

**VISUAL-TEXTUAL STRATEGIES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF
POLITICAL ACTORS IN THE NIGERIAN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
IN ONLINE CARTOONS**

BY;

Eyitayo Temitope FOLORUNSO

MATRIC. No.: 147481

B.A. English (Akungba), M.A. English (Ibadan), M.Phil. English (Ibadan)

**A Thesis in the Department of English
Submitted to the Faculty of Arts in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of the
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN**

SEPTEMBER, 2023

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Eyitayo Temitope Folorunso in the Department of English, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.

Supervisor

A.B. Sunday

B.A., M.A., Ph.D. (Ibadan)

Senior lecturer

Department of English

University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God who makes all things possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My appreciation goes to God, the source of all wisdom, for the opportunity to complete this programme.

Also, I want to appreciate my meticulous supervisor, Dr A. B. Sunday, for his exceptional patience with me during the course of writing this thesis. It is indeed a privilege having him as guidance because without his ceaseless corrections, this work would have been unachievable. May God grant him good health and more success.

My special appreciation goes to the Head of Department, Department of English, Prof. N.O. Fashina, His contributions and supports have been highly inestimable. To all my teachers at the Department of English, University of Ibadan:, Prof. Olutoyin B. Jegede, Pro. E.B. Omobowale, Prof. R. Oriaku, Prof. O. Oha, Prof. N.O. Fashina, Prof. Adenike Akinjobi, Prof. M.T. Lamidi, Prof. A. O. Ogunsiji, Prof. D. S. Adeyanju, Prof. A. Odebunmi, Prof. A. O. Dasylva, Prof. A. Raji-Oyelade, Dr Adedoyin Aguoru, Dr A. A. Osisanwo, Dr A. K. Adebisi-Adelabu, Dr Tolulope A. Akinseye, Dr Akin Tella and Dr C. T. Akinsete. Thank you.

Also, my sincere gratitude goes to the management of the University of Ibadan for the sponsorship all through the course of this programme. I am grateful for the opportunity given to me over the years. Thank you.

My unreserved appreciation goes to my late parents, Mr. and Mrs Folorunso Ojo. Not having them around any longer has not really been easy, may their souls rest in peace. I am sure this has been their lifelong dream, now a reality. Special thanks to my wife, Dr. Mrs Oluwatomi Folorunso who sacrificed a lot to see I complete this programme. I appreciate my family members who have always been there for me day and night: Mrs Victorial Ojo Olamigoke, Dr and Mrs Remi Bamisile, I say a big thank you.

I owe a deep appreciation to Lystra Ali who trusted me when she did not know me in person. Also, I do appreciate the following people for their immeasurable contributions towards my success: Prof. Oluwatotin Odeku, Mrs Olajumoke Folorunso, Odeyale Adebayo, Bakare Jeleel, Rev. Philips Oyewale, Pastor David O. David, Ebunoluwa Awojeminiyi. May God bless them all. I also want to appreciate Dr Ibukun Filani, Dr Matthew Ilori, Dr David Olorunsogo and Dr Mattias Chukwu who gave me an insight

into many things during the course of this work, thank you. I am indeed grateful to all of them.

My appreciation goes to the following people who have, in one way or the other, contributed immensely to the success of this work. They include Mrs Adekunle, the department's secretary and other administrative staff in the department whose names are too numerous to mention. Thank you.

E.T. Folorunso
September, 2023

ABSTRACT

During presidential election campaigns in Nigeria, online media platforms deploy cartoons as strategies to project their preferred candidates. Existing linguistic studies on presidential elections focused largely on linguistic strategies, media representation and non-linguistic features, with little attention paid to the implicit way the media represent political candidates using the visual-textual mode. Therefore, this study was designed to examine the depiction of presidential election campaigns in Nigeria in online cartoons in the 2019 election, with a view to determining the representation forms, the cartoon meaning-making techniques, and the socio-contextual issues raised in the sampled cartoons.

Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's Multimodal Social Semiotic Approach, complemented by M. A. K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, served as the framework, while the descriptive design was used. Five online news platforms: *Punch*, *Daily Trust* (DT), *Vanguard*, *Nairaland* and *BusinessDay* were purposively selected because of their consistent and relevant political cartoon publications. Cartoons representing two major political actors, Atiku Abubakar of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC), were purposively chosen because of preponderance of publications on them and their mega parties status. Forty political cartoons were selected through purposive sampling: *Punch* (6), *Vanguard* (5), *DT* (10), *Nairaland* (5) and *BusinessDay* (14). The data were subjected to multimodal analysis.

Meanings in the cartoons were evoked using two processes: narrative and conceptual. While narrative process explains the various actions performed by the represented participants in the cartoons and the matching speeches, the conceptual process attributes them to the connective events. Representation takes positive and negative forms. The negative representation of the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari, foregrounded bad leadership, corruption, poor policies, incompetence, religious and ethnic bigotry, insecurity and wickedness (*Punch and BusinessDay*). Buhari was symbolically represented as one who shed the blood of innocent people by giving freedom to killer herdsmen in Nigeria while his religious and ethnic bigotry were tacitly embedded to have favoured the Fulani against other ethnic nationalities in the country (*Punch, BusinessDay and Vanguard*). Negative representation attributed to Atiku Abubakar of PDP tilted towards economic mismanagement and corruption. The images conceptualised him as unstable, corrupt and disobedient (*DT and Nairaland*). Saliency, vector, colour, party emblems, facial expressions, social distance, accomplishments, shots, symbolism and attributives were used as visual cues. The positive representations attempted redeeming the images of both candidates through symbolic repentance gestures (*DT, BusinessDay, Punch and Vanguard*). The textual cues evoked were affirmations, exclamations, sarcasm, verbalisations, metaphorisation, capitalisation, reference, interrogative statements, ellipsis, exaggeration, repetition, nominal and pronominal choices to complement meanings in the speech process. Affirmations were used for emphasis, capitalization for clarity and exaggerations for image enhancement.

Online cartoons during the Nigerian 2019 presidential election campaigns had negative-positive representations, deployed through multimodal means, targeted at influencing the chances of the represented political actors at the polls.

Keywords: Visual-textual modes, Cartoons, Presidential election, Multimodality, Political representations

Words count: 418

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Title Page	i
Certification	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Plates	xi
Abbreviations	xiii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the study	1
1.2	Statement of the problem	3
1.3	Aim and objectives of the study	4
1.4	Scope of the study	4
1.5	Significance of the study	4
1.6	Summary	5

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0	Chapter overview	6
2.1	Conceptual clarifications	6
2.1.1	The notion of cartoons	6
2.1.2	Types of cartoons	7
2.1.2.1	Caricature	7
2.1.2.2	Comic strip	8
2.1.2.3	Editorial/ political cartoons	8
2.1.2.4	Animated/illustrative cartoons	9
2.1.2.5	Violence cartoons	9
2.1.2.6	Scientific cartoons	9
2.1.2.7	Sexual/adult cartoons	9
2.1.2.8	Single/double panel cartoons	10

2.1.2.9	Interpersonal/interactional verbal codes in cartoon communications	10
2.1.2.10	Representational functions in cartoon visual modes	10
2.1.2.11	Ideational/representational functions in cartoon textual modes	11
2.2	Review of related previous Studies on cartoons	11
2.2.1	Studies on visual-textual modes	16
2.2.2	Studies on multimodality and political campaigns in Nigeria	23
2.2.3	Studies on election and electioneering in Nigeria	28
2.2.4	Studies on representations	36
2.2.5	Studies on general elections in Nigeria	37
2.3	Theoretical framework	38
2.3.1	Multimodal theory	39
2.3.2	Systemic Functional Linguistics	41
2.4	Organization of the theory	47
2.4.1	Social context and communication modes	48
2.5	Summary	49

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0	Chapter overview	50
3.1	Research design	50
3.2	Sample and sampling techniques	50
3.3	Method of data collection	51
3.4	Summary	51

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0	Chapter overview	52
4.1	Representation forms and meaning-making techniques	52
4.1.1	Buhari is not a qualified candidate	52
4.1.2	Buhari is protecting corrupt politicians	56
4.1.3	Atiku is not loyal to any political party	61
4.1.4	Everyone supports Atiku as a good choice	63
4.1.5	Buhari and Atiku have asymmetric political values	67
4.1.6	Both Buhari and Atiku are desperate politicians	71
4.1.7	APC using hate speeches to attack Atiku	76
4.1.8	Atiku Abubakar should not be trusted	80
4.1.9	Buhari has no human feeling	83
4.1.10	Buhari and Atiku are desperate for votes	87

4.1.11 Buhari is here to persecute the opposition	92
4.1.12 Buhari cares for cows than human lives	96
4.1.13 Buhari will burden Nigerians with borrowing	100
4.1.14 Atiku cannot stand Buhari politically	104
4.1.15 Buhari hates all other tribes except Hausa	107
4.1.16 Post-election results will be chaotic	111
4.1.17 APC candidate, Buhari is not fit for office	114
4.1.18 A sick candidate should not be elected	117
4.1.19 Atiku will stop Nigeria's progress	122
4.1.20 Buhari is a tyrannical candidate	125
4.1.21 Buhari only supports the Fulanis	129
4.1.22 Atiku and Buhari are not democrats	134
4.1.23 Atiku and Buhari have asymmetrical success chances	139
4.1.24 Atiku will sell Nigeria on OLX	142
4.1.25 Northern supporters are divided	145
4.1.26 Buhari is a clueless candidate	148
4.1.27 Hunger and hardship are Buhari's plans for voters	151
4.1.28 APC will succeed in this election	155
4.1.29 Atiku Abubakar has corruption case in the US	157
4.1.30 Buhari is a murderer	160
4.1.31 Buhari's frustration will come on the citizens	164
4.1.32 Buhari is a self-centred candidate	168
4.1.33 Atiku and his allies are going to loot the Nigeria's treasury	172
4.1.34 Political candidates do not trust one another	175
4.1.35 No credible election with Atiku and Buhari as candidates	178
4.1.36 A snail is better than Buhari in accomplishment	181
4.1.37 Atiku has a better hope for Nigeria	184
4.2 Relevance of visual-textual interrelatedness in cartoons	187
4.3 Discussion	187
4.4 Summary	189

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Preamble	190
5.1 Summary of the study	190
5.1.1 Summary of the findings	191
5.2 Conclusion	194
5.3 Contributions to knowledge	194
5.4 Suggestions for further studies	195
References	196

LIST OF PLATES

		PAGE
Plate 4.1	Buhari is not a qualified candidate	53
Plate 4.2	Buhari protects corrupt politicians	58
Plate 4.3	Atiku Abubakar is not loyal to any political party	62
Plate 4.4	Everyone supports Atiku as a good choice	64
Plate 4.5	Buhari and Atiku have asymmetric values	68
Plate 4.6	Both Buhari and Atiku are desperate politicians	72
Plate 4.7	APC using hate speeches to attack Atiku	77
Plate 4.8	Atiku Abubakar should not be trusted	81
Plate 4.9	Buhari has no human feeling	84
Plate 4.10	Buhari and Atiku are desperate for votes	88
Plate 4.11	Buhari is here to persecute the opposition	93
Plate 4.12	Buhari cares for cows than human lives	97
Plate 4.13	Buhari will burden Nigerians with borrowing	101
Plate 4.14	Atiku cannot stand Buhari politically	105
Plate 4.15	Buhari hates all other tribes except Hausa	108
Plate 4.16	Post-election results will be chaotic	112
Plate 4.17	Buhari has health issues	115
Plate 4.18	Voters should not consider a sick candidate	118
Plate 4.19	Atiku will stall Nigeria's progress	123
Plate 4.20	Buhari is a tyrannical candidate	126
Plate 4.21	Buhari only supports the Fulanis	130
Plate 4.22	Atiku and Buhari are not democrats	135
Plate 4.23	Atiku and Buhari have asymmetrical success chances	140
Plate 4.24	Atiku will sell Nigeria on OLX	143
Plate 4.25	Northern supporters are divided	146
Plate 4.26	Buhari is clueless	149
Plate 4.27	Hunger and hardship are Buhari's plans	152
Plate 4.28	APC will succeed in this election	156
Plate 4.29	Atiku Abubakar has corruption case in the US	158
Plate 4.30	Buhari is a murderer	161
Plate 4.31	Buhari's frustration will come on the citizens	165

Plate 4.32	Buhari is a selfish candidate	169
Plate 4.33	Atiku and his allies are going to loot the CBN	173
Plate 4.34	Political candidates do not trust one another	176
Plate 4.35	Election results will be manipulated	179
Plate 4.36	A snail is better than Buhari in race	182
Plate 4.37	Atiku has a better hope for Nigeria	185

ABBREVIATIONS

PDP	-	Peoples Democratic Party
APC	-	All Progressives Congress
NP	-	Narrative Process
CP	-	Conceptual Process
EFCC	-	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Language and visual resources are explored in different dimensions in order to achieve certain goals like persuasion, incitement, threat, either directly or indirectly (Waya, 2019). Also, it is a societal tool which can be used for argumentative purposes, that is, speakers use language which may be verbal, non-verbal or a combination of both to encode a message directed at a target receiver for an expected reaction or feedback (White, 1997). The field of politics is not exempted in language and visual resources deployment, especially during campaigns to political offices. Language, either visual or textual is engaged to achieve political goals and score points to the favour of selected candidates. This is what Keith (1998) refers to as discourse variants. Furthermore, various strategies of communication are employed which can include, foregrounding, negative or positive presentation formats, propositions, value evaluation, authoritative convictions, use of statistics, figures of speech, metaphor, or object representations, including symbolism and kinesics (Pease and Pease, 2004).

The media is one of the channels where language use is engaged for proper information, hence, the way discourse is used in the media is quite significant. This is because the profession deals with humanity directly via reports and visual publications. Media discourses contain emotional and persuasive contents used to pass information, directly or indirectly, objectively or subjectively; it can similarly be used to influence the public's perceptions, actions, either true or untrue or distort existing facts or reality (O'Keffee, 2011). Discourses may be taken or rejected by the target audience based on some parameters ranging from beliefs, loyalty, values, tastes, religion and ethnicity to other reasons (Olowu, 2015). Media discourses can have a long range of consequences on the understanding readers give a particular message in verbal or non-verbal language use in the print, especially where cartoon publications are involved. Beyond the scope of entertainment, the media adopts visual resources to initiate subtle campaigns towards achieving possible political goals during election. This is because

evaluations differ from person to person, especially in any multi-ethnic environment. In other words, media discourse strategies may either be designed to be propaganda or an ideology for a target purpose which depends on the interpretations and the understanding of various parameters attached to the items used. In some instances, language use in the media can be to obfuscate reality and distort subjectivity or reports (White, 1997). These parameters are structures which determine the strategies in any discourse analysis of objects and written form (van Dijk, 1995).

Cartoons are one of the means of communication used in the media, though, many readers may not take cognisance of them. Some readers may perceive them as objects of entertainment, but this is absolutely contentious as there are many messages now inherent in these visual communications beyond just entertainment (Kress, 2003). Cartoons have been described as metaphorical codification of mental ideas (Eko, 2007). They are effective ways of disseminating discourse and mental display of ideologies associated with any medium of communication. Eko (2007) affirms that cartoons are broadsheet works of art which are among the most evident indexes of post-cold war in African political freedom. These socially relevant works of art leave an indelible psychological mark in the minds of readers more than the words they read.

One of the ways cartoons serve communicative purpose is reflected in electioneering period. During election campaigns, a lot of visual-textual representations are deployed by political players and their supporters in order to sell their values to prospective electorate. This also involves using the internet to market their prominence (Tella, 2018). Hate speeches and other propaganda publications are used to tackle the opponents and gain the favour of the electorate (Sunday, 2021). The media, being the third estate in governance, after the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, contributes largely to the way voters adjudge each candidate in every election and one of the ways it does this is through message-loaded cartoons, hence, it has a large influence on the choices of the people in any selection process because of its use of language, cognitive influence which can be either directly or indirectly.

All Progressives Congress (APC) has been in charge of the affairs of the country since 2015 after taking over the administration of the country from the then president, Goodluck Jonathan. Muhammadu Buhari has been the candidate of the party over the years, but, the country has witnessed a lot of political downturn, economic

mismanagement, corruption has been on the increase and insecurity has risen astronomically. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), being the opposition party and represented by Atiku Abubakar, has shown interest in removing the ‘bad’ government in 2019 presidential election. The media was also divided based on sympathy. Therefore, a lot of negative and positive representations came up during the electioneering period from the media in support of prospective candidates. The study looked at the representations each online media platforms gave to either of the APC and PDP in the bid to influence the electorate’s decisions at the 2019 polls.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Studies have been carried out on election matters and electioneering period in Nigeria. Some of these works are based on sociocultural framings, representations, violence and hate speech, using videos and audio sources (Obono, 2018; Sunday, 2021, Ademilokun and Taiwo, 2017; Olowu, 2014; Eko, 2007, Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2010). Multimodality (Adejuwon, 2015; Oyeleye, 1990; Moyo, 2002; Mohammed, 2014; Jewell, 2016; Kamalu, 2016 and Kasmi, 2015). Studies have also been conducted in the areas of semiotics, signage analysis and imagery with focus on linguistic investigations: Ekpe (2016), Villy (2009) and Sani (2014). Language and discourse usages in the media (O’ Keeffe, 2011), and content analysis which has really cut across variety of variables in multimodal analysis Nwabueze (2014).

In most of the studies, videos, audio sources and linguistic resources are well catered for. The aspects of visual resources are rarely attempted, especially where political electioneering is concerned. Cartoons, caricature and image are not fully explored in terms of how these resources influence prospective electorate in the 2019 presidential electioneering. Besides, most of the studies from the linguistic and media aspects depended heavily on speech and verbal resources which are prone to possible rendition misinterpretations. Therefore, exploring the combination of visual and textual resources as related to media intentions in various political cartoons to launch a tacit campaign for or against contestants becomes expedient. Therefore, the crux of this study focuses on how visual-textual cues are used in cartoons to represent political actors and to tacitly market or de-market them in order to influence their chances in the 2019 Nigerian presidential election. It explores the subtle ways the

media presents preferred candidates using images and creative linguistic choices in headlines to produce meanings.

1.3 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study was to investigate the use of visual-textual modes in cartoons as persuasive strategies during political electioneering in order to convince electorate to vote certain candidates. The specific objectives were:

1. to describe how the political actors are represented in the cartoons,
2. to discuss the meaning-making techniques deployed in the sampled cartoons,
3. to explore the contextual issues promoted in the sampled cartoons.

1.4 Scope of the study

The data in this study were limited to political cartoons published during the period of electioneering in the 2019 presidential election, between November 2018 and February, 2019. This is the period political parties and online media platforms heightened their campaigns against oppositions in order to gain the votes of the electorate. Speech and video resources were excluded because the study targeted the use of language in visual communication. Cartoons representing the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Party (APC) were used because the two parties were mostly represented alongside their two candidates, Atiku Abubakar and Muhammadu Buhari. Furthermore, the inclusion of speech and video resources would defeat the aim of the study, hence, focusing on the media engagement of images in the campaigns would make the work more focused. Therefore, the scope of the study was limited to the political actors, the media involvement and the persuasive strategies observed in the selected images.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study will be relevant in adding to the field of discourse analysis. It will serve as an addition in the field of language use in expressing intentions, goals, and how discourse can work on the reasonings of people, especially in political and media discourse. It can also be useful to electorates who earlier adjudge cartoons as mere entertainment to wake up into the reality that cartoons are messages meant for particular purposes not just a piece of newspapers. The messages are to the readers, therefore, to appeal to their cognitive via funny drawings. This appeal, if not checked,

has the cognitive tendency of changing the way the electorates see a candidate during election periods.

Furthermore, as the issue in the study revolves around political campaigns as used in the media during presidential campaigns, it will open more ideas as to how the media could breach professional ethics in a more tacit way. This eye-opening dimension can help the regulatory bodies to further check subjective publications in the subsequent elections.

The work also makes an invaluable contribution to linguistic scholarship by providing insights into how visual-textual cues interact in texts, this will be an addition to studies in the areas of media, language and political analysis. It will also be a reference to subsequent researches in these areas.

1.6 Summary

The chapter has given an insight into the thoughts which are further expatiated in the subsequent chapters of the study. In the next chapter, necessary literature review in the area of interest is done.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Chapter overview

In this chapter, relevant literatures are reviewed in order to show the weaknesses and the strengths of previous scholarly attempts which have explored visual semiotics and textual strategies as related to cartoons. It also includes the review of works which have been done within and outside Nigeria on the notions of visual-textual interactions, especially in Nigerian newspapers.

2.1 Conceptual review

2.1.1 The notion of cartoons

Scholars have seen cartoons from different perspectives based on the multiple-meanings one can find in them. Conner (2007) believes it is a work of satire that exposes certain ideas, a form of communication which bifurcates into diverse means of sending out information through the act of drawing. According to Mohammed (2014), cartoons have been political weapons since 1960 up to date because they are used to fight tyranny. This definition however seemingly restricts the multiple functionalities of cartoons. Images on news sites can be more beneficial in the understanding of social matters, social contexts, clear intellectual visuals and consolidate mutual understanding in a society Monga (1996). In most editorial cartoons used in the print media, there are discourses inherent in them which are meant to correct societal ills and not just to create fun or make readers laugh alone Eko (2007). The commentaries and the textual complements are designed to communicate certain pieces of information to the readers, especially where change is expected in the political structure of a state or country. Therefore, it can be said that cartoons are used as topical and didactic feature of communication.

Furthermore, El-Falaky (2019) agrees that cartoons perform the role of entertainment because they are designed to capture the funny human and non-human representations. It is pertinent to note that most of the cartoon representations depict the upper-class of

the society as subjects of ridicule and readers are often expected to process the messages and react accordingly. However, the advent of social media platforms for newspapers in Nigeria has further given prominence to cartoon publications as it provides ample choices for newspapers to expand the scope of their fan base. Hence, it is believed that cartoons help to educate, entertain and inform adequately while at the same time act as the pulse of events in any country Villy (2009).

Osho (2008) on its own also acknowledges six dissimilar classes of cartoons. These are: general interest cartoons (these forms of comics characterise public subjects that generate public remarks. They leave the readers guessing, in so doing, allowing them to infer the message from the image signified. Economic/Trade cartoons are used to emphasise trade and commerce as well as financial issues). Sociological/Ecological cartoons represent dissimilar human endeavours or domains such as health, sport, education while social cartoons address subjects such as marriage, parties etc. Gag cartoons are used mainly for over and occasionally under-statements, also, they are used for thinking.

In this research, cartoons are seen as a means of discreet representations in the 2019 presidential campaigns, especially where the media seems to be tacitly involved in the process of the electioneering, using language, both verbal and textual, to drive home possible communication in order to influence the voters. It then becomes possible that cartoons function as means of influence for specific purposes during the election campaigns in 2019.

2.1.2 Types of cartoons

In relation to this study, cartoons can be divided into categories. Each category has the intrinsic capacity to accommodate the visual and textual properties which can be found in the images.

2.1.2.1 Caricature

Caricature is an idea coded in drawing but in a more exaggerated means Sulistyowati (2020). Sometimes, sketchy drawings, strokes or elaborated dots make caricature more prominent and suggestive Adejuwon and Alimi (2011). It can also be used to insult or commend characters, while in some newspapers, it is used to entertain people Ariyo (2017). In a political area, caricature is used to condemn injustice, undue

discrimination or divisive leadership styles being used by a target leader. It is a form of a cartoon employed to pass across implicit and overestimated messages to people of prominence in a situation where power is being in contention. They are drawn to attract attentions of the readers based on the prominence style it adopts and the prominence of body parts. These body exaggerations are aimed at achieving certain ideological aims which are hidden in the drawings. They can also be described as super portraits, paradoxically drawn to distort images for mental interpretation, recognition and further digestive processes Ademilokun and Taiwo (2013).

2.1.2.2 Comic strip

This is a form of cartoon intended to tell a sequential story or display a kind of narrative meant to criticize, educate or satirize a situation or an individual policy with captions to accompany each stage Ofor (2010). The name suggests humour which is often drawn by comics in order to appeal to the humour aspects of the public. In most cases, they are used comically to address the lapses in governance or public policies. It can also be used to depict incompetence, bad leadership, primitiveness or anti-people projections but in a way the drawing appears in a funny way.

2.1.2.3 Editorial/ political cartoons

These cartoons are drawn to disapprove political or social matters, especially daily political or social events, current matters mostly drawn from current situations Jimoh (2010). Editorial cartoons adopt humour at times to criticize individuals or organizations, or pass some comments on certain social policies, inclusive of any aspect of daily news. The views of the cartoonist can be opposing or supportive, this depends on the perspectives of the newspaper and the ideology guiding its operations. Political cartoons online spread fast as a result of technology and this is one of the reasons they attract comments because different views are expressed, some political, some apolitical. Editorial cartoons expressed opinions mainly visually with less written conversations. The inscriptions and descriptions on the sampled characters are often explanatory enough for the target audience. Understanding editorial cartoons also requires the understanding of social matters or political events in a particular place, therefore, shared-knowledge, context or inference are often required to digest the

messages they pass across. This helps the way readers assimilate the information in them since they often come with less words.

2.1.2.4 Animated/illustrative cartoons

As against still drawings, animated cartoons are computer graphics, computer drawings which are motion in nature. They can be representation of any character, animate or inanimate objects, living or dead entities. They are drawn for entertainment or education. Some animated cartoons can promote violence, sexual orientation, religious or cultural stories and so on. Educational animated cartoons have been one of the language acquisition strategies known with children from early stage of life because of the multiple colours and motion tendencies of the characters in the movies Jimoh (2013).

2.1.2.5 Violence cartoons

This kind of cartoons are meant to enhance the advancement in technology and how 3D animation is engaged to create reality or moving images, using some characters Obono (2018). Most of the animated stories are divided into two: the ones meant for children where highly coloured characters are used and the ones meant for teenagers or adult. Adult animated cartoons sometimes express violence, the use of guns and weapons in various kinds is anticipated. It is pertinent to note that colour combinations and multiple effects are parts of animated cartoons. This is important because the aim is to attract the attentions of the perceived audience.

2.1.2.6 Scientific cartoons

This cartoon expresses and teaches more about scientific breakthrough. Mostly, space, aeronautical are projected and more of galaxy representations (Obono, 2018). It is a kind of cartoon that supports science and inventions for the viewers. Similarly, this variant of cartoons is used to form the interest of children in scientific matters as most of the gadgets used in the production are things relating to science. Scientific cartoons are laced with multi colours to attract the viewers.

2.1.2.7 Sexual/Adult cartoons

According to Harzog and Hager (2009), some magazines publish this type of cartoon in order to teach more about sex and sexuality. Most of these types are common in some countries where cultural beliefs are not against the publications of such.

However, there are social restrictions on the publications of adult cartoons in order to safeguard the abuse of the media, especially where children are considered.

2.1.2.8 Single/double panel cartoons

Bitner (2003) identified the two components a typical cartoon pattern would have: single panel and double panel animations. The first contains only one cartoon panel while the second type is likewise a frame that comprises two or additional cartoons. These categories are used to enlarge meaning in most cartoons, especially, where they are meant for specific communication strategy.

2.1.2.9 Interpersonal/interactional verbal codes in cartoon communications

Cartoons can be defined as a still representation of ideas, basically to express criticism, correction or to offer an explanation in a graphical form Ofor (2010). It is usually in a non-continuing format which requires cognitive interpretation based on social context understanding Ojoawo (2016). Cartoons are metaphorically placed thoughts infused into graphics in order to control the mind of readers or give them a sense of happenings around them, influence, reject, accept or condemn certain social or government policy (Eko, 2007). The political caricature, according to Sani, Naab and Aziato (2014) is a specific genre of political reporting because they are graphic representations which depict political and social issues and events, as well as the parties involved, in a direct and reduced form. Marin-Arrese (2015) submits that it is a type of discourse and message that combines caricature, humour and satire in the pictorial depiction of public or partisan figures and/or current socio-political measures, its evaluative dimension being the expression of the cartoonist's grave stance. The para-linguistic features engaged in the study are inclusive of movements, body languages, colour, gestures, postures and so on.

2.1.2.10 Representational functions in cartoon visual modes

While explaining the idea of body language and its significance in non-textual communication, Pease and Pease (2004) explain that gestures may be made with the hands, arms or body, and also include movements of the head, face and eyes, such as winking, nodding, or rolling one's eyes. Although the study of gesture is still in its infancy, some broad categories of gestures have been identified by researchers. The most familiar are the so-called emblems or quotable gestures Warren (2000). These are

conventional, culture-specific gestures that can be used as replacement for words, such as the hand wave used in western cultures for "hello" and "goodbye." A single emblematic gesture can have a very different significance in different cultural contexts, ranging from complimentary to highly offensive. Gestures can also be categorized as either speech independent or speech related. Speech-independent gestures are dependent upon culturally accepted interpretation and have a direct verbal translation. A wave or a peace sign are examples of speech-independent gestures. Speech-related gestures are used in parallel with verbal speech; this form of nonverbal communication is used to emphasize the message that is being communicated. Speech-related gestures are intended to provide supplemental information to a verbal message such as pointing to an object of discussion. Facial expressions, emotional displays of movements, distance display of gestures, eye contacts, framing, event, colour separation, gaze, emblems, vectors and other non-textual properties are embedded in the interpersonality in cartoon communication (Odebunmi, 2006).

2.1.2.11 Ideational/representational functions in cartoon textual modes

The linguistic expressions which accompany the opinions inherent in the visual cartoons on pages of newspapers are connective to the analysis of meanings in cartoons. Textual discourse is an instrument of power (Foucault, 1994); it complements meaning in a way that expands possible interpretations a reader can give to visual representation of characters. Therefore, the textual expressions sampled in this study cover the verbal communication strategies, including the use of sentences to support meanings. These expressions are used to ideate possible meanings which suit the visual properties engaged in images.

2.2 Review of related previous studies on cartoons

While cartoons have enjoyed some attention in the fields of visual communication, they have also been further expanded based on different perceptions which have been expressed by scholars as regards the mental interpretations of cartoons, especially in fields such as language, media and even in the areas of sociolinguistics.

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, Adejuwon and Alimi (2011) looks at the imbalance tendency paramount in societies and how images have been explored as codification of mental realities that investigated the inequality and inequity between

the rich and the poor masses in Nigeria. It framed the investigation through critical analysis framework with cartoons sampled in selected dailies. The paper engaged cartoons to buttress its illustration while satire was used as major tool of analysis. It admitted that partisan politics and deceptions are key areas of focus in cartoon publications through the use of tribal characters to represent various tribes and how a particular tribe in Nigeria feels superior over others. The study adopted newspaper publications as its data. Satire and humour were major instruments of discourse in the analysis to represent the state of the nation. While the study investigated activities of cartoons in newspapers, the focus basically was on ideational functions of images, the aspect of socio-cultural representations of political characters was excluded in the analysis.

Jimoh (2013) described political or editorial cartoon as a realistic performance which is designed in a single panel, non-continuing plan to make a statement or an observation on political events or social matters using the theory of Foucault's concept of *gouvernementalité*. The study explores the roles of images in democratisation process in Nigeria by selecting thirty cartoons from three Nigerian cartoonists namely: Josy Ajiboye, Boye Gbenro and Akin Onipede. These cartoonists are sampled in the paper based on the works published in the national dailies between 1983 and 1999 and which are subjected to qualitative analysis. The social-contextual realisation of image is well established in the study without much recourse to the ideational functions of cartoons, especially where election campaigns are involved. The concept of *gouvernementalite* also tilted towards the textual aspect of images rather than fusing the visual and the textual for detailed interpretations.

Eko (2007) adopted the use of cartoons to represent political office holders in some African countries as animals, using counter-discourse to represent his characters and which charts another perspective to the study of still images. This is because; the use of various animals to represent humans is not really common in the contemporary cartoon publications. Besides, the characters were at that period, portrayed as despots who had zero tolerance for any criticism during their reigns. Foucault's perception of *gouvernementalité* was the frame used to analyse the study. It further focused on the monopoly of the media by authoritarians and the abuse of power by most of the leaders. Few media that attempted to rebel or appear non-cooperative were severely

dealt with. Representation of characters is a convergence point in this particular point but the focus on authoritarianism and the abuse of power was well projected. The study explored the use of caricature and other non-linguistic features to analyse media involvement in politics to drive home its points. It further submitted that cartoons are non-linguistic features which in actual sense act as counter-discourse. The study has a very good grasp of the representational aspect of multimodality, though, it failed to include textual explorations and the concept of the theory adopted did not capture the essence of the visual analysis.

Sulistiyowati and Hidayat (2020) is an exploration of how satire plays a significant role in the analysis of historic events using cartoons. It argues that cartoons are engaged to pull public opinions on certain political matters (including elections). The study adopted a frame by Fairclough (2000) to implicitly attack the government of Indonesia and the House of Representatives over certain unfavourable governmental policies. Furthermore, the socio-cultural representations of these works of art have been the heart of the papers. However, it admits the fusion of visual-textual modes in any text best explain the meanings being projected. Where images, caricatures are engaged to attack the government or political office holders, attention is shifted to the interpersonal functions of images. For this analysis to be completed, the study could have looked at the juxtaposition of previous events and the relevance of the images to the present event. Besides, the caricature ideas were designed to critic the government of Indonesia which has a different political landscape with how politics is played in Africa. Though, the paper focused much on criticism, it did not look out for character representations of politicians and the aim was not on defamation of character.

Mohammed (2014) investigated how cartoons publications in newspapers have jeopardised the lives of newsmen as being experienced by the print media. Using the agenda-setting approach, it focuses on the means by which animations and cartoons can actually be used in a way that will guarantee the safety of the press by suggesting the trivialization of events which align with the idea of satire. It believed that situations are not that worst in Nigeria when compared to other countries of the world, a submission that differs from what Eko (2007) has posited. The study concludes that images in newspaper publications should be given much attention too. This is because, the same way verbal discourse contains non-verbal elements known as paralanguage,

which include voice quality, rate, pitch, volume, and speaking style, as well as prosodic features such as rhythm, intonation, and stress, so written texts have non-verbal essentials such as handwriting style, spatial arrangement of words, or the physical layout of a page. However, much of the study of nonverbal communication has focused on interaction between individuals, where it can be classified into three principal areas: environmental conditions where communication takes place, physical characteristics of the communicators, and behaviors of communicators during interaction.

Villy (2009) explored the use of cartoons and images as means of humour in communication through the adoption of General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH). Main points of attention in the study remained the use of linguistic mechanisms such as exaggeration, metaphor and contradictions to drive meanings in determining the level of humour in images. Two communication and multimodal modes were engaged in achieving this: the verbal and the non-verbal modes. The two modes were combined to evaluate how humour can be better analysed using the semiotic approach and the linguistic approach based on the argument presented in the study. The adoption of cartoons as mechanism of humour has received much attention in the discharge of visual metaphor to interpret meanings (Mohammed, 2014). This is because the three cardinals of media rest on education, entertainment and information. Studies in cartoons have revolved around these three in the main stream media, meanwhile, language has found a way to bring in a new dimension to the analysis of images via power sharing and counter-discourse strategies (Eko, 2007). The study focused mainly on the humour aspect of image analysis, the gap of whether the concept can perform criticism functions is still open.

Conner (2007) examined the sociocultural references and the political lifestyles common in certain fictions as they reflect possible interpretations of reality. Visual theory was engaged to frame the ideas in the study, to understand the messages in cartoons, readers have to go extra mile by engaging some other mental applications in order to dissect the information properly. It further stated that where information in a work of art is misconstrued, applications and reactions maybe counter-productive. It suggested that the shared-knowledge of the literal, cultural and the societal knowledge are needed in order to diagnose meanings properly in cartoons, just because

communication is very essential to the success of any publication. It suggested the use of less complex allusions in decoding messages in still images. The study does not focus on any linguistic feature in its entirety, mainly the use of simple allusions through the blend of political culture and political references have been the attention. The visual framing may have to be diversified to accommodate textual relevance in the analysis.

Andrea and Oswald (2007) introduced psychology into the study of cartoons using multiple applications of modes to determine how gender preference influences the choice of cartoon drawing and publications. It argues that female cartoonists are more meticulous than their male counterparts because, naturally, they tend to pay attention to details. It uses Humor Theory to support the idea of gender influence in drawing of cartoons. Whether this assertion is applicable to all cartoonists globally remains unanswered in the study. While the study mentally processes cartoons via the gender ideology, it did not attempt the possibility of involvement in the representational functions of cartoons.

Adedimeji (2002) investigated the significance of denotation and connotation in the concept of understanding visual communication in cartoons. The paper mentions the connective mode of substance in interpreting independent entity, something tangible and observable. It describes a substance as a thing, and semiotics deals considered as signs. These signs are highly pertinent to meaning transfers in images or any other visual discourse. To corroborate the idea of denotation in image interpretation, Ogunsiji (2000) admitted with what Adedimeji (2002) submitted that denotation is better referred to as first order signification in semiotics or the literal and central meaning of a word. Furthermore, Bitner (2003) identified the two components a typical cartoon pattern would have: single panel and double panel animations. The first contains only one cartoon panel while the second type is likewise a frame that comprises two or additional cartoons but Osho (2008) on its own also acknowledged six dissimilar classes of cartoons. These are: general interest cartoons (these forms of comics characterise public subjects that generate public remarks. They leave the readers guessing, in so doing, allowing them to infer the message from the image signified. Economic/Trade cartoons are used to emphasise trade and commerce as well as financial issues). Sociological/Ecological cartoons represent dissimilar human

endeavours or domains such as health, sport, education while social cartoons address subjects such as marriage, parties etc. Gag cartoons are used mainly for over and occasionally under-statements, also, they are used for thinking. Political cartoons represent different political gatherings and representatives who are seeking administration office.

The source of contemporary political cartoons can be traced to the 16th century. Cartoons were more developed with the use of caricature in Britain in the 1800's and political comics occasionally use wild fancy, exaggeration and great sense of hilarity in relating or depicting things that appear to be real or truthful. The political caricature, according to Sani, Naab and Aziato (2014), is a specific genre of political reporting because they are graphic representations which depict political and social issues and events, as well as the parties involved, in a direct and reduced form. Marin-Arrese (2015) submits that it is a type of discourse and message that combines caricature, humour and satire in the pictorial depiction of public or partisan figures and/or current socio-political measures, its evaluative dimension being the expression of the cartoonist's grave stance.

2.2.1 Studies on visual-textual modes

The deployment of visual-textual modes in analysing political matters has enjoyed a number of scholarly publications. O'Halloran (2008) doesn't agree that the fusion of both visual-textual modes complete the process of meaning exploration in a text. He asserts:

...the implication here is that both verbal and visual codes are seen to express the same kinds of meanings, but by different methods which draw on different semiotic systems. In any particular cultural context (Western European, for example), there may be a considerable degree of congruence between the two codes. There may also be areas of difference, areas where the verbal can express itself and the visual cannot, and vice versa. The two semiotic systems and their potential meanings are therefore neither fully conflated, nor are they wholly opposed in their respective codes. O'Halloran (2008:7)

The concept of semiotic interlock is framed within the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to analyse textuality in Economists Magazine. The study is apt as it addresses the use of communication strategies to transfer semantics. The work however, did not

include the representational aspects of cartoons, especially where the media is involved in the process of electioneering.

Orimoloye (2014) investigated the fusion of both concepts of visual-textual analysis in Etisalat advertisement leaflets as means of convincing the prospective subscribers to stay with the network. It adopts the multimodal theory to back up its claims in the visual exploration. The study is insightful because it treats the various options in still images, especially in advertising. According to the study, the visual modes can only be said to be meaningful when used with the relevant linguistic texts. However, it did not mention in-depth the core elements of image interpretation as the study is limited to Parallelism, Metonymy, Collocation and Polysemy. Meanwhile, there are other crystal semiotic codes even in the Etisalat leaflets used in the work which would have created further explicit explanation to the readers in justification of visual-textual intertextuality. Also, every image used is enmeshed in the social or political roots. The study fails to include the social or political relevance in it to further builds the multimodal explorations.

Pease and Pease (2004) explored the significance of gesture as an integral part of visual grammar. The study admits that gestures can be categorized as either speech independent or speech related, standing the claim on the aspects of visual grammar theory. The study admitted that 55% of human speech is non-verbal, 7% is verbal and 38% is vocal, talking about how we say things. Speech-independent gestures are dependent upon culturally accepted interpretation and have a direct verbal translation. A wave or a peace sign are examples of speech-independent gestures. Speech-related gestures are used in parallel with verbal speech; this form of nonverbal communication is used to emphasize the message that is being communicated. The study emphasized the relevance of the visual modes and how kinesics is highly significant in any image analysis. However, speech-related gestures are intended to provide supplemental information to a verbal message such as pointing to an object of discussion, this aspect is omitted in the study, that is, a clear fusion of both visual-textual lines. Besides, it placed the non-verbal aspect of language above other modes, thereby admitting that non-verbal activities are more important in communication.

Folorunso (2017) posited that facial expressions serve as a practical means of non-linguistic communication through the eye of multimodality theory. With all the various muscles that precisely control mouth, lips, eyes, nose, forehead, and jaw, human faces are estimated to be capable of more than ten thousand different expressions. This flexibility makes interactions via face really effectual, unless intentionally deployed. Put differently, a lot of of these poignant displays, as well as gladness, misery, annoyance, trepidation, astonishment, disgust, shame, anguish with concern are identified and pertinent to semantic interpretations in visual analysis. The study focuses on visual-textual in videos as against the functions of cartoons in social and political contexts.

From the aspect of critical discourse, Bahram (2010) submitted that the way we see verbal applications in language suggests the foundation of our social construction and individual or group relationships, and studies in sociolinguistics which explain the connection between the use of discourse and the importance of perceptions. The use of discourse, spoken or written, can come from different sources such as control, cultural or social background, region or social status have been used to focus on the realisation of identity and background by means of linguistic use in a political discourse, which is largely embedded in Norman Fairclough's norms in critical discourse analysis. The Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan during a debate in the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2009 was examined within the context of his ideological, cultural and language background and how discourse strategies were used in order to expand the scope of ideologies in relationships since language is built over the time, an idea that affects the identities individuals build over time. The paper is framed within the socio-cognitive theory and resolves that while sociolinguistics tends to study the language use in the society, the cognitive development of individuals matters in accepting or rejecting opinions from others was a major linguistic and sociolinguistics challenge. While the study attempts social contexts in textual analysis, the political representations are missing.

Odebunmi (2006) agrees that emblematic movements are frequently engaged where there is absence of dialogue, they can also go with talking. What stands in-between adapters and representational movements is informal gestures. These movements do not perform verbal functions but do work as speech supports. Informal movements are

tagged as form of hand movements which support speech, and are connected to the verbal they support. When people stand apart, it is a form of conversation on its own, because it describes the amount of gap they keep between themselves. This elicits the significance of proxemics. This confirms how we feel towards other people at a given time. In explaining distance too as an extension of communication, the study observed four main distance variables which include intimate distancing, detachment distancing, personal distancing and social distancing. Each degree of closeness speaks more about the level of closeness among people. The study is intuitive but the theoretical framework is conversational instead of social semiotic in nature.

Kamalu (2016) takes a look at the emblems of political parties in Nigeria and does an intertextual analysis of their symbols/logos along the use of colour, size and imagery to present meaning in diversity. It examines the emblems and slogans of the four main political parties in Nigeria: the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All Progressives Congress (APC), the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and the Labour Party (LP), which have become instruments of campaign and propaganda. While the emblems/logos are visual (iconic) representations of party ideology, the slogans are verbal rhetorical affirmations of what the emblems represent. Based on insights from the theory of multimodality, the study is an attempt to use a social semiotic approach in the interpretation of visual communication. The image-maker selects semiotic features that best represent the interests of the group. Visual images, like spoken and written discourses, enable viewers to understand the social functions and ideology behind a product, political or religious movement, ethnic or racial group, social services, and so on, hence image-makers endeavour not to communicate the wrong idea through misrepresentation. It is also discovered that the image-makers of political party emblems in Nigeria use visual images to communicate the ideology of a better Nigeria through political participation.

The emblems constitute a form of political discourse that frames Nigeria as an emergent democracy. The party emblems and slogans also visually communicate the understanding that democracy is gradually getting entrenched in Nigeria after three failed attempts. They communicate a positive evaluation of political democracy and participation in Nigeria and construct a scenario in which social actors rise to power through appeals to the electorate. Thus, each political party selects semiotic resources

that communicate a positive representation of self in the social and cultural contexts of the Nigerian society. This is the focal point in the agitations by semioticians that everything people see around and everything that one can see or touch have the tendency to mean a particular thing. In other words, images and objects around us speak of volumes in everything, including meanings to everything.

Warren (2000) argues that there is a mutual action which sparks nonverbal way of engagement and which can later attract interest and involvement between two interactants. According to the study, people engage glances to initiate communication, either directly or indirectly and this include using winks and movements of the eyebrow to send out communication codes. When a person has no interest in a social conversation, it is easy to identify such disinterest through the facial communications, in other words, eye movements are indicators of visual communication or interests in social setting. It also admits that when eye contacts persist for a longer period between two people, the tendency of growing intimacy is possible, these eye contacts are also referred to as gazes which include the dilation of pupils, facial fixations and blinks. All these essentials are pertinent to nonverbal communication cycle. Where deceit is activated in a person, the study argues that they tend to blink more than the usual, a theory that confirms the significance of facial expressions in dialogue. In other words, truth and deceptions can be read through the study of facial communication. However, the functional ideations of characters in texts, especially images, are not treated in the study. While the work focuses on the significance of visual modes, it did not attempt the roles of textual contributions to text analysis.

Ogungbe (2010) deviates from the notion of visual discourse but focuses on the pronominal usages in textual strategies during linguistic production of discourse strategies in the process of GSM advertising and sales promotion. The country of focus is Nigeria. Fifty-four undergraduate students of IBB University, Lapai, Nigeria who are MTN and Globacom subscribers are engaged as subjects of the study and text messages from Globacom and MTN Nigeria sent to the selected subscribers between July and September 2009 are sampled. It analyses the significance of discourse, using Systemic Functional Linguistics, complemented with Abraham Maslow's Motivation Theory as representations of analysis. The study argues that linguistic strategies such as pretentious diction, content lexis, weasel words, passive voice; discourse styles like

slanting, euphemism, glittering generalities, plain folk appeal, slogans, evasion and non-literal language are used to appeal to the interests of subscribers, these discourse strategies are observed to have further captured the interests of the subscribers, thereby controlling their decisions to continue using the telecom services and participate in the promotional contests. It concludes that MTN and Globacom engage some purposeful and persuasive linguistic patterns and discourse strategies in efficiently advertising their services to the subscribers, therefore increasing their sales base. The textual perspectives are evident in the study whereas, visual are not peculiar to it. The question of whether the visual and textual contents are prospectively fused escaped the structure of the paper. The theoretical applications are contributive to the claims in the areas of intertextuality and the ideational functions of language. However, visuality is excluded in the study and it is a total digression from language and image analysis.

Boicu (2007) investigates the textual aspect of speech rendition using Ashley Mote's political speeches as a sample, from the point of view of the speaker's use of the modal verbs that contribute to the justification or the aggravation of the illocutionary forces released by the speech acts they belong to. Mote is a British nationalist politician whose speech delivered on October 21, 2006 was sampled. The study focuses on the two key semantic values of modal verbs in English, the epistemic and the deontic, leaving out whatever has to do with the visual. Mote's discursive strategies are mainly motivated by directive speech acts, while the commissive and expressive aspects are not evident in his speech. It argues that commissive acts can be effective only if the speaker meets the initial condition of credibility. A speaker's status does not enable him to perform successful commissive acts and in exchange, therefore, Mote's speech reflects directive acts that contain modal verbs which perform potential face-threatening acts. By their inherent meaning, modal verbs weaken the illocutionary force of the directive speech acts in both ways. What this means is that, the use of some acts performed in political speeches can further damage the opponents' faces and not to save them. The directive speech acts used in the sampled speech are intentionally positioned to threaten the face of other political actors or the perceived opponents. The uniqueness of the paper connects the use of politeness to discredit the opponents via the engagements of descriptive modal verbs. The study also did not

attempt anything socio-political or any visual context. However, the analysis of text is aptly delivered.

Osisanwo (2020) attempts the textual discourse in campaign contextualisation. It argues that language is dynamically engaged especially in political campaign songs in South-West of Nigeria. According to the study, music is one of the ways political parties and political opponents express ideas and party ideologies. They sell candidates to prospective voters via good music and themes. Music being an art of science which combines vocal sounds and other sounds to produce harmony or special expression performs more than the usual and they contain good textual lines (Molino, 2000). It ranges from sounds to words and to the mixture of both, with other musical instrument (Ojoawo, 2016). Dialectal and discourse features are used to win the interest of the prospective voters in order to invite and win them over to the party of an aspiring contestant. Such linguistic choices are repeatedly engaged in the rhetoric of the scripts delivered shortly after elections are conducted. During electioneering preparations, campaign posts and songs are made and presented through diverse media and at political party gatherings, captions are created on bill boards, flyers and souvenirs, this is because it is a form of advertisement where the aspiring political contestant is logically packaged like a product, advertised and traded for expected votes (Molino, 2000). Once persuaded, the electorate buy into their ideology. The study sampled textual renditions in the political campaign jingles used during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in south-western Nigeria via YouTube uploads. Authority, Categorisation, Comparison, Consensus, Counterfactuals, Disclaimers, Euphemism, Evidentiality, Example/Illustration, Hyperbole, Implication, Irony, Metaphor, National Self-glorification, Negative other-presentation, Norm expression, Number game, Polarisation, Presupposition and Dramatisation are derived from the words found in music lines. The study submits that there is a vital connection existing between the political campaign wordings and the Nigerian socio-cultural spatial setting that produced them.

Bello (2013) is a convergence with the pronominal attempts in presidential speeches. It attempts the use of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the complex attributes of political associations and identities that go into political speeches of Nigerian presidents using one as a template. It agrees that leadership problem is recurring and

lack of critical appreciation of crises of interests thrive in political scope of the country. It conducts a linguistic evaluation of a given political discourse in Nigeria in the mode of close engagement with the discursive engagement and context of the discourse. It asserts how personal pronouns are used by President Jonathan in his political declaration of interest speech to construct various identities and to express sentiments and sympathies in order to probably promote a political agenda. Speech analysis has been the focus of the study but it did not align with semiotic analysis in terms of the framework adopted.

Osisanwo (2020), while looking at the strategies in linguistic application patterns in political speech of the Independent Electoral Commission in Nigeria, examines the textual strategies used in discourse constructions in the depiction of the rescheduling of the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. The INEC Chairman's speech of the delay shows how the electoral body addressed the discourse issues logically via the approach by Caffi's deresponsibilisation and responsabilisation, and Hyland's Stance theory as complementary approach. 1624-word speech was subjected to discourse analysis which posits that there were two main constructions of the 2019 election rescheduling namely; commitment to a successful democratic conduct and logistical challenges. The discourse constructions were achieved via certain strategies including the use of historical reference to antecedent success, emotional appeal and blackmail, self-glorification, blame avoidance and attribution, assuring and reassuring of control, and creating common ground. These discourse strategies were further classified to include the use of speech hedging, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention or self-glorification, accompanied with discourse approaches like emotional appeal, creating common ground between the electoral body and the electorate, allotting blame to the saboteurs, assuring and reassuring the electorate of possible redemption of image. The study attempts in vast, the linguistic relevance in political speeches but did not delve into semiotic analysis or visuality.

2.2.2 Studies on multimodality and political campaigns in Nigeria

Multimodality, being a developing area in pragmatics has introduced a number of scholars to a procedure of vigilance which trains them to pay attention to all forms of communicative modes and their relationship as a meaning making resource (Ojoawo,

2016). This approach has opened much attention to the analysis of various still texts in such that scholars have written a number of works on it.

Akpati (2019) investigates the relationship between multimodality, the interpretive aspect of the semiotic approach and the discourse study of some online cartoons used in the 2015 general election as used by Nairaland forum. The paper addresses the verbal and the non-linguistic discourse strategies which were adopted to track the meaning patterns in the 2015 presidential election. The linguistic and the extra sentential components of language use in the adopted political cartoons were expressly developed to sample the meaning-making strategies in the cartoons. The multimodality aspect of the approach unearths the potential relationship the semiotic approach has with the field of pragmatics in such that the pragmatic potential was given prominence. This buttresses what Ojoawo (2016) has first described while explaining the idea of multimodality as an offshoot of pragmatics. To consolidate the use of non-linguistic meaning components, the paper submits that much of satire, exaggeration and mockery dominated the party electioneering with less attention to the visual meaning components. These meaning components were engaged as success strategies and communication strategies by the political parties involved. This was done using the approach developed by Machin and May's Multimodal critical discourse analysis. The study further explores the parties' ideologies as instruments of propaganda by oppositions during the electioneering, a strategy it considered more subtly critical to the winning strategy designed by the two main political parties. Ideologies, social construction and power relation were central to the research. There have been certain semiotic developments in the political and editorial cartoons deployed in the 2019 presidential electioneering as against the ones deployed in 2015 which the study would not have been able to capture.

El-Falaky (2019) explores the representation of revolutions which Egypt witnessed in the light of multimodal discourse exploration. Intentionality in semiotic analysis, semiotic interpretations and ideologies are central to the work in such that images are subjected to Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodality approach to visual-verbal analysis. The unrest Egypt passed through and the economic crisis were depicted using visual analysis to further explain the pragmatic nature of visual discourse. The pragmatic exploration was a divergent to the political aspect of cartoons. The

newspaper, Al-Ahram, which carried political ideologies, , represented social events using visual representations as means of meaning-making. These meaning-making strategies were passed to the audience using certain political ideologies identified as coded means of communication. The paper concludes that the images used in Al-Ahram newspapers during the crisis in the Arab region followed the syntagmatic and paradigmatic patterns of western imagery but it did not include the representations of oppositions as instruments of defamation in the aspect of political cartoons. It posited that cartoons are serious business and ideologies are better explained following certain serious patterns in communication of ideas.

Ayodeji (2014) investigates the humorous aspect of societal cartoons as widely projected with satire and representations of the Nigerian Police Force being the agents of corruption. Hence, the non-linguistic features such as colour, postures, iconic representations, character representations, the use of symbols and imagery enhanced the components of meanings in the cartoons sampled. The non-verbal aspect of multimodality approach is enhanced via the use of certain non-visual approaches. Characters were represented using police in Nigeria as targets, especially in the matters relating to financial disloyalty and corrupt practises using the perspectives of *Tell*. The paper submits that readers can have multiple interpretive perspectives when dealing with cartoons; therefore, it recommended social index, shared knowledge as means of interpretive patterns. Also, it emphasised the visuals over the verbal, claiming that, visual as an aspect of multimodality commands much meanings when compared with the verbal mode of interpretation. There was no ground for comparison in this study, in other words, a particular government agency is targeted and not aspects of political cartoons being used as agents of tacit campaigns.

Omorebi (2021) explores the visuality and dynamism of multimodality in the last presidential election which was held in the United States. The rarity is the attempt to combine the Relevant Theory, Multimodality Theory and the Cooperative Principles in the analysis of visual objects in cartoons. The paper argues that, the engagement of visuality and multimodality gave a rise to the emergence of the candidate of the Democratic Party, Joe Biden. It was a keenly contested election between the Republican candidate, President Donald Trump and the Democratic Party candidate, Joe Biden in 2020 both of which were represented using various single-panel and

double panel cartoons to depict the functionality of multimodality. The paper opines that elections and politics have well known to be full of power tussle and via the help of critical discourse analysis, it was able to discuss the place of relevance in meaning transition via the use of images. Meanwhile, the use of communicative principles was craftily engaged in the paper to prove the extended potential of discourse use in the analysis of selected images. However, the use of caricature or visual components as instrument of propaganda was not fully covered in the paper, especially where African factors are involved in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria.

While Omosebi (2021) investigated the possibility of pragmatic combination in analysing political events, Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) posits that using semiotic modes such as vectors and descriptive non-verbal codes can be described as surrogacy in language. By this, it argued that artefacts in election campaigns are relevant semiotic resources which are meaning-centred, especially during rallies in the South-Western part of Nigeria. Political campaigns in the 2011 electioneering featured a lot of semiotic displays via the use of artefacts, inscription on clothes, vests and caps to convey meaning. The purposive selection of printed words on the artifacts was a way of subtle campaign during the election period. While explaining the concept of surrogate language, the paper submits that surrogate languages agree for the change of human speech into comparable sounds for transmission, achievable via certain signalling classifications. In other words, the paper argues that meaning is cultural, outside of which comprehension may become foggy. Drums, flutes, instruments are customised meaningfully from one culture to another; this explains the use of discourse production in cultural tunes. This is also non-verbal connecting the verbal mode to produce extended interpretation of language via culture. This is another way Yoruba politicians register their ideologies in their perceived audience, in order to gain their votes and loyalty. The paper is a bit of digression from the usual negative to positive or positive to negative interpretation popular with political multimodal analysis. It focuses more on the use of these cultural artefacts to create awareness, mobilise people, entertainment and establishment of oral discourse.

Hassan (2019) examined the dual complementary roles of semiotic resources in communication. The depiction of social and political procedures in a country, particularly during electioneering, was central to the crux of the study as it explored

the dual functionality of linguistic and non-linguistic resources in semantic and multimodal modes interpretations through the eye of multimodality theory. 14 cartoons from two Nigerian newspapers (*Leadership* and *Daily Trust*) which depicted social and political events were sampled to drive home semiotic and non-semiotic discourse strategies, while the former gather the modes needed for possible interpretation via the use of representative format of communication, the latter was described as complementary in achieving better, clearer possible interpretations. In other words, linguistic resources in the sampled images provided surface meanings which equally translate to the surface meaning interpretation while the non-linguistic semiotic resources provided the readers the hidden (pragmatic) meanings needed.

The question of whether the target audience is able to grab the message conveyed by the sender who is a cartoonist or the source of such communication is crucial in the passage of information. The paper posits that pragmatic meaning of the semiotic resources is superior to the linguistic resources in any passage of information. Where serious political issues are being discussed, the study recommended the engagement of semiotic resources to decode hidden meanings. The study examines the semiotic resources in the 2019 elections, especially the ways political events were projected via the use of image, language interactions, not minding the roles of the discourse in the media in achieving participatory roles. Though, animators may believe in the redeeming prowess of image, language interactions, part of the problems the nation has in governance is the undying corruption (Ogundiya, 2010). This factor alone has firmly impoverished the masses in the country, increased the percentage of youth unemployment index, increased crime rates, worsened insecurity and created weak economy in the country. These economic issues have been used by cartoonists such as Hassan (2019), Eko (2007), Olowu (2014) to describe the state of the nation while depicting the leadership lacuna in the administrative styles of political office holders in Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular.

Ayodeji (2014) is a multimodal approach to the social semiotic analysis of cartoons in the *TELL*. The purpose was to describe the visual components and communicative devices employed by the cartoonist to send his message to the viewer/readers. The cartoons essentially were used to satirise represented phenomenon. In the study, the result showed that semiotic resources such as colour, image, symbols and icons, gaze

and posture enhance the semantic quality of the cartoons. The study reveals very strongly and establishes the potentials of visual images to convey meaning beyond the verbal language in any human society. The job of a cartoonist is to lampoon albeit surreptitiously. He tries to attack the represented phenomenon through the convention of satire. This is exactly what the cartoonists of *TELL* news magazine have done. In all the cartoons selected for this study, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is the represented entity. Attempts are seriously made by the cartoonists to lampoon the NPF and subsequently bring into limelight the social ills bedeviling the NPF. *TELL* in its column 'cartoon extra' makes satirical representations of all the vices associated with the NPF. Of these therefore, corruption is the chief, and it is thus made a subject of satire in the cartoons.

2.2.3 Studies on election and electioneering in Nigeria

Election process has been described as means of selecting people to occupy the position of power, either in politics or any other leadership position (Gambo, 2015). The idea has pushed for political discourse in many themes of scholarship submissions. According to the paper, electioneering and democracy have been two parallel lines in Nigeria when it comes to how candidates vying for positions assume the do-or-die stand. Considering the methods by which election results are being manipulated to suit governors and influential people in the society, the local government election in Kano State as a case study, it argued that such manipulation has been the bane of democratization or the consolidation of bad governance from the grassroots. The 2014 local government election which was held in Kano State was described as violence-filled in which the will of the people who voted was upturned via irregularities and political manipulations. The paper submitted that undue influence and manipulations in elections have grave danger to the survival of democracy in Nigeria.

Soetan (2012) aligned with the fact that, part of the electioneering influence in Southwest is the engagement of music during campaigns. There are different styles and methods politicians adopt in ensuring victory after election in which music is very central. While the paper admitted that the use of music and artistes at political rallies is methodically good, it argued that throwing jabs at the opponents via the use of instigative tunes, drums and lyrics can fuel violence in election periods. The south-

western part of the country, according to the submission, has a number of musicians who are mainly political in their lyrics, a move the paper posited is dangerous to national unity and political alignment. The point of convergence with Gambo (2015) has been the end result which has always been violence in the midst of campaigns and election processes.

In order to foster better political campaigns, electioneering and election processes in Nigeria, Sunday (2015) argued that engaging internet and social media platforms can be a better option for electioneering in the country. It described electioneering as means of campaigning for or against any candidate and issue that is on the ballot. It is the practice of working actively to gain votes for a candidate in a selection. In another phrasing, electioneering means soliciting for support or opposition to a candidate or issue to be voted upon at the election or polling place in question, by means of personal persuasion, electronic magnification of the human voice, or the display or distribution of campaign resources, offering or distribution of food, drink, or any other material benefit in a manner calculated to encourage credit, support, or opposition to a candidate or issue.

Going by the global awareness of over 16 million internet users in the country, the paper insists that it will definitely be a revolution should the internet and social media be adopted as means of facilitating electioneering. The doubt was on the issue of how mature the young minds, the social media handlers of various political parties will manage such a revolution since it is a new trend in global communication. The study is predictive of soft violence and verbal wars in the future based on the limited exposure of social media users. It can actually be another way of fuelling violence. Communication is very vital and should it be misconstrued or negatively received; the effects may be reactionary. Therefore, the question of what advantage social media has over the contemporary media became the crux in the study. The new media such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook were sampled in the work to consolidate the argument of whether soft platforms can be helpful in the sustenance of credible electioneering in the country. However, the space of campaigns in elections is still irreplaceable. While explaining the significance of campaign in electioneering processes, Ademilokun and Taiwo (2017:3) submits that:

Campaign is a vital aspect of politics. In a sense of the act, that is seeing it from the point of view of marketing, it is simply an exchange of promises from the candidates for votes by the electorate. However, looking at a political campaign as a discourse, it goes beyond the mere use of words to gain votes. In their bid to persuade, writers of political campaigns dwell on policy utterances which address past deeds, future plans, or general goals as well as character comments, which address personality qualities, leadership ability or ideal. Beyond these, the campaign as a discourse shapes the relations of power and struggles over power among the political actors. In this study of political campaigns, therefore, our focus is to link the discursive text with the wider social and cultural structures and processes. The overall goal is to explore how political actors engage and manipulate language to project their images as well as those of their parties. The notion of power is central to this study. Political campaigns can be seen as struggles over certain interests and the goal is the maintenance of unequal power relations and dominance.

Ladan-Baki (2016) explored the Nigerian electioneering processes in 2015 general election in the south-south part of the country. According to the submission, hardly can there be any election in Nigeria without strings of violence attached. Nigerian politicians have seen election as a ‘compulsionary’ affair to which they employ any means to win election as against the wishes of the electorates. The paper investigated the mayhem witnessed in the 2015 general elections in which many lives and properties were lost and destroyed. It therefore aimed at discussing factors that raised violence in one geopolitical zone in the country and why there was less violence in other geo-political zones of the country, especially in the Northern states and south-west states of Nigeria. The conclusion of the paper was simple, that the south-south has much political unrest as a result of the opposition party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) trying to win elections against the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in the region. The study opines that whoever emerges at the federal level determines who should win at the state levels; therefore, it would be disgraceful for the PDP in the south-south states to lose elections to the opposition party, APC.

Sunday (2021) examined the use of hate speeches and other propaganda publications to tackle the opponents and gain the favour of the electorate through the sociogonitive

analysis of the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. Character assassination, verbal assaults dominated the exchanges during the electioneering in which the two leading political parties, the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) got involved in a bid to discredit one another. The paper opined that shared mutual knowledge played significant roles in the hate speech patterns adopted by the two parties, the result of which frightened the electorate. It argues that the term 'hate speech' barely existed in political campaigns ever witnessed in the history of Nigeria until the 2015 general elections came during which the incumbent president then, Ebele Jonathan of the PDP was challenged by Muhammadu Buhari of the APC which came as a result of coalition of some other political parties in Nigeria. It focuses on the verbal approaches engaged by the two political parties to expose the leadership weaknesses in one party and used such an advantage to boost the face of their party. Dr. Ebele Jonathan who was the president as of the time mentioned was described as a candidate voters should not trust while the APC was described as a danger to democracy. He asserted that the media also occupies a crucial role in amplifying the cores of hate speeches in the campaigns.

Also, the sociocultural import of verbal strategies manifested the perceived character assassination strategies in the campaigns of the parties. Religion extremism, poor economy, poor leadership styles, tyranny and a lot of character deficits were used freely among the politicians. The paper submits that using verbal attacks stimulates sentiments which may eventually affect the choices of the prospective voters and this may not be healthy for a developing nation like Nigeria. The political parties were not really focused on electoral promises, only verbal attacks. Nevertheless, the verbal attacks were a divergent from media engagement in campaign for or against desired candidates.

Ojekwe (2016) shared a different opinion as regards electioneering in Nigeria, a typical example of the general election which was conducted in Lagos State in 2015. During the time of Governor Akinwunmi Ambode, several election advertisements were played in the media, songs were written and posters were placed all around Lagos State. The study argues that voting behavioural patterns in the citizens is less affected via all these campaign strategies. Despite the use of strong verbal expressions and convincing media strategies, the behavioural patterns still have low response. The

campaign strategies of the All Progressives Congress candidate, Akinwunmi Ambode were sampled in order to ascertain the use of language in advertisements and whether these strategies have any positive effect on the voting patterns. The paper concludes that:

electorate was not largely influenced by Ambode's ad campaign, which in turn suggests that all political ad campaigns might have little effect on an electorate's voting behaviour. If that is the case, irrespective of whether political candidates advertise or not, the electorates have a preconceived choice of candidate and exposure to ad campaigns of other contestants does little to change that choice. Such convictions could be a result of party affiliation, word of mouth, strong opinion leaders, simple personal appeal or many other unknown factors. This would seem to contradict the sociological model of voting behaviour (Ojekwe, 2016: 25)

Opeibi (2019) explored how social media engagements are changing the ways politics and electioneering are played in Nigeria, especially how these technologies encourage fresh ways of persuading electorate during political campaigns. Explicitly, the work concentrates on the increasing awareness of the use of Twitter for electioneering purposes and public engagement between 2012 and 2015. The technical approach to social media data was done via the Computer-Mediated Communication and Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis proposed by Herring (2001). Certain microblogging stakes from the Twitter handles of two main political parties and their political contenders were sampled to arrive at certain discourse extractions embedded in the tweets. Supplementary Twitter stakes on election issues during the period complemented the selected data. The discourse extractions follow the contents of substantial textual structures and communication patterns in the online partisan discussion that sheds light on the convincing usage of inventions as discourse tactics. The study therefore points to the sociality of government and socio-communicative landscapes of Twitter as a campaign tool to muster support and entice voters in an emerging democracy. Apparently, the study did not attempt anything on visuals but the focus has been on the textual.

Wayra (2019) focused on the comparative of discourse usages in both Nigeria and the United States of America. Interestingly, the comparativeness of the political terrains in

the two countries attempts to judge whether societal placements affect the use of derogatory words or it is just situational. This explains the use of discourse which may differ from one society to another. The principle of quality is guaranteed based on statement of reason where the paper also posits the specificity of statement of campaigns and sincere societal solutions. It linked the patterns of hate speeches uttered in the 2015 and 2016 presidential elections using a total of 28 hate speeches sourced from online posts and analyzed using the van Dijk's model of Critical Discourse Analysis.

The descriptions of the odium speeches were on the question of party attachment, religion, ethnicity/racism, personality/trust, health, education, and gender/sexual orientations. The sampled speeches are linked to socio, economic, cultural and political realities in the individual countries. The speeches expressed by Nigeria politicians depicted the state of intolerance in political differences based on the constructions, question of personality/trust or health status while in the USA, the political players paid more attention to religious intolerance, gender/sexual orientations and personality/trust of the individual entrants. The study argues further that in the process of using discourse contractions among the politicians in the United States, there was no attack on gender as against what is experienced in the case of Nigeria campaign system. Moderately, the political contestants in USA have more hate speeches from their supporters different from what we have in Nigeria. The paper therefore concludes that, issues should be addressed in campaign speeches instead of attacking personalities, ethnicity or religion in order to avoid conceivable viciousness often associated with hate speeches in political contests and arguments. It is textual in nature; the visual aspect of discourse is not attempted.

The idea projected by Waya (2019) is horizontally in agreement with what Omilusi (2017:2) has projected that:

Political analysts are of the view that hate speech remains one of the features of political campaigns, not only in Nigeria but also in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa. Nigeria's political history, particularly since the first elections held in the country under the 1922 Clifford Constitution, has been experiencing pockets of crisis that could be traced to hate speech, among other anti-social behaviours. For instance, prior to the 2015 General Elections in

Nigeria... many political watchers, local and international observers and of course the entire citizenry were concerned about the spate of hate speeches that characterized the political campaign messages and adverts of the two main political parties. As a result of this, there was palpable fear that the Nigeria state was on the edge of a precipice...

The paper submits that hate language is one of the landscapes of electioneering in Africa generally, Nigeria in particular and in other parts of the world. Nigeria's political past, mainly since the first votes cast in the country under the 1922 Clifford Constitution, has experienced lots of crisis that could be traced to hate language, among other anti-social conducts. Before the 2015 electioneering in Nigeria, many political spectators, local and international observers and the entire citizenry were concerned about the spate of hate languages that branded the political movement messages and posters of the two key political parties. As a result of this, there was intense dread that the Nigeria state was on the edge of a cliff which was a clear indication the country might fall into irredeemable crisis. However, visuality also contributes to hate speeches via representation. This was not explored.

Clare (2019), in a bid to buttress the fact that Africa generally is faced with wobbled political crisis during electioneering, examined the party-political discourse of the presidential elections in Zambia with a view to consolidating the discursive strategies of this discourse. It investigates one of the presidential intrants during the campaigns in the August 11, 2016 elections, using the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) theoretical framework. The foremost question answered in the focus is premised on how discursive practices are achieved in political discourse by employing certain verbal devices and how they are used by politicians to achieve their purposes and desires. The paper samples a number of political rallies by one of the leading political applicants which are conducted across the country, Mr Hakainde Hichilema. It submits that the selected candidate engaged discourse strategies such as allusion, propagandistic language, and provocative language in order to achieve political results after the electioneering. The study concludes that while the discourse continues to be an effective platform for political engagements and power display, it also highlights the cultural, linguistic, and social factors which reflect on the language use of political actors in Zambia, especially while the political aspirants jostle for projected victory. It

is of note here that during electioneering, the use of allusion is prominent in political terrain being engaged as a potent language tool. According to Clare (2019:4) which states:

The knowledge of history is important in politics, and as such historical allusion turns out to be an essential feature in political discourse. Historical allusion is demonstrated when speakers make allusions to historical facts in their speeches to emphasise on the points they make. Historical allusions are in essence influential proclamations that are used to build flashbacks in discourses. For the audience to comprehend the arguments being made through such allusions, they require some acquaintance of the contexts of the historical facts being delivered.

In other words, historical and social knowledge are crucial to the projected interest in audience involvement while using discourse in political rallies in order to carry the prospective voters along. The textual analysis in the paper could have been better if the visual is fused along the possible semantic claims. Allusions are better placed when historicalization is woven between the visual and the textual.

Shandarma and Mgbemena (2015) investigated the language of political discourse with emphasis on the linguistic structures of two significant political languages made by two presidential candidates in Nigeria: Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressive Congress (APC). The strategies employed by the speakers while communicating their ideologies foreground effective persuasion at lexical and syntactic levels. It does this via the linguistic instrument of linguistic descriptive and discursive approach to language analysis. The discourse engaged by the speakers reflect some discourse features including apt register, subject specific items, personal pronoun referencing and endearing items, among others. It further asserts that political discourse comprises a wide and diverse set of discourses, genres, registers such as: policy papers, ministerial words, government press releases or press conferences, governmental discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches but, Irrespective of the genre, political discourse is characterised by the fact that it is spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors, including members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties, candidates in office. The study did not explore

how communicative aptitude can manipulate listeners using image representations or character representations.

2.2.4 Studies on representations

Godswill (2023) conducted a textual exploration of political cartoons during the Covid 19 pandemic in 2020. The perceptions of Nigerians in reaction to various corrupt practices, governmental policies and errors are highlighted in the study using gratification theory to push the agenda of representations. Comics, satires are adjusted to accommodate the ways Nigerians perceived the government, especially as government officials are represented on Nairaland using cartoons. The study covers events between March and April, 2020 during the proclamation of lockdown and when only Whatsapp and Facebook were the major means of communication. Satire was used lavishly to mock political office holders via inefficiency and lack of promptness representations. Nevertheless, there is no reference to anything electioneering or social context in the study. Also, the gratification theory does not capture the intrinsic of cartoon analysis as much as the social semiotic approach could have done.

Akpati (2019) investigated the visual-textual patterns of representations of political players in the 2015 elections in Nigeria using visual strategies such as exaggeration, satire and mockery. The two major political parties were also projected using various representational cues to describe the limitations and other extralinguistic strategies in images to transfer semantics. In other to drive this, the study engages Machin and Mayr's multimodal critical discourse analysis to project how parties were represented while trying to grab visibility and acceptability. All Peoples Congress (APC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) are sampled along the visual options provided but the representational functions of political actors in these parties are not explored.

Oamen (2021) examined gender representations in political cartoons using Kress and van Leeuwen's Socio Semiotic Approach together with Critical Discourse Analysis. Semiotic choices such as pronominal markers, speech acts, visual metaphor, salience, emphasis, and framing were deployed to establish gender inequality in the representations of the female characters in cartoons. It concludes by recognising the fact that gender equality is being resisted among Nigerian cartoonists. While the study

introduces gender line to the drawing and meanings in cartoons, it does not probe the involvement of the media in politics.

Sharndama (2016) while describing the significance of pronominal engagements to describe character representations, it ascribes that this class of speech further describes existing entities or participants, either primary or secondary as referential pointers in a discourse. The paper argues that pronouns or any other class of speech in an attempt to describe represented participants do not only serve the purpose of representations alone but also to express identity and ideologies. Sharndama (2016:7) submits that:

...the pronouns, which political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. They can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency. ... the use of pronouns can tell us a lot about how much responsibility a speaker wants to assume for an idea

In other words, textuality expresses more than mere presentations of letters, it tells more about characters, their responsibilities and the purpose for which they function. The paper exposes how textual applications can further shed more light on identity and recognitions. More attention is given to textual representations in the paper over the visual and no attention is given to creation of events in marketing or demarketing of political representatives in cartoons.

2.2.5 Studies on general elections in Nigeria

According to the Commonwealth report (2019), Nigeria gained its independence on October 1, 1960. As a result of this, Nigeria's citizen decree was intermittent by frequent martial revolutions. During the year 1999, a new constitutional structure was designed and a neutral government was later formed. Ever since that period, Nigeria establishes continuously, its democratic practises. Nigeria, with a population of almost two hundred million residents according to the United Nations estimates in 2019, has a central structure of thirty-six states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) which is situated in Abuja.

In the 2015 Presidential elections, General Muhammadu Buhari of the APC won, though, the elections were postponed by six weeks for security reasons. As a result of the victory for the opposition party, Goodluck Jonathan, the incumbent president as of then, accepted the outcome of the elections and there was a peaceful transition of

power to an opposition party for the first time in Nigeria's history. This and the conduct of the electoral process raised the bar for the 2019 elections. Since 2015, concerns around security, economic hardship, recession, increasing unemployment and anti-corruption efforts have been the main challenges dominating public discourse (Osisanwo, 2020b).

A lot of political parties (91) were also registered before the elections which were scheduled to hold on the 23rd February, 2019 and 73 candidates were jostling for the presidential position. However, the main political parties remained the ruling APC and the main opposition PDP. A new alliance of United Political Parties (CUPP), formed in 2018 and which consisted of thirty opposition parties approved the candidature of Atiku Abubakar of the PDP as its candidate for the 2019 elections. The candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari won the election after the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC declared him the winner in 2019. In conclusion, Ademilokun and Taiwo (2017) agrees that electoral crises have constantly been traced to the management of political communication strategies. Being a linguistically, culturally and ethnically mixed country, words of key political players have the tendency to raise the polity and lead to electoral violence.

The need for political cartoons becomes imperative looking at the lapses in most of the studies sampled. The representational functions, the socio-contextual needs and the meaning-making techniques in marketing and de-marketing political actors are where these images and their interpretations will be relevant.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The study adopts Kress and van Leeuwen's Multimodal Social Semiotic Approach (1996, 2006), complemented by Halliday's (1987) Systemic Functional Linguistics, in order to account for the visual-textual choices in the sampled texts. This approach is suitable for this work as it assists to explore the adoption of various modes to convey meanings through the use of political cartoons. The theory is arranged to supply the needed tools which are needed within a communicative vantage representations of the selected images.

2.3.1 Multimodal theory

Multimodality holds that people converse and interact with each other, not just through letters (which is one mode) but also through utterance, gesture, gaze, and visual forms (which are other modes) that appear in a text. It also looks at the many different modes that people use to communicate with each other and to express themselves. Additionally, the term multimodality simply means making out meanings from diverse modes. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) assume that representation, colour, music, lettering and other visual modes are like language and they can concurrently fulfil and realize the three broad communicative metafunctions as language does. In their view, image and other visual modes can represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system. Furthermore, there are many ideational choices available for visual sign-making in visual communication. Halliday holds that language is a semiotic mode and any semiotic mode has to represent three communicative band metafunctions, namely ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction. Based on Halliday's submission, Kress and Van Leeuwen use a slightly different terminology in discussing the meaning of image in visual communication: representational instead of ideational; interactive instead of interpersonal; and compositional instead of textual.

Representational

Representational aspect of the theory holds that every interaction between the society, humans or things can be represented or encoded in a visual form that viewers can relate with. The concept bifurcates into two major subsets: narrative and conceptual. The narrative concept discusses how participants are represented during an event or interactions and it is important to note that narrative processes bifurcate into action, reaction, speech process and mental process, and conversion processes. Each subset discusses the actions of the represented participants, their reactions in a text which can be interpreted, the utterance they make and how this utterance can be processed through intellect. This is what the mental process does. The Action process has an Actor who is the doer of an action in a scene, it also contains the Goal which is the receiver of such an action (transactional) or without a Goal, which is non-transactional. However, when representations of actions include only the Goal it is called an Event; it implies that something is happening without a visible negotiator that is responsible for

the event (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Reactional processes, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), denote representation of reaction of participants depicted by formation of the 'direction of the glance of one or more of the represented participants' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 67). Additionally, the participant who does the looking is referred to as the Reacter (which could be human or an animal) while the receiver is called Phenomena. Reactional process can also be transactional (the viewers could see the reactor) or non-transactional (the viewers could not see the reactor). Speech process is presented via dialogue balloons in order to relate the speakers, called Sayers, to their speech. This speech is called Utterance. The same is applicable to mental processes just that in dialogue, speakers and speech are replaced by thought balloons, thinkers (Sensors) and thought (Phenomenon). Narrative structures also contain secondary participants, called Circumstances who could be related to the setting of an event (locatives) or are detached from the event (Accompaniment).

The conceptual aspect of the theory explains the events happening and the class structure of the participants in a text. It is divided into the following: classificational processes which compare participants with each other in a way that can either show hierarchy (Overt taxonomy) or devoid of hierarchy (covert taxonomy). Analytical processes which describes a participant called Carrier and other things which can be used to describe him and the symbolic processes, which could be attributive or symbolic. The attributive classification describes the carrier or represented participant while the symbolic attribute reads meaning to what the participant is doing Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Interactive

This is what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:42) refers to as the "social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object (participant) represented". In order to confirm the interactive tendencies among participants, gaze, social distance and the angle from which the participant is viewed. There is a meaning which can be read to every facial expression. A mere gaze could express desire, social bond or show class of the participants. Other form of kinesics can also elicit meanings in social interactions.

Composition

Different standards are attributed to pieces of information following a centre-margin alignment. The centre is reserved for the nucleus of information, whereas the margins are similar and subservient to the centre (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). In other words, the ways modes and participants are integrated in such that they command meanings explains the idea of compositional aspect. The position of a piece of information also speaks more about the importance of such information, whether it is placed at the top, middle or below.

Modes

These are socially made and culturally available material, that is, semiotic resources for representation. As indicated earlier, some of the resources include modes such as image, gesture, gaze, posture, and media such as screens, 3 D forms of various kinds, books, notes and notebooks.

Social semiotics

This is concerned with the social meanings constructed through the full range of semiotic forms, through semiotic texts and semiotic practices. (Liu, 2013). As Jewitt and Oyama (1990: 134) rightly asserts, it involves “the description of semiotic resources in terms of what can be said and done with images (and other visual means of communication), and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted. In other words, it relates to construction and interpretation of visuals.

Participant

This refers to the ‘personality’ involved in the visual enterprise. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) recognise two types of participants in their framework. They are Represented participants and Interactive participant. Represented participants refer to the people, places and things that are represented or depicted in images and texts while Interactive participants denote producers of the images, texts, movies (e.g. painters, photographers, movie producers or viewers), viewers or readers, and the represented or depicted.

2.3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics

O’Halloran (2008) postulates that Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a theory of language centred on the notion of language function. While SFL accounts for the

syntactic structure of language, it places the function of language as central (what language does, and how it does it), in preference to more structural approaches, which place the elements of language and their combinations as central. SFL starts at social context, and looks at how language both acts upon, and is constrained by social context. According to Halliday (1985), the analysis of context is broken down into field, tenor, and mode, which collectively constitute the 'register' of a text. The field refers to what is happening, the nature of the social interaction taking place, what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which language figures as an essential component. Tenor is concerned with who is taking part; the social roles and relationships of participant, the status and roles of the participants.

The mode is the symbolic organisation of the text, rhetorical modes (persuasive, expository, didactic, etc); the channel of communication, such as spoken or written, monologic or dialogic, visual contact, computer-mediated communication, telephone, and so on. The theory is an approach to linguistics that considers language as a social semiotics. Systemic Functional Linguistics is also "functional" because it considers language to have evolved under the pressure of the particular functions that the language system has to serve. Functions are therefore taken to have left their mark on the structure and organisation of language at all levels, which is said to be achieved via metafunctions. The term metafunction is particular to Systemic Functional Linguistics. In case there is uncertainty about the Systemic Functional Linguistics and Systemic Functional Grammar, it is pertinent to say that Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a model of grammar developed by Michael Halliday in the 1960s, which takes a functional approach to grammar, analysing language as a social-semiotic or communicative meaning-making. Language and interaction are defined by context and this model seeks to show how contextual meaning is expressed in grammar.

The theory, SFG, is 'systemic' in that grammar consists of a series of choices that can be made in order to express ideas; in other words, language represents a system network within which language choices are meaningful in relation to other choices that are suppressed. It is 'functional' in that the systems achieve certain functions which are realized in the lexico-grammar of the language. There are three 'metafunctions' formulated by Halliday (1994) which form the basic foundation on which Systemic

Functional Linguistics is based. Metafunctions are broadly-categorised to fundamental functions which contain different kinds of meaning within grammatical clauses. The 'experiential' metafunction includes the happenings, or the topic, of a text. The frame has become popular with scholars such as O'Halloran (2008), O'Toole (1995), Eggins (2004), Lemke (1998) tracking textual relevance in communication analysis.

Ideational function

The SFL is relatively controlled by what is referred to as Transitivity system which accounts for diverse processes such as actions, events and other emotional state (Halliday, 1985). The linguistic process here accommodates verbal functions such as feeling, saying, sensing and so on. Process in this context refers to verbs such as: feeling, sensing, saying, etc. Transitivity consists of six processes: material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal process and existential process (Halliday, 1985). It also consists of participants with different labels such as Actor, Goal, Senser, Phenomenon, Carrier, Attribute and Circumstance including cause, location, manner and instrument. In other words, language under this function provides encoding options to any speaker to transmit his thoughts via the engagements of verbal options, especially where the question of whether a verb can take an object or not. Additionally, the functionality of clausal analysis as to describing the world around is central to this system.

Verbal process

Verbal processes account for all modes of expression and indication in a text (Halliday, 1978). The participants under this function include a Sayer (the one who says something), the Receiver (the target audience), Verbiage (what is being said) and Location (where the action takes place). Additionally, it is a process that relates to verbal usages such as 'tell', 'praise', 'boast', and 'describe'. What is mentioned under this process can be projected using the whole clause analysis. Example:

- i. The patient (Sayer) complained (verbal) about pains in the back (verbiage)
- ii. The man (sayer) killed (verbal) a huge snake (receiver) in the room (Location).

Existential process

This process is realised using one participant 'Existent' and construction under this process is measured by the use of 'there' as a subject and a copular verb. Also, the use

of progressive expression is not allowed under this process (Eggins, 2004). Example is cited below:

i There was (existential) a wicked king (existent).

Behavioural process

This process is a hybrid process because it comprises the psychological aspect of language. In other words, it involves more of material and mental process. It contains verbs which are psychological. The participant under this process is called a 'Behaver' and where there are two participants, the second one is called 'Behaviour' (Eggins, 2004). For instance:

- i. The candidate of the APC (Behaver) frowned at (Behavioural) the PDP candidate (Behaviour),

Textual meta-function

For Halliday (1985), the theme is the message in a given text, which indicates the identity of text relations. This mainly explains that thematic structure is concerned with theme and rhema, and old or new information structure. Theme is primarily concerned with the form of the element occupying the initial position in the clause structure (Ojo, 2011). In another way, Halliday (1985, p. 39) sees theme as the element that functions as the starting point for the message i.e what the clause is going to be about. In other words, how language is used to express a text is the crux of this function and central to it is what Halliday (1985) refers to as Cohesion.

A text becomes meaningless and difficult to comprehend when it lacks cohesive ties. Cohesion can occur in both written and spoken discourse. Also, Eggins (2004, p. 30) in her own view, submits that cohesion means the way utterances are tied together. It states that a text has to be consistent within the context it is created. Cohesion is a grammatical notion used to link together different utterances in a way that the utterances flow from one to another within a discourse so as to have a well-written text. That is to say that it occurs when the interpretation of some elements in the discourse is dependent on that of another. When it is occurring within a sentence, it manifests in different forms such as through pronoun, repetition, punctuation, substitution and ellipsis. Cohesion is further divided into five major components:

Referential cohesion

In discourse, speakers use expressions of reference to weave utterances together. This means using pronouns or determiners to refer to the known nouns in a text. Backward referencing is known as anaphoric reference while forward referencing is called cataphoric reference (Eggins, 2004). For instance; The driver stopped the car when he realised one of the tyres was out.. The pronoun —he refers anaphorically to the noun —driver. Another example is: after several years that she has been in pain, Jumoke finally became free. From this example, the noun —Jumoke refers to —she cataphorically.

Conjunctive cohesion

This is realised when the key coordinating conjunctions such as AND, YET, NOR, SO, AS SOON AS, THOUGH, STILL, BECAUSE, SINCE, BUT and OR are used to achieve cohesion. For examples; (i) The doctor planned to attend the meeting but he could not make it. (ii) Some armed robbers attacked the man AND ran away with his car.

Elliptical cohesion

This explains the exclusion or omission of words in order to avoid undue repetition during conversational text. The man got to the place, picked his car and drove off. The noun phrase ‘the man’ has experienced elliptical cohesion here. Substitution is also one of the ways in which cohesion is achieved in discourse. By this, it means the act of removing and replacing a linguistic item with another one.

Lexical cohesion

This occurs when unity is achieved in a text using words which are cohesive lexically especially when they are treating same topic. There are four varieties of lexical cohesion according to Ogunsiji, Dauda and Yakubu (2012, p. 56): repetition, synonymy, antonymy and collocation.

Coherence

When there is a unity of structure and texture in discourse, the concept of coherence is relevant (Halliday: 1985). Coherence as a concept in discourse explains how some utterances are related through the interpretation of performance (Ogunsiji, Dauda and Yakubu, 2012:57). Also, in discourse, coherence shows how a particular instance of language use complies with a shared knowledge. A shared knowledge aids the

possibility of text interpretation between two participants in a conversation. In summary, a text has to be consistent and coherent, using certain cohesive devices like connectives.

Interpersonal function

Halliday (1985) agrees that no speaker talks in isolation but he talks to others via the use of certain linguistic choices. These choices allow interactants to assume roles and express feelings. Meaning in interpersonal is realised via lexico-grammar through the systems of Mood & Modality. The Mood system controls the exchange of ideas between interactants by conveying speech roles such as getting information, demanding for goods and services. Therefore, declaratives, questions are linguistically placed while interrogatives and commands are placed as imperatives.

Clause structure

It is pertinent to mention that the main units identified with SFL are: sentence, clause, phrase, word also, morpheme according to their rank scale. Each member in a unit has its own class. For example, nominal, verbal, adjectival, prepositional and adverbial classes make system of choices available. The clause structure is essential in this system as it identifies functionality or distributes functionality among the ideational function of language, interpersonal function of language and textual function of language.

Basically, thoughts in linguistics are woven into clausal structure to determine how expressions are layered in sentence arrangement Biber and Leech (2002). SFL identifies seven classifications of clause structure under the sub reference of Noun Phrase and Verb Phrase. Other phrases like adjectival, adverbial, pronominal phrases are added for further meaning placements. According to Graham (2014), the seven categories of clause structure in SFL are stated below:

1. 1 Subject + Verb +Object (The man+Stole+The bag)
2. Subject+verb (The man+ Wept)
3. Subject+Verb+Adjunct (My family+ Left+That evening)
4. Subject+Verb+Complement(James +Appears+ Happy)
5. Subject+Verb+Complement+Object (The food+Makes+Me+ Sick)

6. Subject+Verb+Object+Adjunct(John+ Held+ The ball+ Tightly)
7. Subject+Verb+Object+Object(Dare + game+ His friend+ A gift)

2.4 Organization of the theory

All components in multimodality analysis are seen as relevant. In other words, there is no artefact in communication cycle which does not pass a message across because all signs, symbols make specific sense (Kress, 1996). Since the focus of this study is on representations, concepts are captured to reflect the frame in the work.

Furthermore, the theory recognizes two basic concepts of representation: narrative and conceptual. The narrative pattern explains how a represented participant is involved in the on-going action using various non-linguistic modes for meaning separations. The narrative process additionally diverges into Action, Conversational Process, Reaction, Speech Process and Mental Process. The Action process explains the represented participant as the doer of an action and whoever receives such an action is referred as a Goal. Actions are always indicated in visuals by vectors which could be in form of movements, smile, finger, nodding, gestures, political flags and any used item. In a situation where the action performed reflects only the receiver of such action, it is called an Event; it implies that something is happening without a visible agent that is responsible for the occurrence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

The conceptual narrative explains sub-tools like: class, structure or meaning in visual analysis. In other words, it answers the question of whether the represented participants are of same social class or not. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) further clarify this class structure into Analytical process, Symbolic process and Classificational process. For instance, the classificational process places the represented participants in the hierarchical points which is done to know who is prominent and who is not, who is superordinate and who is the subordinate, either the relationship is asymmetric or symmetric. This process explains the covert and the overt placements of participants in any visual text. Also, the process helps in connecting events which occur in the images together in order to process a complete cycle of communication.

2.4.1 Social context and communication modes

The relationship which exists between the society, the environment and the functionality of language (Halliday,1985). This is broken down further into tenor, field and mode. The field tells more about what is happening in a scene, and in another plain language, it answers the question of what is really going on. In any text, the field assists in identifying the event via the use of textual expressions. The tenor explains the social status of the participants and identifies the represented participants. The mode is an arranged set of artefacts, the figurative organisation of the text, rhetorical modes (persuasive, expository, didactic, etc). It also reveals the means of communication, such as verbal or textual, monologic or dialogic, visual contact, computer-mediated communication, telephone, and so on. Modes are integral to the visual analysis in the images because they present options which assist in the meaning suggestions. Utterances, images, cartoons are also culturally influenced, apart from the context where they occur.

Each mode in the visual describes the non-linguistic properties which form the templates for the analysis of the selected cartoons. This is because the modes in the images are obtained from the imagery. Furthermore, the modes in the non-linguistic representations elicit political matters, interpretations, assisted by the conceptual frame of the theoretical approach. The representations of these modes are designed to connect the field and tenor relevance. While the modes exist non-independently, they have to explain the field of events and the tenor of identities. These features in the Systemic Functional Linguistics identify the represented participants through the textual help. How textual representations assist the modes in the visual is pertinent to the analysis of the selected cartoons. While, for example, the modes in an image describe the corruption index of a political participant, the visuals identify the possibilities of where the events happen, the character being referred to, even the social status are expanded. In other words, the textual representations aid meanings much in the modes to generate meanings.

The modes, hinging on the contexts surrounding the events present political representations in diverse means. Visual modes such as colour and emblems are deployed to represent ethnics, political opponents, the laxities of the APC candidate, the hatred stealthily lodged using various vectors to support the meaning in the modes.

These modes in the visuals do not operate independently, the textual modes also present the linguistic choices to facilitate meaning exchange in the images. Various classes of linguistic choices assist the narrative process of the cartoons to buttress the activities of the visuality.

Apart from the figurative representations in the modes, there are suggestive modes too which involves kinesics. Kinesics has to do with the movement of the characters' body parts, facial expressions, gestures, and more. The idea is to identify how characters in the sampled cartoons exemplify these modes to generate meanings. These meanings range from social interpretations of events. However, these modes are achieved through interpretations of semiotic signs. On occasions, events present characters represented to create circumstances suggestive of tacit messages, either to market or demarket a particular candidate. All These visual communication modes are central to the narrative process of the study and the conceptual placements given to the meaning exchange in the work.

The multimodal social semiotic approach is selected because of its relevance to the objectives of this study. The Kress and van Leeuwen approach to the visual grammar captures the representations of the political actors in the cartoons, also, it caters for the meaning-making techniques in the images. To account for the third objective, sinterpersonal functions of the SFL cater for the socio-contextual aspects of the objectives.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed some literatures which are relevant to the themes in this study. The chapter argues that multimodal socio semiotic approach is relevant as a frame for the analysis of the sampled cartoons owing to the visual-textual features available in it. The next chapter presents the methodology engaged for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter overview

This chapter deals with the methodology of this study. The research design, sampling and sampling technique, method of data collection and method of data analysis are discussed here

3.1 Research design

The study adopted a descriptive research design because it was deemed relevant to the analysis of the selected political cartoons which reflect character representations of political actors in the 2019 presidential election in order to market or de-market them. Qualitative approach was adopted to get a better understanding of the operational modes in the published cartoons of the selected political actors in order to gain insight into the ways the media tacitly vended political candidates or de-market them through the use of available visual-textual choices.

3.2 Sample and sampling techniques

The purposive sampling method was used in the selection of the images. This is because the cartoons were selected based on their subject of discussion, the representations of political actors during the 2019 presidential election. Purposive sampling was used to select two candidates in the campaign: Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and Atiku Abubakar of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The former represented the incumbent political party, All Progressives Congress (APC) while the latter represents the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The campaign strategies officially began and ended during these periods, though it was shifted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) once, from February 16 when campaigns were expected to have ended, to February 22. Forty cartoon publications were purposively collected from news sites such as *Punch*, *Vanguard*, *Dailytrust*, *Nairaland* and *Businessday*. These sites were selected for three reasons: first, they all have strong political thoughts expressed in their published cartoons with verbal-textual choices in their publications. Second, the newspapers

were adopted to balance the ethnic difference between the South and the North of the country and third, because of the large number of followers these sites have. Not many newspapers have effective online representations as much as these choices. Besides, all these sites are present in all bigger social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. People follow these accounts at this period to pass comments on the trending issue which tilted towards the 2019 presidential election.

3.3 Method of data collection

Forty cartoons were downloaded from Google sources linked to the online sites of *Punch*, *Nairaland*, *DailyTrust*, *Vanguard* and *BusinessDay*. These images covered the presidential electioneering between November, 2018 and February, 2019, *Punch* (6), *Vanguard* (5), *DT* (10), *Nairaland* (5) and *BusinessDay* (14). The 2019 presidential election was preferred because it was held during the height of insecurity and economic downturn in the Nigerian history: dollars to naira rates were at all high, unemployment index was very high, the nation was just getting out of economic recession and the country was ranked underdeveloped, faced with a lot of poor financial mismanagement, corruption and a very high poverty index according to the World Bank's Human Capital Index (2018). Therefore, it was a period many Nigerians were actively anticipating better governance and various media platforms were very active to evaluate the activities of the then present government which was seeking a re-election despite the gaps. It was also a period the main opposition party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) was seeking to dislodge the incumbent president who was the candidate of the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC). Both parties had their supporters online; therefore, campaign discourses were freely used at this period for assurances and reassurances. The downloaded cartoons were carefully studied and analysed to extract social contexts and meanings.

3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the research design, data collection and details of time and cartoons selected. The subsequent chapter contains the data analysis, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Chapter overview

This section examines the communication modes in the images sampled which serve as subtle marketing strategies by the press in order to influence voters' choices. It also presents both the verbal and textual tools used to demarket political candidates in the election periods through language/image interactions. These visual-textual strategies are highlighted, discussed in respect to the semiotic modes and language complements used to negotiate meanings. The two main political actors in the images are framed to analyze the weak points and the prospective tendencies. Also, the representational tendencies are highlighted to further expand the concept of discussion under each sub-labeling.

4.1 Representation forms and visual-textual modes

In the sampled cartoons, each plate comes with a representation caption, visual cues and textual complements. The representation caption is identified first, the visual modes attached to the image are discussed and then, the complementary textual choices. The aim of the representation form is to capture the overall thought in each image.

4.1.1 Buhari is not a qualified candidate

Plate 1 below is a representation of the personality of the two candidates in reaction to the evasive tactics of the APC candidate as depicted by *Punch*. These evasive tendencies are captured to drive the visual-textual concepts embedded in the picture.

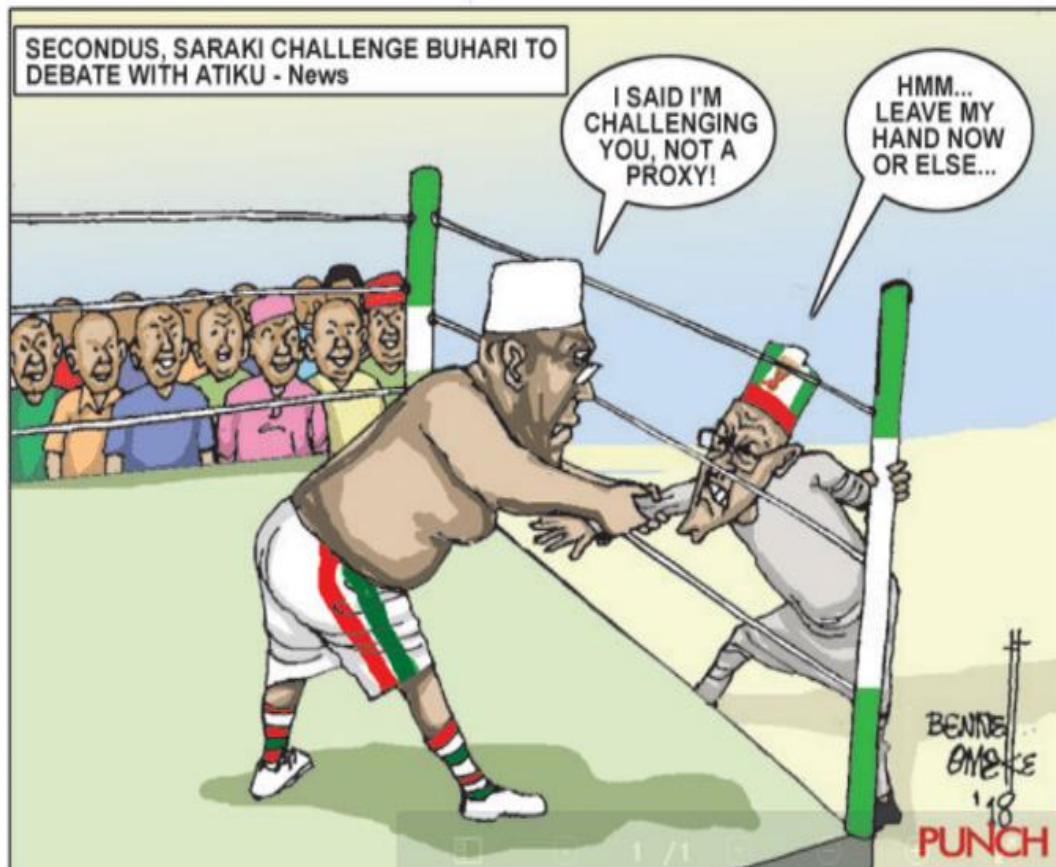


Plate 4. 1: Buhari is not a qualified candidate
Buhari's reluctance to fight the opposition. (Source: Punch)

In the cartoon depicted above, there are visual events which simulate further semantics beyond the literal interpretation of the cartoon. In the image, there is a ring, two represented participants, vectors represented with bars which reflect the Nigerian flag with the usual colour of green-white-green, a group of secondary participants called circumstances and emblems of political parties as a short worn by a participant and as a cap worn by another participant. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) recognises the use of vectors to identify what an Actor is doing in a scene of event. The representative of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar, is seen in a sporty dress, ready for a 'fight' while the representative of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari, is seen in a native outfit which suggests the latter is not ready for the ring fight. The cartoon projects the candidate of PDP as being prepared for any contest and does the same to the APC candidate but with less consideration. The idea of this poor representation is conceptually processed to be connected with the contestable qualification of Buhari at the time of the electioneering period. The fact that he is in full *native* attire metaphorically confers on him the identity of someone who is not ready or qualified for the ring in the first instance. This is because the setting requires a smart contestant to establish readiness.

Also, the vector, represented by the ring bars, foregrounds the power of incumbency, which further confirms the position of the candidate of the APC and the reason he may be reluctant to join the ring. The cartoon establishes this by painting the bars with the Nigerian colour: green-white-green. The implication of this vector display was a president who hid under the power of incumbency to avoid any form of public debate. This is a representation of a candidate covered with suggestive visual expressions which have tacit de-marketing undertones. Apart from this, there are various reactions captured in the image while the narrative process is on, these reactions are termed the reactional processes. Most of the represented reactors transmit transactional or non-transactional messages in the image, exchanging diverse messages, especially the reactor representing the APC. Buhari wears a scowl on his face and gnashes his teeth as he is being dragged forcefully into the ring by his co-contestant. The look on his face is transactional against his opponent, Atiku Abubakar. Both reactors are seen looking ambitious and defendant in their action processes and this is suggestive of the significance of the glances captured in the cartoon. Put differently, whenever there is a reaction from a reactor in a scene of an event, there will be an action and the receiver

of such an action is referred to as a phenomena. The action in the cartoon represents Atiku Abubakar as the one throwing the action (reacter) while the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari is the phenomena (receiver of the action). The action represents both candidates as political rivals but processed Buhari as a candidate who is not prepared for the position he contests.

While the main action continues in the scene, certain participants are observed prominent in the image. These secondary participants are recognised as circumstances and by extension, they are indirectly related to the events. The impression is that, in every boxing ring, there must be fighters, a referee and the audience. The three triangular categories are very significant to the success of any match. The smiles on the faces of the locative circumstances are deemed transactional towards the representative of the APC which suggests sarcasm or mockery, many of them are seen laughing at the reluctant opponent, Muhammadu Buhari. Apart from this, the image represents them with different colours. They all wear clothes and different caps but with different colours which foregrounds a symbolic multi-ethnicity. The semantic extension is that the cartoon represents these circumstances as being non-literally less supportive of the candidate of the APC. In other words, the image has adopted these circumstances to pass a message of disapproval to the prospective voters.

Also, the accomplished circumstances are seen, all at the back of the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. Conceptually, the notion of the viewers all lining up at the back of the candidate of the PDP suggests who the people should support during the coming election. They are all seen laughing at the reluctant candidate of the APC and the fact that no one is standing behind him in the representation confers on him the identity of a loser in progress. It is a good strategy of how manipulation can be used to influence the public's perceptions, actions, either true or untrue or distort existing facts or reality (O'Keffee, 2011).

It is of note that the emblems of the two parties are also symbolic. APC is represented by a broom while the PDP is represented by an umbrella. However, the cap on the candidate of APC has the logo of his party printed on his cap but the candidate of the PDP does not have any emblem on his own cap. This suggests a deliberate use of salience to flash forward the object of target by the newspaper. The cartoon further

engages size and prominence as tools of communication exchange. The size of Atiku Abubakar in the image is large compared to that of his opponent, Buhari. The inference that could be drawn from the asymmetrical representation is that the former possesses the capacity for governance, meanwhile, the latter lacks such capacity according to the image.

Apart from the visual modes explicated, each mode in the cartoon is supported with textual options to further strengthen the narrative process enmeshed in the cartoon. When a candidate or a participant in a cartoon says a word, under the speech representation, the speaker is captured as a sayer while what he says is recognised as an utterance. It is observed the represented participant of the APC is reluctant to enter the ring, he fumes and expresses an utterance ‘Hmmm...leave my hand now or else...’, The participant of APC issues an utterance which connotes a threat to his rival while holding on to a vector which symbolises power of incumbency.

The threat by the APC participant was to cow his opponent who is not ready to be browbeaten. The sentence collocates with the suggestive threat that he is not ready to budge. What could be his fear is not really stated in the visual, but one can infer that it has to do with his level of intelligence which at that time was contestable. During the electioneering period, Buhari was accused of not having any certificate to qualify him for such a presidential position. Hence, he is reactive by engaging a doing verb ‘leave’ deployed to ascertain his unwillingness. In his reply, it is inferred the candidate of the APC wants to have his public debate by proxy. This action, however, is not acceptable to the representative of the PDP, an action that prompts him to counter the initial intimidation. He, being another sayer, replied ‘I said I’m challenging you. Not a proxy!’ Affirmation and exclamation are prominently used in the textual property to confirm the position of readiness, determination and resilience on the part of the candidate of the PDP. However, the candidate of the APC adopts the use of the verb ‘Leave’ to confirm his reluctance. Specifically, he insisted the opponent should leave his hand alone, and that was supported with a threat in the textual engagement.

4.1.2 Buhari is protecting corrupt politicians

According to Oluwaniyi (2011), corruption is a structural and accentuating factors which have worsened the means and methods adopted in most governmental

institutions and which blocks any national development. The fight against corruption was one of the goals of the Buhari-led administration in 2015 when it assumed office. However, the notion represented in the sampled image in plate 2 suggests corruption festers more under the administration of the APC candidate. While the candidate tries to contest again in 2019, the media represent him as a shield for corrupt officials.



Plate 4.2 Buhari is protecting corrupt politicians
Buhari is represented with a metaphorical rock (Source: BusinessDay)

In the sampled image above, the representations of the primary participant are symbolically placed. The newspaper presents a big rock designed like a human head. Symbolically, a head connotes leadership and while the centre of discussion is Nigerian's election, the rock can be inferred referring to the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari who at this time was the incumbent president of Nigeria, seeking a re-election into office for the second term. There is a representation of certain characters represented by rats entities and they have visualised destructive mouths; some of them have what looks like money hanged between their teeth. There are also two distant commentators who look like hunters, based on the items found on them and their mode of dressing. The mode of communication here is through visual-textual where the visual captures the conceptual and narrative processes, while the textual captures the verbal aspect of the message. The cartoon represents Muhammadu Buhari as a rock, an object that cannot be penetrated by any bullet which the hunters have in their guns. The use of symbolic attribute as a narrative process here confers on the rock, the identity of a person in charge of power to save and to defend a man that cannot be touched by any governmental agency, a man immune to any arrest or summon.

Other visual communication modes engaged to represent the rock, like the green colour and a pointed nose further confirm the identity of the represented participant, Muhammadu Buhari. It is observed as an attribute that though, the rock has eyes, it has refused to open them. Had it been that the eyes were opened, most likely, he would have seen the destructive mice climbing on it for safety. The fact that it has eyes but refuses to open them confers on the object, the identity of a defender of corruption. One of the rats also is seen penetrating the 'brains' of the rock. The paper infers that there is every possibility the president is being controlled by these rats from within. A particular rat has its head and half of its body in the brain of the rock while the remaining half of its body is visible. The symbolic attribute here explains the reason such a rock has closed its eyes to the activities of the rats. It foregrounds a presidential candidate who allows corruption from within.

The rats on the other hand symbolise corruption as they are laced with money in their respective mouths. The idea of 'eating or embezzling' cash in Nigeria is a collocation of corruption. It is an extension of connotative idea which explains that corruption is

represented with animated entities eating cash. This idea is related to what Onuigbo and Eme (2015) posits. Incidentally, the visual representation of Buhari translates to preventing other people who could have helped the state of looting in the country. They are practically helpless. The first hunter places his hand, as used for a vector, to support his chin. This connotes an object that could have wanted to help but he is helpless. His gaze is also transactionally positioned on the agents of corruption who have used the rock as shield. Hence, there is a mutual transactional gaze between the corrupt rats and the hunter. While the former smiles with an assurance of safety, the latter looks on in regret. The narrative process presents the gazes as symbolism, representing the case of the saved and the loser. The headlamp of the represented participant is focused on the rats, which foregrounds that he can see them vividly and how they loot the nation's treasury. The gaze also confers on the hunters, the identities of various governmental anti-corruption agencies which are mum as soon as they know the corrupt politicians have an affiliation with the president.

The visual alone does not describe the intention of the newspaper, other textual modes are engaged to support the ideas being projected in the visuals. The sayer in the image expressed a disappointment by using certain linguistic interjections. The sayer submits, 'once they jump on the rock of integrity, forget it'. Here, the use of satirical expression 'rock of integrity' paints the candidate of the APC, judging by the representations given to him, a corruption-personified entity. The expression is also an allusion of irony as it says something and means another thing entirely. The expression, 'forget it' is emboldened to further buttress the point of hopelessness in the fight against corruption. In other words, the fight against corruption is useless under the administration of Buhari. The cartoon does not see any truth in the purported fight against corruption by the administration of the APC. This is represented by the use of bi-transaction mode of interpretation for the represented participants in the image. By bi-transactional narrative process, multimodality agrees to the presentation of both the speaker and the target receiver respectively.

The linguistic choices of words like 'integrity', 'rock', 'jump', are collocates. They suggest the revelational submission of the identity of the candidate of the APC and the lies in his mantra of integrity. There are certain verbs used also in the images like, 'forget', 'jump'; these verbs attest the use of certainty in the claim of corruption as

connectives to the rock being personified. This corruption symbolism suggests a way of demarketing the candidate of the APC.

4.1.3 Atiku is not loyal to any political party

The image in plate 3 adjudges the presidential candidate representing the PDP, Atiku Abubakar, as an unstable politician in Nigeria. To further confirm this, Atiku has contested the presidential position five times under different political parties, including the APC in 2015 and the PDP in 2019. The thought of whether Atiku is a reliable candidate and whether voters should consider him judging by his unstable antecedents in politics are represented in the image below. The idea in this cartoon is focused on the attributive tendencies of the PDP candidate in order to recommend him to prospective voters.

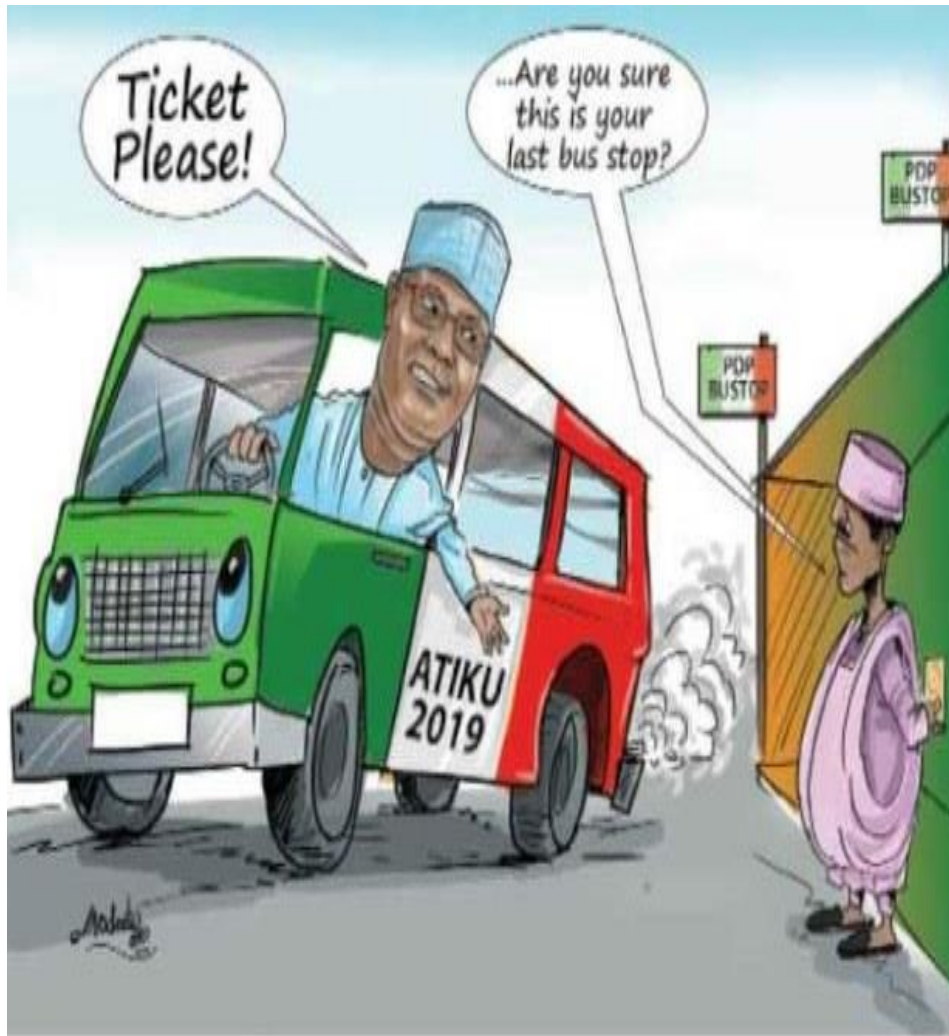


Plate 4. 3: Atiku is not loyal to any political party
Atiku Abubakar asks for a ticket from an unwilling man (Source: Daily Times)

The cartoon used here has adopted a number of non-verbal dialogue modes to represent the candidate of the PDP. In the image, the candidate of the PDP is at the core of criticism by the *Daily Times* based on the symbolism engaged. The cartoon presents the represented participant in a moving bus. The intuition infers a bus on the move, judging by the bellowing smoke coming from the exhaust pipe. There is a signage suggesting 'PDP bus stop' while a man hiding a party ticket behind him, is seen in the picture feeling reluctant to let go of the paper with him. The conceptual process reflects the main represented participant, Abubakar Atiku, as an unstable party member whose interest dictates which party he will join per time. In other words, the conceptual process narrates an unstable candidate who does not have a stable mind of himself but wants to be the president of Nigeria at all cost. The fact that he fails to get down from a moving bus connotes a candidate who may soon join another party if eventually the party did not win the election.

The visual engagement did not communicate in isolation, other textual cues are added to support the information in the cartoon. Sarcasm as a tool is adopted when the sayer in the image asks, 'Are you sure this is your last bus stop?' The expression makes use of sarcasm and the use of interrogative expression to suggest the candidate has unreliable tendencies, especially when it comes to party and political matters. One can assume that the party's representative is reluctant to give out the ticket because the mental process presents Atiku as someone who may not stay with the party's ideologies. The descriptive phrase 'Atiku 2019' elicits a form of publicity to further expand the scope of the textuality. Here, the description points the attention of the readers to the caption in order to expand the contextual meaning inherent in it. In other words, the caption is specific about what the image is saying and because of this, it is established that the 2019 election is the thrust of the image and not any other one.

4.1.4 Everyone supports Atiku as a good choice

When election campaigns begin in Nigeria, a lot of political aspirants seek the endorsement of godfathers from the geo-political zones of the country. Before 2019 elections, the relationship between Atiku Abubakar and the former president Olusegun Obasanjo was not cordial but Atiku needed a truce at the time of election campaigns in order to gain more recognitions. The picture in the next plate markets the candidate of the PDP by passing to the voters, a message of reconciliation. The notion tends towards redeeming the bashed image of the candidate among Nigerians.

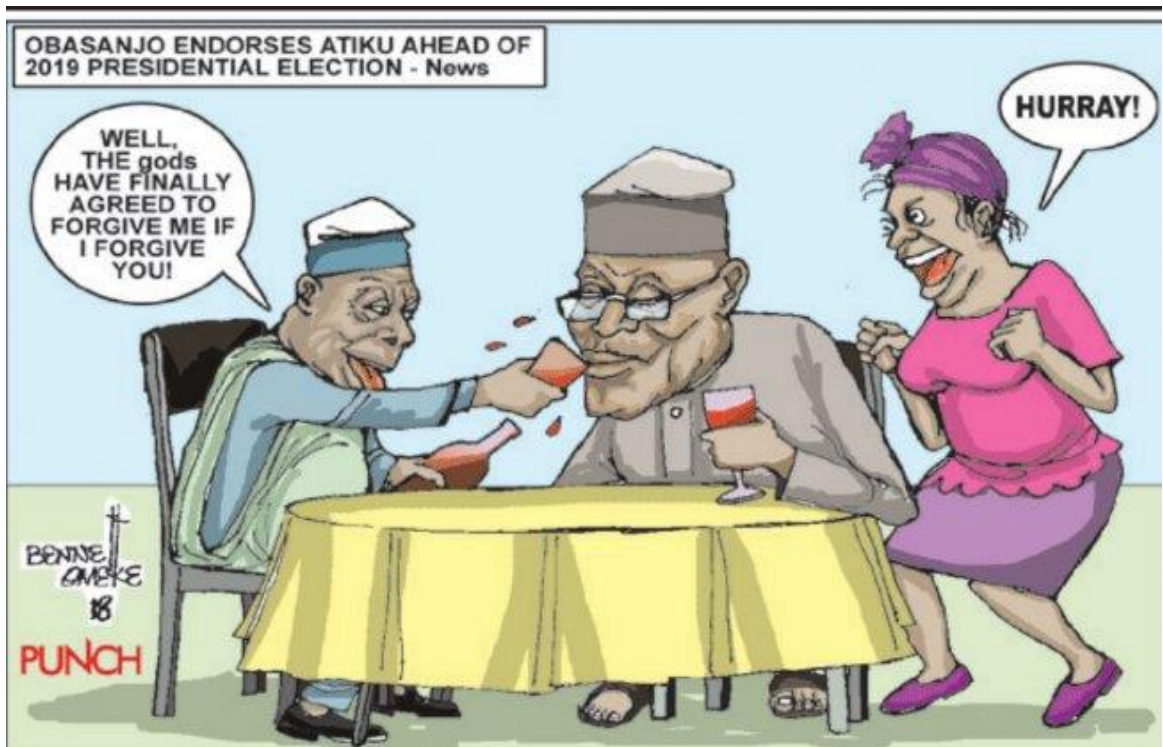


Plate 4.4 Atiku has the support of political heavyweight
Atiku's representation as an endorsed candidate of Olusegun Obasanjo (Source:
Punch)

The above plate engages the use of overlaid vectors ranging from a round table with a cover cloth, the wine, and the participants who are significant in the political history of Nigeria. Also in the image is a cheerful woman who shows a lot of enthusiasm. The primary male participants in the image apparently are the former Nigerian president, Olusegun Obasanjo who was the president of Nigeria between 1999 and 2007 and Atiku Abubakar, his vice-president. Obasanjo attempted a third term agenda after his eight years in office, an idea his vice-president, Atiku Abubakar did not support. It resulted in political enmity between the two. Hence, Obasanjo was not going to support Atiku for any political position in the country. However, during the electioneering period when the presidential ambition of Atiku Abubakar was on, he sought the forgiveness of Obasanjo who wielded much influence in the south west. The image foregrounds forgiveness and adoption of Atiku by Obasanjo while the round table alludes to settlement of old understandings. The idea further engages a different posture as Obasanjo is seen extending a cup of wine to Atiku's mouth. The body movement depicts acceptance and support. One of the inferences that could be drawn from this is for voters from the south to accept him as their candidate, since he has settled his scores with his political god-father, Obasanjo.

The woman who is a non-transactional accomplishment is seen in a happy mood. This mood is confirmed judging by the facial expressions adopted in the cartoon. The relevance of her presence is non-transactional because it cannot be related with the event in the image, though her happy mood foregrounds a hope ever expected. However, her presence could connote an appeal to the female voters to accept a prospective candidate who has the supports of a former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. The non-transactional approach adopted in the image assumes a position which appeals to voters' sense of appeal. The women folk is believed to wield a lot of influence as regards who becomes the winner, especially in election. Hence, the image projects a gender affiliation in an implicit format in order to get an expected result.

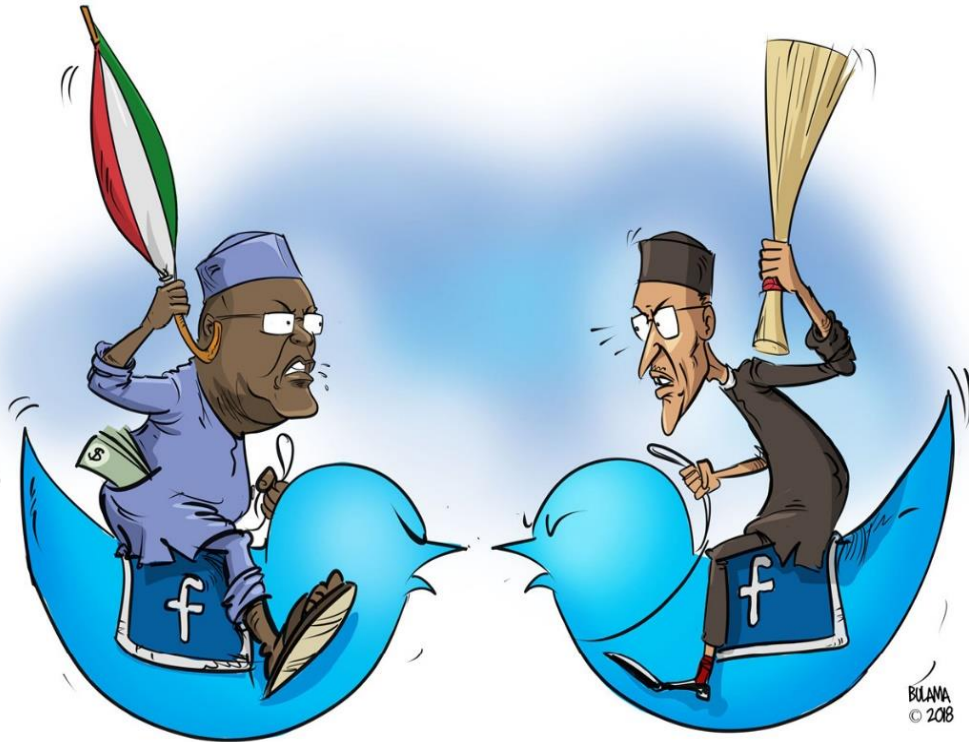
Another vector raised in the panel shows Atiku Abubakar wearing a cap similar to what former president Olusegun Obasanjo puts on. The cap represents the Yoruba race, since the Hausa tribe in Nigeria have *Kufi* while the Yorubas have what they call *Fila*. The make, the designs of these cap variants are different in order to differentiate any individual who uses one. The idea represented in the still panel depicts a Hausa

man in a reconciliatory move with a Yoruba man and at the same time, wearing same *fila* with the latter. The inter-ethnic unity being preached here is symbolic. It transfers meaning in a form that allows the readers to process the information and exchange the possible meaning. The meaning here tilts towards oneness, unity between both tribes. The symbolism in form of sameness in dress code explains the coming together of both the Yorubas and the Hausas with a single aim of supporting Atiku, who is a northerner to become the president. The use of symbolism is also reflected in the drinks. The primary participant, Atiku Abubakar, is not drinking from his own drink, his god-father, Obasanjo is seen feeding him with a cup full of wine. The idea suggests an acceptance from the former president, though, the mouth is seen closed, a representation which may further be interpreted as a way of showing a temporary acceptance of terms just because of the elections, the fact remains that his lips are positioned towards accepting the wine. The cartoon has used much of non-transactional speech codes to establish the logical placements of the represented participants, using a number of symbolic communication cues for possible semantic interpretations.

Verbal complements are also engaged as conversation strategies in the image. Capitalization is deployed for the sake of clarity. The headline is written boldly to capture the attention of the readers and as a strategy to resound the reconciliatory message to the respective voters. Apart from this, exclamation is used to resound the textuality enmeshed in the cartoon message. The accomplishment, represented by a woman who stands in a joyous mood, shouts 'HURRAY! This translates to (or projects) victory at last. The ambitransitive interjection adopted by the single-panel cartoon reveals the word as expression of approval, expression of appreciation, and at the same time, an expression of gladness. The political discord between the two represented characters was thought to be a hard nut to crack as a result of the media wars which pitched them against each other. The character metaphorically appeals to the female voters to support the forgiven candidate of the PDP. This metaphorical representation is designed to introduce gender into the event since it is an integral part of human representation according to Samson and Huber (2007).

4.1.5 Buhari and Atiku have asymmetric political values

The cartoon adopts socio-semiotic approach to project the possible social media engagements witnessed during the electioneering period between the two candidates of the APC and PDP. These visual representations reflect appeals beyond the represented participants.



**Plate 4.5 Buhari and Atiku have asymmetric political values
Representation of candidates on social media engagement (Source: Daily Trust)**

The semiotic modes engaged in the sampled image bifurcate into different parts. First, it presents the represented participants and the unseen interactive participants through social semiotic pattern which also reflects the use of certain vectors to drive meanings in the image. The single-panel cartoon is a reflection of the society, a thorough analysis of what politics in Nigeria looks like in the time of electioneering. The image presents some visual vocalizations codes such as birds, a sit-mat which symbolises a popular social media platform, two main political actors and a wide range of visual communication. Put differently, the image does not engage any verbal cue, the visual cues are only deployed. The interactive participants here are expected to interpret the actions projected by the represented participants. By interactive participants, prospective voters are considered.

Relevant visual modes engaged are multi-factored, ranging from the space between the interactants, the positions, the gestures, the symbols and the representations. The narrative process projects the bidirectional position of the two actors in the image, both of them are vying for same position, they also have same social status according to the visual text. They equally have concurrent reactions, leaving the viewers with possible interpretations. The positions assumed by the two interactants have presented a similar process for the two of them in which both ride on a similar bird species. The bird is a symbol of Twitter, a popular social media platform. At the back of the bird for each represented participant is a sit-mat with a symbol representing Facebook, another social media platform. In other words, social media verbal wars are projected. It is a reflection of silent speeches, exchange of words between the two political actors.

The birds, even though are of the same colour, also elicit bitterness between the two parties, they are seen wearing a battle-laced facial expressions. This is also symbolic as it explains how the political lobby, hate speech and other relevant verbal tools are used against each other freely on the social media. Twitter is set against itself in the sense that it becomes a platform for political verbal wars at that time, hence the birds are inaudibly shouting at each other. However, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refers to non-human images which do not look at the viewer directly but are presented to viewers to observe as “offer”. Offer presents “the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 250). Put differently,

the birds are offered to the viewers as objects of civilization which the two participants understand the usages.

The two participants also use Facebook as much as they use Twitter for electioneering. During this time, interactive participants have the privilege to support, abuse or reject any political party. The use of Facebook has helped the political parties to be more comfortable as depicted in the image, both are sitting comfortably on the symbol while other actions are projected. The semiotic mode presents Atiku Abubakar holding an umbrella with the colours red, white and green while Muhammadu Buhari holds a broom. The PDP has the umbrella as its symbol while the APC has a bunch of broom as its symbol. The campaign was focused on the socio-semiotic values in the political parties' symbols. An umbrella is used to prevent rain from drenching an individual, this is connected to the belief that rain means economic crisis as meaning is diversionary (Odebunmi, 2006). The image favours the PDP in this regard, this is because, it assumes the position of a party with the possible solution to the economic crisis in the light of its symbol. Besides, the two participants are seen flying in the sky, the broom symbol is useless in this setting because there is nothing to be swept in the sky; the umbrella has more value in this setting than the symbolic broom.

The image also shows a conversation mode which is visual using a bale of dollar stuck in the pocket of the candidate of the PDP whereas the candidate of the APC does not have any money on him. The mode here projects a rich and the poor dichotomy. Atiku Abubakar is presented as a rich candidate who has enough money to give out as the money pops in his pocket. This is not with Muhammadu Buhari who appears skinny and malnourished with no money on him. The image is suggestive of hunger, starvation should the candidate of the APC be re-elected. The symbols are predictive of possible economic crisis, lack of funds and possible gloomy future for the country. The statures of the two represented participants are another visual mode in the image. The candidate of the PDP appears well-fed with visible flesh on his head to toes while the candidate of the APC is represented as very skinny and malnourished.

The bidirectional positions also explain the classification process between the two participants. The relationship is symmetrical in the sense that they both jostle for the same political post. This is technically referred to as overt taxonomy. It shows that the

interactants have similar values and they are presented as though. Abubakar Atiku is presented not being superior in terms of political values, the same thing with Muhammadu Buhari. Both have symmetric postures, no subordinate character in the communication. The symbolic attribute agrees in the image that the time of the electioneering is close and that the two candidates have the required qualifications to vie for the position.

4.1.6 Both Buhari and Atiku are desperate politicians

The idea of using different characters on the pages in cartoons is designed to expand the meaning exchange which can be derived from the panels. The two candidates of APC and PDP are projected using visual-textual cues in the image below.



**Plate 4. 6: Both Buhari and Atiku are desperate politicians
Political candidates in show of power and hopelessness (Source: Vanguard)**

The double-panel cartoon display carries diverse meanings attributed to the 2019 electioneering. One major visual mode common to the two representations includes the political parties' emblems, the colour for character identifications, the represented participants symbolising the characters. The first panel symbolises the two represented participants as battle-ready characters, this is projected in the way both are seen in cowboy outfit. The attire or the representation in the image connects the unique style of gun-wielding individual in the 19th century, associated with western culture or lifestyles. The fashion style is seen well-kitted and in replacement of guns, each political emblem is used as a social semiotic discourse mode which projects the identities of the represented parties and their candidates. Each candidate is seen holding a box which is like a connective vector between them; the similarity is explained as the box is a symbol of the country Nigeria. This is confirmed with the colour green-white-green conspicuously written on the boxes held by the two of them.

The position of the boxes is covert, the position of the two participants also is bi-directional, because there is an asymmetric judgement in the way they are standing. This indicates that both candidates have similar values and same qualifications which make them suitable for the aspired position. The symbolic attribute reveals the broom and the umbrella well tucked in a commando style. There is no subordination observed in the image and no verbal complement. Here, it is assumed that the visual is prevalent, whereas the interactive participants are left with the possible interpretations of the images.

However, the conceptual process in the image reveals a mixture of colour green which represents the colour of Nigeria. Put differently, the colour green which is prominent on the box is reflected in the caps each candidate is putting on. The candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari, has less green colour which coincides with the possible interpretation of less connective prospect when compared to his counterpart who represents the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. The colour green appears more on the candidate of the PDP than that of the APC which indicates a more suggestively preferred candidate. Both candidates bear the boxes but the colour on the box is prominent on a candidate than the other.

The position of the two candidates also shows them standing back-to-back. One would believe the different political ideologies are represented using a symbolic attribute in the positions assumed by them. Party ideologies can further create the asymmetric standing positions assumed by the two candidates. Images can also depict social relations based on represented distances between the participant and the viewers. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 124) notes, “In everyday interaction, social relations determine the distance (literally and figuratively) we keep from one another”. Though, the social distance is evident, the suggestive meaning is that both parties are working towards same goal of winning the election.

There is a close shot in the panel which assumes the candidates work towards same goal. In order to explain this further, the conjecture mentions an aspect of composition which determines the visual integration of the represented actors. This image is composed on a horizontal axis, placing the political candidates as given information and the landscape as a source of information. This can mean that electioneering becomes a trending topic at this time and the actors focusing on the landscape or surroundings, implying the future of the country and the possible plans ahead.

The cartoon is further explained using salience, framing and information value. The framing pattern is relatively big enough to give the two candidates a room to accommodate their show of power, their political emblems and the possible political principles they have. This is being helped by the social mode called salience. Salience gives the brightness, the illumination in order to ensure the clarity in the image. Information value deals with the positioning or placement of visual elements in relation to each other in certain positions (left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin), which may confer on them the value of information which is accorded such arrangement.

Every mode in a picture is meaning-driven, this is why the gaze in the characters is also important. The candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar has his eyes wide opened while the eyeballs of the candidate of the APC appear tiny and less visible. Significantly, the eyes are believed to be the ability to project forward, an interpretation that foregrounds that the candidate of the PDP has more understanding of the political future of the country than the candidate of the APC whose sight is not

that visible. Both are looking at the same direction but the eyes are not projected as same in the image. In addition to this, image modality is another aspect of the interactive dimension in the framework and is related to how viewers judge realism in images. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 156) describes modality judgements as “social and dependent on what is considered real in a social group for which the Representation is primarily intended”. Some of the modality markers recognized in visual modality include: colour saturation, colour differentiation, colour modulation, contextualization, representation, depth illumination and brightness. The image expresses much brightness and it makes the representations more visible to the prospective viewers. The colour modulation, colour mixture and the colour separation styles are also prominently projected to help viewers in the judgement of the candidates. The image assumes a clarity modulation with shouting colours.

The second part of the plate is a visual communication lased with a brief verbal complement. The image reveals two participants with back-to-back positioning and the position shows a taxonomical or asymmetrical stance. While the image speaks about many meanings, it is noteworthy to establish that, distance between interactants in an image is very significant. The position in the first instance assumes a bi-directional format, there, it is suggestive of diverse political ideologies and beliefs, both parties working at cross purposes. However, the position stance has not added any advantage to the participants in any way. The candidate of the PDP, Abubakar, Atiku has with him a perforated umbrella and the candidate of the APC, a shredded broom. The symbolism engaged in this scene foregrounds a state of hopelessness for the two candidates and the nation generally.

The visual projection is a suggestive stance where the cartoon wishes the voters could look beyond these two parties as the non-transactional gestures and semiotic placements never see any possibility they will make good leaders. The umbrella cannot hold back the rains which is symbolic of a possible economic crisis, hardship and cash crunch for the nation, if the bearer of the party is drenched in rains, despite the umbrella provided, then, it is an implicit way of confirming that neither the PDP nor the APC has the solution to the economic crisis of the country at that moment. The broom which represented the party and their promises is shredded and wasted. In the

image, it cannot perform any function of cleaning. Also, it is an implicit way of telling the voters not to trust the party with their votes.

The asymmetrical placement of the two main candidates in the 2019 general election is so salient. Saliency refers to how greater prominence is given to some visual representations in order to make them attractive to viewers via graphic displays and therefore make them prominent (Kress and van Leeuwen: 2006). Elements that could be used to depict saliency include: size, sharpness of focus, tonal and colour contrast, placement in the visual field, perspective and some social factors, including the connective shared knowledge which further explains the image. This could be observed from the size of the frame that represents the interactants, the frame is big enough to give the idea of the sampled representations.

Textual modes

At the base of the latter image representation, the cartoon plate wears an inscription which reads 'Buhari vs Atiku'. In other words, the capitalization option used in the text suggests preference for emphasis. The prepositional usage suggests that the teams presented have different ideas and that they are against each other in the coming election. Prepositions are used to describe essentially locations or positions of objects and in this context, the gap between the two candidates are well spelt out and classified. The textual expression sounds an announcement of what the visual represents.

4.1.7 APC using hate speeches to attack Atiku

Sunday (2021) describes hate speech as any utterance or expression, written or spoken, that depicts the other person in a bad light, something that can defame the other party, either an individual or an organisation. This electioneering strategy has crept into the Nigerian politics and therefore the image in plate 7 is a reflection of what the candidate of the PDP, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar should expect as of the time he decides to contest the position of the president.

ATIKU SHOULD BE READY TO FACE THE APC FIRING SQUAD

BusinessDay ©



**Plate4. 7: APC using hate speeches to attack Atiku
Atiku Abubakar being attacked by the opposition (Source: BusinessDay)**

Eko (2007) has described cartoons as predictive pieces of art. In the image sampled here, there is a transactional event going on. The event consists both the actors (performers) and the goal (receiver). The scene is a graphic of analysis of how Atiku has decided to leave the APC for the PDP in 2017. The candidate, since 1993 up till 2019 has contested the position of the president five times without success, therefore, the latest was his movement from the APC to join the PDP in order to contest the position again. In the scene, a represented participant is tied with ropes to a drum as if convicted of a crime, in his hand is a paper with a **GOODBYE TO APC** boldly written on it. There are various actors holding brooms, significantly, representing a political party emblem, all of them have a face cap each with different inscriptions, the gender is not balanced but the purpose is seen to be with similar goal. Their gaze is on the goal, Atiku Abubakar who already has been marked for 'execution'. Part of the 'bullets' shot at the candidate is Halliburton scandal. This scandal is connected to the allegation raised against the candidate of the PDP by some Nigerians, including Bola Ahmed Tinubu and the former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. Atiku is said to be involved in a 'fraud' and this becomes like a good case against him when he contested the presidential position in 2019. According to the cartoon, APC is a party full of defamation with a view to discrediting Atiku Abubakar and to put him in a bad light. This is what Sunday (2021) has described as hate speech.

The gaze of the main actors shows that all the members are battle ready to 'attack' the candidate of the PDP in the election. Gaze is a visual communication strategy that involves the direction where the face and the eyes are positioned. In the image, attention is directional and the party emblem, brooms, assumes a depiction of guns, a strategy that alludes attacks, though such an attack does not pose any physical abuse to the candidate. The symbolic interpretation suggests this is done in order to discourage voters from voting him in the election. These attacks aimed at Atiku come in different visual marks such as: *political prostitute*, *corruption*. These name calling are interpreted as propaganda or defamation.

The political prostitute mentioned here is a reference to how the candidate has moved from one political party to another between 1993 and 2019. This is an implicit way of showing inconsistencies and lack of reliability. Atiku is represented as unreliable candidate Nigerian voters should not consider. The reason for this is the discourse

mode represented in a paper which he holds in his hands. On the paper, the use of colour to brighten the ‘offense’ is symbolic. However, the facial expression of Atiku is represented as a determined candidate who is not perturbed by the activities of the participants in the scene.

There is an Offer in the cartoon using the represented participant, Atiku Abubakar. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) identifies non-human images which do not look at the viewer directly but are presented to viewers to observe as “offer”. Offer presents “the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 250). The case of the represented participant here shows a man presented as an offer of sympathy in the sense that, the way he is attacked attracts sympathy from some voters in the country. The cartoon presents him as a candidate facing too many challenges at the same time during the electioneering.

The image has tacitly projected the candidate of the PDP, Atiku as a victim of opposition. In other words, he has a good potential and this is why he is being attacked by the APC.

Textual modes

The verbal complement serves as a back for the visual noted in the cartoon. The image begins with the use of capitalization with a headline which reads: ATIKU SHOULD BE READY TO FACE THE APC FIRING SQUAD. The sentence structure is simple while the use of modal auxiliary verb assumes the neutrality position in the cartoon. Firing squad as used here is a metaphorical and sarcastic use of expression because the APC here is tactically presented as a party full of propaganda and defamation. The expression foregrounds a party that thrives on attacking the credibility of others in order to get results. A firing squad is designed to kill; therefore, it is a modified way of suggesting a party that is out to kill political opponents without any sympathy. The use of capitalization in the utterance is interpreted as an emphasis, especially to support the claims in the visual representations. The underline becomes thicker as it ends in the headline. The tail end of the line is much closer to the expression ‘Firing Squad’. In other words, the emphasis is placed on the firing squad, this could be a pattern or strategy to call the attention of the voters to the need for vetting. The image has

adopted a verbal pattern that supports the visual communication by raising much of emphasis and bold capitalization in the headline.

4.1.8 Atiku Abubakar should not be trusted

The ‘Articulate’ mantra used during electioneering in Nigeria, is displayed by *BusinessDay* as a mere deception and a subtle means to scoop votes from unsuspecting voters. These conceptions are packaged in the visual-textual modes embedded in the cartoon sampled in the plate below.



Plate 4. 8: Atiku Abubakar should not be trusted
Atiku drinking sachet water (Source: BusinessDay)

In the scene above, the cartoon presents a lone actor. An Actor is identified as the doer or performer of the action in any visual representation while a Goal is the receiver of such an action. The cartoon tactically showcases the background information, using partly salient structures to transmit a message of ethnicity to voters. This is so because there are structures which have the northern, southern architectures at the background where the represented participant is standing. In his hands is sachet of pure water and he appears in a sport dress which suggests he is into a race. The 2019 presidential race obviously has made him start sweating and despite the chilly sachet of water with him, he looks stressed and tired.

The event presented in the image reflects Atiku has some stools in front of him with various items, some edible, some non-edible; some have clear items displayed while others do not have visible items. All the stools are labelled with one item or the other. All these items are symbolic, in the sense that, they all represent what the voters eat. The dialogue mode here presents activities common to political actors during electioneering, that is, they use items as baits to get votes. The same message is replicated with the items set before the candidate in the cartoon. The symbolic metaphor connecting these items to the voters presents electorate as hungry citizens. The represented participant in the scene has a belief and that is the fact that the way to the hearts of the voters is food. Once they are given food items, they will be satisfied. An average voter in Nigeria is believed, according to the visuals presented, to be famished, therefore, he needs the items in exchange of his vote.

Apart from this, the reactional processes, denotes representation of reaction of the actor through the engagement of certain visual vectors. How these actions are performed is branded on the stools in front of the participant. This include; sharing food to internally displaced persons (IDPs), Frying of *Akara* (prepare fried beans cake), drink sachet water (this is done in order to level up with the socio-economic level of the voters), drink sachet Milo, eat roasted corns (which ordinarily may not be what the political actor likes eating), donate relief materials and so on. The semiotic representations here foreground the possible forms of behaviour of regular politicians in Nigerian who snap into action only on election periods.

Textual modes

Furthermore, the textual modes extend its meaning exchange with how the headline is carved in a ribbon-like design, a vector that connects the event to the normal race activities in sport. The verbal complement reads: 2019- THE ULTIMATE STREET CHALLENGE HAS BEGUN. The adjectival options used here have classified the election as the biggest out of all the elections, since it is classified as the ultimate. This implies an election which is very important even if all other ones did not. There is the use of nominal choice 'challenge' which connotes a contest where candidates would have to prove their worth and woo the prospective voters. The possible meaning to the nominal choice too could mean the cartoon headline places the candidates at the helpless position where they have to win based on what they can offer, their strength and perhaps, their resources. These resources are reflected in the visual representations. The cartoon has adopted communication modes to facilitate the character of Atiku as a deceptive presidential candidate.

4.1.9 Buhari has no human feeling

BusinessDay has tacitly organised certain visual items to capture the incompetence of the incumbent president and candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari, using extended semantic exchange tactics to project pieces of information capable of demarketing the party and its candidate by representing his first term in office as a disaster. These visual and their corresponding textual cues are woven into still image in the plate below.

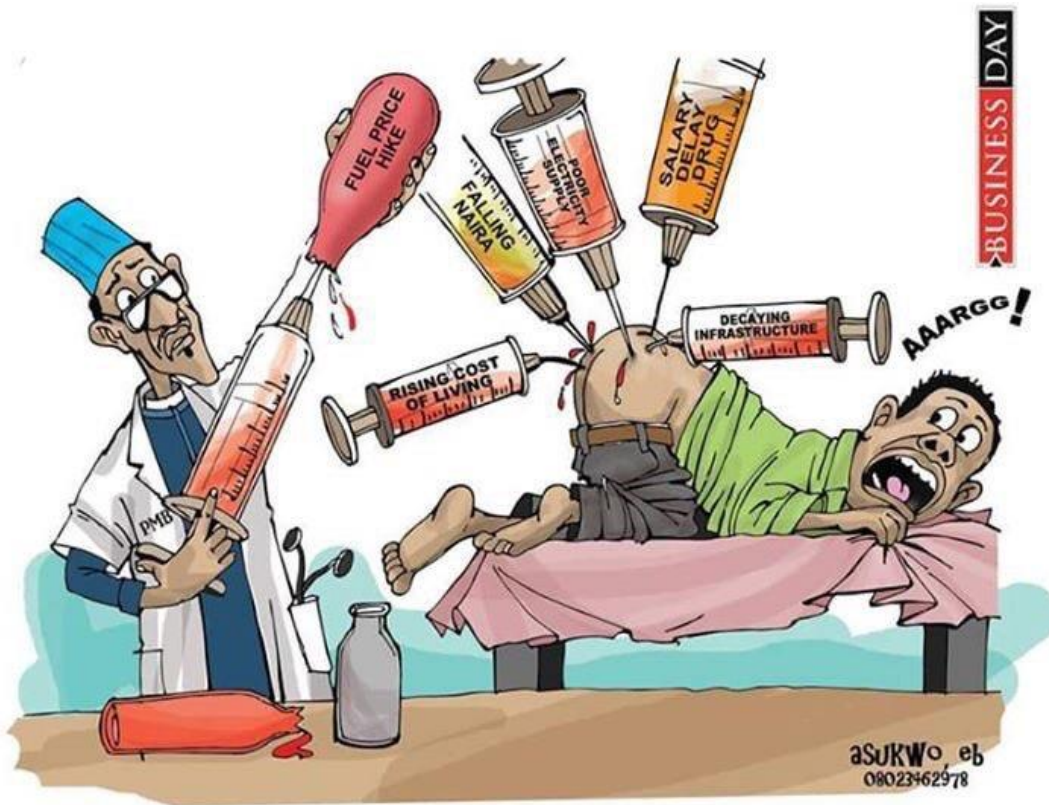


Plate 4. 9: Buhari has no human feeling
Buhari as a figurative medical doctor (Source: *BusinessDay*)

The scene in the image presents a hospital setting with a patient and a doctor. The doctor has come with a lot of syringes and injection fluids. All these are presented to show the relationship which exists between a doctor and his patient. The represented participant reveals the personality of the APC presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari in a lab coat which is a metaphorical representation of his office. The lab coat has a name tag which reads, PMB, an acronym for President Muhammadu Buhari. It is assumed that being the president of a nation is like a doctor in a ward who attends to patients, this is because the president also attends to the economy, the security and the various sectors keeping the country running smoothly. It is important to show the classification method the cartoon has adopted. Role sharing between the two represented participants speaks significance because the patient participant has an asymmetric position with the doctor, though they are in the same clinic, the status of the characters depicted is asymmetrical, a case of the one who is in position to help and the one who needs a help. The overt classification presents a superordinate representation of the doctor, while the patient is represented as a subordinate.

The patient who is represented symbolically as the Nigerian voters is in pain as it is seen through his facial expressions. The expressions speak of fear, pains and more, uncertainties. The hands are seen firmly grippy on the bed-spread, a position which further confirms the pains he is going through. The patient who is a represented participant has multiple syringes inserted in his buttocks with all the available spaces occupied with syringes. The doctor, who is symbolically presented as Muhammadu Buhari, has used up a lot of injection fluids in order to abate the pains of the patient but the efforts, judged by the facial expressions of the patient, have added more pains instead of abating them. The visual cues have projected visibly hardship through failed policies and governance.

The patient wriggles in pains, based on the facial expressions, there is a subtle placement of an offer of sympathy embedded in the cartoon. In other words, the cartoon presents him as an offer in order to seek pity for him. Using this differently, the voters have been in constant pains with PMB as the president of the nation. Some of the vectors used to connect the events or the policies affecting Nigerians include the non-verbal modes placed on the bottles seen with PMB. These modes reveal: rising cost of living, fuel price hike, falling naira, poor electricity supply, salary delay drug,

decaying infrastructure and so on. The latest in the doctor's hands is tagged fuel price hike. The vector connects the policy of the government seeking re-election to the hardship it has placed on the masses using a mental process to complete the visual. The blood coming out of the buttocks of the patient foregrounds the pains Nigerians are going through in the hands of PMB. The cartoon shows the rising cost of living which has caused excruciating pains in the 'buttocks' of the patient.

The Offer in the scene also places the voters on a decisive position on whether they would still want to vote in a *quack doctor* into the hospital (country) again or not. It is an implicit way of reminding the voters that decisions should be made rightly in the 2019 general election. All these have classified the use of symbolic attributes in revealing the characters involved in the scene and the symbolic meanings attached to them.

Also, there is the use of gaze, gestures, colour, framing, and salience in the cartoon. The facial expressions connect the uncertainties in the face of PMB. His looks speak of carelessness, ineptitude and lack of empathy. His less empathic nature is confirmed with the way he does not care about the pains of the patient participant. It is a representation of an individual with a stone-heart.

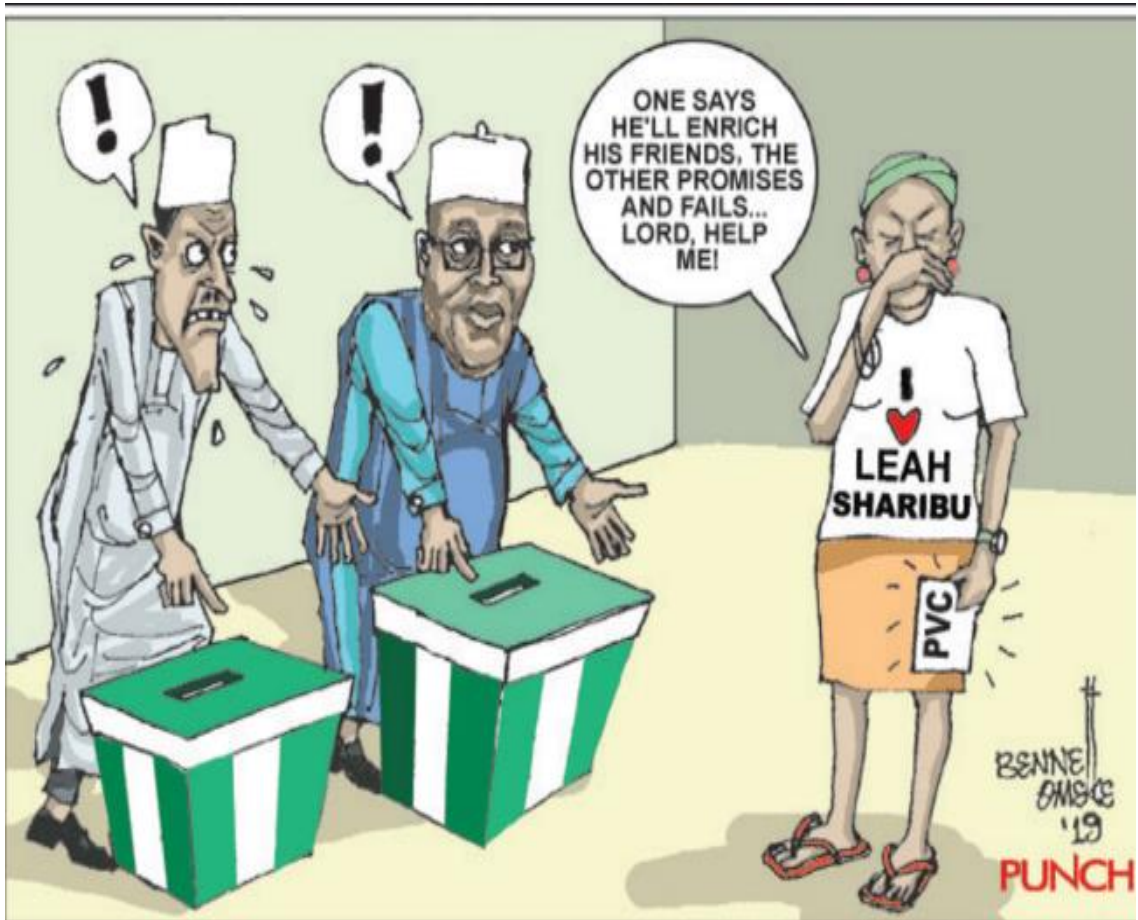
Other visual discourse modes engaged in the image include salience which is being projected using a big size and concise framing pattern. The salience projects each of the injections given with bold labels for the viewers to capture the points being raised by the visual message. These syringes and injections are representations of hard moments experienced in the time of Buhari during his first term in office. The emphasis is more on a red bottle he is holding in his hand which is framed fuel price hike. The nation's economy is reliant on fuel more and the incessant increase in the prices of fuel pump price affects other items directly or indirectly. Therefore, salience is given to that bottle to call the attention of the voters to the expected hardship the represented candidate of the APC may bring in 2019 if he ever comes back to power. The red colour signifies danger which is a message to the voters about the plans of the represented participant in the image. The impacts this fuel hike may have on the people is craftly placed in the facial expression of the patient who is scared of the next policy.

Textual modes

The textual speech mode engaged in the image is an interjection which reads: AAARGG! An interjection expresses the mood of an individual. Here, the part of speech expresses shock, pains and a state of helplessness. The expression is also written in capital letters, boldened, an idea that suggests emphasis. The textual projection engaged interjectory expression to depict how painful the actions expressed in the visuals have been.

4.1.10 Buhari and Atiku are desperate for votes

As the general election was getting near, the voters in Nigeria evaluate the prospects of each candidate in the contest. The prominent ones have been the APC and the PDP. Both parties have had their lapses in the past and therefore, cartoons are used to codify the choices most voters have at the time of electioneering. The represented phenomenons in plate 10 have placed the voters at a great disadvantage.



**Plate 4. 10: Buhari and Atiku are desperate for votes
Buhari and Atiku woo Lear Sharibu (Source: Punch)**

The scene shows two men trying to woo a lady to cast her vote for them. The lady has a paper in her hand which reads, PVC, an acronym which stands for Permanent Voter Card. An inscription of 'I love Lear Sharibu' is projected on her shirt. The two men have two boxes in front of them painted in green-white-green. The vector that connects the boxes to Nigeria connects the colour which is the regular colour for the Nigerian flag. Therefore, it can be suggested that the boxes represent the electioneering in 2019 presidential election. An offer presents Lear Sharibu to the prospective voters as an item of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case. The concept of an offer is to further elaborate the strategy sympathy (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 250). The lady in the scene is seen crying, and the inscription on her shirt is conceptualised to connect the story of Lear Sharibu, one of the abducted girls in Dapchi, Yobe State on February 19, 2018 with the incumbent administration not doing much to see to her release from her captors. The lady as one of the represented participants appears unhappy, she keeps weeping for the situation of things around, whereas, the two men representing Atiku Abubakar of the PDP and Muhammadu Buhari of the APC pay no attention to the emotions of the lady. She is presented as an offer in order to get a sympathetic reaction from the interactive participants. Here, the interactive participants are the non-transactional viewers or voters.

The conceptual engagement which connects past event of the adopted girl-child in order to remind the voters that the same president who could not save a single girl-child is seeking to come back to govern the country. The mood as a visual cue also explains the reason the mental process does not consider the two candidates as best options for the 2019 election. However, the event is tilted towards the incumbent president and the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari. This is because, Atiku Abubakar of the PDP has no affiliation with the security of the country as of 2018 when Sharibu was kidnapped. The conceptual representation of the lady is a symbolic analysis to portray the state of insecurity in the country and to depict Buhari as a president who does not care about whoever is kidnapped or battered; he is only concerned with the election and how to win the election. The lady's emotional outbreak which can be ascribed as symbolic attribute is given much salience in the image. It could be implied that the

mood is placed strategically in order to present Lear Sharibu and all other Nigerians as victims of bad leadership.

The mental process attributed to the candidate of the APC; Muhammadu Buhari is a president who makes promises but never fulfils them. The two candidates have not shown any prospect of success according to the implied messages in the image. The Sayer also engages spiritual allusion by asking God for help. This can be inferred to mean that only the supernatural can actually deliver the masses from these two options in the 2019 election.

Incidentally, the visual mode which depicts the APC candidate presents him as the one who is more desperate to have the vote from the lady. This can be attributed to the sweat gland coming from his face as his facial expressions shows desperation. The kinesics he has used also includes the use of his index finger to point to the position where the PVC should go. In another way, it can be implied in the image that Buhari is a dictator. The direction of his finger, the gnashing of his teeth as if he is going to 'bite' the lady, the unfriendly gaze he fixes on the crying lady and the sweat glands suggest a man who would do anything to win during the election. The desperation is salient. The facial expression of Atiku Abubakar can be interpreted to be friendly in the image but the sayer has accused him of sinister plans nonetheless.

The image enjoys a wide frame which accommodates the participants, the dialogue boxes, the vote boxes and other modes used to relay communication in the event. This framing pattern is also connected with salience which explains the clarity in the image. Under the classification process, the first two represented individuals contesting the position of the president have a covert taxonomy (this means the status is the same) compared to the lady who appears as an offer of sympathy whose status or hierarchy is overt taxonomy. In other words, her status is asymmetrical when compared to the two candidates depicted. She appears as an image which gets the attentions of these two candidates once in a year and that at this time, the gaps noticed in the two candidates are just too many.

Visuals can also show the distance that exists among characters. Put differently, social relations determine the distance (literally and figuratively), that is, distance, no matter how close or wide it may be has its own meaning. The social distance between the

voters and the political office holders in Nigeria is depicted in the distance measure between the lady and the two candidates in the 2019 election. It is quite possible that with the social distance in-between the lady and the represented politicians in the image, the closeness is absent.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also identifies the use of angles in which an image is captured. This capturing angle also elicits meanings. There are two angles identified: horizontal and vertical. The horizontal angle is “a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer and the frontal plane of the represented participants” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 49). The angle can express whether the image producer and viewer are involved with the represented participants or not. The image sampled shows a frontal shot from a close angle in order to capture the representations. In other words, the interactive participants, animator, is involved in the scene in a non-transactional mode.

Textual modes

Under the narrative process, the speech and the mental sub-processes are engaged in the image. The speech process is presented in a dialogue balloon attached to each represented participant. Here, the participants are referred to as sayers. The sayers who are the two candidates of the political parties represented have not said anything but have an interjectory sign in their dialogue boxes. The third sayer who is a lady uses the verbal complement to further expand the reason behind her grief. In the dialogue box, an expression was captured: ONE SAYS HE’LL ENRICH HIS FRIENDS, THE OTHER PROMISES AND FAILS...LORD HELP ME. The sayer has depicted the two candidates using descriptive mental process here. The overall process connects the campaign speeches of Atiku Abubakar who was quoted to have said he would enrich his friends and privatise all governmental agencies. The cartoon infers that this strategy may not be in the interest of the poor masses, hence, the reason for the grief.

4.1.11 Buhari is here to persecute the opposition

The image sampled in this plate below showcases Muhammadu Buhari as a man who is uses his opposition to hunt his political opponents. In showcasing him in this light, some conversational cues are engaged to consolidate the meanings in the cartoon.



Plate 4.11: Buhari is here to persecute the opposition
Buhari using a dog to sniff footsteps of his opposition (Source: Nairaland)

The plate creates a scene where different visual modes are noticed. There is a man who holds a dog in his hand and controls its movement. Also, there are foot prints of some people whose presence is unknown on the sub-scene and a sign post which reads '2019'. There are some inferential pointers which predict the personality of the participant in the scene. First, the character holds the control of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) which is a federal agency saddled with the responsibility of apprehending people who get involved in money laundering in Nigeria. On the second note, the discourse mode of unknown footsteps of opposition foregrounds the personality of the president. The cartoon presents bi-representations: the represented participant and the interactive participant. The represented participant has a visible connection but the interactive participants are not present, yet, there are marks they are in the scene. The visual mode here subtly presents the president, using the state resources to scare away the opposition in order to have his way. Since he is a lone representation, it is inferred that all other persons had fled the scene so that they will not be 'bitten' by the dog the president parades in the scene. The chain is a visual mode which translates to the firm influence the president has on the activities of the dog, in other words, the dog which meaning is expanded to represent the EFCC, may not be able to perform the statutory functions except what the president wants him to do at any time.

The direction where the represented participant and the interactive participant face is predictably tilting towards the 2019 election. Actions are always indicated in visuals by vectors. Vector is the depiction of what the participants are doing for or to each other. It is similar to action verb in language (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). As stated earlier, vectors can be formed by bodies, limbs or tools in action when participants are represented as doing something to or for each other. (Ly and Jung, 2015). However, when representations of actions include a lone actor, an event occurs. This implies that something is happening without a visible agent that is responsible for the occurrence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), In other words, the scene has engaged visual tools which further expanded the identity of the president, the identity of the dog and the vectors which connect the events together. Under the narrative processes, the action of the actor (performer) foregrounds a vengeful individual as it holds the dog in his hand which could attack at any time. Apart from this, the dog sniffs the footsteps of the

perceived oppositions, this implies the opposition ran away as a result of the dog the president is holding in his hands. The position of the oppositions, however is non-transactional as they are not found, except the footsteps. It can also be adjudged that the reaction of the EFCC in the scene metaphorically places the organization in a docile, helpless position in the hands of the president. The reaction which shows it sniffing the footsteps of the opposition is a representation of a dogmatic organization, a government agency that obeys the candidate of the APC alone. A guard dog is always of different breeds quite different from what the cartoon has depicted. Dogs such as German shepherd, Pitbull, Bullmastiff, Rottweiler and a lot more are known for security reasons, the dog represented here does not have any reactionary connective action to perform any security charge. The ears are flappy, and the tail, non-active. The representation foregrounds a domestic breed of animal which cannot serve the purpose the president is using it for. In other words, security matters have eluded the president based on the wrong breed of dog he has chosen. It can as well be said that the candidate of the APC does not really have an idea about the security architecture of a country, all what he is concerned about is to hunt the opposition. The footsteps seen in the scene have gone ahead of the president into the 2019 direction. The mental interpretation processes the footsteps as ones who have beaten the influence of the APC candidate. Though, they are depicted as being non-transactional in their actions, they subtly appear ahead of him in thinking too.

The conceptual process of visual discourse engaged in the image connects the use of blurred background and colour. It is not sure if the reason behind the blurred option is transactional or non-transactional. However, the signage points to the direction of this blurred background. This colour modulation could be interpreted as an adventure no one could predict. With the conceptual representation of the colour modulation, it suggests that the election may suffer a setback, a violence not known yet or a total cancellation.

Textual modes

The verbal complement is represented conceptually using a repetitive verbal word, sniff. The word is repeated three times with the use of interjectory signs to consolidate the emphasis on it. The visual is complemented in such that the interactive participants are able to connect the reactions of the dog, using the verbal usage to why the

oppositions are non-transactional in the scene and the reason for porous security architecture in the country. The interjection used here implies a continuous action that can as well be extended till the 2019 or beyond. Therefore, the cartoon makes use of language to expand the semantics in the visual represented in the scene and the target of the newspaper suggests a demarketing strategy against the candidate of the APC.

4.1.12 Buhari cares for cows than human lives

The cartoon in the plate below has projected a character who values the lives of animals more than humans. Here, each character sampled is represented to ascertain events in the security situations in the country.



Plate 4. 12: Buhari cares for cows than human lives

Buhari shouts down a man over slaughtered animal (Source: BusinessDay)

The visual representations here have some modes describing the projected characters. The image comprises a man who is referred to as 'Your Excellency'; apparently, the image identifies the character as the candidate of the APC and the incumbent president of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari. There is a man reporting to him a situation involving a cow and a set of human beings who are referred to as hungry fanatics. A Nigerian flag with colour green-white-green is strategically placed in front of the main reactor in the scene. An asymmetrical relationship is established between Buhari and the man giving the report. The position of the hands shows a character that exemplifies subordinate gestures which is a symbolic attribute showcasing low self-worth. The position of the character shows he is kneeling to present his report to the president which confers on him the identity of a man of lower worth. The cartoon symbolically places a well-dressed, educated participant kneeling for a man who is dressed in his native attire. To put this in a different light, the secondary participant is presented in a suit, tie and a pink shirt, this implies a formal education, the position of the man in suit foregrounds how the administration has relegated formal education. The symbolic attribute also explains the economic status of the secondary participant. His neck is long and the stature shows a hungry-infested individual, yet, in order to prove his loyalty to Buhari, he refers to others as hungry-looking fanatics. Metaphorically, the image represents him as a hungry-looking individual. The locative used in the conceptual process shows the secondary participant as a connective character useful to the analysis in the setting.

Body kinesics are pertinent to the image. The facial expressions of both primary and secondary participants show anger, disappointment, vengeance and resentment. On the part of the secondary participant, the facial expression implies fear and trepidation, low self-esteem which means the character gave his report with an expression of trepidation. His eyes are dilated using a mode that depicts someone who does not know what may come after giving his reports. The shape of his mouth confirms this because it remains opened. The facial appearance of the president also shows anger at the report. His glasses flipped as a result of his anger and his eyeballs popped out, his cap pops from the head with a good visible distance from the head roof, his mouth is wide open, expressing his interjectory visual display and his hand banging the table with heavy hit.

The primary reactor, Muhammadu Buhari, has used a salient action process to show he is interested in the lives of cows more than the fanatics his secondary participant reported to him. The image symbolically represents him as a leader who prefers cows to human lives. The action process buttresses the symbolic attribute used in the actions. The symbolic attribute also shows some visual engagements represented with items such as pens in a cup, table and sheets of paper. These items represent the president as the leader of cows, which may be a good way of demarketing him, since he has not really shown a trait that can integrate the country or present him as a candidate who values the security of the prospective voters.

Textual modes

The verbal complement has a number of metaphors in it. From the secondary participant, a statement is credited, 'YOUR EXCELLECY, INTELLIGENCE CONFIRMS THAT THE COW WAS GRAZING PEACEFULLY ALONG THE HIGHWAY, WHEN TWO HUNGRY-LOOKING FANATICS POUNCED ON IT AND SLAUGHTERED IT'. There is a descriptive expression used to describe the state of the cow and the two fanatics who killed it. The use of the nominal word 'intelligence' in the expression confirms a misplaced priority of the president who wastes intelligence gathering on perky state matters while other prominent matters are neglected. The fact that the nominal option connects the verbal word 'confirms' is a reflection that much efforts were put into finding out who killed the cow. There is also a defensive adverbial usage with the use of the word 'Peacefully'. The expression that the cow was grazing peacefully shows that the preference was given to the cow more than the human beings. The use of 'peacefully' also collocates with the status given to the cow in the administration. There is an adjectival usage with the use of 'hungry-looking' which is a language choice that collocates the low preference given to human lives in the administration. As the election draws near, the cartoon has used language to describe the priority of the candidate of the APC.

The primary actor in the image, Muhammadu Buhari makes use of some verbal complement in terms of linguistic choices. In the expression: WHAAAT! GET ME MY MILITARY FATIGUES NOW!!!, The interjectory choice in his expression confirms he is surprised humans could slaughter a cow without any caution. The emphasis is placed on two different interjections: 'whaat!' and 'Now!' The two words

imply a strong attachment with the subject of discussion. Another way of projecting the candidate of the APC in a wrong light is his request for his military fatigues because a cow was killed. The statement is metaphorical in the sense that it portrays the president as a misguided leader. A military uniform is supposed to be used for different national assignment and not something to be worn in order to defend a dead cow. This is sarcastic on the part of the cartoon. There is also verbalization that gives a command in order to express more actions. The verbal word ‘get’ alludes urgency on the part of the president. The linguistic choices place the textual balance to support the visual cues the image projected. A demarketing tendency is practically salient in the cartoon.

4.1.13 Buhari will burden Nigerians with borrowing

The portrayal of the identity of the APC candidate reflects the various policies being made in the administration and which affect the entire Nigeria. The plate here presents one of the policies which is the president’s penchant for foreign loans. The image explicates the event.



**Plate4. 13: Buhari will burden Nigerians with borrowing
Buhari and foreign loans (Source: Punch)**

The image presents a number of participants, a major actor and some accomplishments. There are obviously-starved, emaciated participants represented to have carried a heavy load with a bold write up on it. The write up signifies debt and the loads have practically overwhelmed them heavily in such that they are seen famished, sweating and looking gaunt. This is presented as a result of the burden on them. Apart from that, there is another participant who smiles at the dilemma of the debt carriers. Visually, a white man is standing very close to the smiling represented personality. He looks happy too about the predicament of the carriers

The symbolic attribute engaged in the image connects the events together in such that going by the visual and the verbal complement; the image has represented the president of Nigeria, and candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari. The relationship between the president and the burden bearers is asymmetrical in nature, that is, the status is painted unequal, and therefore, it is overtly classified. It implies the burden heaped on the people he governs in the first term he has been the president, his penchant for foreign loans has plunged the people into debt and hunger. The image engaged the use of colour separation, the debt bag is painted white for clarity, the verbal inscription on it is black, therefore, the cartoon paints a white background and a black write up which gives clarity. The salience is also obvious, the characters are well separated to identify the represented participants, the interactive participants and the accomplishment or the locatives. The salience also shows the modes engaged clearly while it is being assisted through the use of good framing. To further expand the meaning in the cartoon, good framing pattern was deployed. The framing pattern captures the event, all the characters in the image, the visual discourse modes, the gestures and the movements.

Apart from the aforementioned communication modes, the secondary participants bearing the burden of debt are three, and in Nigeria, there are three major ethnic groups prominent in the country: Hausa, Igba and Yoruba. The symbolism attaches the three secondary participants as the direct recipients of the borrowing action of the president. Meanwhile, to the chagrin of the interactive participants, the president does not really care about their state of devastation. He appears happy with the situation. This is adjudged based on the kinesics, the position of his mouth, the representation of his teeth and the smiling facial expressions. Therefore, position of the body movements is

another visual communication mode engaged to further expand the meaning of each participant. The white man points to the direction of the three men who are secondary participants now, asking a question on whether they will be able to 'carry 'more loads of debts on them in addition to what they have on their heads. Already, symbolically, the country, as implied, is groaning under the burden of external and internal debts imposed on it. The locative is of the opinion, based on his gestures, the position of his hand, the facial expressions he puts up, that there could be more money to be borrowed if the country could bear the brunt. Therefore, this foregrounds a foreign body that grants loans to Nigeria, knowing well that the financial burden will be overwhelming and unbearable.

Textual modes

Two dialogue boxes are opened containing utterances from the primary participants. The first was the introduction of an interrogative statement, 'Can they carry more?'. The interrogative statement alludes inquiry, looking at the stress the burden bearers are going through. Meanwhile, the linguistic choices of the APC candidate affirm, 'of course, they can carry all the money in your bank'. The interrogative expression from the foreigner foregrounds sarcasm, used to mock the sweat of the three men who pine under the heavy burden and the reply of Muhammadu Buhari in the image admits that they are ready to take more money, therefore, adding to the burden of the masses. The statement is a metaphorical application. It expands the capacity of the burden by exaggerating the whole event. The main Actor said they can carry all the money in the bank. This is an undue exaggeration which depicts Buhari as someone who magnifies event in order to suit his intention. Verbalization is freely deployed in the first and the second expressions. Also, exaggeration was used to support the linguistic cues. Buhari responds using the statement 'all the money...' statement to further exaggerate how much the country would want to take from the foreigner. His language use assumes the position of a careless, selfish leader who borrows loans at the expense of the people.

4.1.14 Atiku cannot stand Buhari politically

The 2019 presidential election presents the two candidates of the APC and the PDP in such a way that the voters can decide on the choice they want to go for. The *Daily Trust* pitches the two candidates and weighs their prospect in this image.

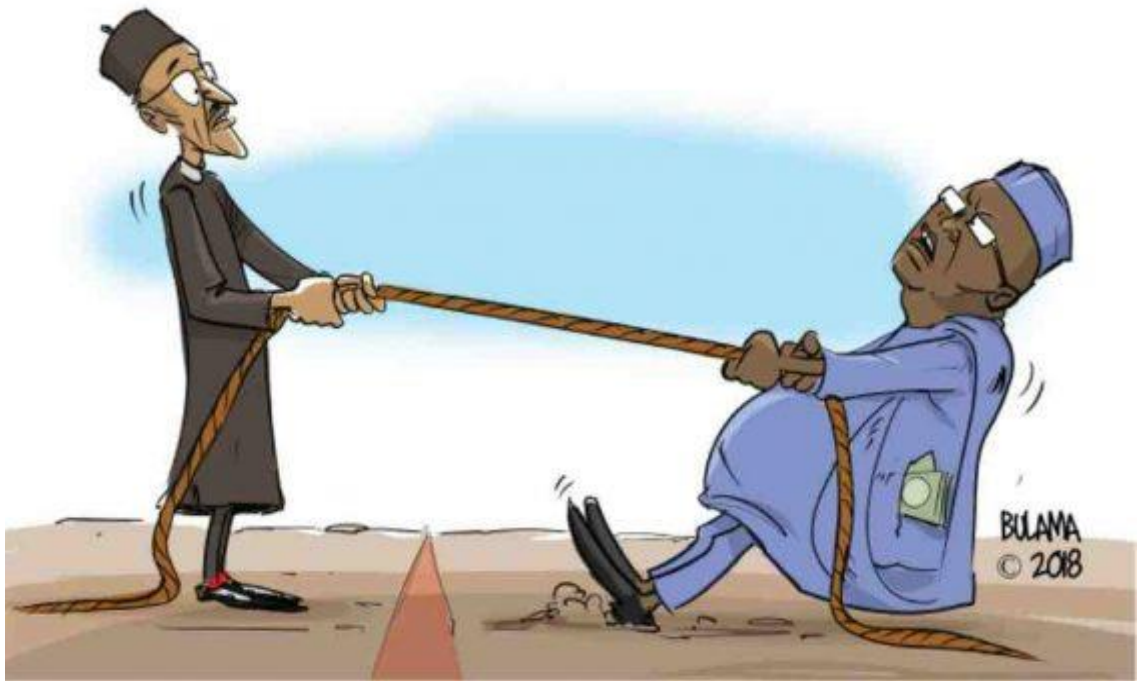


Plate 4. 14: Atiku cannot stand Buhari politically
Asymmetric relationship in image representation (Source: Daily Trust)

There are two main represented participants in the image, who, based on the conceptual classification have been identified as Muhammadu Buhari of the APC and the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. The Event created is the election coming up and the vector connecting them shows they are both into a competition. The visual placement engages the mode of salience to show the event clearly by giving us the different separation of colours and frame. Apart from salience mode, the framing pattern is horizontally placed to capture the two participants represented in the image.

The horizontal placement also captures other vectors in the image and the activities of the Actors (participants). In the image, there is no receiver of action (Goal) identified in the event, only the Actors are represented. Therefore, actions are weighed based on actions and reactions. The APC candidate is standing with rope in his hand, this rope is also connecting his main rival from the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. The vector used here connects the two but with different visual judgements. One, the relationship presented between the two of them is overt or asymmetrically classified. The two candidates are from the North but the representation places Muhammadu Buhari at a vantage point when compared to Atiku. The position of Atiku is bent and he seems struggling with the rope. His position shows that he is struggling with the candidate of the APC who in the image does not really feel the pressure. Symbolic attribute comes in here. It explicates the idea that the candidate of the PDP does not have the political stamina as same with Muhammadu Buhari. The implication of which suggests that the PDP might not win the election because of the less stamina it has and the position of the opposition which explicates a stronger personality.

The image also makes use of another dialogue mode found to be a vector in the pocket of the candidate of the PDP. It portrays the candidate as a rich person who has money in his pocket. The money is used as a symbolic representation of economic power. Yet, even with the money, Atiku does not stand a good chance in the election. There is the use of position, body movements to classify the two candidates. Atiku is slant while Buhari is straight. The body movement shows a man who is about to fall. The slant posture foregrounds a possible failure for the candidate of the PDP. Besides, his facial expressions show a painful pattern. The mouth and the teeth expound a man who is struggling. The impression in the image agrees to convince the voters who are the

interactive participants to consider the candidate of the APC, since he is stronger and more stable.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also highlights the significance of the angle shots in which an image is taken as visual exposition of meaning. This is in relation to attitude in visual work. They recognised two angles: Horizontal and Vertical. The horizontal angle is “a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer and the frontal plane of the represented participants” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 49). The angle can express whether the image producer and viewer are involved with the represented participants or not; a frontal angle indicates involvement. The shot in the picture reveals a horizontal (flat) position where the modes are well set up. It is an indication the cartoon wants the involvement of the participants, including the represented ones and the interactive participants. No textual clues noticed in the cartoon. Therefore, suggestiveness is based on the choices provided by the visual options.

4.1.15 Buhari hates all other tribes except Hausa

The picture in this plate has a number of information embedded in it. The prominent is the reactions of the candidate of the APC towards some opposition party members and selected tribes.



**Plate 4. 15: Buhari hates all other tribes except Hausa
Buhari uses power of incumbency to punish the opposition. (Source:
BusinessDay)**

The representation tilts towards the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari who is seen holding some members of a particular party to a ransom. The emblem and the colour separation under the narrative process reveal an umbrella (shredded) with Red, Green and White combination, the emblem is classified as related to the PDP. All the members are seen sitting down as if they cannot move owing to the character standing in front of them all. Many of them are physically scared, while some are afraid of what the character standing in front of them might do to them. Another locative character is seen kneeling with his hands raised as a sign of punishment. The character has on his head a red cap typically identified with Igbo tribe in Nigeria, the cap represents a symbol of culture. It can be symbolically placed that members of the opposition party, PDP and selected tribes in Nigeria are targets of oppression.

Therefore, the symbolic attribute used here represents a president who has singled out an Igbo representative for punishment. The represented participant is metaphorically placed in a stiff position which further confirms Buhari's hatred for the Igbo tribe in Nigeria. The body movements and the positioning are enlarged for possible meaning interpretations, not only are his hands raised, he also has a symbolic block placed in his hands and he is sweating profusely. A block is collocative of weight, therefore, it can be interpreted that the tribe is experiencing a substantial punishment all through the tenure of the president who now seeks a re-election. In other words, the cartoon calls the attention of the interactive participants (voters) to the political attitude of the president, especially towards the eastern part of the country.

In the image also, there is a distinct character in a yellow dress and a *fila* which is attributed to a particular tribe in Nigeria, the *Yorubas*. Both the *Igbo* and *Yoruba* represented characters are on their knees, the difference is that the Yoruba man is not having a block placed in his hands and not sweating when compared to his Igbo counterpart. The reactional process observed in his posture shows trepidation and uncertainty, his eyes are dilated in fear and he seems surrendered, looking towards the actor in the picture. In the image, he is a phenomenon (receiver) of an action and these actions are transactionally unfair. To explain this differently, the image is suggestive of a president and candidate with bias mind, resentful spirit. The representation here attacks the personality of Buhari in a negative mode.

There is another character lying on the floor, begging Buhari. His body movements which are parts of the reactional processes speak of trepidation too and the position of his body implies a surrendered character. It can then be said that the position of the president and the two represented tribes, Igbo and Yoruba, is asymmetrical and the relationship is not smooth. He treats one tribe better than the other. This is confirmed as no other Hausa cap is noticed among the people captured. The implication is a character that is implicitly biased against some selected tribes. A secondary character which elicits the south-south is equally identified, a projection that Buhari's resentment cuts across most tribes in Nigeria except the *Fulanis*.

Besides, the distance between the actor and the people he has captured is public distance with a long shot. The shot classifies him as a president who is far from the people, except a selected few. Also, there is an emblem which is a mode representing a broom tied to the waist of Muhammadu Buhari. The broom is a symbolic attribute which acts as a vector connecting him to the party of APC. The party which he belongs to uses broom as the logo. The broom is a vector which alludes the APC, but the shredded umbrella in front of the captured people is another vector which connects them with the PDP. Buhari has a bin in front of him with a label 'RECOVERED LOOT BIN'. It is suggestive of why the president has chosen to face a set of people leaving out the rest. The image suggests that a number of people in PDP have financial mismanagement cases. The character who lies on his chest begging the principal participant, the *Yoruba* man whose hands are raised and the Igbo man with a block in his raised hands are symbolic of guilt. Meanwhile, the image agrees that the war against corruption is one-sided. This is why, there is no other tribe represented from the north. Apart from that, the vector used to scan the level of looted funds which is a telescope symbolises power of incumbency and Buhari holds it. This is why some members of the party are reluctant to look at it. The image uses salience to show the stomach of one of them who is reluctant to look at the telescope and it looks protruded; this symbolises that he is not hungry. However, he doesn't want the actor to check him further. His hands covering his two eyes are signs of shame and guilt.

Textual modes

The speech process which is equal to the textual complement describes the captured people as INTERNALLY DISPLACED POLITICIANS.... This is a sarcastic way of describing the PDP. The expression: FORMERLLY KNOWN AS PDP as used in the speech process is an indication that the party may have lost its initial relevance among the people based on the level of corruption allegation in the party. The engagement of certain parts of speech such as descriptive adjectives 'Internally Displaced' is a sarcastic way of describing the relegation of the party in question, that is, the PDP. Adverbial engagement is also used to corroborate the description in the first line. Verbalization reflects in the word 'known' and the nominalization of the PDP is scarcely used to attribute the PDP to past glory.

The image attacks the two parties in a metaphorical way, describing Buhari as a man who has a wrong priority and there is a submission that there is tribal sentiment.

4.1.16 Post-election results will be chaotic

The image in this plate presents the predictive tendencies of the two main candidates in the 2019 presidential election and how the reactions may be after the election. The rule of law is involved being the arm of government upholding the right of individuals. How the two candidates are likely to relate in terms of proving their rights is represented in the image below. The presentation is a way of warning the voters.



Plate 4.16: Post-election results will be chaotic
Atiku Abubakar and Muhammadu Buhari in power tussle (Source: Daily Trust)

The *Daily Trust* makes use of the mental process to predict the possible reactions of the two parties after the election. The image identifies Atiku Abubakar of the PDP and his opposition, Muhammadu Buhari of the APC, both of them have certain vectors in their hands which foreground the justice system. The plate-like vector and the justice tree symbolise the justice system in the country and the possible reactions of the candidates to it. The mental process has not predicted the two candidates as people who have respect for the rule of law in the country because they both break the hanger representing equity and justice. The hanger is a symbolic attribute which uses mental process for interpretation. One can then say that it should be admitted that during this period, there is no room for law or court processes, injunctions or any other intervention.

The social distance is obviously of low relationship as this expresses wide space in-between the two candidates. Metaphorically placed, the space between them could represent the whole figure with space around it and the shot is long, capturing the two candidates to the toes. Such a shot is a reflection of distance and cross-purpose. When there is a social distance, this could mean the mental aspect; it could mean the economic aspect, political aspect or the prospects expected in each candidate.

The narrative process also shows the reactionary structure. The reactions reveal a facial expression that looks similar. The similarity tilts towards a disgruntled look that spells unsatisfactory reactions based on the representations. The teeth are gnashed which represent anger and misunderstanding. Put differently, the facial expressions on the two faces show a model of fight and readiness to attack each other at any time. The justice system already faced a smash up which translate to disregard for the judicial processes. Apart from this, each candidate holds a plate painted in green. Each plate elicits equity and balance, yet, they both hold the plates in slanted forms very close to themselves. It can be described as the use of a conceptual process that allows the two candidates to show disregard for equity. The law is known for balance and justice, here, the vectors representing the justice system are placed imbalanced. This implies such a system that will never guarantee equity for people. Even between the two candidates, there is no assurance of unity or equity, let alone giving such to the people that may vote for them. The image does not see the prospect in the two candidates here, despite the fact they are the main represented participants in the electioneering.

The social status observed here is covert taxonomy. What this means is that, there is an imbalance social status operating between them. The image has not deployed any textual mode to support the visual choices. Therefore, interpretation of meanings is reliant on the visual choices provided in the image.

4.1.17 Post-election results will be chaotic

The electioneering in 2019 portrays both Atiku Abubakar and Muhammadu Buhari in different lights based on their perceived precedents. However, the image sampled in this plate projects Buhari as an injured candidate who need to exit the field based on his ill health.



Plate 4. 17: Post-election results will be chaotic
Former presidents' position on Buhari's ambition (Source: BusinessDay)

There is a representation of a football field and a football match going on in the field. The represented participant who is coloured green-white-green is attribute the depiction of Muhammadu Buhari based on the vector attached to him in terms of football. Other secondary participants are noticed in the background waiting to know the fate of the injured player, Muhammadu Buhari. Also, the scene implies a half-time which foregrounds the first term he has used in office but based on his antecedents, he is adjudged unfit. There are other secondary represented participants who have come to whisk him away from the field. Based on the prototypes, the body shapes and the colour representations, some past presidents like Olusegun Obasanjo, Abdulsalam Abubakar and Badamosi Babangida are identified and they rally round him to help him out of the football field. The narrative process engaged by the three past presidents admit the fact that Buhari may not survive the second half of the match if allowed to play, attributively, contest the election the second time. Abdulsalam Abubakar is seen with an Intravenous fluid (IV) which is an indication that Buhari's health has waned and he needs to rest. The facial expression of the secondary participant shows an anxiety which rests on the reaction of the actor, Buhari who insists that he is able to finish up the game. The former presidents only reply by engaging facial expressions to disapprove the claim of good health from the candidate of the APC.

Also, there are locatives accompaniments that are not directly linked to the event in the scene. These are given the attributes of on-lookers while the rest of them are seen as people attached to the conceptual process. In other words, these non-transactional on-lookers are metaphorically suggestive of other contestants in the election looking at the performance of the APC candidate.

Textual modes

There is a textual description deployed on the represented participant, Muhammadu Buhari. This is evident in his speech where he affirms: **LOOK, I ASSURE YOU GUYS, I CAN FINISH THIS GAME.** The use of modal auxiliary verb 'can' alongside an action verb 'finish' is a self-conviction on the personality of Buhari. These nominal and verbal choices are projective of self-assurance to further convince the electorate he would be able to perform more if voted for in the second term. There are other verbal choices he has adopted to support his acclaimed fitness such as 'look' and 'assure'. He also makes use of reference which connects the word Game to the

election. The visual-textual choices engaged here portray the represented participant as a sick person not fit to be elected into office for the second time based on his ill health.

4.1.18 A sick candidate should not be elected

The image in this plate is a double-panel cartoon that exemplifies the juxtaposition of the two candidates, together with the health challenges traced to the candidate of the APC.



**Plate 4. 18: A sick candidate should not be elected
Buhari and prospective voters (Source: Nairaland)**

The image assumes a communicative dimension by engaging various visual-verbal-textual strategies in describing the prospects of the candidates of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari and the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. The first image in the double panel sample cartoon reveals a man represented with the visual features of Muhammadu Buhari. There is the use of green-white-green aircraft waiting for him to board and there are some vectors attached to him to further foreground his ill-health. First, it is observed that the represented participant has in his hand, a syringe, a collocation of an inoculation. The injection is a symbolic attribute used to consolidate the adoption of conceptual process in the image. What this means is this, a moving person with an injection syringe attached to one of his hands is a moving unhealthy person, therefore, the symbolic attribute here represents the candidate of the APC as an unhealthy person who is not healthy for the office of the president he is contesting.

During the electioneering, the tenure of the president has been filled with several visits to London where he goes to treat undisclosed ailments. The image used the vector to connect the event by placing in his hand a bag with an inscription, I LOVE LONDON. The inscription is sarcastic and an engagement of mockery, as it devalues the candidate by projecting a sick man who still aspires to contest the position of the president in 2019. Metaphorically, the image implies the disqualification of the president based on health ground. Meanwhile, the London trips have been recurring. A good reason the image also engaged the narrative process of reaction in the image. While Muhammadu Buhari is judged ill, his facial expression is on the contrary. The image represents him as a happy sick person, a semiotic metaphor that explicates meaning exchange. His smile transmits an ignorant personality who delights in his state of health and travelling to London for medical check up. In other words, the narrative process is deployed in a contradictory way, this is as a man who has a syringe or an injection in his hand is seen happy. Happiness may stem from good health, whereas, the negation here presents otherwise. The reactionary process engages a facial expression which is smiley and willing. Therefore, it can be said that the president is happy traveling to London as a sick person, using the Nigerian colour as a ladder. The image uses a vector of a plane air stair painted in Nigerian colour. The information is transactional as it connects metaphorically, a president who uses the resources of the nation to cater

for his bills. To put differently, the interactive participants (voters) are indirectly reminded to review the candidate they want to vote for.

The vector lines symbolising the speed the candidate takes to the air stair is a symbolic attribute and a mental process at the same time. Symbolic in the sense that, they reflect the speed Muhammadu Buhari takes to the airstair each time it is time to board a plane going to London and mental process in the sense that it shows an information process of a president who wastes the resources of the nation building the healthcare of another country instead of building the healthcare system in his home country. This is why the speed is used to depict his willingness and his facial reactions are projected to show he is happy about it.

The love symbol is painted in red colour which is part of the narrative process here. The red is a reflection of seriousness, attachment or obsession. There is a representation of an obsessed participant with London. The information in the image does not portray him as a president of Nigeria with interest of the nation. There is a representation of a president who is in love with London but uses Nigeria as air stair to achieve his pleasure. Therefore, the image foregrounds a representative who may not be in the best position to help develop the nation since he is in love with London and not Nigeria.

There is the use of another non-textual cue referred to as Gaze to capture the goal of the reactor in the image. The gaze here is on the air stair, on the Nigerian colour, green-white-green but in his hand, he has the description of a love proffered for London. This implies a president whose focus is not on Nigeria but his heart is in London. The gaze used to depict this and the symbolic strategy is connective of a deceptive president who may not really be who he says he is. The movements of his body are symbolically engaged to show a movement in his fingers. This is a connective representation of the kinesics in him. The fingers show a man in his ecstatic mood as he swings the fingers to portray happiness. What he does is reflective of how connective the body movements are in order to generate meanings from the usual expressions. The action process too represents him as a happy actor. While these narrative processes are explicit of image in interaction, the implicit pieces of information projected in the image are meaning-driven. The information is visually

engaged to represent the candidate of the APC in a light the interactive participants can actually process and make an informed decision.

On the other hand, the second image in the double-panel cartoon is a reflection of an Event. When representations of actions include only the Goal it is called an Event; it implies that something is happening without a visible agent that is responsible for the occurrence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). In the second visual, there is no visible presence of either Atiku or Buhari, the event presented therefore is metaphorically sequenced to involve the interactive participants translating to prospective voters. In front of each role is a box branded INEC, BUHARI, APC and INEC, ATIKU, PDP. The implication of this representation is to describe the two candidates for the election and the image saddles that representation with interactive participants on the queues. The image further extends meaning-sharing by placing a long queue behind the box representing Atiku Abubakar and the PDP logo while there is no voter that queues at the back of Buhari's box. There is a reactionary process here. The reactors are represented voters who make a choice of Atiku over Buhari. Implicitly, the information here shows a preference for the candidate of the PDP rather than that of the APC. Beside the box of Atiku is placed a symbolic mode which is a sign post with an inscription of 2019. The signpost symbolically points to the choice voters should make in 2019 as it does not engage any verbal complement. The action is non-transactionally placed to allow the interactive participants process the information in the message accordingly.

Another visual mode engaged here is the use of social distance or the space. The space between the voters is close. It engages a close social distance to foreground unity among voters. This is close to the fact that, if divided, separated, the aim of achieving a 2019 that will see Atiku becoming the president may be defeated. Therefore, it can be said that the image represents a social distance that advocates a close shot, a close space among voters to achieve the needed goals. The social distance has equally connected the narrative process of reactions. The reactors in the image have put up stressed facial expressions, it can be observed that not much happiness is reflective in their different faces. The facial expressions are moody in appearance just that could be interpreted as a set of people reluctantly casting their votes. It is a mental process which implicitly shows that even in the sorry state of the voters as depicted using the

facial expressions, if they have to make a choice between Muhammadu Buhari and the opposition, Atiku Abubakar, they will choose Atiku Abubakar. The woman who is the second on the line has a visual facial expression that shows clearly, a stressed and unhappy secondary represented participant. She looks on, hoping to cast her vote for Atiku, though not happy.

In other words, the visual representations here suggest Atiku Abubakar to the electorate by engaging a coded means, pointing them to the 2019 sign and by placing that beside Atiku's box. All these modes are used to pass a subtle message across to the electorate.

Textual modes

In the cartoon, there are certain nominal words used as descriptive to create awareness for the readers on what the event was all about. The political actors involved and the description of the general election are all captured in the textual options. Words such as: 'Buhari', '2019', 'Atiku' are used to consolidate the direction of the cartoon. These nominal options are pertinent to the image analysis in order to further confirm the claims in the visual options.

4.1.19 Atiku will stop Nigeria's progress

The image sampled here describes why people should not consider the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. Reasons are woven into visual-textual to further transmit meanings embedded in the cartoon.



**Plate 4.19: Atiku will stop Nigeria's progress
APC and PDP candidates kick over a car (Source: Daily Trust)**

Both verbal and non-verbal cues are engaged in the image sampled here. The image shows the two candidates represented, Muhammadu Buhari and Atiku Abubakar struggling against each other for less obvious reason. There is a car with an inscription of Nigeria, the car is painted in green colour, and it fumes at the back of the exhaust pipe. One of the back tires is rammed and it looks imbalance while one of the doors of the car has been battered, it is not closing. A candidate in the representation of Muhammadu Buhari is seen popping out of the car and pointing to Atiku Abubakar who is standing in front of the moving car. There is a conceptual process here. The car is a symbolic attribute of what the country looks like under the candidate of the APC, Buhari who was the president as of that time. The rickety car is a symbolic representation of the state of the nation under him.

The car is depicted as rickety with a wobbled tire, yet he wants to keep driving it to a next level he is not sure the car will reach. Incidentally, the attention is not on the wobbled car and the deplorable state of it, he keeps revving it. This is another symbolic mode used to show where the priority of the president is. The meaning exchange translates to desperation for victory in the election and not the deplorable state of the country. While this desperation was captured, the image also projects another significant interpretation that is essential to the crux of the nation. The position that is engaged in the image is a reflection of his stand when issue of development is concerned. Postures and positions are verbal modes which are parts of the narrative processes. The actor is seen popping out of the car and obviously warning the opposition to steer clear of his way. The position shows an active car, based on the bellowing smoke from the exhaust pipe. This state of the car needs the driver to be concentrative at this time but the president is not in the car. His head and part of his body are out of the car. It transmits the metaphorical adventure of a distracted presidential candidate.

Atiku Abubakar is represented using the money in his pocket to foreground a rich candidate. While he is standing, obstructing the 'progress' of the car (nation), the money he has is used as a mental process to depict a character who uses his money to push the nation back from progress. Money collocates influence and the possession of it is translated to power. Therefore, it is suggestive that the PDP candidate has money

but his source of wealth was meant to influence retrogression for the country. It suggests a way of demarketing him.

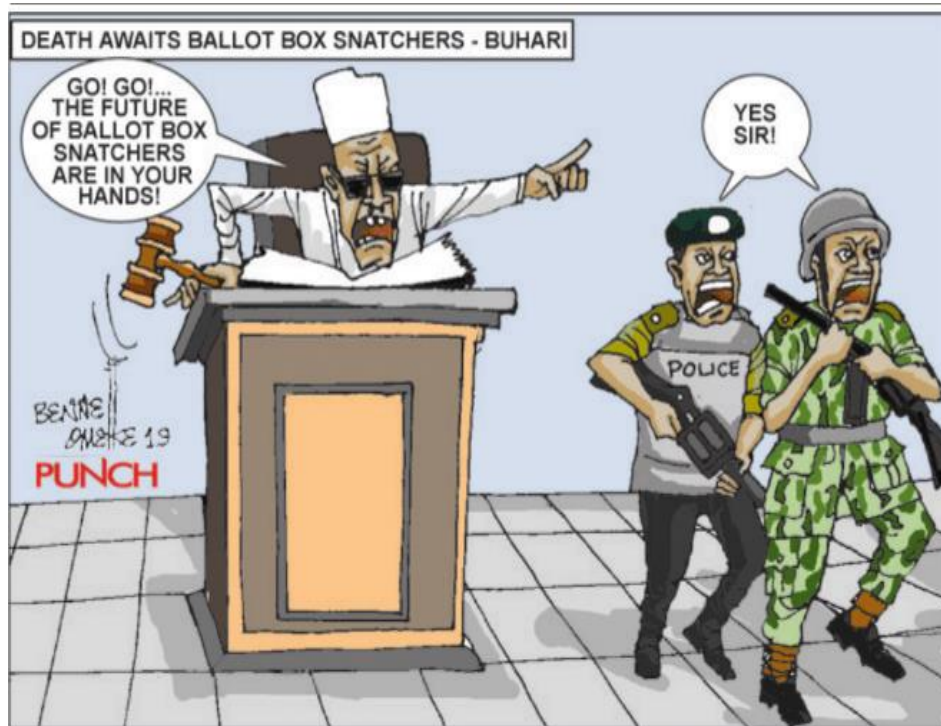
Textual modes

The textual submission adopts the use of interrogative statements and affirmation. The simple sentence ‘I am taking us to the next level’ used by the APC candidate depicts good intention which is a subtle way of selling him to the voters. The ‘next level’ as used here represents the political mantra of the president and it is a good semantic exchange to drive positivity for the APC candidate. However, the PDP candidate engages affirmation and interrogative sentence ‘which level? This interrogative statement is sarcastically deployed to push beyond a polar question. Rather, it is more of a dare interrogation. It affirms his intention by informing the other representative his direction of movement. Logically, the use of pronoun ‘I’ is common to both parties but while the other one exhumes positivity, the latter exhumes negativity. Thereby, there pronominal choice was used to command different meanings.

However, the position of the image favours the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari who seems to be the front-goer. Atiku’s stance of moving the vehicle back has not really portrayed him as a suitable candidate in the election.

4.1.20 Buhari is a tyrannical candidate

How the candidate of the APC, being the president, reacts to national issues is captured in another dimension to further show his reactions to national issues.



**Plate 4. 20: Buhari is a tyrannical candidate
Buhari acts as a judge and dictator. (Source: Punch)**

Basically, the narrative process has recorded a lot of visual communication in this image, coupled with the verbal complement. The idea begins with a metaphorical representation of the candidate of the APC in the general election, Muhammadu Buhari who is seen sitting on a bench used as an indicator of the court. The seat presents him as a judge. There are certain visual indicators used to confirm this, the gavel in his hand and the movement of the object. There are two Goals represented in form of a soldier and a police officer fully armed to the teeth and the image presents them as people who have just received an order. The image uses a reactionary process to represent a character sitting on the seat which should have been used by a judge. There is a problem identified in the representation. The representation does not align with the position the man occupies, the candidate is contesting, therefore, should not have been the one sitting to judge the case in which he is involved.

Also, the reactor is not a judge, it can be implied that the position where he occupies is a wrong location which suggests that he usurps the responsibilities of the Judiciary. This action foregrounds a president who has dislodged the judiciary to occupy its position giving orders. The absence of a judge on that seat is an implicit representation of a situation where the judiciary is cowed and conquered. In a court of law, there should be lawyers who will defend a case, then, a judge will rule on the case, this is not what is represented here. There is no lawyer, neither any advocate, only the president ruling on a matter which involves him. The reactions ironically depict an angry candidate, a person who is determined to enforce his rulings, using state resources. The facial expression speaks resentment, anger and order. He opens his mouth agape, a reaction that suggests he is shouting. This is coupled with the direction of his hand and fingers. The hand is extended in a full length and the finger is further extended to restate his stance on the order he has given. The reactionary process also shows an action that sees the gavel hitting the table, based on the lines of vector used to reflect the movement of the gavel. The action processed a presidential candidate who has given his judgement irrespective of what anyone says based on the movement of the gavel.

Another visual cue in the image is the dark sun shade he wears while delivering his judgement. The shade has not revealed his eyes and that is a symbolic attribute which conceptually processes a man who gives orders blindly, not considering the aftermath.

The book in front of him implies multiple rulings he has given, just only a page has been checked and delivered. In other words, the president may not really stop his actions of issuing rulings without the judiciary soon as the book pages are still many. Therefore, it can be said that since the pages in front of him is seen half way, it projects a visual metaphor that foregrounds a first term, second term representations. The first part of the book represents the first term he has used and the ones he is yet to open symbolise the second term he is trying to get. However, what the interactive participants should expect in the second chapter of the book is sampled, using him to represent a judge with a dark shade.

Additionally, the secondary participants in the image in forms of security agents are seen facing front without looking at where the order is coming from. They are represented using the movements of the legs as visual engagements to confirm a forward movement. Their position speaks of battle and this is connective to the position in which they back the 'judge'. The represented secondary participants have used a back-side position to show that they do not want to consider where the order is coming from, but to execute it. The colour on the first secondary representative shows a Nigerian colour, green-white-green, the uniform depicts a Nigerian soldier, while the second secondary participant has a tag of police on his jacket. They both hold guns which are vectors eliciting force, either the order given to them is right or wrong.

Textual modes

For each visual mode engaged, there are certain textual balances. In the speech process, the sayers have different perspectives. The main primary participant who is the 'judge' in the scene has an Utterance he uses which reads; GO! GO!... THE FUTURE OF BALLOT BOX SNATCHERS IS IN YOUR HANDS! There is the use of exclamations here to establish the tyrannical pronouncements. The exclamation markers are deployed to reiterate exigency and a form of despotism. The verbal engagements are clearly used to depict an action of promptness and urgency, repeatedly sounded. This is confirmed with the use of the verb 'GO!' repeatedly. The exclamatory markers are significant of emphasis. The nominal expression 'The future' translates a metaphorical placement of power in the hands of the security personnel to deal ruthlessly with anyone seen snatching ballot boxes, meanwhile, without any exception or regards for their rights to fair hearing. The headline captures the

complementary as it reads: DEATH AWAITS BALLOT BOX SNATCHERS---BUHARI. The use of 'death' here is an allegorical representation of the ruling he has given and the collocation of the word 'future' which he uses in the previous expression. Therefore, it can be said that the nominal choice of FUTURE as used in the expression means death. Put differently, the president has ordered the security agents to exterminate anyone who snatches boxes during the 2019 election.

The expression puts a marker on the headline with the name of the APC candidate on it to seal the source of the expression. The idea is suggestive of what Buhari uses his office to do, especially issuing directives to security agents to kill Nigerians without a fair hearing. The utterance from the security agents admits the reception of the ruling as they both shouted YES SIR! Exclamation was deployed to respond to the previous commands given to them by the president. It is also recognition of an order to kill anyone who may be considered ballot box snatcher, either innocent or not. The candidate of the APC is represented dangerous to the rule of law in the country, therefore, the verbal-textual cues suggest disapproval of his ambition.

4.1.21 Buhari only supports the Fulanis

The image in this plate is a reflection of sycophancy, the representation of ethnic bias and the attitude of the president to the cries of the other Nigerians who are not from his ethnic group.

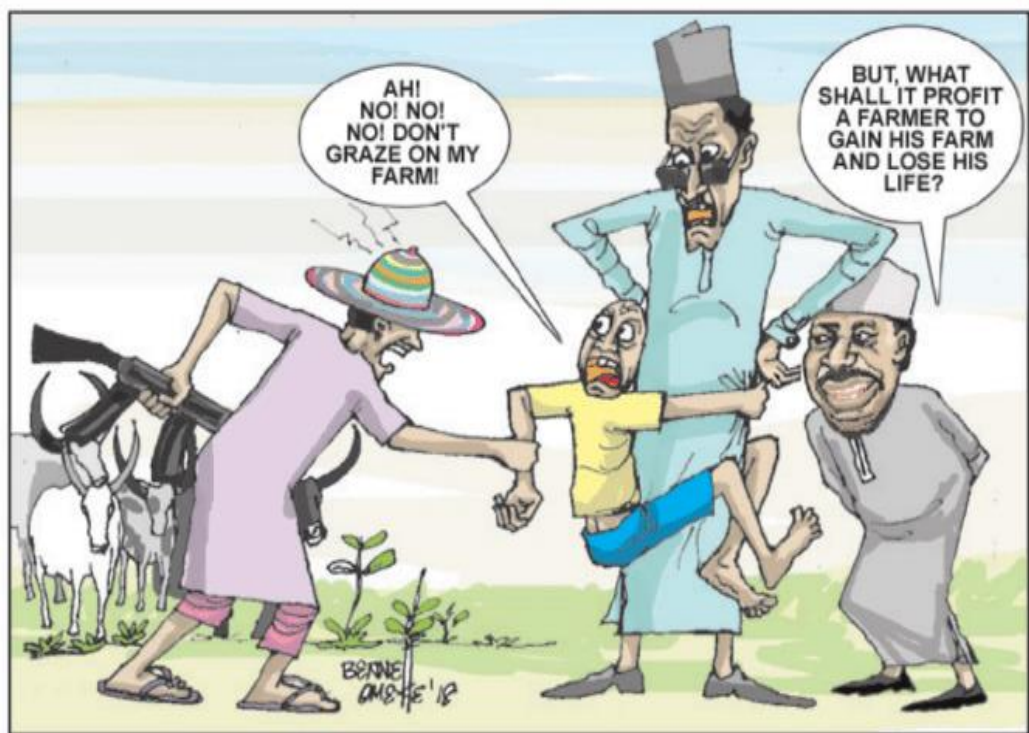


Plate 4. 21: Buhari only supports the Fulanis
A farmer seeks intervention from Buhari. (Source: Punch)

The image creates a scene of event happening in a place represented with village or a farm settlement. This is based on the connective items which are conceptually arranged to aid the surrounding meaning. The scene shows a herder rustling cattle on a farmland with vectored AK-47 assault rifle on his left hand. The reaction grabs the hand of a supposedly farmer who has, out of fear, clung to a participant which stands as a saviour, allegorically, the president of the country and candidate of the APC. The saviour has another represented person behind him who is there to offer a word in defence of the action going on.

Here, the farmer who clings to Buhari is seen as an Offer. By Offer, it means an object that is presented to the interactive participants, as either for sympathy's sake or any other feeling (Kress and van Leeuwen: 2006). The image projected an Offer of pity as he is seen clinging to Buhari, seeking justice and help. He is an offer that begs, an appeal to the choice of voters to show them the situation of things in the country, wherefore, the character who is represented as a helpless farmer is scared of the herder as a result of the vectored gun the former is holding in his hand. His facial expression which is the reactionary process shows someone who is extremely scared and terrified. The mouth is wide open, which suggests he is shouting for help, and his two eyes are dilated in full which is suggestive of trepidation too. His body position in the reactionary process shows his legs, hand and body contacts all leaning on Muhammadu Buhari. These reactions foreground his trust in the president, believing that the president should be able to help him out in his predicament, though this is not so in the image.

The primary participant who is the represented candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari is standing akimbo. The position of his hands shows he is not bothered or ready to help the farmer who has come to him for possible protection and this is because his facial expression is unfriendly and repulsive. He is a reactor here, his gaze his on the herder with the rifle and he seems uncomfortable with the herder. His expressions show he condemns the action of the herder but his hands show that he is not ready to do anything to caution the herdsman. It is a symbolic way of representing a president who is indulgent and physically frowns at herders' activities but not ready to fight or caution them. Hence, the farmers suffer for his inactions. This inaction reaction is further established using the position of his mouth which is ajar. Hence, no verbal

utterance is seen from him, in other words, he is mute to the activities of the herdsman in front of him. The image removes the dark shade on his face to reveal his two eyes, this is metaphorical. It is a visual submission that the president is not blind to what is happening to farmers in his land, he just chooses to ignore their activities and the reports given to him despite the public outcry from the farmers.

The secondary participant who is a herdsman holds the hand of the terrified farmer, trying to seize him. His posture suggests a threat to the planter and he seems determined to carry out a cleansing on him. In other words, the action process foregrounds an ethnic group trying to wipe out a particular tribe and graze on his land without any caution. He is angrily pulling the farmer, this is in conformity with the vector lines on his head which are suggestive of anger and the position of his mouth too is ajar, an indicator he is shouting at the farmer, for him to come down from where he is seeking help and give way to the cattle to graze.

There is another secondary participant who stands behind the president. He is a Locative or a Circumstance who plays a role which is linked to the event going on in the scene. A Circumstance is not the main participant but the role it plays is very connective to the actions going on in the image. Therefore, it can be said that Femi Adesina is represented as a supporter of the president's action since the space which exists between them is asymmetrically placed. We have the overt taxonomy relationship which shows that Buhari is superior to the man standing behind him. The rank also is not balanced. Therefore, it is suggestive that Adesina is not in the same status with him. There is one of Buhari's hands resting on Adesina's head, a posture that implies servant/boss projection.

Another visual choice used in the image is the scanty plants which are represented on the farm. The cows are seen looking on while the crops remaining on the farm can be counted. It appears the cows have eaten the crops of the farmers and leaving him with scanty harvest so far. Before the election in 2019, there have been cases of herdsmen eating up farmers' crops and destroying their farmlands in Nigeria. There have been states in the northern part of the country, middle belt and some parts of south which are affected. The idea of what is happening across the country before the general election is codified in the image to represent the state of the nation. The scanty crops are

signified to depict the symbolic attribute used to represent famine and scarcity of foods, especially where the cows have eaten up all the harvest.

Also, there is the use of salience and framing patterns in the image. The salience projects the action process clearly, representing the participants clearly for identification purposes. The framing is large enough to contain the full length of the representatives and the animals involved in the event. Both the interactive and the represented participants are captured in the scene. The colour separation is engaged to differentiate the participants in the scene too and the patterns are metaphorically placed for meaning interactions. The hat worn by the *Fulani* man covers his face, this is suggestive of hidden or compromised identity of the man. He has a gun in his hand too which stands as a symbol of violence. The interpretation of this could mean the action process of the *Fulani* man is done using violence to grab the lands of farmers. The action process is connective to the mental process which judges the presence of the vector as a way of suggesting the processes involved in driving farmers away from their ancestral lands. The gun is a symbol of, not just a herder, but a violent man who is out to kill in order to achieve his aims. The action process in Adesina's stance shows he is comfortable with the plight of the farmer. This is because he stretches his hands and locks them at the back of his spine, a posture which suggests he is not ready to offer any help too, just like his boss, Muhammadu Buhari. The position of his mouth shows a smile which buttresses the fact that he is happy with the situation of the farmer.

Textual modes

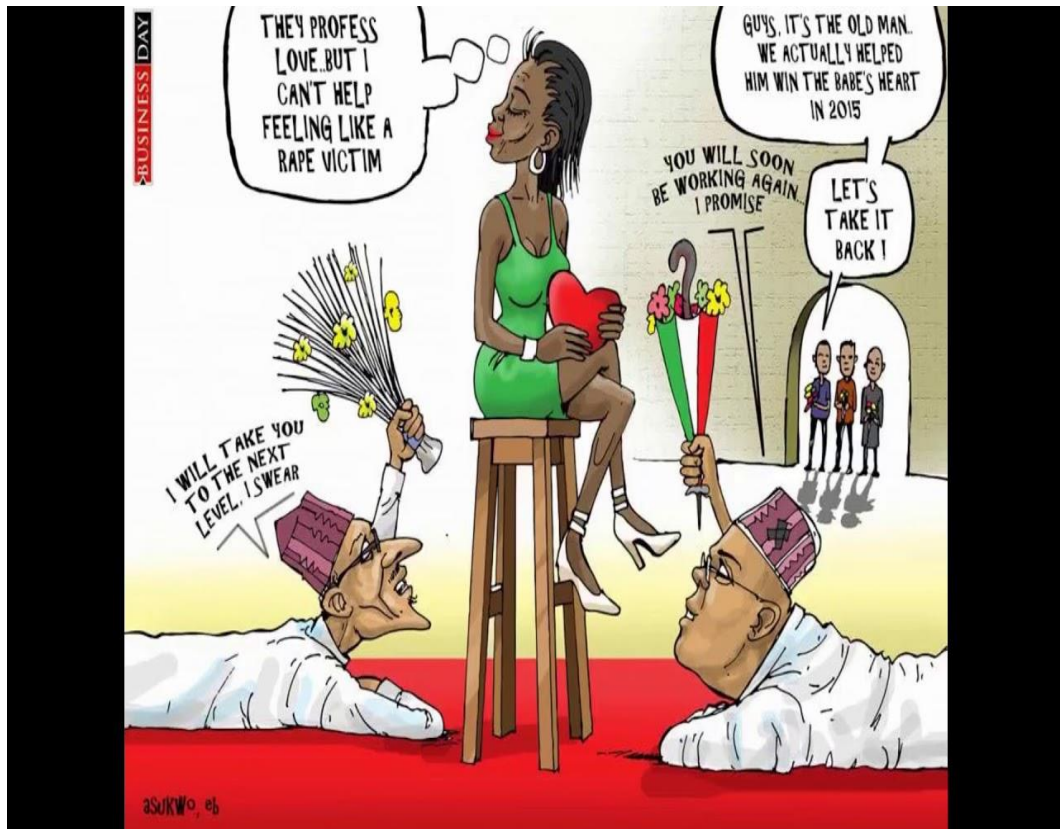
There is a verbal complement to his action process which confers on him the identity of a sayer. The expression reads: BUT, WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT A FARMER TO GAIN HIS FARM AND LOSE HIS LIFE? The expression is an allusion to the biblical saying that asks what it shall pay a man who gains the world and loses his life. The allusion is used to further convince the farmer to accept his fate, leave his land for the herdsman and run for his life. There is also the use of interrogative statement in the expression which is a way of asking the terrified farmer to reconsider his stance on the matter.

Rather than defending his ancestral land, he should forget about it. The farmer on the other hand engages exclamatory expressions to justify his action process. The expression reads: AH! NO! NO! NO! DON'T GRAZE ON MY FARM! The verbal complement paints the farmer as an offer of pity here based on what he has just said. The exclamatory is a state of pity and hopelessness in the administration of Muhammadu Buhari. The expression also appeals to the herdsman not to graze on his farm which is a way of presenting him as a lone fighter in the field. All other participants who could have helped are not bothered and they all look away while he cries for help.

The image represents the candidate of the APC as a man who is biased against one and supports the other. He looks away at the cry of one and supports the other. It is a way of presenting him to the interactive participants as a candidate who may not be good for the position of the president come 2019.

4.1.22 Atiku and Buhari are not democrats

In the events of the 2019 general election, political aspirants make a lot of promises to voters, either they will fulfil those promises or not is not certain. The image here represents the deeds of both Atiku Abubakar of PDP and Muhammadu Buhari of APC as deceivers of voters. The characters are represented to drive home the meanings intended. It also shows the verbal usages engaged in the event.



**Plate 4. 22: Atiku and Buhari are not democrats
Buhari and Atiku beg for votes (Source: Business Day)**

The visual-textual interlock is prominent in this image and several communication modes are engaged to confirm that. In the image, there is a depiction of two characters comparable to the candidates being processed, contesting the love of a lady who is sitting on a long stool. The two men are seen lying down with their hands stretched to the lady for an offer. Also, there are three participants at the entrance of the venue where this appeal takes place and the carpet is painted red.

Going by the emblems each candidate is holding in his hand, it points to the political party each of the candidates represents. The first one is holding a broom decorated with flowers and the second candidate is holding an umbrella full of flowers. The relationship between the candidates and the lady sitting on the stool is an overt taxonomy, in other words, the status is asymmetrically placed because of the desire they crave for. The lady who appears in green figuratively represents Nigeria based on the colour of her dress which is green -white-green. She looks away from the candidates seeking her love as though she is not convinced they mean what they are saying. The position of her head and the careless body gestures attest a voter who is not convinced by fake election promises from identified politicians. Her eyes are closed to further confirm this representation. In other words, the image processed a message which suggests to voters not to trust campaign promises put forward by politicians. Besides, the vectors in the hands of the political actors are decorated with yellow flowers. There is a symbolic metaphor here because they translate insincerity and deception, the reason voters should be vigilant. The cartoon has a number of textual tools adopted to further confirm the meaning exchange in the image.

The position where the image places the two candidates is also significant. The action process sees Atiku Abubakar at the vantage point where he faces the private part of the lady, though the passage is blocked. The fact remains, the position where Atiku is has a good view of sexual access to the lady. This symbolically agrees with the love representation the lady has placed in her hands and it is facing Atiku directly. The candidate of the APC seems to be at the disadvantage point in the image. Also, the space between the two candidates is long, the social distance is a metaphorical message which suggests the two of them are working on diverse points. The position is covert taxonomy that is there is no superior or inferior personality involved in the

placements. The image places both participants on the same level ground which symbolically agrees with equality.

Textual modes

The first sayer which is the figurative primary participant sitting on a stool affirms: **THEY PROFESS LOVE BUT I CAN'T STOP FEELING LIKE A RAPE VICTIM.** The sentence uses a pronominal introduction 'THEY' to refer indirectly to political actors in the country. Also, the verbal submission 'PROFESS' is a subtle way of referring to the two candidates as ones who have done more harm to the country than good in terms of everything. The participant deploys an allusion, using a descriptive nomination to engage the word 'RAPE'. A rapist is the one who has seized the rights of his victim and has a non-consensual intercourse with her. Against the will of the country, the two candidates have 'raped' the country, hence, they have consistently deceived prospective voters over the years. Therefore, the mental process here shows a set of people who may not be in the contest to the best interest of the masses.

Furthermore, the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari makes use of the speech process. In his utterance, he posits: **I WILL TAKE YOU TO THE NEXT LEVEL I SWEAR.** The promissory statement makes use of future tense laced with modality. The modal auxiliary verb 'WILL' indicates future tense which confirms the intention for the 2019 presidential election and what the candidate may have in mind. Meanwhile, the reactionary process of the lady does not agree with the future tense used by Buhari. She believes that the man has not been truthful in all. Buhari engages swearing method by adopting the verbal word 'SWEAR' as a means of convincing the young lady. This desperation is implicitly connected to his language use as he swears to the election promises he makes. The image subtly exposes the desperate action process of the candidate in order to portray him as a candidate who may not perform. Also, the candidate of the PDP makes use of the speech process to complete his verbal mode, he utters a statement which confers on him the identity of a political actor. **YOU WILL SOON BE WORKING AGAIN I PROMISE.** There is a future modality in his utterance by engaging the auxiliary verb 'WILL' whereas his expression collocates that the country Nigeria has not been working before this time. Therefore, he has come to make it work and that the lady should oblige him. Other verbal choices like 'SWEAR, PROMISE, WORKING' are engaged as means of conviction. Pronominal

choice observed in the speech mode tilts towards a prominent use of 'I' common to both sayers, an idea which suggests individual interest is being massaged.

Apart from that, there are some accompaniments standing at the door entrance of the venue, three of them who keep discussing while watching the event. The three of them make use of the conversion process after seeing the activities of the participants, one of them utters a statement which reads: GUYS, IT'S THE OLD MAN. WE ACTUALLY HELPED HIM WIN THE BABES HEART IN 2015. LET'S TAKE IT BACK. The Sayer is recognised as an accompaniment whose relevance to the event may not be linked to what is happening. However, his statement suggests they represent voters who contributed to the success of president Buhari during the 2015 general election. There are three prominent tribes in Nigeria, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. The three accompaniments are metaphorical representations of these tribes and the message in the image suggests they plan to take back what they have given to Buhari. They hold an object each in their various hands which does not have a clear visual placement. However, it can be interpreted as the power of votes they want to use in 2019 against the candidate of the APC.

The descriptive adjective 'OLD' used to portray Buhari shows that he is old and that implies he may not be in the best position to come back to power again. He is referred to as an old man, and being old here collocates loss of memory and disqualification. There is the use of pronominal word 'WE' which suggests collectiveness. The cartoon has projected this to identify the voters while the verbal choice 'TAKE BACK' confirms the meaning being processed in the image. To take back alludes a decision to work against, or send away. In other words, the prospective accompaniments are resolved to work against the candidature of the APC candidate. The entrance position is also an advantage to the candidate of the PDP as the image puts it behind him. The three accompaniments that are conferred with the identity of sayers also stand behind the PDP candidate. Therefore, the advantage the candidate has is more when compared to the one the APC candidate has. These disadvantages are designed suggestively, to reduce the chances of the APC candidate in the presence of the interactive participants so that they may consider other option.

4.1.23 Atiku and Buhari have asymmetrical success chances

Das (2022) describes caricature as a visual means of passing information using the tool of exaggeration especially when it comes with drawing. It also commands criticism in a safest way. The use of caricature is also part of image processing, language interaction common in the media. The 2019 electioneering is not an exception to this trend. Therefore, the image sampled here shows a caricature representation of the two candidates of APC and PDP.



**Plate 4.23: Atiku and Buhari have asymmetrical success chances
Buhari and Atiku in a display of biceps (Source: Nairaland)**

The cartoon represents the two main participants in the election by creating a process which tilts towards a boxing competition. Conceptually, before any boxing competition, the supposed fighters come to the public to display their biceps and fighting skills, perhaps to cow the opponents. The weight structure and the fighting skills are magnified to further expand the chances of the opponent. In the caricature presented here, there is the use of mutual representation of the two candidates with symmetric relationships and long shot social distance display. Both of them stand equal chance in the display as they stand the same chance. The display shows the biceps of each candidate, using the mental process to transmit possible information to the receivers. There is no textual option observed in the image but the mental process leaves the interpretive space for the interactive participants outside the scene. However, the action process shows Buhari as a prepared candidate, going by the positions of his hands as fight-ready. Atiku Abubakar is relaxed but the process represents him having a more pronounced biceps than Buhari in the image. Put differently, the metaphorical representation presents him as a more energetic candidate than Buhari, though the latter is standing ready. Judging by the caricature, the interactive participants are given mental view of who may be a potential winner or loser.

The image also makes use of heights to determine the two candidates. It is observed that the height of the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari is a bit more than that of the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. The metaphorical idea projected here is the use of symbolic attribute to show a candidate who has an incumbent power he controls. Then, Muhammadu Buhari was the president of the country and such a height can be figured to have reflected in the way the stature is a bit higher than that of Atiku Abubakar. The relationship which exists among the three represented participants is asymmetrical in nature. Yakubu is seen below the two candidates which is an indication of a master-servant relationship. The image suggests the two candidates are above INEC and the laws. Therefore, it is suggestive that the three of them are not on the same level. He is also tagged a referee who potentially stands in the middle to separate them in-between the fight. It can be said that the position of a referee given to him means the one to moderate the election and the processes. However, the cartoon projects, implying that Yakubu may not be in the best position to moderate the two

candidates because they are bigger than him. First, the president is involved and on the second note, Atiku Abbakar is a big wig in the politics of Nigeria.

Apart from that, the cartoon puts in-between the candidates, a man who is presented as an accompaniment. What this means is that, the presence of Mahmood Yakubu is relatively related to the election since he is the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, the body that would announce the winner. His presence is connective to the match in one way and dissimilar in another way.

Textual modes

There is the use of words familiar with each of the political actors and these nominal choices are descriptive in nature. They refer to specific candidate by labelling them appropriately. Words such as: 'Buhari', 'Atiku', 'Mamood Yakubu', 'Referee' are engaged to further describe the visual suggestiveness. There is no sentence usage in the modes here but the references depict the identities of the political actors each character represents.

4.1.24 Atiku will sell Nigeria on OLX

There is a symbolic representation of PDP candidate using the OLX selling app platform to sell Nigeria if he is ever voted for as the president in 2019. The image sampled here reflects the thoughts of brand damage against Atiku.



Plate 4.24: Atiku will sell Nigeria on OLX
Atiku negotiating Nigeria on OLX (Source: Nairaland)

The first conceptual process engaged here is the use of attributiveness. The symbolic attribute engages the representation of a popular online sale platform, OLX. The site is into selling of various products, including cars, fruits, services, household appliances and many more. It is therefore represented to have been involved in the meaning processes enmeshed in the sampled cartoon. There is a represented participant in the person of Atiku Abubakar, the candidate of the PDP and standing beside him is a masked man who holds in his hand a briefcase with an inscription, OUR FUTURE. The colour representation of the man shows he is white based on the blue eyes representation and his colour when compared to Atiku Abubakar's. They both have a handshake after a successful transaction. This meaning exchange is transactionally engaged to connect the interactive participants to the figurative intention of the candidate of discussion.

The transactional process is passed as a message to the voters to beware of Atiku Abubakar who wants to sell the future of the country. This is a visual interpretation of what Atiku Abubakar said while he was campaigning for his election in 2019. There is the use of social distance visual pattern between the two represented participants. The distance is what tells us more about the closeness between the two of them. Here, the distance is close to the extent there is a handshake. This implies a form of intimacy and it suggests that Atiku has a quick answer to selling off the future of the country at any slightest opportunity. There is a representation of a candidate who is likely to mortgage the economy of the country if elected in the 2019 election. In other words, the visual projection here processes a negative representation of Atiku to the interactive participants. The implication is that, the hope of the candidate is slim since his chances are affected based on the conversion process by the respondents, especially the voters.

Textual modes

The textual options in the image attest to the visual tools identified above. The hashtag used as a complement is a verbal choice 'SELL IT!' allegorically captures the sinister intention of Atiku against Nigeria and its assets. Therefore, the idea translates to the rejection of the candidate in the 2019 election. There is another hashtag projected in this cartoon: #Atiku Never Again which collocates denunciation. This hashtag is a modified way of rejection, an implicit way of demarketing the candidate in order to pave way for other contestants. The nominal choice 'OLX' is a depiction of a potential

seller, since the platform, OLX, is an online market hub. The metaphorical notion projected depicts the candidate of the PDP as a candidate who would sell the country online without any stress.

4.1.25 Northern supporters are divided

The plate sampled below engages the reactions of political loyalists who are obviously divided along ethnicity.



Plate 4. 25: Northern supporters are divided
Candidates of APC and PDP in exchange of words (Source: Daily Trust)

There is a reactionary process going on in this scene. The event created has two set of people presented as non-transactional phenomena in the image, obviously, they are two groups that represent the two prominent political contestants in the election: Atiku Abubakar for PDP and Muhammadu Buhari for APC. The groups have equal number of representatives and they have a placard each which stands to represent the creed of the group. The reactionary process makes use of the facial appearance to explain the action process of the groups. The action portrayed in the image is that of altercation and anger because the two groups who engage each other without the physical appearance of the candidates they represent are at loggerheads as being projected by the facial expressions. They express hatred towards each other as a result of the different political opinions each of them has. The social distance is close but the anger in their faces has metaphorically placed the distance at a long shot. The mental process arranges the meaning processing to the fact that the two groups are closely designed but mentally and emotionally far away. Distance suggests more about the closeness or the space between two or more people. The shot used to represent them too are full and the framing pattern captures the full length of the participants who are described as phenomenon. By phenomenon, multimodal supposition agrees that there are times main participants talked about are not visible in a scene, yet the presence is felt in the event. This translates to the absence of Atiku and Buhari in the scene, yet, the scene is a representation of both of them.

Also, the kinesics is another visual communication prominent in the event here. The finger movements are pointing down, facing each other. The idea projected here is blame and counter-blames, because they keep shifting blames and peradventure the mental process would process a disagreement of party supporters. The position of the mouths of the main speakers in the image reflects anger too as the teeth are exposed and the face frowned. The dress codes represented is northern in appearance based on the caps, the *Hijab* and the women who appear here portray the northern culture. The conceptual process is an attribute of showcasing division among the northern supporters of both candidates. The idea is a potential division among the northern gender, since both candidates are from the north and this may bring a negative result for the two candidates.

Textual modes

The verbal complements which appear on the signage each group holds encode hidden meaning. The SAI BUHARI and SAI ATIKU are presented in *Hausa*, the meaning of which can be paraphrased as ‘it must be Buhari’, ‘it must be Atiku’. The line used suggests desperation and commitment on the part of the groups represented. Therefore, the image can be processed to mean an exposure of ethnic division and polarization of different supporters in the northern part of Nigeria.

4.1.26 Buhari is a clueless candidate

One of the prominent parties in the 2019 general election is the All Progressives Congress (APC) which came up with the mantra tagged ‘Next Level’. However, the conceptualised information in the media during the electioneering has suggested that the candidate of the APC and his vice-presidential candidate have shown no idea of how to move the country forward. These retrogressive tendencies are tacitly embedded in the image below.



Plate 4. 26: Buhari is a clueless candidate

Buhari and his vice going against the people's direction (Source: Nairaland)

The framing pattern is a full capture of the represented participants and the idea to reveal the full participants involved in the scene. This is symbolically placed to show the images of the candidate of the APC and the ideologies of his goals. The image shows a set of happy people moving towards a direction while the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari and the vice-president, Yemi Osinbajo are seen moving towards another direction. Symbolically, this is counter-productive in nature. It is a visual way of showing that the APC candidate is not moving in the direction of the people. The symbolic attribute engaged here is conversionary in nature. The image is bi-directionary in the sense that the characters represented are counterproductive in appearance. Buhari heading towards the right direction while the other representatives are heading towards the left side of the frame, this attributive placement suggests anti-people policies.

Another vector used in the image is the tag Buhari is holding in his hand which shows that he is blind. This blindness is further enhanced using the visual tool salience. Salience magnifies his face by giving it a colour which reveals better the dark shade he is wearing on his face. The dark shade and the tag he is holding are meaning-driven as they connect the fact that the candidate of the APC is completely blind, and figuratively, blind collocates cluelessness, a notion that reduce the brand of the candidate. Hence, this is why the counter-directional movement is placed evident. The salience also shows his vice following him in the same direction smiling, he is not having a shade on his face, which is a symbolic way of saying he is better than the president in terms of forming a vision for the country but he is forced to follow in the cluelessness unchallenged. . However, the salience shows he follows the president in a manner that does not oppose the direction of the APC candidate. In other words, the vice is as blind as the man he follows if he could see they are heading towards the wrong direction and he has not cautioned the president. It implies both candidates in the APC are mere directionless.

The image also processed young people who are participants. Young translates to vision, strength, ideas and ability to drive policies. The cartoon admits the candidate of the APC does not follow this trend, rather he has chosen a different part quite different from the useful set of people. The vice-presidential candidate has a bit of his hair

revealed and it is aged. The symbolic metaphor enmeshed a set of leaders who are old and not open to fresh ideas.

Textual modes

The verbal complement also shows a modification to the popular slogan the APC used in the 2019 general election which was tagged *Next Level*. The slogan was changed to *Next Devil* with a salient colour striking through the design. The two words almost become homophones except the replacement of the initial letters. Therefore, the replacement stretches the meanings attached to the slogan in such that the collocation of ‘devil’ speaks of a candidate or a party that is wicked. In order to consolidate that assertion, a subheading is added which reads that such a statement is the APC roadmap and later advised the voters to ‘follow wisely’, using verbalisation and adverbial choice side by side.. The last submission advising people to follow wisely is a meaning extension which translates to telling people to be careful of a ‘blind’ candidate representing a devilish party with devilish intention which probably has the tendency to mislead the country and face another direction in terms of developmental policies. Irrespective of the personality involved, the pictorial representation of the participants is backward and counter-productive. It is a message designed to weaken the chances of the APC candidate in the election.

4.1.27 Hunger and hardship are Buhari’s plans for voters

There are times a double-panel cartoon is sampled to project ideas which are outside the literal representations of the candidates involved. This representation adopts diverse meanings which are sampled in this plate.



**Plate 4. 27: Hunger and hardship are Buhari’s plans for voters
Buhari and Atiku will plunge the masses into hunger (Source: Vanguard)**

The first image presents two represented participants vying for a crown. The crown is placed in the middle of both of them with an inscription of 'Presidency 2019'. The two participants have certain emblems in their hands which are connective visual modes: a broom and an umbrella. The umbrella is painted in red-white-green and the green a same colour, which translates to the two parties at play: PDP and APC. The two candidates act as the primary participants, only one secondary participant is noticed in the scene. The narrative process here bifurcates to the action process and reactionary process. The action process shows the two candidates ready for a catch as the reactionary process shows their hands ready in position which suggests that obviously they are aiming at a goal. There is a vectoral movement that depicts the eagerness of the two of them in such that they move aesthetically to grab the crown which is placed symbolically as the presidency position. Underneath the crown is a flag with a colour separation of green-white-green, a flag that suggests Nigerian colour. The flag is attributively placed to consolidate the election which Nigerians are going to determine who will win. The metaphor here shows the fate of the two of them, no matter how ready they are, their success in the election depends on Nigerians, which are represented using the vectoral flag. The presence of Ibrahim Waziri in the image has a divergent meaning to the 2019 general election. The image used this to divert the attention of the interactive participants for a purpose since the date it lived is placed there. If a dead politician could keep a watch on the two interants, the symbolic attribution suggests that the two should take things easy for the end of everything figuratively will end in death. This is an implied appeal to the two candidates.

The social distance used in the image shows that Atiku Abubakar of the PDP has more desperation than Muhammadu Buhari. The image depicts this by giving him a close mark to the crown. The hand is touching the crown even though it is still the campaign period. Besides, the social distance shows a wider space between both of them and the status in the image is balanced. Put differently, the political prospect of the two of them is weighed same in the image while the desperation of one is pronounced than the other. The position of Atiku Abubakar also is backing the dead man speaking behind him. He may not be interested in the advice the circumstance has given to him. Both candidates are not interested in the advice as portrayed in the sampled cartoon as the two of them have their gaze fixed on the crown and not the sayer.

There is the use of speech process in the event going on in the image. There are the use Interjectory placements via the use of repetition. The nominal word 'campaign' is repeated three times to lay emphasis on the event created in the scene. The scene is a campaign of two participants jostling for a position. Therefore, the repetition used is a visual tool to mark a resounding awareness of the happening. The sayer in the first image in the person of Ibrahim Waziri who issues a suggestive statement; GENTLEMEN, REMEMBER IT IS POLITICS WITHOUT BITTERNESS. The utterance is coming from a political office holder who had lived and died. The logical conceptual interpretation here is mental-related. The mental relationship connects a dead politician who may have been telling the candidates that the position they want is temporary and that the end of it all is death. In other words, they should take things lightly as the world is temporary.

The second half of the plate shows a different scene outside the PDP and APC identified representations. There is a connective speech process and the action process engaged. The action process shows an angry cow running after a man, the cow is tagged *Hunger* and the man, *Masses*. While the man runs away from the *Hunger*, he dashes towards a water log and without his knowledge, a crocodile has opened its mouth, ready to eat him up should he ever get into the water. The crocodile is tagged *Hardship*. This foregrounds a meaning transition in such that the meaning placement has shifted from the use of ordinary communication modes to depict events. There is the use of animals to represent non-living things. Hunger and hardship as used in the image are abstract nouns engaged to explain the current economic situation in the country during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari.

Textual modes

To buttress this, the cartoon makes use of a verbal complement which says: WHAT A NATIONAL CHANGE. The nominal word, 'change' as used in the expression is a slogan the APC adopts in 2015 as the party's mantra. Therefore, it gives a further linguistic insight into the meaning as the mental process helps to interpret the expression as a sly on the party. Also, the prayer allusion which reads: OH LORD, I'M COMING HOME is a statement of hopelessness as though the man who is representing the masses has reached a point he could no longer bear the pains of failed leadership. The pronominal choice 'I' is an identity representation which shows the

state of the poor masses. The 'home' used here is figurative, which depicts 'death'. The expression is a reflection of frustration and in the scene; it becomes an offer of hopelessness and frustration. Besides, there is the use of ellipsis to signify continuous action in the electioneering. It is a way of projecting the fact that the process of wooing voters may continue or still in process and in-between this, more actions are still predicted.

The visual-textual choices engaged here have presented the APC as a party which has not brought any hope to the masses apart from hunger and starvation. If they vote the party to power in 2019, the prediction may be conceptually seen in the hunger or hardship which may consume the masses if care is not taken. This submission is represented using the skulls of dead people the crocodile (hardship) has consumed. The image elicits a demarketing tendency.

4.1.28 APC will succeed in this election

Visual-textual tools are further expanded to cater for the possible meaning transfer in the image sampled below. Therefore, the transformational idea is transferred in order to convince the target audience of what to do or who to vote for during the 2019 election. These visual-textual modes are revealed in the next image.



**Plate 4. 28: APC will succeed in this election
Buhari in a dressing room (Source: Vanguard)**

There is a primary represented participant in the scene with various visual-verbal communication modes attached to the meanings embedded in the image. On the left side is a hanger with clothes and one of the clothes has an inscription of 2019 on it. Figuratively, the represented participant has seen a new opportunity ahead of him judging by the direction of his eyes. Also, the cloth he has on is of a different colour, his position, using the reactionary process now, is tilted towards a candidate who is aspiring to have this position or who covets the position. This is reflected in his finger resting on his lower lip as though he is salivating for the position. The meaning inferred here is a man who is 'thirsty' for the 2019 win. The cloth choice is visually distinguished to show him as a participant who is prepared to change clothes (office), come 2019.

The social distance depicted between him and the 2019 cloth has shown a wide range of prospect, that is, the hope of winning the election may be far away from him as he is seen 'salivating' towards the cloth in the image. Despite the endorsement given to him by the APC governors and the entire members, the image foregrounds an opportunity far from him which means, his chances may be low. The conceptual signs used as verbal complement reveal an APC fashion centre, yet the clothes are far from the candidate. It is a subtle way of telling the party, the opportunity in 2019 is a bit far but figuratively, the APC has the wardrobe, no other political party has the prospect.

Textual modes

Based on the textual complement deployed, nominalization, verbalization, interjection and descriptive adjectives are employed to drive meanings. 'Endorse', 'Make', are verbal choices which the newspaper has used to support the candidature of Buhari. Besides, 'Second term', 'governors', 'APC', '2019' are engaged to connect the push for the candidate of the APC. The nominal choices project the political brand of the candidate of the APC.

4.1.29 Atiku Abubakar has corruption case in the US

The image in this plate is a reflection of the personality of the candidate of the PDP in the general election. The image exemplifies him as a man surrounded with scandals, especially his precedents in controversial international dealings which had earned him a visa ban at a point. The image further magnifies the events in the conceptual process.



**Plate 4. 29: Atiku Abubakar has corruption case in the US
Atiku and the US ban on his visa (Source: Daily Trust)**

The image is a reflection of sarcasm, metaphorically placed to depict what the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abukar has which may present him as a candidate not worthy for the 2019 position. Conceptually placed, until 2019 at the peak of the electioneering, there have been accusations from the opposition party, APC, which states that Atiku cannot visit the United States because of the fraud case levelled against him by the US government. The image here sarcastically placed in his hand a US visa. The visa is seen with a well-dressed wool-lazed cover cloth and a golden chain on his neck. He is seen walking briskly towards nowhere. The finger points to his shoe and his eyes are seen closed while walking. The directionless candidate is represented using an action process that has no result. The image does not show any destination for the candidate which tactically assumes the cartoon being sarcastic towards his personality. The image has placed a vectored visa in his hand but with no plane or any other represented participant to welcome him. The narrative tacitly places Atiku on a baseless adventure with an indirect message of mockery. In other words, the visuals have packaged an image- denting tools to project his past as a corrupt politician. To further confirm his directionless representation as a result of corrupt background, his eyes are depicted closed which translates to a candidate on a free mode. This offering suggests a demarketing strategy for a high-class candidate seeking a political position.

The image further confirms this by not putting any descriptive mode around him which may point to anywhere, the whole background is plain and white which alludes hollowness. The idea is that the claims by Atiku that he has no case with the US government and that he can travel to the country anytime may be untrue. This can demarket the candidate as he aspires for the position in 2019. He is an actor here, displaying a number of movements to depict his feeling about the whole display. The visa is logically displayed to show the opposition the possibility of him getting what he wants at any time he wants it.

Textual mode

There is a description in form of nominal choices. The expression 'US Visa' alludes a pint of sarcasm to further demarket Atiku over his inability to visit the United States. The meanings surrounding the event inform or presents a man whose past cannot allow him become the president of Nigeria. The nominal choice has placed him in a limelight

to the readers which is a negative fame for him and his political party, the Peoples Democratic Party.

4.1.30 Buhari is a murderer

The fusion of both APC and PDP in the 2019 general election has seen the visual representation of both parties in various lights. The images sampled here are reflections of both parties and the messages they are trying to pass across to the voters, especially as the electioneering was on-going. The first image is a reflection of both Atiku Abubakar and Muhammadu Buhari while the second image is a reflection of the state of the country in the administration of the candidate of the APC.

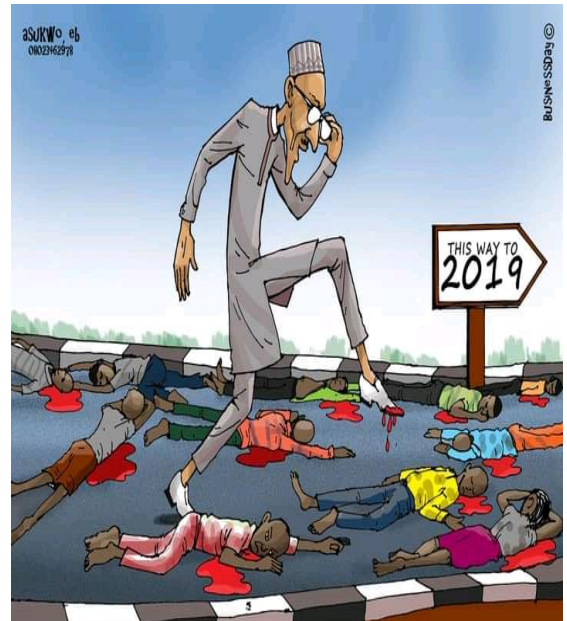


Plate 4. 30: Buhari is a murderer
Buari and Atiku in political game (Source: BusinessDay)

The narrative process in the first image has produced a speech process in form of music notes, the notes are seen dangling round the participants and there is the action process which shows they both dance round a chair. The actors are moving to the rhythm of the music which interactive participants are not privy to, yet, the kinesics shows a movement connective to dances. The hands are raised and the legs too are raised in a manner that depicts propulsion. The chair represented here is a visual mode which shows a colour engagement, the colour is a signifier of the country Nigeria because it is painted in a national colour of green-white-green. The seat is flashed as a vector which signifies that the seat is a still representation of power or the position of authority both candidates are trying to win in 2019.

The social distance shows a circle movement and that suggests a symmetric social status between the two candidates. Both candidates are labelled Atiku and Buhari, and while Atiku appears in a white flowing Agbada, Buhari appears in black attire. The attributive reference of white shows purity, innocence while black symbolises something bad, evil, ill-omen and bad luck. The image conceptually presents Atiku here as a better option with a heart of purity while Buhari is shady and laced with bad luck. Unfortunately, in the image, he holds the player, he dictates the tunes deliver to the dance floor because the action process shows that he is singing and the reactionary process shows he is using one of his hands to adjust the tune button on the player. The conceptuality agrees with the fact that the power of incumbency belongs to Buhari and the prospect swings to his side since he holds the player and controls what goes into the air in terms of music. In another interpretation, The semiotic placement of his hand on the vectored music player rhetorically admits he is a manipulator. Buhari, being the president at that time of electioneering possesses the power to control who sits on the chair, Atiku, on the other hand, shows he is oblivion of the hypocrisy of his opponent. This submission is embedded in the position of his hands and facial expression which all allegorically suggest happiness.

Atiku, according to the image, has a good heart but he is innocently dancing to the tune coming from the music player, the button of which is with Buhari. It becomes very pathetic as the cartoon judges Atiku smiling innocently to the game of politics going on behind him. His body posture does not show he pays attention to the game.

The second image is a visual metaphor that connotes a participant representing the candidate of the APC in the 2019 election. The candidate is a sole participant in the scene stepping on a number of dead people. The image uses blood as a vector to connect the fact that they are all dead and not sleeping. On the other side of the picture is a signage which reads: THIS WAY TO 2019 and it is pointing to a direction. The symbolic attribute applied here shows that the white shoe Buhari is putting on is stained with blood, yet he keeps moving over the dead bodies, an idea which suggests carelessness. The symbol agrees with the fact that his administration has seen a lot of people dead. The upward movement captured in the scene foregrounds a man who does not care how many people have died, his concern, according to the direction he heads, is the 2019 election. In order to see his way clearly or in a way to navigate his way properly, the reactionary process sees him removing his glasses so he can have a better sight. His hands are seen removing the glasses which may be interpreted as a way of explaining the action process in the event.

Besides, the cartoon presents the secondary participants who are dead as offers of pity to the electorate. The mental process here would have interpreted the action process of Buhari as wickedness since he marches on the dead bodies without much care. The interactive participants are likely to get angry at this act of wickedness displayed by Buhari. The framing pattern does not reveal the end of the road where the signage has pointed to and this may be a deliberate attempt to show an endless journey in politics. Ahead of him are likely to be more deaths awaiting the masses if he is voted into power, this is because the legs of one of the dead bodies are extended into the 'future' designed in a way that explains vanity. The endless road captures a visual metaphor that speaks of what the people should expect even after the 2019 election. This is further established as the dead bodies of two people are extended beyond the 2019 signage, this is a conceptual representation of future.

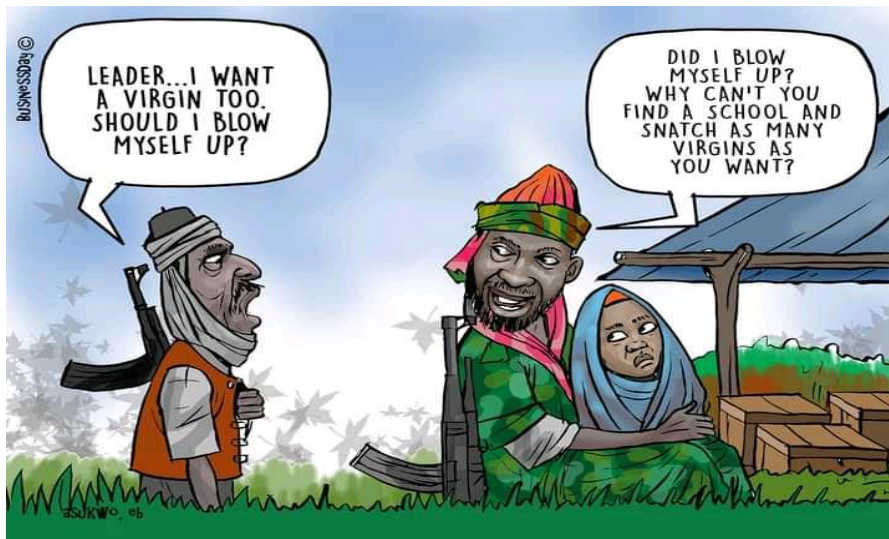
Textual modes

Sarcastically, the cartoon complements the visual communication with an expression which reads: NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS MUSICAL CHAIR. This sarcastic description is in tandem with the visual application that the music is designed to suit a particular candidate while the other one is standing at a disadvantage. The use of descriptive adjectives such as 'Nigerian', 'presidential' confirms the image

processes the presidential matters in the meaning exchange. Also, the nominal word ‘Election’ admits the main subject of discussion in the visual while the phrase ‘Musial Chair’ collocates mockery. In the second image shared, the signpost reads: THIS WAY TO 2019. This descriptive language here predicts the goal and the target of the APC candidate, despite the death of many innocent citizens. It adopts metaphorization to project suggestiveness for Buhari. In other words, the choice of language here is metaphorical and it supports the ideas embedded in the visual. The representation given to Buhari here has not added any value to his candidature.

4.1.31 Buhari’s frustration will come on the citizens

The double-panel cartoon here is a reflection of the candidate of the APC who conceptually focuses on the wrong course. The setting is used to elicit a ring where certain participants are present.



**Plate 4. 31: Buhari’s frustration will come on the citizens
Buhari fights wrong opponents and the representation of terrorism (Source:
BusinessDay)**

In the first image sampled, there is the use of Conceptual Process, mainly, the classification process and the symbolic process are pertinently engaged to exchange meanings. The idea presents a wrestling ring with two well-built individuals standing akimbo, looking at the opponent, the person of Muhammadu Buhari. The identity is confirmed based on the verbal drop by one of the represented participants who has used a content to connect the history of Buhari when he was the president in 1984. The two candidates are tagged 'corruption' and 'terrorism'. There are other secondary participants who are circumstances because they are related to the event going on in the scene and they are connected to the main participant in the image. The fight is supposed to be between Buhari and the represented participants who are attributively corruption and terrorism. In other words, the core value of any government is to fight corruption and provide adequate security to the people. However, in the symbolic attribute engaged here, the reverse is the case. The image has presented a wounded Buhari facing the people and smashing a chair on their heads. The action process shows a fight going on, however, the fight, instead of being between the main participants and his opposition, ironically has turned against the audience. Meanwhile, the reactionary process shows his movements are directed towards the wrong people. In other words, the administration has taken on the wrong opposition, leaving the main oppositions. The chairs being smashed on the heads of innocent circumstances is a symbolic representation of poor policies which directly affect the masses.

Part of the reactionary process is the position of his body. He is supposed to face the opposition but he is seen backing them, facing another direction. Hence, it presents a candidate who may not really know what he is doing and in order to cover for his failure, he transfers the aggression of his failure on the innocent secondary participants. These secondary participants are presented to the viewers or interactive participants as offers of sympathy since many of them are seen languishing in pains. Their pains are symbolically represented with boils on their heads and loss of phones, plus a sound represented with a resounding interjectory sound, 'gbosa!'. Buhari is shown a defeated candidate via the use of a mode identified with the blood coming from his nose and a star roving his head as though he is almost unconscious. The chair suggestively represents various policies he makes which are anti-people.

The other represented participants seem to have done little to defeat their opponent since the image has used the analytical process to identify them and the reactionary process to show them smiling. The smile symbolises little effort, much success and the faces are covered using transparent glasses. The communication modes have shown them as victors and conquerors. In other words, the two men are relaxed in the ring. The social distance between them also depicts that they are not of the same status. Put differently, their status is asymmetrical. What exists between Buhari and the agents, representing corruption and terrorism, is not balanced, it has placed the agents above the president. This meaning extension suggests that Buhari has no solution to the security or corruption challenge the country is facing. Also, the social distance is widened with the manner Buhari is avoiding responsibilities. This may have depicted him as being evasive even when he is in government.

Textual modes

The image engages a number of textual complements. The sentence which reads: REMINDS ME OF OUR FIGHT IN 1984 is a connective expression to ascertain what happened to the government of Buhari in 1984, the attribution is that he failed then and he still fails now, or, he was defeated then and he is still defeated now by corruption and terrorism. The second participant gave a reply which corroborates the first sayer: YEAH...DUDE HAS ALWAYS BEEN GOOD AT TRANSFERRING AGGRESSION. There is the use of verbal phrases and the choices are connective to describe the attributes of Buhari both in 1984 and 2015. The expression confirms him as a man who does not change in terms of shifting blames and fighting the masses with his policies. The adverbial choice 'Always' confirms this. Apart from that, the nominal word 'aggression' is a choice that shows uncontrolled temperament. It means Buhari is a man whose temperament is not curtailed especially when he senses he has failed.

The second image in the dual-panel cartoon is the use of sarcasm and visual metaphor to describe his failure in the area of security. In April, 2014, a group of girls in a town called Chibok in Borno State were kidnapped by Boko Haram (Folorunso, 2017). There have been several other successful kidnaps of young school girls recorded during the administration of the APC candidate, Muhammadu Buhari. There is an identity of Shekau, the supposed leader of Boko Haram who is seen holding a child-girl on his lap and he tells one of the terrorists to also go and conduct a kidnap session

if he wants a virgin. The expression ‘...WHY CAN’T YOU FIND A SCHOOL AND SNATCH AS MANY VIRGINS AS YOU WANT?’ is a directional statement which collocates the freedom terrorists enjoy under Buhari, especially in the northern parts of the country where the act thrives. The northern parts are represented using the visual discourse code of clothes in the image. The scene presents the girl-child as an offer of sympathy and this is reflected in her facial expression. Hence, the verbal choice ‘snatch’ depicts a relationship that is overt taxonomical. In other words, the representation shows that security agencies and terrorists under Buhari do not have same status. It places the terrorists over the security agencies since they can just walk into any school and snatch girl-children. The verbal choices ‘find’, ‘snatch’, ‘want’ are collocations of freedom for bandits under Buhari’s administration. The image projects a candidate poor enough to secure the country.

4.1.32 Buhari is a self-centred candidate

The visual representation of the candidate of the APC is extended to the private life he lives. His itinerary is x-rayed to present a representation of his attitudes to the plights of the people. The image below is an example of a demarket strategy.

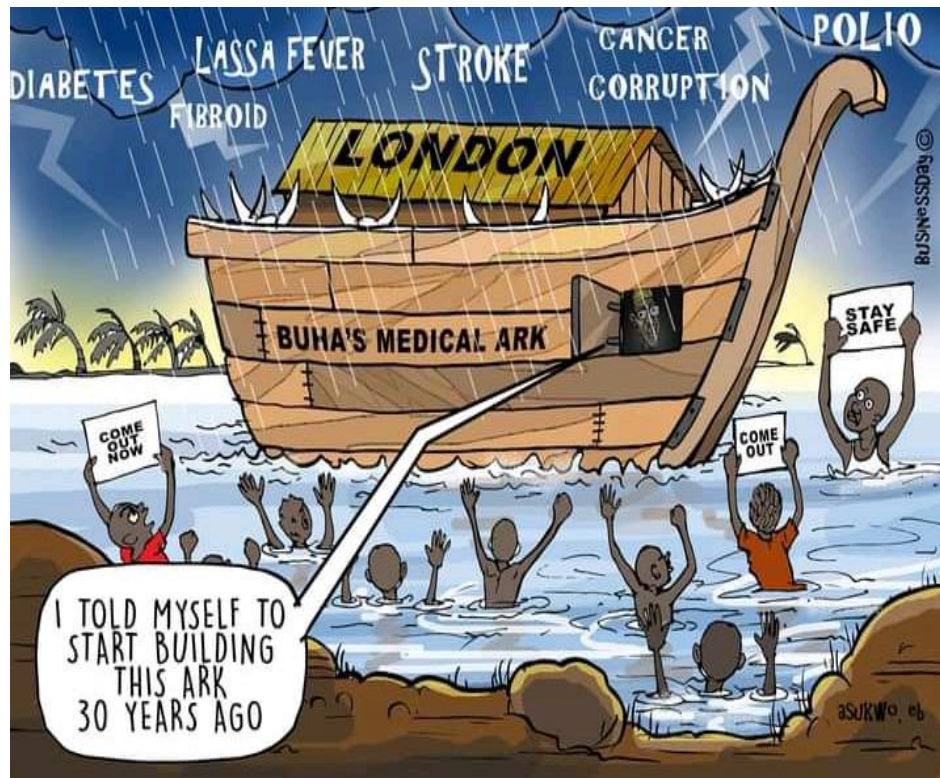


Plate 4. 32: Buhari is a self-centred candidate
Buhari saves cows but not human lives (Source: BusinessDay)

There are many represented participants featuring in the scene here. The image presents both the goals and the phenomenon respectively with hidden visual metaphor in order to present an event for the interactive participants (viewers) outside the picture. The image starts by engaging a biblical allusion of the Ark of Noah which is a replica or a representation of something designed to save the world during the time of Noah because it was going to rain for the first time on the surface earth. Instead of saving humans, Muhammadu Buhari is presented to have preferred saving cows more than human beings and this is a counter allusion to the story of Noah. The preference is depicted using the horns of cows. The represented participant in the ark is an offer, this offer is for judgement in the sight of the interactive participants in the sense that, he alone, alongside his cows, has access to a safe medical attention. The medical treatment is represented using an ark as a vector. The visual dialogue signifies London as the roof of the ark which foregrounds the fact that Buhari travels to London for good medical attention, believing that the ones provided in the country may not be good enough. Hence, figuratively he has left the masses to their fate.

Furthermore, the reactionary process adopted by Buhari indicates that he looks at the plight of the people but he chooses not to save them. This is logically presented by the direction of his face towards the people from the ark. By extension, the image has provided this visual mode to further presents the masses as Offers of sympathy here. This attitude confers on Buhari, the identity of a wicked leader who seeks comfort and good health for himself alone and his animals. The animals are interpreted as the cabinet members he has and all the political appointees in government, the members of the national assemble and all those in government who have the financial power to leave the country and seek medical attention in London. This reactionary process further elucidates the behavioural patterns of Buhari and why no vote should go to him.

In the middle of the flood and the stormy weather condition, there are goals who are recipients of Buhari's ineptitude reactions. These goals are represented by participants who are drowning in the pool of water. Many of them are seen trying to swim towards the ark with no avail, an indication that implies their financial capacity cannot guarantee a medical trip to London. The Goals are presented as objects of sympathy as many of them are seen struggling with the tide helplessly. In the scene also, the image

uses good framing patterns to separate the participants and presents them well for good view. Also, the salience tool is engaged to enhance the characters in the cartoon. Salience separates the colour giving a better view to the plights of the identified goals.

Textual modes

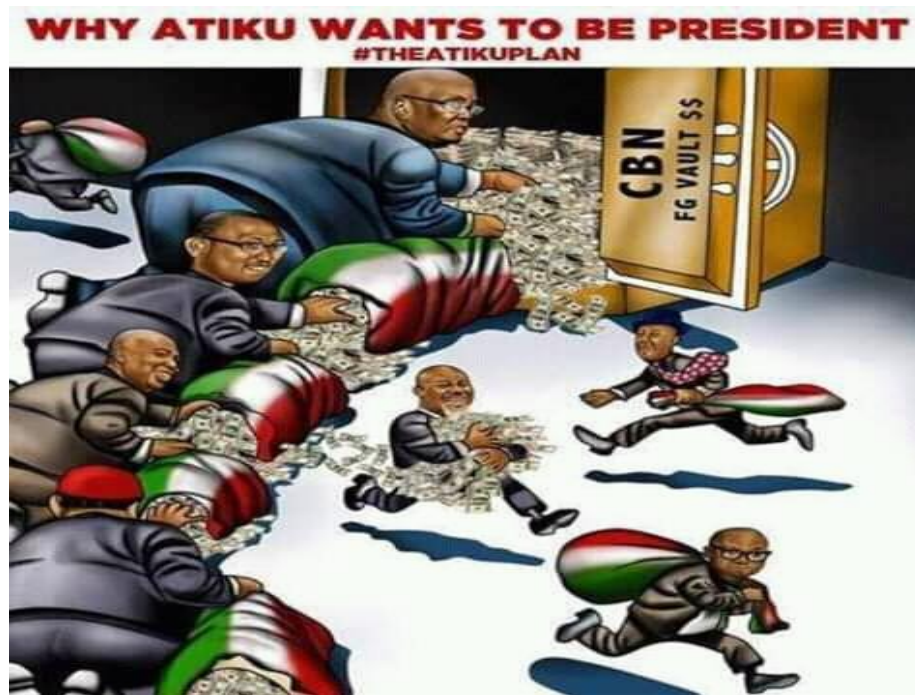
The textual complements are supportive of the visual submissions. The rain which is represented with the metaphorical submission of harrowing experience of the people is reinforced by the identified nominal markers of diseases which include: STROKE, LASSA FEVER, HIV/AIDS, POLIO, DIABETES, CORRUPTION, CANCER, STROKE and so on. These diseases are used to represent the various medical challenges the masses have with no president to help them out of them, instead, he has built an ark of safety for himself and his allies who are represented as cows in the image.

The represented participant also uses the speech process to deliver a saying: I TOLD MYSELF TO START BUILDING THIS ARK 30 YEARS AGO. This expression is a reference to the government of Buhari in 1984 during his military era. It is assumed that the idea of neglecting the masses and making life unbearable for them has been the index of Buhari up till now since 1984. It means nothing has changed. The idea is metaphorically placed to balance the visual representations. The image also mocks some of the goals who still support the actions of the president by telling him to 'stay safe' even while he himself is drowning. The sycophant is indirectly attacked in the image in order to project him as an ingrate and a fool. Furthermore, there are other participants holding placards which carry verbal markers such as, 'COME OUT NOW', 'COME OUT. The expression is laced with verb phrase which expresses action. The actions are directed at the president to force him out of his hiding place and attend to the plights of the masses.

The visual-textual choices in the image have depicted the represented participant who is the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari as an unworthy candidate in the 2019 presidential election. This image is also capable of reducing the chances of the candidate owing to the image projections used on him. The voters are at the end of the communication circle here and it is expected that owing to the representations given to the candidate, the interactive participants will not cast their votes for him.

4.1.33 Atiku and his allies are going to loot the Nigeria's treasury

The social media has played a significant role in the circulation of prospects of the candidates of the APC and the PDP. Part of this representation is the depiction of Atiku as a looter, a thief and an opportunist. The image below is a reflection of this representation.



**Plate 4. 33: Atiku and his allies are going to loot the Nigeria’s treasury
Atiku loots the treasury alongside his political allies (Source: Nairaland)**

The political representations during the electioneering have shown Atiku Abubakar, the candidate of the PDP as someone who loots or may loot the treasury of the country. The represented participant is presented as an offer of stealing to worsen the hatred presupposed towards him for breaking into the vault of the Central Bank of Nigeria. In the image, the represented participant is seen in the open, leading other secondary participants who have come with the aim of stealing the public funds into the vault side. This reactionary action engaged in the scene depicts a man who has the potential to waste public funds and spread it to favour his political allies. This is why the image puts them on a line behind the represented participant and which is made magnified using the visual tool of salience. The visual discourse tool magnifies the actions and the reactions of both the primary and secondary participants in the image. Also, the salience allows a full view of the reactionary action going on in the scene for possible semantic interpretations. Also, with the aid of visual tool which is salience, the framing patterns agree to show the full casing of the interactive participants. The idea is to present the participants as various objects to the voters who are adjudged as the interactive participants in the scene.

In the scene analysis, there is the use of colour separation to indicate the party involved. The red-white-green colour choice is a vector or a mode that connects the Peoples Democratic Party to the activities of stealing public funds. In other words, the sack painted in PDP's colour foregrounds the party is financially dishonest. Therefore, the interactive participants should be careful voting for its candidate, Atiku Abubakar. Besides, the mental process interprets the body movements of the participants as modes running away with public money, this is as one of them is seen running with a bag full of money. Put differently, the secondary participant has stolen some money, therefore, the possible action process will be to run in order for him not to be caught. The shape of the mouth also shows happiness and successful action, since he runs and smiles at the same time. It is an action process that implies the party and its members steal public funds and they have no regret doing that. The sac which is painted in PDP emblem colour is depicted broken into segments, each segmental break is filled with money, an action process that foregrounds a division of human categories of Atiku friends. Whoever connected to him will benefit from the stolen money, this is the

predictive submission of the visual communication, to present the candidate of the PDP as having financial indiscipline.

The verbal complement is tilted towards the use of expository statement: WHY ATIKU WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT. The interlocutory expression is designed to negotiate meaning alongside the reasons Atiku would want to contest the 2019 election. The questions on why he vies for the position is enmeshed in the visual metaphor engaged in the visual and scene analysis. The expository usage is complemented with the use of the hashtag which reads THE ATIKU PLAN. The nominal choice 'PLAN' used here denotes the plan of prowling which eventually will destroy the economy of the country. This demarket strategy has placed Atiku at a disadvantage point considering the various representations given to him. There is also the use of descriptive statement which is inscribed on the volt. It shows that the volt belongs to the federal government of Nigeria. Such a description is targeted at reducing the chances of the candidate in the election.

4.1.34 Political candidates do not trust one another

The political difference existing between the two candidates have been magnified by the media during the electioneering to further establish the thoughts in the minds of the participants. The image in this plate is a display of expectation and distrust.



**Plate 4. 34: Political candidates do not trust one another
Atiku and Buhari in desperate expectation (Source: Daily Trust)**

The represented participants displayed in the image are sited watching a ballot box without saying a word. The implication of this is the use of visual communication where exceptions are given to any verbal complement. The reactionary action here makes use of the facial expressions which represent seriousness on the part of both candidates of the PDP and APC. The box significantly represents the returns from the interactive participants, in other words, both candidates are sited expecting the votes from the electorate in the election. The idea projected here assumes a new dimension of mistrust. The facial expressions also assume a face-to-face approach to further establish the mistrust propositions. Each candidate makes use of the narrative process to adjudge the fact that they do not trust each other in case there is a blink, hence, they both keep vigilance towards the box which is represented as the centre of gaze. The gaze also performs a complementary function in the scene presented in the image to establish the purpose of the process. The positions of the hands are part of the reactionary process too where they appear on the alert in case there is any movement from either of the candidates.

The ballot box is a signifier which appears to represent the period of discussion. The box shows no transparency, it has an opaque, unclear or a dense material, it is an implication of an unknown fate or a dense hope for the candidates, hence, they have to be vigilant. The position is placed in the middle of the candidates who are seen maintaining equal margin to the box. The margin is measured equally, a visual discourse that implies fairness on the part of the electoral system in the country. The image magnifies the fairness projections even though the candidates do not really trust the system to give them the equity and fairness it promises. The opaque display of the ballot box is an exchange of meaning which tilts towards the unknown.

On the last note, the colour placements assume a red cover. Red is presumed to represent danger and this can explain the reason both candidates have not tampered with the opaque contents inside the box. The represented participants are also not in any attempt touching the ballot box as a result of the implication which is enmeshed in the redness placed on the ballot box. It is a figurative redlines which must be respected. Additionally, the red line can stand for electoral rules and regulations that must not be flouted.

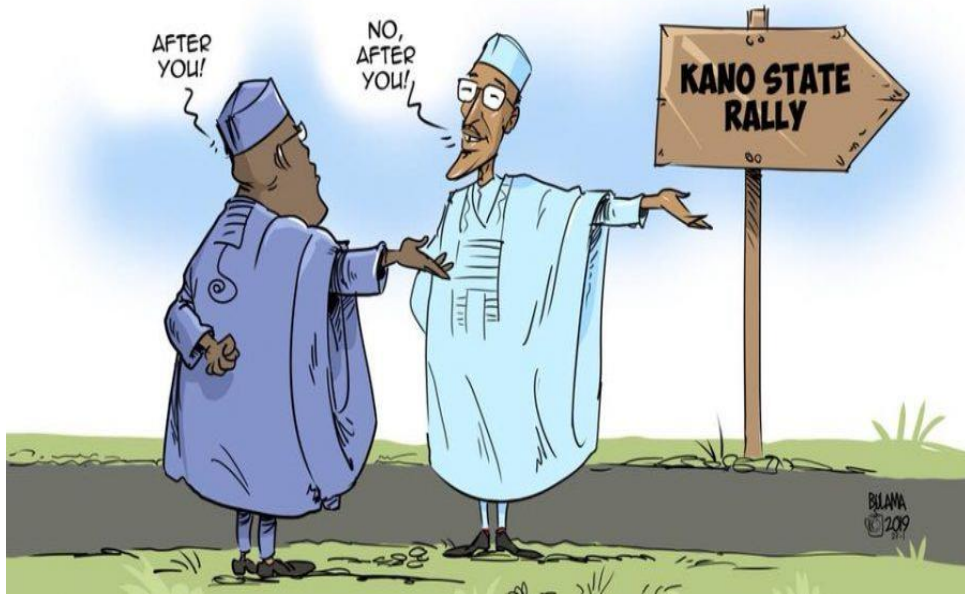
Apart from this, there is the use of framing patterns to capture the two candidates and the salience complements the patterns to show the action process of the two participants in such that there is no part of their reactionary process hidden from the interactive participants. The use of visual dialogue modes here is significantly placed in line with the fact that there is no trust in the aspirants, and if there is no trust in the candidates as regards the 2019 election, it could be difficult trusting the outcome of the election too. This could actually discourage the interactive participants from accepting the two candidates.

There is every possibility the interactive participants will not trust the represented participants based on their own perceptions about the electoral system.

The nominal inscription on the box reads: '2019 Election'. This descriptive pattern sprightly addresses the focus of the image and why the candidates are seated. The descriptive submission processes an election highly significant with the two candidates being the spotlight, no other primary participant is featured. No other information is provided using the textual application. Also, for the image to establish the specific election in topic, it flashes the inscription, placing the two political actors side by side.

4.1.35 No credible election with Atiku and Buhari as candidates

The image in this plate is a reflection of the state-to-state electioneering which various political parties organise in order to win the votes from the electorate. Kano election results as of the time of the electioneering are considered huge determinants in the winner of any presidential election. The image is an expression of distrust as sequel to the visual message in the previous plate.



**Plate 4. 35: No credible election with Atiku and Buhari as candidates
Atiku and Buhari show mistrust during Kano electioneering
(Source: Daily Trust)**

The represented participants in the image are signifiers of both Atiku Abubakar of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and his rival, Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress during the Kano State scheduled presidential campaign. The represented participants have engaged the use of visual-textual tools to explicate the doubts in their individual minds against each other. The Kano electioneering was slated for January, 2019; however, the narrative process here reveals the candidates do not trust their confidence as regards who should bell the cat first. The positions of their hands show both participants pointing to the same direction at the same time. The facial expression of the APC candidate is adjudged sarcastic as he beams a faint smile while reacting to the PDP candidate, he enjoins him to go ahead, using hand gestures. In a reactionary process, Atiku gives a no smile feedback by rejecting the offer using action process of rejection. The modes engaged the use of verbal complements via the use of affirmative statement, especially from the represented participant of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari. The affirmative rejects the offer from the candidate of the PDP and the reaction is definite. The speech process is more marked in the verbal submissions of both represented participants.

Besides, the social distance of the two candidates is asymmetrical in nature. In other words, the two represented candidates maintain a covert taxonomy in such that the status of the represented participant of the APC is more pronounced than the taxonomy given to the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar. To further explain this, metaphorically, the Kano State is adjudged to be a favourable scene for the candidate of the APC.

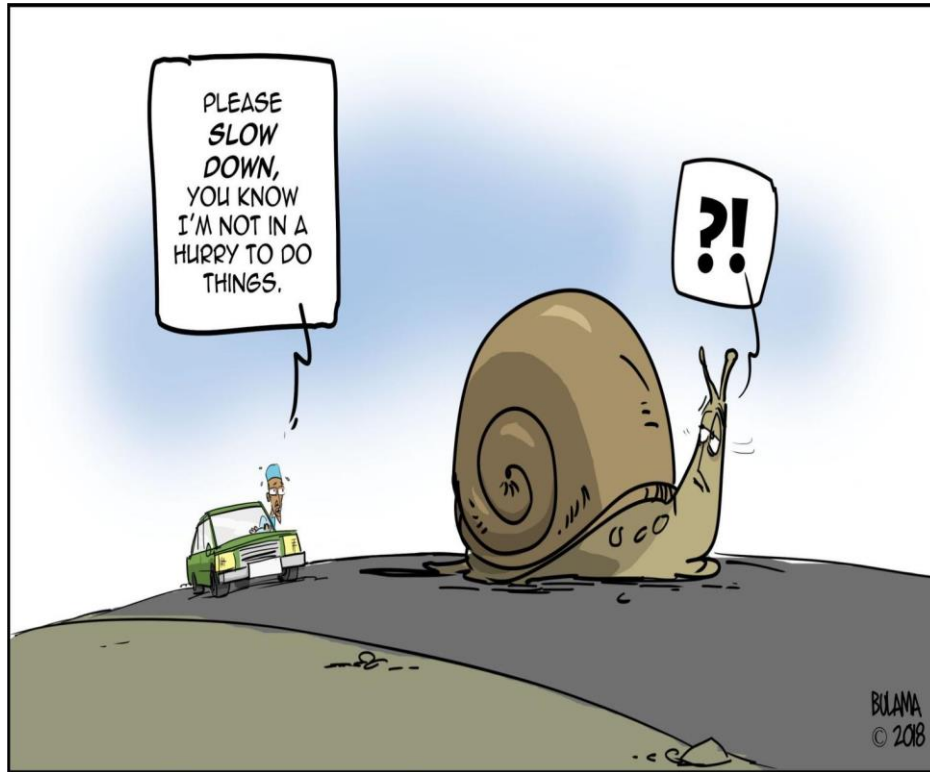
Apart from that, the gaze mode engaged by the represented participant of the APC shows an extension of an unwelcomed friendship, however, the reactor, Atiku deflects that extension of friendship by not accepting the closeness gesture. He engages the reactionary process of gesture by showcasing his fist at his back which implies a readiness for a fight if it ever comes up. This is what the actor has used to buttress the intransigent progression. The Offer mode is engaged too with Atiku backing the interactive participants outside the scene. He is presented as an offer of information here in which the viewers assume his emotions as regards the Kano State position towards his campaigns.

The conceptual process is analytical by showcasing the expressive mode and the presentation of both represented participants as symbolic. The sub-conceptual mode, symbolic attribute is a representation of a situation where the candidate of the APC is given more prominence as regards Kano State, the projection here is that the votes from the state may favour the candidate of APC as against his rival from PDP. This verbal process is prominently projected as means of classification and as means of meaning exchange. Simply put, the image predicts the winner in Kano State.

The textual complement uses interjections to expand the concept of mistrust in the image. The candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar says: 'After you!' referring to his rival in other party. An adverbial clause of time is deployed here to buttress the intention of the sayer. It then means he does not want to go if the other candidate will not move. Also, the candidate of the APC, Buhari responded by using another interjectory statement, 'No, after you!' There is the use of exclamation to reiterate the intensity of his decision as regards the proposal from the previous speaker. There are possibilities of mistrust in the expression engaged by both participants who are suspecting each other at the border of the state.

4.1.36 A snail is better than Buhari in accomplishment

The image attributed to the political parties in the 2019 electioneering takes diverse visual-verbal dimensions. There are instances where the represented participants are absent but the image uses attributives to connect the events to the referred participant. The image in this plate displays the attributive nature of Buhari to a snail.



**Plate 4. 36: A snail is better than Buhari in accomplishment
Buhari is being outrun by a snail. (Source: Daily Trust)**

The conceptual process used here attributes the human nature of Buhari to the pace of an animal. In the image, the projection shows a snail crawling ahead of a man who drives a car painted in green-white-green with yellow headlamps. The idea places both of them on a highway, free of any obstacle or bump. However, the social distance between the snail and the driver of the car shows a wide margin which ordinarily is not expected to be so. Snails are known for slothfulness, while a car is expected to be ahead of the race in an ideal situation. The reverse situation is conceptual in nature as it exchanges the ideal for the odd in the image setting. While the man driving the car is way far at the back of the snail, the colour of the car reveals a Nigerian colour which attributes the car to the country. Therefore, it can be said that the driver of the car is the president and the candidate of the APC in 2019 presidential election.

The visual projection of the president is metaphorically placed to pass a message of dissatisfaction to the interactive participants or the viewers in such that a man with a car is calling out to a snail which has outruns him to slow down because he doesn't do things in a hurry. The visual metaphor here is sarcastic in nature as regards the slow responses of the president to things that should have ordinarily been done on a fast lane. The lane with no bump is an implicit way of eliciting fast actions, however, Buhari is not fit for such a lane if with a car he cannot move ahead of a snail. Furthermore, the body posture of the snail elicits confusion because it looks back to view the speaker. It is expected a man in a car should outrun a snail. The angle shot is given a frontal capture and this allows the interactive participants or the viewers to have a broader view of the two participants involved in the scene. The idea is to create connectivity between the snail and Buhari which is a visual dialogue that presents him as a slow, irresponsive person. The angle shot also indicates the paper is involved in the shot because of the frontal projection.

The verbal engagement used in 'SLOW DOWN' is boldened to lay emphasis on the desire of the represented participant. The emphasis is a way of getting the attention of the snail. This verbal engagement catches the attention of the snail which in a swift reaction gives a reactionary process by engaging a disappointing facial expression towards the president. The look on the snail's eyes is a reaction which turns it to a reactor in the process and the speech process in the narrative shows a speechless distend. Furthermore, the empty dialogue balloon engages a rhetorical or an

interrogative dimension which suggests the represented participant in form of a snail is surprised at the verbal projection of the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari.

The idea is a visual-textual merger that is set to demarket the candidate of the APC based on his precedents in governance and the fact that a snail is better than him when it comes to being proactive.

4.1.37 Atiku has a better hope for Nigeria

There is the use of non-transactional depiction of individuals in the image below. The idea is embedded in non-animate objects which represent a connective index with the candidates of the APC and PDP during the electioneering.

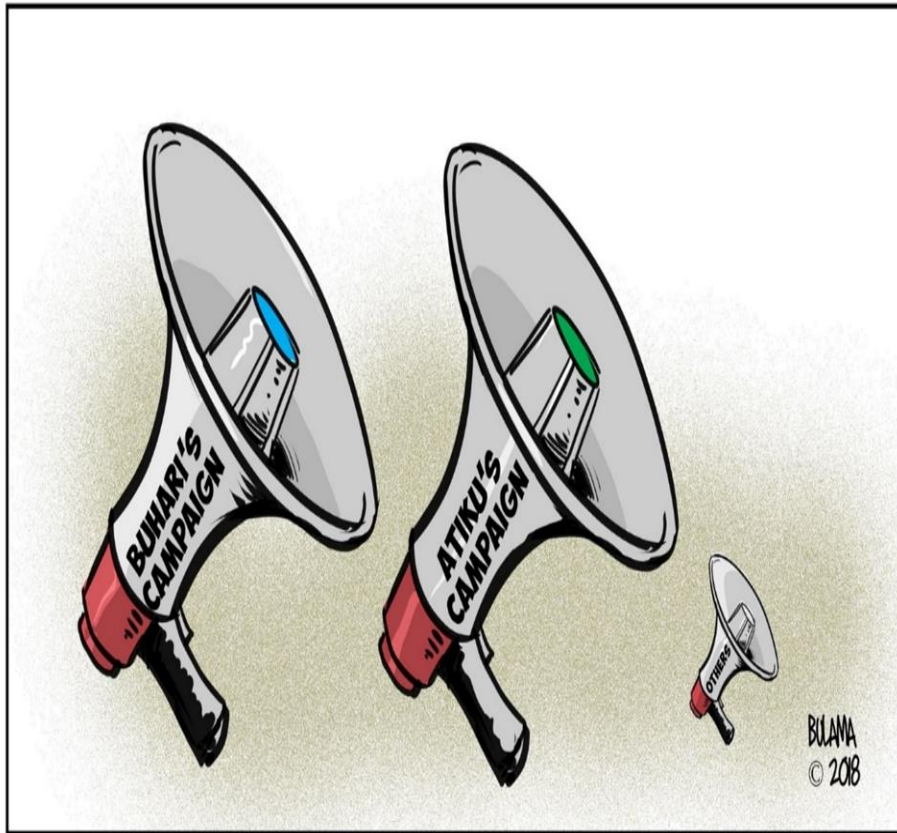


Plate 4. 37: Atiku has a better hope for Nigeria
Megaphones representation of Buhari and Atiku (Source: Daily Trust)

The image has engaged the non-transactional inanimate representations to drive home a metaphorical depiction of all the political parties involved in the 2019 electioneering. The visual metaphor elicits three megaphones which is a representation of campaigns, their prospects are woven in the size of each of the megaphones. The visual discourse is craftily laced with nominal labels in order to distinguish each represented participant. From the left side, the first megaphone bears the name of Muhammadu Buhari as Buhari's campaign, the second megaphone bears the name of Atiku Abubakar as Atiku's campaign, while the third megaphone is tagged, others. The name tags are metaphorically written to show the prominent to the least of all the prospects among the three megaphones. The megaphone given to Atiku Abubakar enjoys a bigger pictorial representation followed by the one given to Buhari and the least of the megaphones is the 'others' which is given a slim opportunity. Going by what the image projects here, the size engagement foregrounds more prospect for Atiku Abubakar in the North than the candidate of the APC, Muhammadu Buhari. In other words, the view suggests the popularity of the candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar more than Muhammadu Buhari who is the candidate of the APC. There is little or no hope for other political parties as the visual captures present them with a tiny representation.

The image is suggestive of more prospects for Atiku and it presents an implicit way of marketing him to the northern part of the country using a bigger megaphone to represent him. Besides, it is an implicit way of showing a more prominent voice among the three represented participants in the image. There is a fusion of both textual and visual choices.

The three megaphones have distinctive labelling to separate them from each other. The first megaphone carries the inscription 'Buhari's campaign', the second megaphone carries the inscription 'Atiku's campaign' while the last and the smallest one carries 'others'. The uses of these nominal descriptions are figuratively placed to further enhance the meaning being projected in the visuals. The bigger megaphone that wears the Buhari campaign description is a subtle way of selling the candidate of the APC ahead of the others. The last megaphone being described also wears an inscription 'others'. This idea fuses with the visual to show how insignificant the cartoon rates other political parties contesting in the election.

4.2 Relevance of Visual-textual interrelatedness in cartoons

The visual-textual modes engaged in the sampled cartoons have significant impacts on the transfer of meanings targeted at the perceived audience. This audience are recognised as the voters in the presidential election in 2019.

4.3 Discussion

Oladimeji (2015) sees textuality as multimodal when it combines two or more semiotic systems. The extension of visual to meet the textual terms develops the potential to integrate human thoughts which could have been in fragments with existing words in order to widen views of meaning interpretation. The visual, without any doubt, has the potential to increase human comprehension. The study of other communication codes in a text which appear as signs draws us closer to the concept of semiotics in images which is quite relevant to the cartoons being discussed in this study. The study of semiotics is concerned with the study of signs Sebeok (1995), Halliday and Hassan (1985:4). The concept examines signs as the vehicle which allows humans to represent their thoughts or present information in such that such can deceive or obfuscate outcome or results. Sign in its broadest sense is a natural or conventional semiotic entity consisting of a sign vehicle connected with meaning as Larsen (1994:824) confirms. The primary target of a sign or image is that the existence is germane to meaning-making attempts which help in comprehension of certain things.

Everything speaks when it comes to language dynamism, including material objects, physical space, and time systems. Although textual output can be turned off, nonverbal cannot, the examples which appear in this study. There are instances the visual is presented as options for meaning but with the absence of the textual. In other words, it is pertinent or easy to relate with pictures more in order to come up with meanings. Even silence speaks. So, we can as well define non-textual communication as communication without words. It includes apparent behaviors such as facial expressions, eyes, touching, and tone of voice, as well as less obvious messages such as dress, posture and spatial distance between two or more people. The concept of non-verbal communication in this study explains the study of human body movement (especially as seen in the images). It is often believed that actions speak louder than words; visual signals are more germane to meaning especially when they combine with textual modes. Body movement is the interpretation of body motion communication

such as facial expressions and gestures. In other words, visual behavior related to movement of any part of the body or the body as a whole can exhume meanings.

Textual modes are those that are performed in synchrony with simultaneous speech. Gestures can also be performed without speech as posited by Kendon (2004). Meanwhile, the crux in this paper has been on interpreting the fusion of verbal and textual modes in cartoons wherefore visual modes include movements. It is pertinent to note that speakers coordinate visuals with speeches so that the phases of performance align with textual projections so that strokes in particular are performed in time with nuclear accents in speech. This coordination may involve brief pauses in one or the other modality, orchestrated to maintain synchrony between temporally extended behaviours, Kendon (2004). One can admit that the active alignment between text and visual codes is indicative of the close semantic and linguistic relationship between them.

By extension, verbal analysis is incomplete without the signs and the non-verbal codes. The non-verbal codes are enmeshed in communication in the process of meaning generation. In the cartoons sampled in this study, it is observed that separating visual and textual can be possible. However, where the images are to be read by anyone who does not have a social context to the backgrounds of the necessary information in the image, it will be difficult to interpret a visual choice. It is therefore easier when the textual is introduced because it shed more light to the activities of various characters in any image. The study therefore admits that the interrelatedness between the visual and textual further enhances the chances of meaning generation. In the sampled images, there are actions which require close understanding to decode the inherent meanings.

Certain objects are engaged to drive meanings. Sometimes, these objects surrounding the represented participants are used to depict realities which are tied to inherent meanings. Water, blood, guns, animals and so on are deployed to further consolidate meanings. Where the social contexts do exist, the textual aids a lot to fortify possible suggestions in the images. The way language contains visual essentials which include various utterance styles, prosodic options, so printed texts have essentials such as calligraphy styles, spatial preparation of words, or the substantial layout in a passage. All these features are reflective in the cartoons sampled.

4.4 Summary

The chapter has identified the representational forms in the sampled cartoons and discussed the visual-textual choices provided for in the images. Also, how the media has used cartoons as means of promoting or demoting political actors with the aim of influencing their chances in the 2019 presidential election has been discussed. The last part of the study explicated the interrelatedness of the visual-textual modes engaged in the sampled cartoons.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Preamble

This chapter explains the findings in this study. These findings elicit the visual-textual cues embedded in the sampled images, the contributions to knowledge and the suggestions for further studies. The chapter also summarizes the linguistic and non-linguistic tendencies of political cartoons in visual communication which foreground possible meanings.

5.1 Summary of the study

The study is a multimodal analysis of various implicit messages political cartoons could convey via the use of the fusion of both visual-verbal discourse modes to exchange meanings beyond the denotative meaning visible to viewers. The ideas projected in the images sampled are geared towards creating opportunities for the candidates of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Atiku Abubakar and the candidate of the All Progressives Congress (APC), Muhammadu Buhari in the 2019 election and how the political marketing and demarketing strategies were engaged to influence the chances of the candidates, either negatively or positively using language and image interactions. These attempts are political, non-linguistic and linguistic in nature.

The study consists of five chapters; there is a glide from one chapter into the other which creates a connective index in the thoughts, thereby producing coherence for clarity reason. The first chapter opens the background to the study where various concepts of media, image and language interactions are mentioned. Background pieces of information were also provided on the use of subjective and objective publications in the media, how newspapers engage still images to draw meanings and exchange ideas which could have a bold impacts on the decisions of the viewers or the readers, especially during election periods when political actors get more active using all available platforms to sell themselves to the electorate. The focus has been on the subtle ways cartoons are used during electioneering, especially the 2019 presidential electioneering, to market candidates and to demarket them in the minds of the

perceived voters using the social media platforms. The objectives were set out to identify the visual-verbal modes used in the discourse to drive home relevant points and having a connection with electioneering, voters and the media discourse.

The second chapter is about the review of the relevant literatures. The various scholarly thoughts about cartoons, electioneering, media, multimodality analysis and symbolic analysis are sampled to shed more light on the focus of the study. There have been many works done in the area of multimodality and social approach to image analysis, these works comprise old and latest thoughts and were reviewed in the chapter. The third chapter shows the theoretical frame adopted for the study, as well as the methodology employed in the course of gathering the data for the study. Also, it caters for the processes via which the sampled data were collected and processed. The fourth chapter is an analysis of the data gathered on political cartoons and which have to do with the 2019 presidential election where two main political parties, the APC and the PDP were prominent. Visual-verbal discourse modes were drawn from the data and how they were used to influence the chances of the political candidates via various representations in the sampled cartoons.

The fifth chapter is designed to be the summary of the whole work, as well as the recommendations given for further studies on the topic.

5.1.1 Summary of the findings

The findings in the study are summarised below:

Representation forms

Each picture stands for a particular message and with diverse explanatory notes. These human characters placed in the image are suggestive of a particular theme and the thematic relevance in the image is captured to recognise the who essence of the message in the cartoon. The representation forms identify what picture is placed and the summary of the characters featured in it. This has further expanded the curiosity of readers in the images as it dicusses thematic identities in the cartoons. Tags asuch as corruption, selfishness, wickedness, ill-health and vengeance are reflected in the images. Therefore where a cartoon is opened, it becomes easier to predict the actions and inactions of the characters in it.

Meaning-making techniques in the cartoons

The visual speech modes observed in the cartoons are tilted towards the use of kinesics, movements, salience, gaze, framing patterns, social distancing, actions and reactions to depict marketing styles and demarketing tendencies in the cartoons. There is the use of textual complements too, nominal and pronominal engagements to fine tune the interpretive positions of the visuals. The headlines are craft to engage capitalizations for clarity sake and these are further braced by the use of interjectory signs believed to be accompaniments to the linguistic usages. All these modes are engaged to portray the political actors in such light that could influence their chances in the election. There is an observation of sentiments in the publications sampled as there is a touch of internal ethnic discords, divisions. In other words, both candidates appraised in this work emerged from the northern part of the country. The results show the north is further divided as cartoons from the region show a clear division among the individuals. The south in the other hands has different opinions based on the precedents of the political actors. The use of cartoons and language interaction in media publications has made prominent the significance of meaning in still images, especially during political electioneering.

The study established the fact that, behind every drawing, cartoon in online publications is an implicit mental ideas which are coded. These coded ideas are used implicitly via the engagement of both visual and textual discourse modes to drive home certain points to the expected receiver as a means of achieving some feedbacks. The discourse engaged in the media is believed to have a wide range of impacts on the minds of the readers, therefore, the communication modes used in the cartoons, especially during the 2019 presidential electioneering have multiple implicit messages in them with a view to influencing the chances of the political actors and convincing the voters to reconsider their choices in the coming election. Also, the subtle ways of using visuals and textual complements are means of maintaining the subjectivity in the career which is the core value of media profession. The use of implicitness was engaged as escapist strategies to drive home points by various newspapers. Besides, the social media which is not regulated has helped to project various mental codifications in the cartoons used in the study. The visual-textual discourse modes in

the sampled cartoons really helped to project the ideas of each newspaper during the electioneering.

Additionally, the paralinguistic modes are used mainly as marketing or demarketing strategies because they were seen as in connection to the political events happening during the 2019 electioneering. In the sampled cartoons, all the communication modes used in the frame connects meaning engagements. These modes range from colour separation, caricature, facial expressions, movement of the body parts, cloth styles, stature, status, locatives, social distance, angle shots, framing and more are displayed to interact with the political happenings in the country during the 2019 electioneering. There was no part of the modes missing without dropping a message for the viewers who are at the other side of the screen. Put differently, the visual-textual codes generate meanings at the slightest appearance and they are connected to social contexts to create wide interpretive opportunities for the viewers.

The study observed that these paralinguistic choices are carefully chosen as means of subtle campaign. The cartoons are placed online, shared online for global audience to access which is an idea designed for the messages embedded in them to go viral. In other words, the easy access to these cartoons shows that they are serving the purpose of influencing the chances of the political actors in the minds of the voters. This study admits that there may be further or diverse interpretations to the cartoons using these embedded modes. Also, the visual-verbal modes are seen interactive, not one is standing aloof. This merger further establishes the fact that deeper meanings are provided when the two come together in a text.

The socio-contextual issues in the sampled cartoons

The visual-textual modes engaged in the sampled cartoons elicit the popular political culture in Nigeria to appeal to the electorate. This appeal is attached to the precedents of political history of both APC and PDP in order to further establish the messages of preference in the images published by the online news papers. The contexts in the images were designed to accommodate the socio-demographic descriptions of the actors and the three major tribes in Nigeria were considered in the process of marketing and de-marketing strategies. The verbal-visual resources deployed were reflections of political lifestyles and structures of Nigeria during electioneering

periods. Colours and emblems were used to contextualise each political party in order to differentiate them from each other, gory items such as blood and weapons were contextualised to describe a wicked and despotic candidate of the APC while OLX and CBN volt were used to conceptualised corruption in the PDP candidate. Various native attires were used to describe the tribes at play and how the candidate of the APC would treat other tribes in case he won the election. This was predictive in the images. The context of preference was projected using the Fulani herdsmen as a socio-representation of Buhari's stance on nepotism.

5.2 Conclusion

The study has shown that cartoon publications during electioneering are parts of meaning-making techniques, whereby the media market s and demarkets political actors cautiously. Images also establish social interactions among viewers and prospective players in politics. Hence, the study has shown that both verbal and textual modes contribute to the communication strategies in the sampled images such that modes function to elicit linguistic and non-linguistic relevance in the texts. Going by the findings of this study, cartoons are not only means of entertainment, they are reflective of precedents and antecedents of political actors, and why the media is discreet in delving into tacit promotion strategies. The research has explored the linguistic and non-linguistic means to address these tacit involvements and the transfer of meanings through image representations.

5.3 Contributions to knowledge

This study has made contributions in diverse ways. In the first instance, the findings have provided significant insight into the relevance of visual communication in the media during electioneering. Main political actors are cautiously projected using representational strategies to market or de-market them. These strategies are targeted at perceived audience who are the prospective voters. The study also explains how the modes in images elicit meanings as various visual-tetual resources are connected for possible interpretation of actions. This connectivity is linked to the socio-contextual messages embedded in the sampled images. Another important contribution of the study is the application of theories such Multimodal Social Semiotic Approach and Systemic Functional Linguistics in the study of visual-textual modes present in selected cartoons. As a result of this, it provides insights into how different

communication modes could be aligned or used concurrently to transfer meanings through linguistic and non-linguistic creation of representations.

The study does not only offer a new direction to visual and textual communication but also expands the paradigm of social media chat which would help individuals in the society and scholars on the innovative way of communication and social interactions through technological and social media involvements in information dissemination. The tools engaged in these sampled cartoons are craftily designed to capture meanings which are enmeshed in the minds of the sources. The study additionally promises to offer vast benefits to news sites, news reporters who may want to delve into visual broadcasting, comedians, social media handlers, news journalists or news analysts and advertising practitioners. They can use the data of the study to complement and improve their works and presentations.

The knowledge obtained from this study could also be helpful for policy formulators, organisations and news regulatory bodies. For instance, policy formulators in governments may find the data used in this study useful on the need to regulate negative use of social media for defamatory contents. News regulatory bodies such as Nigerian Press Council (NPA), National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) would find the study relevant in addressing critical news related issues such as defamation, bias publications, libel, etc. Social media platform handlers could also find the study useful to put necessary regulatory mechanisms in place to prevent posting of image-damaging contents on various social media platforms.

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

This work has not explored whether the visual-textual suggestions have impacts on the choices voters made in the 2019 general election as regards the candidate voted for. Also, the statistical exploration may further expose hidden aspects of this study. Apart from the study of semiotic properties and relevant linguistic complements in this research work, there are still more to study in the area of cartoons and the mixture of memes in internet communication among various users globally.

REFERENCES

- Adedimeji, M.A. 2002. Preventing electoral violence and deconstructing verbal violence in Nigeria. *Journal of Applied Thought*, 6, 2:1-29.
- Adedimeji, M.A. 2002. *Semiotics: the science of signs*. Accessed from <http://www.unilorin.edu.ng/publications/adedimeji/semiotics%20%20the%20science%20of%20signs%20%20now.htm> on April 20, 2015.
- Adejare, R.A. 2018. The central pronouns in Nigeria's 2015 presidential debate: a grammatical analysis. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 8, 2.
- Adejuwon, A. and Alimi, S. 2011. Cartoons as Illustration: political process in Nigeria. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4, 3.
- Adejuwon, A. and Shina, A. 2011. Cartoons as Illustration: political process in Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol4no3> on Wednesday, 15 September, 2021.
- Ademilokun, M. 2015. *A multimodal discourse analysis of some visual images in the political rally discourse of 2011 electioneering campaigns in southwestern Nigeria*. Accessed from www.ijscs.net on April 10, 2016.
- Ademilokun, M. and Olateju, M. 2016. A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Some Visual Images in the Political Rally Discourse of 2011 Electioneering Campaigns in Southwestern Nigeria. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 4, 1: 1-19.
- Ademilokun, M. and Taiwo, R. 2013. Discursive strategies in newspaper campaign advertisements for Nigeria's 2011 elections. Retrieved from <http://dcm.sagepub.com/content/7/4/435> , on September 19, 2021.
- Akpati, C.F. 2019. A multimodal discourse study of some online campaign cartoons of Nigeria's 2015 presidential election. *IAFOR Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 6,2.
- Andrea, C. S. and Oswald, H. The interaction of cartoonist's gender and formal features of cartoons. *International Journal of Humor Research* 20, 1.

- Ariyo, K.S. 2017. Satirizing the Nigerian climate: multimodal discourse analysis of selected political cartoons from *Tell*. *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*, 3, 4:1-10.
- Barthes. R. 1964. *The responsibility of forms: critical essay on music. Art and representation*. California: Berkeley.
- Bello, U. 2013. If I could make it, you too can make it! Personal pronouns in political discourse: a cda of President Jonathan's presidential declaration speech. *International Journal of English Linguistics* 3, 6.
- Biber, D., Conrad, S. and Leech, G. 2002. *Student grammar of spoken English* Harlow: Longman.
- Birdwhistell, R. 1970. *Kinesics and context*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Birdwhistell, R. 1970. *Kinesics and context*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bitner, J. R. 2003. *Mass communication: An introduction*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Boicu, R. 2007. *Modal verbs and politeness strategies in political discourse*. Retrieved from <https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/45913/> on September 18, 2021.
- Chiluwa, I. 2013. *Twittering the Boko Haram uprising in Nigeria: investigating pragmatic acts in the social media*. Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Clare, M. A discursive analysis of the 2016 election campaign discourse in Zambia. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, 6, 8: 1-8.
- Connors, J.L. 2007. Popular culture in political cartoons: analyzing cartoonist approaches. *Journals of Political Science and Politics*, 40, 2.
- Dyer, G. 1982. *Advertising as communication*. London: Methuen.

- Eggins, S. 2004. *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. London: Continuum.
- Eko, L. 2007. *It's a political jungle out there': how four African newspaper cartoons dehumanize and deterritorialised African political leaders in the cold war era*. *International Communication gazette*. Sage Publication. 219-238.
- Ekpe, M.B. 2016. Linguistic analysis of political cartoons published during the 2015 general election in Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication*, 13, 1.
- El-Falaky, M.S. 2019. Caricaturing two revolutions: multimodal discourse analysis of Egyptian political cartoons. *Proceedings of SOCIOINT 2019- 6th International Conference on Education, Social Sciences and Humanities 24-26 June 2019- Istanbul, Turkey*.
- El-Nashar, M. 2014. Media bias: a critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Egyptian army in the New York Times. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*. 7, 4: 265-292.
- Felton, M.K. 2004. *The development of discourse strategies in adolescent argumentation*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Folorunso, E. 2017. Illocutionary goals and communication strategies in Abubakar Shekau's online *Boko Haram* videos. MPhil. Project, Department of English. University of Ibadan.
- Gambo, K. 2015. *Local government elections and democratic consolidation in Nigeria*. *Jorind*, 13,2.
- Ganna, P. and Moroshkina, G. 2020. Strategies and tactics of evaluative discourse. *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research*, 129: 2-7.
- Godswill, O.O. *Textual analysis of cartoons on Nigerian politicians' reactions to COVID-19 pandemic on social media*. Accessed from https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-031-27665-1_6 on 4th June, 2023
- Graham, W. 2014. *Clause structure*. Assessed from <https://www.sltinfo.com/clause-structure> on June 30, 2023.

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Mattiessen, C. 2004. *Introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K., and Hassan. R. 1985. *Language, context and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hassan, A. 2019. Multimodal discourse analysis of selected political cartoons in Nigerian newspapers. M.A project, Department of Linguistics and African languages, Kwara State University. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/Nigeria/overview> accessed on 20th July, 2021
- Herzog. T. and Hager. A. 1995. *The prediction of preference of sexual cartoons*. Accessed from <http://doi.org/10.1515/humr.1995.8.4.385> on July, 2023
- Jensen, A. 2009. Discourse strategies in professional e-mail negotiation: a case study. *English for Specific Purposes*, 28: 4–18.
- Jewel, K. W. 2016. Hidden in Plain Sight: Image, Text, and Social Commentary in Victor Ekpuk's Cartoons for The Daily Times of Nigeria, 1989-1998, Assessed from https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/4194?utm_source=scholar_scompass.vcu.edu%2Fetd%2F4194&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCover Pages on 12th September, 2021.
- Jewitt, C. and Oyama, R. 1990. *Visual meaning: a social semiotic approach*. London: Sage Publication.
- Jimoh, G. 2010. *The role of editorial cartoons in the democratisation process in Nigeria: a study of selected works of three Nigerian cartoonists*. Retrieved July 20, 2021, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279962356_The_Role_of_Editorial_Cartoons_in_The_Democratisation_Process_in_Nigeria_a_A_Study_of_Selected_Works_of_Three_Nigerian_Cartoonists.
- Jimoh, G. A. 2013. No laughing matter; editorial cartoons and the Nigerian democratisation process. *Journal of the Students' Historical Society of Nigeria*, 9.

- Kamalu, I. 2013. Linguistic expression of religious identity and ideology in selected postcolonial Nigerian literature. *Canadian Social Science*, 5, 4: 78-84.
- Kamalu, I. 2016. *Politics and promises: a multimodal social semiotic interpretation of political party emblems and slogans as discourse of hope in a democratic Nigeria*. Copied from <http://aaref.com.au/en/publications/journal> on June 15, 2020.
- Keith, A. 1998. *Meaning and speech acts*. Linguistics Department: Monash University
- Keith, A. 1998. *Meaning and speech acts*. Linguistics Department: Monash University.
- Kendon, A. 2004. *Gesture: visible action as utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G and van Leeuwen, T. 1996. *Reading images: the grammar of visual design*. New York: Routledge
- Kress, G. 2003. Multimodality: challenges to thinking about language. *TESOL* 34. 337-340
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. 2006. *Reading images: the grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.
- Ladan-Baki, I. S. 2016. Electoral violence and 2015 general elections in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science and Political Science*, 16,1.
- Larsen, S.E. 1994. 'Semiotics', in *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 3821-3832.
- Liesbeth, D. and Anne-Catherine, S. 2009. Mapping prosody and syntax as discourse strategies: how basic discourse units vary across genres. Accessed from <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/83647> on August 18, 2021.
- Liu, J. 2013. Visual images interpretive strategies in multimodal texts. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 4.6: 1259-1263.

- Marin-Arrese, J. 2015. *Political cartoon discourse*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi075> on 19th April, 2021.
- McKeown, K.R. 2015. *Discourse strategies for generating natural-language text*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Medubi, O. 2003. Encoding and decoding meaning in English in Obafemi, O. and Babatunde, S.T. (eds.) *studies and discourse in English language*. Ilorin: Haytee Books.
- Mohammed, K. 2014. *Boko Haram: islamism, politics, decurity and the state in Nigeria*. Netherlands: Enschede.
- Monga, C. 1996. *The Anthropology of anger: civil society and democracy in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Moyo, O. 2002. *African renaissance, new forms, old images in Yoruba arts*. University Press of Colorado.
- Mudiji, M. 1998. *La Langue des masques africains [the language of African masks]*. Kinshasa: Facultés Catholique de Kinshasa.
- Nwabueze, C. 2014. Newspaper coverage of Nigeria Police activities: a content analysis. *International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies Ethiopia* 3: 92-113.
- O'Keffee, A. 2011. *Media and discourse analysis*. London: Routledge.
- O'Halloran, K. 2008. Towards a systemic functional analysis of multisemiotic mathematics texts. National University of Singapore.
- O'Toole, M. 1994. *The language of display arts*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Oamen, F. 2021. A social semiotic analysis of gender power in Nigeria's newspaper political cartoons. *Journal of Sociosemiotics* 31,2.

- Obono. K. 2015. *Sociocultural framing of 'Ambo-Gbabe' music video campaign in the 2015 gubernatorial election in Lagos State, Nigeria*. Accessed from www.researchgate.net on the 16th June, 2023
- Odebunmi, A. 2006. *Meaning in English: an introduction*. Ogbomoshho: Critical Sphere.
- Ofor, O.A. 2010. Content analysis of cartoons in Nigerian dailies. MSc. Thesis, Department of Mass Communication. Nnamdi Azikiwe University.
- Ogundiya, I.S. 2010. Democracy and good governance: Nigeria's dilemma. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4, 6: 201-208.
- Ogungbe, E.O. 2010. Linguistic style and discourse strategies in telecom sales promotion messages in Nigeria. *Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association*, 14:2.
- Ogunsiji, A. 2000. "Introductory Semantics" in Babajide, A. (ed.) *Studies in English Language*. Ibadan: Encrownfit Publishers. pp. 43-59.
- Ogunsiji, A., Dauda, M., Daniel, I. and Yakubu, A. 2012. *English 434 literary stylistics*. Victorial Island, Lagos: National Open University
- Ogunsiji, Y. and Olarenwaju, O. 2002. *Analytical linguistics*. Agoiwoye: Olabisi Onabanjo University Press
- Ojekwe, G.I. 2016. Political advert campaigns and voting behaviour: Akinwunmi Ambode's 2015 election campaign in Lagos state. *Journal of African elections*, 15, 2:1-15.
- Ojo, O. 2011. *A contemporary functional grammar of English*. Ago Iwoye: Olabisi Onabanjo University Press.
- Ojoawo, A.O. 2016. Escapists discourse strategies in the linguistic and non-linguistic expressions of sex and sexuality in Nigerian hip-hop lyrics and videos. Ph.D project, Department of English. University of Ibadan.

- Oladimeji, O. 2015. Asari Dokubo's reaction to insurgency in Nigeria: a multimodal pragmatic analysis. *American Research Journal of English and Literature* I,.2.
- Olowu, A. 2014. A multimodal discourse analysis of selected advertisement of malaria drugs. *Journal of English Education* 3: 166-173.
- Omilusi, M. 2017. From convenient hibernation to circumstantial desperation: hate speech, party political communication and the Nigeria's 2015 general elections. *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, 2,4: 160-183.
- Omosebi, T. 2021. A multimodal discourse analysis of the implicature of some political cartoons associated with the 2020 American presidential elections. Accessed from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/352226828> on September 20, 2021.
- Opeibi, B. 2009. *Discourse, politics and the 1993 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria: A re-invention of the June 12 legacy*. Lagos: Nouvelle Communication.
- Opeibi, T. 2019. The twittersphere as political engagement space: a study of social media usage in election campaigns in Nigeria. *Digital studies/le champ numérique*, 9,1: 6.
- Orimoloye, P. 2014. Visual-verbal intertextuality in selected Nigerian Etisalat global system for mobile communication (GSM) advert leaflets. Unpublished seminar paper presented at the Department of English. University of Ibadan.
- Osho, S. A. 2008. *Graphic arts and designs in mass communication*. Abeokuta: Essaoh Consult Publications.
- Osisanwo, A. 2020a. Discursive strategies in selected political campaign songs in southwestern Nigeria. *Communication and Linguistics Studies*, 6, 4: 73-81.
- Osisanwo, A. 2020b. Responsibilisation and discourse: a study of the Nigerian 2019 election postponement speech of INEC chairman. *Covenant Journal of Language Studies*, 8, 2: 1-15.

- Pease, B. and Pease, A. 2004. *The definitive book of body language*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Putnam, L.L and Wilson, S.R. 1990. Interaction goals in negotiation. *Annals of the International Communication Association* 13, 1.
- Putnam, L.L. and Jones, T.S. 1982. The role of communication in bargaining. *Human Communication Research*, 8, 3: 262-280.
- Rubmann, U. 2012. *Online political discourse on Facebook: an analysis of political campaign communication in Austria*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.5771/1865-4789-2012-3-115> on August 18, 2021.
- Sani, A. M., Naab, F. & Aziato, L. 2014. Political cartoons in the first decade of the millennium *Pertanika. Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 22, 1: 68–83.
- Sayed, A. 2015. *Localized twitter opinion mining using sentiment analysis*. Retrieved on 24th April, 2016 from www.decisionanalyticsjournal.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186.
- Sebeok, T. 1995. *An introduction to Semiotics*. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Sharndama, E.C. 2016. Discursive strategies in political speech: a critical discourse analysis of selected inaugural speeches of the 2015 Nigeria's gubernatorial inaugurals. *European Journal of English language, Linguistics and Literature*, 3, 2.
- Sharndama, E.C. and Mgbemena, J. 2015. The language of political discourse: a study of acceptance speeches of two presidential aspirants in Nigeria. *Research Journal of English Language and Literature*, 3.
- Sulistyowati, L., Hidayat, D. (2020). The discourse of satire in Indonesia political cartoons at Poliklitik.com. *English Education Journal* 10.4: 643-653.
- Sunday, A.B. 2021. *Critical sociocognitive analysis of hate speech in the 2015 presidential election campaigns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins publishing company.

- Tella, A. 2018. Humour generation and multimodal framing of political actor in the 2015 Nigerian presidential election campaign memes. *European Journal of Humour Research*. 6.4: 95-117.
- The Nigerian Press Council. 2018. *Code of ethics for journalists*. Retrieved on September 20, 2019 from http://www.presscouncil.gov.ng/?page_id=281
- Toh, W. 2010a. *A multimodal discourse analysis of video games: a ludonarrative model*. National University of Singapore.
- van Dijk, T.A. 1995. Principles of critical discourse analysis. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <http://www.discourse-in-society.org>
- Villy, T. 2009. language and image interaction in cartoons: towards a multimodal theory of humour. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 1171-1188.
- Warren, B. 2000. *The cognitive Semiotics of film*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Watson, J. and Hill, A. 1993. *A dictionary of communication and media studies*. 3rd ed. London: Edward Arnold.
- Waya, D. T. 2019. A comparative study of the patterns of hate speeches during presidential campaigns in Nigeria and the United States of America. *International Journal of Research and Scientific Innovation*, 6, 10: 1-10.
- White, P. 1997. *Death, disruption and the moral order: the narrative impulse in the mass media hard reporting*. London: Cassell.