

**A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of Election News
in Nigerian Newspapers**

by

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Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to my beloved mother

Hajia Sa'ariyy Abike Adelokun

And the girls

Taofiqiyyah Ayomide Ajoke

Aonah Oluwatobi

&

Barakah Opeyemi

[affectionately tagged TAB]

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Abstract

This study attempts to identify elements of stance in the reports of election news about the 2011 general elections in Nigeria. This is done by using corpus-based linguistics tools to analyse the data downloaded from the online editions of two Nigerian newspapers. It also involves a brief description of the Nigerian political history and particularly the 2011 general election. The impact of corpus-based discourse analysis and studies related to the language of newspaper discourse which attempt to identify gaps to be filled with this research. The analysis section starts with an exploratory process of identifying topics in the corpus by comparing it with a reference corpus. The topics generated include the one related to politicians, political parties, electoral matters as well as court and legal matters. A keyword analysis of the two newspapers was done to search for evidence of stance and very few evidence of this was found. Attempt was also made to do a diachronic analysis of BEFORE and AFTER the election was also carried out to look for instances of stances. This method too did not produce any significant incidences of stance. The NIGEC corpus was found to contain very small evidence of stance. The conclusion looks at the main findings which mainly show that the *Daily Trust* seems to concentrate on issues concerning the north while *The Nation* is more broad based as it discusses issues national wide although it concentrate more on events happening in the south west of the country.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of the chapter

This study involves the use of corpus based discourse analysis research to identify elements of ideology in the language of newspapers and to study the differences between newspaper reports diachronically. The study is carried out to specifically study how Nigerian newspapers reported the April 2011 Nigerian general elections. It is interesting to study this phenomenon as it tends to highlight the nature of the relation and social interactions amongst human beings. The research will be carried out by selecting articles from the websites of two major Nigerian newspapers and then analysing them using corpus software tools to identify these elements of stance.

1.2 Background: Political situation in Nigeria

The Nigerian political situation has been a mixture of democracy and military regimes. A detailed analysis of this will be in the next chapter. It is important at this stage to mention briefly the 2011 election which is the focus of this study. The election is very significant in the development of democracy in Nigeria because it was the second time that a transition from a civilian to a civilian administration will take place through the electoral process and it was also the first time that an acting president will be contesting a presidential election in Nigeria. It is also particularly interesting that the acting president is from a minority ethnic group, a situation that is seemingly impossible in the past where the dominant major groups have been holding sway. Even though there were reports of widespread rigging, the acting president, a man from a very small minority group was declared president. This is a very unique and an almost impossible achievement considering the strong impact of the major

ethnic groups (i.e. Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa/Fulani) in controlling the apparatus of government at the Federal level. On the basis of this scenario, it is believed that a study of this nature will reveal some interesting issues about stance towards individuals and groups in the political arena.

1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

With this background on the election situation in Nigeria, this study is investigating the newspaper reports of the 2011 general election in Nigeria with regards to the way language 'is employed, often in quite subtle ways, to reveal underlying discourses' (Baker, 2006:13) of ideologies (different world-views). The discourse of political news reports is particularly interesting as they might illuminate the relationships and power structure that exist between the members of the society. In essence, we are looking at the attitude of the press to the issues raised in the corpora and we search for evidence of stance to pinpoint this. The newspapers constitute an important medium in reporting the elections in Nigeria. This research is to carry out a corpus-driven study of how the election was generally reported as well as how the different groups involved were portrayed with a view to unravel the attitude inherent in the reportage of the unfolding political scenario.

There have been some studies on the language of Nigerian newspapers which uses discourse analysis (Daniel 2009) and critical discourse analysis (Taiwo 2007 and Ogungbe & Alo 2010). Daniel (2009) uses discourse analysis to assess the social rank of women in Nigerian newspapers. She found that women are not empowered because they seem to succumb to the stereotypical negative way in which they are portrayed by the matrilineal society. In fact the study reveals that women even contributed to this situation by portraying themselves as

inferior to the menfolk. Ogungbe & Alo (2011) use critical discourse analysis to study aspects of lexis in news reports in Nigerian newspapers and conclude that Nigerian press need to use language in a dispassionate way. Taiwo (2007:218) studies the ideology that lies in the construction of newspaper headlines from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The finding showed that the headlines portrayed the attitude of those who will benefit from the headlines as against those who will be negatively served. He concluded that the editors use the headlines to convince the reader to accept the formers' points of view of the discourse. Taiwo's research has link to this study in the area of the identification of ideology, although the methodology is different.

This study is unique because it is the first time a corpus – based critical discourse analysis of election news in Nigerian newspapers is carried out. A corpus linguistic methodology will be used to carry out an empirical study of how the 2011 election was reported in the Nigerian press.

The research questions for this study include the following:

1. What are the major themes and topics of interest represented in Nigerian newspapers during the 2011 General Election?
2. What are the differences and/or similarities in the way in which the Northern and Southern Nigerian newspapers report the 2011 general election?
3. What are the differences and/or similarities in the reports before and after the 2011 general election?

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

The Nigerian political climate is discussed in depth in chapter two to give the information necessary for the understanding of this research. A focus on the study of language of

newspapers is contained in Chapter three. Chapter four provides an overview of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis -the two main analytical tools employed in this study.

Chapter five then discusses the method of data collection which led to the building of the Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC) and then proceeds to explain in depth the method of data analysis of the corpus as well as an exploratory study of NIGEC by comparing it with the BE06 reference corpus to generate themes and topics relevant to the study. From the topics identified in the previous chapter, the next chapter (6) carried out a keywords analysis of the differences and/or similarities in the northern and southern newspapers represented by the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* respectively. Chapter seven does a diachronic analysis of the differences and/or similarities in news reports before and after the election. The essence of the last two chapters is to look for evidence of stance in the way the newspapers reported the election. This study ends in chapter eight which includes conclusion, a restatement of the research questions and attempts to answer them. This is followed by the main findings and suggestions for further studies.

1.5 Summary of the chapter

This chapter discussed the background to the Nigerian political situation, especially the one brought into focus by the 2011 general election. The election was seen to be a watershed in the history of Nigerian politics as it was the second time a civilian to civilian democratic change of regime took place. The purpose of the study is to search for evidence of stance in the news reports of the election using corpus methodology. It also included a review of some of the discourse studies involving Nigerian newspapers none of which use corpus methods thus justifying the need for this study. The research questions formulated for the

study which are to be answered in subsequent chapters are also included in the chapter. Finally, It also contains information about the outline of the dissertation from chapters two to eight. In the next chapter, we look at the Nigerian context (especially the 2011 election) in detail to justify the relevance of this study.

2.0 The Nigerian Context

2.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter is a brief description of the political development in Nigeria from independence to the period of the 2011 general election which is the focus of this study. It discusses the challenges of democracy in the country during this period which covers the series of military incursions and political unrests in various parts of the country as well as the secession which almost tore the country apart. The chapter also dwells on the 2011 election with the many challenges encountered in the electoral process. The chapter ends with a prognosis of the major parties with regards to their ethnic and geographical affiliations. This may help us understand the attitude of the newspapers in portraying these parties in a country where ethnic and geographical locations are strong factors in determining who holds which post.

2.2 Politics in Nigeria: From Independence to date

Nigeria became an independent country on 1 October 1960. Since that time she has undergone economic and political crises of varying types. At independence, a parliamentary system of government was put in place with a Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, as the head of government. The politicians were pushed out of power by the military in January 1966. The military were in power till 1979 when an election took place and a new civilian government, with Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari as President, was installed. This presidential system of government did not last for long because the army executed a successful coup which saw the widely condemned political class out of power again. The politicians did not have a chance to taste power again until 1999, when ironically the soldier (Rtd General Olusegun Obasanjo) who handed over power to the civilians in 1979 was voted in as a civilian president. It is noteworthy that a highly acclaimed election took

place in June 1993 in which the presidential election was won by Chief Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola but the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida annulled it. This precipitated a nationwide crisis and political impasse (BBC News Africa 2011; IRIN 2003 & Global Literacy Project 2013). Some political analysts argue that this crisis is what seems to have ensured that the military have been confined to their barracks since (see Aro 2011 for a detailed history of Nigeria up to 1999).

In 2007, the first transition from a civilian to a civilian government took place in Nigeria when retired General Olusegun Obasanjo handed power to Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar' Adua who died in 2010 while still in power. The Vice President then, Mr Goodluck E. Jonathan was sworn in as acting President (BBC News Africa 2011). There was a lot of uproar over this, especially by the people of the north who are predominantly Muslims. They saw this as a ploy to deny the north the right to their turn of ruling Nigeria.

2.3 The 2011 General Election

In April 2011, another general election took place which saw Jonathan elected as President (Celebrating Progress Africa 2011). Like all the previous elections, it was widely disputed and this led to widespread unrests especially in the North where the ruling party was accused of electoral fraud. The election was unique in some ways. It was the first time that somebody from the minority tribe had contested as president under the banner of the biggest political party. There were many political parties but the most notable ones are: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), Labour Party (LP), Accord Party (AP), Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA) and Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN) and Conscience Party of Nigeria (CPN). In theory, these political parties are based on political

ideologies not sectarian. It is noteworthy that the political ideologies which the parties profess are hazy for most of them except the PDP which is clearly capitalist in outlook and practice. We also have ANPP, AP, APGA, PPN and a host of other small parties in this category. The ACN, CPC, and LP, claim to be socialist in orientation but in practice they are not different from the other parties to some extent. In terms of national spread, that is the control of organs of government in all the 36 states of the country, the PDP controls 21 states with significant presence in all the remaining states. The ACN controls 6 states, while ANPP, APGA, PPA, LP and CPC control 3, 2, 2, 1, 1 states respectively. However, the electoral results in most of these states are contested in election tribunals. In fact, the ACN is able to increase the number of her governors by challenging the results of some gubernatorial elections via electoral tribunals which the party won.

SN	PARTIES	ETHNIC AFFILIATION	AREAS OF INFLUENCE
1.	PDP	Mainly Hausa/Fulani with support from Igbo	North central, Middle belt, south south
2.	CPC	Hausa/Fulani with support from some minority	North with some support from south east
3.	ACN	Yoruba with some support from Edo, Ishan	South west, Mid west
4.	ANPP	Hausa/Fulani Kanuri	North east, North central and North west
5.	APGA	Igbo	South east

Table 1: The distribution of major parties and their ethnic and geographical affiliations

The table above shows the affiliations of the major parties in term of tribe and areas of influence. Even though, these parties claim to operate on political ideology, most of them have stronger affiliation with certain ethnic groups and are popular in certain areas. The PDP, which has strong foothold in all but one of the six geo-political zones of the country, is a party with a very strong connection to the northern part of the country, whose major ethnic

group is the Hausa/Fulani people. The ACN has a very solid foundation in the Southwest and the Midwest where they control almost exclusively the executive and the legislative arms of government and the major ethnic group is Yoruba. In the Northeast, ANPP controls 2 states and another one in the Northwest. In the Southeast, the APGA holds sway in two prominently Igbo states. The LP controls only one state in the southwest but the party is closely aligned with the ACN.

2.4 Summary of the Chapter

The history of Nigeria from independence up to the period of the 2011 election was highlighted. The 2011 election in Nigeria is a turning point in Nigerian history and it is the first time that a member of a minority tribe is being elected president. As demonstrated in this chapter, this development had a unique effect upon public discourse in Nigeria. The point of this chapter is that due to the significant importance of the 2011 election as a key point of change in Nigerian history, this serves as a justification for doing this particular research. It also includes a discussion of the major political parties and their ethnic and areas of influence. The next chapter looks at current development in corpus-based discourse studies which is the linguistic tool used in analysing the data in this study.

3.0 The Impact of Corpus Linguistics (CL) on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Review of Corpus-based studies of Newspaper Discourse.

3.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter takes a look at the development of the combination of Corpus Linguistics and CDA in the analysis of corpora. The advantages and disadvantages of the method are also presented. Reviews of research in newspaper discourse in Nigeria and worldwide are also included. This is followed up with studies on stance as well as the basis for this study.

3.2 The Impact of Corpus Linguistics on Critical Discourse Analysis

Corpus linguistics involves the use of computer software to analyse a corpus instead of reading through the entire corpus. This ensures a quick and accurate calculation of the corpus which produces statistically based frequency results that tend to make it easy for people to identify patterns of language use (Baker et al 2013:25). The following advantages were identified: findings become more credible due to the use of large amount of data; the frequency of a particular expression also tends to 'allow us to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking' (Baker et al 2013:25) and the large amount of data used can also indicate some items which are less frequent (yet significant) which may have not have been taken cognisance of by other researchers.

According to Baker et. al. (2008:274-276), the use of corpus linguistics in carrying out critical discourse analysis 'is not a novel practice.' They cite Krishnamurthy (1996) and Stubbs (1994) as examples of very early studies. Baker (2009:73) also mentions Hardt-Mautner (1995) as a pioneer in this area of research. The current situation seems to indicate that the use of the techniques of corpus linguistics according to Baker et al (2008) 'is increasingly becoming very

popular in CDA.’ Baker et al (2008:275) cited the example of Fairclough, et. al., (2007) ‘in which almost one in five articles is informed by corpus analysis.’ CDA is specifically concerned with the way ‘discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society’ Baker et al (2008:275).

Baker & McEnery (2005) combine CDA and CL to carry out a concordance analysis of refugee(s), asylum seeker(s) and discovered that the data contains elements of discourse strategies. The researchers discovered discourses in newspaper texts that paint the refugees in very bad light, referring to them as ‘invaders’, ‘pests’ and ‘water’. The negative attitudes of the newspapers were also identified by their choice of lexis (such as failed versus rejected) in describing the subjects.

Another example is Orpin (2005) who also uses CL and CDA to attempt a study of words which are related to corruption semantically. The corpus methodology involves the use of concordances and collocational tools to produce the words’ semantic forms and their differences. She discovers that some of the words which have high negative meanings are used to refer to events that take place outside UK, while the ones with less negative meanings are used to connote the same events in the UK. She uses the CDA qualitative theory to bring into focus the ideological import of the research. The data is taken from a sub corpus of The Bank of English (323 million words as at the time of the study) consisting of four British newspapers-‘*the Guardian, the Independent, the Times* and the (now defunct) tabloid *Today*’ containing a total of 800 texts. (Orpin 2005:41) The study identifies the situations in which some individual words (*bribery, corruption, graft, sleaze* and so on) were used and then compared with The Bank of English to identify the different types of meaning

of the words. In linking it with CDA, the study explains that ‘the decision to choose to use sleaze or impropriety or bribery, corruption or graft in a given context can thus be seen to reflect an ideological stance.’(p.58) Words like *sleaze* or *impropriety* with less negative meanings are not used at all when referring to third world countries like Pakistan or Malaysia. This study is a good attempt at combining corpus linguistic methods with that of CDA but a major issue that is yet to be addressed is how representative are the few concordance lines taken from the large corpora (323 million words)

The Refugee and Asylum Seekers (RAS) Project is said to be a novel way of finding solutions to the area of study by ‘the collaboration of two teams working within the discourse-historical approach in CDA (DHA) and CL respectively.’ (Baker et al 2008:276) The authors suggested that the corpus linguistic approaches enable a substantial level of objectivity in the sense that the researchers are able to look at the texts without any pre-existing knowledge about contents of the data (Baker et al 2008:277). The decision made in respect of what kind of texts to include in the corpus and which parts of the corpus will be analysed are all indications that the researcher is subjective. Baker (2009:87) suggests that this is only an attempt to reduce subjectivity. CDA is described as ‘a process that combines close analysis of language with consideration of social context’ and Corpus Linguistics (CL) is the ‘study of language based on examples of “real life” language use’ (McEnery & Wilson 1996:1 quoted in Baker et al 2013:25) or the method ‘which uses computational tools to uncover linguistic patterns across very large amounts of text.’ (Baker et al 2013:3)

Baker et al (2008:283) hope that the combination of CL and CDA, though recognised as both having merits and demerits, ‘would help to exploit their strong points, while eliminating

potential problems.’ Baker (2009: 95) seems to support the fact the advantages of both methods could make Corpus –Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) a powerful and useful research framework. The importance of using CL methods in carrying out a CDA is further stressed by Partington (2003:12) who is quoted in Baker et al (2008:285) as saying:

At the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded.

This seminal point suggests that the use of the combination of corpus linguistic tools for the analysis of discourse will contribute immensely to such study. My research which also involves a combination of these two areas of the study of language hopes to contribute to the understanding of the issue of bias in newspaper reports. Baker et al (2008:285) also argue that the processes of CL can be of help in the quantification of certain discourses which are already apparent in CDA by confirming their sheer and corresponding frequencies as they appear in the corpus by way of assessment of the varying linguistic methods used to present them. The CDA method is also found to be useful when it comes to the interpretation of the reasons for the presence or otherwise of particular linguistic devices which a corpus assisted analysis cannot do. (Baker et al 2008:293) The study by Baker et al (2008) conclude that ‘each approach can be used to help triangulate the findings of the other, taking into account the coherence, or lack of it, of the findings and the theoretical frameworks informing CDA and CL.’ (Baker et al 2008:295). They suggested possible ways of successfully combining CDA and CL in research in the following table:

Possible stages in corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis

-
- 1 Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture/etymology.
Identify existing topoi/discourses/strategies via wider reading, reference to other CDA studies
 - 2 Establish research questions/corpus building procedures
 - 3 Corpus analysis of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion, etc. – identify potential sites of interest in the corpus along with possible discourses/topoi/strategies, relate to those existing in the literature
 - 4 Qualitative or CDA analysis of a smaller, representative set of data (e.g.,

- concordances of certain lexical items or of a particular text or set of texts within the corpus) – identify discourses/topoi/strategies (DH approach)
- 5 Formulation of new hypotheses or research questions
 - 6 Further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses, identify further discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.
 - 7 Analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on findings from corpus Analysis.
 - 8 New hypotheses
 - 9 Further corpus analysis, identify additional discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.
-

(culled from Baker et al 2008: 295)

Table 2: showing suggested stages in carrying out corpus-based critical discourse analysis

Other findings of the study according to Baker et al (2008: 296) include:

CL can strengthen the position of CDA with regards to well established phenomena like topoi, topics, metaphors by providing strong instances of their frequent occurrence thus making CDA quantitative in outlook.

The corpus-assisted method was used to find instances of positive use of topoi of refugees asylum seekers and immigrants in the corpus whereas the CDA analysis indicated that the positive topoi were very insignificant. While the CL methods concentrated on the patterns of lexis and collocations, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) ensured more in depth analysis by making use of the context of the text as well as the nature and forms of the genre employed.

A very important finding of the study is that ‘qualitative’ findings can be quantified, and that ‘quantitative’ findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories, and lead to their adaptation, or the formulation of new ones. I will like to find out if this can be replicated in my research. Baker et al (2008: 297) explain that CL could also benefit from the detailed way in which CDA does textual analysis. In the next sub section, I will look at the merits of corpus –based discourse study.

3.2.1 Merits of Corpus-based Discourse Analysis

From the discussion above so far, it appears a substantial number of researchers are now combining CL and CDA in their studies. I will now attempt to identify some of the problems of this methodology.

Baker (2006:2) identifies some of the advantages of corpus linguistics in the study of discourse analysis: the use of corpora in discourse studies is capable of reducing the bias of a researcher. It also creates 'the incremental effect of discourse' by showcasing how language is used 'to construct discourses or various ways of looking at the world' and at the same time avoid being manipulated by writers (p.13). Baker (2006:14) also said that it is 'resistant and changing discourses' in the sense that 'charting changes in language is a useful way of showing how discourse positions in society are also in a flux' because issues that were topical some years ago may no longer be acceptable this year.

Flowerdue (2009:396) explains that 'corpus linguistics is usually associated with a phraseological approach to analysis.' The phraseological paradigm involves the assessment of a corpus through the use of concordance lines which 'display many instances of use of a word or phrase, allowing the user to observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts.' (Hunston 2002:9) In essence, phraseology is observed through a study of concordances lines. Phraseology is also found to be interesting because it provides an avenue for teachers to have another way of explaining phenomena in their classrooms. (Hunston 2002:9) I am employing this phraseological approach in my study due to its relevance and usefulness in the analysis of my data. This is because I intend to use concordance analysis to look for evidence of stance in the newspaper data.

In the area of language teaching, corpora can be very useful in telling us the way language works. Translators can also find corpora to very useful when comparing translations with corpora that is parallel in order to discover the methods of translation of words and phrases previously. In the investigation of cultural points of view (stances), corpora are also very advantageous. (Hunston 2002: 13-14)

3.2.2 Criticism of Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis

Baker (2006:6) says the corpus-based approach to discourse analysis is criticised as being too broad and that it does not allow close readings of texts. He also quotes Widdowson (2000:7) as saying that corpus linguistics only offers 'a partial account of real language because it does not address the lack of correspondence between corpus findings and native speaker intuition' He raised other issues like the validity of the researchers 'analyses of texts and the use of computer to analyse data which conform to their whims.' Borseley and Ingham (2002) also cited in Baker 2006) say it is difficult to make conclusions 'about language if an example does not appear in a corpus and that language is endowed with meaning by native speakers and therefore cannot be derived from a corpus.' I think this is a valid assertion but in spite of all these criticisms, corpus linguistics methodology should not be discarded as a tool for language study. It is also said to involve too much labour (Gill 1993:91) and as such it is considered to be difficult (Parker and Burman 1993:156) a position that Baker(p.8) also agrees with, but with the current computer technological development (availability of different useful soft wares) the labour-intensive nature of the research work should be greatly reduced.

Biber et al (2007:11) observe that one of the significant problems that need to be addressed by any corpus-based critical discourse analysis is what unit of analysis is to be employed. They say the need, therefore, is 'to identify the internal discourse segments of a text, corresponding to distinct propositions, topics, or communicative functions'(p.11) and that it is on the basis of this discovery that the subsequent analysis of the discourse will be based.

Biber et al (2007: 11) note that deciding on what the unit of analysis should be is one of the major methodological challenges of corpus-assisted discourse analysis. To solve this problem, Biber et al suggest the need to ensure before commencing an analysis of a discourse structure 'all texts in the corpus must first be analyzed for their component discourse units' (p.11).

Baker (2006:17) also noted some situation that call for concerns. One is that 'corpus data is only language data (written or transcribed spoken)' it does not take care of paralinguistic features –gestures like waving hands, holding a door for a woman or a man to pass. Other elements of discourse which are not represented in discourse include images, pictures, visuals, artworks, sculpture (p.18) The second one concerns the 'social conditions of production and interpretation of texts' which helps 'the researcher understand discourses surrounding them' (Fairclough 1989:25 cited in Baker 2006)

The other concern is what Baker (2006) earlier quoted Baldry (2000:36) as arguing that it is 'abstracting texts from its context'. Flowerdew, (2009:395) also complained that 'corpus data are decontextualised and, for this reason, may not be directly transferable to students' own context of writing.' Thornbury (2010:275) also reiterated this position, saying 'corpora consist mainly of de-contextualised text fragments, assembled from a fairly random range of

sources' (cited from Tagg 2011) but this 'decontextualized example of language' (Baker 2006:18) is seen as advantageous by Hunston (2002:123) when she says '...the researcher is encouraged to spell out the steps that lie between what is observed and the interpretation based on those observations'. Other issues raised by Tagg (2011) are as follows 'there may be interpretations other than the previously 'assumed' one' and that 'divergence within corpus is masked.' These criticisms are presented for a healthy development of corpus-based discourse analysis research. While effort is being made to find solution to some of the demerits (for example the introduction of diachronic data to allow monitoring of current developments in real life language use) others like decontextualization are still being worked on.

A significant challenge of this method is the bias of the researcher which is something that cannot be removed entirely from a study. Baker et al (2013: 24) argues that one way of reducing this subjectivity is to set out at the beginning of the study what the researcher have in mind while analysing and giving interpretation of the data based on 'rather broad notions of respecting others, 'playing fair', doing to others as you would have done to you and striving for accuracy (e.g. not misleading readers)'.

3.3 Review of Corpus-based studies of newspaper discourse.

3.3.1 What is News?

Bell (1991:3) explains what constitutes the genre of news reports as '*hard news* and *features*.' The former includes reports of catastrophes, election, accidents, crimes, information about current developments in society and this aspect showcases the distinctive position of the newspaper. The latter consist of long feature articles (also called soft news

about unfolding events (including editorials, advertorials, opinion columns, special featured articles) which usually have the names of the writer(s). Bell explains that in practice there is no clear cut distinction between hard and soft news.

What comes out as news story in a newspaper is the culmination of not just the ideas of the writer, but of the various news people (copywriters, sub-editors and editors) who edit it before it is published (Bell 1991:5; Baker 2006:72). Baker (2006:73) contends that newspaper discourses are not rigid in their stance taking on particular subjects as this can change from time to time due to new turns of events or changes in points of view.

3.3.2 Overview of the research in Corpus-based studies of Newspaper Discourse

Previous work on the language of media, as expressed by Jullian (2008: 19), is concentrated on 'the exploration of the underlying aims, attitudes and ideology behind the reporting, by looking at the ways in which the news coverage might be biased or misleading.' Discourses, according to Jullian (2008:24), are commonly regarded as having ideological implications. Jullian (2008:25) says that some research in linguistics have shown that when an event is reported in divers publications, there may be significant differences due to the writer's political leaning. This is an attempt to find out these differences, if any, in two newspapers selected for this research. In situations where there is no overt incidence of stance, attempt can then be made to look for it implicitly as Jullian (2008:28) states that 'the implicit ideology in discourse is the main concern of critical linguists'. Hodge & Kress (1993:6) see language as means of control and of information dissemination and that through linguistic patterns important information can be transmitted or twisted. Hodge & Kress (ibid) say this makes the receivers of the information to be controlled and manipulated while they believed they

are being well informed. Simpson (1993:5) explains that 'the term (stance) normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society.'

The discourse of political reports is particularly interesting as they might illuminate the power structure of the society. Therefore, it becomes possible to make a more valid assertion on the contribution of language to the nature of power structure in the society than mere conjecture. A newspaper is one of the tools used by the powerful to achieve the control of public discourse. The impact of newspapers reports on the society is identified by the situation in which some members of the society are in control while the others are denied power.

This is evident in Baker's (2006:72) analysis of a corpus of newspaper articles on the use of the word 'refugee' and 'refugees'. The study shows that the powerful members of the society construct an unpleasant image of the refugees which the latter (i.e the refugees) could not refute due to lack of access to the media. He observes that data from a newspaper is 'a very useful area of producing and reproducing discourses.' He buttressed this assertion by quoting Fairclough who says:

The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of . . . power holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.

Baker (2006:72) further elucidates the power of the press by suggesting that journalists tend to structure their own discourses and restructure the discourses of other people in order to sway their readers to their own points of view. Baker (2006:74) also discovers that the press hardly gives refugees the opportunity to state their own positions and that their identities and discourses are made for them by the powerful people who have control of the media.

Baker uses concordance analysis for the terms *refugee* and *refugees* which produced different types of discourses where refugees are referred to 'as victims, as the recipients of official attempts to help, as a natural disaster and as a criminal nuisance.' (Baker 2006:74). In an earlier study by Baker & McEnery (2005), refugees are referred to as invaders, pests and water.

Baker (2006:88) notes that reference to refugees as criminals was rare in the corpus compared to previous research and issues involving problems and challenges of the refugees are more prevalent than in previous studies. He also sees corpus-based approach as a useful tool in identifying the language patterns and the various ways in which the refugees are discussed.

Garretson and Ädel (2008) studies some US newspapers to search for evidence of political bias (whether intentionally or unintentionally) in their reporting of news about what some people have heard with regards to the 2004 US presidential election. They analyse 'the sources to whom statements in the corpus are attributed, in order to determine *who* gets to speak through the press, and whether there is balance between the two sides in this election' (Garretson and Ädel 2008:157). The 2004 US presidential election was considered to be "the most important election of our lifetime" and occasioned a high degree of partisanship among the population (Garretson and Ädel 2008:159).

They reiterate the opinion of some linguists who argue that it is virtually almost impossible for a news reporter to report what somebody have said without inserting his or her (reporter's) own point of view. (Garretson and Ädel 2008:159) The overall result of the study indicates that bias was not evident in the corpus even though there was suggestive

preference for one candidate over the other (Garretson and Ädel 2008:185). Garretson and Ädel's (2008) work is similar to my research in respect of the focus- looking for evidence of stance in a national election but it is different with regards to the area of methodology and analysis.

Bell (1991) researches the language of media and attempts to answer the question as to why there is need to study the language of newspapers. He says that the language of the media has a major impact on language use in the society and that it also mirrors the society. It also provides the resources used in the study of many language features and how the language of media 'affects attitudes and opinions in society through the way it presents people and issues.' (Bell 1991:2). Given this importance of media language highlighted by Bell, it seems to me that it will be interesting to look for evidence of stance in the news reports about the Nigerian general election to be able to identify how the attitude of the press impacts on the society. One very crucial aspect of the language of the press is in how it was produced.

Bell (1991:5) says the activities involved in the production of news are in many stages as it is not just the act of a single journalist. The media language is produced by the collaboration of many individuals who at various stages are able to modify the structure of the language. Bell explains further that 'media audiences are large and multilayered, ranging from the interviewer whom a newsmaker addresses face to face, to the absentee mass audience, which itself consists of different segments.' This is an indication that the language which is the outcome of a news reports is the combined efforts of so many players in the newspaper industry.

3.3.3 Studies on newspaper discourse in Nigeria

There have been some studies on the language of Nigerian newspapers which uses discourse analysis (Daniel 2009) and critical discourse analysis (Taiwo 2007 and Ogungbe & Alo 2010). Daniel (2009) uses discourse analysis to assess the social rank of women in Nigerian newspapers. She found that women are not empowered because they seem to succumb to the stereotypical negative way in which they are portrayed by the matrilineal society. In fact the study reveals that women even contributed to this situation by portraying themselves as inferior to the menfolk. Ogungbe & Alo (2011) use critical discourse analysis to study aspects of lexis in news reports in Nigerian newspapers and conclude that Nigerian press need to use language in a dispassionate way. Taiwo (2007:218) studies the ideology that lays in the construction of newspaper headlines from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The finding showed that the headlines portrayed the attitude of those who will benefit from the headlines as against those who will be negatively served. He concluded that the editors use the headlines to convince the reader to accept the formers' points of view of the discourse. Taiwo's research has link to this study in the area on the identification of ideology, although the methodology is different.

3.4 The study of Stance

There has been a lot of interest by linguists to study 'the linguistic mechanisms used by speakers and writers to convey their personal feelings and assessments.' (Biber 2006a: 97) Biber and Hyland are credited with doing research into identifying and quantifying stance (for example Biber et al. 1999; Biber 2006a, 2006b; Conrad & Biber 2000 and Hyland 2000, 2009). Investigations into the nature of stance have been carried out under different names. According to Biber (2006a: 97) these include 'evaluation' (Hunston, 1994; Hunston &

Thompson, 2000), 'intensity' (Labov, 1984), 'affect' (Ochs, 1989), 'evidentiality' (Chafe, 1986; Chafe & Nichols, 1986), 'hedging' (Holmes, 1988; Hyland, 1996a,b), and 'stance' (Barton, 1993; Beach & Anson, 1992; Biber & Finegan 1988, 1989; Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan, 1999, Chapter 12; Conrad & Biber, 2000; Precht, 2000). Different kinds of methodologies are used in the investigation of these personal expressions using very large corpora.

Conrad and Biber (2000: 57) see stance as 'a cover term for the *expression* of personal feelings and assessments'. Biber, D. (2006: 99) says:

many of the lexico-grammatical features in English can be used to indicate the personal stance of the speaker or writer: 'personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments' (LGSWE [*Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English-my own addition*] , p. 966). Stance expressions can convey many different kinds of personal feelings and assessments, including attitudes that a speaker has about certain information, how certain they are about its veracity, how they obtained access to the information, and what perspective they are taking.

Conrad & Biber (2000: 63–72) also say stance is grammatical devices employed to make a proposition. Conrad & Biber (2000: 63-72) draw the conclusion that making stance is very frequent in conversations and that epistemic stance is more frequent in use than attitudinal stance among other points. Having reviewed these positions on stance, I shall now look at the methodology involved in the identification of stance in the NIGEC corpus in the next section.

3.5 The basis of this study

The importance of studying the language of the media has been stressed. (Bell 1991; Baker & McEnery 2005; Baker 2006). This thesis is hinged on the search for evidence of stance as mentioned in the fifth point above. This study is based partly on the methodologies used by Baker (2006) and Hunston (2011). Baker (2006) looks at concordance and collocation

analysis and keyword analysis in his study. The aspect of Hunston (2011) that this study is interested in is phraseology or phraseologism. (p.6) She says “‘Phraseology’ is . . . the tendency of words, and groups of words, to occur more frequently in some environments than in others.” (Hunston 2011:5) Phraseology is observed through the analysis of concordance lines in order to identify ‘many instances of use of a word or phrase, allowing, the user to observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts.’ (Hunston 2002:9) It is interesting to note that teachers can use phraseology as a different way of teaching some aspects of the language that confuse learner such as adjectives like *interested* and *interesting*. (Hunston 2002:9)

The concordance lines, according to (Hunston 2002:39), are interpreted based on the assumption ‘. . . which prioritises lexis and stresses the association between pattern and meaning [both lexical and pragmatic] . . . ‘that observed language is a more valid object of study than intuition, that it matters how frequently a linguistic item occurs, and that a corpus can produce results that can be extrapolated to a more general category of language.’

I intend to make use of keyword and concordance analysis. The keyword analysis is used in comparing the frequency list of the Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC) with the BE06 that is the British English 2006 (Baker 2009:312) as the reference corpus to identify the topics and themes of the Nigerian newspaper discourse. Attempts will also be made to do a diachronic discourse analysis of Before and After election sub corpora to find out the whether there are differences or similarities in the election news reports. In this case, the two sub corpora (Before and After the Election) will serve as reference corpus for each other. I plan to use phraseology (Hunston 2002 & Hunston 2011) to attempt an analysis of the concordance

lines to be able to identify possible evidence of stance in the news reports of the 2011 Nigerian election.

3.6 Summary of the chapter

Corpus linguistics has impacted on the research in Discourse analysis in many ways, some of which have been highlighted above. It is an area of research in which real language use is studied to show the social relationship that exists in the society. Some of the merits of the method are mentioned and these include: the use of corpora in discourse studies is capable of reducing the bias of a researcher. Baker (2006:14) also said that it is 'resistant and changing discourses' in the sense that 'charting changes in language is a useful way of showing how discourse positions in society are also in a flux' because issues that were topical some years ago may no longer be acceptable this year. The demerits like deciding on the unit of data to be used on the analysis. A review of studies of newspaper discourse in Nigeria which mainly uses critical discourse analysis is also included. It is also noted that there has not been any study to date using corpus-based critical discourse analysis to study Nigerian newspaper discourse. There is also review of some work on stance.

4.0 Methodology and Exploratory Analysis

4.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter is divided into two sub sections. The first one looks at the methodology involved in this study. It includes how the data were collected as well as the method of analysis. The second sub section is an exploratory analysis involving the comparison of the data: the Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC) with the British English 06 (BE06) in order to identify the main topics of the data set. This is to ensure a general look at what the aboutness of these newspaper reports is about and also to identify the themes through categorisation of the keywords.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Research Aims

The main purpose of this study is to look at how language is used in reports relating to the Nigerian political setting. It is particularly concerned with looking at the issue of political stance in the texts towards individuals or groups that participate in the electoral process in Nigeria. To achieve this purpose, corpus linguistics combined with critical discourse analysis methodologies were used to carry out an empirical study of how the 2011 election was reported in the Nigerian press in order to explore the possibility of political stance as used or implied in the texts. In the next section, I also intend to do a diachronic corpus – based study of Before and After the election sub corpora. This is to find out the similarities and or differences between them. (see 4.2.4 for an explanation of the formation on the main corpus and the sub corpora for this study).

4.2.2 Data Source

The data needed for this study was collected from the online editions of two major Nigerian newspapers. Nigeria Master Web (2012) listed 48 Nigerian newspapers online and 4 magazines while onlinenewspapers.com (2012) listed what it called the 50 most popular newspapers in Nigeria. This is an indication of the vibrancy of newspaper reporting in Nigeria. I do not want to get a representative sample because I am aiming to collect every article about the election within the time frame. The data collection exercise was carried out by extracting all articles that discuss the 2011 general election in the two newspapers from January 1 to June 30, 2011. Six newspapers that represent different interest groups were initially selected. These include: *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *Daily Trust*, *This Day* and *The Nation*. Due to a number of technical challenges such as inability to download previous editions of some of the newspapers, the data collection was eventually limited to the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*. *The Daily Trust* is published in the northern part of the country (Kaduna and Abuja), and it, from all indications, espouses the northern political agenda while *The Nation* is published in Lagos and is owned by the leader of one of the main opposition party, Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). The two newspapers have national spread and are widely circulated. It is believed that these two newspapers are likely to reveal political stance in their reportage. The *Daily Trust* is expected to support the PDP mainly while *The Nation* is supposed to have the backing of ACN mainly and other parties opposed to the ruling party (PDP).

4.2.3 Selecting the Search Terms

Having had access to the archives of the two newspapers online, some of the search terms mentioned above was used to identify the relevant articles. This involves, initially searching

for articles containing certain search terms like *election(s)*, *PDP*, *ACN*, *ANPP*, *APGA*, *LP*, *Jonathan*, *Buhari*, *Tinubu*, *INEC*, *Jega*, *Police*, *Army*, *Navy*, *Airforce*, *Customs*, *Immigration*, *Civil Defence and Election Monitoring Group(s)* within the aforementioned time frame. Eventually, the search terms chosen were *2011 Election* and *2011 Elections*. This decision was taken because the selected search terms made it easy to retrieve the relevant articles online. The *Daily Trust* site was the first visited where the articles were arranged on monthly basis. This enables easy access to the many relevant articles. In the case of *The Nation*, the archive was divided into periods covering about six months, but to gain access to articles in a particular month, one will have to select the date from a calendar on the web page. From there the search page is displayed and to gain access to the articles for a particular month the keyword is modified as *2011 elections January*. Then, all the articles for that month are displayed. This is then followed by the selection of the articles. Because of the decision to select all relevant articles within the time frame, I ended up with two sub corpora which are of different sizes due to the difference in the number and sizes of the articles.

4.2.4 Creating the Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC)

The data extracted was based on news reports concerning the April 2011 elections in Nigeria. This includes news analysis, opinion comments, editorial comments, policy statements. The major criterion for selection is whatever article that discusses the election was selected. This is to enable this study to access the reporting of news about the election before, during and after it. Because of the different writing styles, most of the articles in the *Daily Trust* were short (between 120 and 400 words) whereas in *The Nation*, the articles are longer (between 600 and 1300 words) The data collection exercise led to the creation of a

corpus of about six hundred thousand (600,000) words and it took about three months to collect. This corpus is referred to as the Nigerian Election Corpus (NIGEC).

The building of the corpus was done manually due to my limited knowledge of the use of available software that could have been used to download the data automatically from the web. This made the exercise to be very slow and time-consuming. After the downloading, the data was converted into text and cleaned of ‘noise’ (i.e. irrelevant materials such as images and characters and unnecessary words) before loading them into the corpus analysis tool.

Below is a table showing the number of words downloaded per month for the two newspapers which make up the corpus.

SN	NEWSPAPER	NO. OF ARTICLES PER MONTH						TOTAL NO. OF ARTICLES	TOTAL NO. OF TOKENS
		JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE		
1	<i>Daily Trust</i>	56	52	56	88	65	75	392	185,874
2	<i>The Nation</i>	101	84	157	95	49	38	534	406,929
	GRAND TOTAL							926	592,803

Table 3: Showing the distribution of the data collected from the two newspapers on monthly basis

The differences noticeable in the number of articles selected from the newspapers are based on the extent of coverage of the election news by the two newspapers. All the articles about the 2011 Nigerian election were identified and selected from the two newspapers for the purpose of analysis. As a result of not having the same number of articles and the same number of words for each newspaper, the sub corpora are of different sizes. The difference in corpus size reflects differences in the amount of reporting by each of the newspapers. The reason is that *The Nation* had published more articles on the election within the time frame selected than the *Daily Trust* and the articles in the former were longer than in the latter.

The entire corpus was about five hundred and ninety two thousand, eight hundred and three (592,803) words. The corpus is derived from over nine hundred (900) articles from two newspapers with country wide circulation and it is substantial enough to find the difference in the attitude of the two newspapers. In comparison to other similar corpora, this is a large enough corpus for a corpus-based discourse study. On the issue of how large the size of a corpus should be, Baker (2006: 26-27) cited some researchers who suggested various sizes of corpus to carry out analysis on different types of topics. Kennedy (1998: 68) suggests the use of 100,000 words for the study of prosody and 500,000 words for a morphological analysis. Small amount of data have been used in some cases of corpus-based discourse analysis. Some examples of this include Stubbs (1996: 81-100) who uses two short corpora of almost 330 and 550 words each to compare two short letters from Lord Baden-Powell and Shalom (1997) uses a corpus size of between 15,000 to 20,000 words to analyse personal advertisements. Baker (2006: 27) contends that what determines the size a special corpus designed for the purpose of studying the discourse of a specific subject should not be the size 'but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it.'

4.2.5 Research Questions

To some extent, the methodology is corpus-driven in the sense that I do not know what themes/topics I will look at until this is provided through the exploratory analysis of the corpus (see section 4.3 on the exploratory analysis below). The methodology is also corpus-based in certain respects because I already know that I want to search for evidence of stance-taking with regards to political actors. The following are the research questions initially formulated to carry out the analysis:

1. What are the major themes and topics of interest represented in Nigerian newspapers during the 2011 General Election?

2. What are the differences and/or similarities in the way in which the Northern and Southern Nigerian newspapers report the 2011 general election?
3. What are the differences and/or similarities in the reports before and after the 2011 general election?

The research questions above are the ones I started with and I attempted to answer question one but space did not allow me to investigate extensively the remaining two questions. So because of this space constraint I have limited myself to more specific set of questions which are the ones I have attempted to answer here. The new set of questions is presented below:

1. What are the major themes and topics of interest represented in Nigerian newspapers during the 2011 General Election?
2. How useful is keyword analysis in identifying differences in newspapers?
3. How useful is the identification of stance in revealing differences in the two newspapers point of views?

The first question was answered in the second sub section of this chapter through the comparison of the NIGEC with the BE06 to generate the main topics in the data set. The second and third questions were answered in chapters 5 and 6 respectively using keywords and concordance analyses.

4.2.6 Corpus Tool

There are many corpus tools that can be used to automatically create the Frequency List, the Keyword List and the concordance lines. The Wmatrix 3 (Rayson 2008), which is loaded with the BNC Sampler, was initially used for the analysis. It allows the loading of personal corpus which can be compared with the BNC Sampler and other corpora could also be loaded into it

for analysis. One of the problems with the software is that it is incapable of selecting the concordance lines of a particular keyword; rather it will show all the concordance lines for all the keywords. This makes it very difficult to select the appropriate concordance lines for analysis. In order to solve this problem, the WordSmith 5 Tools (Scott, 2008) was used for the keyword and concordance analyses.

Wordsmith Tools presents a system for comparing corpora, otherwise called KeyWords. The keywords in a corpus text or texts tend to reveal what the text is about. Scott (2010:43) calls this keyness, which he says 'generally appears to give robust indications of the text's aboutness' and that it 'is a quality possessed by words, word-clusters, phrases etc., a quality which is not language dependent but text-dependent'.

Keywords involve comparing a wordlist made from a corpus one is interested in studying and another wordlist from a reference corpus (Berber-Sadinha 2000:7). The wordlists are created through the software. Software is also used to compare a word-list of the corpus with a word-list of a larger reference corpus, a process which then identified the key words that are unusually statistically high or low in frequency (Scott & Tribble 2006:54). I intend to use the one million word BE06 corpus compiled by Paul Baker as my reference corpus. (Baker 2009:312)

4.2.7 Selecting items for Analysis

In the next chapter on the analysis of keywords in Northern and Southern newspapers in Nigeria, some words with high keyness value were selected for study. The keywords were selected after categorising them into themes. The keywords are analysed by looking for evidence of stance in them vis- a- vis the ones in the reference corpus. The words that are key in the reference corpus are also compared against the ones in the main corpus.

4.2.8 Analysis of the Data

The main analysis starts with identifying the keywords in the main corpus when compared with the reference corpus. This is followed by the concordance analysis of some of the keywords in order to identify elements of stance through the context of use. The analysis is also used for clarifying and elaborating on the quantitative findings.

4.3 Exploratory Analysis

4.3.1 Overview

This sub-section involves an exploration of the NIGEC by comparing it with a reference corpus, the BE06 (Baker 2009:312) in order to identify the themes and the main topics. The BE06 is a one-million word corpus 'of published general written British English' ' The majority of the texts were published between 2005 and 2007.' (Baker 2012 online) The comparison was done using WordSmith Tool 5, a corpus analysis tool (Scott 2008). The process of comparison led to the creation of a keyword list, a categorisation of which produced the topics and themes associated with Nigerian newspapers.

4.3.2 Creating the Keyword Lists

Keywords, according to Baker (2012:107), 'are words that occur in a corpus or text more often than we would expect them to occur, when compared against a (usually larger) reference corpus, which acts as a standard reference for normal frequencies of words.' Baker explains further that keywords expose what he calls 'the "aboutness" of a particular corpus', which is what a corpus is about. This aboutness is realised when the NIGEC was compared with the BE06 to generate the topics.

The BE06 Corpus reference was retrieved from Paul Baker's page at <http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/profiles/48/> as a zipped file before it was extracted and then

saved as texts files. The NIGEC was then loaded into WordSmith 5, and the Wordlist was created. The word list displays all of the words in corpus including their frequencies. The same process was done with the text files of the BE06 corpus to also create its wordlist. The two word lists were then compared using the Keyword function section of the WordSmith 5 tool which then created the keyword list of 500 words. Due to time and space constraints, the top 100 were selected for the exploratory analysis. Below is the table presenting the top 100 keyword list:

N	key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	State	4,370	0.73	260	0.03	6,898.68
2	Party	4,021	0.67	218	0.02	6,450.83
3	PDP	2,981	0.5	0		5,903.48
4	Election	2,292	0.38	68		3,984.04
5	S	2,888	0.48	322	0.03	3,926.17
6	The	50,372	8.41	59,163	5.85	3,784.34
7	Governor	1,945	0.32	9		3,743.25
8	Elections	1,891	0.32	41		3,383.72
9	Nigeria	1,472	0.25	3		2,872.37
10	INEC	1,393	0.23	0		2,756.33
11	ACN	1,324	0.22	0		2,619.70
12	President	1,618	0.27	101		2,527.23
13	National	1,798	0.3	314	0.03	2,074.27
14	candidate	1,109	0.19	29		1,950.90
15	Electoral	1,053	0.18	25		1,868.81
16	Jonathan	981	0.16	11		1,829.99
17	presidential	912	0.15	6		1,737.36
18	CPC	858	0.14	0		1,697.24
19	Political	1,353	0.23	221	0.02	1,605.31
20	governorship	795	0.13	0		1,572.57
21	Said	3,468	0.58	2,016	0.2	1,525.45
22	government	1,569	0.26	474	0.05	1,331.82
23	Votes	742	0.12	19		1,307.60
24	Chairman	870	0.15	68		1,296.36
25	Alhaji	621	0.1	0		1,228.27
26	Former	977	0.16	144	0.01	1,206.94
27	ANPP	605	0.1	0		1,196.61
28	Federal	629	0.1	5		1,190.36
29	Nigerians	579	0.1	0		1,145.17
30	Congress	605	0.1	6		1,134.77
31	Senator	597	0.1	5		1,127.57
32	Peoples	650	0.11	20		1,124.39
33	Lagos	564	0.09	0		1,115.50
34	candidates	709	0.12	46		1,098.60
35	democratic	693	0.12	41		1,092.62
36	Parties	734	0.12	64		1,065.67
37	Assembly	605	0.1	22		1,026.46
38	primaries	511	0.09	0		1,010.64
39	commission	745	0.12	101		948.77
40	States	740	0.12	104	0.01	930.31
41	Buhari	463	0.08	0		915.69
42	senatorial	453	0.08	0		895.9
43	members	852	0.14	198	0.02	852.75

44	<i>Abuja</i>	431	0.07	0		852.38
45	<i>registration</i>	482	0.08	17		820.77
46	<i>Goodluck</i>	405	0.07	0		800.95
47	<i>Kano</i>	395	0.07	0		781.17
48	<i>April</i>	641	0.11	99		777.5
49	<i>governors</i>	422	0.07	6		777.04
50	<i>yesterday</i>	697	0.12	135	0.01	766.37
51	<i>Court</i>	746	0.12	169	0.02	757.19
52	<i>Country</i>	958	0.16	320	0.03	754.22
53	<i>Security</i>	683	0.11	132	0.01	751.75
54	<i>Nigerian</i>	364	0.06	0		719.85
55	<i>Leaders</i>	574	0.1	82		717.22
56	<i>Senate</i>	362	0.06	2		692.95
57	<i>We</i>	3,491	0.58	3,080	0.3	688.45
58	<i>Chief</i>	635	0.11	136	0.01	664.06
59	<i>mohammed</i>	345	0.06	6		627.13
60	<i>Jega</i>	317	0.05	0		626.89
61	<i>leadership</i>	437	0.07	43		614.74
62	<i>People</i>	1,833	0.31	1,282	0.13	598.34
63	<i>General</i>	782	0.13	271	0.03	597.83
64	<i>Voters</i>	442	0.07	50		597.27
65	<i>campaign</i>	523	0.09	94		595.18
66	<i>Polls</i>	348	0.06	12		594.14
67	<i>Zone</i>	386	0.06	27		589
68	<i>Ogun</i>	297	0.05	0		587.33
69	<i>Ibrahim</i>	321	0.05	7		573.6
70	<i>North</i>	681	0.11	208	0.02	573.13
71	<i>democracy</i>	393	0.07	36		563.4
72	<i>Has</i>	2,819	0.47	2,474	0.24	563.2
73	<i>That</i>	8,602	1.44	10,284	1.02	554.81
74	<i>Polling</i>	320	0.05	10		552.5
75	<i>Obasanjo</i>	277	0.05	0		547.78
76	<i>Ballot</i>	296	0.05	5		539.11
77	<i>Who</i>	2,508	0.42	2,144	0.21	535.45
78	<i>Nation</i>	394	0.07	45		530.83
79	<i>Aspirants</i>	267	0.04	0		528
80	<i>Deputy</i>	378	0.06	39		524.77
81	<i>Atiku</i>	263	0.04	0		520.09
82	<i>Dr</i>	482	0.08	98		517.51
83	<i>Kaduna</i>	261	0.04	0		516.13
84	<i>opposition</i>	392	0.07	50		509.7
85	<i>Voter</i>	281	0.05	8		489.96
86	<i>representatives</i>	313	0.05	20		486.31
87	<i>constituency</i>	265	0.04	4		486.16
88	<i>Ruling</i>	305	0.05	18		480.98
89	<i>Tinubu</i>	236	0.04	0		466.69
90	<i>commissioner</i>	281	0.05	12		466.66
91	<i>Will</i>	2,422	0.4	2,157	0.21	465.31
92	<i>Abubakar</i>	225	0.04	0		444.93
93	<i>Oyo</i>	220	0.04	0		435.04
94	<i>Ekiti</i>	217	0.04	0		429.11
95	<i>Credible</i>	270	0.05	17		420.68
96	<i>Conduct</i>	321	0.05	41		417.17
97	<i>progressive</i>	293	0.05	29		411.47
98	<i>Urged</i>	292	0.05	30		405.84
99	<i>LP</i>	214	0.04	2		402.33
100	<i>Is</i>	7,287	1.22	8,993	0.89	392.36

Table 4: Top 100 keywords from NIGEC compared with BE06

4.3.3 Analysis of the Keyword list

In the keyword list, a column indicates the 'keyness' value for each of the words. A higher keyness value in the newspaper corpus is an indication that the word is more frequent than in the reference corpus. The top 100 keywords are presented in the table above. Following Baker's suggestion, the keywords were categorised into groups based on their context of usage. In the case of some of the keywords that cannot be categorised due to their ambiguity, concordance analyses were used to clarify the context. Below is the table for the categorisation:

SN	CATEGORIES	NO of KEYWORDS	KEYWORDS
1.	Political parties and Groups	14	<i>Party, PDP, ACN, National, CPC, political, ANPP, congress, peoples, democratic, parties, assembly, senate, LP</i>
2.	Politicians	29	<i>Governor, President, candidate, Jonathan, former, Senator, candidates, Alhaji, Buhari, members, Goodluck, Governors, leaders, chief, Mohammed, Ibrahim, Obasanjo, aspirants, Deputy, Atiku, dr, opposition, Representatives, Tinubu, commissioner, Abubakar, progressive, Chairman, general,</i>
3.	Places	8	<i>Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Ogun, North, Kaduna, Oyo, Ekiti,</i>
4.	Courts and legal matters	2	<i>Court, ruling,</i>
5.	Security	1	<i>Security,</i>
6.	Electoral process	24	<i>Election, elections, INEC, National, electoral, Presidential, Governorship, votes, primaries, commission, senatorial, registration, Jega, voters, campaign, polls, democracy, polling, ballot, voter, constituency, credible, conduct, general,</i>
7	About Nigeria	12	<i>Nigeria, State, government, federal, Nigerians, states, Nigerian, leadership, people, zone, nation, country,</i>
8.	Grammatical words	7	<i>the, we, has, that, is, will, who</i>
9.	Other	5	<i>April, yesterday, urged, said, S</i>
		102	

Table 5: Categorisation of Top 100 keywords from NIGEC compared with BE06

From Table 5 above, the categorisation shows key themes in the analysed data which includes Politics, Judicial matters, Electoral process and Security. This is not surprising considering the fact that the corpus is about elections and these are the things that one would naturally expect in a corpus of this sort. The major political parties have high keyness

value. These include PDP, CPC, ACN and ANPP in that order. Below is a table showing the distribution of the most frequent political parties:

N	key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
3	<i>PDP</i>	2,981	0.5	0		5,903.48
11	<i>ACN</i>	1,324	0.22	0		2,619.70
18	<i>CPC</i>	858	0.14	0		1,697.24
27	<i>ANPP</i>	605	0.1	0		1,196.61

Table 6: showing the distribution of the most frequent political parties

The acronym PDP is more frequent than the other acronyms representing the other parties. All the keywords in the table relate to the Nigerian political environment and the major participants. The themes generated from this exploratory analysis have brought up a number of issues that will be studied in depth in the next chapter. These issues include the representation of political parties, politicians, the courts and security in the two newspapers which constitute the NIGEC. This will involve attempting to find out elements of political stance and whether there are similarities or differences in the way the newspapers reports these issues. From the foregoing, this chapter only shows the ‘aboutness’ of the Nigerian newspaper reports by generating the relevant topics, but there are a number of things that are not shown in the analysis. For example this analysis does not show any differences between the two newspapers. It does not show anything about the conflicting ideology too. We shall explore these in the next chapter.

4.4 Summary of the chapter

This chapter involves the discussion of the principle of selecting data and formulating the research questions. Materials for analysis were chosen from the categorisation of the keywords into themes. Some keywords were then selected from these categories. The

analysis and interpretation were constantly guided and shaped by the corpus. It also explored the NIGEC through its comparison with the BE06 corpus which elicited a number of topics like the politicians, the political parties, the electoral process and legal and court matters. It serves as the basis for the next chapter in the sense that with the themes and topics produced in this chapter, it creates the opportunity to explore further elements such as the ideological stances in news reports that could not be found in the exploration carried out in this chapter.

5.0 A Keyword Analysis of Election news in Northern and Southern Nigerian Newspapers

5.1 Overview of the chapter

In the previous chapter, some themes (topics) were generated as a result of the comparison between NIGEC and the BE06 corpus and topics related to the 2011 general election in Nigeria were identified. The themes generated from the exploratory analysis include the representation of political parties, politicians, the courts, places and security in the two newspapers from which the NIGEC corpus was constituted. This chapter is an attempt to look for the representation of the major players in Nigerian politics: politicians, parties, electoral body, the courts and security apparatus in the NIGEC. I intend to identify stance in the newspaper articles of the 2011 Nigerian election. In order to reduce the element of subjectivity, keywords and concordance analyses are used to attempt to unravel the evidence of stance in the corpora.

Journalists mediate information and reports, and in doing so they inevitably interpret that information evaluatively. Thus the discourse is influenced by subjectivity and in particular by the political point of view of the journalist (cf Baker 2012:104). Elements of stance may be identified by studying the keywords in a corpus. This is not a straight forward affair because as Hunston (2007:28) observes ‘that interpreting the role of stance in discourse entails a deeper understanding of the discourse as a whole than can be obtained from looking at the immediate co-text of an individual lexical item.’

The methodology I am using in this chapter is different from the one I used in the previous chapter. The methodology involves creating two sub corpora from the NIGEC by separating the corpus into the articles from each of the two newspapers- *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*.

The two sub corpora are then run through the WordSmith Tools 6 to compare them against each other while one serves as reference sub corpus for the other.

This research is very important because the comparison of the two newspapers is expected to reveal differences in terms of the reports about participants in the election. The *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* representing Northern and Southern newspapers respectively were compared to identify possible differences in their stance to the participants in the electoral process in Nigeria during the 2011 general election. The articles in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* were saved separately as text files using the EditPadLite7 Text Editor. The *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* newspapers sub corpora consist of 185,874 and 406,929 words respectively. The *Daily Trust* was then loaded into WordSmith 5 (Scott 2008) and then the Word list was created. The word list displays all of the words in the corpus including their frequencies. The same process was done with *The Nation* corpus to create its word list. The word lists of *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* (which serves as the reference corpus) were then compared using the Keyword function section of the WordSmith tool to create the keyword list. Secondly, the word list of *The Nation* was also compared with that of *Daily Trust* (which now serves as the reference corpus) to generate another keyword list. The excerpts of texts from the two sub-corpora are also published at the same time (that is; January to June 2011). These combinations tend to suggest the data in the two sub-corpora are matched reasonably for the keyword analysis. The *Daily Trust* showed 82 keywords of which 50 were selected while *The Nation* showed 41. All the keywords are italicised. Below is the table showing the keyword lists:

SN	KEYWORD	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	LL	SN	KEYWORD	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	LL
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1.	CPC	469	0.25	389	0.09	197.54	1.	We	2,747	0.67	744	0.44	179.05
2.	#	2,717	1.44	4,278	1.04	173.96	2.	Is	5,377	1.31	1,910	1.01	96.33
3.	Malam	63	0.03	5		113.90	3.	Lagos	473	0.12	91	0.05	69.18
4.	Trust	99	0.05	31		109.77	4.	Hon	164	0.04	11		67.07
5.	Daily	91	0.05	26		106.34	5.	Southwest	155	0.04	10		64.68
6.	Votes	359	0.19	383	0.09	92.31	6.	ACF	117	0.03	5		58.14
7.	ANPP	292	0.16	313	0.08	74.23	7.	The	35,294	8.59	15,078	8.01	57.60
8.	Polled	73	0.04	27		72.72	8.	Registrati on	401	0.10	81	0.04	53.66
9.	Suswam	76	0.04	31		70.53	9.	Machines	150	0.04	13		52.61
10.	Abacha	73	0.04	29		69.10	10.	Poll	193	0.05	23	0.01	52.41
11.	Lamido	48	0.03	10		65.34	11.	NPLF	69	0.02	0		52.07
12.	Petition	93	0.05	52	0.01	65.28	12.	Constituti on	156	0.04	15		50.80
13.	Jigawa	64	0.03	34		63.14	13.	Peoples	526	0.13	124	0.07	50.48
14.	Crisis	109	0.06	73	0.02	62.29	14.	Exercise	360	0.09	72	0.04	49.08
15.	Rep	32	0.02	2		60.37	15.	Leaders	466	0.11	108	0.06	46.60
16.	Tribunal	79	0.04	43	0.01	56.99	16.	Forum	177	0.04	24	0.01	42.11
17.	Muhammad	35	0.02	5		54.65	17.	Gen	159	0.04	20	0.01	40.95
18.	Yobe	56	0.03	23		51.69	18.	Tinubu	204	0.05	32	0.02	40.70
19.	MPS	22	0.01	0		50.93	19.	Ex	161	0.04	21	0.01	39.94
20.	Musa	75	0.04	45	0.01	48.81	20.	Fashola	147	0.04	18		38.88
21.	Tambuwal	43	0.02	13		48.67	21.	Ekiti	188	0.05	29	0.02	38.34
22.	Sule	39	0.02	10		48.24	22.	Alliance	169	0.04	24	0.01	38.15
23.	Engineer	30	0.02	4		47.84	23.	Daniel	157	0.04	21	0.01	37.91
24.	Ugba	26	0.01	2		47.29	24.	Our	1,124	0.27	361	0.19	36.70
25.	Jackson	20	0.01	0		46.30	25.	Nation	323	0.08	71	0.04	36.42
26.	Election	872	0.46	1,420	0.35	45.19	26.	Abia	121	0.03	13		36.06
27.	While	274	0.15	346	0.08	44.29	27.	Mimiko	56	0.01	1		34.51
28.	Alhaji	274	0.15	347	0.08	43.88	28.	It	2,900	0.71	1,093	0.58	31.47
29.	Earlier	81	0.04	57	0.01	43.41	29.	Us	447	0.11	118	0.06	31.45

30.	Ballots	42	0.02	15		42.84	30.	Urged	242	0.06	50	0.03	31.00
31.	Waziri	52	0.03	25		42.17	31.	Ondo	139	0.03	20	0.01	30.90
32.	CA	18		0		41.67	32.	AC	48	0.01	1		28.78
33.	Nan	23	0.01	2		40.81	33.	Southsout h	47	0.01	1		28.06
34.	Subsidy	17		0		39.35	34.	Corps	175	0.04	32	0.02	27.88
35	Sani	64	0.03	41		38.61	35	Parte	34		0		25.66
36.	Certificate	33	0.02	10		37.30	36.	Progressiv es	50	0.01	2		25.41
37.	Aminu	63	0.03	41		37.30	37.	Have	2,426	0.59	919	0.49	25.03
38.	Enugu	75	0.04	56	0.01	37.04	38.	Orji	79	0.02	8		24.71
39.	Sai	16		0		37.04	39.	Reporters	83	0.02	9		24.54
40.	Buhari	208	0.11	255	0.06	36.87	40.	Zone	308	0.07	78	0.04	24.48
41.	Borno	66	0.04	45	0.01	36.86	41.	Support	301	0.07	78	0.04	24.12
42.	Isa	49	0.03	26		36.25							
43.	June	63	0.03	42	0.01	36.20							
44	Albishir	28	0.01	7		35.07							
45.	Nebo	15		0		34.72							
46.	Kano	180	0.10	215	0.05	34.46							
47.	Both	101	0.05	95	0.02	33.97							
48.	Nasarawa	54	0.03	34		33.60							
49.	Gubernatori al	89	0.05	80	0.02	32.60							
50.	Magaji	17		1		32.38							

Table 7: List of Top 50 Keywords of *DAILY TRUST* compared with *THE NATION* AND List of All the Keywords of *THE NATION* compared with *DAILY TRUST*

5.2 Analysis of the Keyword list

The top 50 words with the highest keyness values (in comparison to the reference corpus) in each of the comparisons are presented in the tables above. As Baker (2012:107) suggests, keywords are categorised into groups based on their context of usage. This categorisation is subjective because it does not follow any particular arrangement. However, it is adapted

from Baker (2012:107). Although Baker (2012) discusses the issue of gender representation in newspapers I decided to adapt the categorisation he used because I find it relevant in the sense that I am also looking at the concept of representation in newspapers (the representation of political participants). In areas where the categorisation is confusing, concordance analyses were used to clarify the context. The confusion sometimes arises from a situation where a word is found to fit in more than one category and sometimes it will not fit in any particular category. Below is the table for the categorisation:

SN	CATEGORY	KEYWORDS from <i>DAILY TRUST</i>	KEYWORDS from <i>THE NATION</i>
1.	Political parties and Groups	<i>CPC, ANPP,</i>	<i>Peoples, Alliance, AC, ACF, NPLF,</i>
2.	Politicians	<i>Malam, Suswam, Abacha, Lamido, Muhammad, Musa, Tambuwal, Sule, Engineer, Ugba, Jackson, Alhaji, Waziri, Sani, Aminu, Buhari, Isa, Albishir, MPs</i>	<i>Leaders, Gen, Tinubu, Ex, Fashola, Daniel, Mimiko, Orji, Hon,</i>
3.	Places	<i>Jigawa, Yobe, Enugu, Bornu, Kano, Nasarawa,</i>	<i>Lagos, Southwest, Ekiti, Abia, Ondo, Southsouth,</i>
4..	Courts and legal matters	<i>Petition, Tribunal, CA</i>	<i>Constitution, Ex, parte,</i>
5.	Security	<i>Crisis, Magaji</i>	----
6.	Media	<i>Trust, Daily, NAN</i>	<i>Reporters,</i>
7.	Electoral process	<i>Votes, Petition, election, ballots, certificate, Rep, Gubernatorial, polled, trust</i>	<i>Registration, Machines, poll, exercise</i>
8.	Grammatical words	<i>while, both,</i>	<i>We, the, our, it, us, have, Is</i>
9.	Other	<i>Nebo, June, Sai, subsidy, earlier</i>	<i>corps, nation, zone, urged, support</i>

Table 8: Categorisation of the Keywords in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*

From the categorisation above, the following themes identified are Politics (which comprises political parties and the politicians), Electoral process, Security, Media, Courts and Legal Matters and Places.

5.3 Observations in the Categorisations of the Keywords.

The categorisation above has thrown up a number of interesting issues in the keywords that have been identified in each of the two newspapers which tend to evaluate them in terms of their interests. Under political parties and groups, *The Nation* has more of them as keywords than the *Daily Trust*. This suggests that *The Nation* discusses about the political parties more than the *Daily Trust*. CPC and ANPP (the two parties which have their bases in the northern part of the country) constitute the top keywords in the *Daily Trust*, a northern newspaper. The political parties mentioned in *The Nation* appear with a number of keywords which includes the following: *peoples*, *Alliance* and *AC*. A concordance analysis of the keywords reveals that *peoples*, in a lot of instances, stands for different political parties such as Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), a party that cuts across all the six geo-political zones of the country; All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), a northern-based party; Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA), a south eastern party; the Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN), a south western party. The keyword *Alliance* stands for All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), a south eastern party and Alliance for Democracy (AD), a defunct party from which the ACN was formed and the keyword *AC* stands for Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). The political groups (ACF, NPLF and forum) mentioned as keywords in *The Nation* are all northern –based groups. From the observation, it seems that the *Daily Trust* concentrated more on northern parties while *The Nation* apparently maintained a balance in the reporting of the parties from all parts of the country, even though it reports more about the southern parties.

In the case of the category under which politicians are mentioned, the *Daily Trust* has more names as keywords than *The Nation*. A further concordance analysis of the keywords show that all the names mentioned in the *Daily Trust* are those of northern politicians while all the ones in *The Nation* belong to southern politicians. *Jackson*, an American name is the only strange name in the *Daily Trust* list, but a concordance analysis reveals that it is name of a former American president, Andrew Jackson, who was being compared with *Buhari*, a former military president and a presidential contender from the north. This category, therefore, reveals that the *Daily Trust* seems to talk more of the northern politicians than *The Nation* while it is apparently the other way round with *The Nation* which appears to talk more of the southern politicians.

The category Places also reveals some interesting keywords in which all the place names appearing in the *Daily Trust* are in the northern part of the country, except Enugu while in the case of *The Nation* all are place names in the south. This analysis shows that the newspapers seem to concentrate their attention more on reporting issues relating to their respective geographical environment.

On Courts and Legal Matters, the *Daily Trust* has keywords relating to judicial processes while *The Nation* talks about the constitution. On security, there are two keywords in the *Daily Trust* while there are none in *The Nation*. This suggests that the *Daily Trust* discusses more on the security situation than *The Nation* newspapers. There are more keywords under the electoral process category in the *Daily Trust* than in *The Nation*. This apparently indicates that the former newspaper seems to talk more about the electoral process than the latter. This position is not sacrosanct given the observation of Scott (2010:43) that there are a

number of challenges in deciding keyness and this include: ‘the amount of text to take as a unit when computing keyness, statistical problems in making claims of different kinds about the keyness of words and phrases, the choice of an appropriate reference corpus, and the types of repetition which characterize key words.’

From the above, I intend to find out whether each of the two newspapers talks more about political events relating to its respective environment. In order to explore this further, there is need to do a concordance analysis of some of the keywords to be able to see the context in which they occur. For the purpose of this analysis, the following keywords have been selected from each of the two newspapers. The criterion used for picking the keywords is based on the limitation of the thesis in terms of space and time. In line with this situation, one keyword was chosen from each sub category and I intend to analyse most of the keywords. Below is the table showing the list:

SN	KEYWORDS (DAILY TRUST)	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	LL	SN	KEYWORDS (THE NATION)	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	LL
1.	<i>CPC</i>	469	0.25	389	0.09	197.54	1.	<i>Peoples</i>	526	0.13	124	0.07	50.48
2.	<i>Buhari</i>	208	0.11	255	0.06	36.87	2.	<i>Tinubu,</i>	204	0.05	32	0.02	40.70
3.	<i>Crisis</i>	109	0.06	73	0.02	62.29	3.	<i>Lagos</i>	473	0.12	91	0.05	69.18
4.	<i>Petition</i>	93	0.05	52	0.01	65.28	4.	<i>Poll</i>	193	0.05	23	0.01	52.41
5.	<i>Kano</i>	180	0.10	215	0.05	34.46	5.	<i>We</i>	2,747	0.67	744	0.44	179.05
								<i>Our</i>	1,124	0.27	361	0.19	36.70
								<i>Us</i>	447	0.11	118	0.06	31.45
6.	<i>Votes</i>	359	0.19	383	0.09	92.31							

Table 9: List of selected keywords from the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*.

The analysis involves the identification of stance in the two newspapers regarding the keywords. The study looks at how the two newspapers express positive or negative stance in

relation to the keywords. The analysis is carried out by studying the concordance lines of the keywords. Due to space constraints, the concordance lines are limited to 100 randomly selected lines where the number of lines involved is more than 120. The randomness is decided based on the number of lines in each of the keywords. But the keywords with less than 100 are all used in the analysis. In order to put this study into proper perspectives, there is a need to look at the resources used to express stance. This will make the subsequent analysis clear and understandable.

5.4 Types of Evidence for Stance

In identifying what constitutes stance in a newspaper's discourse, attempts should be made to identify the types of news reports in the sub corpora. The interest is in the attitude of the press to the issues raised in the corpora. The articles in the newspapers constitute different types of news reports such as a journalist reporting an event; editorial opinion; an interview or news analysis with journalist comments embedded. In the case of this research, however, I am talking about different voices which may be in a single text of an article. What I am saying is that we could have a journalist reporting a news event or a journalist reporting what a commentator says. We could also have a journalist giving an opinion or a newspaper giving an opinion (through editorials) which represents different voices within the newspapers.

The evidence for stance may not be clearly identifiable in the corpora in some instances (i.e. implicit stance). In some of the examples of the concordance lines, it is apparent that it is not the newspaper that is talking but other people's comments being reported in the newspapers. In some instances, it is a politician or party making allegations against other individuals, party or parties or even it may be allegations or counter allegations between rivals within a party or comments from members of the public about a particular. Some of

the examples of what constitute positive or negative stance occur within reports of what somebody else says. This implies that we can have explicit as well as implicit stance. As Hunston (2007:28) explains, I am going to attempt to show that 'an utterance has a stance implication even when there are no obviously evaluative items in it.'

In assessing stance sometimes the word gives the value of it and sometimes it is the sentence that indicates stance. One of the utterances referred to as positive stance is the expectation of a possible win by a political party. So any instance that tells us that the party will win constitutes positive stance. The same situation is experienced with negative stance in which case any reference to a comment that a party will or may lose constitutes negative stance as well.

Sometimes individual words give a clue about stance and sometimes it is a phrase or sentence that gives the evidence of evaluation. In all studies of evaluation and stance, saying that something is good or beautiful or wonderful or confident imply that the aforementioned words are definitely doing the evaluation. In addition to this, there are other sentences which are very important ideologically because they appeal to shared knowledge. So if one is saying that Buhari can be compared to Jackson and the person does not know the linkage then that may not be evaluative. But if a person knows the connection between *Buhari* and *Jackson*, then one knows that it is evidence for positiveness in stance for the subject. This means that sometimes one is taking something that doesn't have any evaluative language and saying that it is positive because one knows that it suggests a positive stance.(cf Hunston 2007:28) So in this case one is giving evidence of positive stance or negative stance rather than the newspaper giving the evidence or doing the evaluation.

This is one of the most ideologically informed kinds of evaluation because it is based very much on shared knowledge. In situations where one cannot see evidence of evaluation, it means it evoked rather than describe an evaluation. Sometimes, stance can be explicit (such as utterances having words, phrases or clauses the carries positive or negative evaluation) and some other times it can be implicit (in which case the stance is not clearly stated).

5.5 Analysis of Concordance lines of selected Keywords

This sub section attempts an analysis of the concordance lines of the keywords in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* sub corpora. In order to discover how the keywords are used, there is a need to look at the concordance lines. This will show the context in which they are used. It will also show whether they are referred to positively or negatively in the text. The Table below displays the concordance lines with or without stance as well as those with positive and negative stance. The keywords indicated in the table have been selected for the analysis due to space and time constraints. The basis for this selection has been explained in section 5.3 above.

NO	KEYWORDS	NO OF LINES	LINES WITH NO STANCE	NO WITH STANCE	NO WITH POSITIVE STANCE	NO WITH NEGATIVE STANCE
1.	<i>CPC</i> (a)	100	90	10	4	6
2.	<i>CPC</i> (b)	100	85	15	6	9
3.	<i>Buhari</i> (a)	100	72	28	18	10
4.	<i>Buhari</i> (b)	100	83	17	9	8
5.	<i>Kano</i> (a)	77	65	12	10	2
6.	<i>Kano</i> (b)	100	91	9	6	3
7.	<i>*Crisis</i>	*				
8.	<i>*Petition</i>	*				

Table 10: shows the distribution of stance in selected keywords in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* sub corpora

KEY: (a) – *Daily Trust*; (b) *The Nation*

* These two words cannot be analysed using the criteria of positive and negative stance. (see more explanation below).

Crisis and *petition* are different from the other keywords because the former is inherently negative while the latter may be negative or positive depending on the context. It is therefore irrelevant to analyse the concordance lines for these two words using the criteria of the identification of their positive and negative stance. *Crisis* is negative in any context and *petition* too in the context of the NIGEC is also negative because the *petition* referred are in form of written complaints against one entity or the other with regards to the election. The *petitions* were usually presented to either the electoral body or the election tribunal or the government for adjudication. Given this situation, the analysis of *crisis* and *petition* will be carried out by comparing the percentage of use of these words by the two newspapers to know which of them use the words more than the other in order to identify the ideology of the newspapers.

5.5.1 The political parties and groups in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*

To know the position of the political parties and groups, it will be useful to show the overall distribution of the parties and groups in the discourse. The table below shows this distribution:

SN	NEWSPAPER	KEYWORD	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	LL
1.	<i>Daily Trust</i>	<i>CPC</i>	469	0.25	389	0.09	197.54
2.	„	<i>ANPP</i>	292	0.16	313	0.08	74.23
3.	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>Peoples</i>	526	0.13	124	0.07	50.48

4.	„	<i>Alliance</i>	169	0.04	24	0.01	38.15
5.	„	<i>AC</i>	48	0.01	1		28.78
6.	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>ACF</i>	117	0.03	5		58.14
7.	„	<i>NPLF</i>	69	0.02	0		52.07
8.	„	<i>Forum</i>	177	0.04	24	0.01	42.11

Table 11: showing the list of keywords on political parties and groups in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*

The list indicates that the political parties are discussed more in *The Nation* than in the *Daily Trust*. As mentioned earlier, while the *Daily Trust* has only two parties as keywords, *The Nation* refers to three, one of which (*peoples*) represents four different political parties. All the three groups referred to are to be found in *The Nation*. The number of times a political party appears as keyword in a corpus may not determine its high frequency over other keywords of the same category. There is a need to look at the statistical scores of the keywords. Although, *The Nation* mentions more political parties and groups as keywords, the *Daily Trust* seems to refer to the two political parties it has as keywords more than *The Nation* does for all the nine political parties and groups it refers to in its corpus. This situation tends to suggest that *The Daily Trust* is more concerned about talking of the political development in its northern geographical sphere while *The Nation* appears to be more national in its outlook with its keywords covering not only its base in the south western part of the country but also the northern and south eastern parts. The frequent occurrence of the acronyms of the major political parties in the corpus reflects the importance of the different political parties according to the two newspapers. To some extent, as is expected, the dominant political parties get the most mention and that is the

PDP. Other significant parties also do get quite frequent mention and these are ACN, CPC and ANPP. What is surprising is that two other parties (APGA and PPA) which I am aware are important in Nigerian politics are not keywords.

5.5.2 Analysis of Political parties and groups keywords: CPC

The following is the analysis of the selected keyword from the political parties and groups category. The concordance lines are tabulated based on those with positive and negative stance as indicated in Table 9 above. The positive and negative stances are identified by what comments the newspapers make about the election (editorial comment), what the reporter comments about the event (journalist report). It also involves allegations by other political parties or even rivals within a party or even members of the public as reported by the newspapers (commentators). In essence, it is not just the stance of the newspaper that is considered in the identification of stance but also the representation of the participants in the electoral process by other discourse participants reported in the newspapers.

I have analysed a hundred concordance lines for each keywords (except for *Kano* in the *Daily Trust* which has only 77 lines) and I have divided them into lines with no stance and lines with stance and the latter has been further divided into lines with positive and negative stance. To enable us compare the concordance lines with stance and those without stance, there is a need to show some of the concordance lines without stance. Some of the examples of the concordance lines with no stance for the keyword, *CPC* in both newspapers are presented below:

	NEWSPAPER	CONCORDANCE LINES WITH NO STANCE IN CPC IN THE TWO NEWSPAPERS
--	-----------	---

1.	<i>Daily Trust</i>	1. Kano State deputy governor and former CPC gubernatorial aspirant, Engineer Magaji 8. kur (ANPP), 65,507; Alhaji Umar Jibo (CPC), 17,924 and Mr Nuhu Dallaji (ACN), 16. the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) during the April 16
2.	<i>The Nation</i>	1. the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and the All Nigeria Peoples 8. tribunal. Speaking with The Nation, CPC faction chairman in Bauchi, Alhaji She 14. e of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Gen. Muhammadu Buhari; (ANPP)

Table 12: showing samples of concordance lines with no stance in *CPC* in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation*.

In the *Daily Trust*, there are 469 concordance lines for *CPC*, out of which 29 are duplicates.

The random selection of the remaining 440 lines involves picking every fourth line to arrive at 110 lines from which the last ten lines are removed. The remaining 100 lines are then studied. The Tables showing positive and negative stance in the two sub corpora are presented. This is then followed by their analysis.

50 turned up for this campaign launch, I am confident that CPC is the party that will form the next gove
83 ral Muhammadu Buhari, and it is one of the states where CPC is expected by observers to make a strong
87 m several years of backwardness, according to them. The CPC came on the scene waxing stronger with
169 people are looking for change and that change is in the CPC. I can bet you that people are now

Table 13: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *CPC* in *Daily Trust*

The concordance lines for *CPC* are indeed very few in the sub corpus for the northern newspaper (*Daily Trust*)

95 tatement yesterday, said the reaction of the CPC which alleged that the ruling party was politicizing
140 g from February 7 to 10 Apart from Kano, the CPC crisis is also common in states like Katsina, Bauchi,
221 ny far northern states. Even though Buhari's CPC is virtually non-existent in the South, it could str
229 e states but that doesn't give Buhari or the CPC the moral grounds to challenge the results with exclu
392 ice of its gubernatorial candidate prevented CPC from starting their campaign on time, when the camp
400 ith a very comfortable margin over a divided CPC house led into the polls by former House of Represen

Table 14: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *CPC* in *Daily Trust*

11 the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), will win the April polls. Nweke spoke in Aw
18 -partisan posture of INEC. Maku said CPC won in places where it had no structures whil
48 , Benue, Imo, Kwara and Taraba,. The CPC has strong following in states like Adamawa,
67 l terms, what 'positive change' his CPC can bring to the table. Will he shine like Fa
131 rs out of the venue, but the defiant CPC went ahead with the rally within the precinct
267 adquarters of the zone, could cement CPC's hold on the zone. Peoples Democratic Party
302 now a shadow of itself. Comment: The CPC is frontrunner. While the actual votes by the

Table 15: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *CPC* in *The Nation*

44 the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) came and consumed the political fabric of t
54 he elections. On the allegation that CPC promotes violence, especially in the North,

60 Security agencies are protecting the CPC against us. How can CPC attack us and not
79 could not have been in the favour of CPC, which is barely a year old without perman
145 the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) for the violence that trailed the declarant
232 e to be worried about in courts. The CPC appears to have suffered from teething prob
236 and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)-are still entangled in legal battles ari
278 l elections, it polled 74,253 votes. CPC, a party which has only a marginal presence

Table 16: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *CPC* in *The Nation*

From Tables 13 - 16 above, the distribution of the positive and negative stance for *CPC* is displayed. From the statistical presentation, *CPC* is portrayed negatively six times in the *Daily Trust* while it appears negatively eight times in *The Nation*. This indicates that there is no significant difference in the negative portrayal of the party in the two newspapers.

On the whole, It can also be deduced that the percentage of the concordance lines with stance in the two newspapers, 10 and 15 % for the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* respectively is very small. One will expect a lot of instances of stance in newspaper reports of issues concerning elections. But in this corpus, it seems this is not the case. It is very surprising that in an electoral corpus, we have a very low number of concordances lines with stance. I noticed that initially when I started the analysis with the first 100 lines, I discovered that the number of lines with stance, positive and negative, were a bit high [there were more lines with stance] but when I did the random selection of the 100 lines, then I found that the number of lines with stance has been considerably reduced. Most of the concordance lines are without stance because most of the lines are just reporting the result of the elections indicating the names of the candidates, their scores and the parties they belong to.

There are some lines in Tables 13 and 15 which I have identified as having implicit stance. I intend to explain how they express stance. One of the things that is taken as positive stance is the expectation of a possible win by the party (*CPC*). So this means that any instances that tell us that the party will win constitutes positive stance. Most of these are actually about

that so we have got . . . *CPC . . . will form the next government . . .* (line 50). To avoid unnecessary repetition, the concordance lines quoted will be subsequently identified by putting the number in brackets. . . . *CPC . . . to make a strong showing . . .* (83) and . . . *CPC . . . waxing stronger . . .* (87) These examples are from the *Daily Trust*. We also have the following from *The Nation* . . . *The CPC will win* (11) . . . *CPC won* (18) . . . *CPC has strong following* (48) . . . *CPC is a front runner* (302). . . So all the above are about how successful the CPC is. Then we have got a few others which make reference to positive change and a report of an action which could be interpreted as constituting a positive stance.

A further study of the concordance lines for the *Daily Trust* show that lines 50 and 169 in Table 13 are attributed to comments made by people who apparently are members of the party which accounted for why it is glaringly a positive stance. The use of the modal auxiliary *will* in line 50 which expresses a *certainty* seems to suggest that nothing can stop the party from winning the election. In line 169, a commentator is reported to make use of the word *change* to refer to CPC as a party that will bring change when voted into power. This is particularly significant due to the use of the present tense form *is* which tends to reinforce the positivity in the stance. The remaining two lines (83 & 87) are journalist comment and expressions such as *is expected by observers* and *according to them. The CPC* are pointers to the fact that the journalist is reporting the event. The expressions above attempt to detach the journalist from the comments. These non- affirmative expressions, though positive in this case, are not as strong as the one by the commentator discussed earlier.

In *The Nation*, all the concordance lines with positive stance are made by commentators. The two expressions *but the defiant CPC went ahead . . .* (131) and . . . *could cement CPC's*

hold on the zone . . . (267) are interesting and need to be commented upon. In the former, the word *defiant* could have positive or negative connotations. In this context, it is used in a positive way since it suggests that in the face of opposition to her plan for a rally, the party defied the ban and went ahead to hold the rally. In the latter line, *cement* and *hold* are used figuratively to refer to the ability of the party to win the election in that particular area.

Negative stance is identified in the concordance lines which seem to infer that there is instability in the party. Any words or expressions which suggest this tends to portray the party in a negative sense. Most of these appear to indicate this situation and they include: . . .*the reaction of the CPC which allege* . . . (95) . . .*the CPC crisis is also common* . . . (140) . . .*prevented CPC from starting* . . . (392) . . .*a divided CPC house* . . . (400) while in *The Nation* we have . . .*that CPC promotes violence*. . . (54) . . . *how can CPC attack us and nothing will happen* (60) . . . *has indicted* . . . *CPC for the violence* . . . (145). *The CPC appears to have suffered* . . . (232) . . . *ANPP* . . . *(CPC) are still entangled in legal battles* . . . (236). All of the above expressions attempt to portray the party in a negative light in which case the latter uses stronger expressions than the former to indicate the negative stance. The following expressions: *promotes violence, attack, suffered, entangled* are what give the clue of the negative stance. In a lot of these examples it is not the newspapers or the journalists talking; rather it is the commentators who make allegations or attack other parties or it may even be due to intra party conflict.

From the analysis above, it seems there is no bias in the position of the two newspapers with regards to their positive or negative stances towards CPC. It is however clear that *The Nation*

appears to be ideologically stronger due to the use of stronger terms in portraying the negative stances towards the party.

5.5.3 Analysis of Politicians keywords: *buhari*

Buhari, one of the keywords for politicians, represents the name of retired General Muhammadu Buhari, a major opponent of the incumbent President (Goodluck Jonathan) and contender in the presidential election. Because of the apparent threat he poses to the ruling party, he faces a lot of threats, accusations and allegations against his personality and party from his adversaries and receives outpourings of love and affection by his admirers. Some of these are reflected in the concordance analysis of the keyword in the two newspapers as indicated by the lines with positive and negative stances. The tables are presented and this is then followed by an analysis. Below are concordance lines for *Buhari* in

Daily Trust with positive stance:

9 ment for business? The impression is that Buhari is relying on his obvious charisma (es
15 led by ex-convicts. This April, Muhammadu Buhari will be president of Nigeria. Governor
19 math of those two presidential elections, Buhari, a non-violent and law abiding person,
27 emand for another turn? general Muhammadu Buhari was formally endorsed as the president
41 rty (ANPP). In addition, both Jackson and Buhari are contesting at their nations' Jubil
49 led mammoth crowds that receive Muhammadu Buhari and his entourage everywhere they go t
56 thwart his campaigns for the presidency, Buhari campaigns always pass on peacefully. B
72 some youth who were chanting "SaiBuhari" (Buhari is our preferred candidate). Almanar m
74 much talked about alliance with Muhammadu Buhari who will definitely win the presidency
101 iple politician. anybody had doubt about Buhari's acceptance and electrifying bond wi
155 Buhari today. The downtrodden masses love Buhari: the shoemaker, the groundnut seller,
171 s factor will work any day, any time. He (Buhari) is the man of God; he is a man of in
193 icture in the minds of their compatriots. Buhari is seen as that tall, straight and st
197 their own President." Anybody that knows Buhari shall agree with me that the American
199 tic general who sought to reform Nigeria. Buhari is offering himself for leadership th
207 kson did in the United States of America, Buhari is counting only on the votes of the m

Table 17: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *Buhari* in *Daily Trust*

NOTE: In concordance line 41 above, Buhari is being favourably compared with (Andrew) Jackson, a former American President who was seen as experiencing a successful tenure in office.

7 t of lack of good leadership. The crisis of Buhari's political movement was earlier thou
21 be gone for good. Over the years, Muhammadu Buhari has had his own share of gaffes, like
58 rategists fall for? Four, is a concern that Buhari has not made much effort to escape f
66 n", he said. He said the failure of General Buhari to intervene in the crisis is wrong.
84 messages are urging northerners to vote for Buhari instead of Jonathan. Are you worried
109 cultural troupe joined in the "Nigeria, Sai Buhari" chants. The frenzy lasted for over 1
161 rom the same process that was not credible. Buhari wasn't confident before the elections
175 e indeed raises fundamental questions about Buhari's political judgments. Three, is the
179 rasitic and delirious political godfathers. Buhari's rigidity will definitely set him on

181 w I will ask you which one will you prefer; Buhari is a rigid man and Jerry Gana is a f
 189 d presidential candidate of the CPC General Buhari as too rigid to be able to successful

Table 18: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *Buhari* in *Daily Trust*

3 y rigging could prevent their hero, General Buhari, from emerging tops in the electoral
 55 ri's team said: "You will be surprised that Buhari will command appreciable following in
 59 may not work against him. There is a potent Buhari factor, and this has made Datti Baba-
 61 nd prayer for the success of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari's presidential campaigns. The pray
 75 . Based on religious and ethnic agitations, Buhari can defeat other aspirants in the 19
 86 for his campaign rally in Ibadan. He locked Buhari and his supporters out of the venue,
 126 have no doubt in my mind that working with Buhari will bring the desired change that th
 128 entatives, is believed to be banking on the Buhari factor to spring surprise at the pol
 164 good leaders to restore its glory. He said Buhari had all it takes to rid the country o
 168 be known by the people, the mere mention of Buhari was enough to open the doors for them

Table 19: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *Buhari* in *The Nation*

9 stration cited security reasons for barring Buhari from the venue. The government said F
 24 d there is nothing wrong with that. Even if Buhari wants to get the ACN ticket, I belie
 27 thing started before it was announced that Buhari had lost. The violence was already go
 36 for Progressive Change (CPC), Gen Muhammadu Buhari over alleged violence by his supporte
 120 hat all these shenanigans will not stop the Buhari /Bakare hurricane that is blowing awa
 174 illed and maimed innocent people, following Buhari's failure to win the election. Many h
 197 re having in this country. Now, you can see Buhari who left us. He is now trying to come

Table 20: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *Buhari* in *The Nation*

The concordance analysis for *Buhari* in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* presented in tables 17 to 20 above shows that both newspapers have more positive stance (16 and 10 lines respectively) than negative stance (11 and 7 lines respectively). The statistics also shows that the *Daily Trust* has more positive stance towards *Buhari* than *The Nation*. Some of the concordance lines reveal how the object (*Buhari*) is regarded in a highly positive way through varying portrayal of his personality and ability to win election. In the *Daily Trust*, *Buhari's* personality is glowingly portrayed and these give the clue to the positive stance towards him as a man and a politician. These are . . . *Buhari . . . his obvious charisma* (9) . . . *Buhari, a non-violent and law-abiding person* (19) *mammoth crowd that receive . . . Buhari . . .* (line 49) . . . *"Sai Buhari" (Buhari is our preferred candidate) . . .* (72) . . . *the downtrodden masses love Buhari . . .* (155) . . . *He (Buhari) is the man of God; he is a man of integrity . . .* (171) . . . *Buhari*

is seen as that tall, straight and strict general (193) Other concordances lines which highlights the positive stand towards *Buhari* includes the following:

Muhammadu Buhari will be president of Nigeria (15) *Muhammadu Buhari was formally endorsed* (27) *both Jackson and Buhari are contesting at their nations' Jubilee* (41) *Buhari campaigns always pass on peacefully* (56) *alliance with Muhammadu Buhari who will definitely win the presidency* (74) *Buhari is offering himself for leadership* (199) *Buhari is counting only on the votes of the masses* (207). From the above one can see that *Buhari* is positively portrayed as a man to be trusted (lines 19, 171 & 193); a man well loved by the people (lines 49, 72, 155 & 207) and a peace loving person (lines 9 & 56). He is also regarded as having the ability to win the election (lines 15, 27, 74 & 199). In line 41, *Buhari* is being compared with (Andrew) Jackson, a former president of the United States of America, who was a retired general and was regarded as a very successful president. I think this is an implicit positive stance towards *Buhari* in the sense that he is being compared with somebody who, like himself, was a retired general who succeeded as a president. The perception here is that if *Buhari* wins the election, he will succeed like Jackson.

In *The Nation*, the positive stances are expressed in different ways. Some refer to the 'appeal' of *Buhari's* personality or name which was used to achieve success at the polls by contestants for positions other than the presidency. Some of these are: *There is a potent Buhari factor* (59); *banking on the Buhari factor to spring surprise at the poll* (128) and *the mere mention of Buhari was enough to open the doors for them* (168). He is also seen as a hero as in *only rigging could prevent their hero, General Buhari, from emerging tops* (3) and a man with a large following as in *You will be surprised that Buhari will command appreciable*

following (55) and as somebody who can fight corruption and change the society as stated here: *Buhari had all it takes to rid the country of corruption* (164) and *Buhari will bring the desired change* (126). Other positive appreciation of Buhari includes *prayer for the success of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari's presidential campaigns*. (61) *Buhari can defeat other aspirants* (75) *He locked Buhari and his supporters out of the venue* (86). The last point (86) appears to be negative but a perusal of the source text reveals that the action of locking out was carried out by the opposition party but *Buhari* was not deterred by this ploy to put paid to his campaigns. He went ahead to do the rally outside the locked venue which tended to turn out positive as the supporters turned out in large numbers to listen to him in spite of the inconvenience.

In the Daily Trust, the negative stances portray him as uncompromising (rigid) (lines 179,181 & 189); lacking confidence (161); inability to address challenges (crisis) (lines 7, 58, 66 & 175); making inappropriate statements (21) and encouraging religious bias by his supporters in the predominantly muslim Northern part of the country (line 84 & 109). In *The Nation* sub corpus we also have negative comments about *Buhari*; some of which linked him to violence (lines 27, 36); his electoral loss (line 174); attack from other opposition parties (lines 24 & 197), attempts to prevent him from campaigning (line 9). All these are attempts to scuttle the presidential ambition of Buhari. One concordance line that is of interest here is the one that talks of the combination of Buhari and Bakare, his vice presidential candidate, as a *hurricane* (line 120). The word refers to a very strong wind that destroys anything in its wake and this ordinarily connotes negativity. But here it is used figuratively to refer to the ability of the duo to win the election with a massive margin.

The negative stance towards the object (*Buhari*) is not so strong. The occurrences of the negative stances are not very frequent in the two newspapers. At the same time, the words or expressions used to capture these negative stances are not very strong. The content of the negative stances presented in *The Nation* are not very strongly negative against *Buhari*. This is probably because at that particular point in time there were a lot of efforts being made to merge the two major opposition parties – the CPC and the ACN as a mega party to challenge the ruling party [PDP]. It is pertinent to note that *The Nation* newspaper is owned by Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the leader of ACN. So on the whole the object is presented more as being positive than being negative.

5.5.4 Analysis of Places keywords: *Kano*

Below are the concordance lines for *Kano* in *Daily Trust* with positive stance:

2 successful leadership based on our Kano experience - attitude, association, planning an
 3 a mini-Nigeria. All communities in Kano State are living together in peaceful harmony b
 4 ialogue. We do not discriminate in Kano. What Nigeria needs at this point in time is a
 8 of divergent views in our society. Kano is the only state in Nigeria where the opposite
 10 iently to be president of Nigeria. Kano is a mini-Nigeria. All communities in Kano St
 17 elected at the federal level. The Kano experience has prepared me sufficiently to be p
 19 ties within the period and beyond. Kano as a mini-Nigeria... Invariably, the same issues
 30 it of attitudinal change. Today in Kano, we have gotten to a point you don't talk of cr
 35 the House of Representatives, with Kano and Lagos having the highest slots of 24 each w
 63 is possible. Other states did it. Kano did it in 2003. Bauchi and Lagos did it in 2007

Table 21: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *Kano* in *Daily Trust*

9 food insecurity and unemployment in Kano. It is a model we would love to replicate all over Nigeria, ev
 75 arly of PDP in Abia, Ogun, Oyo, and Kano among others are still mired in court litigations up till the

Table 22: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *Kano* in *Daily Trust*

37 that has to do with the fact that Kano politics, as it is at the moment, is devoid of
 59 said the manner Shekarau changed Kano State from the hotbed of religious crises to a
 100 the election. For its sheer size, Kano State is one that every political party would l
 131 erywhere was peaceful and calm in Kano, because people have now got what they want. I
 153 adu Buhari to CPC had charged the Kano political scene. The former Head of State has a
 188 it may interest you to know that Kano State today is the most peaceful state in Niger
 195 we are planning to bring back to Kano - action. We started such efforts in Kano durin

Table 23: showing concordance lines with positive stance for *Kano* in *The Nation*

Line 153 above seems to be negative but when considered closely, it appears to be positive in the sense that the 'defection' of the object to the CPC seems to arouse the interest of the electorate.

85 the solution to the problem here in Kano. It has been proved in this election. We are so happy that
193 t pronouncement and the violence in Kano, many voters preferred to shun the polling units. Consequen

Table 24: showing concordance lines with negative stance for *Kano* in *The Nation*

Kano has overwhelmingly more positive stance in both newspapers (10 and 7 lines in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* respectively) than negative stance (2 and 2 lines in the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* respectively) (see Tables 21-24 for more information). What I find interesting in the few concordance lines is that some of them are positive but they are not randomly positive. So *Kano* is represented as given the impression of being 'peaceful' (lines 3, 131 and 188) 'peaceful' is also democratic and *Kano* is represented as peaceful, just and democratic. *Kano* is a mini Nigeria; she is very important. *Kano* is also seen to be fair (lines 2, 4, 8, 17 and 30). The overall impression is that *Kano* is being represented as very important and that is something that is the sort of view that you expect the Northern newspaper to have. These are very good examples of how stance emerge quite implicitly. A lot of the instances that the word *Kano* appear are not strongly evaluative or quite explicit but that is how evaluation works to influence people because it is implicit so they do not feel they are being influenced. They feel they are just being given information.

The negative stances about *Kano* are not many. It is portrayed as a violent and insecure place (9, 75 & 193). A statement in *The Nation* that refers to the object as *the hotbed of religious crises* (59) appears to be negative but a further scrutiny of the line reveals that that label has changed to it being referred to as *a peaceful state*.

5.5.5 Analysis of Security keywords: *crisis*

As stated in 6.5 above, *crisis and petition* are words which are used to reflect negative tendencies in almost all situations although it should be acknowledged that the latter can be used in a positive sense in some situations. The analysis will therefore not be about identifying positive or negative stances in the concordance lines for the two words. I intend to search for the words in the two newspapers and compare them to find out how this reflect the ideology of the newspapers towards the individuals and groups which are referred to by these terms.

With regards to the analyses of *crisis* and *petition*, the question is not what the attitude of the newspapers is to them. This is due to the fact that *crisis* is inherently negative anywhere in the world while *petition* may be negative or positive depending on the context. In the context of this corpus, the latter is negative too (see section 6.5). So there is no question of evaluating the stance as to whether it is incontrovertible or not. The former belongs to category security while the latter, which will be discussed in the next sub section, is found in the category legal matters. What we are looking at here is what the use of *crisis* and *petition* say about the ideology of the newspapers. So a newspaper that uses the word a lot is reporting stance quite consistently.

A newspaper that uses *crisis* a lot reflects a negative feeling by the electorate, a political party or parties, ethnic or religious groups, human rights groups (i.e. the commentators), the news reporters (journalists comments) or even the newspapers (editorial comment) to the government or the groups fomenting trouble. In the event that a newspaper carries reports more about the word *crisis* relating to a particular individual, party, local, state or federal government, ethnic or religious groups than another newspaper; the former is expressing

more negative stance about the aforementioned institutions than the latter. If the crisis is said to be caused by somebody holding position in authority, then the newspaper is expressing negative stance towards the government because that individual is representing the government in a way.

The keywords generated for *crisis* in the *Daily Trust* sub corpus is 109 lines one of which was a duplicate. It was then reduced to 100 lines for the purpose of this analysis by taking out a concordance line after every 14 lines. In *The Nation* newspapers, there are 73 lines with 8 duplicates reducing the total to 65 lines. From the above, it is pertinent to note that the former raises a lot more issues about *crisis* than the latter.

To show this statistics at a glance, a summary of it is presented in the table below:

SN	SUB CORPORA	CPC	PDP	NOT related to POLITICS	ETHNO-RELIGIOUS	TOTAL
1.	<i>Daily Trust</i>	16	06	04	05	31
2.	<i>The Nation</i>	03	19	01	04	27
	TOTAL	19	25	05	09	58

Table 25: showing the Distribution of times the keyword crisis appears in relation to CPC and PDP in both newspapers

I have decided to select the sub themes of *crisis* and *petition* due to the fact they constitute one of the major political issues in Nigeria at the time of the election. I shall now attempt to discuss the crises relating to the CPC and the PDP with a view to identifying the ideology of the newspapers as it affects the two parties.

ars to be setting the stage for internal crisis within the CPC. Internal wrangling aris
 7 election may keep eroding. For now, the crisis continues to eat deep into the party's o
 11 ebruary 7 to 10 Apart from Kano, the CPC crisis is also common in states like Katsina, B
 25 er Magaji Abdullahi, said if not for the crisis that rocked the CPC, ANPP and PDP would
 32 l interest. According to the source, the crisis in the CPC is a demonstration of lack of
 33 re of General Buhari to intervene in the crisis is wrong. "Since 2003, General Buhari ha
 41 w political pundits believe that the CPC crisis is as a result of lack of good leadershi
 53 the CPC is said to be facing leadership crisis. On both sides of the divide are Shehu B
 75 e depicted, is exposing the depth of the crisis that continues to rock the CPC in Kano S
 78 a result of lack of good leadership. The crisis of Buhari's political movement was earli
 79 Those who emerged casualties of the CPC crisis yesterday also included one of the party

82 n Kano State Alhaji Haruna Zago said the crisis rocking the party on the issue of guber
 83 f the opinion that the party's worsening crisis is directly associated with personal amb
 84 elusive because the party is engulfed in crisis, with many contenders for positions all
 91 camp to stand against the congress. The crisis in the party heightened in December last
 105 ogressive Change (CPC) grappled with the crisis that trailed its governorship primary el

Table 26: showing Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *crisis* relating to CPC

23 Gwarzo who is now flying the ACN flag and crisis-torn CPC. Till date, it is yet to roll out its campai
 45 haji Abubakar Yabo of the CPC. But for the crisis that followed his emergence as the party's candidate
 48 ers to be united, warning that intra-party crisis at this time could be counter-productive. He urged C

Table 27: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *crisis* relating to CPC

A study of the concordance lines in the *Daily Trust* indicates that almost all the concordances for this word refer to political challenges while a few refer to other kinds of crises. 16 and 6 of the concordances refer to crisis within the CPC and the PDP respectively (see Tables 26 & 28). Only 4 lines are found not to be concerned with politics while 5 talk about ethno-religious crises (see Tables 29 & 31). For *The Nation*, only 3 lines refer to the CPC while 19 lines refer to the PDP (see Tables 26 & 28). Only 1 is not related to politics while 4 lines make reference to ethno-religious crisis (see Tables 30 & 32).

In Tables 25 & 26 above, the *Daily Trust* discusses more about what appears to be crisis in the CPC more than is done in *The Nation*. The former linked the party troubles to the internal wrangling within the party as attested to by the following: *internal crisis within the CPC* (1) *the crisis continues to eat deep into the party* (7) *the CPC crisis* (11) *the crisis that rocked the CPC* (25) *the crisis rocking the party* (82) *the party is engulfed in crisis* (84) *The crisis in the party* (91). The paper also linked the crisis in the party to poor leadership as stated in the following quotes *CPC crisis is as a result of lack of good leadership* (41) *CPC is said to be facing leadership crisis* (53) *The crisis of Buhari's political movement* (78). It is sometimes attributed to indiscipline as in *the crisis in the CPC . . . lack of discipline* (32). The

constant use of or reports of crisis in relation to the challenges facing CPC appears to suggest that the Daily Trust has more negative things to say about the party than the other newspaper which only makes use of the word three times as in *crisis-torn CPC (23) intra-party crisis (48)*

4 rm has provided justification for the crisis in the manner a PDP governor has done. The
 27 for the party. In Zamfara State, the crisis between what has come to be referred to as
 47 ot to throw Nigeria into an avoidable crisis through their much-perfected but now very g
 67 d "with studied silence the simmering crisis of confidence that stemmed from the PDP's a
 98 r of Police T. A. Adagunduro said the crisis was sparked-off by wild jubilation by suppo
 103 Ogun State yesterday highlighted the crisis between Governor Gbenga Daniel and former P

Table 28: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *crisis* relating to PDP

9 ping to bring out the votes." The crisis of confidence between Ogun State Governor Gben
 11 te Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) crisis. A State High Court in Abeokuta yesterday decl
 17 support, hoping to cash in on the crisis that had weakened PDP in the state. But, he los
 20 emocratic Party (PDP) was in deep crisis in the region. Except in Ondo State, where the
 24 th the premonition of the pending crisis, Obasanjo had on January 6, 2011 threatened to
 28 orters' questions on the Ogun PDP crisis, among other issues raised with him in Okuku, O
 30 u with Daniel, over the political crisis rocking the state. A former Chairman of the Bo
 37 sit for about six months due to a crisis orchestrated by Governor Daniel. A group of nin
 44 nic or religious inclination. The crisis rocking Ogun State chapter of the Peoples Democ
 46 leaders are embroiled in another crisis over the election of Majority Leaders in the N
 55 eokuta. Members of the Ogun State crisis-ridden Peoples Democratic Party [PDP] booed the
 56 to the PDC last year and since the crisis that has engulfed PDP in the state, the PDC ha
 60 eople who were either tired of the crisis in the PDP or detested Governor Murtala Nyak
 62 the party has witnessed leadership crisis that has led to emergence of three sets of exe
 66 t she was later shoved aside, when crisis erupted within the Ogun State PDP. Awosika sai
 67 ket yesterday may further generate crisis in the PDP and weaken it further against oppos
 69 te Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) crisis. Governor Gbenga Daniel yesterday alleged that
 71 alled deal by the presidency." The crisis between Obasanjo and Daniel factions broke out
 72 ontinued to trade blames over the crisis of the candidates' list. While the Daniel facti

Table 29: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *crisis* relating to PDP

In Tables 27 & 28 above, the *Daily Trust* appears to be less critical of the PDP than *The Nation*. The former talks of *the crisis between . . . the new and old PDP (2) PDP not to throw Nigeria into an avoidable crisis (47) simmering crisis of confidence (67) the crisis was sparked-off by . . . supporters of the president (98)* which suggest that the crises could have been avoided especially considering the use of the words like *avoidable, simmering* and *sparked-off*. In the case of *The Nation*, use of crisis to describe the challenges of PDP is comparatively much higher than that of the *Daily Trust*. It seems to talk more about crisis within the leadership of a state which happens to be the home state of the immediate past

president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. This can be found in lines 9, 11, 17, 20, 24, 28, 30, 37, 44, 55, 66, 69, 71 and 72. The report also includes talk about crisis in other states where in line 56 it seemingly lead to defection from the party and in another instance (line 60) it referred to the cause of the crisis being due to the attitude of a governor. On the whole *The Nation* appears to strongly portray the PDP in negative light more than the *Daily Trust*, whereas it is the opposite case with CPC which is presented in a more negative way in the *Daily Trust* than in *The Nation* at least according to the data analysed.

5 ssion of inquiry on the Kafanchan communal crisis in the 90s, however lamented over the non implem
 44 of the police boss in the protracted NURTW crisis which has claimed many lives in the last few months.
 61 ational limelight, at the onset of the PRP crisis in 1981, was when Malam Aminu Kano stopped Governors
 70 cularly as it concerns the NURTW factional crisis and armed robbery attacks, among others which con

Table 30: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *crisis* not relating to politics

73 Crimes Commission (EFCC). ?Since the bank crisis started over a year ago, I have neither been arr

Table 31: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *crisis* not relating to politics

The concordance lines in Tables 30 and 31 show that the newspapers use crisis in respect of situations that are not election-related. Lines 44 and 70 talk of the crisis in the road transport workers union and line 61 refers to a crisis during the second democratic dispensation in Nigeria in the *Daily Trust* there is a talk of a bank crisis in *The Nation*.

12 to unravel the cause of the Boko Haram crisis? Many of the sect members are educated pe
 14 300 churches were destroyed during the crisis. "We believe that the violence was both p
 19 s: How will you react to the recurring crisis in Plateau State? Unless and until someth
 35 points within the state, described the crisis as unfortunate and the acts of misguided
 37 crisis situations - the sharia-induced crisis of 2000, the impasse created by the illne

Table 32: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *crisis* relating to ethno- religious conflicts

33 oment trouble." Ezugwu warned that the crisis is a threat to credible elections because people cannot
 34 od of innocent Nigerians." He said the crisis was not sectarian. Maku said the government would
 40 overnors because efforts to tackle the crisis in Jos were slowed down by bureaucracy. Ezugwu urged oth
 64 Islamic preacher threatening that the crisis in Jos and Borno States will be a joke compared to what

Table 33: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *crisis* relating to ethno- religious Conflicts

In Tables 32 & 33 there is almost an equal balance in the use of crisis with regards to ethno-religious conflicts in the two newspapers. *Boko Haram crisis* (12) *300 churches were destroyed during the crisis* (14) and *the sharia-induced crisis* (37) are all referring religious crisis in the northern part of the country while *recurring crisis in Plateau State* (19) and *the crisis as . . . acts of misguided youths* (35) refer to ethnic troubles with religious colouration also in the north . *The Nation* talks almost exclusively about the Plateau State (Jos) crisis in lines 33, 34 and 40 whereas line 64 is about a religious crisis and there is an attempt here to link the Jos crisis to a religious issue. The crisis in Jos is conceived as both ethnic and religious in the sense that the two major ethnic groups involved in the crisis - Hausa/Fulani and Birom belong to the Islamic and Christian religions respectively.

5.5.6 Analysis of Legal Matters keywords: *petition*

As stated in the preamble to 6.5.4, the word *petition* is negative or positive depending on the context in which it is used. I have also stated that the word has been used throughout the corpus in a negative sense. So the concern is how its use reflects the ideology of the newspapers. The writing of *petition* as a means of showing grievance and seeking redress on the outcome of the election which are reported in the newspapers seems to reflect a negative feeling by the electorate towards the government at different levels of governance. The method to be used in this section is to compare the use of *petition* with respect to the presidential, governorship elections and the major parties (PDP & CPC) We shall now look at

Tables 34 & 35:

2 S) Amos Akawu. The Presidential Election Petition Tribunal sitting at the Court of Ap
 10 use of forensic evidence to buttress our petition of the massive manipulations of the Ap
 13 tial candidate, Chief Ambrose Owuru. The petition was stamped as filed on May 6, 2011 by
 22 party's National leadership to file its petition against the conduct and results of the
 23 n their application described the CPC's petition as 'too general, generic, very omnibus
 24 Without prejudice to the outcome of the petition against him, President Jonathan has pro
 25 t 15 other lawyers, said that the CPC's petition appears to be against INEC and not aga
 27 nathan before the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal. President Goodluck Jonathan a

28 The court had on May 27 dismissed HDP's petition which sought to nullify the April 16 P
 33 dallying, the CPC eventually filed its petition before the Presidential Election's Trib
 39 Election Petition Tribunal hearing the petition filed by the Congress for Progressive C
 44 ay filed a preliminary objection to the petition filed by the Congress for Progressive C
 45 s no longer desirous of maintaining the petition. He said if the party is of the view th
 46 ACN and Ughah to head for the election petition, alleging that INEC colluded with the P
 49 filed before the Presidential Election petition tribunal sitting at the Court of Appeal
 50 on Tribunal. But we have just filed our petition before the Tribunal and hope to get th
 55 blicly dissociating themselves from the petition it has instituted against the declarati
 56 sident pending the determination of the petition filed against their victory. The party
 62 ter listening to all the parties in the petition filed by CPC against INEC and 41 other
 68 out three hours to allow parties in the petition to harmonise their applications. When t
 69 Election Petition Tribunal hearing the petition filed by the Congress for Progressive
 70 Capital Territory as Respondents in the Petition when the Electoral Act clearly forbids
 76 h further and better particulars of its petition. Justice Salami adjourned the matter to
 78 he commencement date for hearing in our petition just as we are yet to know the membersh
 84 he commencement date for hearing in the petition it has brought before the Tribunal chal
 85 ondsents ought to be struck out from the petition. CPC had in its petition mentioned the
 86 k out from the petition. CPC had in its petition mentioned the Independent National Elec

Table 34: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *petition* relating to the Presidential election

10 ident until the determination of their petition challenging the 2007 election of the la
 11 unal, yesterday reserved judgment in a petition seeking to stop next month's presidenti
 16 by CPC to force INEC to attend to the petition before the conclusion of collation of r
 17 legations are contained in an April 25 petition signed by its National Chairman, Prince
 25 no winner should be sworn in until the petition is disposed with. The judicial system i
 27 ederal Capital Territory (FCT). In the petition adopted by the agent of the Action Cong
 31 e challenged "those behind the phantom petition to the Presidency and the conduct tribu
 33 ext month's presidential election. The petition was filed by the Peoples Mandate Party
 49 cted to forensic analysis, CPC, in the petition signed by its National Chairman, Prince

Table 35: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *petition* relating to the presidential election

In Tables 34 and 35, as regards the presidential election, the word *petition* is used three times more in the *Daily Trust* than in *The Nation* (27 and 9 times respectively). This seems to reflect the profound negative position of the *Daily Trust* newspaper to the presidential election which is generally seen as 'stolen' from the Northern people. The people of the North seems to believe that since the Late President (Umaru Musa Yar Adua) did not complete his term of office, a northerner should have been chosen by the ruling party to contest the presidency. This seems to reflect very strongly in lines 2, 27, 49, 69, 78 and 84 which refer to a petition before the Presidential Election Tribunal (PET). In lines 19, 69, 76, 85 and 86 the CPC is presented as the major challenger to the presidency with her ubiquitous presence in the PET. Other parties Hope Democratic Party (HDP) (line 28) and the ACN (line 48) also challenged the president at the tribunal. In lines 2, 25, 62, 68, 78 and 84

proceedings at the PET are also closely followed while the president's party also attempts to fight back as indicated in lines 23, 27 and 44. In *The Nation*, the CPC is also prominent in the petition game as shown in lines 23, 27 and 44 and other parties are also mentioned ACN (27) and PMP (33)

1 tate. The man who led the filing of the petition was the Director General of the Tallen/
 4 the government was not surprised by the petition, adding that the president of the assoc
 8 w chairman of the governorship election petition tribunal in Benue State, Justice Ladan
 15 t as Ibrahim Magaji Gusau has written a petition on the primary election alleging gross
 36 left. That episode was the filing of a petition against the declaration of Governor Jona
 37 er Jimmy Chetto, and some lawyers. The petition has Tallen, her running mate Architect P
 40 finally filed a case at the elections petition tribunal challenging the election of Gov
 41 o the Election Petitions Tribunal on a petition against him by two defeated governorship
 43 ubernatorial elections at the election petition tribunals and the Appeal Court. The whol
 48 Plateau State Labour Party has sent a petition to the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission,
 60 the respondents. The submission of the petition finally laid to rest suggestions making
 65 missed such rumours, the filing of the petition proved such theories wrong as sources c
 66 tutionally allowed for her to file her petition at the tribunal. On Wednesday May 18, Ta
 75 High Court which houses the Elections Petition Tribunal in Plateau State. Three young m
 87 he day's sitting of the state election petition tribunal. He said the main purpose of su
 90 court that the governor had written a petition to the CJ of the court and the National
 91 e. According to him, the filing of the petition against Suswam by the opposition is a me
 93 ting to know whether she had filed her petition. It then appeared that she was just not

Table 36: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *petition* relating to the Governorship election

6 erings, I am very optimistic about our petition in Benue and Akwa Ibom. We are also goin
 7 its way, Oladunjoye protested and in a petition to the Chief Judge of Federation, he req
 15 iciary. The three-man Anambra election petition tribunal yesterday began its sitting at
 22 uary 6 poll. Ogboru's 49-page election petition is asking that necessary steps be taken
 29 fails to put a time limit on election petition, you can't blame the judiciary. The thr
 48 governors in Osun, Ekiti and Edo. The petition is praying the NJC to overturn their re
 51 f Great Ogboru, has asked the election petition tribunal to declare him winner of the Ja

Table 37: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *petition* relating to the governorship election

The gubernatorial election, just like the presidential election, was hotly contested and most of the candidates who lost attempted to reverse their opponents' victory through the election tribunal. This seems to be the cause of the myriad of petitions sent to the tribunal. The *Daily Trust* reports (18 times) a lot of the cases involving petitions sent to the tribunal more than *The Nation* does (7 times).

In Table 36, there is explicit talk about the petition lodged to challenge the winner of the Plateau State governorship election, Jonah Jang. The phrases which give the clue of the

negativity of petition are *filing of a petition against* and *filed a case . . . challenging the election of Governor Jonah* in lines 36 & 40 respectively. In lines 60, 65 and 66, there are also implicit indications of the non-acceptance of the re-election of Governor Jang and this is confirmed by looking at the source text of the concordance lines which are presented below:

- 37 The petition has Tallen, her running mate Architect Pam Dung Gyang and the Labour Party as the petitioners and Jang and his deputy, Ignatius Longjan and INEC and its staff as the respondents.
- 60 The submission of the petition finally laid to rest suggestions making the round that Tallen will not go to the tribunal to challenge Jang's victory.
- 65 the filing of the petition proved such theories wrong as sources close to her also said she is determined to fight for her "stolen mandate" to the later.

Table 38: Samples of source text for concordance lines of *petition*

In Table 38, the words and phrases which give clues of this are *petitioners . . . respondents* (line 37) *challenge Jang's victory* (line 60) and *to fight for her "stolen mandate"* (line 65) All these expressions seem to show the opposition to the election of Jang. This is seen as very bitter struggle for power especially in view of the fact that the challenger, Pauline Tallen, was a former deputy governor under Jang.(see line 40) The many reports of this gubernatorial struggle in the *Daily Trust* apparently indicate the negative attitude of the paper to Jang.

Also, in Table 36, lines 41 and 91, petition was tabled before the electoral tribunal to contest the governorship election in Benue State. These expressions *filed a defence . . . on a petition against him . . .* and *Suswam and the PDP to file their defense* and *the filing of the petition against Suswam by the opposition . . . (line 91)* constitutes the indicators of the opposition against the Benue state governor. The Jigawa State election was also disputed as stated in line 4 which was characterised by *not surprised by the petition*. The three cases cited above involved candidates belonging to the PDP. This is an indication of the strong negative reports by newspaper regarding conduct of the gubernatorial election by the ruling party. Line 15

talks about a challenge to a primary election within a party while line 48 involves a complaint to the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation about the illegal use of state media for personal campaigns by Governor Jang. In line 90, Governor Chime is said to have sent a counter petition to the electoral tribunal alleging the rival of having no case against him.

In *The Nation* almost all the petitions mentioned refer to disputes involving the non-recognition of the electoral victories of the governors in PDP states- Anambra (lines 15 & 29); Delta (lines 22 & 51); Benue, Akwa Ibom and Kwara (line 6). In line 48, the former PDP governors of Osun, Ekiti & Edo states sent petition to the tribunals in their respective states to regain their lost posts. From the results presented above, it appears the *Daily Trust* has negative tendencies towards the PDP generally and to the gubernatorial candidates of the PDP in particular more than is noticed in *The Nation*. This is apparently because the party controls over 20 out of the 36 states in Nigeria and as such has garnered opposition against herself by other parties also jostling for power.

3 its defence as a necessary party in the petition. He told the court that he needed the t
5 ss tribulation from the ruling PDP. Our petition at the elections tribunal shall be pur
6 atic Party (HDP) seeking to re-list its petition. The court had on May 27 dismissed HDP
11 ed by Joe Gadzama (SAN) wants the CPC's petition thrown out because it was filed on a Su
12 has denied allegations contained in the petition of the Congress for Progressive Change
53 rred to as the necessary parties in the petition. The PDP stated further that the Petit
58 party admits to some paragraphs of the petition, it shall contend before or at the hear
59 a. Counsel to PDP (5th defendant in the petition), Joe Kyari Gadzama said while the part
63 d it will urge the court to dismiss the petition with substantial costs, as it lacks mer
72 spondent and deemed to be defending the petition for itself and on behalf of its office
79 such other persons." PDP described the petition as incompetent particularly on the grou
83 so wants the Tribunal to strike out the petition for non-joinder of the Police and the C

Table 39: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *petition* relating to a party [PDP]

5 Eket Federal Constituency primary. In the petition, Eyiboh urged the Acting national Cha
8 e PDP, Mr. Sunday Ojo-Williams, to send a petition to the NJC. While Ojo-Williams sent h
14 nough, Oyinlola caused a falsely grounded petition to be sent to the Police that served
19 cept the ones pronounced by the Electoral Petition Tribunals and the Court of Appeal. At
20 d with N25 million to write the so-called petition seeking the arrest and prosecution of
23 Governor Godswill Akpabio at the Election Petition Tribunal sitting in Uyo, the state ca
35 at tarnishing his image. Thomas had, in a petition to the Independent National Electoral
37 Osun and Ekiti States' PDP leaders should petition the National Judicial Council (NJC) a
46 activities of the group especially on the petition it sent to the Presidency and the Cod
47 Electoral Commissioner, Nasiru Ayilara. A petition signed by the state chairman of the p

Table 40: Concordance lines from *The Nation* for the keyword *petition* relating to a party [PDP]

The number of times *petition* is used in the two newspapers is almost equal as can be seen in Tables 39 & 40 above. Most of the concordance lines are about the attempts of the PDP through her counsel to refute or deny the petitions lodged with the tribunals against them

by their opponents. These include lines 3, 11,53, 58, 59, 63, 72, 79 and 83. Lines 6 refer to the HDP's petition against the party.

In *The Nation*, some of the petitions were also directed against the PDP as in lines 5 and 20 or sent by members of the party as in lines 8, 14, 23 and 37. There is also some lines (20 & 46) referring to petitions against the leader of the ACN, Bola Tinubu by some members of the PDP. An assessment of the use of petition with regards to the PDP in the two newspapers shows that the *Daily Trust* uses the word more than *The Nation* and this portrays the former as having more negative stance towards the PDP than *The Nation*. It seems to see the party as being fraudulent when it comes to electoral malpractices.

11 by Joe Gadzama (SAN) wants the CPC's petition thrown out because it was filed on a Sund
12 denied allegations contained in the petition of the Congress for Progressive Change (C
14 rence distancing themselves from the petition filed by the national leadership of the C
17 to strike out some paragraphs of the petition for being incompetent on the grounds that
47 iration of deadline for filing their petition, they (CPC) Appellants are the architects
58 rty admits to some paragraphs of the petition, it shall contend before or at the hearin

Table 41: Concordance lines from the *Daily Trust* for the keyword *petition* relating to a party [CPC]

The concordance lines in Table 41 above are for the use of *petition* in relation to the CPC. But it is pertinent to note that the *petition* is essentially lodged with electoral tribunal to contest the result of the presidential election which was claimed to have been won by the PDP. So in one way or the other, the two parties are linked because one is challenging the electoral victory of the other. The PDP, through her counsel attempts to discountenanced the petition by CPC as follows: *wants the CPC's petition thrown out (11) denied allegations contained in the petition of the Congress for Progressive Change (12) and strike out some paragraphs of the petition for being incompetent (17)*. Line 14 (distancing themselves from the petition filed by the national leadership of the CPC) tends to internal dissent within the CPC.

From the analysis of the concordance lines above, it appears that the *Daily Trust* is more anti-federal government and therefore more anti- PDP than *The Nation*. Both newspapers seem to use *petition* less in relation to CPC and where it is used it in relation to the dispute arising from the rejection of election results by the CPC.

5.6 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter attempted to provide solutions to the issues which the previous chapter could not address. It involved the comparison of the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* newspapers to identify the differences or similarities between the two with regards to the issue of stance in the news reports. The percentage of the concordance lines with stance in the two newspapers, 10 and 15 % for the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* respectively is very small, a surprising development considering the fact that this an electoral corpus. Most of the concordance lines are without stance because most of the lines are just reporting the result of the elections.

On the whole, it appears that the northern newspaper discussed more issues relating to the north while the southern newspaper apparently covers issues that affect the political fortune of the Nigeria generally, although focusing more attention on the south west. In terms of the major players in Nigerian politics, the two newspapers seem not have any preference for one over the other. The next chapter looks at another interesting aspect of this study. This is a diachronic analysis with a view to finding out similarities and/or differences between the news reports before and after the election.

6.0 Analysis of Differences in News Reports Before and After the Election

6.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter takes a departure from the previous chapter and looks at the diachronic study of the news reports of the 2011 election in order to find out how the news were presented before and after the election. Analysis of two newspapers at two points in time (before and after the election) is likely to show something striking like more uncertainty and speculation before the election. Differences in the frequencies of modal verbs may indeed point to this situation. It includes the preparation of a diachronic corpus followed by the presentation of the Keyword lists using WordSmith Tools. This is followed by an analysis and interpretation of the keywords lists for before and after the election sub corpora and the chapter is concluded with a summary. In the next sub section, we shall look at how the diachronic sub corpora were built.

6.2 The Diachronic Sub Corpora

From the NIGEC, two sub corpora which include articles in the period before and after the election were created. The decision to do this is hinged on the need to create two diachronic corpora which will then be compared to search for evidence of stance as I have done with the synchronic data in the previous two chapters. Articles from the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* January to March 2011 are categorised as BEFORE ELECTION sub-corpus while the ones for May and June 2011 are merged to form the AFTER ELECTION sub corpus. The data for April was left out of this because that was the period of the election and also because in this chapter we are looking at the elements of stance in the news reports before and after the election. Below are the tables showing the breakdown of the number of articles and the total number of words for each of the sub- corpora:

SN	MONTH	BEFORE ELECTION Number of Articles			MONTH	AFTER ELECTION Number of Articles		
		<i>Daily Trust</i>		<i>The Nation</i>		<i>Daily Trust</i>		<i>The Nation</i>
1.	January	56		101	May	65		49
2.	February	51		84	June	74		38
3.	March	44		158	--	--		--
	TOTAL	151	TOTAL	343	TOTAL	139	TOTAL	87
	SUB TOTAL	151 + 343 =		494	SUB TOTAL	139 + 87 =		226
	GRAND TOTAL	494+226=72						

Table 42: Showing the number of articles in the two sub corpora.

SN	SUB CORPORA	NO OF WORDS
1.	BEFORE ELECTION	294,170
2.	AFTER ELECTION	156,482
	TOTAL	450,652

Table 43: Showing the total number of words in the two sub corpora.

In Tables 42 and 43 above, the before election sub corpus contains almost twice as many articles as the after election sub corpus and almost twice as many words. This is apparently an indication of more activities prior to the election than after the election. The period before the election generally involves campaigns, meetings, alignments, mergers and the preparation for the election by the INEC.

6.3 Keywords in Before and After the Election Corpora

The two sub corpora serve as reference corpus for each other and both are then compared against each other. The two sub corpora were separately loaded into the WordSmith 6 Tools (Scott 2008) and the following keywords were derived from them:

Words used more before the election							Words used more after the election						
SN	KEYWORD	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	KEYNESSES	SN	KEYWORD	FREQ.	%	RC FREQ.	RC. %	KEYNESSES
1	Registration	296	0.10	5	--	211.75	1	House	417	0.26	274	0.09	189.06
2	Font	253	0.08	1	--	204.47	2	Tribunal	96	0.06	18	--	119.34
3	Inec	860	0.29	149	0.10	203.32	3	Inauguration	84	0.05	13	--	112.66
4	Candidates	552	0.18	79	0.05	161.48	4	June	81	0.05	12	--	110.36
5	Candidate	705	0.24	158	0.10	113.45	5	Speaker	147	0.09	62	0.02	110.19
6	Ribadu	144	0.05	3	--	99.66	6	Tambuwal	51	0.03	0	--	108.08
7	Campaign	379	0.13	64	0.04	92.38	7	Petition	97	0.06	33	0.01	86.37
8	S	1654	0.55	558	0.35	92.02	8	Government	596	0.39	680	0.23	78.62
9	Rally	146	0.05	5	--	90.98	9	Senate	167	0.53	107	0.04	78.41
10	Exercise	227	0.08	28	0.02	76.07	10	Was	1319	0.83	1827	0.61	71.78
11	Primaries	302	0.10	51	0.03	73.60	11	Did	233	0.15	199	0.07	67.00
12	#	3801	1.27	1574	0.99	71.35	12	Cabinet	47	0.03	7	--	63.91
13	Buhari	334	0.11	63	0.04	70.48	13	Yakowa	57	0.04	17	--	55.50
14	Register	129	0.04	7	-	69.48	14	Ministerial	28	0.02	1	--	51.49
15	Party	2111	0.71	800	0.50	69.22	15	New	186	0.12	165	0.06	49.30
16	Enlarge	80	0.03	0		68.10	16	Elect	68	0.04	31	0.01	47.42
17	Said	1811	0.61	674	0.43	65.24	17	Mark	64	0.04	28	--	46.40
18	Voter	157	0.05	16	0.01	60.91	18	What	411	0.26	493	0.17	44.90
19	Size	99	0.03	4	-	58.92	19	Appointments	29	0.02	3	--	44.10
20	Decrease	78	0.03	1	-	57.79	20	Gnu	20	0.01	0	--	42.38
21	Parties	460	0.15	120	0.08	54.51	21	Chamber	37	0.02	9	--	40.59
22	Commission	466	0.16	128	0.08	48.84	22	Edf	19	0.01	0	--	40.26
23	Machines	90	0.03	5	-	48.03	23	Ministers	38	0.02	10	--	39.91
24	Convention	73	0.02	2	-	47.94	24	Senators	67	0.04	36	0.01	39.32
25	Katsina	121	0.05	12	-	47.82	25	Governors	172	0.11	163	0.06	39.09
26	Flag	118	0.04	12	-	45.84	26	Assembly	201	0.13	204	0.07	38.18
27	Electoral	596	0.20	183	0.12	45.83	27	Were	567	0.36	757	0.25	37.88
28	Tinubu	158	0.05	23	0.01	45.40	28	Ministry	41	0.03	14	--	36.40
29	PDP	1457	0.49	559	0.35	44.56	29	Zoning	87	0.06	61	0.02	35.71
30	Forthcoming	71	0.02	3	-	41.69	30	Roads	54	0.03	26	--	35.67
31	February	86	0.03	6	-	41.56	31	Ceremony	35	0.02	10	--	35.01
32	Mate	101	0.03	10	-	39.99	32	Worked	40	0.03	14	--	34.88

					-								
33	List	208	0.07	42	0.03	39.72	33	Service	80	0.05	56	0.02	32.92
34	Atiku	119	0.04	15	-	39.14	34	Position	97	0.06	77	0.03	32.19
35	Delegates	77	0.03	5	-	38.48	35	Performance	59	0.04	34	0.01	31.85
36	Orders	66	0.02	3	-	37.86	36	Nebo	15	--	0	--	31.79
37	Running	141	0.05	23	0.01	35.79	37	Mulikat	15	--	0	--	31.79
38	Daniel	140	0.05	23	0.01	35.25	38	Post	51	0.03	26	--	31.73
39	Amaechi	116	0.04	16	0.01	35.15	39	Annulment	18	0.01	1	--	31.16
40	Albishir	41	0.01	0	-	34.90	40	Efcc	61	0.04	37	0.01	30.85
41	Vote	218	0.07	49	0.03	34.86	41	Administration	135	0.09	129	0.04	30.05
42	Jackson	40	0.01	0	-	34.05	42	Many	234	0.15	270	0.09	29.60
43	Governorship	461	0.15	144	0.09	33.56	43	Governance	74	0.05	53	0.02	29.36
44	April	413	0.14	126	0.08	32.38	44	You	552	0.35	772	0.26	28.20
45	Registered	89	0.03	10	-	32.15	45	Agagu	28	0.02	8	--	28.01
46	Faction	81	0.03	8	-	32.10	46	I	740	0.47	1082	0.36	27.96
47	Cpc	495	0.17	163	0.10	30.07	47	Amosun	33	0.02	12	--	27.95
48	Queue	35	0.01	0	-	29.79	48	Speakership	13	--	0	--	27.55
49	Ddc	43	0.01	1	-	29.18	49	Petitioner	13	--	0	--	27.55
50	Names	119	0.04	20	0.01	29.16	50	Hunkuyi	18	0.01	2	--	26.84
51	January	109	0.04	17	0.01	29.11	51	Rep	18	0.01	2	--	26.84
52	Will	1,369	0.46	557	0.35	28.99	52	Bankole	43	0.03	22	--	26.65
53	Acf	63	0.02	5	-	28.50	53	Representatives	119	0.08	114	0.04	26.32
54	Odili	42	0.01	1	-	28.37	54	Lost	106	0.07	97	0.03	26.18
55	Peoples	336	0.11	100	0.06	28.36	55	When	339	0.21	442	0.15	25.56
56	Billboards	33	0.01	0	-	28.09	56	Lemu	12	--	0	--	25.43
57	Delta	107	0.04	17	0.01	27.99	57	Incoming	12	--	0	--	25.43
58	Yesterday	392	0.13	125	0.08	26.65	58	Appointment	41	0.03	21	--	25.38
59	Independent	223	0.07	58	0.04	26.59	59	Ekweremadu	25	0.02	7	--	25.32
60	Democratic	382	0.13	121	0.08	26.56	60	Okrika	17	0.01	2	--	24.94
61	General	458	0.15	153	0.10	26.37	61	Elected	107	0.07	101	0.03	24.55
62	Nwodo	55	0.02	4	-	26.04							
63	Rallies	39	0.01	1	-	25.96							
64	Defendant	54	0.02	4	-	25.33							
65	Parte	29	--	0	-	24.69							
66	Bakare	57	0.02	5	-	24.35							

					-	
67	Omehia	57	0.02	5	-	24.35
68	Polling	113	0.04	21	0.01	24.33
69	Jega	145	0.05	32	0.02	23.94

Table 44: List of Keywords of *BEFORE* compared with *AFTER* AND List of the Keywords of *AFTER* compared with *BEFORE*.

Table 44 above presents the words used more before the election as well as those used after the election. This is because there are usually more activities during the preparation for the election than after it. The expectation that the keywords will contain many of the modal auxiliaries to be able to identify certain trends in the news report before and after the election is not realised. This is because only one modal auxiliary (*will*) is found. For a clearer analysis of these keywords, there is a need to categorise them into themes. This is presented in the table below:

6.4 Categorisation of Keywords in Before and After Election Corpora

SN	CATEGORY	KEYWORDS from <i>BEFORE ELECTION CORPUS</i>	KEYWORDS from <i>AFTER ELECTION CORPUS</i>
1.	Political parties and Groups	<i>Party, parties, convention, PDP, faction, CPC, ACF, peoples, democratic,</i>	<i>GNU, EDF, EFCC,</i>
2.	Politicians	<i>Buhari,ribadu, tinubu, mate, atiku, delegates, running, Daniel, amaechi, al bishir, Jackson, odili, nwodo, bakare, omehia</i>	<i>Tambuwal, yakowa, mark, mulikat, agagu, amosun, hunkunyi, bankole, ekweremadu,</i>
3.	Places	<i>Katsina, delta,</i>	<i>Okrika</i>
4.	Courts and legal matters	<i>Defendant, parte, order</i>	<i>Tribunal, petition, petitioner,</i>
5.	Verbs and Modals	<i>said, will</i>	<i>Was, did, were,</i>
6.	Electoral process	<i>Registration, inec, candidates, candidate, campaign, rally, exercise, primaries, register, voter, commission, machine, electoral, vote, governorship, april, registered, queue, ddc, names, rallies, independent, polling, jega</i>	<i>Elect, zoning, annulment, elected</i>
7.	Government		<i>House, inauguration, speaker, government, senate, cabinet, ministerial, appointments, chamber, minsters, senators, governors, assembly, ministry, ceremony, position, performance, post, adminisration, governance, speakership, rep, representatives, incoming, appointment,</i>
8.	Others	<i>s, forthcoming, February, January, billboards, yesterday,</i>	<i>June, what, nebo, lemu, when</i>

Table 45: Showing the Categorisation of Keywords in *Before* and *After Election* Sub Corpora

From this categorisation, the main issues discussed before the election include electoral process, political parties, politicians whereas the one in after the election is about the mechanics of setting up government (such as inaugurating parliament, government and administrative activities) and judicial matters relating to resolving any electoral disputes. This is probably the reason why there are no keywords for *government* in the before the election category. The keywords in this categorisation are consistent with what is expected before the election and after it. Most of these have already been analysed in chapter six.

The keywords *party* and *parties* are used to refer to the many political parties contesting for positions during the election. *Party* is a noun and it can be used to refer to a political association or a celebration (e.g. a birthday party) and it could also refer to a group in a dispute. A sample of *Party* in before the election is presented in the concordance lines to show that in almost all its occurrences, it refers to political associations. The same thing can be said for *parties* and since it is an election corpus it is not surprising. (see Appendix A for the full details)

38 Nigeria Peoples Congress (NPC), National Unity Party (NUP) and Progressive Action Congress (PAC).

46 National Chairman of National Transformation Party Emmanuel Mok, Chief of Staff to the National Chair
202 one before April. This is doubtful. PDP: The party cannot be dismissed as inconsequential in the poli

Table 46: showing the keyword *party* in before the election sub corpus.

The other keywords mentioned in this sub category (before election) refer mainly to the major political parties while in after the election section, only the most prominent pressure groups are mentioned. Another one included is the usually called 'the nemesis' of the politicians (EFCC). It is a federal government body set up to investigate cases of economic and financial crimes by those in power. It is sometimes seen as a tool that the federal

government uses to punish her enemies. The list of politicians in before election are those fighting to wrestle power from the incumbent (*Buhari, Ribadu, Tinubu, Atiku, Bakare*) or those wanting to retain their positions (*Daniel, Amaechi, al Bishir, Omehia*) whereas the ones in after the election are a group of politicians who have lost their posts (*Bankole, Agagu*) versus those that are jostling for power (*Tambuwal, Mulikat* – contesting the Speakership of the House of Representatives). The list also includes those who are consolidating their power (*Mark, Ekweremadu* – both have Senate President and its Deputy respectively since 1999 and they are struggling to retain the position) and new entrants into the power game (*Amosun*). All the other sub categories are related to the pre –election and post –election activities.

From the keywords derived we have been able to see the changes in factual information relating to the election such as politicians, parties and electoral process versus government in before and after the election respectively. The focus of this study is in identifying the attitude of the press to the issues in the corpora through the language used which seems not to be reflected in the keywords produced. In order to achieve this, there is a need to select some words which are not key and then look at them for evidence of stance.

6.5 Analysis of selected keywords

Since keywords do not particularly seem to show changes in attitude, so we examine concordance lines for some words that are likely to be ideologically significant even though they are not keywords. The reason for resorting to this new method is due to the fact that the keywords produced in the diachronic corpus did not provide enough evidence of stance. There is a possibility that there are other differences that do not show up because of the way the keywords work and I wish to look at other words to explore this possibility. We will

now attempt to look for evidence of attitude in the following words: *performance, election, electoral, elect, Jonathan, conflict/conflicts, rig/rigging, thugs/thuggery, fraud and cheat.*

The concord section of the WordSmith 6 Tool was used to produce the concordance lines for these words in before and after the election sub corpora. This process shows how these words were used before and after the election which reflects the attitude of the two newspapers in this diachronic situation. Below is a table showing the distribution of the selected words after being processed in the software:

SN	WORD	BEFORE ELECTION FREQUENCY	AFTER ELECTION FREQUENCY
1.	<i>performance</i>	31	59
2.	<i>Election</i>	809	594
3.	<i>Electoral</i>	509	182
4.	<i>Elect</i>	31	66
5.	<i>Jonathan</i>	459	223
6.	<i>Conflict</i>	11	08
7.	<i>Conflicts</i>	08	05
8.	<i>Rig</i>	19	07
9.	<i>Rigging</i>	35	19
10	<i>Thugs</i>	11	10
11	<i>Thuggery</i>	11	03
12	<i>Fraud</i>	45	12
13	<i>Cheat</i>	01	00

Table 47: select keywords in BEFORE and AFTER the election sub corpora

The select keywords can be categorised into those involving the electoral process (2-4) security (6,7, 10-13) and the one on gauging the activities of politicians (*performance*) (see Table 45 above). *Performance* appears more in before than after election and it is used to gauge the activities of the politicians. In before election, some of the concordance lines are not related to issues of the election (lines 5,16, 24, 26, 27 & 33). Some relates to the positive assessment of politicians while some others are about their negative assessment. Due to space constraints, we limit the discussion to *performance* and *Jonathan*.

6.5.1 Analysis of *Performance* in BEFORE and AFTER

SN	CATEGORY	BEFORE	% OF STANCE	AFTER	% OF STANCE
1.	NO STANCE	08	26	22	37
2.	POSITIVE STANCE	12	39	24	41
3.	NEGATIVE STANCE	11	35	13	22
	TOTAL	31	100	59	100

Table 48: Summary of distribution of stance for *performance* in BEFORE and AFTER.

The number of concordance lines for *performance* in before the election sub corpus is 34, three of which are duplicates. Some of the concordance lines in this sub corpus are not related to the election or do not express any particular stance (8 lines). The word is expressed in positive and negative terms almost equally in 12 & 11 lines respectively. It seems to be used as a measurement for the achievement of the political players. Some examples of these concordances are provided below and this will be followed by discussion:

3 14 29	their performance in their respective houses, and based on their number of factors should be taken into consideration. How is the This time, we want to see how we can assess them, based on their	Performance Performance Performance	in terms of the physical development of their areas from the funds a in public office and the ability to harness the limited resources to in their respective houses, and based on their performance in terms
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Table 49: Examples of *performance* used in situations not related to before the election issues

7 10 24	cleared and participated in the last primaries.”. With the sterling in the state of its influence because we know, given the sterling seven out of 13 awards up for grabs. They include: Outstanding	performance performance performance	of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) governors, the party is sure of our governors, in 2015, there will be no contest. "But it is in Healthcare, Rural Roads, Mass Housing, Education, Rural Water Sup
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Table 50: Examples of *performance* used to indicate positive stance in relation to the election

1 5 15	intimidation, assassination and climate of uncertainty and fear. As a from PDP and they are frustrated. Again, the impact of the non of PDP candidates, saying the party has a track record of non-	Performance Performance performance.	backed and denominated by violence, political thugs increasingly bra of the Uduaghan administration is an advantage to us. We have gone Oshiomhole asked the electorate to challenge candidates to show
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Table 51: Examples of *performance* used to indicate negative stance in relation to before the election issues

The three tables (49, 50 & 51) present examples of the use of *performance* in before the election sub corpus. The words which give the clue about the positive attitude with regards to the use of the word are *sterling* (lines 7 and 10) and *outstanding* (line 24). They indicate a positive assessment of the activities of the politicians of a particular party (i. e. governors). Line 7 and 24 are examples of reported speaker comments while line 10 represents a journalist comment. The indicators of negativity in the word are *intimidation, violence, political thugs* (line 1) which are inherently bad and not associated with something good and *non-* (lines 5 & 15) which means performance or poor actions. They are all reported speaker comments which are reported by the journalists and this is not uncommon in a political setting where opponents attempt to run down one another.

We shall now look at *performance* in after election sub corpus with a view to comparing both of them. There are 59 concordance lines which are categorised as follows: 22 are not related to the election or do not have stance while 24 and 13 lines have positive and negative stances respectively. Below are some of the concordance lines showing:

5	machinery which has however been re-organized for optimal	performance.	The near absence of the private sector to complement Government
26	“EFCC is heavy in the media. It is light in concrete	Performance	of its statutory functions”, he said. One example he gave was the
33	“We observe the serious decline in the	Performance	of the Power Holding Corporation of Nigeria (PHCN) since the election

Table 52: Examples of *performance* used in situations not related to after the election issues

21	what helped the people to make up their minds for Suntai was his	performance.	The people were particularly impressed with his effort at providing
46	The party, Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) is waxing stronger. The	Performance	of the Lagos State governor made the people of the Southwest to
54	governor-elect as the party’s National Financial Secretary. The outstanding	Performance	of Abdul-Azeez also earned him a ticket into the House of Rep

Table 53: Examples of *performance* used to indicate positive stance in relation to after the election issues

20	ceration distracted you during the election and affected your	performance	at the poll. What is your view? That on its own was a campaign.
32	this leadership crisis? All these factors adversely affected our	performance	at the governorship polls. In any case, there was an election in 2007
53	now at the losing end of the game, will build on its abysmal	performance	at the post-May 29 local government elections. The reason is that the

Table 54: Examples of *performance* used to indicate negative stance in relation to after the election issues

6.5.1.1 Discussion of concordance lines for *performance* in BEFORE

Table 52 contains examples of no stance (line 5) and those referring to bureaucratic institutions (lines 26 & 33). The lines with positive stance (Table 53) are identified by the words *impressed* (line 21) *waxing stronger* (line 46) *outstanding* (line 54) are all examples of journalist comments which are ideologically fore grounded and they all indicate positive stance towards the objects. This seems to make the information being given to be truthful and as such the readers, in the terminology of Hoey (2005: i), are primed to accept them as incontrovertible and sacrosanct. There are other examples in which the journalist reported that some politicians tend to give positive assessment of their activities as in . . . *rated themselves high*. . . (line 4) or the report of somebody saying *We've reformed the civil service for efficiency and excellent performance*. (line 15)

The lines with negative attitude (Table 54) have the following words as clue to indicate their negativity: *distracted*, *affected* (line 20) *adversely affected* (line 32) *abysmal* (line 53). 20 & 53 are examples of journalist comments while line 32 is a rare example of a journalist reporting a comment by somebody owning up to failure. *Abysmal* is a particularly strong word to use to designate poor performance and it is a clear indicator of an ideological position which the news reporter is projecting to the readers. I will also like to mention some examples of good performance turned negative as in . . . *despite his having one of the best governorship performance records* . . . (39) and . . . *analysts* . . . *tend to regard a good performance record in office as a vote winner. Well, not always* (40) which suggest that good services to the electorate may not be enough reason for a politician to win an election in Nigeria.

From the above analysis, one can deduce that *performance* is used either positively or negatively to gauge the activities of the politicians and from the BEFORE and AFTER sub corpora. The percentage which show no stance is higher in AFTER (37%) than in BEFORE. The ones with positive stance (39%) is almost the same with those with negative stance (35%) in BEFORE while there is a major difference in AFTER where *performance* with positive stance is 41% and those with negative stance is 22%. Statistically, therefore the term is used positively almost equally in BEFORE and AFTER (39 & 41 % respectively) while it is used more negatively in BEFORE than in AFTER (35 & 22 % respectively). However, if the number of times *performance* appears in the two sub corpora is taken into consideration, then it is used more positively in AFTER (24) than in BEFORE (12) and more negatively in AFTER (13) than in BEFORE (11)

6.5.2 Analysis of *Jonathan* in Before and After election sub corpus

SN	CATEGORY	BEFORE ELECTION	% OF STANCE	AFTER ELECTION	% OF STANCE
1.	NO STANCE	71	71	75	75
2.	POSITIVE STANCE	20	20	14	14
3.	NEGATIVE STANCE	09	09	11	11
	TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 55: Summary of distribution of stance for *Jonathan* in before and after the election.

Table 55 indicates that the number of concordance lines without stance is overwhelming, but the ones with positive stance more than double the ones with negative stance in BEFORE (20 & 09 % respectively) while *Jonathan* is also portrayed more positively than negatively in AFTER (14 & 11% respectively). The data indicates that there is a decline in the positive stance towards *Jonathan* in AFTER (14 %) and a slight increase in the negative stance as well

in AFTER. (11%) This is possibly an indication that *Jonathan* is portrayed in better light by the newspapers in BEFORE than in AFTER the election. I will now attempt to look at the concordance lines to identify the attitude of the newspapers towards *Jonathan*.

To show the concordance lines with stance, we need to identify those without stance for the keyword *Jonathan* as in the Table 56 below.

6	The situation is expected to be clearer today as President Goodluck	Jonathan	campaigns in Ibadan, where he is likely to give the party's flags to it
91	there might be a clash with those of the Obasanjo camp.	Jonathan	reportedly insisted on Daniel's presence to avoid sending wrong signals
325	rally. Daniel who sat near the quartet of President Goodluck	Jonathan	, his Vice, Arch. Namadi Sambo, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Speaker

Table 56: Examples of concordance lines with no stance for *Jonathan* in before election sub corpus

5	do not count. APGA hierarchy had asked their supporters to vote	Jonathan	, the PDP presidential candidate. One would not be surprised if APGA
321	Roads are being fixed. "There is a reform in the power sector. The man,	Jonathan	is a political phenomenon. "We have never had such a phenomenal
503	Vice President Sambo, who pleaded for support, described President	Jonathan	as the most qualified of all the presidential candidates. Speaker Ba

Table 57: Examples of concordance lines with positive stance for *Jonathan* in before election sub corpus

2	"The North is really prepared for battle to the finish against	Jonathan	although the contest might not be easy." Sources close to Jonathan
160	"I can tell you that there is a counter-move against the gang-up.	Jonathan	's camp will not pretend that it has no challenge in the North. "We
446	development as a continuation of the abuse of incumbency by the	Jonathan	administration, which he (Jonathan) claimed has buried 'the rule of law

Table 58: Examples of concordance lines with negative stance for *Jonathan* in before election sub corpus

In Table 57, the expressions which give the clue about the positive stance on *Jonathan* are . . . *supporters to vote. . . the PDP Presidential candidate . . . (55) The man . . . is a political phenomenon. (321)* and . . . *described President . . . as the most qualified . . . (503)*. They are all reported statements by people who attempt to portray and position Jonathan as the best candidate that should receive the votes of the electorate. The following statements: . . . *Battle to the finish against . . . (2), . . . counter-move against the gang up . . . pretend . . . (160)* and . . . *the abuse of incumbency . . . (446)* are some of the examples of the attempts of some groups or individuals through the newspapers to negatively portray

Jonathan and thus ideologically prime the electorate not to vote for him in the presidential election. We shall now look at the situation after the election.

6.5.2.1 Discussion of concordance lines for *Jonathan* in after the election

As can be seen in Table 55, the number of concordance lines without stance is also overwhelming, but there is little difference between the ones with positive and negative stance. The percentage of lines with no stance is almost the same for before and after the election. In the area of positive and negative stance, the difference is marked between BEFORE and AFTER.

82	she cast for herself. The wife of the President, Mrs Patience	Jonathan	, campaigned vigorously across the six geo-political zones, mobilising w
145	received by the Presidency on May 19, 2011, the union asked	Jonathan	to transform Nigeria into a modern state where infrastructure such as e
181	that the elections he won wasn't credible. He said unless	Jonathan	does that, Nigeria's electoral process may be doomed because Jonathan

Table 59: Examples of concordance lines with no stance for *Jonathan* in after election sub corpus

34	It appeared that voters mobilised themselves to endorse President	Jonathan	, instead of pleas by PDP and LP leaders. PDP, led by Dr Tayo Dairo, ha
109	lopments in the nation? Well, to start with, President Goodluck	Jonathan	has been given the mandate to lead Nigeria. He is from Bayelsa State, t
207	the 64 political parties in the country that endorsed President	Jonathan	as their candidate in the just-concluded presidential election. And man

Table 60: Examples of concordance lines with positive stance for *Jonathan* in after election sub corpus

5	again absolved the CPC from the "vile propaganda by President	Jonathan	that the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) was justifying the unres
157	defeated by Jonathan. But before the primaries, the issue of	Jonathan	's candidacy became a subject of litigations at the High Court of Justic
221	Federal Republic of Nigeria", Fashakin said. President Goodluck	Jonathan	should be sincere and summon the courage to admit publicly that the Apr

Table 61: Examples of concordance lines with negative stance for *Jonathan* in after election sub corpus

The following expressions in Table 60 serve as indicators for positive endorsement of *Jonathan*: . . . voters mobilised themselves to endorse President . . . (34) . . . President Goodluck Jonathan has been given the mandate to lead Nigeria. (109) . . . 64 political parties in the country that endorsed President. . . (207). Line 34 is an ideologically well-crafted

expression that talks of voters mobilising themselves as if it is a spontaneous thing; on what basis it is done we are not told- is it on the basis of religion, ethnicity or economic interest, we do not know. Line 109 attempts to legitimise the victory of Jonathan and give the impression that it was a victory through a general support from the electorate.

In Table 61, however, we have the following expressions which show negative stance towards the object in which he is portrayed as a propagandist (. . . *vile propaganda by President . . .*(5)), whose *candidacy is subject of litigations . . .* (157) and is urged to admit to discrepancies in the conduct of the election (. . . *Jonathan should be sincere and . . . summon the courage to admit . . .* (221)). All these are attempts to paint him in bad light and to apparently deny joy of savour his victory.

As mentioned earlier, the sub corpora indicates that there is a decline in the positive stance towards *Jonathan* in AFTER (14 %) and a slight increase in the negative stance in AFTER. (11%) This is possibly an indication that *Jonathan* is portrayed in better light by the newspapers in BEFORE than in AFTER the election. In essence, the negativity in the newspapers increases after the election, even though it is a slight increase. The essence of these attitude by the newspapers is seemingly to engender a situation in which the readers are made to accept or are primed to believe in a particular position as regards the election.

6.6 Summary of the chapter

Two sub corpora of before and after the election was created from the NIGEC to from diachronic sub corpora. The result of the analysis of the sub corpora using the WordSmith6 software produced keywords that only showed facts about the election like the political

parties, politicians, electoral process and the mechanics of setting up government. It did not show much evidence of attitude which is the focus of this study. I, therefore, selected some words which, though not keywords, are likely to indicate stance. Evidence of stance was found in *performance* and *Jonathan* in before and after the election sub corpora. It showed the use of performance as a measurement of success or failure of the politicians by the as supported by news reports (comments from journalists or reported speakers). It also showed the newspapers expressed an attitude towards Jonathan which was shown to be much more positive before than after the election and slightly more negative after the election than before the election all of which attempt to prime the readers to the point of view of the newspapers, the journalists or the reported speakers. Hunston (2011:3) says 'indicating an attitude towards something is important in socially significant speech acts such as persuasion and argumentation. Taking a stance towards something . . . is a crucial aspect of interaction between individuals.' On the whole, the methodologies used in this research is not very successful because it could not produce what I expected i.e. a lot of instances of stance.

7.0 Conclusion

7.1 Overview of the chapter

Corpus approach to the study of critical discourse analysis is a very important research area in the study of language. This dissertation attempts to look at the evidence of stance in the way two Nigerian newspapers reported the 2011 general election in Nigeria by combining the methodologies of corpus linguistics (keywords and concordance analyses) with CDA. The next section (7.2) restates the research questions and attempts to answer the questions; Section 7.3 summarises the major findings of the research and section 7.4 presents the contribution of this study as well as suggestions for further research.

7.2 Research questions answered

In this sub section, the research questions are revisited with a view to finding out how well the questions were answered as far as the this study is concerned. The first question involves the identification of the themes of the corpus.

What are the major themes and topics of interest represented in Nigerian newspapers during the 2011 General Election?

These are presented in Table 4 in chapter five (see 5.3.3) and the major themes represented in the two newspapers are those related to the politicians and the electoral process and it also include legal and security matters. These are topics that are expected to be the major focus of attention in the election. The themes were arrived at when NIGEC was compared with a reference corpus (the BE06). The topics give us the necessary information about the issues raised in the news reports. These are pertinent issues that are expected in an election discourse. The keyword categorisation include major political parties (PDP, CPC, CAN and ANPP); major politicians like Jonathan, Buhari, Tinubu and Atiku among others as well as issues concerning electoral matters like INEC, elections, ballot, polling, voter, and security.

From these series of topics, there is a possibility that the corpus will show the differences and/or similarities between the two newspapers used in making the corpus. The next question is an attempt to find whether this is realisable.

How useful is keyword analysis in identifying differences in the two newspapers point of views about the 2011 general election?

This question was answered by looking at the keywords in the newspapers chosen for this study, the *Daily Trust* and *The Nation* which represent different political interests. (see 5.2.2). The corpus as well as the sub corpora which were derived from it (the corpus consists of over nine hundred articles) is quite substantial enough to show the bias. But it is interesting that the result did not reflect my expectation. The answer to the question as to whether these newspapers are different is that they are not based on the analysis of the data. This is mainly because the data did not reflect much difference. The differences shown only involved some of the topics which are covered by one newspaper more than the other. I tried using keywords and I have some patterns showing some difference. The result indicated, mainly, that different newspapers talked about different political parties and the newspapers also talked about the different aspects of the political process. This result does not reflect my expectations as the differences are not very significant.

But in terms of the stance, there is very little evidence of it in the entire corpus. This makes it difficult to identify any significant differences in the points of view of the two newspapers with regards to their report of the 2011 general election. Based on this situation, I also attempt to use a diachronic method to see if there will be a significant difference in the way the election was reported in Before and After the election. The next question attempts to address this issue.

How useful is the identification of stance in revealing differences in the reports before and after the 2011 general election?

This diachronic analysis too did not reveal much difference in the way the news about the election was reported before and after it. The keywords categorisation revealed that the main issues discussed before the election include electoral process, political parties, politicians whereas the ones in after the election are about the mechanics of setting up government (such as inaugurating parliament, government and administrative activities) and judicial matters relating to resolving any electoral disputes (see 7.4). I also looked at individual concordance lines for evidence of stance and I did not see very much stance. The evidence of stance identified in the two sub corpora is indeed very low and as such it has not been possible to show, substantially, the differences in the two newspapers. From this finding, it appears the newspapers do not turn out as what I think they are. I thought that they were biased but actually they are not. The finding indicates that they actually report on the election quite neutrally. But this is not likely to be the situation because I know about the political leanings of these newspapers which are based on different political agenda. I also discovered that in some of the concordance lines, the evidence of bias is much more implicit and is not coming out in overt markers of stance. There are some examples of this implicit stance as exemplified in 5.5.4 which involved a keyword analysis of *Kano*. The overall impression is that Kano is being represented as very important and that is something that is the sort of view that you expect the Northern newspaper to have. These are very good examples of how stance emerge quite implicitly.

7.3 Main Findings

The major themes raised in the two newspapers were identified in chapter five (4.3.3). The topics were analysed in chapter six and no major differences in the two newspapers were indicated. Only differences in the coverage of news regarding the politicians and the electoral process were portrayed. In chapter seven, a diachronic approach was used to find out whether there is any difference between the news reports before and after the election. This approach too did not yield any significant difference between two diachronic sub corpora (Before and After election)

One of the purposes of this research is to test the corpus methodology. This is usually the purpose of a research. These newspapers actually present different points of view because they, in reality, represent different political and ethnic/tribal points of view and I was looking for a methodology that will show the different points of view that they represent. The fact is that I have not found it. In the first instance, the data (NIGEC) do not show much evidence of stance as the percentage of stance, both positive and negative are insignificant. I have used the methodologies that are good and I have done the analysis correctly but it did not show what I wanted it to show. I wanted to demonstrate the differences in the points of view that these newspapers represent and to a large extent using the keywords and looking at stance in concordances have not demonstrated that. So in conclusion, I tested these methodologies and they did not show what I expected and that is why they did not produce the result I expected.

7.4 Contribution of this study and Suggestions for further studies

Previous research showed that some work has been done on Nigerian newspapers using discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis (see sub section 3.2 above). However, there

has not been any study to date involving the use of corpus-assisted discourse analysis to study election news reports in Nigeria. The newspapers constitute an important medium in reporting the elections in Nigeria and the newspaper industry is a very vibrant one with most of the newspapers having online editions, thus giving them wider reach. This study is, therefore, important because this is the first time a corpus linguistic methodology will be used to carry out an empirical study of how the 2011 election was reported in the Nigerian press. It provides some information on how the press uses language to ideologically position the readers to appeal to the newspapers' point of view.

There is a possibility that there are other differences that do not show up because of the way the keywords work. So the keywords only focus on differences in frequency. So words that are of similar frequencies would not show up in the keywords. So it is possible that using a different methodology from the one I talked about it may give a different result. This is worth exploring in further research. In essence, to go on further research on this study, there is a need to look for different methodologies to analyse the data. In addition to the above, a more in depth analysis of some words which are not keywords in the two newspapers may throw more light on the evidence for stance in the research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Concordance Lines for *Jonathan* in Before the election sub corpus

2 hyena. If these are the kind of people Jonathan relies upon, he will someday learn the hard way. Jonah
6 be clearer today as President Goodluck Jonathan campaigns in Ibadan, where he is likely to give the par
10 P. It is also amazing that every where Jonathan and PDP go to, thousands of policemen and women are mob
14 efit immensely from their support for Jonathan. The Association of Local Government of Nigeria (ALGON)
18 ly in Ibadan is grossly misunderstood. Jonathan said it is unhelpful to public discourse if words are t
22 pared for battle to the finish against Jonathan although the contest might not be easy." Sources close
27 Ikisikpo. Others include Chief Lionel Jonathan-Omo and Chief Anderson Eseimokumo. The director of the
32 ssible. What do you think of President Jonathan's competence, aside issues of zoning? Well he has suc
37 the president's convoy, chanting anti-Jonathan and anti-Doma slogans while praising CPC presidential c
41 re in Lagos." The aim, according to Dr Jonathan, is to revive the economy, using Lagos as a model "bec
46 wa said: "I am very close to President Jonathan, but we must not fan the embers of ethnic politics.
48 Convinced that this move is important, Jonathan, it was learnt, has ordered "a massive influx of money,
51 nee in the country, President Goodluck Jonathan yesterday met with leaders of political parties and pre
55 chy had asked their supporters to vote Jonathan, the PDP presidential candidate. One would not be surpr
60 rs from the North sign and endorse the Jonathan/Sambo ticket for the 2011 presidential election? If the
65 ked Nigerians for supporting President Jonathan, saying since independence in 1960, the South-South zon
69 want Nigerians to help us ask if Mrs. Jonathan will ask somebody not to hold a wedding ceremony at an
73 e of heart. At about 3.57pm, President Jonathan arrived the venue and apologised for not meeting with J
77 t to campaign. I want to thank you Mr. Jonathan, because for a while, we were not sure whether Ogun Sta
81 the PDP ticket with President Goodluck Jonathan, but lost. The group alleged that some parties, es
85 IRTY-ONE days after President Goodluck Jonathan's campaign at the Liberation Stadium, Elekahia, Port Ha
91 those of the Obasanjo camp. President Jonathan reportedly insisted on Daniel's presence to avoid sendi
96 ther Nigerian to massively support the Jonathan/Sambo ticket. The acting national chairman, who prese
100 therners, who voted overwhelmingly for Jonathan in the January 13 PDP presidential primary. CEC said: "
105 to us. That was why President Goodluck Jonathan could not point to one achievement of PDP in the Southw
109 g careful in making a decision to back Jonathan so that it would not be a precedent that they have dum
113 ent." Govt mobilises labour unions for Jonathan
117 foster support for President Goodluck Jonathan Font size: Decrease font Enlarge font Our Reporter 17/
122 CN said recent utterances by President Jonathan and his Vice, Namani Sambo in the 2011 elections. Speak
126 rters to assess the situation ahead of Jonathan, especially the statement he first made in Ibadan last
130 doctorate degree of President Goodluck Jonathan as its candidate in this year's presidential election,
135 e his bond. 'Unfortunately, President Jonathan does not have such attributes. He has become a ligh
139 rday. The rally was President Goodluck Jonathan's campaign launch in the state where governorship candi
144 emocratic Party (PDP) and the Goodluck-Jonathan/Sambo Campaign Organisation is aiming at a landslide vi
148 thnic background." The Sultan welcomed Jonathan as "a son of the caliphate". He said: "Through word and
152 t is a kind of new thinking to embrace Jonathan for a future power deal," the source added. As at press
156 that somebody like President Goodluck Jonathan came to Yorubaland and called Okupe's fathers and gran
160 is a counter-move against the gang-up. Jonathan's camp will not pretend that it has no challenge in the
164 ng deal brokered by President Goodluck Jonathan. The President is reportedly under pressure from party
169 tion of the abuse of incumbency by the Jonathan administration, which he (Jonathan) claimed has buried
173 2011 08:54:00 image President Goodluck Jonathan Bothered by the spate of political violence in the coun
177 s searchlight on Tinubu. And President Jonathan should tell us when his anti-corruption searchlight wou
182 east Governors have also congratulated Jonathan Speaking on behalf of the Southeast Governors' Forum, A
186 for the elections, President Goodluck Jonathan has added a new dimension to his campaign strategy. The
190 to show by word and action, President Jonathan remains fully committed to free, fair and credible elec
194 n 'enough is enough'. We ask President Jonathan to hold the leash on his attack dogs as it smacks of hy
199 dent Barrack Obama's methods to unseat Jonathan. With the party recording more defections nationwide, i
204 To cripple the ACN in the South-West, Jonathan has been advised by the "Southwest Project" team to ord
208 t month's election, President Goodluck Jonathan has launched a new Campaign Website. Also, the Presid
212 progressive or a better alternative to Jonathan. They are all product of the establishment. Atiku is a
218 is also the possibility that President Jonathan would sweep the polls in the South South, South East an
222 highest chance of defeating President Jonathan. To me, that is the type of candidate that will be sup
227 nt was defeated by President Goodluck Jonathan at the PDP's presidential primary election on January 1
232 ng the rally, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, who was flanked by Vice President Namadi Sambo commend
237 wn to the general elections, President Jonathan urges all political parties and interest groups to put
242 of necessity, which paved the way for Jonathan to be made an Acting President in the dark days of Yara
246 formance and asking him to "carry go". Jonathan, who was represented by his deputy, Namadi Sambo, at th
250 ly sound a note of warning to President Jonathan that, no move should be made to incapacitate Asiwaju T
254 ance the campaign of President Goodluck Jonathan, other candidates are like bare-footed soldiers. They
258 stopped. The Niger Deltans believe that Jonathan is there by providence and any attempt to stop him is
263 n, hence the call on President Goodluck Jonathan to "intensify his current efforts at enthroning good g
268 have opted for a working alliance with Jonathan. Chief Press Secretary to Independent National Electo
273 man, there is a woman, but for Goodluck Jonathan the reverse may be closer to the truth. He may not hav
277 discord in the North. Their support for Jonathan is nothing but self-serving. What do you think the je
283 the economy of this country," he said. Jonathan praised the efforts the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Ak
287 mobile internet application. He said: "Jonathan represents our hope and dream of a new Nigeria. His hu
292 man who is more capitalistic than even Jonathan. He is a beneficiary of this repressive capitalist sy
300 ir integrity against President Goodluck Jonathan's threat to expose their anti-democratic credentials a
304 by Northern leaders to gang up against Jonathan in April. According to sources, the plot was allegedly
308 er tunes, 'I am Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan. My goal is the total transformation to ensure that Ni
313 nalyed the strengths and weaknesses of Jonathan. A reliable source confirmed that the leaders also con
317 es who support and endorse the Goodluck Jonathan-Namadi Sambo joint ticket on PDP platform for the 2011
321 a reform in the power sector. The man, Jonathan, is a political phenomenon. 'We have never had such a
325 near the quartet of President Goodluck Jonathan, his Vice, Arch. Namadi Sambo, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo
330 the very monster he and others created. Jonathan was their apostle. Now back to your question, yes the
335 uccessful yesterday. President Goodluck Jonathan is seriously worried over the voting population in the
339 he President the least number of votes. Jonathan lost four of the seven northwestern states to his majo

344 un soil. "We call on President Goodluck Jonathan to avert an imminent chaos. Any attack on Asiwaju Tinu
348 long term vision," he said adding that Jonathan was thinking of returning as governor to consolidate h
352 nts and Thursday's landslide victory of Jonathan, as hatched by PDP governors, there is a ray of hope t
358 d the establishment. So the support for Jonathan is in line with that. How do you see the equivocation
362 ign vehicles and those belonging to the Jonathan/Sambo organisation. They threw stones at people's home
366 0,000 'transport' money which President Jonathan allegedly gave to the group after a meeting at Aso Roc
372 tiku was defeated by President Goodluck Jonathan who polled 2,736 to Atiku's 805. But intelligence agen
376 for not being consistent on zoning. And Jonathan is not forthcoming on zoning policy in 2015 if backed
381 Gbenga Daniel yesterday at the Goodluck Jonathan/Sambo presidential rally in Abeokuta. Members of the O
385 the time the President began to speak. Jonathan who called for one minute silence for the late Presid
391 e is most respected, President Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP are in trouble," Modibbo said. He also s
395 he background of the ACF's rejection of Jonathan's presidential bid. He said: "the North is very, very
399 said the three were responsible for the Jonathan/Sambo ticket's slim win of Bauchi delegates at last Ja
404 boss is to confront President Goodluck Jonathan, who emerged Friday morning as the flagbearer of the r
408 and Rivers states." President Goodluck Jonathan yesterday warned politicians against violence during n
412 areas. These are dumping zoning to back Jonathan; power shift to the North in 2015 with concrete agree
416 many ambulances mobilised to the scene. Jonathan, who got to the stadium at 1:40 pm, in his address, l
421 not be as president and vice-president. Jonathan and Jonathan It's said behind each successful man, th
426 stings? What has he said that President Jonathan has not matched or surpassed? 'Or is the plan to put
430 resident Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan and their cohorts have planted their stooge in a named
434 ng the PDP presidential campaign rally. Jonathan, who addressed a large crowd of supporters, advised yo
438 of the Arewa in recent times. President Jonathan should shun their so-called rejection and concentrate
442 ication is that even President Goodluck Jonathan, for all his sweet words on ensuring free and fair el
446 ation of the abuse of incumbency by the Jonathan administration, which he (Jonathan) claimed has buried
450 ails were sketchy last night. President Jonathan, according to a statement by his spokesman Ima Niboro
454 ised at this deal. After all, President Jonathan appeared at the same rally with the same man, even wh
458 of these programmes. "Thirdly, that man (Jonathan) has the capacity to lead the nation. He is a PhD hol
462 igns. They will join President Goodluck Jonathan, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) candidate who is
467 he assurance made by President Goodluck Jonathan that the April 2011 polls will be free and fair." Comm
471 airman PDP Dr. Halliru Bello, President Jonathan, Vice President Namadi Sambo and Governor Emmanuel Ud
477 en the president asked for the meeting, Jonathan told the sultan to pick a convenient date and venue f
482 JN1 as venue, he said. The sultan said Jonathan is a leader that has reached out to all Muslim leaders
486 ties to reach out to President Goodluck Jonathan and the party's acting National Chairman, Dr. Mohammed
490 deral Republic of Nigeria, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan during his campaign visit to Benue State between Febr
495 version presented by President Goodluck Jonathan by about N7 billion. Surprised by the revelation, INEC
499 odwink them to take a decision to back Jonathan during the April poll. "A few other leaders asked the
503 led for support, described President Jonathan as the most qualified of all the presidential candid
508 People's Democratic Party Goodluck Jonathan Mohammed Sambo •All Nigeria People's Party

Appendix B: Concordance lines for Jonathan in After the Election Sub corpus

1 r course. Before the election, President Jonathan had drummed up the gender affirmation issue so much; n
3 his successor, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. On his redeployment to the Environment Ministry, Odey
5 C from the "vile propaganda by President Jonathan that the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) was jus
7 the world believe the North did not like Jonathan. The answer is that it is not true, after all Nigeria
9 d the inauguration of President Goodluck Jonathan and the state governors across the country which was h
11 panion said, "We urge President Goodluck Jonathan as the Chief Security Officer of the federation to tak
13 rtly after the inauguration of President Jonathan, shows that the only reason the inauguration itself wa
15 of the state till May 29 handover date. Jonathan sounded the warning yesterday at the opening ceremony
17 gain. Most Nigerians said they voted for Jonathan because of his person and not the party. Is that not a
19 mes as well. Don't forget when President Jonathan was vice president, he was the chairman of the Nation
21 oning arrangement died the day President Jonathan launched his presidential campaign despite stiff oppo
23 Obasanjo reportedly took a swipe on the Jonathan regime (without mentioning anyone by name) by saying t
25 geria (ACN) has urged President Goodluck Jonathan to urgently summon a national security summit to give
27 an excellent woman. She is the kind that Jonathan should use to strengthen the 35% affirmative action,"
29 t under President Yar'Adua and President Jonathan. I won't call it weakness. I think the country has mor
31 onsensus candidate was later defeated by Jonathan. But before the primaries, the issue of Jonathan's ca
34 obilised themselves to endorse President Jonathan, instead of pleas by PDP and LP leaders. PDP, led by D
36 nt but when she said "President Goodluck Jonathan has never called me to pick A or drop B" the MPs shout
38 t the party will join President Goodluck Jonathan's government if invited and if it met some criteria. A
40 mounting pressure on President Goodluck Jonathan to reverse his directive that governors should nomina
42 nonymity, argued that President Goodluck Jonathan has deliberately surrendered his power to directly ap
44 coordinator Willy Ezugwu urged President Jonathan to act quickly as the success of his administration ha
46 cordance with the directive of President Jonathan. He also facilitated the implementation of a new five-
48 the twilight of delivering the ticket to Jonathan, Nwodo was consumed by his larger-than-life confidence
50 d the governor for the 30 per cent votes Jonathan had in the state and vowed to make him pay dearly for
52 a model for Africa. As I told President Jonathan, I look forward to strengthening our partnership with
54 ," he was quoted by Bloomberg as saying. Jonathan also said the Federal Government would adopt the car
56 there is the need for President Goodluck Jonathan not to make political patronage the major consid
58 Companion, has tasked President Goodluck Jonathan on the need to halt the spate of violence and bomb bla
60 revocably to challenge the victory of Dr Jonathan at the presidential poll, alleging that the election w
62 Democratic Party and President Goodluck Jonathan filed two each, bringing the total number of app
64 odo (SAN), counsel to President Goodluck Jonathan and his deputy, Namadi Sambo, argued that the court la
66 On Wednesday June 1, President Goodluck Jonathan called on political parties to join hands with his go
68 niel, who coordinated President Goodluck Jonathan's campaigns in the Southwest at the nomination stage p
70 litical parties. When President Goodluck Jonathan proposed a 'Government of National Unity' to opposi

72 ting up of a panel by President Goodluck Jonathan to probe the killings, although he expressed reser
74 al Unity' proposed by President Goodluck Jonathan to opposition parties. Deputy Political Editor EMMANUE
76 the African Agenda." President Goodluck Jonathan will today in Abuja inaugurate the Sheikh Ahmed Lemu-1
78 agreed upon by the lawyers representing Jonathan, PDP and INEC, comprising Chief Wole Olanikpekun
[SAN],

80 that he doesn't envy President Goodluck Jonathan, saying: "I pity you." Maitama spoke yesterday at the
82 The wife of the President, Mrs Patience Jonathan, campaigned vigorously across the six geo-political zo
85 EC) finally announced Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as the president of this country having fulfilled all
87 embly members and the President Goodluck Jonathan. They should continue and elect PDP governor in the pe
89 oo for them to say I am now working with Jonathan. Why should they work with Jonathan? They are still in
91 might still serve as a tool for holding Jonathan administration accountable on his pledges to transform
93 our roads." Mr. Rice, who congratulated Jonathan on his election, said GE has been operating for 30 yea
95 ty of the election of President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) were stalled yes
97 to vote massively for President Goodluck Jonathan, Governor Amaechi and other candidates of the PDP dur
99 e together to endorse president Goodluck Jonathan and some governors. I call for multi-party system, wit
101 led out any form of serving in President Jonathan. "He is on his own. Our national chairman, Chief Bisi
103 At his inauguration on May 29, President Jonathan hinted that he would move fast to "grow the economy,
105 in invoking the 'Doctrine of Necessity', Jonathan would not have become acting President on February
10,

107 ted to him after. Before then, President Jonathan had expressed concern about the declining fortune of
109 Well, to start with, President Goodluck Jonathan has been given the mandate to lead Nigeria. He is fr
111 he general elections, President Goodluck Jonathan, Governor Sullivan Chime and other issues. TONY ADIBE
113 geria's leadership to President Goodluck Jonathan, no seer foresaw another battle ahead for the victor.
115 Dokubo. The lawyer noted that President Jonathan must as a matter of urgency emulate his late boss, Pr
117 ing the debate for acting presidency for Jonathan drew sympathy for Jonathan from the South culminating
119 a unity government, adding that the new Jonathan administration would in addition to unifying the nati
121 et some criteria. Awe said that whenever Jonathan called for nomination from the ACN the party would gl
123 AN also congratulated President Goodluck Jonathan and the Chairman of the Independent National Electora
125 MMANUEL OLADESU asks. President Goodluck Jonathan's profile rose when the Independent National Electora
127 eir lives in the post-election violence, Jonathan said the fact-finding committee will undertake a thor
129 is your main word for President Goodluck Jonathan? We thank God for the relative peace which pervaded t
131 state in making the terminal functional. Jonathan stressed that his government would make good use of
133 itment to some Northern leaders/Emirs by Jonathan to ensure power shift to the North in 2015, the regio
135 nging the validity of President Goodluck Jonathan's election in the April 2011 general elections. The P
137 government's interference but President Jonathan has not in any way interfered in the affairs of INEC.
139 oners, also called on President Goodluck Jonathan to rescind the appointment. Dame Carol Ajie, leader o
141 edia campaign to let voters realize that Jonathan's victory had nothing to do with the party. It also w
143 the forum's expectations from President Jonathan's administration? He made so many promises to the No
145 sidency on May 19, 2011, the union asked Jonathan to transform Nigeria into a modern state where infra
147 th the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan. During the period, the task of running the ministry
149 u, said that the offer made by President Jonathan to the office of the NBA president still remains an i
151 on why the then Vice-President Goodluck Jonathan must be made the acting President. Even the Federal E
153 t further urged President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to ensure that those behind the crisis are brought to
155 -Vice-President Atiku Abubakar, against Jonathan at the January 13 presidential primaries of the
party.

157 . But before the primaries, the issue of Jonathan's candidacy became a subject of litigations at the Hi
159 he hope that will happen under President Jonathan. Of course if you have hope you have faith and if you
161 d the Vice-President. President Goodluck Jonathan hinted yesterday that it may take him two weeks after
163 ate. He traveled with President Goodluck Jonathan to New York recently, and since his return, he has re
165 on Petition Tribunal. President Goodluck Jonathan and Vice President Namadi Sambo, in their application
167 up to the task and will bring it down," Jonathan told reporters at the United Nations in New York, ahe
169 nment projects. Earlier, Saraki had told Jonathan that work on the cargo terminal began in January 2006
171 alled a slow start by President Goodluck Jonathan, who is yet to make any cabinet appointment a month a
173 P in a very strong way. Like I said, the Jonathan/Sambo ticket is a national ticket; one that will make
175 st is yet to clear if President Goodluck Jonathan will justify the confidence reposed in him by Niger
177 table. "It is unfortunate that President Jonathan has not come out to admit that the election was not c
179 l poll. The zoning palaver The sign that Jonathan would contest the 2011 presidential race began to ma
181 s he won wasn't credible. He said unless Jonathan does that, Nigeria's electoral process may be doomed
183 inauguration of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan for a fresh four-year term, a new era has begun. Ano
185 r president pledged to support President Jonathan whenever his advice is solicited on the basis of his
187 f someone from the Niger Delta (Goodluck Jonathan) to be the running mate to the late Umaru Yaradua, th
189 sterday responded to President Goodluck Jonathan's invitation for discussions on a collaborative gove
191 force that we participate in President Jonathan's government?" Mohammed said. He said no amount of mi
193 We returned 80 per cent of the votes for Jonathan here, which was the highest. Less than five days aft
195 order of injunction restraining Goodluck Jonathan and Vice President Namadi Sambo from presenting the
197 ica has congratulated President Goodluck Jonathan over his victory at the polls, saying that the elec
199 e leadership style of President Goodluck Jonathan influenced this kind of development in any way? I thi
201 n election, as the cases of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, Ibrahim Gaidam and Patrick Yakowa attest to. What ab
203 gratulatory letter to President Goodluck Jonathan over his electoral victory. The letter signed by the
205 he PDP presidential candidate. Even when Jonathan became the President after the death of Umaru
Yaradua,
207 s in the country that endorsed President Jonathan as their candidate in the just-concluded presidential
209 Delta, a native of the South-south like Jonathan, made the call Sunday night in Port Harcourt while a

211 llo Godspower advised President Goodluck Jonathan to declare a state of emergency in the party in order
 213 intment as honorary Adviser to President Jonathan or risk impeachment. The group, Rule of Law Practit
 215 in the state and how President Goodluck Jonathan was able to win this state? Two days to elections, we
 217 y liable for the outrage of the mob." On Jonathan's compensation to the families of the slain NYSC mem
 219 ieved that Nigerians generally voted for Jonathan due to many reasons including perceived sincerity, op
 221 eria", Fashakin said. President Goodluck Jonathan should be sincere and summon the courage to admit pu
 223 own and we will manage and suppress it." Jonathan, who denied any connection between the bombing incid
 225 rived along with his wife Dame Patience Jonathan. He was adorned in colours of the GCFR, the higher

Appendix C: CONCORDANCE LINES FOR PDP IN BEFORE THE ELECTION SUB-CORPUS

1 overwhelmingly for Jonathan in the January 13 PDP presidential primary. CEC said: "The ACF represents only
 13 r, the vice-president will be attending a PDP reconciliation meeting in Kano tomorrow (Friday) and so h
 28 as a group for us in the North.? It was a PDP affair. People can wish for a consensus candidate from th
 42 our viable parties in the state. They are PDP, ACPN, DPP and ACN. PDP: It is the ruling party. Although
 57 the list are; House Leader Tunde Akogun (PDP, Edo), the Chief Whip, Emeka Ihedioha, Minority Leader Fe
 71 pledged their loyalty to the governor and PDP leaders. The chairmen, under the auspices of the Associat
 84 ice. Joined as defendants in the suit are PDP, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and it
 99 Today, Nigeria is in the hands of a bad PDP government, which has ruled for 12 years. Nigerians have
 112 enatorial race, the candidates paraded by PDP still hold the ace. Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba who is gu
 127 ace, but they cannot stop anything called PDP. As far as we are concerned, we are preaching peace, but
 144 e surprises the "process of consolidating PDP victory at their polls. When the controversy of Justice K
 160 but not without a stiff fight with Dibal. PDP - race too close to call. Contenders, pretenders in race
 174 y election conducted by the Joju Fadairo (PDP chairman in Ogun State) faction , which has the backing o
 188 e people until they get all the votes for PDP. The governor debunked allegations that some PDP members
 202 Deputy Governor Hazeem Gbolarami, former PDP Deputy National Chairman (South) Yekeen Adejo and one-ti
 217 y of our party members are defectors from PDP and they are frustrated. Again, the impact of the non per
 233 even his posters are scanty. Forecast: In PDP, Kwankwaso stands head and shoulders above others while t
 247 l' agenda, a development which infuriated PDP leaders and some members of the party's Board of
 Trustees.
 261 ed a major political bloc within the Kano PDP, known as 'Kwankwasiyya', has a bright chance to emerge v
 276 ntest in the April general elections. Let PDP members underrate Audu and they would see how damning the
 290 ing Chairman, Dr. Bello Haliru, Muhammed, PDP will rule us for 200 years! We are rooting and waiting fo
 306 e cause of electoral justice in favour of PDP. This is the explanation offered for the failure of the o
 322 ers who had seen no change in 12 years of PDP rule spoke. They spoke. They acted. It was not a good ome
 336 or Amange Bariqha's name as candidate of PDP in Bayelsa East. His opponent, Hon. Clever Ikisipo, went
 352 oters' register to use. State Chairman of PDP Dan Orbih said the party would contest the election. He,
 366 te longest serving Senator, Nuhu Aliyu of PDP. Aliyu, a retired Police Deputy Inspector General has bee
 380 . Saror served two terms at the Senate on PDP and ANPP tickets and later contested in 2007 but lost to
 394 ain Tinubu was a game-plan by a "panicky, PDP which is jolted by the wind of change in the South-west t
 408 rty (ANPP) and Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) who dominated the political scene in the state. Inten
 422 n of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to put him out of circulation ahead of the elections, th
 436 primary of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The landslide victory he recorded over the combined str
 451 o fewer than 50 Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) senators will wave a final bye to the Senate in April.
 466 last Thursday's Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) presidential primary that saw the emergence of President
 481 ay accused the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) of stockpiling arms to destabilise the administration of
 494 the zone. The Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) late last year lost the zone to the Action Congress of N
 509 meeting of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). In this revealing interview with newsmen in Kaduna aft
 524 of the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) in the Southsouth zone in Port Harcourt, the Rivers Sta
 537 lections." The Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) has written a letter to the Independent National Elector
 550 ndered why the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) government waited for four years before bringing charges
 566 y are tired of Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Even some sympathisers of PDP are saying they cannot en
 579 he mandate. Comment: As the ruling party, PDP cannot be dismissed, but, on account of the perception of
 593 VENTION OF THE PEOPLES' DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP) AT THE EAGLE SQUARE, ABUJA THURSDAY, 13 JANUARY, 2011 (P
 607 bune's beloved Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). And the wild claim that the Economic and Financial Crim
 622 e why Albishir should not be in Yobe PDP. PDP won 10 out of the 17 local government areas back then. Be
 637 ise. She also urged the court to restrain PDP and its National Chairman, Dr. Okwesilieze Nwodo, from pr
 650 ned to the billions of dollars the ruling PDP has sunk in to the power sector to give Nigeria further d
 665 esters, who also protested at the state's PDP office in Kaduna, said the election that produced Alhaji
 680 zoned to the South-east. This is the same PDP and the same president who violated the agreement he co-s
 694 in the PDP family. So, morally speaking, PDP as a party owes Orji the moral obligation of a free and f
 708 ns submitted by the Osun and Ekiti States' PDP leaders last week. Sources further told Empowered News
 723 in calling his attention to the fact that PDP is the home of rascals who have failed to deliver.
 809 n which about 57 aspirants jostled for the PDP ticket, Akpabio would have few challengers to contend wi
 823 ust be privy to the winning secrets of the PDP. There had been speculations that PDP has rigging machi
 837 elopment of the state, to the shame of the PDP. The Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) has accused Taraba
 908 nd ACN. At press time the candidate of the PDP remained unknown. Two men have continued to declare that
 923 litician contended that the outcome of the PDP primary is not a true reflection of the feelings of the
 936 ion of the zone with his candidacy. At the PDP presidential primary, the zone gave the President the le
 950 DP AS AN ALBATROSS From the results of the PDP presidential primary election on Thursday, it was obviou
 1005 e the programme lasted. Obasanjo told the PDP leadership to look into the problems caused by the prim

1020 Orji's nomination. The defendants are the PDP, its Acting National chairman Dr. Haliru Bello, INEC and
1033 ntly trailing the recent primaries of the PDP is seen by many as a whirlwind that may consume the part
1047 rmer President left the leadership of the PDP in a dilemma over the impasse. A three-man team,
1104 ated in the PDP. He said returning to the PDP after winning an election in another party
1117 araded their flag-bearers. Of course, the PDP has the sitting governor, Senator Liyel Imoke. Governor
1133 ll, our response is that while indeed the PDP has been criss-crossing Nigeria, it has not been doing s
1148 ition, is most likely going to clinch the PDP gubernatorial ticket. Col. Habibu Shuaibu on the other h
1165 eaves room for the possible defeat of the PDP. Governor Saraki's surprise picking of the PDP Senatori
1180 ronounced because of the neglect that the PDP government visited on the people of Ogun West
1194 e pleading with the court to restrain the PDP from presenting any candidate for the governorship elect
1207 r, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola, criticized the PDP for not running a transparent government. He urged resi
1221 ip primaries in Kogi and Kano states. The PDP fixed yesterday (Tuesday) and today for re-run governors
1234 Commission, we call on all members of the PDP, especially those who also sought to fly the flag of our
1247 apply, starting from finding out what the PDP did to put the light out so that money never pours into
1261 quivocally set out in Article 14.5 of the PDP Constitution 2009 as amended, pending the hearing and de
1275 n the choice of President Jonathan as the PDP candidate. The group, led by a former Senate President
1396 promises, we shall not deliver Badagry to PDP who are scavengers and treasury looters, and rather we s
1411 ochas Okorocha came from another party to PDP and in less than one year, he was allowed to contest the
1429 ernorship seat. All are working to unseat PDP's Governor Aliyu Akwe Doma who they have repeatedly said
1444 of commitment and tenacity makes him Yobe PDP's best chance at victory in the coming polls. Even ordin

Appendix D: CONCORDANCE LINES FOR CPC IN BEFORE THE ELECTION SUB-CORPUS

1 ormer Kano State deputy governor and former CPC gubernatorial aspirant, Engineer Magaji Abdullahi, sai
4 ari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC); Dr. John Dara of the National Transformation Party (
8 d into CPC last year have taken position in CPC. Four aspirants contested for its ticket in appreciati
12 ngly weak is main issue here. He, like the CPC counterpart, does not appear to be a strong contender
17 That this election is a possibility for the CPC. Pastor Enoch Adeboye has prayed for us and we are ass
21 der of interlocutory injunction restraining CPC and INEC from recognizing anyone other than him as the
25 Gumba, PDP Bauchi South, Bappa Aliyu Misau, CPC Bauchi central, Abdulahi Ahmed Ningi, PDP Bauchi cent
30 arty members and supporters along with him. CPC: Earlier, the defection of General Muhammadu Buhari to
35 Malam Bala Abdulkadir told Daily Trust that CPC's allegation is not true, adding that it is a figment
38 pposition. Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and Action Congress of Nigeria are capable of upturni
71 oncern to the welfare of people, I mean the CPC governorship candidate Alhaji Abubakar Malam who as an
75 ssioner who voluntarily resigned and joined CPC. Presidential candidate of the Action Congress of Nige
80 ernorship candidates: Chukwuemeka Nwajiuba (CPC), Chief Robert Opara (APP), Pastor Martins Eronini, Ch
83 re is a merger talk between the ACN and the CPC? Why when people are leaving the PDP in droves?" He sa
88 to proximity of their venues." He also said CPC had earlier he repeated five times before proceeding
116 de Senator John Udoedehe (ACN); Larry Esin (CPC); Sam Ewang, All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP); David E
120 's name as governorship candidate. However, CPC headquarters yesterday denied the claim that it did no
135 hame our opponent." Alhaji Usman Kararrawa, CPC's senatorial candidate said the 12 years of the PDP is
139 it and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). The party said it would dislodge the PDP in the Apri
142 be level playing field. Unfortunately, the CPC governorship candidate in the state, Senator Yakubu La
145 esponsible for the violence in Bayelsa? Was CPC responsible for the stampede in Port-Harcourt where a
149 ria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the Labour Party (LP) and the All Progressives Grand
154 fear that your opponents will also quit the CPC? No I don't think so. You see it is already too late b
159 ntly the person recognized by court as Kano CPC chairman, said unless all the aggrieved stakeholders o
198 aid of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) or ANPP. The one thing PDP is praying for is that the
203 to be hot and tough for him. That zone is a CPC catchment's area," the ASUU boss added. Adamu, the onl
206 promotes violence, especially in the North, CPC presidential running-mate Pastor Tunde Bakare said the
212 n. What would you say? We moved from PDP to CPC where we met some people. A political party is formed
216 rally at the venue today. It also said the CPC team hired the hall for use last Friday only to change
221 ate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) retired General Muhammadu Buhari said the background
226 ate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). INEC said Abacha won the party's January 12 primary
230 he ticket to contest on the platform of the CPC. He is from Oron and may benefit from the campaign tha
234 NEC said the problem created by the Katsina CPC is "one of the most serious" facing the commission ri
239 hat there should be no alliance between the CPC and ACN or CPC and ANPP. "In this business, the ACN is
243 u Buhari's Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) had collapsed. "It's not possible, at least for the p
246 form of the Congress of Progressive Change (CPC), Alhaji Mohammed Sani Abacha yesterday took to the st
249 ACN SA'AD M. G. TAHIR ANPP MUSTAPHA SALIHU CPC ABDULLAHI CHUBADO ISAH KP IBRAHIM BABAYOLA MUSTAPHA LA
252 nsist that the election be free and fair. "CPC polling agents will monitor results at collation cen
256 e putative alliance between our party and the CPC, which they see as capable of ending the years of mi
259 tics is to bring change which is the motto of CPC to Kano in all ramifications. In this regard I have
295 sidential election, without winning outright. CPC will come second and with Adeola on board, ACN will
298 ate government said: "We are shocked that the CPC is roping in the Oyo State government in a straight
301 " Mustapha who named Chief Eziekiel Afukonyo, CPC and the Independent National Electoral Commission (I
305 flag of the Congress for Progressive Change [CPC] in Kano State took another dramatic turn last night
310 moving to the Congress of Progressive Change (CPC). The meaning? Aliero lost out. The governor is now
313 his life by those he believed are members of CPC. He said: "In
392 art in Kaduna, Patrick Yakowa, will be facing CPC's onslaught the polls. The ANPP, on the other hand,
396 lections. Excerpts: When your camp joined the CPC it was later for the violence in Bayelsa? Was CPC re

452 l with the plaintiff as the flagbearer of the CPC in the governorship election in Kano State slated fo
 455 e, particularly after dumping the PDP for the CPC, his seeming popularity anchored on his strong finan
 473 ACN JONES J. BAKAMSO ANPP BAPPA U. ABDULKADIR CPC MAHMOUD CHIROMA ABUBAKAR LABOUR MARK AHMED BALANSO N
 478 a (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). Leaders o
 481 lam Nuhu Ribadu (ACN); Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (CPC); and Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau (ANPP). The president
 484 no longer considers a merger feasible. . The CPC has not demonstrated sufficient seriousness and poli
 489 explanations on its failed alliance with the CPC. The party said the alliance failed because of the a
 492 e claim by the Akala administration that the CPC caused the problem by changing the date of its polit

Appendix E: CONCORDANCE LINES FPR *buhari* IN BEFORE THE ELECTION SUB-CORPUS

1 Congress for Progressive Change Muhammadu Buhari Tunde Bakare •Action Congress of Nigeria
 3 rigging could prevent their hero, General Buhari, from emerging tops in the electoral test. Everywhere
 6 mage as a patriot. On March 20, 1984, the Buhari regime launched what it called 'War Against Indiscipl
 8 ghout the rally was Nigeria 'Najeriya sai Buhari, Kano sai Abacha'. Speaker after speaker harped on th
 11 the crisis is wrong. "Since 2003, General Buhari has never intervened in the crisis rocking Kano. His
 16 type of leadership the country deserves. Buhari, whose regime was overthrown on August 27 1985, was t
 18 ial candidates to the people as a trust," Buhari said. Buhari said his administration would ensure the
 20 ration cited security reasons for barring Buhari from the venue. The government said First Lady Pati
 22 the party's presidential candidate, Gen. Buhari. Both parties were discussing the possibility of goin
 25 led by ex-convicts. This April, Muhammadu Buhari will be president of Nigeria. Najakku wrote from 19,
 27 North could swing either in his favour or Buhari's. With the resurgence of the ACN in the South-West,
 29 there is no problem for anybody. Not only Buhari, anybody who is interested in joining ACN is welcome.
 31 en, he is always placed side by side with Buhari. This is a strategy that almost all candidates of the
 33 PC) presidential candidate Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, visited him during his official campaign rally to th
 36 re was a time they said, vote Islam, vote Buhari and they think they are helping Buhari. They are simp
 38 to sit down and come up with a solution? Buhari: No, we have a solution. The solution is we have to s
 40 e capital, during his presidential rally. Buhari and national leader of ACN, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed
 Tinubu,
 42 r Progressive Change (CPC), Gen Muhammadu Buhari over alleged violence by his supporters. Director of
 123 to assure you of a new dawn in Nigeria," Buhari said. He said as opposed to what other political part
 125 Military Head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari, Brig. General Jafaru Isah. He is also a first-timer,
 127 hari campaigns always pass on peacefully. Buhari contested presidential elections in 2003 and 2007. On
 129 igerians have a choice to elect Muhammadu Buhari who would apply fresh new ideas to achieve a strong,
 134 ji Uzor Kalu's PPA. Perhaps, that was why Buhari said he has all the experience and credentials to g
 137 enable the electorate make their choice. Buhari said he was in the state to solicit support from the
 139 Progressive Change (CPC), Gen. Mohammadu Buhari and his Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) counterpart,
 171 ess for Progressive (CPC), Gen. Muhammadu Buhari's party, in Kano. A woman is a candidate in the Kwara
 199 all remain here and salvage it together." Buhari's sentimental invocation of nationalism was later cap
 258 s a Muslim-Muslim ticket if Tinubu became Buhari's running mate. Still, it would have been better than
 261 orters who waited for over five hours for Buhari. Buhari arrived at the venue at about 5.30pm. He prom
 263 having in this country. Now, you can see Buhari who left us. He is now trying to come back again to s
 265 g it out with Jonathan are: Gen. Mohammed Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC); Dr. Joh
 268 amenities. He declared the PDP a failure. Buhari said the CPC had come to effect the needed change acr
 270 wn is as follows: Jonathan (South-South); Buhari (North-West); Ribadu (North-East); Utomi (South-South
 273 port in the South-South, his base. As for Buhari, his party (the CPC) is yet to make any impact in the
 276 e governor's office, Daniel described the Buhari/Bakare ticket as "depicting a combination of talents
 279 at Muslims should vote for Gen. Muhammadu Buhari as a vote for him is a vote for Islam. He told report
 281 none of them is an ethnic bigot. Ribadu, Buhari and Shekarau have spoken against zoning, which is a d
 284 sitic and delirious political godfathers. Buhari's rigidity will definitely set him on a collision cou
 286 I will ask you which one will you prefer; Buhari is a rigid man and Jerry Gana is a flexible man. Whic
 290 , former head of state, General Muhammadu Buhari (Congress for Progressive Change [CPC]), Kano State g
 293 in 1824 (America's Jubilee was 1826), and Buhari in 2007 (Nigeria's Jubilee is 2010). I believe that t
 295 tees chairman and presidential candidate. Buhari's name was however struck out of the suit last Monday
 299 presidential candidate of the CPC General Buhari as too rigid to be able to successfully steer the aff
 302 presidential candidate General Muhammadu Buhari, and it is one of the states where CPC is expected by
 305 icture in the minds of their compatriots. Buhari is seen as that tall, straight and strict general who
 308 ial candidates to the people as a trust," Buhari said. Buhari said his administration would ensure the
 310 ndidate is in the image of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari. We have reasons to believe; therefore, the room for
 330 Buhari and his supporters. He said: "The Buhari campaign team apparently aware that they do not poss
 332 r alarm. We are talking with CPC, that is Buhari's party, we are talking with ANPP. Even in Benin, aft
 334 l votes from the Southwest and Northeast; Buhari may control much of the votes from the Northwest. She

Appendix F: Concordance for performance in before the election

1 climate of uncertainty and fear. As a performance backed and denominated by violence, political thug
3 respective houses, and based on their performance in terms of the physical development of their areas f
4 d the public that Fashola's so-called performance has been blown out of proportion. The Assembly also ac
5 strated. Again, the impact of the non performance of the Uduaghan administration is an advantage to us.
6 sed dissatisfaction with the level of performance of the PDP- led administration of Governor Gabriel
7e last primaries.''. With the sterling performance of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) governors, the
8 orsing him, in view of his impressive performance and asking him to "carry go". Jonathan, who was rep
9 lling stone politically. Besides, his performance is generally perceived as below par. He is also hunted
10 because we know, given the sterling performance of our governors, in 2015, there will be no contest.
11 correct the anomalies. He said: "The performance is less than satisfactory. The pace of registration is
13 Odili's eight year-rule in terms of performance. Sekibo on the other hand, releases venom every day
14 taken into consideration. How is the performance in public office and the ability to harness the
15 the party has a track record of non-performance. Oshiomhole asked the electorate to challenge
16 were edged out for alleged non-performance. The breakdown of those who lost is as follows:
17 will have a great impact on the performance of the party in subsequent elections, including the
18 for the PDP, alleging that non-performance of the PDP senators would cost the party the chances
19 the party recorded a superlative performance during the 2007 election in the zone, it may not be
20 economic failure. Assessing the performance of the PDP administration in almost 12 years, he
21 be a serious aspirant and, by his performance, he will prove that, yes, he can do it. You, Buhari
22 Another school contends that the performance of Atta in office had already left a number of people
23 ill motivate the men for optimal performance. He urged them to immediately report any delay in
24 for grabs. They include: Outstanding Performance in Healthcare, Rural Roads, Mass Housing, Education,
26 are you so confident? Our deeds, our performance will speak for us. Katsina is one of the few states in
27 Danlami Musawa, said the Senator's performance at the exercise attested to his popularity as a
28 to the lawmaking process and in the performance of my oversight functions as a Senator. My ambition is
29 w we can assess them, based on their performance in their respective houses, and based on their
30 ashola for a second term, citing his performance in office as the basis for the endorsement. Its
31 d outcry by Nasarawa people over the performance of the two serving senators, and are trying to attract
32 gerians are impressed by his general performance as a model administrator. For almost a year, Fashola
33 on the man who was 10th in terms of performance at the intra-party poll. The same strategy was adopted
34 CN platform is expected to boost his performance. This may, in the main, be at the expense of Ogboru

Appendix G: Concordance for performance in after the election sub corpus

1 four years shows a more focus-driven, performance-driven group of governors in the Forum. So, one is
2 ng support for the ACN, he lauded the performance of the Independent National Electoral Commission
(INEC) 3 grammed simply slipped into oblivion. Performance: Average Joe Igbokwe is the Publicity Secretary
4 of the
5 service for efficiency and excellent performance. People used to lobby to become permanent secretaries
6 however been re-organized for optimal performance. The near absence of the private sector to complement
7 ns are high in the three states about performance. Would they live up to expectations?, Deputy Political
8 il service can now boast of efficient performance. That is something we will like the in-coming
9 vices free to Nigerians among others. Performance: Good Ministry of Justice Mr. Mohammed Bello Adoke
9 ntingents on peacekeeping operations. Performance: Good Ministry of Health Against the achievements of
10 ief tenure was generally lacklustre. Performance: Average Ministry of Defence A cat with nine lives,
11 o ensure deterrence", the AGF added. Performance: Below Average Ministry of Police Affairs The Minister
12 es nationwide were not paid in full. Performance: Average. Ministry of Commerce and Industry The
13 onourable Minister, for the excellent performance of the police during the April polls, it is also fit
14 d also be credited with the improved performance of the police during the just concluded general
15 rs rated themselves high in terms of performance or delivering the goods. Ultimately, it is left to the
16 o him, he was not satisfied with the performance of the institutions dissolved, regretting that trad
17 r lives completely and changed their performance about governance. What is happening here is a revo
18 hari because he was pleased with his performance far. However, the poser on people's lips now is: How
19 job creation. The governor is making performance as a criterion. But he also want to appoint outstandi
20 uring the election and affected your performance at the poll. What is your view? That on its own was a
21 ke up their minds for Suntai was his performance. The people were particularly impressed with his effor
22 deliver democracy dividends through performance and douse the tension, which may likely be precipitate
23 and by many standard of our previous performance its credible, in spite of the challenges. "But in that
24 of an impressive number of girls and performance in schools in Ekiti state. In some instances, girls ar
25 rom a reputable university. But, his performance during the governorship debates and campaigns in the m
26 n the media. It is light in concrete performance of its statutory functions", he said. One example he g
27 und reasoning became an asset in the performance of his job. He grilled former Central Bank Governor, P
28 007 and 2007 to 2011. Judging by his performance in the Senate, many were surprised that he did not sca
29 but he is coming in with a record of performance and legislative competence that will also be useful to
30 tate liaison offices were delivered. Performance: Below Average Ministry of Information and Communica
31 s succeeded How would you assess the performance of the ANPP government in the last eight years? We hav
32 these factors adversely affected our performance at the governorship polls. In any case, there was an e

33 e observe the serious decline in the performance of the Power Holding Corporation of Nigeria (PHCN) sin
34 s main opponent and thought that his performance as governor would carry him through. Even, one of his
35 overnorship election, judging by its performance in the last parliamentary polls in the state? The part
36 will be comparative analysis of the performance of the ACN states and Ondo State. We understand that t
37 as indicative of his reliance on his performance. "Remember the past", one the posters read. Sadly enou
38 m for another four years. Related to performance is policy articulation. Malam Ibrahim Shekarau's campa
39 is having one of the best governorship performance records in 1999-2007. Sometimes having a sorry recor
40 e, as elsewhere, tend to regard a good performance record in office as a vote winner. Well, not always.
41 e. In other lands, such stellar debate performance would have led to a "bump" in opinion polls in his f
42 ernment would have been subdued if its performance were equally as dismal as that of Shehu Shagari and
43 oted that the legal framework, general performance by the INEC and other stakeholders provided for the
44 eting was called to review the party's performance in the last polls. Also discussed was the party's o
45 if he would respond with a surpassing performance and became the standard for measuring performance in
46 Nigeria (ACN) is waxing stronger. The performance of the Lagos State governor made the people of the S
47 "Abia voted for the PDP because of the performance of the administration in the last four years". Orji
48 f Obafemi Awolowo. They said excellent performance in office would continue to endear the administratio
49 e plum position only on the impressive performance of the PDP in the zone in the April polls. But in th
50 position of government on the subject. Performance: Average Ministry of Niger Delta Perhaps the Minist
51 ministers at close range, assess their performance Ministry of Environment The Minister of Environment,
52 il polls. But in the eye of the party, performance alone is not enough to determine how sharing of e
53 of the game, will build on its abysmal performance at the post-May 29 local government elections. The r
54 l Financial Secretary. The outstanding performance of Abdul-Azeez also earned him a ticket into the Ho
55 and became the standard for measuring performance in the delivery of the dividends of democracy to the
56 been possible if not for the exemplary performance put up so far by the ACN-controlled administrations
57 mph of good governance. His impressive performance in all the 23 LGAs of the state ensured that the peo
58 isen above ethnic politics to focus on performance. Governor Amaechi's overwhelming victory in Okrika w
59 had been briefed about Akande-Adeola's performance in the House, especially her contributions as a mem

Appendix H: CONCORDANCE LINES FOR *petition* IN AFTER THE ELECTION SUB-CORPUS

1 ing in a similar application by INEC in the petition by ALP candidate Butches Nwosu, challenging the e
2 nce to the Election Petitions Tribunal on a petition against him by two defeated governorship candidat
3 efence. According to him, the filing of the petition against Suswam by the opposition is a mere gimmic
4 ether to allow INEC enter appearance in the petition by Tanko Abari, CPC senatorial candidate for FCT.
5 ile its defence as a necessary party in the petition. He told the court that he needed the time to fil
6 ther to allow INEC enter its defence in the petition. The tribunal will deliver ruling in a similar ap
7 the expiration of deadline for filing their petition, they (CPC) Appellants are the architects of the
8 P also wants the Tribunal to strike out the petition for non-joinder of the Police and the Civil secur
9 referred to as the necessary parties in the petition. The PDP stated further that the Petitioner joine
10 cretaries across the zone had submitted the petition to the Presidency through Vice President Namadi S
11 terday filed a preliminary objection to the petition filed by the Congress for Progressive Change (CP
12 filed by Joe Gadzama (SAN) wants the CPC's petition thrown out because it was filed on a Sunday, 8th
13 ngineer Jimmy Chetto, and some lawyers. The petition has Tallen, her running mate Architect Pam Dung G
14 f as the respondents. The submission of the petition finally laid to rest suggestions making the round
15 d dismissed such rumours, the filing of the petition proved such theories wrong as sources close to he
16 State High Court which houses the Elections Petition Tribunal in Plateau State. Three young men led by
17 and left. That episode was the filing of a petition against the declaration of Governor Jonah Jang as
18 he state. The man who led the filing of the petition was the Director General of the Tallen/Gyang Camp
19 the ACN and Ughah to head for the election petition, alleging that INEC colluded with the PDP to rig
20 ter the day's sitting of the state election petition tribunal. He said the main purpose of such attack
21 not repeat itself again." The FCT Election Petition Tribunal on Monday fixed June 16 to decide whethe
22 , wanting to know whether she had filed her petition. It then appeared that she was just not in haste
23 onstitutionally allowed for her to file her petition at the tribunal. On Wednesday May 18, Tallen file
24 and/or maintaining the applicants' election petition." The tribunal refused to grant that prayer sayin
25 that no winner should be sworn in until the petition is disposed with. The judicial system is not to b
26 all the problems we are facing at election petition tribunals. Members of the National Assembly didn'
27 ature fails to put a time limit on election petition, you can't blame the judiciary. The three-man Ana
28 e new chairman of the governorship election petition tribunal in Benue State, Justice Ladan Munnir, ha
29 while, the state House of Assembly Election Petition Tribunal sitting in Makurdi presided over by Just
30 have its way, Oladunjoye protested and in a petition to the Chief Judge of the Federation, he requeste
31 aneuverings, I am very optimistic about our petition in Benue and Akwa Ibom. We are also going to have
32 erhaps looking forward to handling election petition briefs for some of his former colleagues. He may
33 f Governor Godswill Akpabio at the Election Petition Tribunal sitting in Uyo, the state capital. What
34 e judiciary. The three-man Anambra election petition tribunal yesterday began its sitting at the state
35 enough, Oyinlola caused a falsely grounded petition to be sent to the Police that served as the basis
36 My office usually receives copies of every petition. In Benue State for example, we have 21 election
37 on. The court had on May 27 dismissed HDP's petition which sought to nullify the April 16 Presidential
38 re the court seeking an order restoring its petition, and allowing an accelerated hearing. Counsel to
39 nyeme, told the court that striking out the petition as well as the entire proceeding is a nullity, pa
40 ral Capital Territory as Respondents in the Petition when the Electoral Act clearly forbids it. The Na

41 (HoS) Amos Akawu. The Presidential Election Petition Tribunal sitting at the Court of Appeal in Abuja
42 Democratic Party (HDP) seeking to re-list its petition. The court had on May 27 dismissed HDP's petition
43 it was no longer desirous of maintaining the petition. He said if the party is of the view that there
44 that there was an error in striking out the petition, the right thing to do is to appeal against the d
45 not follow the procedure for withdrawing a petition. Meanwhile Justice Isa Ayo Salami, reacting to th
46 ozor, the lawyer who purportedly filed the petition on behalf of the party as a solicitor, perpetrate
47 perpetrated fraud when he denied preparing the petition or even signing it. Opposing the application howe
48 n to entertain the application to re-list a petition which was struck out on the application of th
49 correspondent looks at the issues behind the petition. On Thursday 19th, 2011 at about 4:30pm, a huge b
50 assembly in the area is under contention as a petition against it has been filed before the election pet
51 ainst it has been filed before the election petition tribunal which is expected to commence sitting t
52 r. Proceedings at the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal hearing the petition filed by the Congre
53 seless tribulation from the ruling PDP. Our petition at the elections tribunal shall be pursued with r
54 r publicly dissociating themselves from the petition it has instituted against the declaration of Good
55 s conference distancing themselves from the petition filed by the national leadership of the CPC chall
56 e after listening to all the parties in the petition filed by CPC against INEC and 41 others, in which
57 t Jonathan before the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal. President Goodluck Jonathan and Vice Pr
58 o, in their application described the CPC's petition as 'too general, generic, very omnibus in nature,
59 ial Election Petition Tribunal hearing the petition filed by the Congress for Progressive Change
(CPC)
60 r about three hours to allow parties in the petition to harmonise their applications. When the panel e
61 with further and better particulars of its petition. Justice Salami adjourned the matter to an unanno
62 eral elections. The call was contained in a petition written to the EFCC by the Jigawa State Human Rig
63 aid the government was not surprised by the petition, adding that the president of the association, Co
64 te for hearing on its Presidential Election Petition which was filed at the Federal Court of Appeal Ab
65 d the court that the governor had written a petition to the CJ of the court and the National Judicial
66 it a response from the CJ in respect of the petition but she called parties in the suit back shortly a
67 ves election in Bichi Local Government. The petition which was signed by the chairman and secretary of
68 illy dallying, the CPC eventually filed its petition before the Presidential Election's Tribunal last
69 ed use of forensic evidence to buttress our petition of the massive manipulations of the April 16, 201
70 the party's National leadership to file its petition against the conduct and results of the Presidenti
71 of the commencement date for hearing in the petition it has brought before the Tribunal challenging th
72 ut the commencement date for hearing in our petition just as we are yet to know the membership of the
73 ection Tribunal. But we have just filed our petition before the Tribunal and hope to get these infor
74 respondents ought to be struck out from the petition. CPC had in its petition mentioned the Independ
76 a respondent and deemed to be defending the petition for itself and on behalf of its officers or such
77 Abuja. Counsel to PDP (5th defendant in the petition), Joe Kyari Gadzama said while the party admits t
78 the party admits to some paragraphs of the petition, it shall contend before or at the hearing of the
79 all contend before or at the hearing of the petition that the 2nd and 6th to 42nd respondents ought to
80 security agents or agency as parties to the petition despite the complaints made against those paragra
81 said it will urge the court to dismiss the petition with substantial costs, as it lacks merit. Former
82 n has finally filed a case at the elections petition tribunal challenging the election of Governor Jon
91 dential candidate, Chief Ambrose Owuru. The petition was stamped as filed on May 6, 2011 by Mr. Tochuk
92 DP. Without prejudice to the outcome of the petition against him, President Jonathan has promised to s
93 DP) has denied allegations contained in the petition of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) file
94 CPC) filed before the Presidential Election petition tribunal sitting at the Court of Appeal in Abuja.
95 person, Hajiya Rahmatu Gulma, dismissed the petition after listening to the respondent counsel's argum
96 council chairman, shouldn't have filed the petition over a free and fair election. He called on polit
97 eir defeats in good faith instead of filing petition at tribunals, adding that he expects the petition