

## CONCEPTUAL MAPPINGS AND FACE MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES IN OBASANJO'S 'THE WAY OUT: A CLARION CALL FOR NIGERIA MOVEMENT'

**Aremu, Moses Adebayo**  
PhD Candidate,  
Department of English,  
University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

---

**ABSTRACT:** *Political text is a discourse in which language is employed for manipulation, deception, coercion, conviction and power construction. The existing linguistic studies of Nigerian political discourse focused on the genres of cartoons, campaign speeches, adversarial political interviews, newspaper adverts, inaugural addresses, and political slogans; with the exclusion of the text of letter to the president. Hence, this paper examines the conceptual mappings and face management strategies in Obasanjo's open letter to Nigerian President Buhari titled 'The Way Out: Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement(i.e CCNM)' through the eclectic theoretical framework of Gerald Steen's (1996) Deliberate Metaphor Theory, VanDijk's(2006) Socio-cognitive Theory and Brown and Levinson's(1987) Face Management Theory. The findings revealed that Obasanjo's CCNM is characterised by the deliberate mappings of a nation as a horse and lice-infested clothes; governance as a horse; a political leader as a horse rider and poor performance in government as a lice. The text is equally characterised by bald-on-record face threatening acts used to condemn Buhari's flaws in governance and face saving acts employed to convince the Nigerian political actors and populace about the need to form a 'coalition' to move Nigeria forward. The paper concludes that the audience needs to construe the participants' generic and socially-shared cognitive models to decode the author's intention in the text.*

**KEY WORDS:** facework, political text, cognitive mappings, meaning

---

### INTRODUCTION

Language and politics are intertwined. Politics implies a struggle between individuals who want to assert and maintain power and individuals who want to resist it (Chilton, 2004). Political discourses according to Chilton and Shaffner (1997) is a discourse that is characterised by: (i) coercion; (ii) persistence, opposition and protest, (iii) legitimisation and delegitimisation as well as (iv) dissimulation. Politics also implies power, that is, power domination, control and manipulation over others (Opebi, 2005). In achieving this dominion, political authority uses manipulation and power over others (Van Dijk 1997). Political discourse is characterised by power and the resistance to it (Chilton and Shaffner 1997; p. 212); while political cognition deals with mental representation shared as political actors.

Obasanjo's 'The Way Out: A clarion call for Nigeria Movement' is a political text. It is a letter written by a former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo to Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari in order to share his political cognition, mental representation on the socio-political situation in Nigeria right from the time that the target (Muhammadu Buhari) had become

Nigerian President. The letter was also written by Obasanjo not only to condemn the socio-political, economic and insecurity problems in the country right from the inception of Buhari's administration but also to convince Buhari not to contest for the second time. Obasanjo's lack of conviction that there is any change in socio-political situation in Nigeria after the coming into power of Buhari led to the writing of the present letter. The author had initially written a letter to paint Buhari's predecessor (Goodluck Jonathan) black and succeeded in making the electorates to be disenchanted about Jonathan's administration. Besides, the writer (Olusegun Obasanjo) also used the text of this discourse to play the role of a Nigerian political 'god-father' and a patriot. Hence, the letter expresses the authors' mental and socially – shared political cognition about Nigerian situation during President Buhari's era.

Different studies have been carried out on the linguistic studies of political texts and talk. For instance, scholars have carried out a political discourse analysis of campaign speeches, political interviews, inaugural addresses, political slogans, political debates, political cartoons, and president speeches. Also, different linguistic tools have been employed to analyse political texts and talk. While some linguistic concepts have used the impoliteness strategies to analyse political texts and talk (e.g. Bousfield 2008, Mullany 2002), others have used the cognitive semantics and cognitive metaphor (e.g. Taiwo 2010, Mussolf 2008), relational work (e.g. Locher and Watt 2002, Odeunmi 2009), speech act (e.g. Babatunde and Odeunmi, 2009) and critical discourse analysis (e.g. Opanachi, 2009) to analyse it. It has been observed however that linguistic research have eluded the study of face work and conceptual mappings in a Nigeria's political leader's (former President Obasanjo's) open letter to President Buhari titled: '*The Way Out: A Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement*'. Despite the relevance of this text to Nigerian politics and political history, not much linguistic research has been carried out on it. This study therefore not only attempts to fill the existing lacuna in research in pragmatics and cognitive semantics on Nigerian political discourse, but it also attempts to expand the scope of study on political discourse analysis in a Nigerian socio-economic context.

### **Existing Linguistics Studies of Political Discourse**

Existing studies on the language of political texts and talks have been focused on the genres of campaign speeches, adversarial political interviews, debates, inaugural addresses, cartoons, newspaper editorials, newspaper headlines, as well as political slogans and songs. Mulley (2002) examines impoliteness language and gender in political broadcast interviews by hinging on Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Eckert & McConnell-Ginet's (1992) Community of Practice (Cofp) approach. According to Mullany (2002), in impoliteness or politeness used in adversarial political broadcast interviews, it is participants themselves that determine whether an expression is polite or impolite in specific community in which their speeches are practiced (i.e. uttered). He also states that the gender is one aspect of social identity that is enacted in a community of practice. Vasvari (2013) studies gendered hate speech and political discourse in the recent US elections and in post-socialist Hungary through a critical discourse analysis approach. According to him, women in politics in Tony Blair's era in UK were described with different damning epithets like '*Blair's Babes*', '*Blair's Backwencher's*', and '*witches*', while women in Barak Obama's regime were described with derogatory terms as "*Obama's Baby Mama*", and '*Obama's whores*'. He concludes that hate speeches are often used against women in the election campaigns in the US.

Vestermark (2007) examines metaphorical personification of American political discourse; while Wei (2001) studies the pragmatics of metaphor in Taiwanese politics. Vestermark (2007) states that America as a nation is conceptualised or mapped as human by four American presidents in their speeches. Utilising Lackoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory as theoretical framework, Vestermark(2007) discovers that American presidents often personify America as human. Wei (2001) maps election as a journey and a war in Taiwan. Taiwo (2010) examines the mappings of Nigerian politics as a game, a journey and a bottle , nation as a family and a political leader or a political actor as a builder. Mensah (2012) examines bus metaphor in Ghanaian political speeches, while Opeibi (2006) studies the political marketing and 'political marchetting' in Nigerian negative political campaign discourse. Opeibi (2007) examines media multilingualism in Nigerian political discourse through Giles and Smith's Speech Accomodation Theory. Ademilokun (2014) examines the discursive strategies in selected political rally campaigns of 2011 elections in Southwestern Nigeria, while Aremu (2017) studies the conceptual mappings in Nigerian presidents' inaugural addresses between 1979 and 2015. According to Ademilokun (2014), the discursive strategies like religious allusion, social allusion, propagandistic language, code-switching, code-mixing and historical allusion are what characterise the political campaign rallies of 2011 elections in Nigeria.

In the same vein, Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) study the pragma-rhetorical strategies in selected speeches of Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, Adetunji (2009) examines speech acts in the second inaugural addresses of Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush, while Odebunmi (2009) studies politeness and relational work in print media political interviews in Nigeria. According to Babatunde and Odepidan (2009), ex-president Obasanjo's speeches are character by assertive, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. According to Babatunde and Odepidan (2009), Obasanjo's speeches are characterised by too many assertives (71.43%). Ayoola (2017) studies the systemic functional grammar analysis of political advertisements in selected Nigerian newspaper while Odebunmi (2012) examines the lexical choices and cognition in President Obasanjo's inaugural speeches. According to Odebunmi (2012), lexical relations, grammatical features and implicature are used by Obasanjo in his inaugural speeches to evoke his personal bitterness against past Nigerian government rather than objective assessment of the state of the writing. Mussolf (2004) studies the metaphors of a nation as a family and national development as a journey in debates about Europe, while Opeibi (2009) examines discourse, politics and the 1993 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria. It has been discovered that the existing studies on the linguistic analysis of political texts and talk in Nigeria have excluded the analysis of facework and conceptual mappings in Obasanjo's open letter to Nigerian President Buhari titled: 'The Way Out: A Clarion Call for Nigerian Movement'. This study therefore attempt to fill this existing lacuna in pragmatics and cognitive semantics in Nigerian political text with a specific reference to the analysis of the conceptual mappings and face management strategies in an open letter to Nigerian president.

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

The analysis and discussion of findings in this paper are based on the eclectic theoretical framework of Van Dijk's (2002) socio-cognitive theory, Steen's (2008) deliberate metaphor theory as well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) face management theory. The concept of 'face'

in language was introduced by Goffman (1963) before it was made a full-blown politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987). It implies 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for her or himself with an expectation or assumption that others will help maintain those values in a particular context. It also presupposes 'an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes'(Thomas 1995,p.168). It also signifies 'individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image; which can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others' (Thomas 1995, p. 169). 'Face' has two aspects: (i) positive and (ii) negative. An individual's positive face is reflected in her or his desire to be liked, approved of, respected and appreciated by others. On the other hand, the negative face of every human is shown in the desire not to be impeded or put upon; that is to have freedom to act as one likes or chooses.

Face threatening acts (FTAs) are illocutionary acts which are liable to 'damage' another person's face. When a speaker 'S' insults hearer 'H' or condemns ; that is expresses a disapproval of what 'H' holds dear, the speaker has performed an FTA. There are four strategies of performing FTAs (Thomas 199, p. 169). These are: (a) performing the FTA on-record, using positive politeness, (b) performing the FTA, using negative politeness, (c) performing FTA (with redress) using off-record politeness, and (d) bold-on-record politeness. Bold-on-record politeness implies the 'performance of FTA without redress. It is a way of condemning someone without minding whose ox is gored. This doesn't give room for mitigating of FTA as a result of power differentiation between participants constraints. FTA without redress is often used to indict or condemn people's action. FTA with redress is a mild way of using hedges and ambiguity of expression to softly attack a person. Brown and Levinson (1987) give fifteen strategies of FTA with redress which Thomas (1995, p. 172) summarises into four; (a) seek agreement, (b) avoid disagreement, (c) give sympathy, and (d) be optimistic.

Strategies of invoking FTA with redress (using negative orientation) according to Thomas (1995; p. 172-3) are (i) be conventionally indirect, (ii) use hedges, (iii) minimise imposition, (iv) 'admit impingement', (v) 'point-of-view distancing', (vi) 'go on-record, (vii) impersonalise 'S' and 'H' (i.e. don't be too rude) and (viii) state FTA as a general rule. Brown and Levinson (1987) give fifteen strategies for performing FTA (using off-record politeness). These include 'give hints', be ambiguous or vague', 'be incomplete', 'use metaphor' and 'use ellipsis'. Non-performance of FTA is the last of politeness strategies given by Brown and Levinson (1987). According to Tanaka (1993), 'saying nothing' or 'opting out of choice is a kind of FTA. These are two: (a) 'opting out of choice –genuine (i.e. OOC-genuine) and (b) opting out of choice- strategic (i.e. OCC- strategic).OCC- genuine is used when one desires not to say anything in an adversarial interaction while 'OOC-strategic' is used to tactfully threaten the face of a hearer in an adversarial communication in order to hurt (or threaten the face) of the hearer. Since the data for study is characterised by FTA, this linguistic tool has been chosen as part of the three eclectic theories used for analysis.

Socio-cognitive theory is useful in examining the meaning construction, negotiation and interpretation in the text of *The Way Out: A Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement* because it is useful in deducing the author's personal and socially shared political cognition from the discourse. According to Van Dijk (2002), political cognition deals with mental representations people share as political actors. Political cognition also corrects the individual uniqueness and variation of political discourse and interaction with the socially shared political representations of political groups and institutions. Our knowledge (or political cognition) and opinions about

politicians are largely acquired, charged or confirmed by various forms of text and talk during our socialisation (Van Dijk, 2002, p.1).

Socio-cognitive theory explains the interface between cognition, text and meaning interpretation. It also focuses on 'mental and context models. Mental model is a part of human cognition and is a subjective representation of specific events which are reflected (or retained) in the personal episodic memory of individuals. Socio-cognition model also deals with the acquisition, uses and structures of mental representation of political situations, events, actors and groups (Van Dijk, 2002, p. 206).

Van Dijk (2002) states that any text in which the political beliefs, identities, perceptions, opinions, prejudices, impressions, ideas and ideologies of a political actor or group are shown reflect the topics in political cognition research. According to Van Dijk (2002), the production and understanding of a text or discourse involves the formation and activation of mental model. Van Dijk (2002) also states that every human has the short term (ST) and long term (LT) memories. The former (i.e. STM) is often used by human beings to process and acquire information, while the latter (LTM) is employed to retain knowledge. Personal experiences and the socially shared knowledge are often used by every human in her or his identity and ideology formation and construction. In analysing the political cognition in Obasanjo's open letter to Nigerian President Buhari, one must identify and establish the relation between the author's personal and socially shared beliefs in order to explain the use of cognitive metaphor and face management in the text. Hence, Van Dijk's (2002) socio-cognitive theory was used as part of the theoretical foci of the study. Steen's (2008) deliberate metaphor theory is an extension of research on cognitive metaphor propounded by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphor We Live By*. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor implies 'an ontological mapping of the source domain with the target domain'. Metaphor is reflected, according to them, in the every day human utterance. These cognitive metaphorists state further that metaphors are not figures of speech as projected by literary scholars. Rather, they are unconsciously rendered in every human statement. However, Steen (2008) explains that although metaphors are used in every human utterance, they are sometimes 'deliberately, consciously and conventionally used in some discourse, most especially in political discourse.

Steen (2008) utilises 'I have A Dream' Speech of Martin Luther Kings (Jnr) of 1963 and Barack Obama's acceptance speech as American President to examine the distinctions between the (i) deliberate, direct, and conventional metaphor in one hand and (ii) non-deliberate, indirect, unconscious and unconventional metaphor on the other hand. According to Steen (2008), 'metaphor is deliberate when it is direct. It does not follow that all indirect metaphors are non-deliberate'. Steen (2008) continues that 'there are three dimensions of metaphor: (a) the linguistic dimensions of indirectness, (b) the conventional parameter of conventionality and (c) the communicative dimension of deliberation'. According to Steen (2008), 'deliberate metaphor is a means of understanding one thing in terms of something else'. Perspective changing is the main communicative motive for deliberate metaphor (Steen 2008). In Obasanjo's *The Way Out: The Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement*, metaphors are deliberately used to reflect the author's personal and socially shared political beliefs, perceptual and political cognition about, the administration of president Buhari. Hence, Steen's (2008) deliberate metaphor, theory, Brown and Levinson's (1987) face management theory and Van Dijk's (2002) socio-cognitive theory were used as eclectic theoretical framework for analysing

face work and conceptual mappings in Obasanjo's 'The Way Out: A Clarion, Call for Nigeria Movement'.

## METHODOLOGY

Obasanjo's statements in his letter to Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari titled 'The Way Out; A Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement' served as the data for the study. Face threatening acts and face saving acts strategies and conceptual mappings in the text were examined through the eclectic theoretical process framework of Steen's (2008) deliberate metaphor theory, Brown and Levinson's (1987) face management theory and Van Dijk's (2002) socio-cognitive theory. Frequencies of face acts in the text were also examined through the statistical tool of simple percentage. The author's personal and socially-shared political cognition about Buhari's administration were studied through Van Dijk's (2002) socio-cognitive theory while cognitive use of language was examined through Steen's (2008) deliberate metaphor theory.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The text of Olusegun Obasanjo's open letter to Nigerian President Buhari titled 'The Way Out: A Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement' is characterised by the following frequencies of face threatening and face saving acts' strategies.

**Table 1: Frequencies of FTA and FSA strategies in Obasanjo's 'The Way Out: A Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement'**

FTA/FSA Strategies	Frequencies of FTA/FSA	Percentage	Samples from the Text
(i). FTA without Redress) or Bald-on-record FTA	38	40.10	<i>(a) There are serious allegations of round-tripping against some inner caucus of presidency which seem to have been condoned</i>
(ii) Performing FTA with off-record politeness	13	16.45	<i>(a) Let this administration and its political platform agree with the rest of us that what they have done and what they are capable of doing is not good enough for us. (b) We have only one step to take us out of Egypt to the promise land</i>
(iii) Performing FTA (with Redress)	06	7.59	<i>(i) I thought President Buhari would fight corruption and insurgency and he must be given some credit... so far in these two areas, it is not yet uhuru</i>
(iv) Non Performance of FTA	Nil	Nil	Nil
(v) Face Saving Acts	22	27.85	<i>(i) I only appeal to Brother Buhari to consider a deserved rest at this point in time and at his age.</i>
Total	79	100%	

**Table 2: Frequencies of Deliberate Conceptual Mappings in the Text**

Deliberate Mappings	Frequencies	Percentage
(i) Mapping of a nation as a horse	2	28.57
(ii) Mapping of a nation as lice infested cloths	1	14.29
(iii) Mapping of poor governance as lice	02	28.57
(iv) Mapping of political leader as a horse rider	02	28.57
Total	07	100

The findings revealed that the text of Obasanjo's *'The Way Out: The Clarion Call for Nigeria Movement (henceforth 'The Clarion Call')* is characterised by the face threatening acts (FTAs) strategies in the categories of (i) FTA without redress (or bald-on-record FTAs) (ii) FTA (with redress, (iii) FTA with off-record politeness and (iv) FSAs. The features of non-performance of FTA (or opting out of choice) are not reflected in the text. Besides, the text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call' is also characterised by the deliberate ontological correspondence of the source domains with the target domains. The text is characterised by the deliberate mappings of a nation as a lice-infected cloth and a horse; a political leader as a horse-rider and poor governance, poverty, corruption and other social decadence in a nation as lice.

#### **FTA (without redress) or Bald on Record FTA in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'**

FTA without redress or bald-on-record FTA implies a statement used to attack a person in order to ridicule, condemn, annoy and contemptualise the person without minding whose ox is gored. Obasanjo used FTA without redress not only to condemn Nigerian President Buhari's administration through an open letter (i.e 'The Clarion Call'), but also to jettison, reject and condemn the two main political parties during the era of Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria, All Progressive Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP). The findings revealed that there are 79 frequencies of face management strategies in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'. FTA without redress has 38 (40.10%) out of the whole frequencies of FTA in the text. This shows that the text was consciously or unconsciously designed to condemn APC and Buhari's political social and economic policies and also to ask the political leader to forget about the idea of contesting for the second time. The following are sampled examples of FTA without redress in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'

**Text 1:** 'It is a sad symptom of insensitivity and callousness that some governors, a day after 73 victims were being buried in a mass grave in Benue State without condolence, were jubilating endorsing President Buhari for a second term'

**Text 2:** 'I know that praise singers and hired attackers may be raised up against me for verbal or even physical attack, but if I can withstand undeserved imprisonment and was ready to shed my blood by standing for Nigeria. I will consider no sacrifice too great to make for the good of Nigeria'.

**Text 3:** 'The herdsmen and crop farmers issue is being wittingly or unwittingly allowed to turn sour and messy'.

**Text 4:** 'Whatever may be the state of President Buhari's health should neither over-push his luck nor over-tax the patience and tolerance of Nigerians for him'.

Text 1-4 are sampled from 38 frequencies of FTA without redress from the text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'. In text 1, the political actors (Governors) in Buhari's regime were described with expletives of being callous, and insensitive to people's plight. Obasanjo constructed his stance of non-supporting Buhari's plan to contest for second time through the text of his open

letter to Buhari. In the sampled text 1, Obasanjo condemned Buhari's insensitiveness to bloodletting caused by Fulani herdsmen. Obasanjo, through sampled statement in 'Table 1', condemned President Buhari that Buhari condoned corruption and mismanagement of funds by the inner caucus of the in his administration. Obasanjo made reference to the case of Maina who was alleged of involving in corrupt act but was being 'protected' by the presidency. Obasanjo equally used FTA without redress to refer to his target as a nepotic leader who refused to accept the blame of misgovernance but often pass the buck (of the misdeed in governance) to others.

In Text 2, the author utilised FTA without redress to threaten his intended audience (Nigerian political actors in Buhari's administration) of his determination to fight for the Nigerian masses without the fear of being killed, attacked or maimed. In Text 4, Obasanjo employed bald on record FTA to tell Buhari '*not to over-tax the patience and tolerance of Nigerians on him*' by attempting to contest again. FTA without redress was also used in the text to tell Buhari to '*dismount from the horse*'. That is, go home and rest after completing his tenure as Nigerian president. Since bald-on-record FTA has the highest frequencies in the text, directives and use of modality (must, should) abound in it. Directives, expletives and dysphemisms were utilised by the author as discursive strategy to perform FTA without redress. For instance in Text 2, the political actors in Buhari's government were described with the expletives '*praise-singers*', who often eulogise their leader (Buhari) and '*attackers*' who often engage in verbal, written and physical attacks against their critics.

#### **FTA (with off-record politeness) in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'**

The performance of FTA (with off-record politeness) had 13 (16.45%) frequencies in the text of Obasanjo's open letter to Nigerian President (i.e 'The Clarion Call') Brown and Levinson (1987) give fifteen strategies for performing FTA (using positive politeness). These include, among others, 'give hints', 'be ambiguous or vague', 'be incomplete', 'use metaphor' and 'use ellipsis'. Examples of these in Obasanjo's 'the Clarion Call' are the following texts 5-6.

**Text 5:** 'We have only one step to take us out of Egypt to the promised land'.

**Text 6:** President Buhari needs a dignified and honourable dismount from the horse...'

**Text 7:** 'Running the affairs of Nigeria is a 25/7 affair, not 24/7...'

**Text 8:** 'Let this administration and its political platform agree with the rest of us that what they have done and what they are capable of doing is not good enough'.

In 'text 5' Obasanjo used biblical allusion to map the suffering of Nigerians during Buhari's administration with the suffering of Israelites under Pharaoh's tyrannical rule in Egypt. He also mapped his call for coalition for Nigeria movement as march out of Egypt to the promises land. The author of 'The Clarion Call' used FTA (with off-record politeness) by using deliberate metaphor (or mapping) of a political leader as a horse-rider and a nation as a horse in 'Text 6'. He utilised the elastic, indirect and ambivalent expression '*Buhari needs a dignified and honourable dismount from the horse*' to imply that Buhari must not contest for the second term as Nigerian president so as not to face problems. The statement is a subtle face threatening act which was tactfully used by the author of 'The Clarion Call' to construct his personal and socially shared political cognition and to engage in his stance-taking and equally construct his political ideology concerning Buhari's aim of contesting for the second term as Nigerian President. Also, in text 7, the author of 'The Clarion Call' used ambivalent expression to explain that ruling Nigeria requires 'total concentration of the mental, physical and



psychological dispositions and not for the aged and the sick. This statement is characterised by an indirect speech act of warning Buhari to go and rest and not worry to over-stress his failing health again. In text 8, the author of 'The Clarion Call' used FTA (with off-record politeness) to subtly condemn Buhari and his 'acolytes' in government. The expression 'this administration' is a cataphoric reference to President Buhari and the political office holders in his government. The expression 'this administration' was tactfully used by the author to distance himself from the face threatening act used against the target (Buhari) and to make the expression ambivalent.

### **FTA (with Redress) in 'The Clarion Call'**

FTA (with Redress) is the use of hedges and ambivalent expression to attack a person. Thomas (1995, p. 172) gives four tools to be used in performing FTA with redress). These tools are: seek agreement, avoid disagreement, give sympathy, and be optimistic. The following 'Text 9' is an example of the FTA with redress in the text of 'The Clarion Call'. There are six (7.59%) frequencies of FTA (with redress) in the text.

**Text 9:** I thought President Buhari will fight corruption and insurgency and he must be given some credits... **so far in these two area, it is not yet uhuru.**

In 'Text 9', hedges 'I thought President Buhari will fight corruption and insurgency and must be given some credit' was used to seek agreement with the target. The hedges in the expression was also tactfully used to save the face of the intended audience. Hedges in 'Text 9' was tactfully used in pretense that the speaker was in support of the target.

### **FSAs in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'**

There are 22 (27.85%) frequencies of face saving acts (FSAs) in Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call'. FSA is a politeness strategy used by the speakers to protect and safe others' self-image and prestige. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that FSA is a process of minimising the act of offending others by being tactful in our speeches. Obasanjo used FSAs to safe his own face and to make his intended audience (political actors in Buhari's regime and President Buhari as well as the entire Nigerian populace) to have the belief that his intention in 'The Clarion Call' is to salvage the Nigerian masses from their social and economic ordeals caused by Buhari's 'mis-governance' Examples of FSAs in the text are the following texts 10-12.

**Text 10:** 'I am constrained to issue this special statement at this time considering the situation of the country'

**Text 11:** 'Some may ask ,what does Obasanjo want again? Obasanjo has wanted nothing other than the best for Nigeria and Nigerians; and he will want nothing less'.

**Text 12:** 'I only appeal to Brother Buhari to consider a decent rest at this point in time and at his age'.

*In 'Texts 10-12' above, the author of 'The Clarion Call' Olusegun Obasanjo used FSA to convince his audience (Nigerians, President Buhari and political actors in Buhari regime) that he had nothing personal to gain in writing a letter to convince Buhari not to contest again but in the interest of salvaging Nigeria and Nigerians from socio-economic quagmire or problem. The expressions 'I am constrained to issue this statement at this time' used in 'Text 10' was tactfully used by Obasanjo as a tool to safe his own face from being attacked that the letter was written because of an intension to achieve a personal political and economic gain. Also in 'Text 11', the expression 'Obasanjo has wanted nothing other than the best for Nigeria and Nigerians' is a FSA used by the writer of 'The Clarion Call' to safe his own face from being*

*attacked that the letter he wrote to advise Buhari was used by the author of 'The Clarion Call' to tactfully appeal to President Buhari not to contest again. FSA was used in the 'The Clarion Call' as a politeness strategy of cementing cordial relation with the audience by the author and also to project himself as a patriot that has a pure intension of salvaging Nigeria from insecurity and socio-economic problems caused by Buharis system of governance.*

### **Deliberate Metaphors in 'The Clarion Call'**

The findings also revealed that the text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call' is characterised by the deliberate mappings (or ontological correspondence) of the source with the target domains. Such deliberate mappings found in the text are the deliberate *mappings* (Steen, 2008) of (i) a nation as a horse and lice infested clothes; (ii) political leader as a horse rider; and (iii) poor governance, poverty and corruption as lice. These are hereby discussed.

#### **(a) A Political Leader as a horse rider**

The text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call' mapped 'a political leader as a horse rider' who can 'mount' the horse or 'dismount' from the horse. Let us examine the following 'Text 13.

Text 13: 'President Buhari needs a dignified and honourable dismount from the horse. He needs to have time to reflect, refurbish physically and recoup...'

In 'Text 13', a political leader is mapped as a horse rider, that is a leader that controls the nation (horse). Buhari was advised through the use of deliberate cognitive metaphors of a horse and a horse rider to 'dismount from the horse' or leave 'the stage' as Nigerian political leader so as to have a rest.

#### **(b) A Nation as a Horse**

The text of 'The Clarion Call' is also characterised by the deliberate mapping of 'a nation as a horse' being rode by its rider (a political leader). Both Jonathan and Buhari were mapped as horse riders of the horse (Nigeria).

Text 14: 'Even the horse rider then, with whom I maintain very cordial, happy and social relationship today has come to realise his mistakes and regretted it publicly.'

In 'Text 14' the nation (Nigeria) is mapped as a horse while a political leader (Goodluck Jonathan) is mapped as the 'horse rider'. In 'Text 13', Buhari as a political leader is mapped as a horse rider who needs to 'dismount from the horse' (leave the stage after completing his tenure in office) instead of contesting again. Using the animal metaphor (of a horse) to map a nation (Nigeria) in 'The Clarion Call' is a deliberate attempt by the author to map the nation (Nigeria) as a very strong and virile nation that has the potentials of having the socio-economic growth if it is being 'mounted' (i.e. controlled) by a good 'horse rider' (leader).

#### **(c) Poor Governnace as Lice**

Poor governance is often characterised by poverty in the nation, poor economic management, as well as insecurity of people's lives and properties. Nepotism and other social indecorums is mapped as lice in 'The Clarion Call'. This is shown in the following 'Text 15'.

Text 15: 'The Lice of poor performance in government-poverty, insecurity, poor economic management, nepotism, gross dereliction of duty, condonation of misdeed- if not outright encouragement of it... are very much with us today'

In 'Text 15', the author of 'The Clarion Call', ex-president Obasanjo used the deliberate mapping of 'poor governance as lice' as a face threatening act (FTA) without redress (i.e. bald-on-record FTA) to condemn nepotism, gross dereliction of duty, condonation of misdeed and economic mismanagement in President Buhari's regime.

**(d) A Nation as Lice-Infested Cloths**

In Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call', a nation (Nigeria) is mapped as lice-infested cloths. This is shown in the following 'Text 16'.

Text 16: 'When lice abound in your cloths, your fingernails with never be dried of blood... To ensure that you do not have blood in your fingernails, you have to ensure that lice are not harboured anywhere within your vicinity. The lice of poor performance in government... are very much with us today'.

In 'Text 16', a nation (Nigeria) is mapped as lice-infested cloths. The author used the mapping of a 'nation as lice-infested cloths' as a FTA without redress to condemn corruption and alleged poor governance in Buhari's administration in Nigeria.

**CONCLUSION**

The findings revealed that Obasanjo's letter to Nigerian President Buhari (i.e. The Clarion Call) is characterised by the face management strategies in the categories of FTA without redress (i.e. Bald-on-Record, FTA), FTA with redress, FTA with off-record politeness and FSAs. There are no cases of non-performance of FTA (i.e. opting out of choice) in the text. Since the text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call' is characterised by many (38/40.10%) FTA without redress, it could be inferred that the author used the discourse to launch attack and condemn the alleged nepotism, insecurity caused by Fulani herdsmen, mismanagement of the economy, condonement of corruption perpetrated by political actors in Buhari's administration and passing on the bulk of the blame of mismanagement to others by the president.

The findings also revealed that the text has been used by the author to expose his personal and socially shared political cognition about Buhari's system of governance. It was equally shown in the findings that the text of Obasanjo's 'The Clarion Call' was used by the author to construct his political identity in the dispensation and also to take his stance concerning Buhari's plan to contest for the second term as Nigerian President. Understanding the face management strategies, cognitive mappings and the author's political cognition in the text requires the participants' personal and socially shared beliefs in the text.

**References**

- Ademilokun, A. (2015) 'Discursive Strategies in selected political rally campaign of 2011 Elections in Southwestern Nigeria. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language* 3 (1), 120-132.
- Adetunji, A. (2009). Acts in the Second Inaugural Addresses of Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush. In Akin Odebunmi, E.A. Ania & S. Arimi (eds.) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Yisa Kehinde Yusuf*. Lagos:CBACC.
- Ayoola, M.O. (2015): *A Systemic Functional Grammatical Analysis of Political Advertisements in Selected Nigerian Newspaper*. A Phd Thesis submitted to Department of English, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
- Ayoola, Kehinde (2005). Interpreting Political Discourse: A Study of President Olusegun Obasanjo's July 26, 2005 address to National Assembly. *Papers in English and Linguistics (PEL)*, 6: 1-13:

- Aremu, M.A (2017): Pragmatic Analysis of Conceptual Mappings in Inaugural Speeches of Nigeria Presidents. *Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS)*, Vol 5., No 2, Dec. 2017.
- Babatunde, S.T & Odepidan, O. (2009). Pragma-Rhetorical Strategies in Selected speeches of President Olusegun Obasanjo. In A. Odebunmi, E.A. Arua and S. Arimi (eds) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Y.K. Yusuf*. Lagos: CBACC.
- Brown, P and Levinson, S. (1987). How and Why Some Women are More Polite: Some Evidences from Mayan Community. In G. McConnell et al (eds) *Women, Language and Literature in Society*, pp. 111-136, New York: Pragme.
- Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in Interactions*. Amstersdam: John Benjamins.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*: London: Routledge.
- Chilton, P. and Shaffner C. (1997), *Discourse and Politics*. In Teun Van Dijk (eds). *Discourse as Social Interaction*, pp. 206-230, London: Sage- Publications.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Ritual: Essay in Face-to-face Behaviour*. New York: Garden City.
- Lakoff. G and Jonhson, M. (1980) *Metaphor We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Press.
- Locher, M. and Watt R. (2005). 'Politeness Theory and Relational Work'. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1 (1): 9-23.
- Mensah,E.O.(2012). 'The Yutung Bus: Representation of a New Ghana Political Metaphor'. *Theory and Practice of Language Studies* 2(1),:118-125.
- Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in UK*. Palmgrove: Macmillan.
- Mullany, L. (2002). "I don't think you want me to get a word in edgeway: do you John? Rethinking impoliteness, language and gender in political broadcast interviews. *Sheffield Hallam Working Paper: Linguistics, politeness and context*. Retrieved from <http://extra-shua.uk/www/politeness/mullany/htm.1-20>.
- Odebunmi, A. and Oni, F. (2012). Wording the Gloom of an African Democracy: Lexical Choices and Cognition in Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo's Inaugural Speeches. *Ibadan: Journal of English Studies* 8:31-48.
- Odebunmi, A. (2009). Politeness and Relational Work in Print Media Political Interviews in Nigeria. In Odebunmi A, E.A. Ama and S. Arimi (eds) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Y.K. Yusuf*, pp. 339-355. Lagos: CBACC.
- Opeibi, B.O. (2004) *Discourse Analysis of the Use of English in the 1993 Presidential Election Campaigns in Nigeria*. An Unpublished Phd Thesis, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
- Opeibi, B.O. (2006). *Political Marketing or 'Political Marcheting': A study of Negative Campaigning in Nigerian Political Discourse*. Downloaded online from <http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/01/4/opeibi16.htm>.
- Opanachi, M.I. (2009). *Discourse Analysis of President Obasanjo's National Address on Nigeria Labour Congress on 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2003*. In Akin Odebunmi, Arua E. Arua and S. Arimi (eds) *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festchrift for Y.K. Yusuf.*, Lagos: CBACC, pp. 313-325.
- Steen; Gerald (2008). The Paradox of Metaphor: Why We Need a Three Dimensional Model of Metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbol* 23 (4), 213-241.
- Taiwo, R. (2010). *Metaphor in Nigerian Political Discourse*. In Nils-Lennart Johnnesson and David C. Minugh (eds). *Selected papers from 2008 Stockholm Metaphor Festival*, pp. 193-206, *Stockholm Studies in English*, University of Stockholm, USA.

- Tanaka, N .(1993). *The Pragmatics of Uncertainty. Its Realization and Interpretation in English and Japanese*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Lancaster University.
- Thomas, Jenny (1995). *Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics*. London and New York: Longman.
- Van Dijk, Teun (1997). What is Political Discourse Analysis. A Keynote Address in Congress of Political Linguistics, Artwerp, 7-9 December, 1995. In Jan Blommaert and Christ Bulcaen (eds). *Political Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 11-52.
- Van Dijk Ten (2002) ‘ Political Discourse and Political Cognition; Political as talk and text, analytical discourse’. In P.A. Chilton and Shaffner C. (eds) *Politics as Text and Talk*. Amsterdam. John Benjamins, pp. 203-237.
- Vasvari, L.O. (2013). Gendered Hate Speech and Political Discourse in Recent US Elections and Post-socialist Hungary. *CLC Web: Comparative Literature and Culture, Vol. 15 (2013) Issue 4, Article 2* <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb.purdue> University Press.
- Verstermark, Ida (2007). *Metaphors in Politics: A Study of Metaphorical Personification of American Political Discourse*. An Extended Essay, Lulea University of Technology and Culture.
- Wei, J.M. (2001). *The Pragmatics of Metaphor in Taiwanese Politics. Virtual Missiles. Metaphors and Allusions in Taiwanase Political Campaigns*. United States of America: Lexington Books.

#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

The author, **Moses Adebayo Aremu** , is a Ph.D candidate in the Department of English, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He is also a Senior Lecturer in Department of English Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo ,Lanlate Campus,PMB 001,Lanlate,Oyo State,Nigeria. Moses Aremu is the current Southwest Coordinator of the English Scholars Association of Nigeria (ESAN). He has published articles in *Ife Studies in English Language(ISEL)*,*Ife Journal of Humanities and Social Studies(IJOHUSS)*,*Journal of Nigeria English Studies Association(JNESA)*,*International Journal of Society,Culture and Language(IJSCL)* ,*Journal of Pan African Studies*, etc. His research interests are in pragmatics, political discourse analysis and gender linguistics.