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# Allusion as Discourse Strategy in Political Rhetoric: A Case of Selected Gubernatorial Campaign Speeches in Homa Bay County, Kenya

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#### ABSTRACT:

Discourse is quite an extensive field of study and it focuses on both oral and written texts, which are subject to consideration as pragmalinguistics and sociolinguistics for a particular recipe ideas typical situation. Political discourse can be considered a vast field for research, both from the point of view of text structures, its content, and formal features, not the least of which are the figures of speech, in particular, allusion. The variety of types of allusions in political texts (oral and written) and their titles give them richness, emotion, and angst. Using Kristeva's theory, this article discusses the text—discourse distinguishing; intertextuality and its features; peculiarities of functioning of the allusions in selected gubernatorial campaign speeches by Homa Bay County contestants in the 2022 general elections in Kenya. This article also provides data on various forms of allusions including those relating to the most vivid thematic groups such as culture, sports, economics, and politics. Being a very interesting element of intertextuality, allusion has its potential in the process of formation of skills of all types of speech activity. This article aims to explore lexicalised allusion variation between two major political contenders as a discourse strategy. Two speeches have been purposively sampled for this study. Lexicalised allusions were identified and explored within a reader-oriented approach. A discourse analysis was carried out to explore the cognitive, pragmatic, and rhetorical roles of lexicalised allusions in the corpus. Political discourse is extremely multifaceted and specific. To characterise the discourse of the two candidates, the approach of cultural marking developed by Ivanova provides a fairly comprehensive basis. The results show that allusion is a significant discourse strategy in political speeches. Political leaders largely develop their speeches to inform and influence the electorate or the masses. Various forms of allusion embellish their speeches and facilitate their

Keywords: Allusion, intertextuality, discourse strategy, political rhetoric, dialogism, heteroglossia

#### 1. Introduction

The definition of the term 'discourse' itself continues to be debated by researchers and linguists. The emergence of the concept of 'discourse' is associated with the name of Z. Harris, the American scientist-structuralist who introduced the term in 1952 (Harris, 2012). As a synthesis of different authors' interpretations, the discursive terminology is found in Serio's 'Theory and Practice of Discourse.' 'Discourse' is depicted as (i) an equivalent to the concept of 'speech' (F. Saussure), (ii) a unit size superior to that of a phrase, (iii) the impact of the statements on its recipients taking into account the situation of the utterance, (iv) a conversation as the main type of speech, (v) a speech from the position of the speaker as opposed to a narrative, which does not account for such a position (for E. Benveniste), (vi) the usage of language units, their speech actualization, and (vii) socially or ideologically restricted type of expressions, for example, feminist discourse, and (viii) a theoretical construct designed to research the conditions of production of the text (Serio, 2000, pp. 14-53).

A critical analysis of political discourse or style calls for an understanding of several aspects that define it: (i) the functional aspect performs which comprises (a) informative functions, (b) the formation of public opinion, and (c) entertaining functions; (ii) the taxonomic aspect which segments a political discourse into the macrosystem (the language of mass communication) and the microsystem; (iii) the referential aspect which acknowledges that political speeches are designed to the general public and highlight all areas of activities (culture, politics, health); (iv) the communicative aspect which distinguishes quality of speeches delivered by different politicians; (v) the linguistic aspect involves such concepts as simplicity of presentation, brevity and expressiveness, background knowledge; and (vi) the pragmatic aspect encompasses the evaluation, directivity, visual agitation and propaganda (Galperin, 1981, pp. 224-236).

The basic communicative intentions of authors of political speeches or discourse are to inform and influence the masses. Both functions vividly manifest themselves in political speeches. The opinion of Chernyavskaya confirms the given view by allocating in the structure of a political text four obligatory structural and compositional components: a title, an introduction, a main part, and a conclusion (1999, p. 42). The first two of the components mentioned above (a title and an introductory part) carry the most important communicative burden. Due to their close logical-semantic connection, the title and the introductory part can be considered as a single introductory unit, which attracts the most attention of readers (Arutyunova, 1981, pp. 356-367). The variety

of stylistic, intertextual elements used by the authors helps them. 'Allusion' is a literary term that describes a subtle and indirect reference to something, for example, to politics, other literature, pop culture, or history. Allusions can also be made in other mediums, such as music or film.

#### 2. Theoretical Framework

This study benefits from the theory of intertextuality and in 'dealing with intertextuality, it is quite normal to start with Kristeva ... concerning what Bakhtin calls the dialogic aspect of language' (Haberer, 2007, pp. 56-57). Bakhtin's dialogic theory introduced the concept of 'hetereoglossia.' Kristeva appropriated this as 'intertextuality' in the 1960s. According to Bakhtin, 'Each word tastes of a context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions' (1981, p. 293). The concept of intertextuality, which draws on Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) theory of heteroglossia, is largely used in literary analysis, but scholars outside literary studies such as linguists have appropriated it to enrich their scholarship. Heteroglossia here refers to the notion that different forms of language, opinions, and texts can exist within a single text. This idea is drawn from Saussurean semiotics, particularly justifications given in defense of the arbitrariness of language. According to the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure; language is an arbitrary set of signs and symbols used in communication. Saussure introduced the concepts of 'signifier' (a linguistic form) and 'signified' (the meaning of the linguistic form) to demonstrate his notion of arbitrariness. The absence of correspondence between the two culminates in linguistic relativity as the referent is prone to more than one interpretation. Derrida develops the concept of deconstructionism from structuralism. He disputes the notion that a standard, 'single' interpretation of a text exists. Instead, he contends that a text is prone to multiple meanings; texts are open, even intertextual. Kristeva's intertextuality is therefore premised on Saussure's structuralism.

At the center of the theory of intertextuality is the idea of genres. Quite several linguists subscribe to the argument that genres are the 'drive belts' (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 65) of society and serve a pivotal role in the dialogue. Intertextual elements are those which could be cited within the intertextual theory. Bakhtin's belief that the individual and the society come together in discourse has energized thinking about language as a sociocultural phenomenon resonates with many linguists. Bakhtin's oft-quoted utterance which has framed many discussions on language is used here as an entry point into the discussion of theories of heteroglossia/intertextuality:

Language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have a 'taste' of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of a context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293)

In an attempt to distinguish the term 'intertextuality' in his work 'Intertextuality: the categorical apparatus and typology,' Moskvin writes: '...many authors understand intertextuality as a literary device, as trope or a stylistic figure, a method for construction of a literary text; however, intertextuality is not a reception, and the associative base for methods of citation of an application, allusion, paraphrase and other shapes of the intertext, which do not always become ambiguous, and therefore neither one of the interpretations of the path are incompatible' (2013, p. 54). There are various forms and methods to include intertextual elements in political contexture, for example, text reminiscences (Burvikova, 1999, pp. 252-260), which include quasi-positive (Krivenko, 1993, pp. 44-49), quasi-unitary (Zemskaya, 1996, pp. 167-168), a paraphrase, which, in turn, can be considered an allusion (Moskvin, 2002, pp. 63-70).

# 3. Methodology

This research is qualitative and benefits from an analytical design. Data for this research has been sampled from the speeches of two main gubernatorial candidates in the 2022 general elections in Homa Bay County, Kenya. These two – Gladys Wanga and Evans Kidero – were purposively sampled. Homa Bay triggered our interest because it is the only county where a former Nairobi City County Governor, Kidero was contesting against a female candidate, Wanga, perceived to be an outsider, a woman whose roots are traceable to a neighboring county, Kisumu. The two candidates delivered quite several speeches on different occasions; however, we identified ten speeches of significant length from their campaigns. For this paper, we have selected two speeches – one from each of the two gubernatorial candidates – for our analysis and discussion. These speeches were gathered from YouTube videos posted on different media. We listened to two videos that were deemed to be in instances of allusion and transcribed and translated (in some cases) data from these speeches. The analytical procedure undertaken in this research was both textual and contextual. The discussions were guided by the tenets of Julia Kristeva's intertextuality, which is anchored on Bakhtin's dialogism and Derrida's deconstructionism. The texts quoted verbatim in Dholuo are italicized and in bold, those quoted in Kiswahili are simply italicized and these apply to the analysis section only.

## 4. Analysis and Discussion

An allusion is simply a reference to something else, whether this is another text, a person, a historical event, pop culture, or Greek mythology allusions can be made to just about anything an author and their readers could think of. This article will help you understand allusions so that you can identify and use allusions in literary texts and your writing. Political speeches and the texts themselves, as suggested by Grudeva, employ a wide variety of allusions: (i) literature citations-reministsentsii, titles of works, names of characters, (ii) modified statements of scientists, politicians, cultural figures, (iii) Sola Scriptura (facts, names, phrases from the old and New Testament) and the stories and characters of myths, (iv) quotes, including transformed, from popular songs, (v) to paraphrase the name of television and movies, phrases from popular movies and television programs, advertising, (vi) the

transformed expression, (vii) titles of paintings, sculptures and other works of art (Grudeva, 1999, pp. 134-143). The speeches of Homa Bay 2022 gubernatorial candidates, which have been sampled for this study, are no exception. The two candidates in question are Gladys Wanga and Evans Kidero.

Wanga, to begin with, expresses her pride in being part of 'Jeshi la Baba,' which alludes to the political sloganeering that characterised one of the presidential contestants – Raila Odinga's – campaigns (Citizen TV Kenya, 2022, 1:10). This allusion is particularly critical as it meant to persuade potential voters to regard her as one of the main defenders of the presidential candidate. 'Jeshi la Baba,' which can be loosely translated as 'Baba's Foot soldiers,' is a political umbrella that brought ardent supporters of Raila Odinga together. This is also an implicit reference to Frasha's popular song 'Jeshi la Baba,' (Wyine, 2023) which featured in most of Odinga's political campaigns in 2022. It is important to note that Odinga is Frasha's co-singer. He featured in this song to demonstrate his commitment to addressing the plight of musicians in Kenya. By performing this song alongside Frasha, Odinga desired to convince the music fraternity that he understood the challenges they were facing as he was one of them.

'Jeshi' conventionally translates to 'army' and this is itself another level of allusion. By identifying herself with Odinga's army, Wanga hopes to disabuse the notion that Odinga's army is gendered. She is advertently flagged off by female soldiers, including Charity Ngilu and Anne Kananu, who were then serving as governors in Kitui and Nairobi City County respectively. She, too, like other staunch supporters of Odinga, can defend and protect his interests. It is instrumental to observe that armies defend the territorial interests of a nation. This responsibility exposes them to danger, especially from the nation's enemies. They put their lives at risk to secure their nations. This is a mark of selflessness and Wanga's association with this noble duty places her above ordinary contestants. She impresses upon her supporters and Homa Bay County voters that she is willing, like armies, to defend their interests at all costs. 'Jeshi la Baba' is, in this sense, a typical instance of a conflating or multiple allusion as it refers to multiple similar texts; it alludes to a collection of pre-existing texts to 'fuse, subsumes and renovates' multiple texts and perspectives (Thomas, 1986).

Beyond the aforementioned texts, the idea of an 'army' runs into other historical texts connected to Homa Bay County. Fishermen drawn from this county have historically suffered at the hands of Ugandan authorities on account of boundary disputes. Ugandan authorities have harassed and, in some cases, physically assaulted fishermen for non-compliance with Ugandan laws. By identifying herself with Odinga's foot soldiers, Wanga places herself in a politically advantaged position. She is leveraging the fishermen's haplessness to boost her political station; she, as a soldier, can defend the interests of these fishermen, who are largely drawn from her county. Besides, Odinga, too, has vociferously defended Kenyan fishermen against the excesses of Ugandan authority; in fact, he regarded these as acts of aggression in a territory that rightfully belongs to the people of Kenya. One aspect of allusion is amenable to multiple allusions and Bazerman (2004) has used the metaphor of the sea to describe the intertextual experience in this kind of scenario. Bazerman avers:

We create our texts out of the sea of former texts that surround us, the sea of language we live in. And we understand the texts of others within that same sea. Sometimes as writers, we want to point to where we got those words from and sometimes we don't. Sometimes as readers, we consciously recognize where the words and ways of using those words come from and at other times the origin just provides an unconsciously sensed undercurrent. And sometimes the words are so mixed and dispersed within the sea, that they can no longer be associated with a particular time, place, group, or writer. Nonetheless, the sea of words always surrounds every text. (Bazerman, 2004, pp. 83-84)

This gubernatorial speech evidences the many interpretations of the term 'intertextuality' (Moskvin, 2013, pp. 54-61); it is either the 'absorption or transformation of another text' (Kristeva, 1969, p. 146), and it is associated 'with either the mixture of statements and texts or the derivation of one text from another' (Jasinski, 2008, p. 322). In this speech, Wanga alludes to what she regards as her favorite song, *Yesu Tiyo To Aling' Aling'a*, which translates to 'Jesus works for me as I watch in silence' (Citizen TV Kenya, 2022, 1:40). This song, is in most of her rallies before and after this launch, became her signature tune. By invoking this song, she demonstrates her commitment to Christian faith and her belief in the power of Christ. She gives the impression that her political journey has been a God-driven venture and her gubernatorial contest is no exception. She is appealing to the wider Christian and largely Adventist community in her County. She understands that her voters are, to a large extent, emotional and voting patterns in the County and the country are driven by emotions, not necessarily practical promises. Identifying with Jesus is, in this vein, spiritually elevating. Her supporters and voters in Homa Bay County are invited to witness God's hand in her political achievements. By playing this song, she persuades her voters to believe that she places the most premium on God. She dances joyously to the tune of this music in what appears to be an imminent victory. This was originated by Milka Omondi, one of the most celebrated gospel artists from the Luo community in Kenya.

The above-named song is equally porous, open as it were, for it, too, runs into other texts. The singer says she trusts in God's protection as He can defend her against and scatter her enemies. The choice of this song is, in this sense, intentional for a political platform. It permits an allusion to Wanga's perceived enemies – her political arch-rival, Kidero, and his supporters – and what her trust in God portends for them. Her protection against all perceived enemies and her ultimate victory is guaranteed through this indirect prayer. She paints herself as a faithful soldier, one whose battles are fought spiritually. This interpretation resonates very well with what is proposed by Gasparov (1996), who considers 'discourse as a linguistic coexistence, in which it is necessary to consider the communicative intentions of the author, the relationship of the author and recipients, various significant and accidental circumstances, genre and stylistic features, as the communication and the communicative situation in which it is included, a lot of associations with previous experiences' (pp. 251-259). Wanga is giving her listeners the impression that her previous political battles have been won in the same manner; she is not merely experimenting with spirituality. It is what her political wins are anchored and manages to convince the crowd to join her in this song as she emphatically gesticulates scattering of enemies.

In addition, Wanga also alludes to 'Genowa,' (Citizen TV, 2022, 2:27) which is a metaphoric conceptualisation of what her candidature represents; it is the political mantra that defined her campaigns, a schema (Bartlett, 1932; Rumelhart, 1980) or a mental structure of generalised knowledge for representing generic or prototypical ideas stored in the mind. The word 'schema,' which is an umbrella term for the largely overlapping, in some instances,

essentially identical, mental constructs variously known in cognitive linguistics as a frame (Fillmore, 1968; Minsky, 1975), script (Schank and Abelson, 1977), scenario (Sanford and Garrod, 1981) and idealized cognitive model (Lakoff, 1987). 'Genowa,' which had become her new political identity, means 'our hope.' She presents herself as the hope of the people of Homa Bay County. Here, she thrives on the perceived political mess that had been occasioned by the outgoing Governor, Cyprian Awiti. Homa Bay County was, in most cases, in the news headlines for the wrong reasons: dilapidated hospital facilities, limited access to drugs, and fraud among other ills. To arrest the attention of her audience, she asks to say 'Genowa' after her in what appears to be a call-response structure. She highlights the main components of her manifesto to which she invokes the name 'Genowa'; revitalisation of the health sector, the revamping of the manufacturing industry, the County's blue economy, and enhancement of agricultural technology. The answer to all these transformative ideas lies in trusting Genowa. She gives hope to a people whose hopes in devolution had been dashed by an arguably rudderless regime.

Wanga also indirectly refers to her ancestral home and the difficulties faced by persons in her ancestral home area – the perennial cases of floods and displacement associated with Kano, Nyando Constituency, Kisumu County (Citizen TV Kenya, 2022, 3:54). The 'Wang'ayas,' like other Kano residents, have always found themselves pleading for government support during rainy seasons. By alluding to these hurdles, she deliberately sheds off the 'cerelac' childhood tag. These childhood difficulties, she may be suggesting, prepared her for her tough political role. This allusion is both corrective and apparent. A corrective allusion, argues Thomas (1986), is an allusion made that openly and directly opposes a concept made in the referenced text; an apparent allusion, which is very similar to a corrective one, instead of explicitly contradicting a source, evokes it and then 'frustrates' or challenges it. Wanga appears to be challenging the notion that she is weakling and, consequently, incapable of challenging her closest rival, Kidero. She is, therefore, insinuating that it is her major opponent who was born with a silver spoon in his mouth and may be detached from the realities of the new political space that he is exploring.

Wanga's allusion to her ancestry is contextually significant. Before reading her written speech, she declares her marital status and introduces her husband to the congregation. To demonstrate that Homa Bay is her new home, she makes a biblical allusion to reify the sanctity of the marital institution. Her casual allusion to 'not putting asunder that which God put together,' she asks the crowd whether they would the devil to take that which God has given. She says: 'I'm not boarding,' which alludes to the statement that Miguna Miguna made when Kenyan authorities forced him into a Canada-bound plane. This statement has since been associated with some near finality, a refusal to be intimidated. The answer to her question is, undoubtedly, a resounding no (Citizen TV Kenya, 2022, 4:00). From a superficial view, this reference does not seem vital to the political narrative that she is building, but it adds depth or 'atmosphere.' In our view, this strategy is used 'to show that things – texts, institutions, traditions, societies, beliefs, and practices of whatever size and sort you need – do not have definable meanings and determinable missions, that they are always more than any mission would impose, that they exceed the boundaries they currently occupy' (Caputo, 2000, pp. 31-32).

Wanga discredits the narrative that she can abandon her husband and return to her ancestral home; marital vows cannot be easily broken. She casually alludes to 'people' regard her as an outsider and, therefore, unfit for the County's gubernatorial position. Biblical allusion allows her to dismantle the perceived 'Othered' status of women who are married outside their counties. By making this reference, she can ward off claims that she is ineligible for the gubernatorial position because of Kano's ancestry. Her husband's comments reinforce her position; he appreciates the people of Homa Bay County for supporting his wife and publicly declares Wanga's political ambition has his blessings. This is a palpable cultural allusion as he intimates that their marriage is founded on mutual respect and critical decisions are made jointly. This interpretation resonates with Derrida's deconstruction, which is also anchored on the tenet that people usually express their thoughts in terms of binary oppositions, with the claim that each term of a binary opposition always affects the other. This interpretation emanates from the theory of language according to which Armstrong argues:

...the meaning of a term is determined by its position within the linguistic system, and not by any fixed property of 'meaning' that is indissociably bound to it. A 'meaning' is an effect produced by the interrelationships among the terms of a language. Consequently, neither concept in opposition of contrast has an identity that is entirely independent of its 'opposite.' (Armstrong, 2004)

Furthermore, Wanga also makes historical references to demonstrate her understanding of the people's heritage. She alludes to Phoebe Asiyo, the first woman to win an elective seat in Kenya. Beyond acknowledging this landmark political feat, Wanga is implying that she draws her inspiration from such pioneering women. Asiyo subverted the stereotypes that denied women opportunities to brave their way into elective politics by shattering chauvinistic barriers. She is a living testament to the fruits of women's empowerment. The allusion to her political achievement is meant to convince the electorate that women have won significant political battles in the past and nothing can stop them from doing it again and again. Asiyo's political achievement is no mean feat; it reverberates all over Kenya and the rest of the continent. She unfettered the cultural chains that barred women from active participation in politics and, more significantly, at a time that Kenya, and indeed many parts of the continent, still held fast and furiously to traditional customs that celebrated patriarchy and relegated women to the periphery.

About Raila Odinga, Wanga talks of the 'enigma,' a term that is used to describe the mystery surrounding politics and which, by extension, is an allusion to Babadejo's biographical work: 'Raila Odinga: An enigma in Kenyan politics.' By recognising it as her political pillar, she implies that her candidature enjoys Odinga's blessings. She also makes references to leaders from Homa Bay County, who have made a trail-blazing impact on the country's political landscape. One such example is Tom Mboya, whose story speaks of both 'pride and pain.' Chrispine Odhiambo Mbai, one of the most significant brains behind devolution and clamour for a new constitutional dispensation, is also alluded to. His assassination is a painful reminder of the horrors of constitutional reform initiatives in Kenya. Wanga invokes this history to appeal to the people's pride and to demonstrate her understanding of these historical facts. It serves to remind her audience that she is not an outsider; Homa Bay County is her home and she identifies with its history.

Bakhtin questions the view that texts are created by 'intellectual heroes,' and that 'writing is individual, isolated, and internal; not social but eccentric' (Porter, 1986, p. 41). Recasting texts as re-voicing (as intertextual and dialogic) can result in a different approach to writing. Influenced by this explanation of language, Porter (1986) contends:

By identifying and stressing the intertextual nature of discourse, we shift our attention away from the writer as an individual and focus more on the sources and social contexts from which the writer's discourse arises. According to this view, authorial intention is less significant than social context; the writer is simply a part of a discourse tradition, a member of a team, and a participant in a community of discourse that creates its collective meaning. (Porter, 1986, p. 35)

Porter's observation highlights three important elements that have infused thinking about language: the intertextual nature of language and discourse; the idea of conventions that members of participants of a community recognize; and the 'collective meaning' that they make of texts. These are crucial elements in discussions of genre which will be taken up in the last section of the paper. Kidero's speeches can be used to demonstrate this position. He presents or alludes to the history of both national and party elections (Akirikiki TV, 2022). He claims that Raila Odinga, one of the presidential candidates, had been rigged out of elections despite his commitment to reform agenda in Kenya. He mentions such election periods as 2007, 2013, and 2017. Not only does this demonstrate his commitment to Odinga's political vision, but it also enables him to win voters' trust and confidence. He understands that they sympathise with Odinga, and he, too, has to show that he sympathises in solidarity with them. He also hopes to demonstrate that he believes in fair and credible electoral processes. When he introduces the question of party elections, he does not want to be misunderstood; he attacks party officials and intentionally avoids Odinga, the party leader. He criticises the Orange Democratic Movement's (ODM) faulty electronic voting system and alleges that criminals infiltrated it and manipulated results in favour of unpopular candidates in 2022.

Before the introduction of the electronic voting system, the party's manual voting system was equally mired in fraud. He cites Oyugi Magwanga, the current Deputy Governor as an example of popular politicians, who failed to secure nomination tickets as a result of a mismanaged party election. He warns them against 'asiema gi luth,' which translates to persons 'selected' by the party. By asiema gi luth, he is referring to his main political opponent, Gladys Wanga, and other political leaders who had benefited from a seemingly undemocratic process. To drive his point home, Kidero alludes to Article 1 and 2 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 which stipulates that 'All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and shall be exercised only in accordance with this Constitution [and t]he people may exercise their sovereign power either directly or through their democratically elected representatives.' This allusion legitimises Kidero's position that the people have the power to chart their political destinies and leaders have to be elected democratically.

The textual illustrations provided in this paper have demonstrated that: (a) being a vivid element of intertextuality, allusion has different sources, highlighting all areas of activities (culture, politics, health); (b) being a part of political discourse, it can manifest itself in different forms and has several functions including the formation of public opinion; (c) linguistically, it can belong to different types; (d) the above-mentioned features of allusions have their manifestations in lingua-didactics of English and the formation of skills of all types of speech activity (reading, listening, speaking and writing) (Nikitina, 2015, pp. 23-26). The speeches drawn from Wanga's and Kidero's gubernatorial campaigns in 2022 substantiate this position.

### 5. Conclusion

Political discourse is largely multifaceted. To characterise the discourse of the two candidates, the approach of cultural marking developed by Ivanova (2008) provides a fairly comprehensive basis. The culturological component may have a source of the concept itself, signified by a given lexical unit, may be subject-related, and may also be included in the structure of the meaning of the word, that is, mark the significative, denotative, pragmatic, and syntactic components of the structure of meaning. The results of the study suggest that political discourse is characterised by the localisation of the allusions, culturological component sources in the linguistic sign and mainly in its pragmatic layer, which explicates pragmatic information suggesting the speaker's relationship to the signified or the addressee due to connotations, as well as potential and hidden seme.

The paper has attempted to demonstrate that allusion is a significant discourse strategy in political speeches. Political leaders largely develop their speeches to inform and influence the electorate or the masses. Various forms of allusion embellish their speeches and facilitate their persuasive efforts, and the speeches analysed in this paper are no exception. The research results of this study demonstrate that the area of investigation is very broad: from the description of the linguistic approaches used for influencing an audience's thoughts and emotions to analysing allusion as an intertextual rhetorical device applied to create a persuasive and manipulative political discourse. Given the foregoing, the following conclusions can be drawn from this paper: linguistic manipulation can be considered an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions, language plays a significant ideological role because it is an instrument using which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent, language applied in political discourse uses a broad range of rhetorical devices at the syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and textual levels and, in present time societies, politics dominates in the mass media, which leads to creating new types of linguistic manipulation, such as updated texts in slogans, a wide application of allusive strategies such as catchphrases, metonymy and metaphor, and connotative meanings of the words and a powerful combination of language and visual imagery to convince the potential electorate.

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