



Original Research

Discourse of Intertextuality in the Language of Political Advertisements in Selected Nigerian Newspapers

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Abstract

Though Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used extensively by scholars of ideological discourse to deconstruct the rhetoric of Nigeria's political leaders and the media's portrayal of power and ideology, it has yet to be applied to the language of Nigeria's political advertisements. While taking into account the rhetorical effects of intertextuality on the masses, this paper investigates the aspect of intertextuality in Critical Discourse Analysis as a discursive strategy projected tactically to reflect power struggle and the ideological assumptions of the authors of the advertisements. This study uses Norman Fairclough's and Teun van Dijk's traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and political theories as its theoretical basis. Thirty political advertisements were collected from February and March 2007 issues of *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, and *The Punch*; out of which ten were purposively chosen and analysed for this research. This research analyses the data on the language of political advertising in Nigeria to see how power and ideology are represented via rhetorical strategies in the intertextual connections of language use in Nigerian politics. Therefore, the results of this research show that Nigerian politicians have both overt and covert influence over the electorates by employing manifest intertextuality as a rhetorical mechanism that can alter the meaning or interpretation of discourse/text in the mental model of the masses in order to carry out certain discourse functions, each of which has been found to have distinct ideological implications that the politicians are either unaware of or choose to ignore.

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1. Introduction

Scholars are more interested than ever in discussing politics. Scholars have offered a wide range of definitions for the term "politics," the central notion around which political discourse revolves. The idea of politics, it is often accepted, defies succinct definition. This is because its meanings vary yet overlap depending on the listener. While scholars such as Adebite (2009) have acknowledged the phrase's malleability "to the circumstances and goals of its use," the meaning of the term may shift depending on the context where it is used. Second, cooperation, in the sense of practices and institutions that society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, etc., is central to all political literature. The first is the control of the scarce resources of society, the struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who resist it. When it comes to politics, Adebite (2009) argues that "in these fights and disputes, a variety of strategies is utilised to attain individual aims." All reasonable and illogical means of persuasion, argument, strategy, threat, entreaty, bribery, manipulation, and other similar tactics are fair game. This definition suggests a common ground between the topic of this paper and the struggle for power among Nigerian politicians, as well as the manipulation and rhetorical persuasion of the public by politicians through the use of intertextuality in the language of political advertisement in Nigerian newspapers. One method that politicians in Nigeria use to convince and/or control the populace is the use of intertextuality in the language of political advertisements. Like the terms "the Imagination," "history,"

and "Postmodernism," which are, to borrow a phrase from the work of the American critic Harold Bloom, "underdetermined in meaning and over-determined in figuration," intertextuality is currently, according to Allen's (2011, p. 11) research, defined so differently that it is comparable to such terms. This study presents an examination of the language used in Nigerian political advertising from the viewpoint of intertextuality, a rhetorical strategy that attempts to explain how texts from different periods may be read together even within the same kind of context. To this end, this paper aims at examining the aspect of intertextuality in Critical Discourse Analysis as a rhetorical strategy in the language of political advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. Overtime, CDA has been a veritable tool in the hands of scholars for the analysis of classroom discourses, television talk shows, court room discourses, political discourses, and so on. However, language scholars have laid very little emphasis on the fact that politicians recycle language/meaning to suit a particular purpose which is to gain power. Specifically, this study seeks to explore the following objectives:

- 1) To discuss how intertextuality is projected to aid in the interpretation of the language of political advertisements in Nigeria and its ideological assumptions.
- 2) To examine how intertextuality is capable of changing the interpretation of discourse in the mental model of the masses.
- 3) To examine how power and ideology reflect in the intertextual relations of the language of political advertisements in Nigeria.

2. Literature Review

As politicians are the source of the vast majority of our data in this paper, political advertising also belongs to the discourse genre/domain of political discourse. Scholars who study political discourse have previously ignored political advertisements in favour of analysing only politicians' speeches, spokespeople's statements, and debates as part of campaign strategies to canvass for votes or even live face-to-face studio interviews of politicians with journalists in the case of the electronic media. The fact that political advertising is often seasonal and used as a campaign and manipulative tool to canvass for votes from the public to eventually win political office and power is what distinguishes them from mainstream political discourse that many researchers have done. Kehinde's (2005) study of political discourse, for instance, uses the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and pragmatics to place itself within the context of Nigerian political discourse by only analysing the political significance of former Nigeria's President, Olusegun Obasanjo's use of English in a second language context like Nigeria.

However, in this study, we go beyond just exploring the aspect of political meaning using CDA by instead using a CDA that examines, among other things, the intertextual aspects of our data set, taking into account the context for which the text is produced and the way in which the mass media, from which the political advertisements emanate, are seen as agents that project the power and ideology of powerful people like the politicians, especially during electioneering. Furthermore, this paper forecasts the precise intertextual connections utilised by the many politicians vying for power, as forecast by their political advertising for electioneering in the media, and the reasons for the usage of such language. This is because the exercise of power in such forms of discourse as political commercials and other forceful statements of political leaders is becoming less and less obvious with time. For example, Fairclough (1989, p. 41) sees covert power use as "a concession on the part of powerholders which they have been forced to make by the increase in the relative power of working-class people and other groupings of formerly powerless and disregarded people - women, youth, black people, gay people, etc." Politicians today must be more attuned to the needs of the "relatively unpowerful," and as a result, they must resort to novel strategies for consolidating and preserving their authority, such as, for example, adopting new modes of expression or masking their authority through manipulative practices such as intertextuality, speech act, and so on.

Additionally, Fairclough (1989, p. 43) views the media's influence as "one-sided" or able to keep the public at arm's length in terms of time and location. He thinks the media may influence people via things like news coverage and headlines. For instance, editors and writers at media outlets are often criticized for using passive verbs and nominalisations, which tend to obscure or dismiss those who really drive political processes and tilt the balance of power in their favour. Indeed, Taiwo's (2007) research on "Language, Ideology, and Power Relations in Nigerian Newspaper Headlines" confirms this. He looks at how the editors of Nigerian newspapers construct their own identities out of language to reflect different ideological stances and power dynamics in society. But our research takes it a step further by analysing our data in-depth to

reveal situations in which politicians who are supposed to canvass for votes instead utilise power in secret via deceptive language choices occasioned by intertextuality in their political advertisements.

3. Method

The study makes use of archival sources for its empirical investigation. To that end, the data for this study are political advertisements sponsored by Nigerian politicians for the April 2007 elections in Nigeria. These political advertisements normally appear massively in many Nigerian newspapers and some electronic media stations between February and March every election year, which is every four years (in Nigeria and some other countries of the world). To this end, the data for this study are drawn from, The Guardian, The Nation, as well as The Punch newspapers. The rationale for the choice of the print media political advertisements and no other channels of mass communication like the electronic media, or billboard is premised on a number of assumptions. First, the print media information has a permanent nature. That is why works of people like William Shakespeare are still being read up till today. Second, the print media information cuts across ethnic and religious boundaries in Nigeria because they carry information across the country and are circulated in all the six geo-political zones of the country. Third, is the relative ease with which the print media information could be retrieved in recent times.:

3.1 Sampling Technique

It has been stated that for this paper, we chose to focus on political advertisements in the print media. For that reason, our selection of, The Guardian, The Punch and The Nation are guided by a number of considerations. First, the choice of multiple newspapers exposes us to serious struggle for power among Nigerian politicians and strengthens the validity of our findings in this paper by ensuring a coherent data set. Using a single newspaper could confine our level of discourse representativeness on issues bothering on the intertextual use in the language of political advertisements in the print media and judging from the situation in the Nigerian political space, the analysis of a single newspaper would have been impractical. For instance, all the newspapers selected for this paper were carefully chosen to represent public's perception and various editorial policies and in-house styles of the newspaper houses. They have quality reports and expansive readership, not only that, but every Nigerian politician also has their choice of newspapers in Nigeria and target audience. For instance, a contestant in the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) camp may not want to advertise his/ her political ambition in The Nation newspaper (except for presidential candidates of popular political parties) The point here is that The Nation newspaper to a large extent has a partisan ideology. It has been linked to the national leader of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Bola Tinubu. Just as an ACN candidate may not want to advertise in the Nigerian Tribune or Compass, and so on. This is not only applicable to the print media, but it also happens too, in the electronic media. In the same vein, The Guardian too arguably enjoys the readership of the cult of the educated due to its nature of writing news stories. News stories in The Guardian are always expanded and bombastic, particularly its weekend editions. It has been found to be in support of the party at the centre in Nigeria, which is the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as of the time the advertisements were published. The Punch newspaper in its own case, has a near-neutral nature. This means that it sits on the fence on issues affecting the polity. It is neither here nor there. The point here is that if we chose a single newspaper, it will be difficult for us to carry out a thorough and acceptable critical analysis of these advertisements, thereby defeating some of the objectives this study sets out to capture. A total of thirty political advertisements have been sourced and just about ten advertisements have been purposively selected and will be analysed in this paper to tease out the intertextual relations in the language of political advertisements in Nigeria and their various ideological stances to the masses.

3.2 Data Analysis Technique

The study is a Critical Discourse Analysis of language use (in the discourse of political advertisements), with a view to making explicit the manipulative strategies of the language of political adverts informed by the hidden power and ideology of the media and the actors (politicians) involved in sponsoring them. Beyond this, just as we mentioned above, this paper is also interested in the effect(s) of this hidden power and ideologies as a result of the deliberate use of intertextuality as a rhetorical cue to manipulate society. Fairclough's tradition of CDA and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA are adopted for analysis in this paper. In other words, the technique for analysis is aided by descriptive and qualitative modes of analyses which will help in denaturalising language to reveal hidden and overt power play and ideological meanings that transcend the value of a quantitative approach. For ease of analysis, our data samples, which are drawn

from The Punch, The Nation, and The Guardian newspapers, are numbered thus: Text 1-10 (see Appendices).

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is not a theory per se, but a method or programme developed within the general framework of discourse analysis to enable discourse analysts see language as a product of the society as well as how texts portray social inequalities, power and ideology. Again, since CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to analysing discourse; it means that, the discourse analyst is at liberty to apply myriads of analytical frameworks of linguistics relevant to the text in hand. Hence, this paper focuses on the Fairclough's tradition well as van Dijk's social-cognitive approach to CDA for analysis with their special treatments of intertextuality as a rhetorical strategy to project communication in political advertisements in Nigeria.

4. Results

4.1 Intertextuality and the Language of Political Advertisements in Nigeria

Fairclough (1989, 1992a) opines that approaching discourse as discursive practice means that after the analysis of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure, attention should also be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality (Osakinle, 2019, p. 75). He further stresses that the three aspects link a text to its wider social context. According to Blommaert (2005, p. 61), intertextuality refers to the fact that whenever we speak, we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and re-cite expressions, and recycle meanings that are already available. Thus, every utterance has a history of (ab)use, interpretation, and evaluation, and this history sticks to the utterance. Fairclough (1992a, p. 85) identifies two types of intertextualities. These include manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality. We shall only examine and justify manifest intertextuality since it forms the burden of our data in this paper.

4.2 Manifest Intertextuality

According to Fairclough (1992a, p. 85) manifest intertextuality has to do with overtly drawing upon other texts. It is a discourse representation or strategy that examines how quoted utterances are selected, changed, and ultimately contextualised. Below are instances from our data followed by their attendant ideological implications on the mental model of the masses.

AUTOCRATIC DICTATOR OR CORRUPT POLITICIAN? NEITHER. THERE'S A THIRD WAY. This April, we deserve more than a choice between an autocratic dictator and a corrupt politician. (italics mine) — **Text 1: (*The Punch* [political advert] Saturday, February 17, 2007)**

PDP poses the Question: *AUTOCRATIC DICTATOR OR CORRUPT POLITICIAN?...* A vote for a puppet presidential ticket is a vote for its autocratic and corrupt godfather. (ellipsis; italics mine) — **Text 2: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Thursday, February 22, 2007)**

"No Bitumen... No Roads- Military Administrator Lagos State. Oyinlola blames delay in completing projects on contractors - The Nation, Wednesday, March 14, 2007. A Truckload of Excuses and Blames Cannot produce A Pin! Rauf Aregbesola has drawn up an irrevocable covenant with the good people of Osun State to offer concrete performance not excuses.... (italics mine) — **Text 3: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Wednesday, March 28, 2007)**

"1,000,000 barrels of oil are extracted from the Niger Delta daily." -PDP Administration ... Yet it's our poorest and least developed region.

We need **ACTION** now! (italics mine) — **Text 4: (*The Guardian*, [political advert] Thursday, February 1, 2007)**

All the above italicised sentences are actually quoted utterances. They were said by different politicians, at different forums, which have been compelled by their context model. The first two excerpts have a very interesting layout. Here, we can see the AC political party manifestly drawing overtly on the advert of the PDP with a very little difference. The *rifle* icon representing Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (RTD), the presidential candidate of the All Peoples Party (APP hence forth) as an autocratic dictator, and the *Ghana-Must-Go* bag icon, projecting Alhaji Atiku Abubakar as a corrupt politician retained their positions in the advert of the AC. In Nigeria, the *Ghana-Must-Go* bag placed beside the rifle represents Corruption. To this end, the AC candidate tagged the two icons with different inscriptions. For instance, under the *AK 47 rifle*

we have: *self-serving land use degree, Ita-Oko detention camp, Odi massacre, detention without trial* and so on. And under the *Ghana- must- go bag* we have, *220 Million Transcorp Shares, N2 Billion Agricultural loan, N40 Billion third term bribe, N12 Billion Presidential library and so on*. All of these have been credited to the former President of Nigeria, Chief Obasanjo, who was the president for eight years on the platform of the PDP, and now fielding another candidate to contest in the polls. But what is actually interesting here is the fact that, while on the one hand, the PDP is trying to persuasively project ideologically that its own candidate is neither autocratic nor corrupt; the AC is trying to project manipulatively, an ideology of accuracy and truthfulness judging by the facts and figures supplied in the advert and also the fact that he (the candidate of the AC) was vice-president under Obasanjo's administration. So, this ideologically means that he has the *locu standi* to give information about the facts and figures presented under the icons in Text 1. From the above it becomes clear that intertextuality is a rhetorical strategy used by Nigerian politicians and compelled by the context model to persuade or manipulate the electorates. Apart from the fact that it aids in the interpretation of the language of political adverts as can be seen above, the way in which discourse is being represented, re-spoken or re-written sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse like in the context of politics, and also changes the meaning of the text in the mental model of the public. Again, it serves as a reply mechanism of the dominated or the less powerful political party as we saw in the AC'S advert above, thereby ideologically forming a kind of resistance against regimes of power coming from the more powerful political party or simply as a form of projecting the "Us" and "Them" dichotomy by going into history to bring to the fore the bad things that are attributed to "Them" and the good things that are attributed to "Us" that will be our trademark when we get to the saddle. Further quoted and contextualised utterances are evident in Texts 3 and 4 above.

4.3 Discourse-Intertextuality relating to History as a Lesson

Nigerian Politicians often show in their advertisements for electioneering that some sections of politicians contesting in the elections have negative events or action credited to them in history. The cognitive ideological effect of this is to show intertextuality as history as a lesson. The use of history is a figment of the context models. Let us see how this is exemplified in the excerpts below:

LAGOS CITY HALL ON FIRE -... APRIL 30, 1998. BEWARE OF FIRE! Alhaji Musiliu Obanikoro (aka "Onikoro Musiliu") was chairman of Lagos Island Council for *ONLY ONE YEAR*, and within that one year, *the magnificent City Hall*, which was the product of the sweat of the founding fathers of Lagos was *BURNT!* What would have happened if Koro had been chairman for *three years?* The whole Broad Street would have been razed to ashes! ... Alausa must not catch fire! (ellipsis; italics mine) — **Text 5: (*The Nation*, [Political Advert] Saturday, March 17, 2007)**

Lagosians, who did this to our heritage? Lagos city Hall "Those who sow thorns should not expect to reap flowers" (italics mine) — **Text 6: (*The Guardian*, [political advert] Tuesday, March 13, 2007)**

The above historical events in the Nigerian political advertisement discourse are explicitly used to take the public or electorates into what has happened in the past. Categorically, such discursive strategy informs the negative act of the out-group members. Functionally, such proposition serves as a repetition of what is on the verge of happening if the politician in question gets to the saddle. In text 5 and 6, the in-group politicians draw on members' resources, where a speaker only needs to say little but must have communicated a great deal to the masses. This is achieved in our data when the text producer casts our mind to *Alausa*, which is the seat of government in Lagos State and indirectly stating that if the out-group politician in question should be allowed to win the elections, then; what happened in history would repeat itself. That means the governor's office situated in *Alausa*, Lagos State will catch fire, should he become governor. Aside from the fact that this ideologically functions to sound a note of warning for the electorates to learn from history, it indirectly paints the out-group, that is, the PDP members as people known for bad luck which is a stigma in the African community.

4.4 Intertextuality as Rhetoric of Evidentiality

Apart from the historical perspective of intertextuality as a rhetorical strategy, Nigerian politicians in their bid to be accountable and specific in the intertextual context, settle for the rhetoric of evidentiality in their advertisements for electioneering. It should be noted, that claims or points of view on the Nigerian political advertisement discourse are more plausible and credible, when politicians present evidence or proof

to espouse their event models. Ideologically, they do this by making reference to authorities, facts and figures or institutions. Here are excerpts from our data:

PDP WHERE ARE THE ROADS? In 1999, PDP promised to build roads across the country in order to facilitate economic development. What do we have now? ... *Take a look at the sorry state of Lagos-Ibadan express way, Ore-Benin expressway...* But in Lagos, the *AC Government has kept his promises and rebuilt highways that have withstood the test of time* like (ellipsis; italics mine) — **Text 7: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Wednesday, March 28, 2007)**

The AC of lies and Violence. *AC hoodlums attack* Engr. Segun Oni, PDP members and others at Iyin-Ekiti, hometown of Otunba Niyi Adebayo, Ekiti AC godfather. They claim to be war experts and Fayose. The terminator of Ekiti is now their friend... But Ekiti needs Men of PEACE & IDEAS ... (ellipsis; italics mine) — **Text 8: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Wednesday, March 28, 2007)**

BREAKING NEWS!!! FAYOSE SPONSORS FAYEMI, YINKA AKERELE FOR GOVERNOR ... Now, Ekiti people know where the violence is coming from (ellipsis; italics mine) — **Text 9: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Monday, March 26, 2007).**

To them, we are useless, yet they want to govern us??? CONCERNED EKITI CIVIL SERVANTS — **Text 10: (*The Nation*, [political advert] Friday, March 23, 2007)**

Evidentials are an important move to persuasively convey objectivity, reliability and hence gain the credibility of the public or electorates for the propositions made in communication. The italicised evidential markers are used to give credence to existing information in the event models of the politicians. These italicised evidential markers are supported by clear pictures in the excerpts above. In Text 7 an advert of the AC, we see two pictures placed side by side. The one on the left side of the advert foregrounds a dilapidated Federal Road. This purportedly gives an impression that, the PDP government who is at the centre in Nigeria when the adverts were published, promised to fix or repair it (and many others) in 1999, but has not fixed it till now (2007). It again tries to persuasively convey a message that the PDP is not a party that keeps promises; hence the electorates should not vote for “Them”. The second picture placed on the right side, this time foregrounds a well-tarred road built by the AC in Lagos State. This projects an ideology that the AC is a party that keeps to its promises, the more reason the electorates should vote “Us” into power. Also in Texts 8 and 9, the PDP in Ekiti State, persuasively projects the AC as a violent political party more so that they have incorporated *Fayose* into their party. At the time this advert was published, the name *Fayose* automatically connotes violence in the mental model of most locals in Ekiti State, Nigeria. The ideological implications of this have compelled the PDP to draw on members’ recourses. In this data in question, the PDP presents to us, four different pictures as evidence to persuasively show to the electorates the violent nature of the AC. The first set of pictures shows the vandalisation of the campaign vehicles belonging to some members of the PDP. And the next set of pictures project two PDP members that have been brutally *macheted* by the AC hoodlums. Again, the violent nature of the AC Party is further projected in Text 9, where the PDP alleges that *Fayose* is sponsoring two candidates for the election, following his quoted utterance coming from another Nigerian newspaper by the PDP. This is to ostensibly show ideologically that the PDP is not violent and that the state will enjoy relative peace should their candidate get to the saddle. In Text 10, the PDP quoted the running mate of Dr. Kayode Fayemi, the candidate of the AC, as saying that the Civil Servants in the state are useless in an earlier interview with a journalist which was quoted in the advert. Here the PDP paints a picture that the AC does not like workers, hence the public should not vote for the party at the polls.

5. Discussion

From our analysis in this paper, it is clear that the striking features that characterise any media advertisements are brevity, conciseness, and effective communication. These, according to Ezejideaku and Ugwu (2010) are the key issues that advertisers put into consideration before projecting their messages to the audience. To that end, from our results in a typical Nigerian political advertisement, much premium is placed on the style and message of the adverts because meanings and several other interpretations could be given to it by the audience that consumes it. So, regardless of the economic use of words, appropriate relevant communicative or discourse strategies like intertextuality, coherence and speech acts are always employed to marshal their intentions to their target audience. In recent times, media political adverts employ pictures, icons, and symbols to either constitute a message on their own or corroborate the effort of the economised words in political advertisements which our results have also pointed out. In view of this, from our results

in this paper, we have discovered and seen how power and ideology as well as the “Us” and “Them” dichotomy are enacted using intertextuality in the discourse of political advertisements in Nigeria, to the extent that Nigerian politicians rely on manifest intertextuality as discourse strategies used in their advertisements for electioneering to force certain ideological assumptions down the throat of an average Nigerian electorate.

Again, we assume that after doing a linguistic-textual analysis of a text, it is also expedient for us as discourse analysts to also examine the intertextual context of the text, which will give us an understanding of the social angle to the text and how the texts are interconnected to one another. Here, we found out that Nigerian politicians rely a lot on manifest intertextuality as we discovered that a large chunk of our corpus have links with history. In the same vein, we found out that intertextuality changes the meaning of what was already in the mental model of that public by virtue of re-warding or re-citing any aspect of the text as evident in the data presented in this research. (see Appendices). The assertion made here has been corroborated by the duo of Oyeleye and Oduola (2016), Fairclough (1989, 1992), Blommaert (2005), Ellah (2022), and Zulkipli and Ariffin (2019). These studies mentioned here, have either identified intertextuality as either a discourse strategy or as a rhetorical strategy used in the treatment of many discourses, which is actually in line with our results in this study. For instance, in Oyeleye and Oduola’s (2016) on the discourse of intertextuality in Nigerian Pentecostal sermons opines that intertextual connection/function in Nigeria’s Pentecostal sermons are connected with both grammatical and pragmatic realisations hibernating in the text to provide the needed clues to depth of intertextual construct in the overall description of discourse themes.

In other words, from the analysis presented in their study, it is clear that the approach to concept of discourse intertextuality might be the same to both literary and linguistic investigations when viewed from its literal meaning, but it is actually different when viewed from different linguistic or literary theoretical orientations. For instance, the analysis in the research of Oyeleye and Oduola’s (2016) study is quite different from the one presented in our study. While the current study focuses its attention on manifest intertextuality in the language of political advertisements in the Nigerian context, the investigation of intertextuality carried out by the duo of Oyeleye and Oduola (2016) for example, focuses on constitutive intertextuality, a type of intertextuality identified in this study, which is practicable in religious discourse. In another study, Ellah (2022) investigated the intertextual connections of language use in former Nigeria’s President, Muhammadu Buhari’s 2015 inaugural speech. In the study, much attention was placed on manifest intertextuality, interdiscursivity and constitutive intertextuality, with the speech subjected to a discourse-pragmatic analysis. From the findings in Ellah’s (2022) study, although done within the context of pragmatics. It was discovered that there was the abundant use of manifest intertextuality (the focus of this research) in the inaugural speech, particularly; when viewed from the pragmatic angle/use of presupposition, negation and anaphoric reference, all of which describe former President Muhammadu Buhari as having dexterously intermixed political discourse, with religious, literary, and historical discourses through manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

Furthermore, this paper has been able to show from our results that intertextuality could also be viewed from the perspective of history as a lesson which aligns with Ellah’s (2022) study, although from a different theoretical perspective and data. This explains why Nigerian politicians go into history to dig-out the bad things that had happened to their opponents in an election thereby crediting bad luck to the out-group politicians, a strategy that could have serious negative cultural ideological implications in Africa when viewed from the contextual angle of Nigerian politics. This assertion has been supported by Osakinle (2019, 2011), although from a linguistic critical discourse analysis standpoint rooted in Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). In the studies, the focal point was on the experiential value of language and how human beings represent language in the real world using some ideological grammatical cues such as voice (mood and modality), foregrounding, deictic expressions, members’ resources, etc, to arrive at some implicit ideologies expressed by politicians in their advertisements to canvass for votes from the Nigerian electorates. The import of our results here is to show that in Nigeria’s political context, politicians are more concerned with winning their elections at all costs hence, they are seen in our data projecting rhetoric at the level of discourse. This explains why they go beyond grammar to project implicit ideologies of hate speech/discourse using their opponent’s bad historical event to ostensibly say that they are not fit to contest in an election, and this has been made possible through the use of discourse-intertextuality. To this end, they deliberately would like to project the “Us” and “Them” dichotomy, a unique feature common to all CDA literature, to indirectly inform the public not to vote for the politicians affected by events in history.

Again, our result shows the use of rhetoric of evidentiality, which is a potent tool/strategy for manipulating the public in an election. Here, the motive is geared towards drawing on history to manipulate the people with a lot of pictorial evidence to drive home their point of view or idiosyncratic belief about a particular political candidate. In this angle to our research, Nigerian politicians use the rhetoric of evidentiality to project an ideology of accuracy while presenting pictures as evidences to show for instance, what the AC political party has been able to achieve in Lagos state thereby castigating the PDP political party that controlled the Federal Government of Nigeria at the centre (at the time these adverts were published) as a party that never kept its electioneering promises to the citizens that voted for them.

From all of these, we have seen that intertextuality is a powerful tool in the hands of Nigerian politicians in the projecting different ideological assumptions to the public, ostensibly to manipulate/persuade them to vote for them through their political advertisements in the build-up to their elections. We have said above that, from every literature available on intertextuality; it is common to find the notion of texts drawing upon other texts for their interpretation/meaning. Hence, we conclude in this study that works on intertextuality may abound in the treatment of other discourses; the concept had yet to be examined in political advertisements which forms the fulcrum of this study.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, attempts have been made to examine a very important aspect of CDA, which is intertextuality since we assume that textual analysis requires both linguistic and intertextual analysis of texts. Here, we conceive intertextuality as a discursive strategy used by Nigerian politicians to manipulate and persuade the electorates to a cause of action. Again, in this paper, particular attention has been paid to the rhetoric of casting political adverts, which also forms part of the discourse strategies employed by Nigerian politicians to canvass for votes from the public. Here we have been able to establish the fact that intertextuality as a rhetorical device used in the language of political adverts in Nigeria is a powerful communicative tool that is capable of changing the interpretation of text in the discourse of political advertisements owing to some strategies such as relying on members' resources to project history as a lesson, evidentiality and so on. Again, in Nigeria, the study has shown that politicians relying on manifest intertextuality to serve as a reply mechanism from a less dominant political party against a more dominant political party.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. The Punch, February 17, 2007

SATURDAY PUNCH, February 17, 2007 **A 13**

AUTOCRATIC DICTATOR OR CORRUPT POLITICIAN?



NEITHER. THERE'S A THIRD WAY.

This April, we deserve more than a choice between an autocratic dictator and a corrupt politician.

Gov. Abacha Yar'Adua is a new brand of leader in Nigeria. As a civilian and academic with a record of transparency, Yar'Adua is the change we need to move us forward, not back to the times of oppression and corruption.



VOTE
YAR'ADUA & GOODLUCK
PRESIDENCY 2007

FORWARD NEVER
BACKWARD NEVER

Appendix 2. The Nation, February 22, 2007

THE NATION THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2007

2

PDP poses the Question:

AUTOCRATIC DICTATOR OR CORRUPT POLITICIAN?

SELF-SERVING LAND USE DECREE
TAOKO DETENTION CAMP
OOI MASSACRE
DETENTION (ST)HOUTI TRIAL
ZAKI BABA MASSACRE
DISOBEDIENCE OF SECURITY ORDERS
A.K. DIBBO, AYO DARA, MOLA ETC

220 MILLION TO ACQUIRE SHAKES
140 BILLION AGRICULTURE LOAN
112 BILLION THIRD TERM BRIBE
MULTI-BILLION NIPRA PAPER BRIBE
142 BILLION NPA PAPER BRIBE
106 BILLION NPA SCANDAL
MONKEY IN PRESIDENTIAL JET SCANDAL
ALLOCATION OF OR WELLS TO CRANES & FRONTIS

BADAN UNIVERSITY



A vote for a puppet presidential ticket is a vote for its autocratic and corrupt godfather. Nigeria deserves a leader that is compassionate, who listens, who will provide jobs, construct roads, provide security, protect the rule of law and respect the dignity of Nigerians.



Vote
ATIKU
ABUBAKAR

A New Nigeria. For all Nigerians

Appendix 3. The Nation, March 28, 2007

THE NATION WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2007

“No Bitumen... No Roads”
 - Military Administrator
 Lagos State (1996)

Oyinlola blames delay in completing projects on contractors

BARELY six weeks to the general election, Osun State Governor Clagunsoye Oyinlola has told the people not to blame him for letting so complete projects as scheduled. He said that the delay was caused by the contractors, adding that the people should realise that such development was not possible in the situation.

From Wale Fatirin, Osogbo

wer't vote for me because we have these projects that we have not completed, they are on-going projects. The delay of the projects is not my fault. I don't know why they are not completed. I don't know why they are not completed. I don't know why they are not completed.

der which three kilometers of road should have been constructed in each local government.

While denying the rumour that the project had failed, Oyinlola said that the project was not completed before the end of his tenure.

He explained that the Workers' Village constructed by his administration had not been occupied because he has not been able to empower workers have the houses. Oyinlola noted that

A Truckload Of Excuses And Blames Cannot Produce A Pin!

Rauf Aregbesola has drawn up an irrevocable covenant with the good people of Osun State to offer concrete performance - not excuses. He has a formula that will:

- > Banish Poverty
- > Banish Hunger
- > Banish Unemployment
- > Restore Healthy Living
- > Promote Functional Education
- > Enhance Communal Peace and Progress

vote
RAUF AREGBESOLA
 for Governor
 Osun State

FORA
 Courtesy: FORA

ACTION CONGRESS
Democracy Forever

Appendix 4. The Guardian, February 1, 2007

IBADAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

THE GUARDIAN Thursday, February 1, 2007

4

Page 5

"1,000,000 barrels of oil are extracted from the Niger Delta daily"
DDP Administration

...Yet it's our poorest and least developed region.

We need **ACTION** now!

Democracy Forever!!


Join us as we flag off the Presidential Campaign of our fighter, Aliko Abubakar at the historic city of Kano
Venue: Kano Race Course
Date: February 3, 2007
Time: 10:00am
Join the action train

ACTION CONGRESS
Justice, Justice, Peace & Progress

Appendix 5. The Nation, March 17, 2007

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THE NATION SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 2007




← LAGOS CITY HALL ON FIRE
...APRIL 30, 1908

BEWARE OF FIRE!

Al-haji Musiliu Obanikoro (aka "Onikoro Musil'yu") was chairman of Lagos Island Council for **ONLY ONE YEAR**, and within that one year, the magnificent City Hall, which was the product of the sweat of the founding fathers of Lagos, was **BURNT!**

What would have happened if Kuro had been chairman for three years? The whole Broad Street would have been razed to ashes!

Is this the man who should ever have the effrontery to desire to become the governor of Lagos State in this era of accountability and transparency?

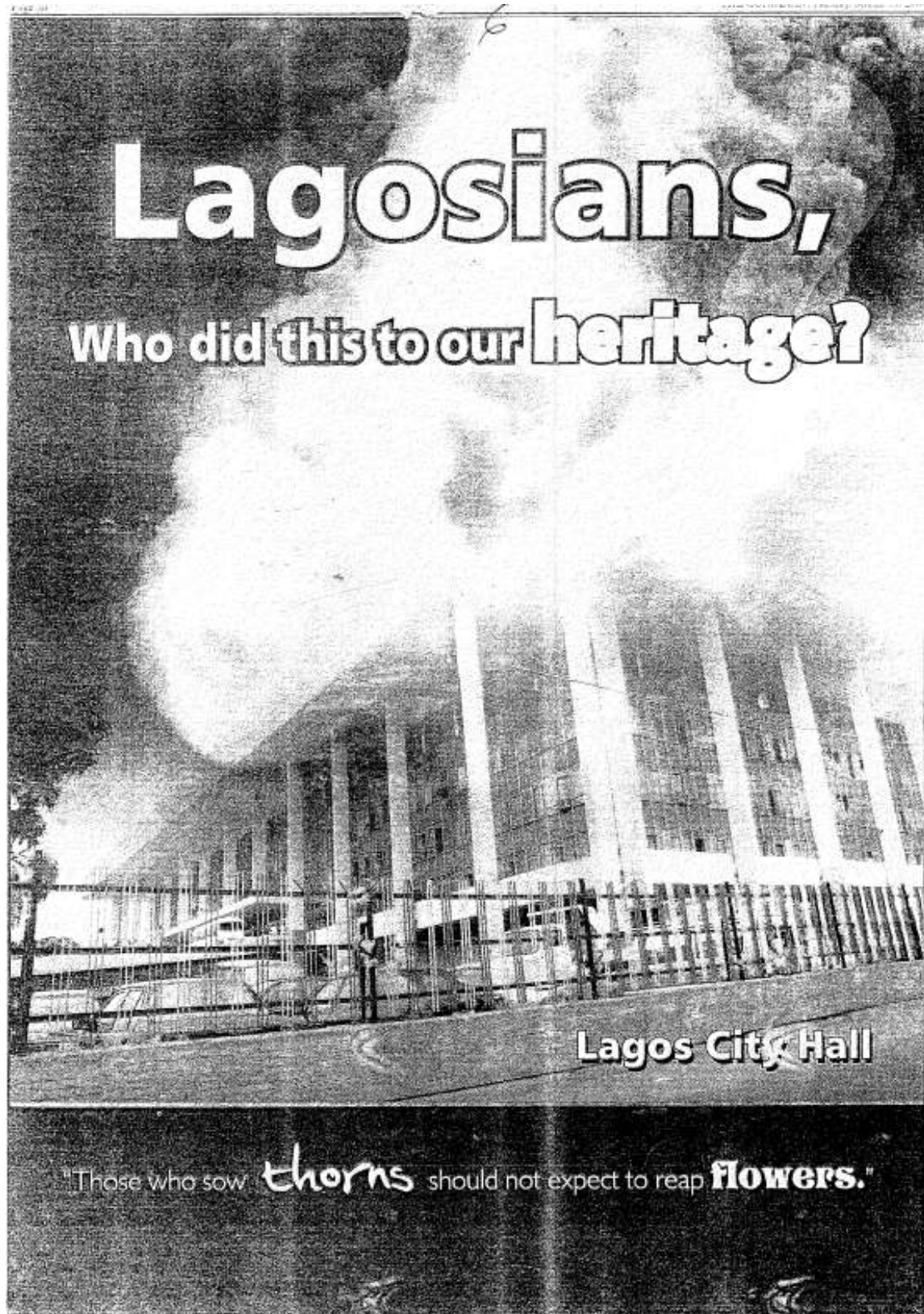


Alausa must not catch fire! Lagosians must rise and elect a **CREDIBLE** governor.

'KORO' MEANS 'BITTER' LAGOSIANS REJECT BITTERNESS!

Signed: **Alhaji Bakare Ajibade-Mustafa**
For: Concerned Lagosians for Good Governance


Appendix 6.




Appendix 7. The Nation, March 28, 2007

THE NATION WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2007 25

PDP, WHERE ARE THE ROADS?



BENIN-ORE HIGHWAY:
A typical PDP road after nearly eight years of promises



AWOLOWO ROAD, IKOYI:
A typical road constructed by AC government in Lagos

In 1999, PDP promised to build roads across the country in order to facilitate Economic Development.


What do we have now? Those who ply the calamitous Federal Highways all over the country can only testify that, the PDP is only good at making promises it doesn't intend to keep. Take a look at the sorry state of Lagos-Ibadan expressway, Ore-Benin expressway, even the Federal roads in Lagos, yet billions of Naira were released in the last six years to fix the roads by Messrs "fix it" of PDP & Co.

But in Lagos, the AC Government

has kept his promises and rebuilt highways that have withstood the test of time like; Marina CBD road, Kudirat Abiola road, Ikotun-Igando road, Itire-Lawanson road, Awolowo road, Ikoyi, Ojo-Alaba road, Adeola Odeku road, Karimu Kotun road, Agege motor road, etc.

This is why we must reject the PDP man "Koro" ("bitterness") in Lagos. A man who has never honoured his promise to his party in the past, not to talk of the people.

PDP must not be allowed to "KORO-DE" Lagos. Lagosians must stick to the Government that performs.



LAGOSIANS REJECT KORO (BITTERNESS)

Signed: **Alhaji Bakare Ajibade-Mustafa**
For: *Concerned Lagosians for Good Governance*

Appendix 8. The Nation, March 28, 2007

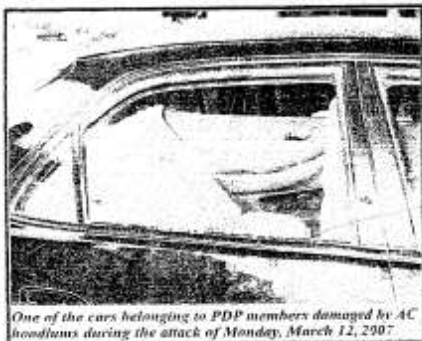
THE NATION WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2007

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

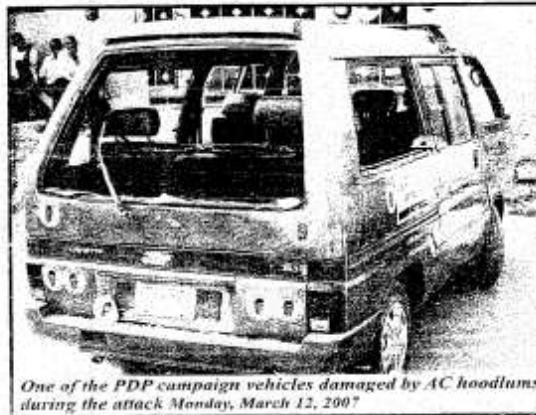
35

The AC of lies & violence

AC hoodlums attack Engr. Segun Oni, PDP members and others at Iyin-Ekiti, hometown of Otunba Niyi Adebayo, Ekiti AC godfather



One of the cars belonging to PDP members damaged by AC hoodlums during the attack of Monday, March 12, 2007.



One of the PDP campaign vehicles damaged by AC hoodlums during the attack Monday, March 12, 2007.



Ojo Obadimeji (Ojosu) brutally mached by AC hoodlums on November 14, 2006

They claim to be war experts, and Fayose, The Terminator of Ekiti is now their friend...
But Ekiti needs men of PEACE & IDEAS



Wale Alade (Wamford), ex-vice-chairman of AD brutally mached by AC hoodlums on November 14, 2006

*A vote for Engr. Segun Oni
...a vote for
PEACE & GOOD GOVERNANCE*




Issued By: Media & Publicity Committee
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Ekiti State

Appendix 9. The Nation, March 26, 2007

THE NATION MONDAY, MARCH 26, 2007 43

BREAKING NEWS!!!


FAYOSE SPONSORS FAYEMI, YINKA AKERELE FOR GOVERNOR



"This is not the time to vote along party lines, but for a candidate with high prospects of independence, integrity, exposure, performance, and charisma. I strongly believe Akerle (ANPP) and Fayemi (AC) possess these."

— FAYOSE

Nigerian Tribune, March 24, 2007. Pg. 9



Now, Ekiti People know where the violence is coming from

**Issued By: Media & Publicity Committee
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Ekiti State**


Appendix 10. The Nation, March 23, 2007

THE NATION FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 2007 31

what **AC thinks about
Ekiti Civil Servants**

*“You have managed in
the civil service, what
have they done in the civil
service? ... You have only
done routine work and a
lot of time these routine
works have no value,
what have they done?”*

— Mrs Funmilayo Olayinka
AC Dep. Governorship Candidate, Ekiti State.
(The Nation, March 21, 2007 Pg. 12)



**To them, we are
useless, yet they want
to govern us???**

CONCERNED EKITI CIVIL SERVANTS