

RESEARCH ARTICLE



INTERNATIONAL
STANDARD
SERIAL
NUMBER
INDIA
2395-2636 (Print);2321-3108 (online)

INTERTEXTUALITY AND THE REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY IN SELECTED NIGERIAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS

Florence Awele Nwaefuna

PhD Scholar, Department of English

University of Botswana, Botswana.

Email: nwaefunaf@gmail.com



Article Received: 22/03/2022

Article Accepted: 20/04/2022

Published online:24/04/2022

DOI: [10.33329/rjelal.10.2.31](https://doi.org/10.33329/rjelal.10.2.31)

Abstract

Language is a tool for expressing ideology and intertextuality which is a linguistic category is used by print media advertisement producers to circulate such ideologies. This study examines the intertextual references adopted by the print media advertisements in legitimising and delegitimising the two presidential candidates: Retired General Muhammadu Buhari and former President Goodluck Jonathan during the 2015 political campaigns in Nigeria. Fifty campaign advertisements were purposely selected from four national newspapers between January and April 2015 when the elections campaigns were at zenith. The data were analysed using the theoretical framework of Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality. The findings revealed that the 2015 political campaign advertisements employed different intertextual features to represent Retired General Muhammadu Buhari and Goodluck Jonathan. Buhari was represented as a dictator, corrupt and violent person while Goodluck Jonathan was constructed as a failure, female, and a trickster. The study concludes that the political campaign print media advertisement is the platform for expressing the text producer's ideology.

Keywords: Former President Jonathan, Retired General Muhammadu Buhari, political campaign advertisement, print media, ideology

Language and politics are intertwined because language constructs social reality (Fairclough, 2001, 2010) and the media and political institutions are the spheres of social life where language is a vehicle for expressing such reality. During political campaigns in Nigeria, journalists or copy writers use language to promote competing ideas and policies through different media outlets such as television, radio commercials, newspapers, magazine, handbills, posters, or billboards. They use

language that is ideologically loaded, often projecting a preferred world view to influence and change public perceptions of the election contestants. In the Nigerian context, for example, it is noted that new words with loaded messages are generated from the indigenous languages as well as English during election campaigns. Such words poke fun at or satirise the election hopefuls. It is against this background, that the Chairman of the advertisement standard Panel (ASP) cautioned

politicians and campaign managers to desist from publishing abusive statements or employing any false, distorted information that contain misrepresentations or have the potential of exploiting ethnicity, religion, or any other sectional interests (APCON, 2005).

Advertisement (henceforth advert) is directly linked to politics because it does not only determine the purchase of a product but also the choice of a political candidate. Thus, Robbs (2009) sees advertisement as the use of media by political candidates to market their identities, programmes, or policies. The present study focuses on newspaper advertisement because it combines all the features of product advertisements such as graphology, colourful images, impressive letters and messages to promote candidates and woo voters. Due to its stylish nature, political advertisements attract the electorate's attention, arouse their interest, stimulate their desire, and convince them to vote the candidate of their choice. Therefore, this study aims to investigate how the 2015 print media advertisement producers used language to portray Retired (henceforth Rtd.) General Muhammadu Buhari of All Progressive Congress (APC) and former President Goodluck Jonathan of People's Democratic party and influence voters' choice.

2. Literature Review

The focus of this paper is the linguistic perspective of political discourse. According to Bayley (2008 cited in Demenongo, 2018), political discourse is a wide and diverse set of genres or registers, such as: policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, and so forth. They are all characterised by the fact that they are spoken or written for primary political actors-members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties and candidates for office. Chilton and Schaffner (1999, p. 212) identify a political discourse as "any discourse whose linguistic or other actions involve power or its inverse, resistance." A political discourse therefore is the language used in any political forum, such as campaigns,

parliamentary debates, interviews, speeches, written or spoken and so forth. The current study is situated within political discourse because its data is drawn from political campaign adverts involving two presidential candidates vying for an elective position. It also involves the analysis of the written language used in the campaign texts.

Political campaign discourse has received a lot of scholarly attention (Opeibi, 2006; Omozuwa & Ezejideaku 2009; Taiwo 2010 Abdullahi-Idiagbon 2013). Opeibi (2006) embarks on a structural and functional linguistic study of negative campaign advertisements in Nigeria newspapers. The study showed that politicians or campaign managers have abandoned positive, issue-focused, image-building advertisements and engaged in verbal attack. They achieved this by code-switching from the official English language to the native language and pidginized version of the English language. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2009) undertake a stylistic analysis of campaign speeches. They observe that repetition, promise, colloquialism, metaphor, word coinages, pidginized expressions, figurative expressions, exaggeration, abusive and vulgar utterances featured in their speeches as a form of rhetoric. Guided by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of conceptual metaphors, Taiwo (2010) examines the use of metaphor in selected Nigerian political discourses. The study revealed that Nigeria politicians used metaphors to conceptualise themselves, the nation, and politics. The nation is conceptualised as "a family and a person," "politicians as builders;" and "politics as both a battle and a journey."

The literature reviewed above is insightful to the current study but differs in the sense that the current one adopts Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality. Critical discourse analysis sees language (verbal and non-verbal) as constitutive of competing ideologies that are articulated in the construction of social actors, resulting in certain contradictory world views and identities being projected in the discourses of the election campaigns (Fairclough, 2010). Intertextuality which is a category of linguistic analysis can have ideological and political consequences through its

connection with other texts. Therefore, the study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What intertextual features are used in representing Rtd. General Muhammadu Buhari and former President Goodluck - Ebele-Chukwu Jonathan in the 2015 political campaigns print media advertisements in Nigeria?
2. What ideologies do such intertextual features encode?

3. Critical discourse analysis and Intertextuality

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is a theory which was developed by a group of scholars from the University of East Anglia at the end of the 1970s (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). Its aim is to provide a sociological account of language use because of its interest in social relations and ideology, especially the relation between text and context. Its emphasis is more socio-political compared to the traditional approaches to discourse analysis. Therefore, CDA uncovers or make explicit social issues such as discrimination, racism, domination, inequality, stereotyping and how they are constructed and circulated in the society through discourse (Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 271-280) point out that CDA is built on eight fundamental principles and the principles relevant to study are: CDA views "power relations as discursive," "CDA views discourse as ideological" and "CDA sees the link between texts and society as mediated." van Dijk (2006) describes social power as the control of one group or institution by another, that is when members of a given social group who have power control the acts and minds of members of other groups. This can be in form of violence where state uses force to manipulate or effect change in the society or where one uses power in persuasive, soft and sympathetic ways to change the minds of others. He asserts that persuasive power can be in the form of threats and/or commands and these can be challenged and contested.

Ideology according to van Dijk (1995, p.30) "is the representations of who we are, what we stand for, what our values are, and what our

relationships are with other groups, in particular our enemies or opponents, that is, those who oppose what we stand for, threaten our interests and prevent us from equal access to social resources and human rights (residence, citizenship, employment, housing, status, respect, and so on." In other words, an ideology is a self-serving schema for the representation of *Us* and *Them* in which members of one social group present themselves in positive terms by emphasizing good things about them and emphasizing bad things about others.

One other principle of CDA relevant to study is that it sees the link between texts and society as mediated (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This means that CDA practitioners consider extra linguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology in their analysis of texts. Fairclough (2003) identifies two basic relations of text: internal and external relations. The internal relation comprises the semantic, lexical, and grammatical relations of texts, while the external is the social practices which incorporates the elements of social events, that is what is brought from other texts. This means that discourse cannot be interpreted in isolation without referring to other texts or past events. Therefore, texts are intertextuality related to other prior texts, and analysts must always bear this in mind when analysing texts. To uncover the power dynamic or ideologies espoused in the 2015 political campaign advertisements in Nigeria, the analyst employs intertextuality as a linguistic category within the broad theoretical framework of CDA, since according to van Dijk (2013) CDA does not have a single method of analysis due to its interdisciplinary nature.

Intertextuality is a term coined by Kristeva in 1966 in her explanation of Bakhtin's works that a text is produced and understood in relation to other texts. According to Kristeva (1986, p.36 cited in Ofori, 2015) intertextuality is "a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another." This implies that intertextuality is the influence of history on a text and a text influence on history. In other words, one cannot avoid using words or phrases that others have used before.

In relation to the production and consumption of texts, two schools of thought: "literary semiotics and Critical discourse analysis" adopt intertextuality (Ellah, 2022, p.12). Scholars from these two disciplines consider intertextuality for different purposes. From the field of literary studies, the scholars such as Kristeva (1986), and Frow (1986) concern themselves with exploring the complex nature of literary works by searching for influences or antecedents for a particular literary work. This literary communication includes literary writing, studies of mass media communication, such as advertisements, TV dramas and web pages. Liu and Le (2013) state that advertisers both commercial and political employ different types of intertextual techniques: quotation, allusion (history, social & religion), metaphor and parody in their advertising campaign to promote their products.

From the field of linguistics, scholars such as Fairclough (2010), Phillip and Jørgensen (2002) appropriate intertextuality to discourse and Critical discourse analysis. They perceive intertextuality not only as a form through which texts are interrelated, but also as a social practice that involves socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse (Fairclough, 2001, 2012). According to Fairclough (1992, 2010) there are two types of intertextualities: namely, manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality. Explicit discourse markers such as quotations or citations are used to mark manifest intertextuality while constitutive (implicit) intertextuality requires some effort from the reader to work out the relationship between a text and other texts or some elements of culture. Intertextuality is relevant to the present study because it gives the analyst an insight to explore how copy writers incorporate elements of other texts, either present or past and CDA to stereotype, and legitimise/delegitimise the two presidential contenders in the 2015 election campaigns print media advertisements.

3. Research methods

The study employed a qualitative research methodology in examining how power played out between the two presidential candidates: Buhari and Jonathan during the 2015 political campaigns in Nigeria. The researcher collected fifty (50) political campaign advertisements from four national

Nigerian newspapers: *Punch*, *The Nation*, *The Tribune*, and *The Guardian*. The newspapers were purposively selected because they are widely read by Nigerians irrespective of their political, social, religious, cultural, and regional affiliations. Due to space and time constraints, the researcher analysed thematically **nine** advertisements that embody the images of the contenders. This is to illustrate the intertextual elements employed **in the campaign discourse**. These advertisements were those of the two major political parties: The People's Democratic Party (PDP) of which Jonathan Goodluck was the contending president and All Progressive Congress (APC) of which Rtd. Gen. Buhari was the vying president. The analyst focused on the two presidential candidates because they were the ones whose advertisements featured most prominently in the print media.

4. Analysis and discussion

The analyst identifies the following intertextual features: manifest intertextuality (direct quotation), historical, social, and religious allusions, parody, presupposition and metaphor from the APC and PDP advertisements to see how power played out between the two contestants. The researcher analysed nine advertisements and other linguistic features that reveal certain ideologies. This is because intertextuality also accounts for other linguistic features in the articulation of certain ideologies (Ellah, 2022). The analyst excludes the analysis of multimodal cues that contribute to meaning making of the text.

4.1 Direct quotation

The PDP campaign advertisement producers employed direct quotation by saying the exact words of Rtd. General Muhammadu Buhari when he lost the election in 2011 to delegitimise him while they used the exact words of Jonathan in the past to legitimise his candidacy. Quoting others makes the producer seem neutral and objective, hence giving the impression that the producer is talking about things as facts when in fact he/she may intend to convey an ideological meaning. The following direct quotations are discussed in the following figures:



Fig 1 Portraying Buhari as a violent leader
Source: *Punch*, Monday February 9, 2015



Fig 2 Portraying Jonathan as a failure
Source: *Punch*, Friday February 1, 2015

In figure one above Jonathan is situated at the left margin while Buhari on the right. The advert is sponsored by PDP presidential campaign organization by the style of the advertisement. Jonathan is dressed in civilian suit with a fedora cap which represents him as a politician ready for election while his opponent, Buhari is dressed in military outfit which depicts him as a tyrant and dictator. The media quotes exactly what Buhari uttered in 2011: “if what happened in 2011 happens again in 2015, the baboon and the dog will be soaked in their blood” to represent him as a blood thirsty candidate who is ready to cause mayhem in the state if he fails the 2015 election. The baboon and the dog are likened to PDP and APC engaging in a fierce battle. Buhari used this statement to inject hope to his supporters to fight fiercely against election rigging. But the PDP Pro advert used this utterance to represent Buhari as a notorious bloodthirsty coup plotter who is still planning to cause mayhem as he did in 2011. The underlying ideology in this text is that Buhari is portrayed as a violent, blood thirsty

warmonger who will never change his attitude while Jonathan is portrayed as a peaceful man by his utterance: “my political ambition is not worth the blood of any Nigerian.”

Since “language is both a site of and a stake in class struggle, and those who exercise power through language must constantly be involved in struggle with others to defend or lose their positions” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 29), the advert sponsored by APC in figure two above showed how they exercise their persuasive power to counterattack PDP advert and defend themselves. The writer intertexts politics with literary texts by drawing the quotation “*All the forces in the world are not so powerful as an idea whose time has come*” from the work of a popular French philosopher Victor Marie Hugo (26 February 1802 – 22 May 1885) who was a novelist, and dramatist of the Romantic Movement. The quotation literally means that no degree of force, military or weapon of mass destruction can destroy an idea, or opinion or strong mental impression. This quotation means that the opposition party (APC) views Jonathan as a man who has run short of ideas, a man whose administration has left a legacy of destruction and disaster to the nation while they perceive themselves as a worthy party full of ideas.

Using direct quotation according to Sai-Hua Kuo (2001), enables the reader to internalise a strong mental representation of the exact words of the speaker. By so doing, it creates an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the reader. Therefore, the purpose of inserting the quotations in figures one and two above is to enable the reader to create a mental representation of the exact words of the speaker and then induce the reader to accept the claim since the information is from the source and it is reliable. However, using a direct quotation in figure one has the effect of causing damage on Buhari and promoting his opponent because by implication, no rightful Nigerian would want to vote for a person who could plunge them into a war. Representing Jonathan as a failure in figure two would damage his position at the poll because no Nigerian would condone an ineptitude leader who has no vision for the country. Intertextual borrowings also featured in both APC and PDP

advertises as the copy writers allude to historical and social events. This is illustrated in the following section

4.2 Allusion

Allusion refers to indirect reference to some events, stories, people, or thing. In politics, it is used by politicians as an appeal to the audience's sentiments and persuade them to vote them to power (Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2013). There are various types of appeal: historical appeal, social appeal, and religious appeal. The advertisements below allude to the historical and social events that revolve around the participants.



Fig 3: Representing Buhari as a coupist
Source: *Punch*, February 12, 2015



Fig 4 representing Jonathan as clueless
Source: *Punch*, Sunday March 15, 2015

The advert in figure 3 consists of three participants, Rtd. General Muhammadu Buhari on the left, Rtd. General Obasanjo in the middle and the former president Jonathan on the right. Obasanjo

and Buhari are from APC. The advert is sponsored by PDP. The media under the instructions of PDP allude to the historical background of Buhari and Obasanjo as former military heads of state. The military outfits, their postures and lexical items such as coupist, coup plotters, coup makers, overthrow, 1975 and 1983 are the intertextual links which influence the interpretation of the texts. Buhari was a former head of state who toppled the government of late Alhaji Shehu Shagari in a coup in 1983 while Obasanjo was a key player in the coup which overthrew General Yakubu Gowon in 1975. The nominal phrase: "Mr. failed-third term bid" is referenced to Obasanjo's plan in the past as a civilian president that wanted to extend his stay in office. The intertextual borrowing implicitly delivers underlying messages that Obasanjo and Buhari were dictators during their realm of power and implicitly may do the same if Buhari is voted into power. The intertextual reference to military regime in the heading: "The General vs a democracy" characterized the military regime as rigid and violent while democracy is characterized by peace and orderliness. Reference to the Rtd. Generals' past records portray them in the negative light and empower Jonathan as the ideal candidate. Fairclough (2010) believes that powerful people can coerce others in a discourse by using threat or warning. The Pro-PDP advert uses threat to show unequal power relations between Jonathan and the opposition party by the following negative utterances: "Nigerians Beware---coup plotters are talking coup again" and in the information written broadly in the background: "Nigerians Beware of coup plotters" These statements are used to instill fear in the minds of the electorates thereby preventing them from voting Buhari and his party.

The Pro- APC advert showed their resistance to the negative hegemony confer on them by pointing to the social problems that have bedeviled the country during Jonathan's regime. By incorporating the discourse of social issues to politics is to delegitimise Jonathan as a failed president as illustrated in figure 4 above. The Figure consists of images of a multitude of people seated in a stadium. There is creativity of intertextuality because the domain of a stadium which is a place of

entertainment has been drawn upon. The advertisement did not overtly tell the electorates or audience to go for sporting activities but to persuade them to see the extent of the social problem of unemployment among Nigerian youths. APC supporters whose voices are represented by the media purposely used stadium to convey their message because anything that has to do with it attracts attention. They use negative statements above to remind the electorates of an ugly incident that happened in Nigeria on March 15, 2014, when 16 Nigerian youths were suffocated to death while some were injured due to exhaustion and overcrowding during a recruitment test of the Nigerian Immigration services at Abuja (Ojeme, et. al 2014). Alluding to this event shows that the information about youths' vulnerability of job interview in Abuja is factual.

The interplay of intertextuality is also visualized when the language of sports is appropriated to talk about social problems concerning the nation. By appropriating the language of sports through the imagery of stadium and the phrases: "soccer match," and "sporting event," show that the media merges two discourses so that the result is the hybrid discourses of politics and youth unemployment scourge. The picture of a myriad of un-employed youths in a stadium waiting to write the recruitment test and the phrase "sea of heads" show the extent of the social problem that have affected the nation. Reference to the year of the event: March 15,2014 and place: *at the Abuja National Stadium-all for a few vacancies* is used by APC to connect the past with the present and validate their points. These intertextual cues are used to depict Jonathan and his administration as clueless leaders that have no idea on how to manage crowd or conduct interview. The intertextual element of stadium in this event depicts a place of death instead of entertainment because the APC print media use it to remind the electorates of similar incident in other parts of the country where youths waiting for prison and immigration job interviews were also injured and died due to exhaustion(<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/immigration-job-test-tragedy>). The media use this historical fact to discredit Goodluck Jonathan and his

party who were seeking re-election and to legitimize the opposition group whom they feel will use well planned policies to promote an enabling environment for full employment of the youths.

4.3 Proverb

The use of proverb as an intertextual cue also featured in the PDP print media advert. Olatunji (2012) avers that proverb is a short well known saying that states a general truth or gives advice. They are usually words of wisdom that are rooted in the experiences of the elders in the society. Some proverbs reflect the lives and behavioral patterns of animals such as mammals, birds, fishes and insects while others are derived from folktales and oracle verses. (p.126). The advert below shows how PDP print media advert use proverb to flatter or ridicule Buhari and his party members.



Fig 5: Representing APC candidates as Chichidodo
Source: *Punch*, Tuesday February 10, 2015

The above advertisement consists of General Buhari and his political members. Buhari is positioned in the centre in the first row with a large circle differentiating him from others which shows that he is the most important figure in the advert. Bola Tinubu is positioned on the left and Rotimi Amaechi on the right. In the second row on the left is Atiku Abubakar, centre is Bukola Saraki, and left is Danjuma Goje.

Since a text cannot be interpreted without reference to other text, the print media advertisement of PDP incorporates literary discourse to political discourse by referring to Chichidodo, a Ghanaian mythical bird that hates filth and rotten objects but eats worms only. The proverb is lifted from Ayi Kwei Armah's book "The beautiful ones are not yet born" to depict the character of African leaders (the elites) who manouevre their

ways into public office with juicy promises but render the treasury worse than it was before the change of guard. Rtd. General Buhari is depicted as a human incarnation of the bird Chichidodo by critics who reflected on his past deeds as a military head of state between 1983 and 1985. The PDP print media advertisement portrayed Buhari as a failed saint because he is not what he claims to be by associating himself with corrupt friends. The advertisement corroborates van Dijk ideological square of positive self and negative others where self is seen as good and the other as bad. In other words, the PDP advertisement depict him and his political allies as corrupt since they represent moral decadence and themselves as good. The proverb not only passes judgement on Buhari and his friends but cautions the hearers to beware and persuade them to feel the presence of the speaker in the text and then induce to accept or reject the speaker's point of view. The next section discusses the use of parody as an intertextual technique used in representing political leaders.

4.4 Parody

Parody is a piece of writing or music or speech which imitates the style of an author, composer or speaker in an amusing and exaggerated way or comic manner. It is the exaggerated imitation or mimicking of another's voice for humorous or comical effect (Xin Bin, 2000). Parody is a process of generating new expressions by changing or borrowing some parts of the original sources, such as adding or taking out some words, or combining two or several of them together. This is illustrated below:



Fig 6: Representing Jonathan as a trickster
Source: *The Nation* Sunday, February 8, 2015

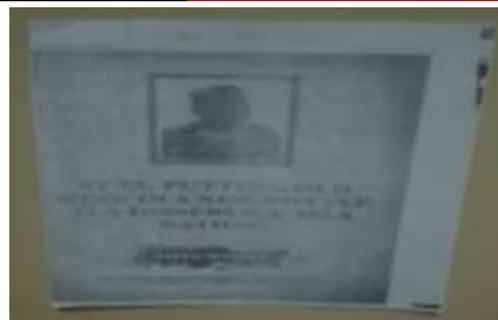


Fig 7 Representing Buhari as old wine
The Guardian, Thursday February 5, 2015

The advert in figure 6 is sponsored by APC supporters with the picture of Jonathan positioned on the right. The intertextual link of the advert is drawn from the French cards which consists of clubs (♣), diamonds (♦), hearts (♥) and spades (♠) with reversible "court" or face cards (Farley, 2015). Each set contains thirteen ranks as well as a symbol that depicts a king, queen, Jack, and an ace (p. 572). According to Coughlin (2018), the four sets incorporated in the cards collectively represent the four natural elements of wind, fire, water, and earth that control the seasons, through their cardinal. Coughlin asserts that these four elements represent the struggle of opposing forces for victory in life because the play cards are not only used for games but as a divinatory device by anyone who has the knowledge to interpret the mind of God. In the advert Jonathan's image replaces the normal image of a King, Queen, or Jack. There is creativity through intertextuality in the advertisement because the domain of playing card and politics has been drawn upon in political discourse. For instance, the advert producer uses pastiches as an intertextual borrowing to imitate the style of the work of the French artists who created the French reading cards by inscribing the image of Jonathan on the card rather than the original images of the King, Queen, or Jack. Jonathan's image, therefore, embodies the four cardinal points of nature: wind, fire, water, and earth which depict the struggle of opposing forces for victory in life. Therefore, Jonathan's image symbolizes the struggle for victory against the forces of the socio-economic problems that troubled the nation such as fuel prices, the missing \$20 billion and Boko Haram torments. The APC advert therefore

delegitimizes Jonathan at the poll by persuading the electorates to believe that if Jonathan declares positive reactions at this time of election of tackling these issues, it therefore means he is using them as bait for election. Since constitutive intertextuality accounts for vocabulary (Halliday, 1992), the use of rhetorical question: "Who is fooling who?" in the context shows that the electorates can no longer be deceived.

The advert producer further uses parody to create a new meaning by indexing politics with a game of chance. He/ she achieves this by cutting off part of an existing word such as "POLI" from politics and combining it to another existing word such as TRICKS to form a new meaning "POLI-TRICKS." The combination of these words is to ridicule Jonathan and depict him as a trickster who uses fraudulent means for the electorates to vote him to power. However, using the French reading card as a technique is to represent Jonathan negatively before the audience and cast him as less powerful.

In figure 7 above, Rtd. General Buhari is also ridiculed for his advanced age and criticized for being incapable of ruling a great nation like Nigeria. The PDP advert producers indexed biblical saying to politics by changing or borrowing some parts of the original source to obtain a new expression. They drew their new expression from the original biblical saying: "Nor does anyone pour new wine into used wineskins, because the wine will burst the skins, and both the wine and the skin will be ruined" (Mk.2:22, Good News Bible). This expression was precipitated when some people asked Jesus Christ why his disciples do not fast whereas John the Baptist and the Pharisees do. The producer skillfully changed the original expression to "At 72, Putting old wine in a new bottle is a disservice to a nation." Since parody is a process of generating new expressions by changing or borrowing some parts of the original source, in this advert, the producer skillfully specify the age of the addressee which was the bone of contention in the campaign, removed some words like wineskin and replaced it with bottle, changed the terminology " --- pour new wine into used wineskins to "old wine in a new bottle" and added the phrase "is a disservice to the nation " to draw home their point.

The comparison of wine and wineskins is a very apt one when one thinks of the processes entailed in making a wine. For instance, when a fresh wine is in a state of fermentation, it bubbles and expands as the fermentation gases are released. When the fresh wine is placed in the wineskin, the wineskin absorbs such expansion and slowly age-with the wine until the fermentation process is complete. Therefore, putting a fresh wine into a used wineskin is however asking for trouble because the used wine skin has assumed a definite shape and is no longer pliable. In other words, the advert producers ideologically represent Buhari as old wine because old wine is tasteless compared to fresh wine. It therefore, means that Buhari at 72, is an old man incapable of generating new ideas. Therefore, voting for Buhari means voting for trouble. Using intertextuality has reinforced positive stereotype of the in-group (PDP) and negative of others (APC), thereby convincing the electorates to vote out Gen Buhari.

4.6 Metaphor

Metaphor is when an object is described in terms of another object. It can be derogatory or insulting when the meaning of the source is negative, and it is transferred to the target object which picks the negative qualities of the source. Metaphors are common in everyday discourses because much of our thoughts and realities are structured metaphorically. The APC advertisement producers also counterattack their opponent by using metaphor to discredit Jonathan as illustrated in figure 8 below:

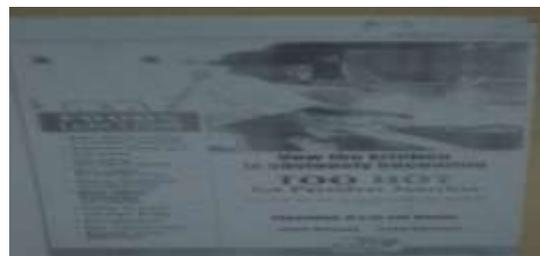


Fig 8 The Kitchen metaphor

Source: *The Nation*, Monday February 2, 2015

The APC advert producer indexed politics with kitchen metaphor by associating Jonathan with imagery of a kitchen and cooking utensils. His dress code and the activity he is engaged with in the kitchen suggest that he is weak and unable to complete his task. He is likened to a chef in a cooking contest. The imagery of a kitchen depicts a place where different recipes are prepared. In a cooking contest, competitors are always on their toes to beat the time scheduled for preparing the dishes. The advertisement producer used the kitchen as a metaphor to conceptualize politics as a difficult situation where the contestants struggle to achieve their goal. In this context President Jonathan is portrayed as one embarking on a challenging journey that he could not complete before time.

The writer incorporates negative phrase such as: "FOODS I CAN'T COOK." to portray Jonathan's inability to tackle the social problems troubling the country. Noun phrases such as: *Boko Haram invasion, Abducted Chibok girls, Corruption* are conceptualised as food that Jonathan cannot cook. The food metaphorically represents the social problems tormenting the nation. The writer focused on these negative happenings to sensitize the electorates about the socio-economic problems the country is facing. By so doing, the writer tries to convince the electorates to seek for a change. Thus, Jonathan and his party are portrayed in a negative light using negative utterances like: "----- TOO HOT for President Jonathan" and "It's time for the cook to leave the kitchen or else-----." The opposition party used these negative references to enact their ideology of "change." They are represented as being capable of solving the problem in the following utterances: "Nigerians, it's in our hands" and the slogans: "VOTE WISELY. VOTE CHANGE."

In a nutshell, the kitchen metaphor shows a hybridization of gender discourse and political discourse because Jonathan is assigned the role of motherhood and wifehood. Mothers are constructed as the lesser sex whose duty belongs to the kitchen and not in the world of work. The lexical choice "kitchen" and "cook" transferred to the target (Jonathan) according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are derogatory because such representations

subject the then sitting president to the position of a female. This implies that Jonathan is stereotyped because he is confined to the roles of motherhood that do not belong to the world of politics which is associated with men. In other words, men are labeled in terms of their prowess and leadership skills. Attributing female characteristics to former President Jonathan is meant to tarnish his reputation and construct him as someone who is weak and incapable to lead.

4.7 Presupposition



Figure 9 . legal register

Source; *Tribune*, Sunday February 8, 2015

Richardson (2007, p. 63) defines presupposition as "a claim embedded within the explicit meaning of a text or utterance." It is shared between the speaker and the hearer in which the speaker does not need to accept whether it is factual or not. It is realised by the use of certain linguistic markers such as nouns, verbs, possessive pronouns, definite article and WH-way of asking question. Fairclough (1992, p. 121) affirms that "presupposed propositions are a way of incorporating the texts of others" within the context of manifest intertextuality and could either be manipulative or factual. In figure 9 above, presuppositions are embedded intertextually in the text. For example, the PDP advert producers used the noun "integrity" in the headline which presupposed that the General's moral and ethical principles are questionable. It shows that his previous leadership connotes lack of trust. The use of the noun "General Buhari", the verb "show" and possessive pronoun "your" in the sentence located at the bottom of the advertisement also presupposed that Buhari had a complex certificate which is not clear to the members of the public. Thus the choice of words in the information located at the bottom such as: "prove detractors wrong," "lie," and "lying under oath" and the word "criminal," depict Buhari as a liar and criminal. This technique of

making reference to legal register indicate that the writer wants to give a vivid picture of the General's action thereby dissuading the populace from accepting him at the polls. Representing Buhari in this form aligns with van Dijk (2004) ideological square of positive representation of self and negative representation of others where Buhari and all he stands for are seen as immorally wrong while Jonathan and his party PDP represent all that is morally upright

Conclusion

This paper has explored how APC and PDP advertisement print media have used different intertextual cues such as direct quotation, historical and social illusions, parody, metaphor and presupposition to exercise their power. The ideologies encoded in these features were explored. Buhari is represented as a dictator as well as a violent, corrupt, and untrustworthy leader. Jonathan on the other hand, is represented as a clueless, failed, weak and female leader. He is also constructed as a trickster. The study concludes that discourse is a site for power and resistance. Both political parties used persuasive power to emphasise the positive things about themselves and the negative things about others. It also showed that intertextuality is an embodiment of other texts in the production and interpretation of a text for the purpose of reinforcement.

Reference

Abdullahi-Idiagbon, M.S. (2013). Meaning conception and perception in political campaign advert: A multimodal discourse approach. *English Language and Literature studies*, 3(1),84.

APCON (2005). *Code of Advertising Practice*. Lag Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C. (2002). Introduction: Themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse. In P. Chilton & C. Schaffner, (Eds.) *Politics as text and talk: Analytical approaches to political discourse*. John Benjamin Publishing Company.

Coughlin, S. (2018). The suits of the tarot explained. Retrieved April 23,2022, from <https://refinery29.com/en-us/tarot-card-suits-elements-meaning>

Demenongo, A. H. (2018). Persuasive functions of metaphor in selected government ministers' interactions with Nigerian citizens. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria*, 21, (1) pp. 48-62

Ellah, S. M. (2022). Intertextuality in political discourse: A study of President Muhammadu Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech. *Journal of Languages, Linguistics and Literary Studies (JOLLS)*, 11 (1), [Http://www.jolls.com.ng](http://www.jolls.com.ng)

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). Longman

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman

Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*. Routledge

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse as social interaction: Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. Sage.

Farley, H. S. (2015). Tarot. In C. Patridge (Ed.), *The occult world* (pp. 571-579). Routledge.

Frow, J. (1986). *Maxism and literary history*. Blackwell.

Gee, J. P. (2011). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. (3rd ed.). Routledge

Kristeva, J. (1986). Word, dialogue and novel. In T. Moi (Ed.), *The Kristeva reader*. Basil Blackwell, 34-61

Lakoff, G. & Johnson M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.

Liu, J. & Le, T (2013). Intertextual techniques in advertisement. *International Journal of*

- Innovative Interdisciplinary Research*. 2 (11), 11-19
- Ofori, E. A. (2015). *The use of insult in Ghanaian political discourse: A critical discourse analysis* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], University of Florida, USA.
- Ojeme, V., Onoyume, J., Mosadomi, W., Johnson, D., Egbulem, S. & Umoru, H. (2014). Immigration job test tragedy: Over 16 feared dead. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/immigration-job-test-tragedy-16feared-dead>
- Olatunji, M.O. (2012). Yoruba proverbs and musicality. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 23, 125- 139.
- Omozuwa, V.E. & Ezejideaku, E. U. (2008). A Stylistic Analysis of the Language of Political Campaigns in Nigeria: Evidence from the 2007 General Elections. from www.ajol.info/index.php/og.
- Opeibi, T (2006). Political marketing or political matcheting? A study of negative campaigning in Nigerian political discourse. Reproduktionen and innovationen in *Sprache und Kommunikation Verschiedener Sprach kulturen* Nr16. <http://www.in.trans/16Nr/014/opibi16.htm>.
- Phillips, L. J and Jorgensen, M (2002) *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage Publications
- Richardson, J. E (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Macmillan
- Sai-Hua Kuo (2001). Reported speech in Chinese political discourse, *Discourse Studies*, 3 (2), 181-202.
- Taiwo, R. (2010). Conceptual metaphors in Nigerian political discourse. *Abraka Humanities Review*. 3(1), 170-185
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2004). Politics, ideology and discourse. In R. Wodak (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics: Second Language and Politics* (2nd version).
- van Dijk (1995) Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & Society*, 6(2), 243-289. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926595006002006>
- van Dijk, T. (2006). Introduction: Discourse, interaction and cognition: Discourse Studies, CA and New Delhi. Sage pub. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446289068>.
- Van Dijk, T.A (2013) *News as discourse*. Routledge
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2015). Critical discourse studies: History, agenda, theory and methodology, in R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds), *Methods of critical discourse studies*. Sage
- Xin, B. (2000). *Intertextuality from a critical perspective*. Suzhou University Press