ARTICLE TITLE:

A PRAGMA-DISCOURSE STUDY OF THE CAMPAIGN MANIFESTO OF THE 2023 ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC) PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

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Abstract

This study examines the 2023 election manifesto of the APC presidential candidate. The objectives of the investigation are to analyze the pragma-discourse features in the election manifesto used by the APC presidential candidate to present himself positively and others negatively, examine the speech acts in the election manifesto through which the APC candidate presented his political agenda, describe the ideologies that influenced the policies of the APC candidate and reveal the covert meanings in the election manifesto expressed by the APC candidate. The pragma-discourse features used in the manifesto of the APC candidate are transitivity processes (material, mental and verbal), sentence types (simple and complex), cohesive relations (reference, additive and adversative conjunctions), deixis (temporal and spatial), inversion, and thematisation. The APC presidential candidate employed these features to present himself positively and other political opponents negatively. The dominant speech acts observed in the election manifesto are commissive and assertive. Bola Ahmed Tinubu employed commissive and assertive speech acts. The commissive speech act conveys the APC candidate's plans in the election manifesto. The Assertive Speech Act states the policies and reforms of the APC candidate as well as his political opponents' limitations. The study shows that the APC candidate employed covert and subtle means to brandish his political opponents' limitations and inefficiency.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis, Manifesto, Campaign, Political Parties, Presidential Election, Presidential Candidate, All Progressive Congress (APC)

Introduction

The term '*pragma-discourse"* is peculiar to linguists whose area of inquiry surrounds pragmatics and discourse analysis. Pragma-discourse studies the speaker's meaning, focusing not on an utterance's phonetic or grammatical form but on the speaker's intentions and beliefs. The study of the meaning and the influence that a given context can have on the message has remained the centrality of discourse in the study of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis. It requires knowledge of the speaker's identity and the place and time of the utterance. Cutting (2002) believes pragmatics and discourse analysis have much in common in investigating context, text, and function. Hence, Pragma-Discourse becomes a term used to account for utterance and meaning in a given context. It has become a field of linguistics that concentrates on the significance of words in communication and how interlocutors convey more than the words they utilize.

Additionally, Pragma-Discourse studies discourse and text, focusing on how pieces of language become significant and integrated for their users.To draw the borderlines between the two fields, Puig (2003) believes that, in contrast, discourse analysts focus on elucidating the implied components within the language without considering anything external; pragmatics utilizes diverse domains of human affairs to interpret utterances appropriately. Therefore, the fusion of the Pragma-Discourse study as a term is a linguistic attempt to jointly account for language in action and the context for which language is used to derive meaningful interpretation. Pragma discourse is also a term used in linguistics and discourse analysis to refer to the overt conversation or

consideration of language, communication, and discourse within a discussion or text. It involves the metalinguistic consciousness and reflection on how language is used, how communication unfolds, and how discourse is structured. Pragma-discourse can also include discussions about the purpose of communication, the choice of words, the intended audience, the tone or style of communication, the social or cultural context influencing the discourse, and other aspects related to language use and communication strategies. Understanding pragma-discourse can help analyze and interpret texts, conversations, and interactions by considering the language's literal content and the implicit meanings, intentions, and strategies behind the communication.

Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis are fields in Applied Linguistics that have raised diverse linguistic inquiries into how language is perceivably used. Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis are distinct yet interconnected fields of inquiry that incorporate various research approaches and outlooks. While Pragmatics commenced as a field of formal linguistics concerned with meaning at the utterance level, over the past three decades, the scope of pragmatics research has shifted to focus on meaning in more enormous stretches of discourse (Camila & Ramona, 2023). The properties of everyday language usage extensively demanded acquiring meaning and conveying meaning, thereby striking an intelligible balance between conveyed and perceived meaning. This assertion is partly what Pragmatics is concerned about.

The analysis of discourse is primarily the analysis of language in use. Linguists concentrate on the formal properties of language, while discourse analysts examine the function of language, which could be written or spoken (Olateju, 2018). Spoken and written forms of language are different in their manner of production and at the point of production. Invariably, Discourse Analysis can be viewed from many perspectives, especially as it is seen as a clear and organized account of structures, approaches, or processes of text (written) or talk (spoken). Discourse is usually seen as the actual instance of communicative action in the medium of language, although some define the term more broadly as meaningful symbolic behavior in any mode(Johnstone et al., 2014). Communication can, of course, involve other media besides language. Media such as photography, clothing, music, architecture, and even dance can be meaningful (Johnstone, 2014). Therefore, discourse analysts must often consider the interconnectedness between language and other modes

Language functions as a means of grafting or granting power and defining the connection between its users based on the roles it assigns to them. The demonstration of power is achieved via the utilization of language, with every language user engaging in strategically manipulating linguistic elements to further their hidden objectives. It is important to note that the unspoken implications of language sometimes have more significant influence than the explicit statements spoken. Language aids the establishment of connections to people's emotions and feelings. Akinkurolere (2011) contends that the level of support politicians receive from voters is based on their message and how it is delivered since these factors ultimately decide the success of their candidature, programs, or policies. Therefore, the political message and its mode of presentation are highly significant.

The role of a president is the highest democratic position in any country; hence, it is necessary to have regular communication with the general public. This has been made feasible by delivering manifestoes and creating manifestoes. Although, manifestoes are not the only means through which the President can communicate to the masses. The main objective of political discourse is to sway, enlighten, instruct, shape, inspire, or convince large groups of people (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). Throughout history, elected officials have achieved success by employing sophisticated and persuasive speech to convince the public of the validity of their ideas, using skilled and witty language to make their arguments and persuasions more compelling.

Therefore, it is crucial that a President, elected by the constitution, prioritizes the people. This is because a democratic, egalitarian system establishes a government representing and serving most of the population. Political papers such as manifestoes and political speeches serve as the primary means of fostering, formulating, and strengthening community affiliations, conveying ideas, and advocating for policies, actions, viewpoints, and programmatic agendas inside a nation (Ehineni, 2014; Sharndana, 2015; Ibrahim, 2020; Ikeke, 2021; Ashraf et al., 2022).

Manifestoes are widely embraced in many countries worldwide because politics is vital in human affairs. Campaign manifestoes are essential to the public as they serve as a primary platform for political leaders to communicate their goals, perspectives, emotions, and actions on national matters. These manifestoes have a significant impact on the public's opinions and decisions. According to Younane (2007), inaugural manifestoes are used not only for the content of the candidate's message but also for the manner and location in which it is delivered. Within such texts, the President and the political party aim not only to secure public votes but also to instill a sense of confidence among the people regarding the potential of the administration that may be established. Hence, using language in this context may be characterized as a manifestation of ideas and a means of persuasion, a weapon for upholding authority, and a means of acquiring authority.

Statement of the Problem

Manifestoes are the language of politics used for power acquisition purposes. It seems to be a mystery how the communicative ideologies conveyed through manifestoes can dramatically and strategically cause changes in the choice of electing presidents. Some studies on political manifestoes have placed much significance on examining presidential campaign manifestoes over time to reveal how presidential rhetoric shapes power and ideology (Younane, 2007; Akinkurolere, 2011; Akinkurolere et al., 2013; Ehineni, 2014; Sharndana, 2015; Idegbekwe & Nwala, 2016; Ibrahim, 2020; Ikeke, 2021; Ashraf et al., 2022). Instead, these studies have focused on analyzing individual manifestoes during a specific period.

The problem of x-raying these manifestoes from a pragma-discourse point of view has created a compelling need to study election manifestoes through an acceptable theoretical framework to contribute meaningfully to the already existing body of knowledge. Aspirants manifestoes enable them to provide insights into their political agenda. Hence, there is a need to aid the public in having a more profound meaning beyond the surface meaning in aspirants manifestoes. This is the problem that this study intends to solve. Manifestoes are predominantly words expressed via a condensed expression to motivate, inspire, instigate, or even condemn. This study is geared towards unraveling the significance of manifestoes as they affect and influence the public during and after elections.

Examining the broader socio-historical context provides a valuable understanding of how Presidential candidates have effectively reused and marketed their speeches, both through subtle and overt means,

throughout history. Additionally, it aids in delineating the evolution of Presidential rhetoric using diachronic analysis, aiming to enhance the conventional synchronic findings found in studies by Adetunji (2009), Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere (2012), Ayeomini (2012), and others. It is crucial to examine how this history precisely demonstrates the varying approaches Presidential candidates have in conceptualizing ideas and their intended methods of governing Nigeria.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study focuses on the pragma-discourse prism of campaign manifesto of the 2023 APC presidential election candidate. The following are the specific objectives:

a. Analyze the pragma-discourse features in the election manifesto used by the APC candidate to present SELF positively and OTHERS negatively;

b. Explore the speech acts in the election manifesto through which the APC candidate presented his political agenda;

c. Examine the ideologies that influenced the policies expressed in the election manifesto of the APC candidate and

d. Analyze the meanings covertly expressed in the election manifesto of the APC presidential candidate.

Research Questions

The research questions set out for this study include:

a. What are the pragma-discourse features used in the election manifesto by the APC candidate to present SELF positively and OTHERS negatively?

b. What speech acts in the election manifesto were used by the APC candidate to present his political agenda?

c. What ideologies influenced the policies expressed in the election manifesto of the APC candidate?

d. What meanings are covertly expressed in the election manifesto of the APC presidential candidate?

Research Methodology

Research Design

The study uses the qualitative method of analysis. It adopts a descriptive research design in examining the presidential election manifestos of the 2023 general election in Nigeria. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.17) defined the qualitative research design "as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at using statistical procedures or other means of quantification". A qualitative research design is concerned with understanding the context in which behavior occurs. The strength of a qualitative research technique is that it allows a broader view to be taken and, therefore, makes the research approach flexible. This design is justified because the study included studying the ideological underpinnings of Presidential election manifestos, for which the absolute result was not the target. This research again employed the qualitative approach because the qualitative approach does not only investigate what a problem is but also why, how, where and when the problem appeared. The method does not produce information in the particular case studies but also draws general conclusions on the informed assertion. It can also be used to seek empirical support for such research hypotheses (Lincoln, 2005).

Population and Sampling Technique

The data for this study is the 2023 presidential election manifesto of the All Progressive Congress (APC). The manifesto was downloaded from the website of the political party. The APC election manifesto contains 80 pages. Forty (40) excerpts are sampled purposively for this investigation. The election manifesto belongs to the non-spontaneous category of oral speeches. In other words, it was formally prepared and written for oral delivery. The pragma-discourse features, speech acts, ideologies and covert messages of Bola Ahmed Tinubu.

Methods of Data Collection

The study employs a purposive sampling method to select 40 excerpts from the election manifesto of APC. The purposive sampling method is chosen because it enables the study to choose only those portions of texts that are relevant to the variables under scrutiny.

Methods of Data Analysis

The study employs van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to the Critical Discourse Model (CDA), supported by Searle's speech act and Grice's conversational implicature in examining the study's data for the pragma-discourse features and speech acts deployed about the political agenda and ideologies of the APC presidential candidate as well as the covert meanings expressed in the election manifesto. The study draws insight from van Dijk's macro, micro and meso levels. The micro level focuses on language use, that is, the immediate lexical items, grammatical choices and rhetorical interrelations held within any text. Conversely, the macro is the higher level representing the text's topic, theme or gist (van Dijk, 2001). The level addresses concepts like dominance, power, and inequality within social groups (van Dijk, 2001). The macro has a relationship between language and all the meta-language features of communicative behavior. Finally, the meso level acts as a bridge between the micro and macro levels and focuses mainly on the context of the text and how it is initially produced (van Dijk, 2001). This study combines the three levels simultaneously to analyze the data. The micro, macro, and meso levels are supported by van Dijk's notion of the ideological square, which discusses how political actors employ linguistic features in their texts to present themselves positively and negatively to others. While Grice's conversational implicature is deployed to reveal the hidden meanings in the utterances of the APC presidential candidate, Seale's speech act serves to identify the unique characteristics of the election manifestoand how the APC presidential candidate uses language in a social context. The data analysis is divided into four sections. The first section examines the excerpts using van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to the CDA model. Insights from van Dijk's macro, micro and meso levels and his notion of the ideological square are deployed here in identifying and describing the pragma-discourse features used in the election manifesto by the APC candidate to present himself positively and others negatively. This stage is followed by the second stage of the analysis, which examines the selected excerpts and how speech acts have been used to relay the political agenda of the APC presidential candidate. The third stage of the analysis focuses on the ideological underpinnings of the APC candidate, as evidenced in his manifesto. Finally, the fourth stage employs Grice's conversational maxims to uncover the covert meanings expressed in the election manifesto of the APC candidate.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

This section examines the selected excerpts to answer the research questions. The data analysis and interpretation are structured in four sections, as discussed below.

Presentation of Self Positively and Others Negatively in the Election Manifestos

Van Dijk (2005) posits that "a socio-cognitive approach to discourse offers a unique and necessary interface between the macro aspects of society and the micro aspects of discourse and interpretation" (p. 53).

The meeting point between the macro and micro is regarded as the 'meso', which informs the notion of context. In line with van Dijk's submission, Abaya (2019) states that the macro level of analysis comprises issues such as positive self-presentation and negative other-representation. According to Reniro (2011), the micro level of analysis covers aspects such as coherence, cohesive relations, lexical and topic selection, rhetorical figures, deictic expressions, speech acts, and proposition structures. Other elements of the micro level of analysis include lexical items, grammatical choices, and rhetorical interrelations in any text. This section employs insights from van Dijk's micro, macro and meso levels in analyzing the pragma-discourse features used in the election manifesto of Chief Bola Ahmed Tinubu. The essence of the analysis is to describe how the APC candidate used different pragma-discourse features to present himself positively and others negatively.

This analysis captures the pragma-discourse features used in Bola Ahmed Tinubu's election manifesto to present himself positively and others negatively. The following excerpts illustrate this.

Excerpt 1.
The current government has made important inroad (BATEM, 2023, P. 5).

Excerpt 2
When it came into office, the Buhari government met situation in which terrorists had planted their flags and claimed Nigerian territory as their own (BATEM, 2023, p. 6).

Excerpt 3.
The Buhari government eliminated these incursions against our national Sovereignty, bringing peace to many lives (BATEM, 2023, p. 6).

Excerpt 4.
Improvement in the agricultural sector has been encouraging under the Buhari administration (BATEM, 2023, p. 25).

Excerpt 5.
The revenues and returns of the sector have been a consistent source of political contention and of corrupt designs by bad actors (BATEM, 2023, p. 32).

Excerpt 6.
Social programs initiated by the Buhari administration like cash transfers to the poorest, school feeding and economic governance (BATEM, 2023, p. 61).

Excerpt 7.
The regressive elite and powerful entrenched interests argued that such programs could not or should not be established (BATEM, 2023, p. 61).

Excerpt 8.
As a result, millions of people have been pulled from abject poverty (BATEM, 2023, p. 63).

Excerpt 9.
Apart from the material assistance, they have been given hope for a better life (BATEM, 2023, p. 63).

Excerpt 10.
Thousands of formerly displaced people have returned home to rebuild their lives (BATEM, 2023, p. 8).

The excerpts (1-10) above illustrate using pragma-discourse features to positively present self and negatively represent others in Bola Ahmed Tinubu's election manifesto. For example, Bola Ahmed Tinubu speaks of one of the achievements of the APC government in excerpt one, using pragma-discourse features such as simple sentences, topicalization, material verbs, and descriptive lexical words. The text begins with the nominal phrase "the current government". This nominal phrase is foregrounded as the topic of discourse because it carries the crux of the speaker's message. The nominal phrase is succeeded by the material verb "made" and refers to what the Buhari government has achieved. The verbal item is immediately followed by the lexical word "important", a content word deployed to describe one of the Buhari government's successes. The positive presentation of the Buhari government in this text by Bola Ahmed Tinubu is achieved through the interactions between the nominal expression, the material verb and the content lexical items.

In excerpt two, Bola Ahmed Tinubu alludes to the period in which the Buhari government assumed office and the challenges of insecurity it met. The text begins with the expression "when it came into power". This expression is fronted and serves as the topic of discourse. Apart from the utilization of the topic sentence, temporal deixis is introduced with the adverb "when" and is used to denote time. The dietic item alludes to the period that the Buhari government assumed office. The pronominal reference "it" refers to the Buhari government. Through the reference item, the reader understands the referent of the discourse. The fronted subordinate clause is succeeded by a main clause and two other subordinate clauses, which combine to form a complex sentence. The relationship that exists between these clauses is hypotaxis. This relationship is due to the unequal status accorded to these clauses. Noteworthy is the fact that Bola Ahmed Tinubu represents the Goodluck Jonathan's government in a negative light. The negative representation of other (that is, the Goodluck Jonathan's administration) is aided through the use of the noun 'terrorists', which has a negative connotation. This is supported by the material verbs "planted" and "claimed". The choice of these materials verbs serves to depict the atrocious activities of the terrorists who dominated Nigeria years. The lexical expression "their flags" and "they're own" refer to the dominance of the terrorists over the Nigerian state. In all, the nominal expression "Nigerian territory" shows the location that has been conquered and is being occupied by the terrorist group.

Bola Ahmed Tinubu comments on the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria posed by terrorists and how the Buhari government has addressed the issue in excerpt three. Like the previous excerpts, the speaker topicalizes the nominal expression that introduces this excerpt. This is because it is his topic of discourse, and hence, he wants the audience's attention to be drawn to it. The lexical items "eliminate" and "bringing" are dynamic verbs deployed to indicate the successes achieved by the Buhari government in its combat against insecurity in the nation. These material verbs are followed by the lexical expression "peace to many areas." The pronoun "our" refers to the Nigerian citizens as a whole. The choice of this pronominal reference by the speaker is to show solidarity with the Nigerian citizens who have been victims of terrorist attacks. While Bola Ahmed Tinubu presents Buhari's government positively by advertising its victory over the terrorist group, it represents Goodluck Jonathan's administration negatively due to its inability to curb the challenges of insecurity posed by the terrorist group.

Excerpt four is another instance of the positive presentation of self in Bola Ahmed Tinubu's manifesto. Here, he speaks positively of the Buhari government by recording its success in the agriculture sector. The speaker foregrounds this expression because it is his topic of discourse and hence wants attention to be drawn to it. Other parts of the text, such as the verbal group "has been encouraging" and the prepositional phrase "under the Buhari administration," equally depict Buhari's government positively.

In excerpt five, Bola Ahmed Tinubu comments on the detractors of the Buhari government and the APC party. These are people who, daily, are striving to discredit the performance of the Buhari administration. Topicalization, additive conjunction, and content lexical words with negative connotations are pragma-discourse features deployed in this text to represent the Buhari government's detractors negatively. The first part of the excerpt, "The revenues and returns of the sector", is topicalized because it forms the core of the speaker's message. This is the sector where the Buhari government's detractors have infiltrated to carry out their unwholesome activities, thereby discrediting the APC government. To address the detractors of the Buhari government, the lexical expression "bad actors" is used to label them. Other lexical items used in portraying these detractors negatively are "political contention" and "corrupt design".

Excerpt six is a complex sentence that begins with topicalizing the speaker's message as captured in the expression "social programs initiated by the Buhari administration…". Through tropicalizing his discourse subject, the speaker presents Buhari's government positively. The positive light in which Buhari's government has been presented is further buttressed by the following lexical items with positive connotations: "cash transfer," school feeding, " and "economic empowerment program."

Negative other representation is illustrated in excerpt seven using topicalization, focalization, additive conjunction, and content words with negative meanings. Topicalization in this text features in the expression "the regressive elite and powerful entrenched interests". The speaker tropicalizes this expression by fronting it. The essence of the fronting is to foreground the subject of discourse. Since the text has a complex sentence configuration, such configuration is aided by using additive conjunctions. Lexical items such as "regressive elite" and "powerful entrench interests" are content lexical words with negative connotations deployed in the utterance to represent Bola Ahmed Tinubu's political rivals negatively.

Excerpts eight to ten are instances of Bola Ahmed Tinubu's deployment of pragma-discourse features in presenting self positively. For example, in excerpt eighteen, Bola Ahmed Tinubu alludes to the millions of Nigerians who have been pulled out of abject poverty by the Buhari government. This message is relayed through a simple sentence. The choice of the material verb "pulled" and the preposition phrase "from abject poverty" positively describe the Buhari government and the APC party.

Excerpt nine alludes to the Buhari government's material assistance to the poor in Nigerian society and the hope for a better life. This message is configured using complex sentences. It begins with the subordinate clause "apart from the material assistance" and is used by the speaker to topicalize his discourse subject. The pronoun "they" refers to the millions of Nigerians being referred to in Bola Ahmed Tinubu's manifestos. Finally, a similar utilization of topicalization features in excerpt twenty, where Bola Ahmed Tinubu speaks of the thousands of formerly displaced people who have been relocated back to their homes. The lexical items "returned," homes," and "rebuild their lives" further depict the achievements of the Buhari Buhari's government.

As the analysis above has depicted, Bola Ahmed Tinubu employs pragma-discourse features to present Buhari's government and the APC party positively. However, similar pragma-discourse features are deployed to represent his political rivals, most especially the Goodluck Jonathan's government and the PDP party negatively.

Speech Acts in the Election Manifestos
The second phase of the data analysis focuses on the candidate's utilization of speech acts to relay his political agenda. Speech acts involve the analysis of intended meaning in conversation and discourse analysis that investigates the election manifesto and choice of words by the APC presidential aspirant during the electoral campaign. Searle (1979) proposed five speech act classifications to analyze political discourse from a speaker's perspective. The five speech acts proposed by Searle are assertive, commissive, expressive, and declarative, and directives are applied to the election manifesto to describe how they have been used to relay the political agenda of the APC presidential candidate.

The analysis under this section captures Bola Ahmed Tinubu's use of speech acts in his election manifesto to present his political agenda. The following excerpts from his manifesto illustrate this use.

> **Excerpt 11**
> Our administration will accelerate the reforms committed under the present administration in building a more robust, re-energized armed forces (BATEM, 2023, p. 6).
>
> **Excerpt 12**
> The structural model upon which our national economy has always been based needs major reform (BATEM, 2023, p. 8).
>
> **Excerpt 13**
> Our economy is unhelpfully designed to export raw materials and import increasingly expressive finished products (BATEM, 2023, p. 11).
>
> **Excerpt 14**
> We will immediately take the necessary steps to ensure that more of the power we already generate can be transmitted and distributed to Nigerian homes and business (BATEM, 2023, p. 29).
>
> **Excerpt 15**
> Tinubu administration will reform the education sector by focusing on the following: quality, access, funding, management, effectiveness and competitiveness (BATEM, 2023, p.41).
>
> **Excerpt 16**
> We shall strengthen social services and support to victims of domestic violence and abuse by encouraging whistle blowing, counseling for victims and sanctuary homes (BATEM, 2023, p.60).
>
> **Excerpt 17**
> Introduce new social investment programs supporting the development of macro, small and medium enterprises, particularly among the poor (BATEM, 2023, p. 62).

Excerpt 18
A Tinubu government will operate on the premise that the rule of law is paramount (BATEM, 2023, p. 68).

Excerpt 19
All citizens are equal before the law and our administration will ensure that all Nigerians are offered equal treatment under the law (BATEM, 2023, p. 64).

Excerpt 20
The mandate and composition of the National Judicial Council (NJC) will be reviewed to make it together and more effective in dealing with corruption, malpractice and uncompromising in the administration of justice (BATEM, 2023, p. 66)

In excerpt eleven, Tinubu speaks of the intention of his government to build a more robust and re-energized armed force. The locutionary act in this excerpt is the intention of his government to undertake a reform if voted into office. The illocutionary force of the excerpt is Tinubu's promise to Nigerians. The perlocutionary act is the hope and assurance the promise gives Nigerians. However, in excerpt twelve, Tinubu evaluates the structural model upon which Nigeria's national economy has always been based. The locutionary act in his utterance is informing. This claim is because he uses the utterance to provide Nigerians with information. The illocutionary act of the utterance is complaining, which is classified as an assertive speech act. The perlocutionary speech act of the utterance is the dismay or despondency that Nigerians experience after receiving the message.

Excerpt thirteen refers to the Nigerian economy, which has been designed to export raw materials and import expressive finished products. The locutionary act in this excerpt is informing. This is so because Tinubu provides Nigerians with information regarding the nation's economy. The illocutionary act of this utterance is complaining. It is classified under the Assertive Speech Act. Since the utterance is made to the Nigerian populace, its perlocutionary effect in Nigeria is sadness and despondency. Excerpt fourteen refers to Nigeria's power sector and Tinubu's government's intention to distribute electricity to all Nigerian homes. The locutionary act in this utterance is the plan of Tinubu's administration to ensure that all homes in Nigeria are powered by electricity. The illocutionary act of the utterance is promising (commissive speech act). The perlocutionary effect of the utterance is the hope and encouragement that the promise gives to Nigerians.

Excerpt fifteen focuses on education in Nigeria and contains Tinubu's government plans to improve the sector. The locutionary act in the utterance is the plan of Tinubu's government to improve education in Nigeria. The illocutionary act of the utterance is the hope and encouragement that the promise gives to the Nigerian students. As used here, the illocutionary act of promising is classified under the commissive speech act. The perlocutionary force of the utterance is the hope and encouragement it gives to Nigerians. The promise can resuscitate the hope of those who have lost faith in the Nigerian education system.

The subject of excerpt sixteen is domestic violence against women in Nigeria and how the Tinubu-led government has planned to address this issue. The locutionary act in the utterance is the plan of the Tinubu government to combat domestic violence against women in Nigeria. The illocutionary act of the utterance is promising (commissive speech acts). The perlocutionary force of the utterance lies in the hope and encouragement it gives to the masses. Excerpt seventeen refers to introducing a new social investment program that will help develop macro, micro and small businesses in Nigeria. The locutionary act in this utterance is the interaction of Tinubu's government to introduce social investment that will help transform various businesses in Nigeria. The illocutionary speech act is planning and promising (commissive speech act). The perlocutionary act is hope, the promise given to Nigerian businessmen and women.

Excerpt eighteen focuses on Tinubu's government's stance on the rule of law. The locutionary act of the utterance is for Tinubu to inform Nigerians about his government's stance on the rule of law in Nigeria. The illocutionary act is promising (commissive speech act). The perlocutionary act is the hope and confidence the expression gives Nigerians. Excerpt nineteen refers to Tinubu's plan to treat all Nigerians equally. However, excerpt twenty speaks of his review of the National Judicial Council to enable it to work effectively. The locutionary acts in these two excerpts are Tinubu's informing Nigerians of his government's decision to treat Nigerians equally under the rule of law and ensure that the national judicial council is reviewed. The illocutionary acts in both excerpts are that of promise, while the perlocutionary act lies in the hope and encouragement that the promise gives to Nigerians.

Ideologies Expressed in the Election Manifestos
In the complex interplay between cognition, society, and discourse, van Dijk (1998) defines ideologies as a form of social cognition and as the basis of the social representation of a group. In a later work, he defines ideologies as " a system of ideas and socio-cognately shared representations of social groups" (van Dijk, 2013, p. 15). The reproduction of ideology through language is a common feature in political encounters, where politicians bring diverse dispositions in their choice and use of language closely tied to their social positioning. These dispositions determine the perspective or the ideology they share, which differs from individual to individual. With their rich diversity, such ideological positions are expressed in the discourse strategies employed by politicians, through which they seek to influence listeners' opinions through their speeches or addresses. (Taiwo, 2007). Given the rich tapestry of ideologies in political discourse, this analysis section delves into the ideologies expressed by the APC candidate in the election manifesto.

This analysis focuses on Tinubu's ideological position. The following excerpts illustrate Tinubu's ideological stance.

Excerpt 21
The fundamental responsibility or government of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens (BATEM, 2023, p. 11).

Excerpt 22
We will address our nation's healthcare challenges (BATEM, 2023, p. 45).

Excerpt 23
We shall establish the following programs and policies to promote more female inclusion in politics, government and the economy (BATEM, 2023, p.44).

Excerpt 24
Tinubu administration will ensure that the legal section function transparency and with due process (BATEM, 2023, p. 63)

Excerpt 25

Tinubu administration will ensure that the legal section function transparency and with due process (BATEM, 2023, p. 64).

Excerpt 26

We believe that Nigeria's three fundamental foreign policy objectives should be: protect against any form of external aggression. Promote the best possible outcome for Nigeria in any engagements with other nations, and improve Nigeria's standingand dignity among the country or nation (BATEM, 2024, p.70).

Excerpt 27

Our youth's underemployment and unemployment rates are too high. The unemployment rate of 33 percent causes frustration for too many young people and their loved ones (BATEM, 2023, p. 57).

Excerpt 28

We will implement policies to ensure that our services in federal government hospitals are high-quality, people-centered and delivered in accordance with best industry practice (BATEM, 2023, p.46).

Excerpt 29

We will invest in the infrastructural of our educational institutions and provide adequate resources that improve the educational environment in which our children are taught (BATEM, 2023, p. 41).

Excerpt 30

We must pay special attention to our people (BATEM, 2023, p. 11).

The dominant ideologies that informed the policies made in the election manifestoes of Tinubu are his positive towards national security, nationalism, foreign policy, and the rule of law. National security is the security and defence of a sovereign state, including its citizens, economy and institution, which is regarded as a duty of government. For instance, in excerpt seventy-one, Tinubu speaks of the fundamental responsibility of his government to protect the lives and properties of Nigerian citizens. This willingness is exemplified using the expression, "the fundamental responsibility of government is to protect the lives and property of its citizens". The willingness of Tinubu's government to ensure the security of the lives and properties of Nigerians must have been influenced by his positive ideology towards national security. Another dominant ideology that characterized the election manifesto of Tinubu is nationalism. Nationalism is the ideology that emphasizes loyalty, devotion, or allegiance to a nation or nation-state. One observes Tinubu's willingness and readiness to serve the Nigerian nation. This is why, in most of the excerpts, he displays readiness to address the issues confronting different sectors in Nigeria. For instance, in excerpt twenty-two, he refers to addressing all health challenges confronting the Nigerian nations as exemplified using the expression "we will address our nation's healthcare challenges". However, in excerpt twenty-three, he refers to programs and policies that will accord women the opportunity to participate in politics. Tinubu foregrounds his ideology of inclusive governance by allowing women to participate in his government. His positive attitude towards nationalism is exemplified in excerpt twenty-four, where he expresses the desire to provide conditional income to the less privileged among the Nigerian

masses. Excerpt twenty-five introduces the Tinubu government's plan to restructure the Nigerian judiciary to enable the sector to operate transparently. The decision to introduce reforms to restructure the judiciary is motivated by his ideology towards operating an accountable and transparent government and upholding the rule of war. Excerpt twenty-six focuses on Nigeria's relationship with other countries. Here, Tinubu plans to consolidate Nigeria's previous relations with countries abroad. Tinubu's vision to strengthen Nigeria's relations with the international community exemplifies his positive disposition towards foreign policy. In excerpt twenty-seven, he refers to the unemployment rate in Nigeria and how his administration plans to address this issue. The willingness of Tinubu's government to address the issue of youth underemployment is motivated by a willingness to serve the Nigerian nation and its citizens. While excerpt twenty-eight captures Tinubu's reforms for the health sector, which is motivated by his desire to restructure the Nigerian health sector so that it can function efficiently and productively, excerpt twenty-nine mirrors the infrastructure deficit in Nigeria's education and how the Tinubu government has planned to address this problem. Finally, excerpt thirty shows Tinubu's willingness to pay special attention to the youth population.

Meanings Covertly Expressed in the Election Manifestos

The fourth objective of the study is to identify and discuss the conversational implications of the election manifesto of the APC presidential candidate in the 2023 general elections.

This analysis focuses on the meanings covertly expressed in Tinubu's election manifesto. The following excerpts from the manifesto are examined for this purpose.

Excerpt 31

we shall adopt a proactive and intelligent driven security approach to sufficiently address the nation's security threats (BATEM, 2023, p. 6).

Excerpt 32

Our healthcare delivery strategy will target poor and marginalized communities leaving no one behind (BATEM, 2023, p. 40).

Excerpt 33

Youths will not be exploited to do the bidding of the government (BATEM, 2023, p. 5).

Excerpt 34

Our administration shall aim to cut the youth unemployment rate in half within four years (BATEM, 2023, p. 50).

Excerpt 35

We shall not stop until women have an equal chance to enter and excel in all relevant aspects of our nation's social, economic and political life (BATEM, 2023, p. 50).

Excerpt 36

A Tinubu administration will ensure that the legal sector functions transparently and with due process (BATEM, 2023, p. 14).

Excerpt 37

We will institute per-yearly reforms assuring the financial independence, impartiality, effectiveness of the judicial arm of government (BATEM, 2023, p. 64).

Excerpt 38

A Tinubu government will operate on the promise that the rule of law is paramount (BATEM, 2023, p. 24).

Excerpt 39
All citizens are equal before the law and our administration will ensure that all Nigerians are offered equal treatment under the law (BATEM, 2023, p. 60).

Excerpt 40
The mandate and composition of the National Judiciary Council (NJC) will be reviewed to make it tough and more effective in dealing with corruption, malpractice and incompetence in the administration of such (BATEM, 2023, p. 60).

Excerpt thirty one refers to the proactive and intelligent steps the Tinubu government has adopted to address the nation's security threats. The utterance's implicature arises from the speaker's use of language that can be interpreted in multiple ways. By the utterance, the speaker means there have been security threats in Nigeria. These security threats have not been adequately addressed and will need a proactive and intelligent security approach. The utilisation of conversational implicature is noticeable in excerpt thirty two, in which Tinubu addresses the challenges facing the healthcare sector in Nigeria. Implicature in this utterance is achieved by violating the maxim of manner owing to the speaker's ambiguous expressions. The utterance in this excerpt (32) could be interpreted as Nigeria's ineffective healthcare delivery system. As a result, such delivery could not reach the poor and marginalized people in Nigeria.

Excerpt thirty three focuses on the Nigerian youths. Implicature in this utterance is precipitated due to the speaker's utilization of language that can be interpreted in multiple ways. One of the interpretations that can be deduced from the speaker's utterance is that the government has been exploiting Nigerian youths to do their bidding. Bidding here refers to the dirty jobs politicians in public offices engage the youths to carry out for them. Excerpt thirty four refers to the intention of Tinubu's administration to employ the Nigerian youths. What the excerpt here implies is that there has been unemployment in Nigeria, and as such, the Tinubu administration needs to reduce the rate of unemployment of youths by providing jobs for them. In excerpt thirty five, Tinubu reveals his plans for the Nigerian women. Here, one observes the violation of the maxims of manner due to the ambiguous language used by the speaker which can be interpreted in multiple ways. The utterance implies that Nigerian women do not have an equal chance to enter and excel in all relevant aspects of the nation's national, social and political life.

Excerpt thirty seven speak about the Nigerian legal sector. Here, Tinubu promises to revamp the Nigerian Judiciary system by making it work effectively. Conversational implicature is achieved in these texts through the violation of the maxims of manner due to the ambiguous language used by the speaker. The implied meaning in the utterances is that the legal system in Nigeria is not transparent, and due process is not followed in dispensing justice. However, in excerpt thirty seven, the utterance could imply that the nation's judiciary is not financially independent. Dispensing justice is partial, and the judiciary is ineffective. These multiple interpretations result from the speaker's use of ambiguous language.

Excerpt thirty eight refers to the rule of law. Tinubu speaks of his government's stance on the rule of law. He utilizes the maxim of manner due to the ambiguous use of language. One interpretation that

can be deduced from his utterance in this excerpt is that the previous administration did not give the rule of law paramount importance. Excerpts thirty nine address all Nigerian citizens and evoke how Tinubu's government will treat them. The implication utterance implies that all Nigerian citizens are not equal before the law, and Nigerians are not offered equal treatment. Excerpt forty focuses on the National Judiciary Council and unveils Tinubu's agenda for the council. The utterance implies that Nigeria's current Judiciary Council is not more challenging and more effective in dealing with corruption, malpractices, and incompetence. From the analysis above, it is obscure that Tinubu mainly violates the maxim of manners to create an implicature in his discourse.

Discussion of Findings

The data analysis conducted reveals that the pragma-discourse features used in the manifesto of the APC candidate are transitivity processes (material, mental and verbal), sentence types (simple and complex), cohesive relations (reference, additive and adversative conjunctions), deixis (temporal and spatial), inversion, and thematization. The material verbs show the process of doing and happenings in the election manifesto. It represents past actions and events of previous administrations, the current administrations, the situation of things in the country, and what the APC candidate plans to do when voted into office. Apart from the transitivity process, the dominant sentence types used in the election manifestos are simple and complex. The APC candidate employs a simple sentence to express a single idea and a complex sentence to convey more detailed ideas, reasons, and conditions. The election manifesto deployed content words laced with positive and negative connotations. Some of the content words are descriptive, and others are evaluative. Evidential clauses in the election manifesto serve significant purposes. Such clauses are deployed in the election manifesto to consolidate the arguments raised by the APC candidate. The corroboration of the arguments of the APC candidate is realised through the presentation of facts either through statistical figures or allusion. Pronominal reference is deployed in the election manifesto to show solidarity with their political party as well as with Nigerians and also to indicate inclusivity. Sentence inversion functions to foreground the policies and reforms in the election of manifesto of the APC candidate as well as the challenges confronting the Nigerian nation. From the analysis conducted above, Bola Ahmed Tinubu employs pragma-discourse features to present himself positively by speaking about the reforms and policies which his government plans to initiate in Nigeria. He employs similar pragma-discourse features in representing others (Goodluck Jonathan's administration and the PDP-led government) by showing areas where they failed and the problems they left for Buhari's government.

Speech acts are equally deployed in the election manifesto by each candidate to relate their political agenda to the presidential candidates. The data examined showed that Bola Ahmed Tinubu employs the assertive speech act to state the failures of the PDP-led government. The commissive speech act serves to relay the future plans which his government has for Nigeria and Nigerians. These plans contain the policies and reforms of his government for Nigeria and Nigerians.

Conclusion

Before the primary election, the presidential candidate of the APC delivered a manifesto that reflects the policies and reforms of their government. This manifesto portrayed a more conciliatory posture on the surface. However, a pragma-discourse study of the manifesto

uncovers several ideological standpoints expressed in more subtle and covert means by carefully selecting linguistic choices that suit the persuasive nature of the political event of presidential election manifestoes. The election manifesto examined in this study revealed the significant roles that pragma-discourse features and choices play in constructing election manifestoes. These pragma discourses convey directly or indirectly the APC candidate's political agenda and the proposed new government. Bola Ahmed Tinubu employed pragma-discourse features in presenting himself and the APC government positively and others negatively compared to the previous administration (Goodluck Jonathan) under the leadership of the PDP. While the positive presentation of self is done explicitly, the negative representation of others is done covertly and subtly. In all, election manifestos are valuable documents that allowed the APC candidate to showcase his plans and policies to the electorates.

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