and auxiliary speech acts may be deleted, as well as those component speech acts which, taken together, define the essential component of the resulting global speech act. Similarly, expressions of mental states and contexts descriptions may be deleted, although they may determine the acceptability (politeness, credibility, etc) of the speech act. Finally, those speech acts establishing, maintaining and concluding the sequence, i.e., the communicative interaction in general, may also be dropped in macro-interpretation.
In sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.12, we tried to contextualize what the samples are all about at the beginning of each sub-section.

4.2.1 Hail to the Chief Jonathan! (Sample 1, appendix 1)

The above was the headline in the lead article of THE GUARDIAN Newspaper of Monday, April 18, 2011, Vol. 28, No.11, 800 pages 1-2. It was published a day after the 2011 Presidential elections in Nigeria. The article traces the historical trajectory of Nigerian Presidents and Heads of States from the First Republic to the Fourth Republic which produced President Goodluck Jonathan. The article compares the conduct of the 2011 Presidential election with the previous elections and affirms that it is generally adjudged the most peaceful, most transparent, and well organised. It also declares that President Jonathan won by securing 25% of the total votes cast or more in over 24 states.

The tables below present the samples, the summarized macro propositions, the paragraphs covered and the micro speech acts in the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Sample 1.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hail to the chief Jonathan!</td>
<td>The tune ‘Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances’ rings true for Goodluck Jonathan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The election is historic because it produces Goodluck Jonathan as the Fourth Executive President in the Fourth Republic.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Late President Nnamdi Azikiwe was a ceremonial President in the First Republic.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An historical account of the previous Republic from the former President Shehu Shagari</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The election is unique because it is **adjudged** the most peaceful.

It was keenly **contested** by two main contenders.

The results already released **narrowed** the race to General Buhari and President Jonathan.

**Jonathan scores** more than 25 per cent in more than 24 states.

Jonathan **maintains** a comfortable lead by winning in all the states in the South except Osun while Buhari wins especially in the North-West and North-East.

**Jonathan wins** in many states.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to the late President Musa Yar’adua.</th>
<th>5</th>
<th><strong>Verdictives</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The election is unique because it is <strong>adjudged</strong> the most peaceful.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was keenly <strong>contested</strong> by two main contenders.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The results already released <strong>narrowed</strong> the race to General Buhari and President Jonathan.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan scores</strong> more than 25 per cent in more than 24 states.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan <strong>maintains</strong> a comfortable lead by winning in all the states in the South except Osun while Buhari wins especially in the North-West and North-East.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>Declaratives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan wins</strong> in many states.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first paragraph in this article is an allusion to the tune played to herald the appearance of the United States President in ceremonial occasion and this paragraph serves as a ‘preparatory proposition’ to the second paragraph which indirectly pronounces President Goodluck Jonathan as the ‘Chief chosen for the nation and one who in triumph advances’. This allusion is an *assertive act* because it compares or finds a connection between the state of affairs in the United States with that song and President Jonathan. Ultimately, the assertive act is ‘preparatory’ in terms of
its relation to the next paragraph which declares (declarative act) the election historic by producing President Goodluck Jonathan. In paragraphs three and four, the historical account of the previous Republics that preceded the Fourth Republic was narrated. The propositions in these paragraphs are ‘auxiliary’. This is because they are predictable sequences which are intended as a sufficient condition for the successfulness of a main act and can therefore, be deleted or subsumed as part of elucidations for paragraph two. This presupposes that, for Goodluck Jonathan to be referred to as the 4th Executive President in paragraph two, there were former Executive Presidents before him in the previous Republic.

Paragraph five is a verdictive act because it evaluates the election as generally the most peaceful, most transparent and well-organised. The next two paragraphs, (six and seven) serve as explanatory propositions which give reasons why the election is unique. This paragraph can, therefore, be included in the proposition in paragraph five. Paragraphs eight and nine are component propositions of paragraph ten because the propositions define parts of the actions in the concept of winning an election according to Nigerian Constitution. That is, a winner must be able to secure 25% of the total votes cast in each of the states of the Federation. Therefore, paragraph ten is a ‘declarative act’ because it declares PDP as the winner in all the states in the South while Buhari won in the North. Thus, the paragraph is like giving a verdict, even when the results have not officially been
announced, that Jonathan is the winner because he meets the constitutional provision of polling 25% which he did in 24 states.

However, it should be noted that the speech acts classifications may not necessarily correlate with the performative verbs (if any) in the macro propositions but they can be inferred based on the message or content of the proposition. In all the macro propositions, we may not have a one-to-one verb correspondence with the speech act performed. This has been argued by many researchers who criticize Austin’s practice of making speech acts dependent on verbs. For instance, Searle (1975, p.28) criticizes Austin by claiming that ‘differences in illocutionary verbs are a good guide, but they are no means a sure guide to differences in illocutionary acts’ and Leech (1983, p.176) also believes that Austin is wrong by suggesting that ‘verbs in the English language correspond one-to-one with categories of speech acts’ and that is why he sees Austin’s classifications as ‘illocutionary-verb fallacy’. A similar stance is taken by Vanderveken (1990, p.167). He does not agree that performatives should be based on verbs with some reasons like: ‘many performative verbs do not name an illocutionary force… and ‘some performative verbs like ‘state’ and ‘assert’ which name the same illocutionary force are not synonymous. Their difference of meaning derives from conversation features which are independent from logical forms…’
In summary, the article has ‘preparatory proposition’ in the first paragraph and this can be generalized. The ‘auxiliary propositions’ in the article can be deleted thereby giving room for construction to happen in the other paragraphs. All these are information reduction strategies in the article. We can, therefore, argue that this article performs a macro speech act of ‘declaratives’ according to Searle’s (1969) classifications. However, this ‘declaration’ is not explicit because it is achieved through other acts such as ‘assertives and verdictives’. One other difference that can be observed is that the ‘declaration’ in the above news reports does not have the conditions that are supposedly to be met such as being sanctioned by an institution or a particular person under certain circumstances.

The next newsreport is taken from *THE GUARDIAN Newspaper of Monday, April 18, 2011, Vol. 28*.

**4.2.2. Labour Rates Election High, Lauds Voters (Sample 2, appendix 2)**

This article was published in THE GUARDIAN Newspaper of Monday, April 18, 2011, Vol. 28, No.11, 800, page 6 on the outcome of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential elections. The article is about how the Nigeria Labour Congress, (hence NLC) commends the Independent National Electoral Commission and the Nigerian masses over the conduct of the exercise. NLC was reported to have rated the election high and lauded the voters, the police and other security agencies. President Goodluck Jonathan was also commended for providing the enabling environment. NLC further opines that the elections are successful, most orderly, controversy-free, all inclusive and demonstrably fair and just since the colonial period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour rates election high</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeria Labour Congress <em>commends</em> INEC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Behavitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The elections <em>were successful</em> compared to past polls.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour <em>lauds</em> the orderly process of the elections and exemplary conduct of Nigerians.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NLC further <em>commends</em> the Nigerian people for their sacrifices towards ensuring the success of the election.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The voting populace clearly <em>demonstrated</em> their resolve and commitment to the election.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The election was the first controversy-free, all inclusive and demonstrably fair and just since the colonial period.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour attributed the success of the presidential election to Nigerians.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour <em>Commended</em> the INECs hard work, competence, impartiality and exemplary conduct, single-mindedness, forthrightness and commitment to democratic process displayed by INEC boss.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The congress <em>lauded</em> the security agencies.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The congress <em>commended</em> President Goodluck Jonathan.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first paragraph is a *behavitive* speech act because it performs a function of commendation by the Nigeria Labour Congress to the Independent National Electoral Commission regarding the conduct of the Presidential election. The second paragraph gives reason for the commendation which is based on the successful conduct of the exercise. Therefore, the proposition in the second paragraph is somehow entailed in the first paragraph because it is the basis for the speech act performed. That is, if the election was not successful, INEC would, probably, not have been commended.

In a similar vein, paragraphs three to seven are ‘component propositions’ because they are necessary actions which define the successfulness of a compound or complex action. In this case, the election is a compound action. The propositions are *expositives* because they explain the observed conditions in the exercise which warrant the commendation from NLC. Paragraph six is specifically *verdictives* because it pronounces the election as ‘orderly, Nigerian voters conducted themselves well, it was controversy-free, all inclusive and demonstrably fair and just’ and it was based on that the election was adjudged successful by the Nigeria Labour Congress. The eighth paragraph is also an act of commendation; therefore, it can be subsumed under the first speech act in the article. The implication of this is that, the proposition in paragraph eight can be deleted in accordance with information reduction strategies.
The last two paragraphs also perform acts of commendation; the security agencies and President Goodluck Jonathan were lauded by NLC. These propositions can also be deleted because they are also ‘component propositions’ of a successful election whereby the President, as the chief security officer of the nation, provides an enabling environment and, the needed security for the voters and the votes in order to protect their lives and properties.

In summary, the dominant macro speech act performed in the article is behavitive, specifically, performing the function of commendation which is in line with the headline of the article. It should be stated that this is achieved through other sequence of speech acts, such as ‘expositives and verdictives’ which respectively expound argument or basis for the commendation and give a verdict by judging the election as the first controversy-free compared to the previous ones.

The next sample is drawn from *The Punch Newspaper* of April 17, 2011.

### 4.2.3 Jonathan, Buhari in Tight Race (Sample 3, appendix 3)

Sample three is the lead article on page 2 of the SUNDAY PUNCH Newspaper of April, 17, 2011, Vol.17, No. 19,634. The article presents the two main contenders for the Presidency, President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). The report notes that Jonathan leads in the South-East, South-West and South-South while Buhari leads in many wards in the North-East, North-West and North-Central. The report indicates that CPC alleges foul play in the conduct of the election to favour President Goodluck Jonathan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Sample 3.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan, Buhari in tight race</td>
<td>Results indicate that Jonathan and Buhari are in a tight race.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan leads in the South-South, South-East and South-West while Buhari leads in the North.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari alleges foul play in the conduct of the election.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan promises to quit his position if he loses.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ribadu and Shekarau assured Nigerians that they would accept defeat if election was devoid of malpractices.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan and Buhari won in their respective wards.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan won in Lagos, Ogun, Rivers, Oyo, Plateau, Ekiti and Ondo states.</td>
<td>7,8,9,10</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PDP lost to CPC in Kaduna, Katsina, Abuja, Niger, Kano and Gombe.</td>
<td>11,12,13,14</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan promised to be exemplary.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan assures election would not cause mayhem.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He said politicians must learn how to respect the power of the ballot.</td>
<td>17,18</td>
<td>Directives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan was happy about the conduct of the election compared to the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections.</td>
<td>19,20</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The turnouts of voters showed their belief in the credibility and transparency of the process.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He describes the election as a new dawn and politicians should realize that power</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>belongs to the people.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>refused</strong> to interfere with the operations of INEC because of his insistence on transparency</td>
<td>23,24,30</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan <strong>prays</strong> against run-off and hopes that the winner emerges in the first ballot because it will reduce the tension and minimize cost in the country.</td>
<td>25,26,27,31</td>
<td><strong>Behavitives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power <strong>belongs</strong> to the people through ballot paper and not to the politicians.</td>
<td>28,29</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>promised</strong> to leave if he loses.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhari alleges malpractices in some states.</td>
<td>33,34,35</td>
<td><strong>Expressives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhari <strong>promised</strong> not to go to court to challenge the outcome of the election</td>
<td>36</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>said</strong> his party would rise to defend him if he was taken to court.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekarau <strong>promised</strong> to accept the outcome of the election if it was free, fair and credible.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>advised</strong> contenders to accept the outcome of the election.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td><strong>Directives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribadu <strong>said</strong> he would concede victory to any winner.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>said</strong> he would be the first to congratulate the winner.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election <strong>recorded</strong> large turnouts and foreign observers described it as an improvement on the National Assembly election.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td><strong>Expressives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democratic Institute <strong>said</strong> the election was orderly.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td><strong>Expressives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first paragraph is an *assertive* act declaring President Jonathan and Buhari as the two main contenders in the Presidential elections. This is further expounded in paragraph two which serves as a ‘component proposition’ of paragraph one by giving details about the areas where each of the main contenders is leading. In paragraphs 3, 32- 35, there are *expressive* and *commissive* acts where Buhari alleges foul play in the conduct of the elections but promised not to challenge the outcome of the exercise in court. For Jonathan, he also performs a *commissive* act in paragraphs 4, 15, 16, 23, 24 and 30 by promising to vacate position if he loses, and refusing to interfere with the electoral process so as to ensure transparency in the exercise. Similarly, Ribadu and Shekarau also performed a *commissive* act in paragraphs 5, 38, 40 and 41 by promising and assuring Nigerians that they would accept defeat if the exercise was devoid of malpractice.

Paragraphs seven, eight, nine and ten are *expositives* acts which confirm the victories of Goodluck Jonathan in the Southern parts of the country while paragraphs 11, 12, 13 and 14 are also *expositives*. They can all be regarded as ‘auxiliary propositions’ to paragraph one; hence they can be deleted since they further confirm the proposition in that paragraph by giving instances about the areas where the major contenders won. The *expositives* also give more details to substantiate the declarations in the second paragraph. Therefore, the speech acts in paragraphs 11-14 are sub-
components of paragraph two which discloses the areas where Buhari won. Paragraphs 15-18 are *commissives* and *directives* acts by the president respectively. He promises to be exemplary and assures Nigerians that the election would not cause mayhem while at the same time warning politicians not to render the ballot paper useless because ballot papers represent the decision and power of the people. These acts can be subsumed under paragraph four because they also reiterate the President’s commitment to vacate office in case he loses.

Paragraphs 19-22 represent *assertive* acts affirming the good conduct of the exercise and paragraph 25, 26, 27 and 31 are *behavitives* where the President prays against run-off and he gives reasons for that in paragraphs 26 and 27. If the principles of macro-rules are applied, through generalization, the three paragraphs; 26, 27 and 31 can be collapsed into paragraph 25. Paragraphs 28-29 further explain the proposition in paragraph 15 that he, the President would be exemplary by demonstrating to the people that power belongs to them through ballot papers.

In summary, the main message in the article is about the two main contenders in the election and how they performed in their various domains. As a result, we can deduce that the macro speech act which drives home the main proposition in the sample is *assertives* and this is achieved
through other acts, such as *commissives* and *expressives* as shown in the table above.

The next analysis is drawn from *THE PUNCH NEWSPAPER* and was published on April 18, 2011.

### 4.2.4 Hurricane Jonathan Knocks Out Buhari (Sample 4, appendix 4)

This is the lead story in the front page of THE PUNCH Newspaper of Monday April, 18 2011, Vol.17, No.20, 863, page 2 on the Nigerian 2011 Presidential elections. The article presents President Jonathan as having an unassailable lead in the elections owing to the results already released from some states of the Federation. The article also shows the performance of the main contenders in each state in terms of number of votes they polled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Sample 4.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hurricane Jonathan Knocks out Buhari</strong></td>
<td>Results released by INEC shows that President Jonathan is leading.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The results from 28 states indicate that he scores 19,133,721 votes while Buhari has 8,043,605.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuhu Ribadu of ACN has 2,304,037 while Ibrahim Shekarau of ANPP has 753,672 votes.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The winner must score 25% of the votes cast in 24 states as stipulated in the constitution.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Exercitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President Jonathan scored over 25% in 26 out of 28 states already declared.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The President is sure to win when other results are released from other states.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The British Broadcasting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporation already declared Goodluck Jonathan as the winner.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC <strong>claimed</strong> that the President has scored more than 25% of the votes cast.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><strong>Verdictives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results from Abuja showed that Buhari had 25% in 9 states and the FCT.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribadu <strong>won</strong> only in Osun state.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan <strong>led</strong> in Kogi state with 399,816 votes.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He <strong>won</strong> in Akwa Ibom states by polling 1,165,625 votes.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP <strong>led</strong> in Imo state with 1,381,357 votes.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP also <strong>won</strong> in Ekiti state with 51% of the votes cast.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same thing happened in Oyo state; PDP defeated other parties.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP <strong>won</strong> in Nasarawa, Lagos, Ebonyi, Kwara, Bayelsa, Benue, Sokoto</td>
<td>16,17,18, 19,20,22,26</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhari <strong>led</strong> in Kaduna, Katsina, Bauchi, and Kano</td>
<td>21, 23,24,25</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekarau who was the most promising candidate during debate was <strong>defeated</strong>.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The agents of the four major political parties were <strong>present</strong> at the collation centre.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first paragraph is an **assertive** speech act showing the state of affairs regarding the results released by INEC which shows President Jonathan leading in the elections. This act is followed by **expositives** in paragraphs 2
and 3 whereby ‘the results from 28 states indicate that Jonathan scores 19,133,721 votes while Buhari scores 8,043,605’. These paragraphs are supporting claims which serve as ‘component propositions’ to the results released by INEC because election is ‘a game of number’. They are component propositions because they give supporting details to the claim in paragraph one.

In paragraph 4, the proposition is a directive act stating the provision of the constitution which a winner must fulfill like scoring 25% of the votes cast in 24 states and the Federal Capital Territory. Paragraph 5 is a verdictive act because it declares that Jonathan has met the criterion by scoring over 25% from 26 states out of the 28 states declared by INEC. Similarly, paragraph 6 is an expositive act; it expounds the claims in the previous paragraph concerning the scores of President Jonathan in the election.

The next paragraph is a verdictive act because the proposition is a declaration by BBC that President Jonathan won the election based on the results released by INEC. In the contrary, Buhari had 25% in 9 states and the FCT; this is further expounded in paragraphs 21, 23, 24 and 25 while Ribadu won only in Osun state. Paragraphs 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26 are all expositive acts giving details about paragraph 2. We can thus assume that since all the propositions are
entailed in paragraph 2, they may as well be subsumed and generalized under the proposition in paragraph 2.

In summary, the macro speech act performed in the article is an *assertive* because the macro proposition which can represents or serves as the central message in the article is that ‘President Goodluck Jonathan is leading based on the results released by INEC’ and this proposition is in paragraph one. Other propositions and their speech acts sequence, such as *expositives*, *declaratives* and *verdictives*, are targeted towards the realization of this macro speech act. That explains why there are many *expositive* acts as shown in the table above. The *expositives* are used to explain several supporting claims and actions that help to validate the *assertive* act in the article.

The analysis that follows is drawn from *THIS DAY NEWSPAPER* of April 18, 2011.

### 4.2.5 Jonathan Cruises to Victory, Reaches Out to Opponents (Sample 5, Appendix 5)

This is the lead story in THIS DAY Newspaper of Monday, April 18, 2011, Vol.16, No.5838 pages 1 and 8. The story confirms President Goodluck Jonathan as the President-elect in the 2011 presidential poll going by the results announced the previous day by the Resident Electoral Commissioners in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. The story also has it that the President intends to extend olive branch to his opponents while the agents of CPC quarried the results of the election.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Sample 5.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan cruises to victory, Reaches out to opponents</strong></td>
<td>Jonathan is the President-elect going by the results already announced.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PDP polled 22,496,157 votes.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan polled 59.64% while Buhari scored 32.38%.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President Jonathan won in 23 states and scored 25% or more in 32 states and FCT.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He did not win in some states.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari won in 12 states.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari scored less than 25% in 24 states.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ribadu won in Osun, Shekarau did not win in any state.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan plans to reach out to his opponents.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He does not see the victory for himself but he considers the exercise as no victor, no vanquished.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC queries the election results from Abuja and Enugu.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC claimed discrepancy in the results.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC pointed out irregularities.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC agents were arrested at the collation center.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They were detained and released after the announcement.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PDP rejects the claim.</td>
<td>18,19</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PDP urges CPC to accept</td>
<td>20,21,22</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
defeat in good faith.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PDP says</th>
<th>Nigerians have voted for unity and prosperity and not on the basis of religion and ethnicity.</th>
<th>Expositives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>INEC chairman hinted that there are avenues for claims and objections concerning the election.</td>
<td>Directives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>PDP argues that CPC wants to discredit the election.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,26-34</td>
<td>PDP appealed to CPC to emulate the Presidential candidate of ANPP who sees the election as the wishes of the people.</td>
<td>Directives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In paragraph one, ‘President Goodluck Jonathan is the President-elect awaiting a formal confirmation by the INEC’ is a *verdictive* act even though it has not been officially substantiated. This claim is expounded in paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 through *expositive* acts which show how he performs in different states of the federation. The four paragraphs can be subsumed under the first proposition because they are only trying to supply further information to support the claim in the first paragraph. As *expositives*, in this context, they are ‘auxiliary propositions’ which may be reconstructed in line with information reduction strategies.

In paragraph six, attention is shifted to the main oppositions, Buhari, Ribadu and Shekarau. The speech act performed in the paragraph is a...
verdictive act which claims that Buhari won in 12 states. This disclosure is further corroborated by paragraphs 7 and 8 which state that Buhari won in 12 states, Ribadu won only in Osun state but Shekarau was unable to win in any state. Paragraph 9 is a commissive act with a promise that the President will seek support from his opponents. This is also explained in the next paragraph that he does not see any victor or vanquished in the contest. In paragraph 11, where the CPC queries the election results from some states is an expressive act and this doubt is supported in paragraphs 12, 15, 16 and 17 which are expositive acts. The CPC argues that some of their party agents were denied entry into the collation centers and some were detained and released only after the announcement of the results. All these propositions are ‘auxiliary propositions’ which can be included in the proposition in paragraph 11. The remaining paragraphs are expressive acts by the PDP and these were in form of rejection of claims, counter arguments and allegations. These are buttressed in paragraphs 13, 14, 25, 26, 28,-34; these acts are expositives which can be deleted. The last paragraph is an appeal, a directive act for the CPC to emulate the presidential candidate of ANPP, Shekarau.

In summary, the macro speech act is verdictive because what may be termed as the main message in the article is concerning Jonathan’s victory. The macro speech act was achieved mainly though expositives and commissives. The expositives and commissives in the article can
hierarchically be subsumed under *verdictives* because their function is to give credence to the claim that ‘Jonathan won the election’. This was achieved by providing some statistics in form of evidence on how the candidates performed in the election. Other propositions are also geared towards emphasizing this claim.

The next sample that is analysed below is drawn from *THE NIGERIAN TRIBUNE* of April 18, 2011.

### 4.2.6 Jonathan Floors Buhari, Ribadu (Sample 6, Appendix 6)

This is the lead caption of NIGERIAN TRIBUNE No.15182 of Monday April, 18, 2011. The article is a post election news report of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential elections. It explains that the incumbent president has won the election and that the opposition party, CPC claims that the election was characterized by malpractices. The story also explains how President Jonathan’s victory pays credence to late Obafemi Awolowo’s prediction in 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9: Sample 6.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan floors Buhari, Ribadu</td>
<td>Jonathan won the presidential election by defeating Buhari, Ribadu and others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC claimed there were malpractices in the elections.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan polled 22,350,242; Buhari 11,914,953; Ribadu 2,049,347.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan scored the highest number of votes in 24 states thereby satisfying constitutional provision.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He led in all states in South-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South, South-East and five of the South-West states.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buhari led</strong> in the Northern Region of the country.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>Verdictives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His highest votes <strong>came</strong> from Kano.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribadu <strong>led</strong> in Osun while shekarau did not lead in any.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><strong>Verdictives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The election <strong>confirmed</strong> Awo’s prediction that one day, an Ijaw man would emerge as Nigeria’s president.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awolowo <strong>predicted</strong> in 1983 of an ethnic minority president</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>Commissives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awolowo campaigned for support from the South-South region.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awolowo <strong>predicted</strong> about an Ijaw man becoming President and a Berom, the Vice-President.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His prophecy <strong>shocked</strong> the then Military regime.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Military regime arrested and seized his travel passport for two years.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Jonathan was the man that Awolowo prophesied about.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Assertives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His election <strong>marked</strong> the first</td>
<td>16</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time an ethnic minority would be leading the nation through the ballot.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The farthest ethnic minority got was the Vice-Presidency.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiral Augustus Aikhomu <strong>became</strong> the Vice-President under General Ibrahim Babangida.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td><strong>Expositives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jonathan’s emergence as Late Yar’adua’s running mate in 2007 elections rekindles the hope of the ethnic minorities.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Tag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>His emergence placates the Niger Delta military group against the government.</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He won in the Middle Belt which is populated by Northern ethnic minority groups.</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He won in the South-South regions where ethnic minorities abound.</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC reacts to the results of the election by claiming malpractices.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC commended the voters for their commitment to the growth of democracy in the country.</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC praises Nigerians for showing enthusiasm in picking their leaders.</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC acknowledges obvious malpractices in the National Assembly elections.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The party believes that elections must be won at polling centres through people’s votes.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first proposition is a *verdictive act* which may represent the central message in the article because it informs that President Jonathan won the presidential elections by defeating other contestants and this is similar to the content of the headline. This proposition is further sustained in
paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 21 and 22. The propositions in these paragraphs are part of the conditions for elections victory; hence they can be reconstructed despite their different speech acts sequences (expositives and verdictives). These acts are executed purposely to make the main act or the macro speech act successful. Another macro speech act in the article is that Buhari led in the North but was defeated in other regions. This is expounded in paragraphs 2, 6, 7, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27. The propositions in these paragraphs are claims of malpractices, allegations of obvious irregularities and commendation of voters’ commitment. It can be concluded that these assertive and ‘expressive and verdictive acts are mapped onto commissive act of rejecting the results of the poll.

Another macrostructure in the article is that the election confirms Awo’s prophesy of an ethnic minority president. This macrostructure is explained through paragraphs 9-20. They provide the explanations needed to expound the claims of victory of Jonathan in the election. They are therefore, in a way, functionally related to the formation of a macro speech act of verdictive which is in paragraph one.

The next analysis is from THE NIGERIAN TRIBUNE of April 18, 2011.
4.2.7 Trend in Nigeria Politics, a Wind of Change (Sample 7, Appendix 7)

This article was published in the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE No.15182 of Monday April, 18, 2011, page 53. It explains the opinion of Chief Taye Ayorinde, the Baale of Ekotedo concerning the Presidential election. He describes the election as a wind of change and that President Jonathan is a God’s Gift to Nigeria owing to the credible, peaceful and orderly manner the election was conducted and the massive support that Jonathan receives from Nigerians.

Table 10: Sample 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trend in Nigeria politics, a wind of change</td>
<td>Chief Taye Ayorinde described the trend as a wind of change.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He said the election showed that everyone was in support of President Jonathan; he added that the National Assembly election was different.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He claimed that President Jonathan is a God’s gift to the nation and 1993 election was not as orderly as this.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is rare to find a presidential candidate like President Jonathan.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He said that President Jonathan meant well for Nigeria by choosing Professor Attahiru Jega as the chairman of INEC.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The election was credible and would promote Nigeria’s image.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first paragraph ‘the Baale of Ekotedo, Chief Taye Ayorinde described the election of President Goodluck Jonathan as a wind of change’ can loosely represent the main macrostructure in the article and all other sequence of sentences can be collapsed into this main proposition because they are like expositives. They give further details about Jonathan’s acceptance by Nigerians. For instance, he claims that Jonathan is a God’s gift to the Nation, it is rare to find a presidential candidate like him and that he meant well for Nigerians. Therefore, the macro speech act above is verdictive because the idea is to claim that the election was credible based on the fact that Nigerians supported him.

The next analysis on sample 8 is drawn from NEW NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER of April 17, 2011.

4.2.8 Jonathan Sweeps Presidential Poll (Sample 8, Appendix 8)

This is the lead story on the front page of NEW NIGERIAN Monday, April 18, 2011 No. 14,482. The article reports the commencement of the collation of results by the INEC Chairman, Professor Attahiru Jega and the procedures to be followed in the exercise. It also reports that the ruling party has won the presidential election.
The macro proposition in this article is that the ruling party candidate, President Goodluck Jonathan wins the election by a landslide. This macrostructure is a composition of other microstructures in the article. The speech acts in these microstructures are *excercitives* and *directives* and they are ‘preparatory conditions’ which expound the stages for the macro speech acts to be possible. For instance, *INEC chairman announces the commencement of the collation exercise in Abuja and he explains the procedures to be followed in the exercise*, are normal and ‘preparatory’ to the main speech act of announcing the winner. Hence, these preparatory actions can be deleted because they are intended to make the macro speech act successful. In paragraph 4, ‘Jonathan won in 22 states’ is a condition to the first paragraph and an *expositive* act because for a candidate to be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 11:</strong> Sample 8.</th>
<th><strong>Summarized Macro propositions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Paragraphs covered</strong></th>
<th><strong>Micro speech acts</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan sweeps presidential poll</strong></td>
<td>The ruling party has swept the poll going by the results already released.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdictives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professor Attahiru Jega announced the commencement of the collation in Abuja.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He listed the procedures and finally announced the results from some states and the Federal Capital Territory.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President Jonathan won in 22 states.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INEC yet to collate the entire national figures.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
declared as a winner, he must have satisfied some conditions, such as having 25% votes in 24 states and FCT.

The next data is also from NEW NIGERIAN newspaper of April 18, 2011.

4.2.9 Presidential Poll: Massive Turnout, Generally Peaceful (Sample 9, Appendix 9)

The story was published in NEW NIGERIAN Newspaper of Sunday, April 17, 2011 No. 1944 on the Presidential election. It presents the presidential election in Kaduna State and how the voters turn up massively and conduct themselves peacefully in different polling units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12: Sample 9.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Presidential Poll:</strong> Massive turnout, generally peaceful</td>
<td>INEC has overcome the lapses witnessed during the National Assembly election.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Election materials got to polling stations in time.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>New Nigerian Sunday</em> observed larger turnouts of voters in the presidential election as compared to national assembly.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Exercitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There was a mammoth crowd of voters at Kawo defying the scorching sun.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There was comfort for voters in Sabon Kawo because canopies and chairs were provided for them.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rigissa was unusually peaceful and calm as voters took their turns to vote.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Police arrested some thugs in Narayi ward in Kaduna.

The thugs were identified to be protecting the interest of CPC.

One of the thugs was caught after snatching ballot box at one of the polling stations.

INEC officer and her son were mistakenly beaten up.

The first paragraph in this article is an ‘auxiliary action’ which echoes the fact that INEC had issues during the conduct of the National Assembly election but the issues had been addressed in the Presidential election. Paragraphs 2 and 3 expound some of the issues like late arrival of election materials to the polling stations and poor turnouts. The propositions in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 can be restructured as the macrostructure in the article and this will attune with the global topic of the data which is ‘Presidential Poll experienced Massive turnout and was generally peaceful’. These paragraphs explain that there was mammoth crowd of voters in Kano despite the scorching sun, there was comfort for voters in Sabon Kano and Rigassa was unusually peaceful as voters take their turns to exercise their franchise.

Paragraphs 7, 8, 9 are also *expositives* because they explain how the exercise was peaceful and the alertness of the security operatives at the polling stations. Therefore, the propositions in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 can be
abstracted in order to construct a macro proposition in the article. The macro speech act in the article is **verdictive** and it is achieved through micro acts, such as **expositives**, and **exercitives** as explained above.

The analysis that follows in sample 10 is based on the data from the *Vanguard Newspaper* of April 18, 2011.

### 4.2.10 Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie Laud Peaceful Election (Sample 10, Appendix 10)

The story presents the opinions of Bakare, a CPC presidential running mate, Obasanjo, a former Nigerian President, IBB, a former military Head of State and Okotie, a presidential candidate of FRESH Democratic Party about the conduct of the 2011 Nigeria presidential elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Sample 10.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie laud peaceful election</td>
<td>Bakare and others joined other Nigerians to commend the smooth conduct of the elections by INEC.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bakare said the turnout was better and hoped for result credibility.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obasanjo described it as a victory for Nigerians.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He said it will consolidate the county’s democracy and move it towards growth and development.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obasanjo described the election as peaceful and</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In paragraph one, the speech act performed is an *expressive* act. This is triggered by the verb ‘commend’ which helps to show the mental state of the people who commended the smooth conduct of the election. That is, they are happy about the exercise. The act of commendation from

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>He acknowledged apathy in election in Ogun state.</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>He said apathy is not unusual in Presidential elections.</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>He claimed that 1999 elections put paid to ethnic politics while the 2011 elections also put paid to monsters in another area.</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida also lauded INEC for the smooth running of the exercise.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>He commended the people for their orderliness in discharging their civil responsibility.</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>He advocated for reduction in the number of political parties.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bankole described the election as generally peaceful.</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Osoba said the turn-out was dangerously and terribly poor.</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>It showed that the incumbent government does not have the support of the masses.</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Okotie said he was impressed with the people’s turns out for the exercise.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>He was not convinced about free and fair election because of some politicians.</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obasanjo, Bakare, Babangida and Okotie was further expounded in other paragraphs in 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12 and 15. Therefore, all the paragraphs that expounded the idea of commendation in paragraph one could all be collapsed as performing *expositive* acts. If we examine their contents as presented in the table above, what should be observable is that some of the paragraphs (5, 10, and 15) are essential conditions for a successful election. In paragraphs 6 and 13, *Obasanjo and Osoba* decried the low turn-out of voters in the presidential election. By this they perform an *assertive* act. This opinion is further detailed in paragraphs 7 and 14.

In summary, going by the main propositions as explained above, we can construct a macrostructure similar to the headline of the article thus ‘*Obasanjo and others commended INEC for peaceful conduct of the election*’. This is an *expressive* act because of the verb *commended* but if we consider the adverbial clause that follows which indicates the reason for the commendation, we can as well suggest that the proposition is a *verdictive* act.

The following analysis in sample 11 is equally drawn from *VANGUARD* Newspapers of April 18, 2011.
4.2.11 Jonathan Sweeps South-West (Sample 11, Appendix 11)

This is the lead caption on the front page of SUNDAY VANGUARD of April 17, 2011, Vol.24 No.10690979 after the presidential election. The story explains how the PDP Presidential candidate won in the South-West, the acclaimed strong hold of the opposition party, CPC. It also examines how the various Presidential running mates performed in their respective wards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Sample 11.</th>
<th>Summarized Macro propositions</th>
<th>Paragraphs covered</th>
<th>Micro speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan sweeps South-West</strong></td>
<td>Jonathan garnered about 80% of the votes in Lagos.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACN and CPC were neck-on-neck for a distant second position in Lagos.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CPC Vice-presidential candidate lost in his polling unit.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others – Ribadu, Namadi Sambo and Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau were also beaten in their respective polling units.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shekarau was rejected in his ward and Ribadu also lost in his.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari won in his polling unit.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari won in other parts of Katsina, Kano, Niger, Borno and Sokoto states.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan won in David mark’s wards and in other PDP governors and minister’s wards.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan broke the jinx by winning at the State House.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first paragraph of the article is an *assertive* act which informs that President Goodluck has garnered about 80% of the votes in Lagos. In the second paragraph, the act there is *expositive* because it shows the position...
of other parties contesting for Presidency or how they perform. Paragraphs 3, 4, 5 claim that some of the aspirants, such as Ibrahim Skekarau lost in his home polling unit, the PDP Vice Presidential candidate, Namadi Sambo also lost his, and ACN Presidential candidate, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu. In paragraphs 6 and 7, General Muhammadu Buhari won in his home polling unit as well as all North-West states. Similarly, the PDP Presidential candidate, President Goodluck Jonathan won in the Senate President’s ward and other PDP governors’ wards.

The deletion rule can be applied to the proposition in the second paragraph because it is ‘auxiliary’ information which aims at expounding the first paragraph where the winner of the exercise had already been implied. The ‘construction rule’ can be applied to the propositions in paragraph 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 hence a macro proposition such as ‘Some aspirants lost in their wards while others win’ can be constructed to represent the four paragraphs.

In conclusion, a macro proposition like ‘President Goodluck Jonathan won the Presidential elections in the South-West, the home of the ACN governors’ can be constructed. The macro speech act, therefore, performed in the article could be perdictive because the article claims and justifies the victory of President Jonathan by giving the percentage of votes garnered in Lagos, an ACN controlled State. This claim is also supported with evidence that the President also won in other PDP controlled states.
The next data is drawn from the *DAILY TRUSTNEWSPAPER* published in April 17, 2011.

### 4.2.12 Jonathan Wins the Big Prize (Sample 12, Appendix 12)

This is the major story on the front page of the Daily Trust Newspaper of April 17, 2011. The story confirms that the incumbent president has won the presidential election going by the results already announced by various Resident Commissioners across the country. It also shows the number of votes each candidate was able to secure and the regions the votes came from.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 15: Sample 12.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Summarized Macro propositions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Paragraphs covered</strong></th>
<th><strong>Micro speech acts</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jonathan wins the big prize</strong></td>
<td>Jonathan won the presidential election by polling 21.5 million votes in other states and region, while his closest rival, Muhammadu Buhari secured 1.4 million by sweeping the far north.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The state collation officers had earlier declared the results in their states before they went to the headquarters of INEC in Abuja</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ribadu had 1.8 million votes while Shekarau had 700,000.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ribadu won in Osun state, Shekarau none, Buhari won in 12 states while Jonathan won outright in all other states, 22 in all.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhari had impressive votes in North-West and North-East while Jonathan won in South-South, South-East, North-Central and South-West.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan won convincingly in Rivers and Imo states.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Voters defiled party loyalties as many state governors could not deliver their states to their parties.  

No presidential running mates won in his state.  

Professor Attahiru Jega, the chief returning officer, will announce the winner of the election when results from all states are officially tallied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Expositives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Assertives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Commissives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first paragraph is a declarative act. The proposition in the paragraph does not have an obvious performative verb of declaration but it can still be inferred from the verb ‘won’ used in the paragraph that the illocutionary force there is declarative. The paragraph also compares the main contenders in the election by specifying their scores in the election to support the claim. To further justify that, the second paragraph, notes that the collation officers in each state had earlier declared the results in their respective states before the final announcement in the INEC headquarters.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 are expositives which show the breakdown of the votes secured by the aspirants and the various states and regions where they had such votes. Similarly, paragraphs 5 and 6 are assertives because the propositions inform the readers about the geopolitical zones where President Jonathan and General Muhammadu Buhari had won. Paragraph 7 is an expressive act because it shows the attitudes of voters to party
affiliations. That is the reason many state governors did not win in their states. Paragraph eight is an *expositive* act giving support to the proposition in the previous chapter.

In summary, it can thus be inferred from the above that, the proposition in the first paragraph can serve as the macro proposition in the article and other micro propositions in other paragraphs can be subsumed under it because the micro propositions are further details about the main proposition (macro proposition) which is in the first paragraph. Going by the macro proposition in the first paragraph, the macro speech act performed is *declarative* and this was possible through *expositives, assertives* and *commissives* in other paragraphs.

Having presented the macro propositions and micro speech acts in tables, and interpreted them in order to arrive at the macro speech acts that characterized the news reports, there is a need to present a table of analysis about the performatives or Constatives in the headlines of the news reports. After which our observations will be presented in statistical charts for better reference. This is done using pie charts.

Table 16 presents the typologies of the speech acts in all the 12 samples and the macro speech acts which are deducible from all the paragraphs in the articles.

### Table 16
**Speech Act Typologies in the headlines and the Macro Speech Acts in the Data**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samples</th>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Typologies</th>
<th>Macro speech Acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample 1</td>
<td>Hail to the chief Jonathan!</td>
<td>Constatives</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 2</td>
<td>Labour rates election high, lauds voters</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Behavitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 3</td>
<td>Jonathan, Buhari in tight race</td>
<td>Constatives</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 4</td>
<td>Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 5</td>
<td>Jonathan cruises to victory, Reaches out to opponents</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 6</td>
<td>Jonathan floors Buhari, Ribadu</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 7</td>
<td>Trend in Nigeria politics, a wind of change</td>
<td>Constatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 8</td>
<td>Jonathan sweeps presidential poll</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 9</td>
<td>Presidential Poll: Massive turnout, generally peaceful</td>
<td>Constatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 10</td>
<td>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie laud peaceful election</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 11</td>
<td>Jonathan sweeps South-West</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Verdictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample 12</td>
<td>Jonathan wins the big prize</td>
<td>Performatives</td>
<td>Expressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Frequency Distributions of Performatives and Constatives in the Headlines
The table shows the frequency of the performatives and constatives in the headlines. It emerged that performatives occurred eight times as against constatives which appeared four times out of the twelve headlines of the newspapers articles.

**Figure 4: A Pie Chart Distribution of Performatives and Constatives in the Headlines**
The Performatives in the headlines are eight (8) representing Sixty-Seven percent (67%) while Constatives are four (4) with the percentage of Thirty-three (33%) as shown in the above pie chart.

**Table 18: Frequency Distributions of the Macro Speech Acts in the Newspaper Reports**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech Acts classifications</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaratives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavitives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verdictives</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows the frequency distributions of the macro speech acts in the newspaper reports. The result shows that there are more verdictive acts (6) than assertive (3) and expressives, declaratives and behavitives (1) respectively. This is further presented in the pie chart in Figure 5 below.
The Pie chart shows the percentage of the different macro speech acts in the data. Out of the five classifications adopted in the study, Expressives, Declaratives and Behavitives appeared once (1) each with (8.3%) respectively, Assertives appeared three times (3) representing (25%) while Verdictive appeared six times (6) representing (50%).

A macro speech act analysis of the newspaper reports is an attempt to assign a global coherence and global function to the news reports. The conviction is that, in traditional linguistics, every discourse has what may be termed topic of discourse/theme and such should be accounted for semantically and pragmatically. That is, the contents or semantic structures
and pragmatic functions of the propositions which make up the discourse should have a macro speech act. This is because the meaning of a discourse could be closely related to the speech act performed by the contents of such a discourse. In this study, the macro-operations of determining the macro speech acts are applied to newspaper reports which are clearly different from conversations. In the analysis, there are more Performatives than Constatives acts in the headlines as shown in tables 17 and 18.

Furthermore, the news reports exhibited more macro speech acts of verdictive than other act, such as expositives, commissives, behavitives and excercitives as represented in the pie chart in Figure 5. This exercise is significant because it reveals the diverse angles of representation and ideologies in the way the global topics, such as headlines are presented in the news reports and the type of macro speech acts that the news reports exhibited. The verdictive helps to reveal the ideological standpoints of the newspapers. Therefore, the macroanalysis shows that the media believed in the outcome of the elections which declared President Goodluck Jonathan as the winner, thus creating a general acceptance of the election through their presentation of the news reports. If we consider what eventually transpired as the aftermath of the exercise, what the media presented might be contradictory going by the post-election violence that claimed many lives across the country.
Similarly, where there are macro speech acts of *assertives*, the media subtly echoed their opinion through the choices of words selected for the different headlines and the propositional contents of the articles, for instance, *Hurricane Jonathan, knocks out Buhari, cruises to victory, floors Buhari, and sweeps poll* as presented in samples 4, 5, 6 and 8 respectively. These choices of words may not be fortuitous; they perform communicative acts by creating in the minds of the readers, a feeling that the election was peaceful.

**4.3 Summary**

This chapter has identified and interpreted the macro speech acts in the Nigerian 2011 presidential elections news reports and the findings were statistically presented in pie charts. The chapter observed that media ideological standpoint on the election reflects in the dominant macro speech acts in the news reports.

The next chapter investigates at the structures of the micro propositions in the newspaper reports.
CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURES OF THE MICRO PROPOSITIONS IN THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS

5.0 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to investigate the structures of the micro propositions in the newspaper reports of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election. To achieve this, the chapter specifically focuses on the microstructural level of lexicalization, implicatures, presupposition, transitivity and social actor representation. These microstructures could have implicit meanings and subsequently have ideological undertone in newspaper reports.

Therefore, this chapter would be able to connect with the previous analysis in chapter four by analysing the structural make-up of the micro propositions which formed the basis for the macro speech acts in chapter four. To be able to achieve that, the study heavily relies on van Dijk’s (2009) Sociocognitive approach to doing Critical Discourse Analysis. Part of the three dimensions of the approach is to examine the linguistic aspects of the news reports.

The analysis was complemented by using Halliday’s (1994) Transitivity, Khaleel’s, (2010) categorization of presupposition, and Van Leeuwen’s (2008) Social Actor Network. The chapter concludes by explaining how the structures of the micro propositions consequently shape and control how
individual and societies understand the newspaper representation of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election. The numbering system in this chapter is specifically meant for this chapter and not a continuation of numbers in chapter four.

5.1 Lexicalization in the Newspaper Reports

This is the vocabulary or the choice of words deployed by writers in the news reports. It is a linguistic tool that can be wielded in the service of ideology in discourse analysis. Fowler (1991) defines lexicalization as the use of specific words or classes of words, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives to represent reality. This term is equivalent to Fairclough’s (1992, p.190) ‘wording’ and it can be used in the expression of ideological pursuits of political actors and social institutions. According to Richardson (2007, p.47) ‘words convey the imprint of society and value judgements in particular’. This is especially done through nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs because of their connotative tendencies in addition to their denotative meanings. The classes of words frame news story in direct or indirect ways.

Oyeleye and Osisanwo, (2013, p.3) posit that ‘lexical items overtly and covertly give clues to the ideology of the text producer’. That is, the ideological underpinnings of the text producers, in this case, the media, could be made implicit or explicit through lexical items. Lexical items,
apart from constructing ideological representation of experiences, also have expressive functions by examining the producer’s positive or negative evaluation of events and persons (Min, 1997). This can consequently affect people’s perception of the persons and events just as Wareing (2004) observes that words do have a strong influence on attitudes. To analyse lexicalization in this study, we look at the following classes: verbs, nominal expressions, prenominal adjectives, lexical taxonomy, and overlexicalisation.

Having explained the areas of focus in this analysis, we will begin with the study of verbs as lexical item.

### 5.1.1 Verb

Verb is a lexical category that is mostly used traditionally to account for or represent people’s experiences and events. This is the main idea in Hallidayan ideational function of language which accounts for experiences and representation of events. That is perhaps why Hallidayan ideational function is mostly embedded in the transitivity system where there are various ways participants could recount their experience of the world. Verb, therefore, has ‘expressive value’ (Min, 1997, p.153). It can be used to signal approval or disapproval of participant’s actions in discourse and it will ultimately reveal positive or negative presentation of the participants or the events.
Consider the following sentences on approval and disapproval from sample 5:

a) They appealed to the CPC to emulate the presidential candidate of the ANPP...

b) THISDAY learnt yesterday that the president would extend an olive branch to his opponents

c) ‘I will urge them to be careful so that this election which has been adjudged free and fair and attested to by both international and domestic observers is not discredited by lack of capacity to accept defeat in good faith.’

d) ‘He is not going to gloat. That is his character. Rather, he would like to build consensus and foster unity in the national interest. It is a case of no victor, no vanquished.’

e) According to him, the agents were arrested by the police when they protested their denial of entry into the collation centre.

f) They claimed that reports from their agents in the area turnout unlike what was being reflected in the figures.

g) ‘We are not surprised at this plot of the CPC; after all, it is part of the plot to cause instability in the country...’

In the first sentence, the verb ‘appealed’ indicates that ‘they’, that is, the ruling party, is urging the other group to emulate the ANPP Presidential candidate who had already accepted defeat. This shows that the ruling party agrees with, or is happy with the outcome of the election, hence the call on the other political parties to accept the results of the elections. A related observation could be made on the second example where the verb ‘would extend’ is used to represent the intention of the President. The word is used as an ‘epistemic modal future’ which is signaled by the verb ‘learnt’ and it locates the description of the event after the time of the utterance. This means that the degree of commitment to the utterance is high. That is, it is certain that the President would extend an olive branch to his
opponents. This also indicates that the President approves of the outcome of the exercise. On the other hand, ‘protested’ as used in example e shows that the other group disapproves of the outcome of the exercise.

The underlined verbs that are in examples a-d are used to represent the actions of the ruling party. They are presented in positive light with verbs that are ‘warmly and assuring’. This is to show that the President is ready to settle any grudges that might have arisen as a result of the contest. If those verbs are contrasted with the verbs in examples e-g, we will observe that the opposition party does not support the outcome of the exercise. That is likely the reason why they are represented in negative terms. Ideologically, the representation here places the opposition as being aggrieved. The examples above are in relation to the participants and their actions. In relation to the event, the election was also portrayed as acceptable by the international community.

Consider the following sentences from sample 1 which portray the election as acceptable.

h) The NLC has commended the INEC for conducting the presidential election in a peaceful manner.

i) We laud the orderly process of the elections and the exemplary conduct of the voters.

The underlined verbs in the above sentences portray the approval of the Presidential elections by the Nigerian Labour Congress. Other similar
examples as we have in the data are: *commends the sacrifices, commended the hard work, lauded the police, and commended the President*. These examples portray some participants, such as INEC, the Police, Nigerians and the President in positive light which translates to the approval of the exercise by the Nigeria Labour Congress.

In the examples that follow, the study examined other verbs that seem to exaggerate the news reporting.

\[ j) \] Jonathan sweeps Presidential poll (Sample 8)

\[ k) \] Jonathan cruises to victory (Sample 5)

\[ l) \] Jonathan floors Buhari, Ribadu (Sample 6).

\[ m) \] Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others

The underlined words are figuratively used in the newspaper reports. The words are used in a way different from their ordinary signification or meanings. This was done in order to embellish the headlines by creating mental images of events usually attached to ‘sweeps, cruises, floors and knocks out’ and relating them to electoral process. The choice of ‘sweeps’, ‘floors’, and ‘knocks out’ in the headlines to depict how Jonathan won the Presidential election may suggest a landslide victory for him in the minds of the readers. Going by the lexical and connotative meaning of ‘sweep’ which is ‘to clear something completely’, we can assume, bearing in mind the context of usage, that ‘sweep’ may be intentionally used to make the victory appear total and devoid of electoral irregularities. Similarly, the
verb ‘floors’ could literally mean ‘hit’ or cause someone to fall. Therefore, it could arouse some form of biased interpretation. The verb ‘knocks out’ is a jargon associated with boxing bout and it is used to refer to an act of hitting the other fighters so that they fall to the ground and are unable to get up again.

Thererepresentation may be sensational because it portends, first, that other aspirants were not ‘serious contenders’ in the election. It could also arouse in the minds of readers, a scene of physical combat where Jonathan knocks out his opponents. In the election context, it could mean a situation of helplessness on the part of fellow contestants because Jonathan’s knockout has rendered them unconscious and defeated. The allusion to boxing is a conscious one and it is capable of informing the opinions that readers would have about the contest. However, in another article, the two main contenders were depicted as ‘Jonathan, Buhari in tight race’. If we are to go by this headline, the verb sweeps, floors and knocks out may be sensational and unwarranted. They may therefore have been used emotively to ‘exaggerate and propagandise [the report to ideologically favour Jonathan and his party] without actually lying but are cunningly loaded with biases’ (Alo and Ogungbe, 2012). This could help to reiterate the dominance of President Jonathan in the election which is the opinion that the writer wants the readers to have. All the verbs sampled are loaded
and are capable of evoking a train of thought and emotions about the exercise.

In the study conducted by Joris de Graaf (2008) on Aljazeera and CNN concerning the withdrawal of the Jewish settlers from Gaza strip in 2005, he tries to find out if Aljazeera English produces a counter-ideology so as to oppose the dominance of Western World-view in news reporting. Among other parameters used is predication. This is the ‘choice of words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors’ (Richardson, 2007, p.52). The strategy allows persons and events to be characterized with respect to quality, quantity and time.

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 55), predications are mostly realized through specific forms of reference (based on explicit denotation, as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by attributes (in the form of, for example, adjectives, appositions, and prepositional phrases), by predicates or predicative nouns / adjectives / pronouns, by collocations or by explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures. His findings show that there is attribution of negative qualities to the (pro) settlers by Aljazeera English, using predicational strategies mostly relating to extremism/radicalism. These studies support the idea that words play important role in media representation because it can signify
the presence of ingroup and outgroup depending on the choices of words used.

Having considered the expressive values of verbs in ideological slant, the next section will look at nominal expressions and how they can be manipulated for ideological reasons.

5.1.2 Nominal Expressions

There is always a conscious and careful deployment of nominal expressions to refer to a person and event depending on the intention of the writer and the thoughts and actions he wants to evoke from the readers. Some nominal expressions are explicitly derogatory and offensive, for instance referring to a person living with HIV/AIDS as ‘HIV Man’, or referring to an aggrieved group as ‘noisemakers’. These nominal expressions can make the referents to lose their reputations or may have negative impact on their personalities. These expressions can also inform a reader’s negative attitudes towards the referents or make the readers to develop a contemptuous behaviour towards the labeled. A man referred to as ‘HIV Man’ would feel stigmatized and this is borne out of the nature of the disease which is widely known as terminal and incurable.

Similarly, it is derogatory, for instance, when an aggrieved group shows their grievances over an unfair treatment meted on them by another
powerful group and only to be termed ‘noisemakers’. The feelings that will be aroused in the minds of that group is that they have been belittled, while generally in the minds of the readers, ‘noisemaking’ is unpleasant and can be attributed to pupils who are possibly ignoramuses and have nothing serious to think about.

The following examples on nominal expression show how it could affect the readers’ interpretation. It should be noted that examples of nominal are not many compared to verbs. This might be as a result of the nature of news reports which is a representation of an event unlike campaign speeches which is directly from the source. Secondly, it may be as a result of the fact that events and participants which are the objects of representation are mostly expressed in verbs. Therefore, in the data, examples of nominal are not many but they are important.

a) His closest rival, General Muhammadu Buhari of CPC secured 11.4 million. (Sample 12)

b) The margin of Jonathan’s win in some states was staggering, such as in Rivers, where he got 1.8 million votes to the combined 32,000 votes secured by all his opponents combined.

c) Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others (Sample 4).

In the above underlined nominal, the other contestants are labeled as ‘rival’ and ‘opponents’ to the President, Goodluck Jonathan whereas, ‘hurricane’ is used to qualify him. Our observation on the above is that there is no single instance in the whole data where the labels of ‘opponent and rival’ are
attributed to the President himself. A possible interpretation is that the labels are intentional because they portray other contestants as the ones trying to wrestle power from the incumbent President Jonathan. The labels are significant in the news reports because they might contribute psychologically and politically to how the other contenders are viewed by the readers of the newspapers.

Similarly, the use of ‘Hurricane’ may be glamorous as it will register in the minds of the readers, the extent of the defeat to other contestants. The allusion to hurricane portends a violent or stormy wind which sweeps everything in its path. In the context of the election, President Jonathan is the hurricane, who completely defeats all other contestants in the elections thereby achieving a landslide victory. This may influence the attitudes and behaviors of the readers. Writers make use of these words without clarifying what they really mean and end up sweeping the audience or manipulating them into the writer’s ideological fold.

Verbs and nominals are not the only lexical items that can be manipulated, prenominal adjectives are also part of resources of lexicalization analysis in discourse. In the next section, we explain prenominal adjectives and cite instances where they are used and we offer their interpretations.
5.1.3 Prenominal Adjectives:

A prenominal Adjective is used to modify a noun. The modification helps to elucidate or adjust the meanings of nouns that it precedes. This will allow a ‘finer gradations of meaning’ than the meanings which the nouns would have when used alone (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, p. 526). Prenominal adjectives could reflect the writers’ choice of expressions that will echo their ideologies or beliefs. In the data, different prenominal adjectives abound and they are classified into two groups; adjectives that present the outcome of the Presidential election as peaceful, organised and indeed won by President Jonathan, and adjectives that present the exercise as sham, violent and rigged.

Consider the following prenominal adjectives:

a) He said last week, there were obvious lapses which the party drew attention to in the elections...

b) In Bauchi state, two persons were killed by irate youths for an alleged attempt to snatch a ballot box at Kofar Dumi Polling unit in Bauchi metropolis yesterday. (Sample 12)

c) He said the college is a collation centre in Yalwa area of Bauchi state where youths caught the three who attempted to smuggle fake ballot boxes. (Sample 12)

d) Wild jubilation in Gombe state yesterday greeted the announcement of results of the presidential polls...

e) The PDP also took its winning magic to Kwara State where it scored 268,243 votes (Sample 4)

f) The PDP had a smooth sail too in Benue, the home state of the President of the Senate

g) Significantly, Dr Jonathan had a clean sweep in the Middle Belt of the country, a region populated by Northern ethnic minority groups. (Sample 6)
h) From the already received results from virtually all the 35 states of the Federation, Jonathan maintained a comfortable lead...

The prenominal adjectives in the sentences above could be categorized into two groups: the group that negatively presents the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election newsreports, and the one that presents the election in positive light. The underlined prenominal adjectives in sentences a-c (obvious, irate, fake,) suggest there are problems with the election. The election was characterized by killing and smuggling of ballot boxes. The adjectives (irate) used in qualifying the youths indicates that the youths were angry about something (the conduct of the election) part of which was the attempt to smuggle in (fake) ballot boxes.

In sentences d-h, the prenominal adjectives present an atmosphere different from the one in sentences a-c. Wild, smooth, a clean and comfortable are all adjectives which precede nouns in sentences d-h. Meanwhile, the nouns they precede are the types that relate to the conduct of the election and performance of aspirants. These adjectives have positive interpretations and a peaceful atmosphere which suggests that the exercise was free and fair.

The prenominal adjectives show the presence of group polarization in the articles. One group is presented in negative terms while the opposing group emphasizes their own ‘positive-face’ by using positive prenominal adjectives to qualify their actions and the exercise. There are evidences of
more positive prenominal adjectives than negative evaluators which portray the exercise and the main actors negatively. Other prenominal adjectives in the articles are: massive, free and fair, wild, a carnival-like, a mammoth, an exercise of comfort, an ethnic minority, clean, national, winning, smooth, impressive, (Positive Adjectives). Foul, electoral irregularities, outright lie, Mob attacks, a bomb blast, widespread corruption, a lot of anomalies, main opponents (Negative Adjectives)

The prenominal adjectives also reflect the subjective judgment of the writer with some adjectives that could be classified on the far edge of ‘objective scale’ as presented below. The representation would have been a bit neutral if the prenominal adjectives on the objective side were used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Adjective objective scale</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huge</td>
<td>A carnival-like (celebration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Large numbers</td>
<td>A mammoth crowd (of voters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delightful</td>
<td>Wild (jubilation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above adjectives ‘wild’ (jubilation); ‘a carnival-like’ (celebration); ‘a mammoth crowd’ (of voters); ‘clean’ (sweep), ‘winning magic’, ‘smooth sail’, ‘a comfortable lead’ are on the subjective axis of the adjective
scale. The same nouns could have been qualified with adjectives such as huge, large, delightful, and significant lead which could have possibly toned down the force of the modification. The implication is that the representation achieved with the use of these words may be biased and not objective. The force or tone of those words could have been mild, thereby placing them in between the two continua or on the objective continuum.

Apart from verbs, nominal expressions and prenominal adjectives that have been explained in the previous sections, lexical structures do not just ‘sort out experience in general terms but also make detailed distinctions between classes of concept’ (Fowler, 1991, p.84). The categorization by lexical structure is what Halliday (1971, p. 335) refers to as ‘Taxonomic Organization of Vocabulary’. This will further be explained with examples from the news reports in the next section.

5.1.4 Lexical Taxonomy

This is a categorial perspective to the function of lexical structure where words can be grouped into different taxonomies, like what Halliday (1971, p. 335) refers to as ‘Taxonomic Organization of Vocabulary’. Fowler (1991) suggests that vocabulary is an integral part of reproduction of prejudiced discourse. It is the basis of discriminatory practice especially when dealing with groups. In a study conducted by Min, (1997), she also opines that lexical structure has a categorizing function which sorts
concepts into strictly defined categorial relationships between classes of concepts.

In her study on representations of political events and situations in South Korea by a US newspaper, Min as noted above observes that vocabulary in the newspaper dichotomizes social processes into two groups: the democratic and the anti-democratic. Words such as threaten, violence, paralyze, and, democratic gain, democratic process, democratic give and take are in structural opposition capable of reproducing ideology. Therefore, the group (striking workers) tagged as violent and threatening are undemocratic while democratic gain, democratic process, are democratic principles which the other group (government) has.

In this study, let us consider the following examples of lexical taxonomies from the data.

a) But Buhari who contested the poll under the umbrella of the Congress for Progressive Change, has already alleged foul play in the conduct of the exercise
b) One of such planes came earlier this (Saturday) morning to Katsina airport, and our people were driven away from the airport...
c) A confident President Goodluck Jonathan, after casting his ballot...promised to quit his position as president if he fails to win the election.
d) The president had impressive showing in Lagos, Ogun, Rivers, Oyo...

The underlined words in examples (a) - (d) above could strike an oppositional dichotomy between two groups; the aggrieved and the winner.
Alleged, foul play, driven away in the contexts of the sentences above are complaints from the opposition party about the election while confident, impressive showing are credited to the President. Other words from the news reports are ‘compromise’, ‘claimed’ and ‘chased away’. The other lexical items pertaining to the other group are: ‘upper hand’, ‘promised’, ‘transparent’, ‘prayed’, ‘new dawn’ and ‘happy’.

Alleged, foul play, driven away, in isolation, may not trigger deep negative implication apart from the fact that they are negative terms used to show complaints. They, however, have context colouration in the way they have been used in the sentences. The words, therefore, portend an aggrieved group, hence ‘the losers’ who are not satisfied with the conduct and results of the election. The other groups are ‘the winners’ who are satisfied with the conduct and outcome of the exercise. The ideological implication of this is that the ‘losers’ are portrayed as aggrieved and in negative terms while ‘the winners’ are portrayed positively.

The representation could be a way of supporting or reproducing a dominant culture and, at the same time, suppressing the opposition. In the examples given by Fowler (1991) to support the claims by Halliday, he came up with some words that were used in a particular context. Those words dichotomize political organizations into two groups of Socialism (the communist party, welfare state, publicly owned industries) and
Imperialism/Capitalism (*economic domination, big business, class struggle*). He says that those words predicate a struggle between the two political organizations.

Apart from lexicalization which could give clues about news reporter’s ideology, overlexicalisation could also indicate the thematic preoccupations in the newsreports through high degree of wording. This concept will be explored in the next section.

5.1.5 Overlexicalisation

Overlexicalisation is ‘the existence of an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture’s discourse’ (Fowler, 1991, p.85). The synonymous terms or lexical items are woven into the fabrics of news discourse in order to make the description of persons and events look complete. This is the same concept termed as ‘overwording’ by Fairclough (1992).

The term could help identify ideological clues when there is a high degree of wording or overlexicalisation around words that are synonymous and related to the nucleus of the message intended by the producer of discourse. Fowler (1991) posits that overlexicalisation is a pragmatic strategy of encoding ideology in news discourse. The usually overlexicalised group, he believes, are the powerless people because of the pejorative nature of
overlexicalisation. However, overlexicalisation occurs not only on groups but also on ideas and events which may not have any pejorative representation.

In the analysis that follows, we want to show that overlexicalisation cuts across all groups and events because what drives it is the standpoint or judgement of the writer which may be biased or otherwise. In the news reports, overlexicalisation helps to orient the reader’s perception of the election or participants in a particular way.

It would have been a better idea if a complete article could be extracted for us to mark the lexical items that have been overlexicalised but due to the size of the articles, we will only present part of the article then corroborate our analysis on overlexicalisation with sentences and explain how the words that are synonymous to supporting a particular ideology are connected.

Consider the excerpt from sample 2 on overlexicalisation:

*The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has commended the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for conducting the presidential election in a peaceful manner*. In a statement in Abuja yesterday, the Acting General Secretary of the congress, Owei Lakemfia, said despite some hitches, which were not unexpected in elections of such magnitude, the elections were successful in the light of past polls. He said “Congress salutes Nigerians for denying security threats including rumours of bombs in places like Abuja and Niger state, to deliver a clear message that they
cannot be intimidated or deterred. We laud the orderly process of the elections and the exemplary conduct of the voters.”

The underlined lexical items are those that portend that the election was conducted peacefully hence the need for commendation by the Nigeria Labour Congress. To further determine the lexical focus of this excerpt, the study applied Osisanwo’s (1986, p.93) formular for working out lexical focus of a text. Correlate $% = \frac{LW}{\sum} X \frac{100}{1}$

C% is percentage of correlation, LW is the total number of the lexical items under investigation, and $\sum$ is the total number of content words in the excerpt. Correlate $% = \frac{12}{20} X \frac{100}{1} = 60\%$. The implication of this is that the higher the percentage of the correlation, the stronger the evidence that the selected lexical items support the idea that the election was peaceful. If the percentage is not up to 50% that could mean that the lexical focus in the paragraph or the whole text that is being correlated is weak. That is, the overlexicalised words do not support the idea that the election was peaceful.

Let us now consider the following sentences on overlexicalisation from samples 1, 3 and 5 in the news reports.

a) The election is also unique as it has been generally adjudged as the most peaceful, most transparent and well organised polls, coming behind the Option A4 system of 1993.
b) It is also the most keenly contested race, especially between the leading candidates—Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC’s) Gen. Muhammadu Buhari.

c) He said as part of his insistence on transparent process, he had refused to interfere with the operations of the INEC.

d) Describing the conduct of the election as a new dawn in Nigeria,...

e) We shouldn’t use our failure at election to cast aspersion on the integrity of the process.

The underlined words are ‘near synonyms’ to the concept of free and fair election. A free and fair electoral process should have words like ‘transparent, keenly contested among participants, integrity, etc. These words appear in different sentences to suggest a holistic meaning of the text and to provide fairly explicit description of the exercise through repetition of quasi-synonymous terms. The lexical items are part of what should define a free and fair election.

On the other hand, the following lexical items strike a contrast with a free and fair election. Consider the sentences from sample 12.

a) The presidential election in which Nigerians decided the fate of President Goodluck Jonathan...and about sixteen others, was marred by violence, in the form of bomb blast, and mob attacks.

b) Few days after an explosion rocked Mahuta village,... another explosion caused panic and tension in Kabala West,...

c) In Bauchi state, two persons were killed by irate youths for an alleged attempt to snatch a ballot box.

d) We had to caution our youths in Bauchi not to take law in to their hands, but the people in the town were angry with the attitudes of the PDP who intimidated people in order to rig the election. (Sample 12)
The underlined words are related because they define an exercise bedeviled with chaos. Where there is an explosion and killing could not have been said to be a peaceful environment. Therefore, the underlined words are connected as they portray the election as chaotic and un-free and unfair. The lexical opposition in the sentences above is ideologically significant. Apart from the words occurring individually, they also cluster to echo an idea. The implications or feelings that people would have when the words are used will help in understanding the ideological stance of the presentation. Other words are ‘chased away’, ‘killed’, ‘snatch’, ‘angry’, ‘intimidated’, ‘smuggle’, ‘beaten’, etc. They are used in the article to describe activities during the election.

The next focus is on transitivity analysis. The concept is one of the important concepts in CDA for doing ‘mystification’ (O’Halloran, 2003) analysis of a text. Mystification in this study concerns how the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election and the participants involved are represented in such a way that reduces or hides the ideological stance of the writer. Therefore, the section will specifically look at processes and participants which are the ways ideational meanings could be represented in discourse.

5.2 Transitivity

Transitivity system, according to Halliday (1985), is explained in terms of processes and participants. It is a semantic system that explains the world
of experience into a set of process types (Wang, 2010). Transitivity is also seen as a grammatical system by which ideational meaning is represented in the clause by the type of process and participants which accompany the process (O’ Halloran, 2003, p. 17). Performing a transitivity analysis requires the identification of certain patterns in the use of the processes. Participants and Processes analysis is a form of representation with ideological clues for analysts. This is because the several semantic choices available to a speaker in recounting his experience of the world and the participant types can be manipulated. When the patterns of transitivity are identified, meanings which are emphasized in terms of the experiential, relational and expressive can be identified.

The processes include ‘material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential’. The selection between these process types may highlight or background agency and consequently, leave the attribution of causality and responsibility unclear (Min, 1997). Relevant in the present study are material, mental and relational processes.

Consider some examples of the processes below.

5.2.1 **Material processes** are concerned with the process of ‘doing’ something. It portends that an action has been done by some entity and it is realized through an action verb, an actor and the goal of the action. An actor is the logical direct subject, and a goal is the logical direct object,
usually a noun or a pronoun (Zhuanglin, 1988). *He (actor).... concluded (mental process) that Nigerians (goal) had shown (material process) more interest and commitment in the 2011 elections (goal) than they (actor) did (material process) in previous ones (goal).*

5.2.2 **Mental processes** are processes of feeling, thinking and seeing. There are two participants involved here, the *Senser* and the *Phenomenon*. Mental process does not carry out action but it represents inner feelings of ‘perception (hearing), affection (fearing) and cognition (knowing)’. *He (Senser) recalled (mental process) his involvement in elections conducted in 1999, 2003 and 2007 (Phenomenon).*

5.2.3 **Relational process** is a process of being. It establishes relationships between two entities, and it can be divided into two: *identifying relation and attributive relation*. Attributive relation shows the qualities that an entity possesses and it has a ‘*carrier*’, ‘*process*’ and ‘*attribute*’ while identifying relation means that an entity and another is uniform and it has *identified, process and identifier*. Jonathan, Buhari (*carrier*) ((are) process) in tight race (*attributes*).

Tables 19 and 20 below present the material and relational processes in the headlines of the news reports.

**Table 19: Material Processes in the Headlines**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(Contents to be filled in based on the data from the tables 19 and 20)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>rates, lauds (Material)</th>
<th>election, voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurricane</td>
<td>knocks out (Material)</td>
<td>Buhari, others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>cruises, reaches out (Material)</td>
<td>victory, opponents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>floors (Material)</td>
<td>Buhari, Ribadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>sweeps (Material)</td>
<td>presidential poll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie</td>
<td>laud (Material)</td>
<td>peaceful election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>wins (Material)</td>
<td>the big prize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>sweeps (Material)</td>
<td>South-West</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Relational Processes in the Headlines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Poll</td>
<td></td>
<td>Massive turnout, generally peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend in Nigeria Politics</td>
<td>(is)</td>
<td>wind of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan, Buhari</td>
<td>(are)</td>
<td>in tight race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan!</td>
<td>Hail</td>
<td>to the Chief!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the tables above, material and relational processes feature in the news reports. There is no instance of mental process in the headlines. Generally, transitivity offers a systematic choice among different processes. The presence of material and relational processes in textual configuration of the news reports’ headlines suggest some choices out of many other transitivity processes. There are many ways of capturing or representing experience in language. The material and relational processes are privileged or preferred to others in the headlines. These choices are perhaps strategically motivated options from other possible processes.
Part of the possible interpretation for the motivation for representing experiences using material and relational processes is to examine the explicit or implicit agent role and the circumstances associated with the processes. In the tables above, in relation to circumstances associated with the process, the action of ‘winning’ is mostly attributed to Jonathan and that is why it is conspicuously placed as the main actor in the headlines. The attribution of agency to Jonathan in seven places out of twelve headlines is not ideologically neutral. Meanwhile, there is a case where the agency attribution was shared in the headlines, such as ‘Jonathan, Buhari in a tight race’. There is also an instance of agency deletion in the headline ‘Violence, Fraud mar presidential poll’. Similarly, having more material process mostly favoured in the headlines has underlying agenda; perhaps to concretize the action of the main actor and consequently portray him as the winner even when the results have not been announced.
To further examine the processes in the news reports, we decide to include the lead paragraphs since we could not examine the whole articles. We believe that lead paragraphs mostly contain the main message in an article. The lead paragraphs are numbered serially from 1-12.

5.2.4 Transitivity in the Lead Paragraphs of the News reports

1. President Goodluck Jonathan, the presidential candidate of the PDP, broke into the stronghold of the opposition CAN, in the South-West, in yesterday’s presidential election. (Sunday Vanguard, April 17, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Goodluck Jonathan, the presidential candidate of the PDP</td>
<td>broke into</td>
<td>the stronghold of the opposition CAN, in the South-West, in yesterday’s presidential election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Results of Saturday’s presidential election so far released by the Independent Electoral Commission on Sunday showed President Goodluck Jonathan having an unassailable lead (The Punch, April 18, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by the Independent Electoral Commission</td>
<td>so far released/having</td>
<td>Results of Saturday’s presidential election/President Goodluck Jonathan/ an unassailable lead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples’ Democratic Party, (PDP) has won last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest
rivals Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change, (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress, (ACN). (Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples’ Democratic Party, (PDP)</td>
<td>has won</td>
<td>last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest rivals, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change, (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress, (ACN).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. With results officially declared by state collation officers in 35 states and the Federal Capital Territory, (FCT) last night, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the Peoples’ Democratic Party, (PDP) had won this year’s presidential election with 21.5 million votes and a quarter of the votes in all of them except Kano, Borno and Bauchi States. (Daily Trust, April 18, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by state collation officers/ President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the Peoples’ Democratic Party, (PDP)</td>
<td>officially declared/ had won</td>
<td>With results/ this year’s presidential election with 21.5 million votes and a quarter of the votes in all of them except Kano, Borno and Bauchi States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Congress for Progressive Change, CPC presidential running mate, Pastor Tunde Bakare, former President Olusegun Obasanjo and former
military president, Ibrahim Babangida, weekend, joined several other Nigerians in commending the smooth conduct of the presidential elections by INEC . (Vanguard, April 18, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress for Progressive Change, CPC presidential running mate, Pastor Tunde Bakare, former President Olusegun Obasanjo and former military president, Ibrahim Babangida,</td>
<td>Joined/commending</td>
<td>the smooth conduct of the presidential elections by INEC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Dr. Goodluck Jonathan is the president-elect only awaiting official confirmation from the (INEC) today, going by the results that were announced yesterday by the Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, (FCT). (This Day, April 18, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carrier</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Goodluck Jonathan</td>
<td>Is</td>
<td>the president-elect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
by the Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory only awaiting/ that were announced official confirmation from the (INEC) today

7. Early results from some polling centres across the country showed President Goodluck Jonathan and Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (retd.) in a tight race in the presidential election conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission across Nigeria on Saturday. (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Goodluck Jonathan and Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (retd) / the Independent National Electoral Commission across Nigeria on Saturday</td>
<td>showed/ conducted</td>
<td>Early results from some polling centres across the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. With the collation of the Presidential election results which took place last Saturday still going on last night in Abuja, the ruling Peoples’ Democratic Party appeared to have swept the polls across the country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senser</th>
<th>Mental process</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the ruling Peoples’ Democratic Party</td>
<td>appeared to have swept</td>
<td>the polls across the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. The Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC) appears to have overcome most of the logistic lapses witnessed during the National Assembly elections… (New Nigerian, April 17, 2011)
The Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC) appears to have overcome most of the logistic lapses witnessed during the National Assembly elections.

10. This is the tune played to herald the appearance of the United States Presidents at any public occasion and its first line is ‘Hail to the Chief we have chosen for the nation’. The original line of this song, written by Sir Walter Scott was ‘Hail to the chief who in triumph advances…’

11. The presidential election in which Nigerians yesterday decided the fate of President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Malam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Governor Ibrahim Shekarau of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and about sixteen others, was marred by violence, in the form of a bomb blast, and mob attacks.

---

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senser</th>
<th>Mental process</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC)</td>
<td>appears to have overcome</td>
<td>most of the logistic lapses witnessed during the National Assembly elections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This is the tune/ its first line/ The original line of this song/ Sir Walter Scott</td>
<td>Played to herald /is/ written/was</td>
<td>the appearance of the United States Presidents at any public occasion/ Hail to the Chief we have chosen for the nation’/ ‘Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The presidential election...and sixteen others</td>
<td>was marred</td>
<td>by violence, in the form of a bomb blast, and mob attacks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. The Presidential election yesterday recorded an impressive turn out of electorate in the Southern part of Kaduna metropolis with the commencement of verification exercise as scheduled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Material process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Presidential election</td>
<td>Recorded</td>
<td>an impressive turn out of electorate in the Southern part of Kaduna metropolis with the commencement of verification exercise as scheduled.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis above on lead paragraphs reveals the preponderance of material process than other processes. Material process, as it is, and the representation of Jonathan as the ‘Actor’ further indicate that the actions represented in them help to concretize the victory for Goodluck Jonathan. The quantification of the processes is presented in figure 6.

Figure 6: Processes in the Lead Paragraphs of the Newspaper Reports
The chart above indicates that material process in the lead paragraphs is 75%, followed by mental process 16.66% and relational process with 8.3%. The result is similar to the processes in the headlines. Material process is predominant; hence it performs similar function of highlighting the agent role.

In the section that follows, we look at how the social actors in the election are represented in the news reports. Social actors are individuals and groups of people who are part of any social process. In this study, they are restricted to major political actors who are involved in the electoral processes either as officials or contestants. Since the study is about
presidential election, the major contenders are herein referred to as social actors.

5.3 Representation of the Social Actors

The representation of social actors is not arbitrary or trivial (Coesemans, 2013). It contributes to the creation of a frame of interpretation. This is important because it helps in the search for patterns of unquestioned meaning and ideological aspects of news discourse. This is because social actors may have ‘inclusion or exclusion’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) patterns in any representation depending on the interests and purposes of such representation. When social actors are excluded in news reports, it may be for strategic reasons or it may be assumed that readers are already familiar with such details or that such details are irrelevant. Meanwhile, ideology is at stake when social actors are excluded based on strategic reasons.

The representation strategies can be in form of ‘individualization and assimilation’ (van Leeuwen 2008, p. 37). In CDA, ‘individualization and assimilation’ strategies are of paramount importance because our society places much significance on personality and group affiliations. Individualization occurs in news discourse when social actors are referred to as individuals taking cognizance of their personalities in the society. On
the contrary, assimilation (collectivization and aggregation) occurs when social actors are represented as groups.

In this study, we will narrow our social actors’ representation to the major contenders for the presidential position. They are the ones mentioned in all the news reports; Jonathan, Buhari, Ribadu and Shekarau.

Consider the following examples on individualization:

a)  *Jonathan won convincingly*

b)  *Jonathan maintained a comfortable lead*

c)  *Jonathan still clinched the mandatory 25 percent, (Sample 1).*

The above examples show Jonathan being referred to as an individual personality. Also he is represented the most, quantitatively, in the headlines. Out of the 12 headlines, Jonathan is mentioned 8 times as shown in *Table 19.* He is represented as a distinct individual while other contestants are marginalized and assimilated as ‘others’ in the headlines.

Also, the form of assimilation that is present in the data is ‘collectivization’ and it occurs in form of party affiliation. This is presented in the examples below:

d)  *The PDP led comfortably in...;*

e)  *The PDP defeated other political parties;*

f)  *The PDP also took its winning magic to...;*

g)  *PDP had a smooth sail;*

h)  *PDP also won with a wide margin...; (The Punch, Monday, April 18, 2011)*
Other political parties are represented as follows:

i) **ACN trailed behind...**;  

j) **CPC suffered defeat...**;  

k) **CPC got...**, **ACN had...**; (The Punch Monday April 18, 2011)

In the news reports, ‘collectivization’ helps to positively portray the Goodluck Jonathan’s party (PDP). The positive representations can be found in the form of verbs used in examples *d-h*. For the opposition parties, they are collectivized with neutral verbs (*got, had*) and verbs that portray them as losers (*trailed, suffered*).

Another strategy for representing social actors in news reports is referred to as ‘functionalization’ (Van Leeuwen, 2008). *Functionalization* means the ‘representation of social actors in terms of something they do, an occupation or role in society’ (Coesmans, 2012, p.190). It deals with the ways the main contenders are introduced in the news reports. Consider the following examples from the data:

l) *Early results from some polling centres across the country showed President Goodluck Jonathan and Major-General, Muhammadu Buhari (retd) in a tight race in the presidential election...* (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011).

m) *...President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party PDP had won this year presidential election...*

n) *His closest rival, General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)...* (Daily Trust, Monday April 18, 2011)
In the above sentences, Goodluck Jonathan is introduced as the ‘President’ owing to his current political office while Muhammadu Buhari is represented as ‘Major-General’ because of his past position as a former Head of State. This representational strategy may not be neutral because it may remind the people the roles the Military played in Nigerian Democracy in the past with several coups which plunged the country into civil war and ethnic conflicts. Referring to Muhammadu Buhari as ‘General’, could trigger people’s consciousness to his antecedence. (He aborted the Second Republic which was headed by President Shehu Shagari) Therefore, for him to be contesting for the same position under a democratic setting might presuppose that he is a dictator, and that can inform a kind of apathy from the press. If compared to what happened in the 1999 and 2003 presidential elections where Olusegun Obasanjo, also a General in the army, contested for the post of presidency and won, the scenario differs. Olusegun Obasanjo was fondly called ‘Chief’ during and after the election; perhaps to make Nigerians forget the roles of the military in the June 12, 1993 election which was annulled by the then Military Head of State.

Finally, ‘functionalization’ may have evaluative connotations which may be ideological and when this happens, it is termed ‘appraisement’ (Leeuwen, 2008). Let us look at the example below:
o)  A *confident* President Goodluck Jonathan… *(Sunday Punch April 17, 2011).*

The example above shows a positive representation of Goodluck Jonathan. The example shows that he is being appraised as ‘confident’, an adjective that evaluates him to be a *better* candidate and possibly the *most preferred.* In contrast, the newspapers are all silent in terms of appraisement of the other major contestants.

We have been able to look at lexicalization, transitivity and social actors’ representation in news reports. They are structural categories which are more of semantic descriptions than pragmatic. The analyses that follow below are on implicature and presupposition, and they tilt more towards pragmatic description of news reports.

### 5.4 Implicatures

van Dijk, (2003) opines that the decision whether to leave information implicit or to make it explicit is not ideologically neutral. At lexicalization level, meanings and ideologies are more explicit. They are mostly documented through positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Another ideologically relevant means of meaning explication can also be achieved through the act of leaving information implicit in discourse. This
is where implication surfaces. The difference between implication and implicatures is that the former has strong entailment whereas the latter has weak inference. The relations between propositions are not always strong. The inference can be weak and more subjective, thereby giving room to what is known as implicatures. The information in implicatures is not explicitly present in discourse and readers need to operate from the expressed meaning to implied meaning by activating their knowledge about the particular situation so at to understand the content of the discourse.

Let us look at the following sentences on implicatures:

a) ...Nigerians should not listen to anybody who was trying to discredit the election ‘already declared as the best in our history by all and sundry’. (This Day, April 18, 2011)

b) ‘We shouldn’t use our failure at election to cast aspersion on the integrity of the process. We are leading and it is very clear...’ (This Day, April 18, 2011)

c) Nigerians have voted for unity and prosperity and not on basis of religion and ethnicity’. (This Day, April 18, 2011)

d) ...PDP broke into the stronghold of the opposition Action Congress of Nigeria, ACN, in the South-West... (Sunday Vanguard April 17, 2011)

e) : ...the President would extend an olive branch to his opponents in order to calm the nerves of those who opposed his aspiration. (This Day, April 18, 2011)

f) ‘The President is not looking at this as a victory for himself’ (This Day, April 18, 2011)
g) ...Jonathan had a clean sweep in the Middle Belt of the country, a region populated by northern ethnic minority groups. (Nigerian Tribune, Monday 18 April, 2011)

h) ‘My party, CPC, would like to praise Nigerians who have shown more enthusiasm to pick the leaders of their choice than many involved in moderating the elections have exhibited’. (Nigerian Tribune, Monday 18 April, 2011)

Sentence (a) above, does not have an explicit reference to the underlined word ‘anybody’. We could only infer that it refers to the opposition parties or any group of people who are not satisfied with the outcome of the elections. ‘Anybody’ could discredit the election but in this context, it refers to the main opposition party. The form that does not specify the social actor in any form of representation, just as reflected in the indefinite pronoun ‘anybody’, is what van Leeuwen (2008, p. 39) refers to as ‘indetermination’. It occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, ‘anonymous’ individuals or groups.

In sentence (b), the speaker has carefully implicated by using the first person plural ‘we’ so as not to be interpreted as biased and, to maintain the positive self-image of his group or party. In the clause that follows it, ‘we are leading’ as underlined in the sentence is a form of contradiction. That is, the speaker cannot possibly be part of the group condemning the election when his/her group is leading. Similarly, a leading party or group will not consider themselves as ‘failure’ as we have in the sentence. What the
speaker has done is to use the collective pronominal ‘we’ ironically. In actual fact, the speaker is referring to the aggrieved party as failures.

The next example is another instance of implying that the other party, that is, ‘the outgroup’ based their political aspirations on religious and ethnic divide. In sentence (c), ‘unity and prosperity’ and ‘religion and ethnicity’ could strike an ideological opposition. That is, Nigerians chose to vote on the basis of unity and prosperity but not on the sentiment of religious and ethnic affinity. These statements may not be very neutral if we first consider the likely source of the statement. Could the statements have been uttered by the ‘aggrieved group’? This is not most likely. Based on that, we can infer that it is uttered by someone from the winning group and that is why the implicature arises.

The speaker may be implying that the other party contesting for the position of Presidency may have based their voting patterns along religious and ethnic lines whereas the other group (winning group) represents unity and prosperity. Similar interpretation is to assume that the speaker resulted to implicature because he/she thinks that being explicit with what his/her party represents and what the other party represents might be interpreted as libelous or an open confrontation on the other party.
In example (d), the underlined words ‘broke into the stronghold’ ordinarily means that the party won in the said environment. Moreover, this may have been exaggerated with the verb ‘broke into’ which may suggest that the party recorded the highest number of votes in that place. This also may imply that the opposition is ‘weak’ while PDP is being portrayed as a stronger political party. This is possibly to justify the number of votes garnered in that zone and to debunk the insinuation that the election was not free, fair and credible. This may be an attempt to support the claim that the exercise was devoid of irregularities. As expected in the political territory of the opposition party, such a claim of victory should have been met with strong resistance.

In example (e), ‘positive-face’ of the President as a good statesman who intends to bring all contesting parties together in the spirit of unity is being presented. The underlined words, ‘in order to calm the nerves’ suggest that the opponents are already aggrieved, angered, embittered and likely to foment violence in the country as a result of the outcome of the election. Therefore, ‘calming their nerves’ or extending hands of fellowship is a way of placating them and to also show the ‘magnanimity’ or the spirit of statesmanship of the President.

Similar ‘positive-face’ of the President is implied in example(f) with the use of ‘apparent negation’ (van Dijk, 2003), ‘not’. This may imply that the
President believes that the victory is for Nigerians and not just for himself or his party. The two examples, that is, (e) and (f) may also be intended to mitigate the grievances of the opponents and reduce their resistance. This is a conscious ‘depoliticization’ (Hung and Bradac, 1993, p.7) of message which can influence the target audience. To depoliticize a message is to camouflage it as something else. When such is done, it will render the influence of the communicator more subtle and at the same time it will reduce the resistance from the target audience.

In the final example (h), the sentence is credited to the National Chairman of CPC. What he implies is that the moderators of the exercise were not faithful with Nigerians who have, through their ballots, picked a leader of their choice. But the officials would not allow their votes to count because of malpractices believed to have been perpetrated by some people and supported by the officials. Instead of directly accusing the INEC officials, he compares the enthusiasm displayed by voters with the INEC officials and he praises the voters whom he believes to have been more patriotic.

Having looked at one pragmatic tool in the structures of the news reports, we now examine another pragmatic tool called presupposition.
5.5 Presupposition

This is foregrounded information that a speaker assumes the hearer shares with him for their conversation to thrive. This mutual knowledge enables the speaker to be implicit, most times, in the conversation by assuming that the co-interactants are aware of what he does not directly mention. However, it is based more on the actual linguistic structure of sentence than certain contextual assumptions or pragmatic inference. That is why Saeed (1997, p. 98) opines that ‘many presuppositions are produced by the presence of certain words’.

In this study, both semantic and pragmatic presuppositions are collapsed as one because as semantic presupposition must be evaluated in the discourse participants’ common ground so also pragmatic presupposition at times needs to be encoded into linguistic structures through ‘presupposition triggers’ (Frege, 1980). Triggers are ‘presupposition-generating linguistic items’ (Levinson, 1983, p. 179) which signal the existence of presupposition. And these triggers help to achieve the speaker action of presupposing. It is worth mentioning that presuppositions also have ideological functions just like implicatures because they relate to general sociocultural knowledge or beliefs which are not asserted but could be inferred.
In this study, we adopt Khaleel’s (2010) categorization with some modifications because his categorization collapses Karttunen’s thirty-One presupposition triggers as (cited in Levinson 1983, p. 181-184), and Yule (1996, p. 28). The classification is in three types, namely: existential, lexical and structural. Each category has sub-categories that are modified based on the types of presupposition triggers found in our data. The major categories and their sub-constituents as we have in our data are shown below.

**Figure 7: Categorization of Presupposition Triggers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presupposition Triggers</th>
<th>Existential</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Structural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite descriptions</td>
<td>Implicative verbs</td>
<td>Cleft constructions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factive verbs</td>
<td>Change of state verbs</td>
<td>Wh-questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of state verbs</td>
<td>Counter factual verbs</td>
<td>Adverbia clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional items</td>
<td>Iteratives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classifications in Figure 7 have been explained under presupposition in section 2.1.5.

Let us consider the presupposition triggers in the newspaper reports starting from existential, lexical and structural.
Table 21: Existential Presuppositions Triggers in the Newspaper Reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Existential)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite descriptions</td>
<td>a) Also commendable is the political leadership of the country whose utterances and body language sent a clear message that the era of do-or-die politics, or imposition of elected leaders, is over’. (The Guardian, Monday April 18, 2011)</td>
<td>The era of do-or-die politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) ...deciding the winner in the first ballot would reduce the tension in the country. (SUNDAY PUNCH April 17, 2011)</td>
<td>The tension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sentence a, the underlined definite article ‘the’ presupposes two things; the existence of *do-or-die politics* and *imposition of elected leaders*. The speaker may be implying that the current leadership (Goodluck Jonathan) is not an imposition by any political leader but the wish of the people. That is, in the previous political dispensations, elections were generally known to be war-like because speeches and actions of political actors always portend danger, violence and threats. Also, where there is imposition of leaders on the people and party for elective positions, there must be existence of *Godfatherism*.

Similarly, the definite article in sentence b indicates that there is tension already in the country due to the fear of agitation and violence that usually
accompany elections in the country. Another pointer to the presence of tension in the country may have been caused by the various campaign speeches of contestants and their parties which heated the political space with hate speeches. Therefore, these examples tend to support the credibility of the election by comparing it with the presupposed previous elections which made people to lose interest in the process. The second category is lexical presupposition and it is examined below.

Table 22: Lexical Presuppositions Triggers in the Newspapers Reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Lexical)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Counter-factual      | a) But Buhari... has already alleged foul play in the conduct of the exercise.  
                        b) Buhari had... alleged that thumb-printed ballot papers were airlifted to different states... (Sunday Punch April 17, 2011) | Alleged | Alleged |
| Conventional items   | c) The massive turnout recorded on Saturday had further emphasized people’s belief in the credibility and transparency of the process. (Sunday Punch April 17, 2011)  
                        d) People have shown | Further | |
e) Nigeria is now experiencing true democracy where we the politicians have to go to the people because the power belongs to the people. (Sunday Punch April 17, 2011)
f) Former President Olusegun Obasanjo in his reaction described the presidential election as a victory for Nigeria and Nigerians... (Vanguard, Monday April 18, 2011)

The counter-factual verb ‘allege’ presupposes information which is not true. Therefore, the speaker is trying to discredit the claims of Buhari about the ‘foul play’ and the ‘thumb-printed ballot papers being airlifted’. Ideologically, it shows that the claims are non-factual and unfounded though the speaker does not explicitly state it but it is presupposed in
sentences a and b. In sentence c, the adverb ‘further’ presupposes that the people had already believed in the transparency and credibility of election hence their resolve to participate in the exercise.

In sentences d, e, and f, the election is regarded as a new dawn because it is peaceful, orderly and it shows high commitment from the people. The adjective new presupposes that the election is different from the old practice or it is a shift from what used to characterize previous elections in Nigeria. Therefore, if the election is a new dawn, it means the previous democratic processes were not good enough; thus not free and fair. In a similar vein, the adjective ‘true’ further supports the idea that the election is better than the previous ones because it presupposes that what Nigerians experienced in the past was not true democracy probably because the politicians had the absolute power with no regard to the people’s choice.

In sentence f, ‘victory’ is used to lay credence to the success of the election by presupposing that the exercise was credible because it represents the wish of Nigerians. The speaker could have said the exercise is ‘a victory for Jonathan’ without attributing it to Nigerians but he chose to attribute it to Jonathan because he may want to cajole his listeners into believing that the outcome of the election represents their wish.

Finally, ‘restore’ is used as iterative presupposing recurrence or regaining of something that was lost in the past; confidence of Nigerians in electoral
process. It means that the people had lost confidence in the electoral process before because of the irregularities that usually characterized the process.

The third category that is adopted in this study is structural presupposition and it is explained below.

Table 23: Structural Presuppositions Triggers in the Newspaper Reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Structural)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wh-/ yes/no questions</td>
<td>a) How did they know the number of percentage of people who voted?</td>
<td>How and Are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Are they REC? (This Day April 18, 2011)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative/Adverbial Clauses</td>
<td>c) My party, the CPC, would like to praise Nigerians who have shown more enthusiasm to pick the leaders of their choice than many involved in moderating the elections have exhibited. (Nigerian Tribune, Monday April 18, 2011)</td>
<td>Who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) The commission had hardly finished announcing the results for the two states when Sirika and Garba alleged that there was foul play. (This Day, Monday, April 18, 2011)</td>
<td>When</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) the agents were arrested by the police when they protested their denial of entry into the collation centre. (This Day, Monday, April 18, 2011)</td>
<td>When</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interrogatives ‘how and are’ are used as means of generating presupposed information. For wh-question ‘how’, it should presuppose that the addressed know the number of percentage of people who voted and at the same, it is assumed that the speaker wants the addressed to name their source. However, in the context of the news report, the speaker may be presupposing another thing different from the expected information. The speaker may be implying that the people being addressed have no claim concerning the percentage of voters because they are not the Resident Electoral Commissioner. This example may be an attempt to dislodge their claims because the speaker knows that the addressed are not REC because only REC could authenticate the percentage of people who voted.

In sentence (c) the relative clause identifier ‘who’ shows that voters are committed to choose leaders of their choice. Meanwhile, the presupposed information is triggered by comparatives such as the adjective ‘more’ and conjunction ‘than’. The comparatives in the relative clause presuppose that officials involved in the conduct of the election are not committed like the voters. That could possibly mean that the officials gave room for malpractices since they did not exhibit the same level of commitment as the voters. The presupposition in sentence distriggers by the adverbial clause of time ‘when’. What it presupposes is that there was an allegation levelled by Sirika and Garba. The allegation is on foul play observed in the conduct of the election. In sentence e, there are two propositions. The two
propositions are triggered by the adverbial ‘when’. The first presupposed information is that ‘there was a protest by the agents’, and secondly, ‘the agents were not allowed to enter the collation centre’. Though we could deduce that the cause of their protest was their denial of entry into the collation centre, it thus still presupposes that probably the exercise was not devoid of irregularities.

The quantitative results of the presuppositions that characterize the two ideologies in the data are presented below.

**Figure 8: Distribution of Presupposition Triggers in the Newspapers Reports**

The results presented in the bar chart above indicate that conventional items (CI) have the highest occurrence with 28.57%, followed by
relative/adverbial clauses (R/AD) with 21.42%; counter-factual verbs (CF); definitive descriptions (DD); and wh-/yes/no questions (WH-Q) with 14.28%. Iteratives (IT) are the least occurred presupposition triggers with 7.14%. The findings on the presupposition triggers could only mean that presuppositions in newspapers are still closely linked to lexical items and that both semantic and pragmatic approaches are much relevant in presupposition analysis.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has investigated the structures of the micro propositions in the newspaper reports with the intent of establishing the nature of the representation. The chapter used the linguistic parameters of lexicalization, transitivity, social actor representation, implicatures and presupposition because they are all capable of having underlying meanings which can help in the interpretation of the news reports.

Having investigated the structures of the micro propositions in this chapter, the next chapter identifies and analyses the ideological propositions in the newspaper reports.
CHAPTER SIX

STRUCTURES OF IDEOLOGIES, THEIR IMPLICATIONS AND POWER RELATIONS IN THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter investigated the structures of the micro propositions in the newspaper representation of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election. The current chapter combines two objectives. Firstly, it identifies the ideological propositions and analyses their discursive structures in the news reports in sections 6.1 and 6.2. Secondly, it analyses the power relations in the news reports in section 6.3. These objectives are achieved by adopting van Dijk’s (2009) cognitive approach to the study of ideology.

The approach combines three levels of ideological analysis namely: cognitive, social, and discursive. The cognitive level examines the internal components and mental structures of ideologies. This gives insight into whose ideologies are being served or advanced and the ones being suppressed or undermined. The second level is the social basis or macro-level of ideology which examines the social functions of ideologies, such as power. The third level, discursive, examines how ideologies are expressed and reproduced in the news reports. The numbering system in this chapter is done using alphabetical system under every category examined and not a continuation of numbers in chapter five.
Section 6.1 begins with the concept of ideology before proceeding to the structures of ideology.

**6.1 Ideological Beliefs**

The concept of ideology that this study embraces (cf.2.12) takes ideology to be beliefs system that is held by groups and how the beliefs or opinions are articulated in news reports. This embrace is not an easy one because the concept of ideology is potentially rich and sometimes vague to the extent that delineating it amidst varying perspectives could pose a tough decision. It is also important to state categorically at the outset of this analysis on structures of ideologies that, ideologies in the present study are not clearly demarcated like the American style of political ideologies which identify and attribute different political beliefs or values to either of the dominant political parties. Mostly, this arises in form of political beliefs and approaches to governance, such as Republicans or Democrats.

For instance, we could say that Republicans are anti-immigrants while the Democrats are pro-immigrants. Similar to this is the Conservative and Labour Parties in Britain. The Conservative Party led by the Prime Minister, David Cameron advocated for Britain to remain in the European Union (Bremain) while the Labour Party led by Jeremy Corbyn campaigned for Britain to leave the European Union (Brexit). Their politics are driven by issues which make them ideologically
oppositional. Unlike Nigeria, there is no clear-cut difference in the several political parties’ ideologies. Perhaps, if this study was looking at campaigns of different political parties, we could have been able to unveil their differential ideological stances but this study looks at newspapers representation of the election.

Therefore, this study does not see ideologies as a ready state of being which can generally be nominalised, say ‘anti-gay or pro-gay’ ‘Bremain, Brexit’, pro-government or anti-government, rather ideology is seen as an ‘ongoing process’, following the opinion of Street (1993). The ideologies alluded to in the present study are concerning the outcome of the presidential election and not on systems of governance. This stance is similar to Attia (2007, p.91) that ‘ideologies can be hidden or disguised, they can come in the form of opinions about specific event or in the way such an event is presented. They often represent the polarized form that indicates the opposition between Us and Them’. The four opinions that are fronted and contested in the news reports are the following:

a) The 2011 presidential election was peaceful.
b) The 2011 election was chaotic and bomb ridden in some parts of the country.
c) The 2011 presidential election was free and fair.
d) The 2011 election was fraudulent and marred with electoral irregularities.
According to Kress, (1985), ideologies find their clearest articulation in language through different social practices. Therefore, examining language from semantic (lexical processes) and pragmatic levels (implicatures and presuppositions) could be said to be a right step towards the examination of ideological structures. Furthermore, ideological beliefs are not ‘an unordered set of evaluative propositions’ and they are not organised arbitrarily (van Dijk, 1995, p. 248; 2003). Just like other complex representations in memory, ideologies may also have a schematic nature where some conventional categories are built. The categories will make social actors to understand, accept, reject or modify an ideology. van Dijk, (2003) posits that the categories should be derived from the basic properties of the social group.

Therefore, what van Dijk (1998a) proposes as categories or schema of ideological beliefs is relevant to this study because the ideologies that are highlighted above are conceived on the basis of groups (political parties). These categories are part of the mental structures that will help define the ideologies and how they look like. The categories are as follow:

a) Membership/Identity criteria: For any belief to be ideological, it must first be borne out of a social group. It means that certain groups of people share some things in common to be able to define their membership. In this study, the groups are political parties wherein one
party refers to the other party in oppositional terms, such as our opponents.

b) Typical activities: This refers to the activities of the social groups which define them or the essence of their being. In the present study, the political parties campaign for candidates and contest elections for elective positions.

c) Overall aims: The overall aims of the political parties in the context of this study is to win elections, govern the people and develop policies favorable to the interests of their members and may be the general populace at large.

d) Norms and values: These are ideas that are cherished by the social groups. The norms and values also include peculiar ways or approach of how they carry out their objectives.

e) Position: This has to do with the current position of the social groups in the society. For instance, political parties are either the ruling party or the opposition at a particular point in time.

f) Resources: This is related to the category position above. What a political party usually enjoys and wants to have always is to be the ruling party and they do all they know to make sure they protect it so that other parties do not take from them. If the party is on the opposition side, it will always be struggling to have power and control the affairs of governance. This is the only way the party could be relevant.
If we look at the above categories, we would discover that each category is explained in a polarized manner where one group’s identity is contrasted against the other. This form of polarization will give room for difference in ideological positions. That is, the categories will lead to defining who and what a particular group stands for as against the other group. Therefore, the most likely way of expressing polarity is saying positive things about ‘Us’ and negative things about ‘Them’. That is a general feature of opposing groups, such as political parties, social actors participating in elections, media groups, etc.

This feature is well encapsulated in what van Dijk (2003, p.44) refers to as the ideological square.

a) Emphasise positive things about Us

b) Emphasise negative things about Them

c) De-emphasise negative things about Us

d) De-emphasise positive things about Them

In the news reports, there are two groups whose ideologies are represented. One group is portrayed in such a way that makes the outcome of the presidential election acceptable to the public, while the other group is presented in a way that suggests that the outcome of the election is rejected. The different strategies of the ideological divides are presented in
The strategies are what constitute van Dijk’s (1998, 2003) cognitive structures of ideologies. The section examines the linguistic categories that make up van Dijk’s cognitive structures with examples from the news reports. The examples are the ones that echo the four ideologies highlighted in section 6.1 namely: that the 2011 presidential election was peaceful; that 2011 election was chaotic and bomb ridden in some parts of the country; that 2011 presidential election was free and fair; and that the 2011 election was fraudulent and marred with electoral irregularities.

6.2 Discursive and Cognitive Structures of Ideologies

In the current study, the discursive and cognitive levels of analysis begin with: topicalisation, contrast, disclaimer, evidentiality, voice projection and discourse forms respectively. They are used in the production of the news reports as discursive strategies to emphasise the mental models that are consistent with the ideological square.

6.2.1 Topicalisation

There are different syntactic choices that writers deploy in writing. The different choices determine or are associated with some change in meaning of the information. One of such choices is topicalisation; the movement of an element to the left periphery of a sentence. The movable elements could be nouns, adjuncts, etc. Huckin (2002, p.8) opines that topicalisation ‘is the
positioning of a sentence element at the beginning of the sentence so as to
give it prominence.’ Similar to this opinion is van Dijk (2003, p.54)
‘topicalisation allows some words to be put upfront whereas other words
are ‘downgraded’ by appearing later in the sentence.

According to Prince (1981), topicalisation has two discourse functions.
One, it marks the entity represented by the NP as being either already
evoked in the discourse or else in a salient set relation to something already
evoked or inferable from the discourse. Two, it marks an open proposition
as being appropriate in the hearer’s consciousness at the time of hearing the
utterance. Meanwhile, the notion of topicalisation in relation to Prince’s
discourse functions is at sentential level and not a broader notion of
discourse topicalisation as opined by Halliday (1976).

Therefore, when an NP is fronted or is an agent, it is better noticed than
when it is a recipient. Similarly, when such an NP now occurs as a semantic
recipient in a topicalised position, it receives a better focus than when it is a
comment. According to Givon (1981) as cited in Forrest (1994, p. 149), the
passive construction ‘topicalises the patient [semantic recipient],
detopicalises the agent and stativizes the event’.

In the present study, the aspect that is observed is topicalisation in the
headlines. This is because the headlines constitute the information that the
readers will mostly recall. The information in the headlines, of course, is further explained in the contents of the news reports but the readers will find the headlines more catchy and easy to remember because ‘newspapers headlines are forerunners to news reports’ (Taiwo, 2007, p.222).

Consider the following topicalisation in the headlines:

a. Labour rates election high, lauds (voters)
b. Hurricane Jonathan Knocks out (Buhari)
c. Jonathan cruises to victory, Reaches out to (opponents)
d. Jonathan floors (Buhari, Ribadu)

In the headlines above, the pieces of information that appear as grammatical subjects are fronted thereby receiving more emphasis than the later parts of the headlines like ‘Buhari, opponents, Ribadu, voters’ which are downgraded. The semantic recipients of the actions denoted by the verbs in the headlines are not given focus. Similarly, the agents in the headlines; (Jonathan) are prominent. On the other hand, if the headlines had taken passive constructions, the agents would have been less emphasized. The same headlines could also have appeared as “Buhari, Ribadu lost to Jonathan”; “Buhari got knocked out”; Jonathan reaches out to opponents, cruises to victory”. These alternatives would have shifted the emphasis to the recipients instead of Jonathan. Out of the twelve headlines, ‘Jonathan’ appears seventimes such that the name is consistently portrayed
as initiating the actions in the headlines. This could suggest power while other contestants and actions are depicted as passive recipients.

Similarly, topicalisation as a discourse form ‘closely corresponds to the ideological square [which takes the form of positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation]’ (van Dijk, 2003, p. 55). Therefore, the ideological implication of topicalising Jonathan in the above example is presenting the information which emphasizes his positive presentation.

From all the underlined words in a, b, c, d, above, there is positive information about the President cruising to victory. The issue of ‘victory’ is prioritized and that is why it is given more prominence than ‘reaching out to his opponents, and lauding voters’. Ideologically, this helps to downplay all other issues of irregularities as complained by the opposition parties which could have provided a fair news context than a favoured version of the news. It is not out of place to also note that these instances of topicalisation ideologically provided a form of a particular frame of interpretation, mostly warped versions, which will be absorbed and believed by the readers. This is expected because, in an ideologically polarized text, negative information about us will not be topicalised and that may explain why all these examples about Jonathan are positive.

Apart from topicalisation in the headlines which could shape the views of readers, there could also be topicalisation in the lead paragraphs with
various explicit level of description. The lead is the first sentence in news reports and its objective is to frame the entire story. However, the lead is not only expressed in a sentence because many sentences can make up the lead in a paragraph. In lead paragraphs, the sentence structures, in terms of what is expressed first or last, can also reveal a form of ideological slants depending on what the writer stands to achieve. It opens up the ideological slant by either negative or positive account of the story. Some propositions may be expressed in the sentences that are upfront while others may be expressed at the end.

Let us consider topicalisation in the lead paragraphs from the data presented below.

a. Dr. Goodluck Jonathan is the President-elect only awaiting official confirmation from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) today, going by the results that were announced yesterday by the Resident Electoral Commissioners …. (This Day, April 18, 2011)
b. President Goodluck Jonathan of the (PDP) has won last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest rivals,... (Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011)
c. President Goodluck Jonathan, the presidential candidate of the PDP, broke into the stronghold of the opposition ACN, in the South-West, in yesterday’s presidential election. (Sunday Vanguard, April 17, 2011)

In the lead paragraphs presented above, the underlined clauses are presented first in the lead paragraphs of the newspapers. These clauses are placed upfront and they will probably receive more emphasis and consequently have more control on the reader’s interpretation of the news reports. On the
contrary, clauses that are expressed last in the lead paragraphs may have less influence.

Ideologically, the first clauses may be displaying ‘ingroup favouritism’ concerning the acclaimed victory for President Goodluck Jonathan. This is because other presidential aspirants were either not mentioned at all in the lead paragraphs or they are backgrounded. Therefore, the newspapers through this style of reporting could be attempting to advance or lead opinions about the exercise rather than just informing their readers. The ‘outgroup derogation’ could be said to be present in the following underlined clause. ‘President Goodluck Jonathan of the (PDP) has won last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest rivals, Major General Muhammadu Buhari of the CPC, and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the ACN. (Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011).

The above could mean that the newspaper is more concerned about the first part of the paragraph which states who wins the election rather than who is being defeated. In all the twelve lead paragraphs, only one newspaper reports the election from a perspective which is different from the rest. This one newspaper’s lead paragraph reads thus: ‘The presidential election in which Nigerians decided the fate of President Goodluck Jonathan... and about sixteen others, was marred by violence in the form of bomb blast, and mob attacks’. (Sunday Trust, April 17, 2011). The lead paragraph does
not attribute agency to any of the presidential aspirants, rather it topicalises the event itself and what transpired during the event.

Finally, ‘headlines are emotion-inducing strategy in the hands of editors to initiate, sustain discourse and shape the views of readers’ (Taiwo, 2007). This position is similar to that of Richardson (2007) that headlines perform a double function: a semantic (in relation to the referential text) and pragmatic (regarding the reader) functions. And the pragmatic function is therefore to attract the readers because they usually read and recall only the headlines. To Juhani (2008, p.8), headline ‘sells the story to the reader’ by providing a framework for the reading process and steering the readers in a certain direction.

Therefore, when writers resort to topicalisation (sentence-level foregrounding) in headlines and lead paragraphs, it helps them create the perspective or slant they intended so as to influence the perception of the readers. In the news reports, headlines and structures of the lead paragraphs that are examined show patterns that suggest a form of positive bias towards Jonathan and this support the ideologies of peaceful, and free, and fair elections.

6.2.2 Contrast
The concept of contrast probably must have emerged from ethnographic studies of language which involve ‘a comparative approach to description and analysis of languages’ (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 144). The comparative approach allows comparing of forms and functions in diverse languages and social settings. In discourse analysis, contrast is both a semantic and pragmatic structure of ideologies. It is a semantic concept when the lexical items on comparison share the same semantic relation of antonymy. Whereas, a pragmatic account of contrast is based more on contextual background that informs the social engagements.

Lakoff (1971), as cited in Schiffrin (1988, p.186) posits that there are two different sources of contrastive knowledge namely: semantic contrast which occurs between lexical items, and pragmatic contrast which relies on context and shared beliefs. In his account of contrast, an example like ‘John is tall but Bill is short’ is realized sentential through the conjunction ‘but’. Therefore, tall and short are binaries. On pragmatic contrast, he states that it is between speaker/hearer expectations, e.g. ‘Mary is poor but happy’. This example shows that there is no lexical contrast between poor and happy but it thus suggests that poor people are not supposed to be happy or are not happy.

In this study, we are not looking at contrast from the lexical (semantic) perspective, rather from a pragmatic perspective, but not the same as
Lakoff’s. This is because Lakoff’s pragmatic view of contrast still makes use of lexical items and the hearer’s expectations to derive the meaning and contrast in a sentence. This may not be feasible in our study since we are not examining contrast in isolated sentences but contrast in context of the news reports. Therefore, the study adopts van Dijk’s use of contrast which is derived from a critical discourse point of view.

In critical discourse analysis point of view, contrast happens when there are two or more groups having conflicting interests as a result of social struggle or competition. This opposition is mostly realized by polarizing their arguments in discourse. One is the ‘ingroups’ which portray themselves positively, and the other, the ‘outgroups’ which are portrayed negatively. According to van Dijk (2003), a form of polarization that is semantically implemented by contrast is the overall strategy of ideological discourse which is to emphasise something good about us and something bad about the other group (our good things and their bad things). Contrast that could be realized in the arguments of the opposing groups may come in form of different attempts by each group to debunk claims of the other groups while upholding theirs.

In the discourse about racism, for instance, Matheson (2005, p.141) opines that ‘racism can be described in terms of a binary between an in-group and an out-group, a structure that is central to the interests of the dominant
groups in a society’. This means that in ideological discourses, contrast is inherent between one group and the other. Contrast or binaries is sometimes deployed as one rhetorical tool among a range of ways of talking about ideological discourses. It is a rhetorical tool because in traditional account of rhetoric, it is the ‘artful and skilled use of language, … for persuasive purposes (Saville-Troike, 2003, p.145).

In the present study, elections were conducted on the platforms of political parties where one of the parties was the ruling party (PDP) fielding the incumbent President as its Presidential flag bearer while other parties were regarded as the opposition parties (CPC, ACN, ANPP) with different individuals as presidential candidates. In the news reports, the kinds of contrasts that are prevalent are contextual or pragmatic; that is, they relate to the whole discourse of election news reports and not sentential where the contrast is more of semantic relations of oppositeness.

The following discursive contrasts are observed in the news reports. The contrasts are in three forms namely: apparent mentioning of names of political parties, the use of pronouns ‘we and them’, and referents to candidate’s geographical locations. The classifications project below as stated respectively.
Let us consider the following examples on apparent mentioning of names of political parties as a contrastive tool.

a. The polling agents of CPC, Senator-elect Hardis Sirika and Gen. India Garba, queried the election results from FCT and Enugu.

b. But the National Organizing Secretary of the PDP, Prince Uche Secondus, ... told journalists that Nigerians should not listen to anybody who was trying to discredit the election...

c. ... CPC agents in Kuje and Gudu Karia wards were denied entry into the collation centre.

d. Secondus, ... said CPC was crying wolf where there was none. (sample 5)

In examples a and b, there are arguments and counter arguments about the results of the elections by the main contender which is the ruling party, PDP and the main opposition party, CPC. In examples c and d, there are two groups involved in the arguments. In c, the opposition party claimed its agents were denied entry into the place where the results of elections were collated whereas in d, the ruling party says that the opposition was crying wolf. In the examples a-d, each group is trying to claim and protect its ‘positive-face’ and expose the ‘negative-face’ of the other. In these examples, the names of the parties in binary opposition are mentioned or ‘obvious’ and that helps to locate who is saying what and who is responding to what is said.
Apart from ‘obvious’ referents like in a-d where the names of the political parties or their agents are mentioned, there are also instances where their discursive opposition is brought to fore through the second person plural pronoun ‘We’ and the third person objective pronoun ‘Them’. Similarly, in example b, the use of indefinite pronoun ‘anybody’ is referring to the opposition parties because they are most likely the group to discredit the outcome of the exercise.

Consider the following sentences on the use of pronouns as a contrastive tool from sample 5.

a) I will urge them to be careful...
b) We are leading and it is clear.
c) We are not surprised at this plot of the CPC

The instances of the plural pronoun ‘we’ and the third person objective pronoun ‘them’ above further reflect the ideological polarization in the news reports. From the context of the news reports, we can track the referent of ‘them’ and ‘we’ as used in the sentences above. We could observe that in the sentences above where the names of the groups are mentioned and where they are implied through pronouns, each group is trying to provide justifications for its claims by countering the claims or arguments of the other party.
The election news reports also exhibit a somewhat ‘extreme’ polarization between the Northern and the Southern regions of Nigeria. This may be evident in the areas where the main contenders polled their highest number of votes.

Let us take a look at the following examples on reference to candidates’ geographical locations.

a. Jonathan won in 23 states, including 16 out of the 17 Southern states...
b. The CPC candidate, Buhari won in 12 states - all in the North. (This Day, April 18, 2011)
c. While Jonathan of the PDP is believed to be having the upper hand in the South, South East and South West, Buhari led in many wards in the North-East, North-West and North-Central. (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

Going by the reports from the zones mentioned in the sentences above, we could observe that there is presence of ethnic and religious divides which also play active roles in the outcome of the exercise. The Peoples Democratic Party’s candidate, President Jonathan, hails from the South while Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change is from the North. The underlined examples show that Buhari has the highest number of votes from the North while Jonathan has his highest number of votes from the South.

In the three categories of contrast examined above, what is observable is that there is ideological polarity between the two political parties. The opposition parties are systematically portrayed as the aggrieved who wants
to scuttle the acclaimed peaceful exercise by the ruling party. Also, the ruling party, PDP is portrayed as being peaceful because they are represented as ‘urging’ the other parties to accept the outcome of the elections.

### 6.2.3 Disclaimer

Disclaimer involves the presentation of something positively and then rejecting it with a particular term such as ‘but’ (van Dijk, 2003, p.50). It is a form of ideological semantic structure which is common in prejudiced discourse where there is presence of group polarization. It usually presents ingroups positively and outgroups negatively. The first part of such discursive structure expresses positive representation of the ingroup while the later clause expresses negative representation of the outgroup (van Dijk, 1987).

Disclaimer is used for keeping the face of the speaker because he does not want his recipients to have negative opinion about him. This strategy is mostly used to ‘prejudice, mitigate or keep the face of the speaker’ (Irham & Wahyudi, 2004, p.94).

Let us consider the classifications of disclaimer by van Dijk (2003, p.50).
1) Apparent Concession: The speaker tries to acknowledge certain positive quality about the other party. ‘They may be very smart, but…’

2) Apparent Empathy: The speaker tries to show concern or feeling about the plight of the other party. ‘They may have had problems, but…’

3) Apparent Apology: The speaker shows apology. ‘Excuse me, but…’

4) Apparent Effort: The speaker tries to show or portray his groups’ effort. ‘We do everything we can, but…’

5) Transfer: The speaker shifts attention away from himself. ‘I have no problems with them, but my clients…’

6) Reversal, blaming the victim: ‘THEY are not discriminated against, but WE are!’

The above classifications are several ways of using disclaimer as a discursive strategy in ideological discourse. To van Dijk, apparent denial or negation is the best known form of disclaimer; ‘I have nothing against X, but...’ Usually, in apparent denial or negation, the first part of the clause disclaims or denies a proposition which may portray the speaker as being biased against the hearer while the later part of the clause upholds the negative other-presentation of the hearer. Let us consider this sentence: ‘They are not our enemies even though they steal our belongings’. The underlined clause denies any negative opinion of the other group while the later clause upholds that negative other-presentation that was denied in the first place.
It is pertinent to indicate that though van Dijk’s definition of the above categories are used in relation to racist and immigrants discourse, the categories are applicable to this study because the major function of disclaimer is to ensure positiveself-presentation and negative other-presentation which are embedded in all ideological discourses. In the news reports, the polarized groups are the two main political parties contending for the office of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Let us now consider the following instances of disclaimer strategies in the present study.

a) Officials of the Peoples Democratic Party, (PDP) said there was nothing like voting without accreditation, it is all part of CPC’s plot to discredit the election... (THISDAY April 18, 2011)

b) The Officials queried the thumb-printed ballots’ claim, saying there was no way it could be airlifted, since all airports were closed from 10pm Friday, explaining that it was all part of the grand design to discredit the result of the Presidential election.

c) But the legitimate CPC agent at the polling unit denied knowing them [the thugs].

In sentences a and b, we have examples of apparent negation. The speakers refute or discredit the claimsthat ‘there was voting without accreditation and airlifting of thumb-printed ballots’ respectively. The forms of denial in a and b are different from van Dijk’s where the first part of a sentence denies a feeling of negative attitude against the other party. In the examples, the first parts of the sentences deny claims which are geared towards smearing positive ‘own face’ or the victory of the accused in the election; it is not denying a negative attitude against the other party. In the
second parts of the sentences, the underlined words are the negative other-presentations of the other groups. In example c, there is only a case of protecting positive-self-image and it does not involve negative-other presentation. This is achieved by strictly denying a group without portraying the group either positively or negatively.

The sentences are used to ‘save the face’ of the accused group (PDP) and prevent the readers from having a negative opinion about the party. Similarly, the later parts of the propositions which are underlined are negative representations of the accuser (opposition party). In the first parts of the examples, the attempt to deny the allegations leveled against the PDP is a way of portraying their group in positive light while the later parts of the examples portray the ‘negative face’ of the other group.

6.2.4 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is a concept that has been theorised from three perspectives namely: grammatical, semantic and pragmatic. As a grammatical phenomenon, Aikhenvald (2004, p.1) states that ‘every statement must specify the type of source on which it is based’… whether the speaker saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence, or learnt it from someone else. This grammatical category, whose primary meaning is information source, is called ‘evidentiality’. It is a grammatical means of expressing information source or linguistic encoding of speaker’s evidence
for an asserted proposition. In this perspective, there is no speaker’s certainty about the authenticity of the information reported. That is, evidentiality does not necessarily represent the authorial stance or his point of view. Aikhenvald (2004, p. 5) also submits that ‘when the source of knowledge is declared, it does not necessarily mean it is connected to the truth of the statement.’ A language such as German has grammatical markers such as affixes, clitics or particles in expressing evidentiality but English does not show evidentiality through that.

In a semantic sense adopted by Chafe (1986); Palmer (1986) and Crystal (2008), ‘evidentiality is defined as a term used for a ‘type of EPISTEMIC MODALITY where PROPOSITIONS are asserted that are open to challenge by the hearer, and thus require justification. Evidential[sic] constructions express a speaker’s strength of commitment to a proposition in terms of the available evidence (rather than in terms of possibility or necessity)’ (Crystal 2008, pp. 176-77). Palmer (1986) opines that evidentiality is part of the epistemic modal system and both deals with the degree of commitment on the part of the author/speaker to the proposition. That is, epistemic modality as a semantic domain expresses the speaker’s attitude to the truth of a proposition being expressed. This perspective differs from the grammatical perspective because it introduces a form of ‘justification’ (Alonso-Almeida & Adams, 2012, p.10) on the part of the author as to why evidential expressions or markers are used in discourse.
The third tenet considers evidentiality from a pragmatic point of view. This view is supported by Ifantidou (2001) when she points out that studies on evidentials have relied heavily on pragmatic interpretations. The pragmatic dimension is borne out of the fact that evidential expressions have ‘multifaceted meaning-in-context’ which encourages resorting to presupposition, accommodation, conversational implicature, and illocutionary force.

In this study, we adopt the semantic perspective because it has been argued by Mushin (2001) that English does lack clear grammatical markers of evidentiality. However, it accounts for evidentiality through other identifiable means such as lexical markers namely: adverbials of propositional attitudes’ (obviously, certainly, possibly, undoubtedly, probably, etc); that-clauses, and adjectives. Out of these lexical markers, evidentials are mostly embedded in the adverbials. Adverbials have been classified by Conrad and Biber (2000) based on three parameters namely: the semantic class, grammatical realization, and its position in the clause. Each of this parameter has sub-divisions. Semantic class is further grouped into ‘epistemic stance, attitudinal stance, and style stance; grammatical parameter has single verb, a prepositional phrase, a noun phrase, , a finite subordinate clause, or a non-finite subordinate clause while the position in the clause could be initial, pre-verbal, post-verbal, and final.
In the news reports, what we seek to identify are the instances of semantic evidentials that seem to support the ideologies we identified at the beginning of this section. This would consequently influence the mental models of the recipients of the news reports. Let us now consider how instances of semantic evidentiality are couched in the news reports. We start by examining ‘adverbials, ‘that-clauses’ and ‘according to’ respectively.

**Adverbials:**

Let us consider the following examples of adverbials as evidential strategy in the news reports:

*a.* *In a statement in Abuja yesterday,* the Acting General Secretary of the Congress, Owei Lakemfa, said despite some hitches, which were not unexpected in elections of such magnitude, the elections were successful in the light of past polls. (Guardian April 18, 2011)

*b.* *Never in our history has such conduct, resolve and commitment of the voting populace been so clearly demonstrated*. (Guardian April 18, 2011)

*c.* *From the results so far released,* Jonathan polled a total of 22,350,242 votes to beat Buhari, who had 11,914,953 to a distant second,... (Nigerian Tribune April 18, 2011)

*d.* *Previously, the farthest the ethnic minority groups in the country got was the vice-presidency.* (Nigerian Tribune April 18, 2011)

*e.* *With results officially released by the state collation officers in 35 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) last night,* President Jonathan of the PDP had won this years’ presidential election with... (Daily Trust, April 18, 2011)

*f.* *Dr. Goodluck Jonathan is the President-elect only awaiting official confirmation from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) today, going by the results that were announced yesterday by the Resident Electoral Commissioners ....* (This Day, April 18, 2011)
The underlined are the adverbials that are used as the information source. In terms of their position in the clause, they are all placed at the beginning of the sentences. In terms of grammatical parameter, the adverbials in sentences a, b, c and e are all couched in prepositional phrases headed by in, (in example a) in, (in example b) from, (in example c) and with (in example e) respectively. In example d, ‘previously’ is a single adverb that helps to connect the present to the past. It is also placed at the initial position of the sentence. In example f, the evidential expression is at the final position of the sentence and it is an adverbial clause. The underlined adverbials in sentences a-e are evidential expressions which support the claim of victory and peaceful conduct and successfulness of the presidential election. Hence, it can be seen that they are not viewed from epistemic point of view which looks at the author’s commitment to or stance on the expressed propositions.

**That-clauses:**

Consider the following examples on that-clauses as evidential strategy:
a. *The News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) reports that* as soon as the results were announced, a carnival-like celebration erupted... daily triumph

b. *He (INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner) lamented that most of the violence was propelled by unfounded rumour, deliberately circulated to achieve some political goals.*

c. *The pattern of voting suggested that Nigerians have voted for unity and prosperity and not on basis of religion and ethnicity.*... *This Day April 18, 2011.*

In *That-clauses*, the structures usually contain verbs which are labeled as epistemic lexical verbs by Hyland (1998). They are verbs which show the writer’s attitude or commitment to the proposition they write about. In the sentences above, the verbs ‘*reports, lamented and suggested*’ are not all epistemic because *reports* and *suggested* are just evidential lexical verbs which show the source of the information in the sentences *a* and *c*. Both verbs could be classified under Dixon’s (2005) semantic verbal categories of ‘*deciding (suggested) and speaking (reports)*’. The verbs are just reporting verbs which state the source of the information in *that-clauses*.

On the other hand, the underlined verb in sentence *b* ‘*lamented*’ may be evidential and epistemic because the verb may not just be indicating the mode of the information but also showing the level or degree of certainty of the source and the commitment of the writer.

Apart from the adverbials and *that-clauses* which are used in the above instances, evidentiality also manifested in form of ‘*according to*’ and making reference to authority and to figures.

**According to:**
Consider the following instances of ‘according to’ as evidential strategies:

a) *In total, the PDP polled 22,496,157; CPC 12,214,529, ANPP 017,365; CAN 2,088,791.* (This Day, April 18, 2011)
b) *Jonathan Polled 59.64 percent of the votes cast; Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (CPC)32.38 per cent; Mallam Nuhu Ribadu (ACN)5.54; ...*(This Day, April 18, 2011)
c) *According to eye witnesses, the explosion occurred at a popular hotel.*
   Sunday trust, April 17, 2011. adverbial
d) *According to reports, there was tension in kabala yesterday during the presidential polls...* Adverbials

In sentences a and b, the form of evidential that is used is making reference to or quoting figures to substantiate the claim. Though the claim is not stated in the sentences, it could be inferred. The claim is that President Jonathan defeated his opponents. In sentences c and d, the writer makes use of ‘according to’ show the source of the information.

In the above evidentiality strategies, writers provide evidence or proof for their claims. In the news reports, the evidentiality strategies used by the writers are adverbials, that-clauses, making reference to the officials involved in the conduct of the elections, and ‘according to’ in order to support their arguments. The instance of evidentiality serves as important means of claiming objectivity and credibility in news reportage. Part of the sources of the information is credited to the ‘Resident Electoral Commissioners’ who are saddled with the responsibility of announcing the results of the elections conducted in their various states before the results are finally collated at the national level in the INEC Headquarter, Abuja.
Moreover, news reporters were aware that quoting statistical or numerical evidences and attributing them to important actors in the conduct of election, such as the electoral body, would boost their claim of objectivity and enhance wider acceptance by the public. INEC officials can be regarded as good evaluation criteria to prove the authenticity of the claims in the reportage because INEC is saddled with the responsibilities of conducting, announcing the results and declaring the winners. Similarly, writers know that reporting based only on what they have observed may not be reliable enough to convince or persuade the readers into accepting their claims, hence the need to back their claims with evidence. In furtherance to that, the same way news writers depend on other reliable sources for evidence to back their claims, so also the general public relies on the representation of the media because ‘media, in contemporary times, are foremost criterion of evidentiality’ (van Dijk, 2003, p.52).

Finally, in terms of ideologies that are supported in our evidential expressions, the claim that Jonathan wins the elections is backed up with more evidentiality strategies than the opinion that the election was chaotic and marred with irregularities. There are 8 (61.5%) instances of evidential expressions presented in ‘adverbials’ and ‘reference to figures’ which support the claim that Jonathan wins while 5 (38.5%) evidential expressions couched in ‘according to’ and ‘that- clauses’ support the claim that the election was not peaceful. This, in a way, may bring credibility to
the reportage and further enhance the acceptance of the claim expressed by the reporters.

6.2.5 **Voice Projection**

In news discourse, journalists are saddled with the responsibility of determining what to be included or excluded in their reportage. In the process, some actors are given more voice projection than others. Voice projection comes in form of quotation. It gives the readers the opportunity of being informed about what was said by the actors and the context of the utterance. It also deals with how voice is carried to an audience. While some actors are positively represented, others are negatively contextualized by denying them voice projection.

According to Fowler (1991) quotation is a discursive mechanism that is potentially a powerful ideological tool for manipulating readers’ perception and interpretation of events and issues in news reports. Despite being a powerful ideological tool, the purposes it serves, either direct or indirect quotation, in news reports vary from adding credibility, personalising a story, inviting readers to be identified with the quoted individual or distancing the writer from the propositions made in the quotation (Gravells, 2014). This idea of quotation is a proto-typical form of what Fairclough (1995) refers to as direct discourse, hence (DD) in discourse representation.
Fairclough is also of the view that discourse representation has tendencies of reflecting the ideological affinities of the producers of news. His conception of discourse representation is influenced by Leech and Short (1981) who examined how speech and thoughts are represented in novels. They name their model as speech presentation and it is divided into five categories, namely: Narrative Report of Speech Action, (NRSA); Indirect speech, (IS); Free Indirect Speech, (FIS); Direct Speech, (DS); and Free Direct Speech, (FDS).

Let us look at the following instances and patterns of voice projection in the data. The examples show the level of voice projection associated with the major actors in the election namely: President Jonathan and General Buhari.

a. He (Jonathan) said, “I’m indeed happy that we are consolidating democracy. Democracy must be built on a solid foundation. Foundation of which democracy is built on is the power of the ballot paper. If the ballot paper means nothing, then there is no democracy. Nigeria is now experiencing true democracy where we the politicians have to go to the people because the power belongs to the people”

b. “The power does not belong to the politicians. It belongs to the people as expressed in ballot boxes. People have shown high degree of commitment so you can describe it as a new dawn in our political evolution.”
c. “I promised I would contest the election as an incumbent president and I would not influence the electoral process. And that has been demonstrated in previous elections.”

d. “I don’t know whether it will go into run-off. But I pray that we don’t go into such because of its implications. Nigeria is a very big country to conduct another round of election.”

e. “If I lose, I will leave because that is what we are talking about”

f. “One of such planes came earlier this (Saturday) morning to Katsina airport, and our people were driven away from the airport before the consignment was off loaded and driven straight to the Government House,” he said. (Buhari) (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

In the above quotations, one of the aspirants (Jonathan) was quoted extensively in five places, from example ‘a’ to ‘e’ while the other aspirant (Buhari) was quoted just once. Jonathan’s quotations are extensive because they are not short quotations or what Bell (1991) calls ‘scare quotes’ where few words are quoted to emphasise the speaker’s point. Buhari was quoted once with minimal quote. This possibly portends that Buhari is not well quoted in the news reports. According to Kuo (2007, p.285) ‘the relationship between quotation and power relations is found not only in who gets quoted but also in how quotation is presented’. That is, the social position or power determines how well a person is quoted because a powerful person is quoted more verbatim than the less powerful person.
Ideologically too, the extended quotations may give salience to the message rather than the actor.

The quotations from a to e are all positive representation of the actor (Jonathan) while the only one attributed to the main opponent is a negative representation. Therefore, we could say that all the positive quotations attributed to Jonathan resemble what Fairclough (2000) refers to as the ‘image-making rhetoric’. This is an attempt to self-portray oneself in positive light and it can be seen as a characteristic of a new-generation politician. In the quoted samples, Jonathan tries to self-portray himself positively. The choice of selecting those particular positive accounts for quotation by news writer may not be neutral but to illuminate positive portrayal of Jonathan.

On the contrary, the other aspirant was not given much speech projection by allowing him speak for himself through an extended direct quote like Jonathan; he was given minimal direct quote in the data. The ideological implication of this strategy is to foreground the actor rather than the message and this can also be a way of marginalizing him. For instance, van Dijk’s (1991) study shows that media often marginalize ethnic minorities in the coverage of ethnic affairs through its choice of sources and quotation patterns. Teo (2000) also supporting this idea posits that quotation patterns further make the less privileged powerless because their opinions are less
quoted. Therefore, Buhari as the main opponent is marginalized or suppressed in terms of speech projection which could have made him more relevant in the news reports.

The figure below shows the percentages of quotations by the main presidential aspirants in the data.

**Figure 9: Voice Projection Percentages in the Newspaper Reports**

The figure above indicates that Jonathan was more quoted than Buhari. What makes Buhari to be quoted less than Jonathan could be as a result of what the reporter wants or his interest. Kuo (2007, p.281) opines that ‘the choice of quotation patterns is by no means objective or neutral and presentation of speech in the news tend to be loaded with ideological biases’. Even though quotation ensures accuracy of what the quoted person
said and to distance the journalist from the opinions quoted, it has power potentials that journalist can wield. To Broersma (2010), well-chosen quotations and the attribution of speech can increase the credibility of stories and journalism’s claim to truth. This further supports the idea that quotations could be selective depending on the focus or interest of the writer. Their selective quotations may represent the parts of speech which they deem significant and which serve their ideological aims.

A similar position is held by Davis (1985) that the pattern of quotation in news discourse is not neutral but mediated and loaded with ideological bias. This is borne out of the fact that the same words used by a newsmaker can be interpreted differently by different reporters based on their different social affiliations and diverse views.

A study conducted by Ghannam (2011, p.3) concludes that the placement of quotation in a discourse is also important. He is of the opinion that when a quote is presented at the beginning of a news reports, it highlights the information and presents it as important. On the other hand, when quotation is presented at the end of a news reports, it would be ‘less noticeable and therefore carry less weight’. This decision of placement depends on the ideology of the newspapers. In the present study, though we did not consider the placement of the quotations, we believe that the choice
of placement of quotation will perform the same ideological function like how and how often the actors are quoted as shown in this study.

6.2.6 Discourse Representation

Discourse representation helps to determine which form is dominant in the news reports and how objective the news writers could be in their presentation of the events and the people they report about. This is different from voice projection in the previous section. Voice projection deals with how often the main actors in the election are quoted and how extensive or otherwise are their quotations. In discourse representation, we are concerned with the patterns of representation form that is dominant and how they relate to the ideologies in the reports. Discourse representation is not only about quotations like voice projection, it includes indirect reports as well.

The various modes of discourse representation by Fairclough (1995) are illustrated in figure 10 below.
Let us now consider the various modes in turns starting with DD.

### 6.2.6.1 Direct Discourse (DD)

This is a verbatim account of what the person, whose discourse is being reported, said and where the speech acts value of the reported clause is maintained. Let us consider the following examples.

- **a)** He(Jonathan) said, “I’m indeed happy that we are consolidating democracy. Democracy must be built on a solid foundation. Foundation of which democracy is built on is the power of the ballot paper. If the ballot paper means nothing, then there is no democracy. Nigeria is now experiencing true democracy where we the politicians have to go to the people because the power belongs to the people.”

- **b)** ‘It is normal in any election where two or three people contested, a winner and a looser must emerge’, the Kano state governor said.

- **c)** ‘I will be the first person to congratulate the winner. I will be ready to join forces with him to move the country forward’, he added. *(Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)*
d) “They were denied entry into the collation centre, so they protested. The police arrested them, detained them and were only released after the results had been announced,” Garba stated.

e) “I promised I would contest the election as an incumbent president and I would not influence the electoral process. And that has been demonstrated in previous elections.”

The instances in a-e can be categorized as DD because they all have reported and reporting clauses which are demarcated. The reporting clauses are underlined while in example e, there is no reporting clause but the speech act value of the reported clause is underlined, that is the act of promising. The instances above help reporters to claim objectivity in their reportage as well as to associate/dissociate with the positions of the ‘utterers’ of the statements. This style of presentation allows reporters to show their commitment of using the exact words used by the speakers.

6.2.6.2 Direct Discourse Slip DD(S)

It is a sub-type of DD (Fairclough, 1995). It is a situation whereby indirect discourse slips into direct discourse. In DD(S), there is a partial verbatim report of what was said by the person.

Consider the following examples on direct discourse slips.
a) One of the observer groups, the National Democratic Institute, led by a former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark said, “things seem to be quite orderly”. (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

b) He had predicted that “an Ijaw man will be President of Nigeria before long”. (Nigerian Tribune, 18 April, 2011)

c) Chief Ayorinde said, “it is rare to see a president who would come out to say ‘if I win I win and if I lose, it’s the will of God and I would not contest it’, adding that Nigeria has never had any presidential candidate who said such a thing and also act it”. (Nigerian Tribune, 18 April, 2011)

d) Another allegation, the PDP officials said, was that the CPC officials said some Northerners residing in the South-South were not allowed to vote, which they described as ‘outright lie’. (This Day, April 18, 2011)

In the above instances, the writers’ choices of reporting verbs precede the quotations because the instances are indirect discourses that slip into direct discourse. This means there is more liberty on the part of the writer to colour his presentation before substantiating his claim with the quotation. What this could mean is that the presentation may not be totally objective because they involve partial quotations from the speakers and they are also preceded by writer’s choice of reporting verbs. This form of quotation is what Bell (1991) refers to as ‘scare quotes’ and it involves quoting a particular word to signify that such word is from the original source of the newsmaker.
However, when partial quotation is used, it may also put to question the validity of such quoted words. In our examples above, following Bell’s assumption, we could say that ‘things seem to be quite orderly’; ‘an Ijaw man will be President of Nigeria before long’; and ‘outright lie’ as underlined in sentences a, b and d respectively may be a way to distance the reporter from the truth conditional value of the statements.

### 6.2.6.3 Free Direct Discourse

FDD may not sometimes be considered as a separate discourse form but a pragmatic variant of DD (Semino & Short 2004). The difference only lies with the absence of reporting clauses which are present in direct discourses.

a) “If I lose, I will leave because that is what we are talking about”

b) “I don’t know whether it will go into run-off. But I pray that we don’t go into such because of its implications. Nigeria is a very big country to conduct another run-off election.”

c) “I will urge them to be careful so that this election which has been adjudged free and fair and attested to by both international and domestic observers is not discredited by lack of capacity to accept defeat in good faith” (This day, April 18, 2011)

d) “It shows that the government in power does not have the support of the masses. We are having difficulty in convincing people to help government in moving the country forward” (Vanguard April 18, 2011)
These sentences above do not have reporting clauses like direct quotations but the quotation remains because it signals the original report of the utterance. Meanwhile, from the context, the voice of the speakers is inferable but they are not explicitly stated like direct quotations since the reporting clause is missing.

The FDD could be argued to be the most objective representation because the voice of the writer is missing in terms of reporting verbs, which most times may be biased or neutral, but what is still questionable is the selection procedures. That is, the selection parameters may be influenced by the writer’s ideology or the side he supports.

6.2.6.4 Indirect Discourse (ID):

This is the opposite of DD. There are no quotation marks in indirect discourse but it is usually clear whose voice is being represented.

Consider the following examples on ID:

a) He claimed that when one of the planes landed at the Katsina Airport, supporters of the CPC were chased away before the consignment was offloaded.

b) The ACN candidate, who cast his ballot around 1.15pm, assured Nigerians that he would be the first contestant to congratulate the winner.

c) In his account of the incident, an eye witness told Sunday Trust that the female corps member went to the polling unit with ballot papers in her pocket and was trying to drop them in the ballot boxes when the youths protested. (Sunday Trust, April 17, 2011)

d) Some of the thugs who spoke to New Nigerian on Sunday, said they were from Rigasa and Barnawa. (New Nigerian, April 17, 2011)
The examples in $a–d$ have both reporting and the reported clauses, and the voice of the person represented in the reported clauses is clear, though the message is summarized or paraphrased. The reported clauses are underlined in the sentences. In sentence $a$, we could infer from the context that the person who is being paraphrased is Buhari and not Jonathan. What is also observable is that the statement of such ‘importance or claim’ should have been directly quoted to either show the reporter’s association or dissociation from the claim without paraphrasing using his own reporting verb. This act could lead to bias. According to Juhani (2008, p.63), indirect discourse is ‘a potentially significant way to realize bias, because it allows the reporter to use his own words, and consequently, represents statements in a different way from what the source originally said’. Similarly, in the sentence $b$, the reporting verb ‘assured’ carries more weight than ‘said’. What if the speaker did not use the word ‘assure’ at all? It would have been neutrally presented if statements that have direct impact on the opinions that readers would have of the outcome of the election are directly quoted as said by the major contenders.

In the news reports, there are more examples of indirect discourse compared to other forms of discourse representation. This is actually expected in all discourse representations. That is, possibilities abound that the news reports are laced with biases borne out of reporters’ freedom to select words to represent the event differently from the actual words used by the
person whose actions are being reported. Similarly, what could be observed in the news reports is that the opposition aspirant is more indirectly quoted than Jonathan.

6.2.6.5 Free Indirect Discourse (FID)

This is what Fairclough (1995) calls unsignaled form of discourse representation. There are no quotation marks here just like the indirect discourse but the represented discourse appears in primary discourse without being explicitly marked. That is, the representing discourse and represented discourse are mixed.

Let us consider the following examples on (FID)

a) *He said the result of the presidential poll would not cause political mayhem in Nigeria like in Ivory Coast, where Mr. Laurent Gbagbo refused to relinquish power after losing the November 2010 poll.*

b) *The President said that for democracy to be consolidated in Nigeria, politicians must learn to respect the power of the ballot.*

c) *He warned that democracy would be erected on a weak foundation if politicians attempted to render the ballot paper useless.* *(Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)*

In the sentences above, there is no clear demarcation between the reported and the reporting clauses and the use of modality (must and would) are used. This way, there is no direct access to the utterance of the reported speaker but the stance of probability and obligation are put forward by the reporter using modals ‘would and must’.
In literature, there is no general consensus as to what particular functions DD and ID perform respectively in discourse. However, many studies have contended that DD is committed to presenting the ‘exact form of words used’ by newsmaker (Leech and Short (1981); Fairclough (1995), Obiedat (2006) and Kuo (2007). It is also used when the secondary discourse emanates from an authoritative source and when a representer wishes to associate with or dissociate from it. Obiedat (2006) is of the same opinion that DD is ‘used to add some flavour, vividness and a sense of immediacy and authority to news story. It functions as a distancing and a disowning device, to show that what is reported is an unconvertible fact. Kuo (2007, p.281) opines that DD and ID make news report ‘livelier as well as to give it a semblance of factuality and authenticity’. All of them seem to have similar opinion about the functions of direct and indirect discourses but situation of use may differ depending on type of discourse under investigation.

In this study, the functions that DD and ID perform are also in tune with the observations of previous researchers mentioned; the difference is the ideological purpose. For instance, while the reporting verbs in the examples presented under DD seem neutral, ‘he said, Prime Minister Joe Clark said, he added, Garba stated’ and translates to objective presentation, the reporting verbs in ID, ‘he claimed, he warned, he assured’ are more evaluative and far from mere reproduction of what was said but a
representation which may likely be imbued with the writer’s judgement. For instance, ‘claimed’ as used by a writer may mean that he/she is doubtful of the source or that the statement is less credible. This opinion has been variously examined by Kress (1983); Bell (1991); Pape and Featherstone (2005).

According to Bell (1991) some reporting verbs can be evaluative thereby allowing readers to interpret the discourse from the perspective suggested by the verbs. Similarly, reporting verbs such as ‘tell’, ‘say’ and ‘according to’ are classified as neutral reporting verbs because they only introduce what the newsmaker has said without evaluating it (Bell, 1991; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). In addition, the whole concept of ‘objective reportage’ in journalism has a bit of confusion with dictionary meaning of objectivity (Richardson, 2007, p.86). Objectivity is located external to the mind rather than what belongs to the consciousness of the perceiver. Therefore, an objective reportage to a journalist is ‘distancing oneself from the truth claims of the reports’ but that does not remove all value judgement from a report. Consequently, news analysis may never qualify as ‘objective reporting’ because the voice of the reporter is either on the two sides of a continuum.

Therefore, news reports cannot be claimed to be valueless because value judgements are already built into the process of news making at all levels
of production process. For this reason, journalists may only lay claim to objectivity when they try to follow some procedures. According to Tuchman (1972), to ensure an objective news report, reporters must observe four procedures. Reporters must use many sources in the verbalization of truth-claims. That is, provide competing arguments for a claim that is judgemental. Secondly, to provide supporting evidence in the form of background or contextualizing information; to often use ‘scare quotes to indicate a contentious truth-claim to indicate that the truth-claim is not his; and to use an inverted pyramid structure of news reporting and narrative style that removes the authorial voice of the journalist.

Section 6.2 has been devoted to examining the cognitive structures of ideologies in the news reports. The parameters examined are topicalisation, contrast, disclaimer, evidentiality, voice projection and mode of discourse representation. These parameters are what constitute van Dijk’s discursive and cognitive structures of ideologies. That is, ideologies are mentally conceived but they are mapped into various linguistic structures. The structures have all been instrumental in the data in proclaiming the election as either peaceful or chaotic.

In the next section, the study examines how the news reports exhibit power relations. This is presented in line with the social level which deals with the social functions of ideologies as suggested by van Dijk (2003).
6.3 Power Relations in the Newspaper Reports

The concept of ideology is social when it relates to groups positions, interests, social power and dominance. According to van Dijk (1993) power involves control and it is wielded by one group over the other groups. There are two major forms of exercising power; force and consent. Apart from recourse to force, or what Althusser (1971) refers to as ‘repressive state apparatus’, ‘modern’ and more effective power is mostly achieved through cognitive means, and enacted by persuasion or manipulation. The use of power over other groups could at times mean power abuse which directly translates to breach of law and democratic principles.

In order not to extend the concept of power in this study to such levels, we adopt the term dominance which is more of consent and could be challenged. Dominance could therefore be achieved and reproduced through subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and acceptable. This means that dominance as a product of ideology is discursively constructed because it is usually organised and institutionalized just like political parties, media, religious groups, etc.

In the present study, ideology is conceived of as both social and cognitive. It is cognitive because it relates to mental objects such as statements of beliefs, ideas, thoughts and values. This position was first advanced by
Hall (1996) that ideologies are mental frameworks which help to understand society and cognitively function to stabilize particular forms of power and dominance in society. These opinions have further been theorized by van Dijk (1998a) that ideologies do not only involve mental frameworks for understanding society but also to regulatesocial practices. Socially, ideologies could function to resist or challenge dominance. That is, ideologies are not tools only in the hands of the dominant or powerful groups; they are for every group.

In the news reports, the various cognitive and discursive structural manifestations of judgments and beliefs as explained in section 6.2 are targeted at two main purposes; domination and resistance. They are the purposes that the social functions of the ideologies serve in the news reports. The news reports as examined in the mental structures of ideologies in section 6.2 demonstrate high level of polarization between the two main political parties contesting for the office of the Presidency. The People’s Democratic Party is the ruling or incumbent occupying the office of the Presidency while the Congress of Progressive Change is wrestling for power in order to take over from the ruling party.

To understand or account for how the social functions are subtly reflected in the news reports, the study examines the instances where the opposition party claims that there is existence of several irregularities and
malpractices by the ruling party and the officials involved in conducting
the election, and instances of dominance respectively.

The following sentences reflect instances of resistance in the newspaper
reports.

a. Prince Tony Momoh, (National Chairman of CPC) claimed the election
   was characterized by malpractices. (Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011)
b. Buhari... has already alleged foul play in the conduct of the exercise.
   (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)
c. ...There was tension in Kabala yesterday during the presidential polls
   because Muslims were allegedly refused to vote; ... (Sunday Trust, April
   17, 2011)
d. “...but people in the town were angry with the attitudes of the PDP
   who intimidated people in order to rig the election” (Sunday Trust,
   April 17, 2011)
e. ‘I am confident of CPC victory at the polls because all Nigerians know
   that a vote for CPC is a vote for two credible Nigerians’. (Vanguard,
   Monday April 18, 2011)
f. They claimed that reports from their agents in the area showed that the
   figures were inflated as there was low voter turnout unlike what was
   being reflected in the figures. (This Day Monday April 18, 2011)
g. Meanwhile, the CPC has reacted to the election results, saying the
   election was characterized by malpractices. (Nigerian Tribune,
   Monday April 18, 2011)

The underlined clauses in the sentences above are some claims of
irregularities and intimidation during the course of the election. The
examples could mean attempts to resist the ruling party. This is because
what the CPC is pointing out are some of the anomalies observed in the
election processes and the claims that some of their members were refused
to vote. Also they express the intimidation meted on their members by the
ruling party. Socially, we must note that the opposition groups are not just
expressing their annoyance or their perceived irregularities but they are purposely trying to protect and serve the interest of their political party. Pragmatically, the aim of contesting for the office is to take over power from the ruling party, and going against the outcome of the election which does not make them achieve their aim is a way of legitimating their opposition to the ruling party in the news reports.

Similarly, the underlined words in sentence e, ‘two credible Nigerians’ help to advance the ideological opinion of the CPC. This portend that they believe in credibility. They have, during their campaign rallies, noted series of corrupt practices being perpetrated by the ruling party. This probably informs the rationale behind the statement ‘two credible Nigerians’ credited to the CPC Presidential running mate, Pastor Tunde Bakare in sentence e.

On the other hand, the social function of ideology in the news reports under analysis is to achieve dominance. This is a form of power play by the powerful group, in this case, the ruling party. Their exercise of dominance is through the ‘Ideological State Apparatus’, IDAs (Althusssser, 1971) or ‘consent’ (Fairclough, 2001) which media fits in. The media constructs the opinions of the ruling party that the election was peaceful, and free and fair in a way that seems commonsensical or natural, as if the media were just giving information or reporting the outcome of the election. This is a hegemonic way of developing their dominant ideology in the minds of
their readers through consent. This dominance (power and control) is exercised through persuasive discourse in order to gain the consent of the people without their conscious awareness.

There are instances in the news reports which echo the exercise of dominance of the ruling party. The examples try to show the success of the election which the ruling party claims.

a. *He said as part of his insistence on transparent process, he had refused to interfere with the operations of INEC.* (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)
b. *According to him (Jonathan), the massive turnout recorded on Saturday had further emphasized people’s belief in the credibility and transparency of the process.* (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)
c. *Results of Saturday’s presidential election so far released by the INEC on Sunday showed President Jonathan having an unassailable lead.* (The Punch, April 18, 2011)
d. *While assessing the conduct of the election, Obasanjo described it as peaceful and orderly...* (Vanguard, April 18, 2011)
e. *Lagos State Governor, Babatunde Fashola, also commended INEC for the smooth conduct of the presidential election.* (Vanguard, April 18, 2011)

The underlined clauses seem to reveal that the exercise was credible, transparent, free, fair and orderly. Attributing the claim to a past president and other members of the ruling party or their allies is a form of power exercise targeted as winning the reader’s consent so as to see the election from that same point of view. This will also ensure reader’s reliance on the newspapers for the interpretation of the elections and thus be persuaded that the newspapers representations are valid.
In addition, another means of exercising dominance, apart from instances where the ruling party gives account of the election from their own perspectives, is through the media. Media enjoy privileged access to events and could report such based on their styles and interests. For instance, in section 6.2.5, the study observed that particular groups were not quoted as much as the other group in the news reports. This means that the media controls the perspectives from which the news reports should be heard and the perspectives to be ignored. Therefore, the more active the media is and its ability to control or influence many audience, the stronger the domination of the powerful group becomes.

As part of the strategies of such dominance, news reports are presented by journalists using impersonal style. The linguistic means of achieving impersonal style are nominalization and passivisation. Nominalization and passivisation could obfuscate the agents or the cause of a particular action in news reports. Ideologically, the intention is to control the behavior of the readers irrespective of positive or negative obfuscation of agents and causality. According to Aljayrudy, (2011), ‘impersonal style objectifies, depersonalizes and dehumanizes people by turning them into objects’. This could be an indication of control.

In passivisation, the voice of a sentence is changed from active to passive. The process allows a shift of emphasis from the subject of a sentence to the
object and it also allows obfuscation of the agents in a sentence. In this way, the removal of ‘by’ will make the attribution of causality and agency hidden or unclear. To Hodge and Kress (1993), the link between actor and process is weakened in passive constructions, that is, the causal connection between them is syntactically loosened. In the news reports there are evidences that this process can be wielded in the service of dominance.

Consider the following instances on how passivisation was used to ensure dominance in the newspaper reports:

a. *In Bauchi State, two persons were killed by irate youths...*

b. *In Tsakuwa Polling Station in Azare one member of the NYSC was stripped naked.*

c. *In a related development, three people were beaten at General Hassan Usman Unity College. (Sunday Trust, April 17, 2011)*

In example *a*, the agent is stated but the emphasis is on the number of persons killed while other examples in *b* and *c* are agentless which means they are not the focus of the sentence. Though the agents are later mentioned in the context of the reports in subsequent sentences, passivisation centers the attention on the victims in example *b* and *c*. The implication of doing this is to protect the *positive face* of the ruling party who has been accused of perpetrating the irregularities. Therefore, this may also be a way of ensuring or keeping the dominance and the claims of the ruling party.
In nominalization, Halliday (2004, p.69) notes that it occurs where ‘any element or group of elements are made to function as a nominal group in the clause. This can occur at the sentence initial position where it can be thematised or it can occur at the final position; the rheme position. In CDA, nominalization could objectify the event being described and in doing so mystify the nature of the event. This is because participants are made absent in a way similar to passive constructions.

Consider the following examples on how nominalization was used to ensure dominance in the news reports:

a) Violence, Fraud mar presidential poll (Sunday Trust, April 17, 2011)
b) Few days after an explosion rocked Mahuta village…another explosion caused panic and tension in Kabala West…

In example a, ‘violence and fraud’ are placed in the sentence initial position in order to thematise and foreground them, hence forming the focus of the headline. These words indicate that the election was not peacefully conducted. This example projects a kind of detachment from the cause or the people involved in the violence and fraud that mar the exercise. Structurally, in this example, a whole clause was reduced to a word, ‘violence’. Violent presidential poll could have been written from a transformational process such as ‘the presidential poll involves aggressive actions capable of injuring or killing people’. In this process, elements of
participants (agents or patients) are deleted. For instance, the persons that caused the violence.

In sentence b, the attribution of responsibility is deleted by nominalising ‘explosion’. Instead of mentioning the personality who was responsible or cause of the explosion, the writer chose to hide it so as to shift attention on the explosion. In transitivity analysis, it can be argued that ‘Mahuta village’ occupies the victim/affected and the agents are hidden. This is a way by which media could hide or shift attention from what is not in tune with their ideological stance.

6.4 Summary

This chapter identified and interpreted the ideological propositions in the newspaper reports by examining the discursive and cognitive structures the ideologies are made of. The chapter also analyzed the social functions of the micro propositions in the news reports and observed that they are used to legitimize the dominance of the existing power structures and partly to resist or oppose their dominance.

The next chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

The aim of the study was to examine the language use and representation of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election in the newspapers. To achieve this, four objectives were addressed in the study and they include: identifying and interpreting the macro speech acts in the newspaper reports with an assumption that the underlying media ideology is concealed in the macro speech acts in the news reports.

Secondly, the study aimed to investigate the structures of the micro propositions so as to establish the nature of the representations in the newspaper reports. This was guided by an assumption that the newspaper representation of the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria was biased. The third objective was to identify and describe the ideological propositions of the micro propositions. This was also guided by the assumption that the newspapers were under the influence of powerful institutions. Finally, the study aimed at examining the power relations in the news reports based on the assumption that micro propositions exhibit power relations in the news reports.
In order to bring the objectives of the study to fruition, several studies were consulted ranging from studies in media discourse, political discourse and critical discourse analysis. It was based on those backgrounds that the study adopted a Critical Discourse Analysis framework so as to account for the language, representation and ideology embedded in the newspapers reports. The study, specifically, adopted the Sociocognitive Approach to the study of discourse by van Dijk, (2009) because the model is relevant as it attends to the cognitive aspect of discourse (ideology) as part of the focus of this study. Therefore, a conceptual framework was drawn to show the theory of ideology and media formulated within a broader framework of CDA to show the interrelationships among society, cognition and discourse.

The data collection procedure was a multistage sampling technique and it used a probability random sampling and non-probability purposive random sampling methods. The study was descriptive and it adopted both qualitative and quantitative measures to identify and interpret the macro speech acts in the data; investigate the structures of the micro propositions of the newspaper reports; identify their ideological propositions and describe their discursive structures, and the social functions they perform in the newspaper reports.
7.1 Summary of Findings

The Nigerian 2011 presidential election news reports as published by the sampled newspapers across the six geo-political zones in Nigeria were presented not only to inform the people of the outcome of the exercise but also to perform different actions. This is in line with Austin’s (1962) Speech Act Theory which posits that words have the ability to perform actions. Actions which could be taken to suggest which side the representation falls. This informs the research objective one.

7.1.1 Macro Speech Acts in the Newspapers Reports

To investigate the objective, the propositions in each paragraph of the selected news reports were restructured into macrostructures so as to identify the macro propositions in the reports. The Speech Acts classifications of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) were adopted and the findings revealed the presence of more macro speech act of Verdictives than other acts, such as expositives, commissives, behaviitives, and exercitatives. This was presented in a pie chart in Figure 5 with Expressives, Declaratives and Behavitives appearing once (1) each with (8.3%) respectively while Assertives appeared three times (3) representing (25%) and Verdictive appeared six times (6) representing (50%).
The interpretation of the findings is that *verdictives* may strongly help to reveal the ideological standpoint of the various reviewed newspapers. From the news reports, the presentation through *verdictives* indeed supports the outcome of the election. The implication of this is that media believe in the outcome of the elections which declared President Goodluck Jonathan as the winner. That was why the newspapers created a general acceptance of the election through their presentation of the news reports. This ideological stance is concealed in the dominant speech acts in the media presentation.

In addition to the macro speech act, the global topics, that is, the headlines in the news reports also show the preponderance of *performatives* slanted in favour of President Goodluck Jonathan than *constatives*. The result of this was presented in *Figure 4*. This further reveals the ideological stance of the newspapers.

Generally, the operation of macro speech acts has been put to research in van Dijk (1980) and this particular objective has also contributed to that effort by applying the macro rules proposed by van Dijk, (1986) to a political news discourse which is different from conversations. The findings in this objective confirm the earlier works carried out by (Taiwo, 2007; Mahfouz, 2013), (cf. 2.3.2) that news presentation by journalists is not neutral or value-free but imbued with underlying ideologies which can be made implicit. On the contrary, the findings here differ from the findings
of Olaniyi, (2010) (cf. 2.4.1) because Olaniyi’s study takes a look at an inaugural speech and examines the different speech acts embedded in the speech while this study examines macro speech acts in newspapers articles.

At the microstructural level of analysis, lexicalization, implicature and presupposition were analysed because of their ability to make meaning implicit in news reports. This is in line with the second objective of the study which was to investigate the structures of the micro propositions in the newspapers reports in order to establish the nature of the representation of the Nigerian 2011 presidential election. The manipulation of lexical items for the expression of ideological beliefs of political actors is not new in discourse analysis. Fairclough, (1992), Oyeleye and Osisanwo, (2013) have equally attested to this. Similarly, Juhani (2008) study also confirmed this in his study that lexical choice is the most common presentational feature that can be used in a biased way in news reports.

7.1.2 Structures of the Micro Propositions in the Newspaper Reports

In this objective, various patterns were observed in the investigation of lexical items and they include: verbs (expressive value of verbs as lexical items) nominal expressions, prenominal adjectives and overlexicalisation. The verbs revealed more approval of the exercise than disapproval though this is not quantified in the study. In a similar vein, nominal expressions in
the newspapers reports showed instances of labeling which are targeted at the other aspirants and political parties and not Jonathan. They were labeled as opponents and rivals. The prenominal adjectives in the data revealed a positive representation of Goodluck Jonathan while attributing ‘negative face’ and actions to the opposition. That indicated a polarization of the reports into ‘winner’ and ‘looser’ structural divides. The winners are structurally categorized positively while the losers are portrayed as the aggrieved party. The study also observed that the newspaper representation of the election was more of a free, fair, and credible exercise than an exercise bedeviled with irregularities and malpractices.

Furthermore, the analysis considered the representation of the main participants (social actors) by following van Leeuwen’s (2008) *individualization* and *assimilation*. It emerged that Jonathan was individualized eight times out of 12 headlines in the news reports and this was presented in tables 19 and 20. As for assimilation strategy, there was *collectivization* in form of political party affiliations. It was discovered that the ruling party enjoyed positive collectivization while other parties were presented negatively. In transitivity analysis, three processes were examined and it was discovered that material process was dominant with 75% and the result was presented in Figure 6. The implication of this is that media concretized the action of winning with the use of ‘material process’ of transitivity in the headlines.
The study also investigated the use of implicature as a pragmatic tool in the structures of micro propositions in the news reports. This is because implicature leaves information implicit and this could be ideological. The findings showed an implicit polarization in the newspapers reports; each group gave a positive account of itself and a negative representation of the other group. Similarly, the polarized groups subtly gave negative accounts of the other group through implicature in order to avoid being seeing as biased. This claim was exemplified in section 5.4.

The observations in presupposition as implicit meanings in the news reports are also in line with the sustenance of ideological polarization of ‘we’ against ‘them’. The examples in the newspapers reports presupposed there was an election; the election was better conducted than the previous elections, that the people believed in its transparency and the outcome of the exercise represented their wishes. This was what the media presented to their readers about the election. The findings also showed there were more instances of lexical presuppositions as against existential and structural. There were also more account of conventional triggers than relative/adverbial and others. The result of this was presented in Figure 8.

The choice of lexical items in the reports seemingly appears as helping to give information or reporting the election. In actual fact, the lexical items have ideological intentions. They give judgment about the exercise and the
major participants and groups. Ultimately, the judgment controls the attitudes and actions of the Nigerian newspapers’ readers to see the outcome of the elections and the major contenders from either sensational (positive) or uncomplimentary (negative) perspectives. It is pertinent to state that the judgements or evaluations may be, most times, conditioned by the values and norms of the various institutions that the journalists work for (Pan, 2002). Therefore, the newspapers representation of the election ensures that the news reports are placed in a dominant frame of interpretation, while other facets of reality are obscured or underplayed. This, of course, is not devoid of ideological implications.

Similarly, the findings in this objective prove that language is a medium for hidden interpretation in what seems to be just neutral reporting of political event. The findings are in line with the assumption that lexical items are important in accounting for how ideologies are expressed in news reports. The previous studies on media representations in Nigeria, as confirmed by Oyeleye and Osisanwo (2013) are mainly on theoretical issues about ideologies. This study therefore, has accounted for how the various beliefs or conceptions in the newspapers reports are lexically expressed.

Having examined the macro speech acts and the structures of the micro propositions in the newspapers reports, the study also identified and described the ideological propositions in the newspapers as the third
objective. To achieve this, the study operationalised van Dijk’s (2009) Cognitive Approach to the study of ideology.

7.1.3 Structures of Ideologies and their Implications

The approach helped in analysing the internal structures of ideology, that is, the textual instantiations as opposed to seeing ideology as mere abstract system of beliefs. The study looked at the discursive manifestations of ideology, that is, the ideological schema in the news reports and discovered that it was about political party polarization and their struggle for dominance and resistance. The patterns observed were topicalisation, contrast, disclaimers, evidentiality, voice projections and discourse forms because they mark the news discourse as under the influence of certain ideologies.

Topicalisation in the newspapers reports emphasized the ‘positive-face’ of Goodluck Jonathan of the ruling party in the headlines of the newspapers and it de-emphasized his ‘negative-face’ and his party. Goodluck Jonathan was topicalised as the agent by appearing seven times while other aspirants were passive recipients of actions denoted in the headlines. Contrast as a discursive structure of ideology showed the polarization of the arguments in the news reports and how each group used apparent mentioning of names, pronouns (we and them) and referents to candidates’ geo-political
zones to indicate their ideological affiliations. The study adopted the pragmatic perspective of contrast as opposed to semantic and grammatical perspectives.

In addition, the examples under evidentiality showed that the news reports provided evidences for the reportage in order to claim objectivity and credibility. The study adopted semantic point of view and identified lexical markers such as ‘adverbials, that-clauses and according to’. There was a preponderance of adverbials as evidentiality strategy with 61.5%. This helped to embroil readers into the ideological representation of the election.

The analysis under voice projection indicated that the ruling party’s candidate was given more voice projection than the other candidates. This was done by extensive quotation of the ruling party thereby giving salience to their message than the party. The quotation was also positive while the main opposition party was given a minimal quote with a negative representation. The result of this showed that Jonathan was quoted 83% while Buhari was quoted 17%. In discourse representation, the study found that the reporting verbs in direct discourse were somewhat neutral while the reporting verbs in indirect discourse were more evaluative and judgemental.
Therefore, media as a public institution and what Althusser, (1971) calls ideological state apparatus, imposes ideology which either helps reproduces the existing power structure through hegemonic means or charts an oppositional ideology in form of resistance. Despite the fact that the various newspapers may have access to the facts and details about the elections, their reportage can be different because of their interests and ideologies. Newspapers could therefore, bathe the public by constructing and reiterating ideology that is favourable to the groups for whom the ideology is constructed.

7.1.4 Power Relations in the Newspaper Reports

The fourth research objective, (cf. 1.3) was to examine the power relations in the news reports. This objective was anchored on the social functions of ideology according to van Dijk’s cognitive theory of ideology. The study observed that the main functions that the polarization performed were that of dominance and resistance. The media tried to embroil their readers into sustaining the dominance of the ruling party by presenting the party and its candidate positively. This was also achieved by presenting the election as free, fair and credible as examined in section 6.3. The representation was no doubt slanted towards the ruling party and its candidate.

On the other hand, the news report was also to express resistance of the opposition party. This was evident in their claims and arguments about
several malpractices and irregularities observed in the conduct of the election across the country. Similarly, the opposition party also accused the officials handling the conduct of the election as being biased and unfair. Their counter claims were also geared towards legitimating their opposition of the ruling party. The ideological stance of the opposition party may also have been triggered as a desire to be free from oppression, hence the claim that the exercise was rigged.

7.2 Conclusions

The study set out to examine the newspapers representation of the Nigerian 2011 Presidential election. The following conclusions can be drawn from the findings.

The study concludes that media ideological standpoint concerning the election was concealed in the dominant macro speech act (Verdictives) in the newspaper reports. This was presented in a way that, upon cursory glance, seemingly looked like ordinary reporting of event or giving information about the outcome of the exercise. But the presentation was itself an act performance of various speech acts and this was evident in the choice of performative verbs (knocks, sweeps, floors.) that were favoured in the headlines of the news articles.
Secondly, the study concludes that the structure of the micro propositions in the newspaper reports was biased. The election was presented as free, fair and credible despite the apparent irregularities which characterized the exercise and consequently plunged the nation into chaos.

Similarly on the third objective, the study concludes that the ideological propositions in the representation showed a polarized discourse of the ruling party and the opposition party where each of the group presented counter claims and ‘negative-face’ of the other. However, the positive presentation of the ruling party and President Jonathan was dominant in the analysis which indicated that the newspapers were under the influence of the government.

Finally on the fourth objective, the study concludes that, ideologically, the newspaper reports on the presidential election functioned mainly as sustenance of dominance of the ruling party as against resistance of dominance by the opposition party. The study, of course, is not opining that PDP and Jonathan received all the attention in the news reports but they are more privileged in the reportage. Therefore, a possible conclusion that could be drawn from this is that the reportage was a conscious and intentional reproduction of dominance. That said, the more favoured mental models in the newspapers reports could result to more general
beliefs and attitudes that would eventually become socially shared by the public.

On the CDA framework, the study was able to establish how social power such as dominance is connected to language. This discovery is in line with the position of Woods and Kroger, (2000) that the general aim of CDA is to find the linkage between linguistic analysis and social analysis so as to unveil how social power connects with language. CDA equally helped to reveal that newspapers reports embody power and ideology. Similarly, CDA further exemplified how linguistic study of this nature could help in ensuring interdisciplinarity for the purpose of understanding the representation of people and events in our society.

Practically, this study will avail readers of newspapers and language users to be more critical and aware of what they are being fed on the daily basis about political happenings around them. This would make them to question some representations which are seemingly becoming naturalized. Also, to researchers working within critical paradigm, such as those in Linguistics, Media studies and Political Science, through CDA, this study concludes that sociopolitical relations can be hidden in news presentation, hence the need to shun academic neutrality concerning social problems that news discourse can potentially create.
Finally, though media houses may claim objectivity in their reportage, ‘ideology constantly lurks in the background and it is actively policed against by writers and editors’ (Sack, 1994). Therefore, there are pieces of evidence that there are ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’ bias in the way the newspapers report the Nigerian 2011 presidential election. The newspapers imposed their favoured frames of interpretation while ignoring or downplaying opinions that do not fall in consonance with dominant ideology. Therefore, Nigerian newspapers may not be avenues of alternative perspectives that strive to mirror Nigerian society but prisms that carefully reflect the ideologies of dominant groups.

7.3 Recommendations

From the findings of this study, Nigerians are being fed with ideologies from the national daily newspapers by imposing similar frame of interpretation to political issues and events. This could portend that newspapers in Nigeria, just like many other developing nations are contrived and driven by ‘powerful institutions’ like government and few elites and their commercial purposes.

Therefore, there is a need for a balanced ‘left wing’ media which should present several shades of interpretations or different perspectives of political issues rather than being the mouthpiece of the government. In addition, though this study has been able to exemplify the possibility of
adopting a sociocognitive framework to analyse a mediated political event in Nigeria, it can also be adopted as a framework for analysing any other event presented by media in any African languages.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

It is suggested that further studies should adopt the use of radio and television media in the representation of social and political events in Nigeria and any other country. This is because both television and radio media are also means of informing the masses and they also have significant influence on the attitudes and perceptions of the people. The study should also put into consideration both textual and virtual aspects of mass media because, images can mean more than just pictures of people and places.

It is also suggested that another study should be done by contrasting television and newspaper media in the representation of political issues whether there could be conflicting or similar ideological positions which drive their representations. Another area of investigation is to consider the images that accompany news articles in newspapers because images can speak more than words in representing issues in the society. This area is in line with Kress and Leeuwen’s interest in Multimodal Discourse Analysis.
REFERENCES


Appendix 1: (Sample 1, Hail to the Chief! Jonathan)
NIGERIA DECIDES 2011
Jonathan wins presidential election

Nigerians have chosen President Goodluck Jonathan to continue governing the world's 20th largest economy.

The election, which was seen as a referendum on the president's first term, was held on April 16, 2011, and was won by Jonathan with 50.3% of the vote, defeating his main rival, former Lagos state governor Babatunde Fashola, who won 48.2%.

The result was announced by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on April 29, 2011.

Jonathan, who became president after the death of Umaru Yar'Adua in May 2010, faced several challenges during his tenure, including economic issues, security threats, and political controversies.

The election was marked by a high level of voter turnout, with over 50 million people casting their ballots.

The result was seen as a victory for the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which had controlled the presidency since 1999.

The opposition All Progressives Congress (APC) had promised to bring about a new era of good governance and development, but was eventually outmaneuvered by the incumbent government.

The election was also notable for the large number of young Nigerians who voted for the first time, with over 10 million people aged 18-24 participating.

The result was hailed as a victory for democracy and a hopeful sign for the future of Nigeria, despite the challenges that lie ahead.

The next election is scheduled for 2015 and will be held on February 14, 2015.
Appendix 2: (Sample 2, Labour rates election high)
Appendix 3: (Sample 3, Jonathan, Buhari in tight race)
Jonathan, Buhari in tight race

Our Correspondents

The outcome of the PDP’s presidential primary race between Vice-President Namadi Sambo and the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan is anyone’s guess, as the NNPP’s第二次 presidential primary takes place today.

Sambo, who hails from Katsina State, is the party’s favorite to emerge as the new leader of the party, according to sources. The party’s national leadership has said that it will not干预 the primary process.

Jonathan, on the other hand, is popular among the party’s grassroots members and has a strong following in the South-South and South-East regions of the country.

The primary process will take place today in all the party’s states, with the results to be公布 in the coming days.

The winner of the primary will then face off against the opposition candidate, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, in the general election scheduled for 2019.

Iyabo Obasanjo shuns presidential poll

Senator Iyabo Omo-Akinwoliyin, a member of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and a former senator, has announced her intention to run for the presidency in 2019.

Omo-Akinwoliyin, who was a senator from Edo State from 2004 to 2008, says she will run as an independent candidate.

She says she is not ready to accept the outcome of the PDP’s presidential primary, which she believes is rigged.

The PDP’s presidential primary is scheduled for July 10, and candidates are expected to campaign in the coming days.

The election is expected to be closely fought, with the PDP’s candidate expected to face a strong challenge from the opposition.

Omo-Akinwoliyin is one of the most popular figures in the PDP, and her decision to run as an independent candidate is likely to draw attention to the party’s internal struggles.
Appendix 4: (Sample 4, Hurricane Jonathan knocks out Buhari, others)
News

Monday, April 14, 2011

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Hurricane Jonathan

Eduardo Ayala, Orlando, Florida, Stephen K. Ogbonna and Ada Adelakun

Hurricane Jonathan, a Category 1 storm, made landfall on the southeastern coast of Cuba on Saturday, April 9, 2011. The storm caused significant damage and flooding, leaving thousands homeless and stranded. The NHC (National Hurricane Center) reported that the storm strengthened into a Category 2 hurricane before making landfall.

The storm caused widespread power outages and water main breaks, with thousands of people left without access to clean water and food. The Cuban government declared a state of emergency in several provinces, mobilizing rescue teams and emergency services to assist those affected.

In addition to the Cuban government, international aid organizations were quick to respond, providing emergency supplies and medical assistance to those in need. The Cuban Red Cross and other humanitarian groups worked tirelessly to provide food, water, and shelter to the affected communities.

The storm caused significant damage to infrastructure, including roads and bridges. The government estimated that the cost of repairs would exceed hundreds of millions of dollars.

As of April 14, 2011, the situation continued to unfold, with rescue efforts ongoing and communities working to recover from the devastating effects of the hurricane.
## THE BIG FOUR

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<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.1% - 0.4%</td>
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### Hurricane Jonathan

Continued from page 2

In Lagos, the home state of the President, Nnamdi Azikiwe, the PDP candidate, Olusegun Obasanjo, won with 1,235,001 votes (61.7%) compared to 415,001 votes (20.0%) for the APC candidate, Musu Balarabe. In the southern states, the PDP candidates won in all the states except Lagos, where the APC candidate won with 415,001 votes (20.0%) compared to 1,235,001 votes (61.7%) for the PDP candidate. In the northern states, the PDP candidates won in all the states except Kano, where the APC candidate won with 246,001 votes (37.0%) compared to 415,001 votes (63.0%) for the PDP candidate. In the western states, the PDP candidates won in all the states except Ondo, where the APC candidate won with 246,001 votes (37.0%) compared to 415,001 votes (63.0%) for the PDP candidate. In the eastern states, the PDP candidates won in all the states except Anambra, where the APC candidate won with 246,001 votes (37.0%) compared to 415,001 votes (63.0%) for the PDP candidate.
Appendix 5: (Sample 5, Jonathan cruises to victory, reaches out to opponents)
Prominent Politicians Face Retirement

In a surprise move, the president of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) has announced the retirement of several prominent politicians. The decision was reportedly taken after consultations with the party's leadership.

The retirees include two former presidents, three vice-presidents, and several cabinet ministers. The announcement has sent shockwaves through the political circles, with many wondering about the implications for the future of the party.

The announcement follows a series of internal disputes within the PDP, with some members calling for a complete overhaul of the party's structure. The retirement of these politicians is seen as a step towards addressing some of these issues.

The retirees have expressed their gratitude to the party for their service and have reassured the public that they will continue to support the party's policies and principles.

As the party faces the challenge of finding new leaders, there are concerns about the stability of the government. Many are wondering whether the party can continue to function effectively without these key figures.

The retirement announcement comes as the country prepares to mark its 60th anniversary, with many hoping for a new chapter in the country's history.
Appendix 6: (Sample 6, Jonathan floors Buhari)
Mayhem in Bauchi, Gombe

By Anthony Nnaji, Special Correspondent, and Oludolapo Abiola

Policemen killed at least 22 people and wounded dozens more today as anger and sorrow enveloped the region after a bloody night in the battle for power.

In Bauchi, the scene was chaotic with car bombs and gunfire tearing through the streets, as troops and police struggled to control the violence.

Witnesses said that the violence began when opposition candidates were attacked in their homes and that the situation had gotten out of control.

The governor of Bauchi, Ahmad Dikko Fwara, has appealed for calm and said he would take steps to ensure security.

In Gombe, the police were also called in to restore order after a night of violence.

However, there were reports of police and military personnel being ambushed and killed in some areas.

The situation is tense and volatile, with the army and police forces deployed to prevent further violence.

Jonathan in Birnin, Rilam

The president-elect, who was in Birnin, Rilam, paid a surprise visit to the affected areas and declared three days of mourning.

He pledged to do everything within his power to bring the situation under control.

The opposition has condemned the violence and called for the immediate withdrawal of security forces.

The violence has raised concerns about the stability of the region and the ability of the government to manage it.

The situation remains tense and volatile, with the security forces working to restore order and ensure the safety of the population.
Jonathan Folars Buhari, Ribadu

(Continued from page 6)

Chief Amenabar was arrested as having held his forays into the now-ruling All Progressives Congress in 1998, on charges of violating the 1977 Nigerian Constitution, which outlawed such activities. He was later released on bail and eventually acquitted.

The case was widely seen as a test of the military regime's commitment to democratization. It had been expected that the trial would be a major test for the government, and many Nigerians were hopeful that it would set a precedent for future political cases.

The military government was determined to demonstrate a commitment to the rule of law and to show that it was willing to respect the rights of political prisoners. The trial was widely seen as a key moment in the transition to civilian rule.

When the trial began, there were high hopes that it would be a fair and impartial process. However, the court was chaired by a military officer, and many Nigerians were concerned about the possibility of bias.

The trial lasted for several months, and the case generated a lot of public interest. The government was criticized for its handling of the case, and there were concerns about the impartiality of the court.

In the end, the trial resulted in the acquittal of Chief Amenabar. The case was widely seen as a significant victory for democracy and human rights in Nigeria.
Appendix 7: (Sample 7, Trend in Nigeria politics, a wind of change)
Appendix 9: (Sample 9, Presidential poll: massive turnout, generally peaceful
Appendix 9 (Jonathan sweeps South-West)
Jonathan sweeps South-West

Congress of Nigeria, ACN, is in the south-west, is yesterday's presidential election. In Lagos, the presidential candidate of the Action Congress, Osinbajo, won by a landslide margin of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

The ACN candidate in the poll, Muhammed Babs, emerged the ACN presidential candidate, with a total of 1,323,000 votes, a margin of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

The ACN candidate in the poll, Muhammed Babs, won the governorship race in six out of the seven states in the region, including Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, and Ekiti. The only state where Babs lost was Ekiti, where the PDP's candidate, Ganiyu Olowokere, won by a slim margin of 1,500 votes.

Another highlight of the poll in the south-west was the victory of the Action Congress, ACN, in the presidential election, with a total of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

The ACN candidate in the poll, Muhammed Babs, emerged the ACN presidential candidate, with a total of 1,323,000 votes, a margin of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

Samo as two-time loser

For the second time in two years, the ACN candidate swept the region, with a total of 1,323,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

The ACN candidate in the poll, Muhammed Babs, emerged the ACN presidential candidate, with a total of 1,323,000 votes, a margin of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

Buhari shoots into lead

Hundreds fail to vote

Continued from page 11

Student leaders had planned to call a 24-hour strike over the recent killings in Kasuwan Magaji, but the strike was called off by the government.

Niger: 13 underscored voters

In Niger State, the presidential candidates are still waiting for the results to be announced. The results are expected to be announced in the next few days.

The ACN candidate in the poll, Muhammed Babs, emerged the ACN presidential candidate, with a total of 1,323,000 votes, a margin of 283,000 votes over the next closest rival, the People's Democratic Party, PDP.

Hundreds fail to vote

Continued from page 11

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Niger: 13 underscored voters

In Niger State, the presidential candidates are still waiting for the results to be announced. The results are expected to be announced in the next few days.
Appendix 10: (Sample 10, Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie laud peaceful election)
I'll leave office if I lose — Jonathan

Conclusions from Page 1

Robert Kochara (evicted by the High Court as late as 2019), saw the network as a tool to mobilize support for his re-election in 2022. The court ruled that the MDC-T's leader had trespassed the Constitution by forming a coalition with an opposition party.

The MDC-T leader has faced legal challenges over his past actions, including allegations of corruption and abuse of power.

Vanguard, MONDAY APRIL 18 2022 — 5

POCKET CARTOON

Bakare, Osahoroh, Okotie laud peace election

Confession from Page 1

Bakare, Osahoroh, and Okotie have all praised the election as a positive step forward for Nigeria. They have commended the electoral commission and the security forces for their efforts.

The three have called for the provision of more resources for future elections, including better infrastructure and technology.

They have also called for a more inclusive process in the future, with all parties having a say in the electoral process.

Bakare has said that this election was a step in the right direction, but more needs to be done to ensure democracy is truly realized in Nigeria.

Osahoroh has said that this election was a great victory for the people of Nigeria, and that it has set a new standard for future elections.

Okotie has said that this election was a step in the right direction, and that it has shown that the people of Nigeria are willing to vote for change.

With the election over, the focus now shifts to the next step, which will be to ensure that the government works effectively and that the people's wishes are reflected in the policies and decisions made.
Appendix 12, (Sample 12, Jonathan wins the big prize)
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DAILY TRUST
Monday, April 18, 2011

Jonathan wins
Continued from page 1

already one for one. They had all
delivered the results in less than
many hours earlier before they went
to their respective polling units.

of the other two main candidates, Umaru Musa Yar’Adua of the
All Progressives Congress (APC) and the National
Action Party (NANP). Jonathan, who is a lawyer and the
ACN’s standard bearer, declared victory after the election, adding
that he had been declared winner in 23 of the states.

Yar’Adua had earlier declared that he had been
victorious in Osun State, whileiku declared he had
also won in 22 states

By Abubakar H. Shallin

OMO, a reaction strategy, which seemed to
have been adopted by the ACN, began
as early as Wednesday, when the party
posted its candidate in Katsina, Aisha
Abubakar. This was done to deflect the chances of
any of the other candidates winning.

In a surprising move, the ACN
posted its candidate in Katsina on
Wednesday, as the party
posted its candidates in
30 states. The ACN’s
candidate, Abdul Razaq, met
the minimum 35 per cent
requirement for an
automatic victory.

Jonathan declared victory after the election, stating that
he had been declared winner in 23 of the states.

Why Ribadu crashed in South West

Other reactions from the political
scene were still ongoing as of
Thursday. The power vacuum
left by the Special
Provisional President of the ACN,
Jなか

The situation in the South West region was
expected to become more complex
as the ACN’s candidate, Ribadu,
was declared winner.

Ribadu, however, was declared the winner
in the South West, which
was seen as a shock
to the political
community. The ACN, which
had been seen as a
dominant force in
the region, found itself
facing challenges
in the South West.

Ribadu’s victory in the South West
was seen as a major
setback for the ACN,
which had been
considered the dominant
party in the region.

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party in the region.
Appendix 12 (Sample 12, Violence, fraud mar presidential poll)

The presidential election in which Nigerians voted yesterday ended in violence of unprecedented scale. Boko Haram, the radical Islamic group, has been blamed for the violence that followed the election.

The group's leader, Abubakar Shekau, issued a video in which he claimed responsibility for the violence.

The election was marred by violence in several states, including Kaduna, where two people were killed in a bomb blast.

The election commission has announced that the vote will be held on April 17th.

More news on page 2.
Tension in Jalingo as police

depress protect

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