



Exploring political content in religious communication: A linguistic approach

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work presented in this dissertation is my own original and independent intellectual work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. I confirm that the research was conducted with academic integrity, and that all sources and supporting materials have been used in a responsible and ethical manner. Full acknowledgement has been given to all references and contributions. I further declare that any use of artificial intelligence (AI) tools was minimal and restricted to language editing and proofreading only. No AI tools were used to generate content or to contribute to the intellectual or analytical substance of the dissertation. All analyses were conducted solely by me and verified by my supervisors.

DEDICATION

To JESUS and for HIS purpose

PREFACE

This research is about political communication strategies in religious text from Nigeria - particularly as it may be found in sermons of pastors from Nigeria. Religious texts are gospel-propagating texts. However, given the social relationship between politics and religion in Nigeria, not all sermons from Nigeria are always propagating the gospel. Some sermons are preached deliberately to express the opinions of the individual pastor and/ or, at times, to prescribe solutions to national challenges.

Through specific strategies, language can be employed to either express or hide certain meanings (Maritz 2022:16). Since political communication is essentially linguistic in nature, this study focuses on exploring the linguistic strategies employed by different pastors to express political influence in the religious circle.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG: Action Group

APC: All Progressives Congress

ARF: Average Reduced Frequency

ATR: African Traditional Religion

AYCF: Arewa Youth Consultative Forum

CAN: Christian Association of Nigeria

CBCN: Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CDC: Constitution Drafting Committee

CLA: Corpus Linguistics Analysis

CPC: Congress for Progressive Change

DA: Discourse Analysis

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

IED: Improvised Explosive Devices

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham

ISWAP: Islamic State's West African Province

LP: Labour Party

MASSOB: Movement for the Actualisation for the Sovereign State of Biafra

MSS: the Muslim student society

NCNC: National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon

NEPU: Northern Elements Progressive Union

NPC: Northern People's Congress

NPP3: Non-political Pastor Three

NPP4: Non-political Pastor Four

NSCIA: Nigerian Supreme council for Islamic Affairs

NWU: North-West University

OIC: Organisation of Islamic conference

OPC: O’Odua Peoples’ Congress

PDP: the People's Democratic Party

PFN: Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria

PP1: Political Pastor One

PP2: Political Pastor Two

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

SU: the Scripture Union

UMBC: United Middle Belt Congress

UMP: the United Muslim Party

USD: United States’ Dollars

ABSTRACT

Although some studies - such as those by Shaw (1952), Powell (1967; 1975); Ro'I (1984), Craig and Litzenberger (1993), Omenka (2010), and Ahyar (2019) - have established the use of propaganda in religious communication, propaganda is usually not associated with the domain of religious communication and is not generally thought of in relation to sermons. Rather, propaganda is associated with political communication such as speeches. For example, propaganda has been used prominently in political communication in Nigeria since the pre-colonial period (Okolie, Enyiazu, and Nnamani. 2021). However, religion and politics are interwoven in the Nigerian context. Since propaganda thrives in Nigerian politics, it is not unreasonable to expect that propaganda could also find its way into religious communication in Nigeria.

Religious communications are commonly associated with persuasion, whereas the nature of persuasion and political communication are closely related. Thus, recipients of these religious communications in an environment like Nigeria, need to be aware and well informed on how propaganda works in order to identify it, even in religious places.

This study investigates the linguistic characteristics of sermons by four notable clergies from Nigeria. These pastors may have political influence, but it is expected that they should mainly focus on their pastoral calling. My aim is to foreground the extent to which their sermons are characterised by political communications rather than persuasion. To achieve this, I employed a mixed-methods design, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Specifically, I used Critical Discourse Analysis to explore the textual data at macro-level by means of a close reading and corpus analytic methods to look at micro-level features. The former, since it partly entails non-linguistic approach, includes a framework similar to that proposed by Maritz in 2019, designed to investigate propaganda in addition to traditional corpus-based, which I then used to confirm the qualitative results. investigation of keywords. As such, quantitative corpus methods serve to confirm and enrich the qualitative discourse analysis.

Propaganda is mostly achieved through the use of certain subtle strategies. This is because propaganda is most successful when the recipients do not recognise it (as being intended to influence them). Based on an extensive literature review, I identified 25 propaganda strategies, including non-grammatical and grammatical strategies, which have been shown as characteristic of propaganda to help establish if propaganda is employed in the selected texts as opposed to persuasion. Based on my analysis of the selected text, I formulated five new strategies that emerged as peculiar patterns of meaning noticeable in the data. With reference to these strategies and drawing on the framework of Martiz (2019), the four pastors were grouped as political and non-political.

The findings of this study show that although all the pastors employed a number of propaganda strategies as shown by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics Analysis (CLA), the extent and orientation of their uses differ along the sermons of the political and non-political pastors. The political pastors engaged far more strategies associated with political propaganda than

their non-political counterparts. Furthermore, where the strategies overlapped across the two groups, the politically aligned pastors tended to direct their attention toward individuals whose positions or actions conflicted with the prevailing political ideology, whereas the non-political pastors focused on upholding religious truths in accordance with the Bible.

Key Words: Political communication, propaganda, religious communication, Nigeria, pastors, Critical Discourse Analysis, Corpus Linguistic Analysis, sermons, homilies, Christianity, Islam, propaganda strategies, politics.

OPSOMMING

Hoewel sommige studies – soos dié van Shaw (1952), Powell (1967; 1975), Ro'I (1984), Craig en Litzenberger (1993), Omenka (2010) en Ahyar (2019) – reeds die gebruik van propaganda in godsdienstige kommunikasie bevestig het, word propaganda gewoonlik nie met die domein van religieuse kommunikasie geassosieer nie, en daarom word dit selde met preke geassosieer. Propaganda word eerder geassosieer met politieke kommunikasie – soos politieke toesprake. Die gebruik van propaganda is byvoorbeeld kenmerkend van politieke kommunikasie in Nigerië, reeds sedert die prekoloniale tydperk (Okolie, Enyiazu en Nnamani, 2021). In die Nigeriese konteks is godsdienst en politiek egter nou met mekaar verweef. Aangesien propaganda in Nigeriese politieke konteks floreer, is dit ook heel waarskynlik dat propaganda in religieuse kommunikasie in Nigerië kan voorkom.

Godsdienstige kommunikasie word algemeen geassosieer met oorrading, en terselfertyd is die aard van oorrading en politieke kommunikasie nou verwant. Ontvangers van religieuse kommunikasie in 'n konteks soos dié van Nigerië, behoort dus bewus en ingelig te wees oor die aard van propaganda, sodat hulle dit kan identifiseer – selfs in godsdienstige ruimtes en kontekste.

Hierdie studie ondersoek die preke van vier prominente godsdienstige leiers (pastore) in Nigerië. Alhoewel hierdie pastore moontlik politieke invloed mag hê, word daar van hulle verwag om primêr op hul pastorale roeping te fokus. Die doel van hierdie studie is om die mate waarin die pastore se preke gekenmerk word deur politieke kommunikasie, eerder as oorradingskommunikasie, na vore te bring. Om dié doel te bereik, is 'n gemengde metodologie gevolg, wat beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe metodes insluit. Daar word van Kritiese Diskoersanalise (CDA) gebruik om die teksdata op makrovlak te ondersoek deur middel van noukeurige lees, en Korpusanalitiese Metodes (CLA) om mikrovlakkenmerke te identifiseer. Die eersgenoemde, wat deels nietaalkundige benaderings insluit, maak gebruik van 'n raamwerk soortgelyk aan dié wat Maritz in 2019 voorgestel het om propaganda te ondersoek. Hierdie raamwerk is aanvullend tot tradisionele, korpusgebaseerde analise, wat ek gebruik het om die kwalitatiewe bevindings te bevestig deur sleutelwoorde in elkeen van die vier pastore se preke te ondersoek. Die studie kombineer dus kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe metodologieë.

Propaganda word meestal bewerkstellig deur middel van sekere subtiele strategieë. Dit is omdat propaganda die doeltreffendste is wanneer die ontvangers dit nie as 'n poging tot beïnvloeding herken nie. Gebaseer op 'n uitgebreide literatuuroorsig, het ek 25 propagandastrategieë geïdentifiseer – insluitend grammatikale en nie-grammatikale strategieë – wat kenmerkend is van propaganda, om vas te stel of propaganda, eerder as oorrading, in die gekose tekste voorkom. Daarbenewens het ek vyf nuwe propagandastrategieë geformuleer gebaseer op besondere betekenispatrone wat in die data opgemerk is. Met verwysing na hierdie strategieë is die vier pastore gegroepeer as nie-politieke en politieke pastore.

Die bevindings van hierdie studie toon dat, alhoewel al die pastore van verskeie propagandastrategieë gebruik gemaak het, die omvang en aard van die gebruik daarvan verskil

tussen die preke van politieke en nie-politieke pastore. Die politieke pastore het aansienlik meer strategieë ingespan as hul niepolitieke eweknieë. En waar daar ooreenkomste was in die gebruik van strategieë tussen die twee groepe, was dit veral die politiek-georiënteerde pastore wat hul aandag gevestig het op individue wie se standpunte of optrede teenstrydig was met die heersende politieke ideologie, terwyl die nie-politieke pastore gefokus het op die handhawing van godsdienslike waarhede in ooreenstemming met die Bybel.

Sleuteltermes: Politieke kommunikasie, propaganda, godsdienslike kommunikasie, Nigerië, pastore, Kritiese Diskoersanalise, Korpuslinguistiese Analise, preke, homilieë, Christendom, Islam, propagandastrategieë, politiek.

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1.1 Introduction

Nigeria is a country plagued by multifaceted socio-political problems that often give rise to various political and religious conflicts. The political landscape in Nigeria thrives on propaganda, which has been actively employed since the pre-independence era to propagate colonialism (Nwabughuog, 1981:79) and to advocate for self-government through the print media (Okolie, Enyiazu and Nnamani, 2021:2). Religion has played a significant role since the early days of elections in Nigeria, with religious ideology playing a central role in the membership profiles of the first political parties that emerged in the 1950s (Onapajo, 2016:116; Agbiboa, 2014:45-46). Okolie, Enyiazu, and Nnamani. (2021) recently examined the role of campaign propaganda in electoral outcomes and reported that political actors in Nigeria employ propaganda to manipulate voters' turnout during elections. Their findings suggest that, rather than relying on logical reasoning with the electorate, political actors use propaganda to appeal to the emotions and psyches of voters (2021:2). They argue that politicians utilise the media as a "willing tool" to disseminate controversial messages and promote campaign narratives deeply intertwined with ethno-religious sentiments to shape electoral outcomes (2021:1). In essence, political actors in Nigeria depend on disseminating distorted and biased information, steeped in religious and ethnic undertones, to maintain their influence over the electorate. In connection with the aforementioned study, the findings of Onapajo (2016:131), in his article "The Politics and the Pulpit", illuminate the role of religion in Nigerian politics, particularly its function as a tool for mobilising voters in elections and the deceptive strategies employed within places of worship to rally the faithful in support of specific candidates (Marshall, 2020:3). Specifically, Onapajo (2016: 113) notes in reference to Nigeria, the deliberate but subtle deployment of "religious rhetorics" to sway the electorate during elections and electioneering seasons.

Sermons or homilies are categorised as religious texts, while propaganda falls under the political genre. Traditionally, sermons are intended for preaching the gospel and cannot be classified as propaganda unless proven otherwise. In the context of Nigeria, however, as shown above, sermons or homilies can indeed be utilised to promote political ideals and objectives (Adegoju and Adetunji, 2020:197). The question arises: should these religious texts then be considered as political communication that employs propaganda strategies?"

It is evident from the Nigerian context that religion holds a central role in the social and political life of the Nigerian people (Eche and Okechukwu, 2020:399; Onapajo, 2016:116). Studies have consistently shown that Nigerians rank among the most religious people in the world (Dokua, 2023; Obadare, 2022). According to Theodorou (2015), Nigeria is a diversely mixed society which reflects correspondingly with its make-up in terms of religion. Not less than 88% of Nigerians agree that religion plays a profoundly significant role in their lives. This deep connection with religion is further reflected in a similar survey conducted by the BBC World Service in 2005, which found that 85% of Nigerians 'trusted religious leaders' and were willing to grant them more influence than is currently obtainable (Onapajo, 2016:112). In Nigeria, Christianity and Islam are

the two most widely recognised religions, with mosques and churches being a common sight throughout the country (Onapajo, 2015:113; Marshall, 2020:3-4). Furthermore, in Nigeria, religion is intricately intertwined with democratic governance. In fact, as Obadare (2022:1) asserts, Nigerians are more influenced and constrained by religion than by ethnicity, which is also a powerful socio-political factor in shaping their political disposition or choice.

Politicians frequently consult with various religious groups and bodies; both Christian and Muslim politicians often visit places of worship to seek influence and the blessing of pastors or imams. This behaviour of politicians is what is referred to as “Political Christianity” (Obadare, 2020:284; Burgess, 2015:39). Even though a great many of these pastors cannot be said to be politicians, their impact on the electorate cannot be ignored (Burgess, 2015:39; Adegoju and Adetunji, 2020:197). Consequently, politicians often seek their support and political leverage. In addition to participating in elections, notable clerics of the Christian faith, such as Bishop Matthew Kukah, Pastor Tunde Bakare, and Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor have also become very vocal on national issues. They primarily focus on advocating for good governance through their sermons or homilies (Adegoju and Adetunji, 2020:198; Falola, 1997:3; Burgess, 2015:43-45; Burgess, 2013:36-37). Nigerian pastors, indeed, wield significant influence over their congregations.

Considering the vast socio-political influence of religious leaders in Nigeria, it is clear that religious leaders, such as pastors and imams, and their impact on Nigerian society have become too important to overlook. Fox (2003:567) notes that Christianity remains a major unifying force capable of bringing together people of different ideologies, classes, races, ethnicities, and ages. Additionally, Nigeria boasts some of the wealthiest and most influential Christian pastors worldwide. According to Jessica Erin (2023), 6 out of 11 top richest pastors in Africa are Nigerians, with net worth ranging from 10 million USD to 600 million USD.

In recent years in Nigeria, some prominent members of the clergy have expanded their realm of influence by entering the political arena and contesting presidential or vice-presidential electoral positions. Reverend Chris Okotie of the Household of God church ran for the presidency in 2003, 2007, and 2011. In 2003, he ran under the banner of the Justice Party, while in the latter two years he ran under the umbrella of the Fresh Democratic Party. Likewise, Pastor Tunde Bakare of the Citadel Global Community Church (formerly known as Latter Rain Church) contested the vice-presidential position in 2011 in the then newly-formed Congress for Progressive Change (CPC, henceforth). Pastor Osagie Ize-Iyamu ran for the governorship post in the Edo State gubernatorial election in 2020 on the platform of the All Progressives Congress (hereafter, APC), and former Vice President, Pastor (Prof.) Yemi Osinbajo, came to the position in 2015 and 2019 consecutively on the platform of APC. As the 2023 presidential general elections approached, both Vice President, Pastor (Prof.) Yemi Osinbajo and Pastor Tunde Bakare were among the active political actors who obtained nomination forms from their political party (i.e., APC). These clergy members have actively engaged in politics and have encouraged their congregations and followers, both within and outside Nigeria, to participate in political activities (see Ejenobo, 2009:136).

Nigeria's current political landscape is dominated by two out of its sixty-eight registered political parties, as of the 2019 election, and eighteen political parties ahead of the 2023 elections (Independent Electoral Committee, 2022). The two dominant parties are the People's Democratic Party (henceforth PDP) and the APC. The PDP held power for sixteen years (from 1999, following the end of military rule), before being defeated in 2015 by the APC, which remains in power at the time of writing this thesis.

1.2 Problem Statement

Considering that political actors and religious figures are often one and the same in Nigeria, it stands to reason that religious sermons may well serve as a communicative instrument to communicate theological, societal and also political insight with their followers, either directly or indirectly. These sermon texts do not fall into a specific discourse genre within the political domain (see Van Dijk, 1998). Yet, they serve to influence the public in their religious choices, which are interconnected with their political decisions. Studying examples of religious texts, such as sermons and homilies, produced by selected Nigerian pastors, might provide insights into the extent to which the roles of pastors and political actors are intertwined. This potential relationship between religious texts and political ideas, as presented by Nigerian Christian religious figures has, to the best of my knowledge, not yet been explored from a linguistic perspective. A better understanding of this intricate relationship may contribute to better insight into the complex interplay between religion and politics, both historically and in contemporary contexts, including those in Africa and beyond, such as colonialism.

This study, therefore, explores the extent to which selected pastors in Nigeria incorporate political communication strategies to influence or persuade their members with a particular political aim in mind, specifically when they engage in religious communication through sermons or homilies. Mainly, a variety of religious texts produced by selected Christian religious leaders will be studied i) at the macro level by means of discourse analysis to identify themes; and ii) on a micro-level, focusing on linguistic expressions used to execute the themes.

1.3 Research Questions

As previously suggested in the contextualisation, the primary research question for this study can be formulated as follows:

1. How do Nigerian pastors use their sermons for political messaging to their followers?

To answer this primary research question, two secondary research questions can be formulated:

2. What are the particular linguistic features that separate political sermons from religious sermons?
3. To what extent are these linguistic features that separate political sermons from religious sermons, evident in the religious texts of selected Nigerian religious actors?

1.4 Research Aims

In light of the formulated research questions, the research aims of this study are:

Primary aim:

- To investigate how Nigerian pastors use their sermons for political messaging to their followers.

Secondary aims:

- To identify the specific linguistic features that distinguish political sermons from religious sermons.
- To examine the extent to which these distinguishing linguistic features are evident in the religious texts of selected Nigerian religious figures.

1.5 Research Method

This section comprises two components: a comprehensive literature review and discussions of the relevant theoretical considerations; presents the results of two-pronged analysis of corpora containing appropriate Nigerian religious Christian texts.

1.5.1 *Section A: Literature review and theoretical considerations*

presents a thorough exploration of the relationship between religion and politics, with a specific focus on its application to Nigeria (see 2.2), ii) a comprehensive discussion of the genre of political communication (see Chapter 3), and iii) an in-depth explanation of the relevant aspects of the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (see 4.2).

1.5.1.1 *Politics and religion in the Nigerian context*

As highlighted in the introduction (see section 1.1), the relationship between religion and politics is a complex one, and this complexity is particularly evident in the context of Nigeria. Chapter is therefore dedicated to a detailed examination of this intricate interplay and its implications for the nation's political landscape. In this chapter, I first discuss the global perspective on politics and religion (section 2.2) and then focus on the Nigerian context by examining its political history (section 2.3) and the relationship between the Christian and Muslim religious groups (section 2.3.2), along with politics, religion and insurgencies in Nigeria (section 2.3.8).

1.5.1.2 *Understanding political communication*

As I briefly discussed in the introduction, political communication has been effectively used in the Nigerian political context. Since Nigeria's independence, campaign propaganda has been a critical component of the democratisation processes. The country, being pluralistic and multicultural in nature, affords the political players an ample opportunity to deploy ethno-religious propaganda to

appeal to the sectarian sentiments of the diverse nationalities in order to achieve political ends, and consequently, deepen polarisation during elections (Okoli *et al.*, 2021:3). Propaganda refers to communication designed to either directly or indirectly influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behaviour of a targeted group, usually to achieve desired institutional objectives or organisational goals (Ngoa, 2011:239). Due to the active political participation of some members of the clergy in Nigeria, propaganda in the church becomes inevitable since propaganda thrives in a political environment. Extensive discussion on the topic of propaganda (specifically the topic of propaganda strategies) will be covered in chapter three of this work.

1.5.1.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL henceforth), a theoretical approach that views language use as a product of deliberate choices made by the users, provides the framework within which the current study is done (see sections 4.1 and 4.4). SFL views language as a meaning-making resource via its interaction with context (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014:3; Thompson, 2014:9; Caffarel, 2009:884). This theoretical framework enables me to analyse the structures of the sermon texts and the function they are created to perform. Upheld by the underlining principle of SFL, the current study presents and discusses the potential use of propaganda that influences the choice and organisation of linguistic elements in the selected religious texts. Systemic Functional Linguistics, as a linguistic theory, also projects language as a conglomeration of different systems that serve as pools where choices are made for particular functions. In this way, a language user, for instance, a propagandist, carefully chooses his or her words deliberately to achieve a certain aim. Therefore, a substantial part of chapter 4 is devoted on expounding on this approach so as to clarify its application to this study. Indeed, it is important to note that the social practice of giving a sermon takes a specific form to perform a social purpose.

1.5.1.4 Discourse Analysis

For the purpose of this study, discourse will be regarded as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995:7). Discourse analysis (see section 4.4) then is a research method for studying written or spoken language in relation to its social context. This method is an appropriate research method to employ in this study, given the focus on the possible use of religious texts to propagate political goals in a particular (Nigerian) societal context (see again Onapajo, 2016:113; Obadare, 2006:671). The use of corpora in Discourse Analysis is useful to uncover linguistic patterns to explore how language is used to construct a particular discourse (Baker 2006:1) with a specific aim (communicating political ideas) in mind.

1.5.2 Section B: Data analysis

The data analysis involved a multifaceted analysis of religious texts (sermons and homilies) of four Nigerian pastors. A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (see 6.2) is conducted to identify propaganda strategies at a macro level. Then, a Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA) (see 5.3) is done to describe the texts at a micro level (see 4.5).

1.5.2.1 Corpus information

Not all religious texts in the Nigerian Christian church are expected to be used for political purposes. However, because some clerics are political figures, not all their sermons may solely focus on communicating the gospel (the message of Christ, the kingdom of God, and salvation). It is necessary to distinguish between political and non-political religious pastors. The categorisation of the two groups in this study as 'political pastors' and 'non-political pastors' is based on publicly known information about the active involvement of two of the selected pastors in politics within the Nigerian state, and the non-active participation in politics of the other two selected pastors. It is indeed worth noting that all four pastors are publicly well-known within the Nigerian context. Publicly available religious texts are used to compile the corpus for this study. Therefore, the corpus for this study comprises the sermons of four Nigerian pastors (see section 1.5.2.2). In compliance with the ethical requirements of NWU research ethics, I have formally written letters and obtained the written consent of the four pastors to use their sermons as data for this research.

The identities of the four pastors are, in other words, known to all members involved in this study (myself, my supervisors, and the ethics committees of my institution via the signed consent forms), and the pastors have been informed about the study. Three of the four pastors have indicated that their identities can be revealed, while a fourth pastor did not complete that section. Therefore, we have decided not to disclose the identities of the pastors in this thesis. However, the identities of the three individuals who have agreed to have their identities disclosed may be made available upon request for examination purposes. I believe, however, that the precise identities of the pastors are not necessary for the purposes of this thesis, as they do not affect the results of the study and the anonymity further ensures the objectivity of the research. It is also worth noting that the focus of this study is solely on the linguistic features used in religious texts that can be distinguished as being political or non-political in nature. I do not express any opinion in this thesis on the political content itself, neither condoning nor condemning it, nor is it my intention to take a stance on whether or not it is appropriate to include political themes in religious sermons.

Most of the texts included in the corpora (i.e., the sermons and homilies) were received directly from the pastors designated personal assistants, who sent them via e-mail. NPP3 sermons, for which he personally directed the researcher to his published books¹ were thus harvested from his published books and then digitized for the purpose of this work. Yet, some others were obtained from the soft copies of his messages during special meetings.

1.5.2.1.1 Corpus Compilation

The four pastors' sermons are grouped into two corpora: i) the sermons of those Nigerian pastors who are publicly known to be actively involved in politics and national issues, and ii) the sermons of the Nigerian pastors who are publicly known to mainly focus on their pastoral calling. In this

¹ Most of published books were not originally set out as books but they are his transcribed sermons, as was personally confirmed to me in the course of data gathering.

study, I will use the alias codes PP1 and PP2 to refer to the two political figures, while the alias codes NPP3 and NPP4 will refer to the non-political religious figures.

For PP1, thirty-nine sermon texts containing a total of 108,588 words were obtained via e-mail, as already indicated above. Twenty-eight sermons, comprising 120,004 words, were received from PP2 via email. For NPP3, I obtained twenty-five sermons, making up 119,507 words. To get this word count for NPP3, I had to compile a corpus by digitising sermons that have been published in book form. One hundred and three sermon texts, totalling 102,768 words, have been received from NPP4 via email.

Table 1 below provides a summary of the corpus compilation.

Alias name	Subcorpus	Number of sermons	Total word count of each subcorpus
PP1	Political	37	102,279
PP2	Political	26	101,076
NPP3	Non-political	20	107.968
NPP4	Non-political	100	95.400

Table 1: Summary of the corpus compilation

1.5.2.2 Participants

The research participants consist of four purposively selected Nigerian pastors based on the well-known political involvement of two and non-political involvement of two (also publicly well-known). The latter two pastors served as research control. They provided the basis for the comparison to detect whether there is an element of political communication in the sermons of the politically inclined pastors. This will further help categorise sermons as political and non-political according to the linguistic elements of their content.

As we have already indicated in section 1.5.1.1, the participants will be presented anonymously for the purposes of this dissertation. The further justification for this decision is to prevent potential bias regarding the participant, ensuring the integrity of the study's findings. The focus of this study is, after all, on the language used in religious texts (whether political or not), and not on the specific language users (the four pastors).

1.5.2.3 Methods for analysis

Two methods for the analysis of the corpus data will be employed: firstly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and secondly, Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA). The results from the CDA are presented in Chapter 6, while the results from the CLA, are presented in Chapter 7.

1.5.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a valuable tool for gaining insight into understanding discourse. Mullet (2018:116) defines CDA as "a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain, and legitimise social inequalities." CDA helps us understand how people use language to construct specific types of discourse, such as information, persuasion, or propaganda (Baker, 2006:2). Consequently, CDA is frequently employed to investigate discursive strategies in political speeches. Sharndama (2016) specifically examined selected inaugural speeches of the 2015 Nigerian gubernatorial candidates, using Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework as an analytical model (see section 4.4.1 or a comprehensive discussion on this framework).

It is important to note that Critical Discourse Analysis is not limited to qualitative design in its language analysis. Corpus-mediated CDA studies utilise both quantitative and qualitative analytical tools (see Gee and Handford, 2012:179). This underscores the significance of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the current study, which will also utilise the tools of corpus linguistics to analyse the selected Nigerian Christian sermons.

1.5.2.5 Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA)

In the Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA), a combination of deductive and inductive methods will be used to approach the corpora. This method follows an explorative approach in which there are no pre-determined lexical items but are picked up in the corpus by the corpus analytical truth.

As already mentioned, two corpora were developed from the data for the study:

- Political pastors' corpora (PP1 and PP2)
- Non-Political pastors' corpora (NPP3 and NPP4).

More details on the corpus are given in the section 5.3 of Chapter 5.

The corpus analysis software package, namely *Sketch Engine software*, will be used for the corpus linguistic analysis of the two corpora, which will include the following analyses:

- **Wordlist:** This tool "generates frequency lists of various kinds, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and other parts of speech, or words beginning, ending, containing certain characters, or word forms, tags, lemmas and other attributes or a combination of the three options above. Three different frequency measures can be displayed in the wordlist: frequency, frequency per million and ARF" (i.e. Average Reduced Frequency) (Sketch Engine, 2024). In other words, this is the tool that generates the frequency list of word groups/classes at different dimensions. For the current study, this will be used for the compilation of word lists of the four subcorpora: This step will allow me to see each word that is contained in each of the corpora and is necessary to identify and categorise the different word class categories of the lexical items as they appear in the corpora. This step

will enable me to compare the two corpora on the basis of the lexical choices that the pastors made which, according to Maritz's (2019) methodology, are content that helped to identify propaganda strategies.

- **Keyword:** This tool creates a list of words (keywords) that “are individual words (tokens) which appear more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus. Any token can qualify for a keyword if it is used more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus. In reality, the result will include mainly nouns and adjectives because the frequencies of other parts of speech tend to be similar in all texts” (Sketch Engin, 2024). In other words, a keyword is a token that appears more frequently than would be expected in typical language use. The keyword tool, depending on the researcher's choice, can generate single words or multi-word such as phrases. This tool will activate the identification of keywords in the four sub-corpora. A keyword is any word which is found to be significant in its frequency and can be identified by comparing the two corpora and four sub-corpora with each other in order to empirically determine the extent and orientations of the propaganda strategies found in the sermons.
- **Concordance:** This tool provides examples of use in context. “The concordance is the most powerful tool with a variety of search options. It can find words, phrases, tags, documents, text types, or corpus structures and displays the results in context, in the form of a concordance. The concordance can be sorted, filtered, counted and processed further to obtain the desired result. Despite being the most powerful tool, the concordance used with large corpora may find so many results that it can be tedious to analyse and interpret them” (Sketch Engine, 2024). This is the tool that can search, discover, and present needed words, phrases, text type, corpus structure and shows them in the context of use. The compilation of concordances of specific lexical items identified in the compiled word lists and keyword lists will be of a great value to this study. This step ensured proper evaluation of the language contexts of use of each of the identified lexical items. For instance, certain nouns (such as *constitution, cabal, politicians, nation, people, election, administration, votes/voting, leaders, party/parties, electorates, masses, policy/policies, nepotism, tribalism, corruption, oppression, injustice, marginalisation, rigging, campaign, followers, bribery, takeover, president/presidency*) can be expected to be typically associated with contexts related to governance or politics. However, some of these nouns (such as “*people*” and “*followers*”) might also be associated with religious contexts. It is therefore necessary to investigate the specific contexts in which the pastors are using each of these words. In the same vein, I also investigated the language use of identified verbs (for example the expected verbs *lead, elect, rule, rig* or *bribe*) used in the corpora and modifiers (i.e., the expected adjectives and adverbs such as *constitutional, national, constitutional/unconstitutional*). The concordances, in other words, were helpful in outlining specific lexical items found in the corpora, and the contexts of use of each, which further came in handy for the purpose of linguistically categorising the language use as propaganda strategies.

1.5.3 Ethical Consideration and Data Management

This study adheres to the ethical standards and requirements of the North-West University (NWU). As mentioned, have obtained the written consent of the selected pastors to use their sermons as data for the research (NWU Ethics number: NWU-01101-23-A7).

The religious texts, as obtained in their original format, were stored securely (with two-factor authentication) in a dedicated folder on the researcher's Google Drive; for safety and integrity, only the researcher and their promoters have secure access to this folder .

Subsequently, the texts were converted into text files, and uploaded as four distinct, private corpora on the Sketch Engine platform (Kilgarriff et al., 2014; www.sketchengine.eu). The corpora were automatically processed and annotated using Sketch Engine's standard tools for English; see <https://www.sketchengine.eu/corpora-and-languages/english-text-corpora/>. Again, using Sketch Engine's secure functionalities, these four corpora were shared only with the researcher and their promoters.

1.6 Contribution of the study

With the specific research questions in mind (see again 1.3), this study makes the following contributions to existing research:

- it foregrounds the different strategies of political communication used by religious leaders to communicate their societal and political ideas in religious communication,
- contribute to a deeper understanding of the use of political communication in Nigerian religious texts, examining how religious leaders employ linguistic elements to propagate their political and societal philosophies and viewpoints,
- expose the close linguistic similarities between persuasion and propaganda, using religious texts as a template, drawing from the principle in Maritz's (2019) framework to detect propaganda and non-propaganda texts within the Nigerian religious context.
- establish the extent to which political communication is used in selected Nigerian religious texts,
- uncover the features of political communication in religious sermons and highlight the key differences between Christian religious texts that propagate political ideologies and those that do not,
- differentiate between the aims of propagandating and non-propagandating sermons,
- serve as a valuable resource in the field of religious studies, offering insight into political sermons, and

- determine the wider applicability (or lack thereof) of Maritz's (2019) model, which has so far been proven vital only in political discourse.

1.7 Summary

This chapter has provided the requisite foundation for the study. First, the problem statement was explored to provide the relevant context and motivation for the study. Then, the research questions alongside the resultant aim of the study were highlighted to provide direction for the study. Relevant details regarding the methodology were also provided, followed by the envisaged contribution of the study. This chapter, therefore, serves as a roadmap to navigate the entire study. Generally, the contents of the chapter such as problem statement, research question as well as the aim of the study help to provide direction for the rest of the chapters to follow.

SECTION A

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 (see 1.1), I discussed the close connection between religion and politics in Nigeria with a particular focus on the fact that the point of intersection of these two fields (i.e. politics and religion) can indeed be propaganda, which has been hitherto established as a communicative feature in the political field, can now be extended to characterise religious communications in the Nigerian context. Since this study aims to gain insight into whether selected Christian sermon texts employ propaganda strategies, the current chapter provides a detailed discussion of the socio-political and religious contexts of pre-colonial periods, colonial periods, independent Nigeria, military regimes, and the contemporary democratic dispensation, as they relate to religion and politics in Nigeria. This information serves as contextual background to the study and at the same time informs aspects of the analysis, since the use of linguistic features is to be interpreted in the communicative context.

To achieve this, the chapter is structured into three sections, namely, 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 captured in the following: the introduction to the chapter 2.1, I discuss the relationship between politics and religion in Nigeria in 2.2. The essence of this is to have an overview of politics and religion and to have a better understanding of the relationship between the two different but interconnected fields. Within this section – in subsection 2.2.1 – I discuss the global view of politics and religion. This is done to understand the connection between politics and religion in a broader international perspective. It is hoped that the combination of the two subheadings will provide a relevant insight into how the local Nigerian setting fits into the global scheme of events regarding the relationship between religion and politics.

Section 2.3 highlights Nigeria's political history, which provides the historical background of politics and religion in Nigeria. This will enable us to see, as will later be evident in the analysis of the political sermons, that politics and religion have had a historical record of co-habiting. The first subsection here, 2.3.1, begins with a discussion on the (post-)colonial political and religious history of Nigeria. Then in sub-section 2.3.2, the religious view is broadened to include not just Christianity but another major religion with which Christianity co-habits in Nigeria, Islam. Thus, the sub-section focuses on the religious history in Nigeria, starting with a focus on the emergence of Islam (in the 9th century) and Christianity (in the 15th century). This section traces the history of the two main religions in Nigeria. Then, the three subsequent subsections, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, and 2.3.5, delve into further discussions around Christianity in particular. Therefore, 2.3.3 localises the tie of politics and religion in the context of Nigeria, while 2.3.4 and 2.3.5 further narrow down on a particular strand of Christianity, Pentecostal Christianity, and politics in Nigeria. After discussing the interactions between Pentecostalism and politics, the focus will shift to the indispensable role of military interference in Nigerian politics (1966-1979 and 1984-1999) in Section 2.3.6. Furthermore, sub-section 2.3.7 provides a brief discussion on the concept of identity in Nigerian politics (section 2.3.7) as this is relevant to the concept of propaganda in Nigeria.

Finally, I wrap up this chapter by discussing the causative influence of politics and religious insurgencies in Nigeria (sub-section 2.3.8).

2.2 The relationship between politics and religion

There is no consensus on how to define religion, which makes it difficult to establish a unique definition of the term. A good definition, one may probably observe, should, however, capture both the human and the divine elements of the subject. The human, being a rational being, is associated with religion as a way of life and a pathway to establishing a relationship with a supreme being (God). Humans are probably the only animals that practice religion. Even some human beings who describe themselves as atheists still believe in the existence of a higher power or a spiritual force (Jawondo, 2005:180; Pew Research Center, 2019).

To understand what religion is made up of, Émile Durkheim (2002:40-43) classified religion as consisting of beliefs and rites. According to him, beliefs comprised of two parts: the sacred and the profane, and they are interwoven. Sacredness, on the one hand, represents opinions and encompasses representations such as beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends. It can also include objects such as a rock, a tree, a spring, etc., which are considered sacred because of the power attributed to them as gods. Profane is associated with their 'ordinariness' in relation to other things. While rites have some level of sacredness, 'rites are rules of conduct that prescribe how humans must conduct themselves with sacred things' (McGee, 1980:360). McGee states that people are united through their sacred objects of worship. Similarly, Smart (1972:74) asserts that the substantive concept of God is indissolubly linked to the practice of worship. This means that the belief and practice of religion are hinged on the existence of a supreme being, which in some cases is represented by symbols or objects of worship.

For example, in the Catholic Church, objects of worship include rosaries, statues of Mary or Jesus, and in some cases, both. In traditional religions, statues of deities like Ogun, Obatala, Esu, and so on serve as objects of worship. In line with this thought, Durkheim (2002:38) argues that 'religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities'.

Oguntola-Laguada (2015:221) also categorises religion into two perspectives: the substantive and the functional. The functional view of religion is concerned with the importance of religion in human socio-cultural engagements, which is of more interest for this study since it targets the possible subtle ways religious communications are capable of influencing human behaviours. At the same time, the substantive perspective relates to mysteries such as deities. According to Oguntola-Laguda (2015:221), Max Weber (1921), Emile Durkheim (1912), and Karl Marx (1884) are associated with the functional view of religion and have argued that religion is a social instrument with a great capacity to yield desired results depending on its usage. In other words, according to these views, religion is what we make of it. Scholars who discuss religion from the functional point of view often expose the manipulative use of religion by the upper class of society to oppress the masses without them knowing it. This view is captured in the famous phrase attributed to Karl Marx, 'religion is the opium of the people' (Pedersen, 2015:355). Thus, religion

is often perceived to be used by the upper class to suppress the masses, desensitizing them to the pain of the oppression by the upper class.

The link between politics and religion is often almost inseparable. Politics and religion continue to influence each other because they are outcomes of the physical and social interactions of men within an environment (Jawondo, 2005:180). Thus, religious groups sometimes act as pressure groups in advancing their concerns on certain public policies that affect them as a group. Doing this is a form of lobbying; calling on the government directly; or resorting to judiciary interventions (Moyser, 1991:7). So intricately bound with political evolution of nations is religion that in the nineteenth century, some countries such as Slovakia, Poland, and Czech (formally known as Bohemia) in central and Eastern Europe were, before the communists' takeover after World War II, explicitly Roman Catholic in their political outlook and style. Likewise, between 1980s and 1990s, Islamic religion was in control of political power in countries such as Iran, Algeria, Jordan, Pakistan, Somalia, and Sudan (Moravcikova, 2012:215, Haynes 1993:4).

Even in the modern time, in some contexts, it is often almost impossible to talk about politics without a recourse to religion (Fox, 2003:562; Ikem & Ogbonna, 2020:6). In the Netherlands, for example, the church and the state retained considerable influence on one another, for up until 1983, when the state was mandated constitutionally to subsidise church officials' salaries (Brink & Loenen, 2012:20). The same model is practiced in the United Kingdom, where the church enjoys a unique and a powerful position in relation and connection with the state especially in the legislature. For example, in 2011, the House of Lords (which is the upper legislative council) had 830 members out of which 25 were lords Spiritual directly from the Church of England as statutory members (Brink & Loenen, 2012:20). These are a few examples of states where there is a fusion between religion and politics.

Coming now to politics as a social practice, some early scholars like Aristotle define politics as 'the science of man's affairs of happiness or good' (Danfulani, 2020:302). Indeed, Aristotle describes man as a political animal (Abbate 2016: 54). This is related to the interactive quality that distinguishes man from the other animals, so to speak. Conventionally, politics is associated with the act of governance and the control of power attained through it. David Easton (Sorzano, 1977:25) defines politics as the process of authoritative allocation of values in any social system. Politics also connotes the collective decision-making process to the benefit of a large group of people, mostly nations that reside in a definite territorial confine (Moyser, 1991 as cited in Adelana, 2020:87). Politics is concerns interactions or negotiations among members of a society for the sake of leadership, while religion is about interaction among men towards a supreme being.

The intimate synergy between religion and politics should ideally result in a well-organised and healthy society (Oyetunbi & Akinrinde, 2021:174). Adelana et al (2020: 87) observe that religion does not exist in isolation but is inextricably understood as part of social and political life. For instance, Walter (2012:2) observes that religious disputes in some places in Nigeria are underlined with political factors and efforts to stop the influence of religion in politics has not been successful (Adelana *et al.*, 2020: 87). This view is however contrary to Moyer's (1991:8) observation that

religion plays a passive role in some countries. As mentioned in 1.1 though, religion plays an active role in influencing Nigerian voting patterns which are most time mixed with ethnic interest. The interrelationship between religion and politics is, in a sense, beneficial to both. Religious bodies form representation through different religious organisations or associations. Therefore, it is important to examine the roles of religious organisations in politics. Suberu et al. (1999:33-41) outline six major roles that religious association performs in the Nigerian context as follows:

1. **Religious associations restrain or criticise the conduct of government:** In Nigeria, religious bodies criticise, and, if necessary, seek to restrain the government from taking certain actions or policies that may jeopardise the interests of their members and society at large. Instances of religious bodies playing this role abound in Nigeria's context, for example, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) protested the inclusion of Nigeria as a permanent member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1986. Both Christian and Muslim religious leaders criticised and at the same time denounced the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election. Among the clerics involved in this move were Archbishop Benson Idahosa, Archbishop Abiodun Adetiloye, the league of Imams and Alfas, Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria (CBCN), Evangelist F.O. Solanke and Reverend Jacob Okose (Suberu et al., 1999:34)
4. **Religious associations encourage civic identification in form of political participation:** the contentious relationship among religious bodies serves as a driving force for each of them to encourage or, at times, command their members to actively participate in politics since religion is a major factor in Nigerian elections. Religious leaders also sometimes task their members to pray and fast for the peaceful conduct of the electoral process and peaceful coexistence in the nation. The most recent of such a call (as at the time of writing this dissertation) was made by Bishop David Oyedepo declaring a fasting and prayer exercise from 13th-15th February 2023 ahead of 2023 general elections. According to a circular issued by him, all his “spiritual sons and their ministries are to join in the intercession to help seek God’s help for a credible poll” (Ochogwu, 2023). Most Men of the clergy also encouraged their followers to get voter’s cards and participate at election times (ibid).
5. **Religious bodies help to promote democratic values and norms:** In Nigeria, Pastors and Imams encourage their members alike to utilise their religious virtues, i.e., love, honesty, integrity, selflessness to promote peaceful co-existence and successive democracy. Largely religious organisations, through their leaders, have been instrumental to the peaceful co-existence of the three main religions in the country. They engage the government through dialogue to resolve crises whenever the need arises (ibid).
6. **Religious associations serve as a platform to ensure representation of interests: religious bodies articulate and aggregate distinctive societal interests, particularly as they affect their members.** Again, the practicality of this was Nigeria's membership of the OIC in 1986, Religious bodies like CAN, Anglican communion, Christian Student movement and others launched a heavy protest the move taken by the then military regime. Christian bodies opposed it because, by implication, Nigeria’s secular status would be

undermined, and it would automatically uplift Islam above other religions in the country (ibid).

7. **Religious associations generate cross-cutting identities: Religious bodies help promote religious affiliations that transcend** cultural and ethnic divides. This, one may say, serves as the root and continuous advancement of identity redefinition, since a religious body, for example, presents a platform for a common identity to its multi-ethnic members, who must have had their individual ethnic identity definitions. For instance, membership of the Redeemed Christian Church of God cuts across many tribal and ethnic divides even though a Yoruba pastor founded it. In like manner, the Muslim student society (MSS) founded in the Southwest has spread all over the country and it is populated by students from diverse cultures and ethnic backgrounds (Suberu et al., 1999:34).
8. **Religious association provides avenues for the development of leadership skills:** Religious bodies now organise seminars to train members on the attributes of quality leadership. An example of this is “The Platform” organised by Covenant Christian Centre. Such leadership skill development has paid off as it has produced religious leaders who have also practically assumed some leadership role in the country by moulding the opinion trajectory of the members of the public on issues that border on the welfare of the citizens. As a case study, Pastor Tunde Bakare delivers a nationwide broadcast annually, which is termed ‘the State of the Nation’ (Guanah, 2019: 443).

Critically speaking, some of the roles outlined above also serve as a source of divisiveness in politics. For example, some religious leaders encourage their members to vote only for candidates who share their religious faith, rather than voting for candidates who are competent but do not share the same denomination. Generating religious identity is inevitable, and in Nigerian politics, it becomes a factor of division as attention is diverted from policy-based politics to religious views and factors. However, these religious considerations are often abandoned by politicians once they attain power, and they eliminate religion from their social interactions with one another.

2.2.1 Global view of politics and religion

is to highlight the norms around the world in relation to politics and religion. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was widely predicted that the influence of religion would decline in the world as the world was believed to be undergoing very rapid modernisation (Haynes, 1993:1). This modernisation, according to Turner (2011:10) “is the cluster of processes emphasising individualism, democratic politics, liberal values, and norms of efficiency and economic growth”. Associated with the foregoing is the modernisation theory, which has its root in economic development as it is believed to secure the world sufficiently. Hence, there was no point considering religion. Based on the modernisation theory, the world metamorphosed into secularisation. Secularisation is a feature of modernisation. It is a social condition that targets the eradication of religious considerations in the practice of public engagements such as the economy and other governmental institutions. The overall aim is to discourage citizens from holding onto the belief in God both in their public and private affairs (Halikiopoulou, 2011:26-27). This theory was apparently widely adopted in European, Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian societies as

a doctrine that diminished church membership and commitment to faith in those regions (Turner, 2011:10-11). This theory was the basis on which international relation conceived religion as arbitrary in international discourse (Ferrara, 2014: 26). Thus, according to Kubalkova (2013:1), religious matters were considered domestic issues of nation states and therefore should not be discussed in the international public sphere.

However, certain events altered the world's perspective on issues of politics and religion. This change began with some third world countries (being the countries that struggle with underdevelopment issues ranging from high rates of poverty, economic and political instability, and high mortality rates among others). We may note that this is likely why religion remains a strong subject among the citizens of these countries (Sanneh, 1991:204-205). Now, there are three examples of discrete events in the late 1970s that forced some third-world countries to confront the issues of politics and religion. First among these was Iran's Islamic revolution of 1978-80; second was the civil war between communists and Islamists in Afghanistan from 1978; and third was the establishment of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua in 1979, following the overthrow of the dictator Somoza² (Haynes, 1993:1, Turner, 2011:29). A more recent event that has gravitated the attention of the international community to the overarching role of religion is the September 11, 2001, attack on the United State by Al-Qaeda, an attack which was believed to have been motivated by religious interest (Agbabio, 2014:45; Onapajo, 2016:114).

The foregoing has awakened fresh concern for the necessity of religious discourse in the international scene in general, and at the national level in particular, such as the current study was poised to do. In addition to the above, Fox (2001:59) outlined three reasons why the international political view on religion has changed in recent times. According to him, foreign policies are influenced by the religious views and beliefs of policymakers and their constituents. Again, religion is a source of legitimacy for both supporting and criticising government actions locally and internationally (within and outside a country). And lastly, even though religion is obviously not the only issue on the international scene, many local conflicts that originate from religious beliefs are quite a phenomenon because religious issues can easily spread across borders and regions. A typical example of this is how the cartooned caricature portrayal of Prophet Muhamed published in a Danish newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten* on 30th September 2005 generated violent riots by Muslims across the world, also in Nigeria (Klausen, 2009: 86).

Following the renewed stance of the international community on religion, it became imperative for countries worldwide to define or reflect their own views on religion in relation to politics. For example, some observers have noted that in America, whose political life is believed to be founded on religious beliefs, democracy can only survive if attention is paid to the religious values essential to the health of the American political system (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2018:329). In the most recent time, the 47th USA president, Donald Trump, barely a month after his inauguration,

² Sandinista are Christians whose ideas were moulded by the concerns of liberation theology (see Haynes, 1993:1, Turner 2011:29).

confirmed this reality by establishing a faith office on 7th February 2025 to serve as an interface between the government and its based organisations (The WHITE HOUSE 2025). In Britain, religion and politics share a close relationship as mentioned earlier. The Monarch is the head of government and at the same time the head of the church, i.e., the Church of England. Likewise, the Church imposes some level of religious regulation on the office of the Prime Minister. In return, the prime minister advises on some key appointments in the church including the appointments of bishops. This shows the extent to which the church and the government are interwoven (Edge, 2012:44-45; Beckford, 1991:181).

The Pew Research Centre (2013) – comprising a survey of over 38,000 face-to-face interviews conducted in over 80 languages – reveals that in most Islamic-dominated countries, the majority of the population wants the Islamic Sharia law to be the official law in their countries. Also, thirty-nine countries consisting of six regions have the following percentages of their population preferring to Islamic Sharia law: Southern and Eastern Europe (Russia and the Balkans) – 18%; Central Asia – 12%; Southeast Asia – 77%; South Asia – 84%; the Middle East and North Africa – 74%; and sub-Saharan Africa – 64%.

I will proceed to focus on the Nigerian political and religious history to examine how practically the two have co-existed in the past and present. This becomes necessary in the light of the very sensitive roles religion plays in the Nigerian society, as has been hinted on in section 1.1.

2.3 Nigerian Political History

As the global view of religion and politics has been laid out in the preceding section, we now zoom in on the political situation in the Nigerian context. First, I will start by providing a short political history of Nigeria and then proceed to discuss the (post-)colonial political and religious history of Nigeria, the emergence of Islam in the 9th century and Christianity in 15th century in Nigeria, Christianity and politics in Nigeria, Pentecostal politics in Nigeria, as well as Pentecostal political dispensation.

The Nigerian political history pre-dates the official existence of the geographical entity now known as Nigeria. Each of the major ethnic groups that make up the geographical expanse that later became Nigeria had a well-organised traditional rulership on the ground ever before the arrival of the colonialists. This well-organised, pre-colonial, indigenous political structure among the Yorubas and Hausa-Fulanis, for example, made the system of indirect rule adopted by the colonial masters a huge success (Ikeanyibe, 2007:44-5). This is because indirect rule relied heavily on the local political structure to succeed. Meanwhile, there were healthy interactions between the north and the south even before the amalgamation of the two regions in 1914. Trade and religion were the two main factors that facilitated these interactions (Budrudeen, 2023). So, in the following section, I trace the Nigerian political/religious history in order to shed light on the roots of these interactions.

2.3.1 (Post-)colonial political and religious history of Nigeria

This discussion begins from the colonial period which began with the annexation of Lagos as a colony by British in 1861 (Ebong, 1961: 52). It should be noted, however, that in the time preceding this era (i.e., pre-colonial period), the entities that were later conjoined to form Nigeria were separate and politically autonomous of each other (Falola and Heaton, 2008:17). Years following the conquest of Lagos, the British colonial power spread to the hinterland to cover the entire southern area of Nigeria which was divided into and ruled as two distinct administrative units; namely, the Lagos Colony and Protectorate, and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (Nwabughuogu, 1981: 75). The two units were unified in 1906 as Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (Ahmed and Ningin, 2022: 35). Just like the conquest of the southern Nigeria began with the British occupation of Lagos in 1861, the northern part of the country fell into the hand of the British invaders in 1903 with the defeat of Sokoto Caliphate, “a set of some fifteen to twenty emirates of varying size and wealth under the ultimate leadership of the Caliph at Sokoto” (Last, 2018: 22). On the whole, it took the British forty-two years to bring Nigeria under their colonial rule, a pointer, in part, to the vastness of the country and the concerted though short-lived resistance mounted by some indigenous groups. In 1914, the northern and the southern regions (protectorates) of Nigeria were homogenised by the British colonial government (Maiangwa *et al.*, 2018: 3, 17). Upon the 1914 amalgamation, the united entity came to be known as Nigeria, a blending of the terms ‘Niger’ and ‘area’, a christening executed by a British Journalist, Flora Shaw, who later became the wife of Lord Lugard, British colonial administrator and the first Governor-General of Nigeria (Olayiwola, 2018: 30).

The overarching administrative system through which colonial government was run in Nigeria, as it was in other British colonies in Africa, was indirect rule, which “enabled the colonial officers to govern in partnership with indigenous chiefs.” (Falola, 2003: 29). Scholars such as Ahmed and Ningin (2022: 35) provide such sympathetic explanations for the adoption of indirect rule as the need both to be sensitive to the socio-cultural needs of the people and cut down what would have been a high cost of administering such a large colony if British nationals were to mount every administrative position. However, Falola and Heaton (2008: 110) contend that although this administrative system claimed to regard “the traditional political institutions ... but in practice indirect rule alienated traditional authorities from their subject populations through their association with the colonial regime”. Probing even further, (Nwabughuogu, 1981: 66-70) has not only rejected all the seemingly justified bases for indirect rule but has weaved the thread of propaganda into the debate. According to him, indirect rule was the creation of a facade by some private British elites who hid behind it for their own ulterior motives. For example, Nwabughuogu (1981: 69) claims that the underlying motive of one of such individuals, Lord Lugard, was “to secure imperial appointment in West Africa”. For instance, while Lugard was appointed as the first Governor-General of the amalgamated Nigeria in 1914, George Goldie, another brain behind indirect rule, was the head of Royal Niger Company. This company was a British chartered company granted the exclusive prerogative in 1886 to administer, on behalf of the British

government, the commercial and political interests of the entire area that would later become the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Ebong, 1961: 54; Falola and Heaton, 2008: 98).

Although indirect rule was successful in the northern region, it was less successful in the south, particularly in the Southeastern Igbo societies, which were not accustomed to having a centrally located leadership structure (Afigbo, 1967: 693-695). This created the temperament of discontentment that set-in motion the agitations against the colonial government in Nigeria. For example, in 1929, there was a violent outbreak of riot by women in the southeast against the local chiefs designated and imposed by Lord Lugard, the Governor-General of Nigeria (Nwabughuogu, 1981: 91). Subsequent agitations were led by the educated elites, who the colonial government the colonial government sidelined in preference for the traditional leaders who, more often than not, were uneducated (Paul, 2018: 430). A major medium through which the elites galvanised the entire country into an anti-colonialist posture was the creation of indigenous political parties. To this end, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), later changed to National Council of Nigerian Citizens, was established in 1944; Action Group (AG) in 1947; and Northern People's Congress (NPC) in 1951 (Uwaifo, 2016: 1-2). After years of colonial administrations with agitations for self-rule, the country finally gained its independence on October 1st, 1960. In 1963 again on October 1st, the country became a republic. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa were the first democratic president and prime minister respectively in the first republic (Paden, 2005:37; Akinwotu, 2016:39). As a brand-new nation with such huge differences in cultures, language, religion and other national qualities, there were large educational and economical developmental gaps between the federating regions. This caused suspicion between Northern and Southern citizens. The North was afraid that Southerners would take advantage of them because of the level of literacy the South had already attained. This resulted in tension between the south and the North. For example, the first university college (now University of Ibadan founded in 1957), the first television and radio stations, as well as the first mosque (Shitta-Bey Mosque in 1891) and first church (The Cathedral Church of St. Peter Abeokuta in 1898) were all located in the southern regions. What was common to South and North is that as Christianity prospered in the former so did Islam flourish in the latter.

According to Agiboa (2014:44), Nigeria's vast religious and ethnic diversity is the root of political instability and tensions. He, however, argues that the mixture in terms of ethnicity ought to be a source of strength in diversity, that is, ethnic and religious differences ought to produce an all-inclusive society where every group uniquely contributes to the growth and development of the country, drawing from the unique experience of their diverse backgrounds. However, judging from what has occurred thus far, political mobilisation along ethno-religious lines has become a potential threat to the peace, stability, and unity of the country-state. One may argue, however, that it is rather the mismanagement of the diversity by a mismatched leadership that is responsible for its catastrophic outcomes. Thus, Omenka (2010: 368) accuses the British missionaries/colonialists of laying the foundation for the divisive political system that has so far bedevilled Nigerian politics. From the pre-colonial period, Nigeria existed as regions (North, East and West). This territorial division was based on the tribal, ethnic, and religious sentiments of each

group. The North majorly consist mainly of the Hausa/Fulani dominated by Islam, and it was the largest of the three regions, the East are Igbos and are predominantly Christians while the western region, are Yorubas, and are of mixed-up with Christianity (in the larger number though), Islam and traditional African religion (Okoli *et al.*, 2021:6). The map in Figure 1 below further illustrates the above explanation.

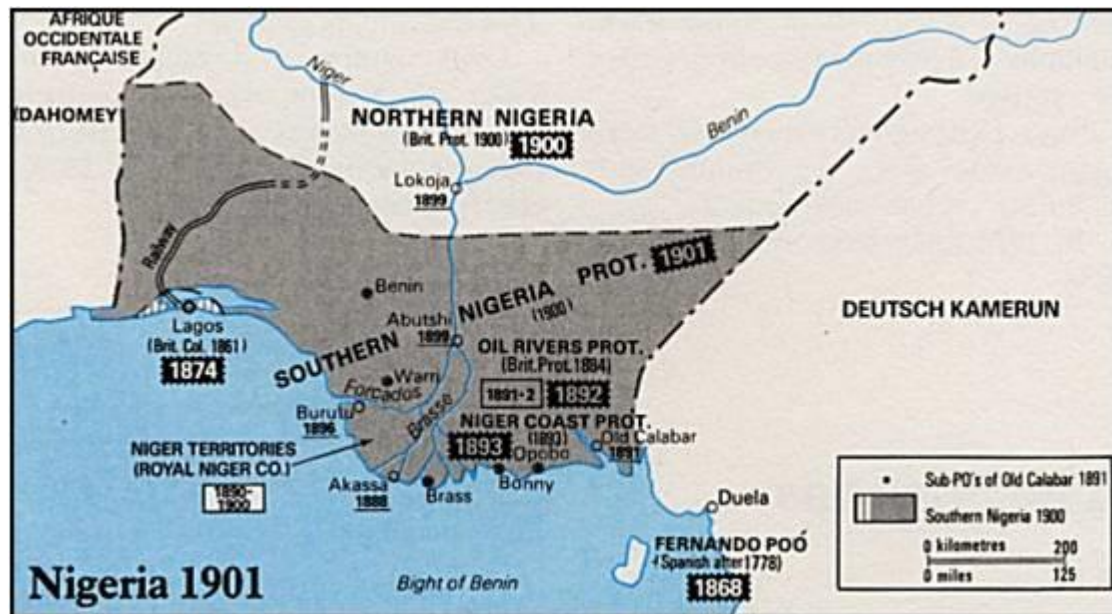


Figure 1: Map showing regions of Nigeria (Narialand 2023)

The earliest political parties were equally formed in reflection of these biases (region, ethnicity, and religion) partly captured in the map above. In the 1950s, three major political parties were formed: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was firmly an Islamic party because it was perceived as depicting unanimity of the Muslim community (Ijma). Thus, the NPC became the most popular party of the Northern region. Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), though the first political party, became associated with the middle class in north of Nigeria, unlike the NPC, which comprised more of the rich and the ruling class. United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) emerged as a protest to the dominance of Islam by the NPC in the non-Muslim areas (Middle Belt region) because NPC is a Muslim dominated party (Onapajo, 2016:117).

Like the northern practice, the United Muslim Party (UMP) was formed in Lagos, in the western region of the country, it was not viable because Action Congress (AG) had taken a firm root in the region and most of the Muslim politicians were already members of the party (Onapajo, 2016:117). The formation of parties along religious lines continued as a trend in the second democratic republic. This was the political situation towards the late colonial administration and the early republican politics in Nigeria. It is essential to acknowledge that religion has played a contentious role in what appears to be the foundational politics of the Nigerian state.

2.3.2 The Emergence of Islam (9th century) and Christianity (15th century) in Nigeria

Islam and Christianity are foreign religions in Nigeria. Both religions have their roots traced to the Middle East (Ebhomienlen & Ukpebor, 2013: 166). Before the advent of these two religions, the people of Nigeria were engaging in African traditional religious practices (ATR) such as the worship of deities and belief in divinities (Kitause & Achunike, 2013: 46). Historically, Islam penetrated Northern Nigeria around the eleventh century (Badrudeen 2023). By 1804, Usman Dan Fodio embarked on a ‘purification movement’ popularly known as the ‘Jihad’³ with the sole aim of displacing the existing Hausa rulers who to him “were not Muslim enough”, in spite of the fact that they had accepted Islam in the fifteenth century (Pakan, 2005: 57). This action might have been a contributory factor to the considerable emphasis on polarised religious consideration in Nigerian politics till date. One might then assume that Jihad aimed to spread Islam down the south region of Nigeria since the religion had taken firm root in the northern part of the country. Religious authority grants some form of political legitimacy such that as far as Islam spread down south, the political influence of the Islamic Caliphate expanded (Obikili, 2018: 43) The Yorubas became the first converts of Islam in the south through their commercial interactions with the Northern traders and not as a result of Jihad. The Yorubas embraced Islam easily because Islam accommodated their existing cultural practices such as polygamy, belief in Jinn (Onapajo, 2012:45). The acceptability of the religion gave it a competitive edge over traditional religion when compared to Christianity in the Southwest.

Christianity arrived in Nigeria in the fifteenth century through the Portuguese, who attempted to establish a Christian mission among the people of the Benin and Warri Kingdoms. However, the mission was unsuccessful because the focus of the mission was diverted to economic gains rather than evangelism in the region (Ogunrinade & Ogolo, 2013: 122-123). Serious and fruitful mission activities began with the arrival of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, an ex-slave from Sierra Leone, in 1842, who played a crucial role in establishing churches in southern Nigeria (Shankar, 2018: 51). Christianity has played a significant role in the development of civilisation in Nigeria. As part of the evangelisation/civilisation process, schools and hospitals were built by missionaries while an indirect rule system was also introduced in some quarters to handle civil matters. One major criticism often levelled against the advent of Christianity in Nigeria is its almost intractable association with the experience of colonisation (Nwadiakor, 2015: 35-36).

African Traditional Religion (ATR) is the least popular religion in Nigeria, despite being the foremost religion of the people. The religion is highly segmented, localised and not universal (Umeanolu, 2019:144). The gauche features of African traditional religion may have accounted for the official low recognition that dogs its practice when compared with the other two main religions in Nigeria: namely, Christianity and Islam. For instance, Umeanolu (2020: 144) notes that no public holiday has ever been declared for traditional festivals, as is the case with Islam and

³ Jihad in Arabic literally means to “struggle” or “effort”. Jihad is a struggle or a fight against the enemies of Islam. According to Islamic injunction it is an obligation incumbent on all Muslims, individuals and community, to follow and realise Allah’s will.

Christianity. This is so because traditional festivals do not share harmonious celebration dates, and obviously because of their interregnum nature, characterised by rituals spanning weeks of celebrations. This makes it almost impossible for government recognition, unlike the other two religions, whose festivities are celebrated within a day or two. As discussed above, Christianity and Islamic religions are the two most prominent religions among the Nigerian people. In fact, they are the most preferred religions of Nigerians (Umeanolu 2020: 144). To foster peace among these religions, the government considers making the two religions as official as possible. For example, in public gatherings where religion is a consideration, Christian and Muslim prayers are encouraged to be exchanged between the two faiths (Ibrahim, 1991: 116; Umeanolu, 2020: 144). As part of their recognition and their advantage over the traditional religion, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was formed in 1976 to cater for the needs of Christians in Nigeria while Nigerian Supreme council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) was established in 1977 to handle Islam as a body.

2.3.3 Christianity and politics in Nigeria

In the discussion thus far, the origins of the two dominant religions are traced with their various impacts in the pre-colonial and independent Nigerian political space. As the focus of the present research is on Christian religious texts, I will specifically examine Christians and politics in Nigeria in this section. Until recently, “faithful Nigerian Christians” did not take part in active politics owing to the perception that serious Christians ought not to take part in politics at all, as politics was seen as a dirty game and meant for those who have determined to perish. Over the years, scholars like Ejenobo (2009), Danfulani (2020) Familusi (2012) have argued for and against Christian participation in the political process in Nigeria.

There are two distinguishable perspectives on the role of Nigerian Christians in politics (compare Ejenobo, 2009 and Danfulani, 2020). The first is that the majority in the Christendom in Nigeria believes that genuine Christians have no business in politics, and the second is that Christian involvement in politics is part of their responsibility, and a duty owed to God. Familusi (2012: 23) argues that Nigeria's political scene is plagued by a lack of individuals with integrity to lead, which contributes to apathy and poor governance, ultimately hindering the country's economic growth and development. Omosor (2019: 33) supports this viewpoint, adding that there is a leadership crisis in Nigeria, compounded by the insensitive attitudes of its followers. Leaders in Nigeria seem to be living in their own world primarily because citizens do not demand their rights. Citizens do not hold their leaders accountable for better governance; instead, they cry to God for help. Danfulani (2020:305-306) notes a paradox that the church in Nigeria can boast of qualified persons spiritually and physically, in terms of education, administration, and professionalism, yet occupies a docile position in contemporary Nigeria that is faced with serious challenges of insecurity, kidnapping, banditry, terrorism, and other crimes. The question is, why are Christians reluctant when it comes to politics and civil leadership in Nigeria? I return to this shortly.

According to Falola (1998:1), a scholar of religious/political conflicts in Nigeria, political awakening among Christians in Nigeria was triggered by the persecution posed by Islam. Earlier

on, Christians were arguably the most politically docile group in the socio-political history of Nigeria, but that was before the appeal by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) urging Christians in Nigeria to participate in politics. Many Christians were too ‘spiritual’ to be involved in politics, which is seen as being “carnal” (Danfulai, 2020:301). One major event that not only served as an eye-opener but also kept the Christian community on their toes happened in 1976. Then, a Constitution Drafting Committee (C.D.C) was set up to draft a new constitution for the country as the nation was planning to return to democratic rule. The Muslim members of the committee made a serious move to incorporate the Sharia law into the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This move was vehemently opposed by their Christian counterparts, which led to the deletion of the Sharia clause in the constitution of 1979. The Christians saw the push for Sharia inclusion in the constitution as an attempt to Islamise the country that ought to be a secular state (Umeanole, 2020: 146, Ebhomienlen & Ukpebor, 2013: 168). Nigeria was registered in 1986 as a full member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference by the then-head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida. This singular act, for many Christians, buttressed concerns about Islamisation (Burgess, 2015:42).

The contentious relationship among followers of Islam and Christian faith in Nigeria often results in religious conflicts – most especially in the northern states. According to Jegede (2019: 58), religious crises have increased tremendously since the return of democracy in 1999. 95% of religious crises occurred in the northern part of the country, which is Islam-dominated. There is the challenge of the dearth of adequate statistics which has rendered it difficult to determine the accurate number of religious crises in Nigeria and the extent of the damages incurred.⁴

The instances of religious violence in Nigeria could arguably justify the claim of Familusi (2017:92) that violence “is a major reason for the present crisis of development in the country”. According to him, violence is not a one-off event but a continuum; lives are lost, and properties are destroyed. The seeming political indolence of the church in the Nigerian political process can also be attributed to the doctrinal practices of orthodox churches, which prohibit the clergy from engaging in active partisan politics. Although the doctrine and practices of the Orthodox churches are universal, the peculiarity of each country should be considered. For instance, in nations where the church and the government are in congruence, such as the UK, versus those in pluralistic societies like Nigeria, the rules of engagement ought to be checked in the interest of the church. In the next section, I discuss the role of churches and pastors in Nigeria’s political space.

2.3.4 Pentecostal politics in Nigeria.

Many clergy in Nigeria, both past and present, have utilised their various pulpits to offer socio-political interventions in Nigeria's political struggles (Obadare, 2018:50). However, there has been an ongoing debate about whether Christians should participate in politics. Scholars like Ejenobo (2009); Danfulani (2020); Osajie 2021;); Onapajo (2012) have all advocated for possible clergy participation in electoral processes up to the point of becoming card-carrying members of political

parties and possibly contesting for positions of their choice. Others, like Familusi (2012) however, want the clergy to mobilise their members to participate in politics, not only to vote but to contest for viable elective positions. The discourse around whether religious leaders should engage in politics has been a controversial and an on-going debate among political/religious scholars. Danfulani (2020: 307-314) argues that clergy who wish to participate in politics should accept politics as a calling in the same way they have taken their pastoral calling. He, however, cautions that the clergy should resign their pastoral calling first before venturing into politics. In his article, he cites Isaiah 61:1-2 as the political manifestos of Jesus Christ, thereby obliquely referring to the earthly ministry of Jesus Christ as a political agenda that he prepared for while in heaven. As a corollary, Familusi (2012:28-31) also advocates for Christian participation in politics, focusing on the laity. He explained his point, referencing both biblical and contemporary times when ballots were cast to elect leaders. He emphasises that Christian involvement in politics is not antithetical to his integrity as a Christian and that a professional Christian politician must be different from others. According to him, “for the society to work, and for God’s will to be done, God’s people must speak out through the polling booth”. Therefore, Christians can be involved in politics beyond voting during elections, identifying with a political party and presenting themselves as candidates while participating in electioneering campaigns (Familusi, 2012:28).

In relation to the foregoing, Ejenobo (2009: 137) accuses Christian leaders of lack of support for Christian candidates contesting elections in the country. He cites the ordeal of Pastor Chris Okotie, the presidential candidate of JP in the 2003 election and FDP in the 2007 and 2011 elections, whom he said was left alone by CAN and Christian leaders to battle his presidential bid.

Ejenobo (2009: 137) exposes the existing gap between what appears to be the lopsided Christian political practice in politics and the realities. So many Christians in Nigeria do not think that politics is part of their religious obligation, partly because the Christian religious leaders formerly shied away from this obvious responsibility unlike their Muslim counterparts who will openly command their followers to shun non-Muslim candidate during elections (Falola, 1998: 3; Obadare, 2006: 43).

In the orthodox church in Nigeria, clergy participation in politics is significantly restricted. Despite this, some pastors indirectly (and some directly) involve themselves in politics by contesting elections, while others criticise the government on matters that impact either the Christian faith or the citizens in general. Some of the orthodox pastors that have contested elections include a few of those mentioned before: Rev Dr S.T. Ola Akande and Rev Olapade Agoro both of whom contested for political offices in the third republic (Familusi, 2012:30; Obadare, 2018:49). In the just concluded 2023 general elections (as at the time of writing this dissertation), Rev Fr Hyacinth Alia contested and won the governorship election in Benue State on the platform of APC. Nevertheless, some denominations have remained firm on their stance regarding clergy participation in politics. For instance, the same Rev Fr Hyacinth Alia mentioned above was suspended from his "public ministry" (that is, was disqualified from performing his priestly ministry henceforth). In a letter addressed to the priest, the bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Gboko, William Avenya, had stated that, “The Mother Church does not permit her clerics to

engage in partisan politics independently” and then counselled the priest in question to reconsider his decision on contesting for the governorship election (Folorunsho-Francis, 2022). Obviously, the bishop’s advice failed to deter the priest, who is currently the executive governor of Benue State, from pursuing his political ambition.

The continuous social relevance of Christianity in Nigeria might safely be assumed to have been championed mainly by the mainline churches in the 70s before the purvey of Pentecostal consciousness in politics. The Ethiopian churches⁵ were formed to give African colouration to the existing European churches that were seen as an extension of colonial imperialism (Ogunrinade & Ogolo, 2013: 128). These Ethiopian churches heralded the beginning of indigenous churches, otherwise known as “Aladura” (prayer-based) movement in the 1920s to 40s. Pentecostalism in Nigeria, which began around 1970, could be traced to the ministries and literatures of notable American Christian pastors like Oral Robert, Billy Graham, Kenneth Hagin, Gordon Lindsay, T.L. Osborn, Morris Cerullo and the South Korean Evangelist David Yonggi Cho, all of whom boosted the passion for evangelistic work and sparked off Pentecostalism in Nigeria. Ojo (2018: 76-80) notes that the University of Ibadan was the springboard of the revival that later spread around the nation. Thus, we can factor in the impact of education and globalisation to some degree. Meanwhile, Ojo says there was spiritual awakening in the early 1970 among Christian Student Union members who received baptism of the Holy Ghost⁶ at a special prayer meeting. At that time, the group was small. However, through the testimonies of three executives of the Christian Student Union, who testified about their Pentecostal experiences, more students joined, and the group expanded to form the Scripture Union (SU) in 1987. But from the mid- 1970s, Charismatic student leaders from various higher institutions of learning across the nation had begun to graduate. They began to form or join independent Pentecostal assemblies such as The Redeemed Christian Church of God (1952), Deeper Life Christian ministry(1982), Living Faith Church worldwide(1981), Mountain of Fire and Miracles(1989), World of life Bible Church(1987) Dunamis Gospel Church International (1996), Christ Embassy(1990), Citadel Global Community Church formerly The latter Rain Assembly(1989) Church of God mission (1970), Salvation Ministries(1995), Covenant Christian Centre (1994), The Commonwealth of Zion Assembly (1999), Omega Fire Ministries (2004) all with nationwide and international membership, thereby adding fresh passion to Christianity not only in Nigeria but in Africa.

⁵ Ethiopian church was formed to promote indigenous Church leadership, but this Churches retained the doctrines of the European Churches, Ethiopian Church rejection of the European Churches lead to formation of indigenous churches (Ogunrinade & Ogolo, 2013: 128)

⁶ This is a definite spiritual experience in which the third Person in the Godhead (namely, the Holy Spirit) comes to possess, as it were, a believing Christian, an experience which Fee (1985: 87 items in parenthesis are my expansion) notes to be “separate from and sequential to the initial experience of conversion (to Christianity). Fee also notes that this “theological sentiment...is not unique to Pentecostalism. Rather, it reflects a classical view of many pietistic groups”. For more details, see Fee (1985).

2.3.5 Pentecostal political dispensation

The term “Pentecostal political dispensation” is a coinage that is heavily influenced by the works of Ebenezer Obadare (2018), whose scholarly enterprise has yielded fruits of enlightenment that help to understand the interface of religion and politics in Nigeria, most especially Pentecostal influence from 1999 till date. Pentecostal churches identify and unite under the cover of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), formed in 1986 as a subsection of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). This group had substantially been apolitical until 1999, when the nation returned to democracy. The major beliefs of Pentecostals are in power of transforming the nation through prayer, prophecies, and political participation. Several prayer platforms like ‘Nigeria Prays’, ‘Intercessors for Nigeria’, ‘Watchman Ministries’, ‘Gethsemane Prayer Ministries’ and others were formed to amplify these notions and to intercede for the nation (Burgess, 2015:46). These Pentecostal beliefs and practices were successfully explored coupled with political negotiation during the electioneering campaign that preceded the fourth republic. Pentecostalism in Nigerian politics received a significant boost and became more influential, both within the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the nation at large. In 2010, Ayo Oritsejafor, a Pentecostal pastor, was elected to lead the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). He was (and still is) the senior pastor and founder of Word of Life Bible Church. Pastor Oritsejafor, a known vocal political commentator, assumed the CAN’s presidency at a time when the nation was faced with massive terrorist attacks from the Boko Haram insurgent group. He boldly condemned and constantly drew the attention of the international community to what he usually presented as Christian persecutions in Nigeria. His strong expressions were perceived to be in favour of the then-President Goodluck Jonathan, who, coincidentally, is from the same region of the country, the South-South geopolitical zone, as Oritsejafor. Naturally, therefore, we expect some perception of ethnic banding from some quarters. Thus, it is not surprising to hear that Muslims accused President Jonathan administration of “marginalising” them (Onapajo, 2016:121).

Meanwhile, the widespread concept that “Jesus is the answer” to Nigeria political problems promotes prevalence of prayer and prophecies as a major weapon Christians use to confront the political battles in Nigeria (Marshall, 2005:17). As a result, Pentecostals in Nigeria have taken on the mantle of “prophetic politics” for comfort in the political struggles (Burgess, 2015: 47). Hence, politicians who recognise the place of the church in making a difference in the political schemes make themselves available for large Christian gatherings which often afford them opportunity for an unpaid advertisement/ campaign and to seek for pastors’ blessings in form of prophetic declarations uttered in utterances of pastors (Obadare, 2018, Familusi, 2012:31).

So many influential Pentecostal pastors in Nigeria constitute the “Theocratic class” (a combination of wealthy Pentecostal pastors and political righteous elites), a class many believed to have saturated the Obasanjo presidency from 1999 (Obadare, 2006: 671). Leading Pentecostal pastors in Nigeria are not only rich, but powerful and their spiritual influence cuts across Africa and the world (Onapajo, 2015: 113). Pastor Enoch Adejare Adeboye (fondly called Daddy G.O), and Bishop David Oyedepo are among the first five most influential pastors in the world. Others, like Chris Oyakhilome, Pastor Chris Okotie, Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo,

Pastor Paul Enenche, and many others have their spheres of influence around the world also. In fact, Pastor EA Adeboye is known by the political actors and the populace to be the cotemporary replica of the Biblical Samuel in Nigeria through his ‘spiritual endorsement’ of presidential candidates (Ikem and Ogonna, 2021: 239).

Taking precedence from Obasanjo’s tenure, all presidential candidates (including Muslims) habitually pay a routine visit to the Redemption Camp, the headquarters seat of Adeboye’s church, for Holy Ghost Night services at election seasons which usually is an avenue to receive the pastor’s blessings for their political ambition (Obadare, 2018; Burgess, 2015:39). Specifically, Pastor Adeboye won fame for himself in 2011 when the sitting president Goodluck Jonathan knelt before him (Adeboye) for prayer at the redemption camp in Lagos (Burgess, 2015:39). The prayer was symbolic and a formal endorsement for the president. In 2015, however, the tables turned: although Goodluck Jonathan sought prayer again from Pastor Adeboye, it was clear from all indications that the pastor, this time around, had become interested in one of ‘his sons’, Pastor (Prof.) Yemi Osinbajo, the vice-presidential candidate of the opposition APC, was not just a member of his church but also one of the senior pastors. To attest to the political influence of Pastor E.A. Adeboye, recently, Governor Ademola Adeleke of Osun State remarked as follows: “Pastor Adeboye anointed me in 2018 and said that I would be the next governor of Osun State. I have faith in his declaration” (Shina Abubakar, 2023).

Another dimension to Pentecostal pastors' operations is the practice of “political prophecy” among Pentecostal individuals. Political prophecy refers to the prediction of political events, primarily election outcomes (Ikem et al. 2021: 239). Scholars have expressed concerns that are likely shared by the general public over this development, not only in Nigeria but across Africa. This is because political prophecy is capable of aggravating mistrust in the electoral process and activating political anxiety among citizens, which will, in the long run, endanger national security and further heighten ethno-religious tension in the country.

Many pastors in Nigeria indulge in predicting electoral outcomes with differing hidden motives. This class of pastors prefers to be addressed as “prophets” (to portray their ability to foresee the future). However, many of them are nascent in the political terrain. Pastors in this category include Prophet Temitope Aduroja, Prophet Wale Olagunju, Prophet Okechukwu Daniel Udoka, Prophet Ekong Ituen, late Prophet T. B Joshua, Pastor Samuel Akinbodunse, Apostle Chris Omatsola (*Ikem et al.*, 2021:248). Fr Ejike Mbaka, though not included in this list because he is not addressed as prophet like the others, belongs to this category of pastors too. He is not called a prophet like others as he is an ordained Catholic priest.

However, he claims to be operating in the prophetic realm, and he runs the Adoration Ministry privately within the Catholic Diocese of Enugu. He rose to fame in 2015 when he publicly declared his support for the then-opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, claiming that God had rejected the then-sitting President Goodluck Jonathan in the heat of the election season. The “prophecy” gave a great boost to the political energy of the opposition APC, which, arguably, was one of the factors leading to the defeat of the incumbent Goodluck Jonathan. In 2020, Mbaka again claimed

to “see Hope in Imo state”, an anecdotal pun referring to the installation of Hope Uzodinma, who had lost the governorship election of Imo State and the voiding of the victory of his co-contestant, Governor Emeka Ihedioha. In what might be considered a validation of Fr Mbaka’s prophecy, most especially by his fans, the Supreme Court’s judgement later nullified the Imo state 2019 governorship election, leading to the removal of Emeka Ihedioha and the consequent swearing in of Hope Uzodinma, who had earlier come forth in the election. From observation, the hysteria that usually greets these prophecies often fizzle out when those prophecies do not get fulfilled or events turn out to be directly opposite of what has been prophesied. It is probably safe to conclude that these so-called prophecies are sometimes meant to instil fear in the disfavoured candidates in such a way that they would have accepted defeat even before going to the polls, especially if the prophecy has come from a reputable man of God. In some cases, it is perceived as political. Thus, the Imo state branch of CAN and some other leaders accused Mbaka of declaring politically motivated prophecies (Nseyen, 2020).

Taking all these factors into consideration, Obadare (2018: 1) asserts that “Nigeria democratic process since 1999 is ultimately inexplicable without recourse to the power of Pentecostalism, whether as manifested in the rising political influence of Pentecostal pastors, or in a commensurate popular tendency to view socio-political problems in spiritual terms”. Pentecostal purveyors in the Nigerian political space radicalised the public's perception of politics. The characteristic freedom of Pentecostalism extends to politics. There is no restriction whatsoever in the Pentecostal denominations regarding pastors and political involvement. Pentecostal inundation belief is that a good method to change the nation is to diligently participate in politics. Motivations and the exigent desire for power shift to Christian leadership in Nigeria among Pentecostals seem to have steeped the pastor into mentoring members for political leadership among the “born again” Christians in the country. A series of training programs and conferences are organised by Pentecostal churches to purge the Christian community of their repugnance for politics as a broach subject among believers. With their determination to “win Nigeria for Christ”, by coaching spirit-filled “born again” to be leaders (Obadare, 2006:137). Christians are encouraged to take part in politics to prepare a crop of transformed persons for national transformation (Burgess, 2015:50). Pastor Sam Adeyemi of the *DayStar* Christian Centre, Pastor Tony Rapu of *This Present House*, and Pastor Poju Oyemade of *Covenant Christian Centre* are known for their roles in purposive aim to raise and mentor Christians for political leadership. These pastors also expand the scope of their pastoral calling to include humanitarian interventions.

As result of the assurances and understanding that politics does not affect one's Christianity, the political scene is agog with pastors contesting for presidential and governorship positions in Nigeria. Pastor Chris Okotie is the first Pentecostal pastor in Nigeria to have contested the country's presidential election. His first attempt was in 2003 and then 2007 and 2011. He successfully made his mark coming eight out of twenty aspirants without the support of PFN (Ejenobo, 2009: 137; Burgess, 2015: 49-50). Pastor Tunde Bakare became famous for leading the protest that forced the national assembly to declare the then Vice president Goodluck Jonathan president after Yar'Adua's death in 2010. Before then, he had been known for his antithetical

prophecies against Obasanjo's regime in 1999 and his activist role against the annulment of the June 12 election in 1993. Pastor Tunde Bakare contested for vice presidential position on a joint ticket with Mohammadu Buhari as his principal in 2011 under the CPC. They, however, lost to Goodluck Jonathan.

In 2015, Pastor (Prof.) Yemi Osinbajo was picked by Muhammadu Buhari as the running mate for the umpteenth attempt for his presidential bid on the platform of the then opposition All Progressives Congress (APC) and won, defeating the incumbent.

Several other pastors have competed for gubernatorial positions across the country: Pastor EseIyamo contested for Edo state governorship election in 2020, Pastor Kemela Okara also competed for governor of Bayelsa State on the platform of Action Congress of Nigeria. Both Pastor Eno uma and Rev Fr. Hyacinth Alia won their governorship elections held March 18th, 2023. The foregoing indicates a growing awareness among the Christian community about the importance of political participation.

2.3.6 Military interference in Nigerian polity (1966-1979 and 1984-1999).

The overall period of military government in Nigeria does not have a single, straight-forward trajectory because of the frequent power seizures and the interruptions of the short-lived democratic rules in-between. In Section 2.3.1, I mentioned that there were some imbalances between the former protectorates/regions in the areas of economy and education, which created suspicions among the regions. A growing population was perceived as an added advantage to the South, which had already gained an upper hand in other areas; therefore, the political reality of such a demographic advantage was vehemently resisted by the North. This then resulted in the controversial census of the 1962/63, the census which was one of the serious issues for the series of coup d'état that bedevilled the brief period of self-government of Nigeria as a nation (Kifordu, 2013: 87-124). Between 1966-1979 and in between 1984-1999 were periods in which military governments were in total control of the country's administration. Without doubt, it was a critically notable experience of the independent Nigeria because, government failed in its fundamental responsibility of providing basic amenities for her populace, due to the long years of misrule and mismanagement of the nation resources (Ikem *et al.*, 2021:242-243; Marshall, 2009:5). As a result, Nigeria has undergone several changes in its political and administrative structure, including the creation of new states and local government areas. These changes were partly a response to the ethnic and regional tensions that have plagued the country since its independence in 1960. The first major restructuring of Nigeria's political geography occurred in 1967, when the country was divided into 12 states, each with its own government and administrative structure. This was in response to the ethnic and regional tensions that had led to the first military coup in 1966, which officers from the Igbo ethnic group had largely perpetrated. In 1976, the number of states was increased to 19, and in 1987 it was increased again to 21. These changes were aimed at further decentralising power and reducing ethnic tensions, but they were not always successful in achieving these goals. The most recent restructuring occurred in 1996, when Nigeria was divided into its current 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), with a further division into 774

local government areas. This was done to bring governance closer to the people and reduce the dominance of the three major regions (North, West, and East). Despite these efforts, ethnic and regional tensions have continued to play a major role in Nigerian politics and society. The challenge of managing these tensions remains a key issue for Nigerian leaders and citizens.

As agitations increased based on identity politics in Nigeria, the nation reverted to its former regional arrangement with a slight modification. This time, it was splintered along the geo-political zones, which however, has not yet been entrenched into the constitution. Altogether, since the return to democratic rule in 1999 Nigeria has politically bordered into these six geo-political zones: namely, north-west, north-east, north-central, south-west, south-south, and south-east as seen in Figure 2 below.

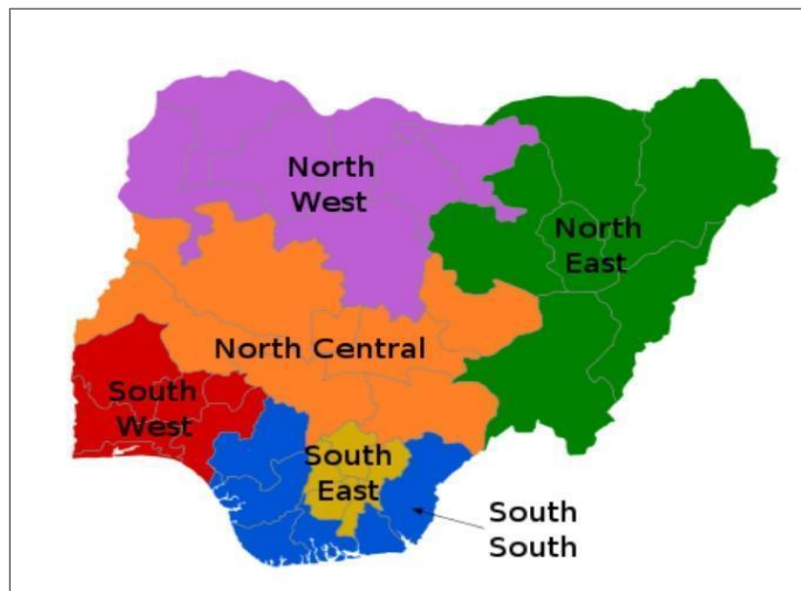


Figure 2: Nigeria's six geopolitical zones (Wikipedia, 2022)

Even under the military regime, a mixture of politics and religion continued to play out. As the nation prepared to return to civil rule in 1979, The Muslim members in the constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) set up to draft a new constitution for the nation made a serious move to incorporate the Sharia law into the Nigerian constitution. Their Christian counterparts opposed this move. This unforeseen resistance led the Muslim members to stage a walkout of the house chambers in protest. Finally, the Sharia clause was deleted from the 1979 constitution (Umeanole, 2020:146; Ebhomienlen & Ukpebor, 2013:168). Still under a military regime, General Ibrahim Babangida in 1986 ensured the full membership registration of Nigeria as a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) (Burgess 2015:42), an action that, for many, especially the Christians, indicated Nigeria is an Islamic nation, whereas it is not. The same Gen Ibrahim Babangida-led military administration organised and conducted the popular 1993 election in which the acclaimed winner of the election, Moshood Abiola and his running mate, Babagana

Kingibe, were both Muslims. But for the later annulment of the election, it would have been a Muslim-Muslim presidency. So, it is safe to say that religion in Nigerian politics does not really enjoy absolute loyalty from the custodians of political power (military or civilian). Religion can then be said to be a manipulative weapon in the hands of those in power.

After several years of military rule which was predominantly headed by Muslim officers from the northern part of the country⁷, there were agitations for Southern Christian candidacy as the nation prepared to return to civil rule in 1999. So, on the ground of fairness and as a way of appeasing the south-west which had been aggrieved by the annulment of the June 12 election won by Moshood Abiola, a South westerner, and his consequent detention and death, the campaign preceding the 1999 election was dominated by ethnic/ religious identity as the southerner made strong point for power to shift to their region (Obadare, 2006:665-666). The political elites, championed by the Northern military leaders and influential politicians, agreed to endorse a Christian candidate from the south (Sanusi, 2007:177; Onapajo, 2016:199). The outcome of the election brought into power president Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian and a southerner. As if to disrupt the much-awaited democratic rule, just a few months into the newly born democracy, Sani Yerima (who was also a newly elected governor of Zamfara state in the northwest region of the country), declared a full implementation of the Sharia law in his state. Eleven of his counterparts in the core North followed in the same direction. This action was viewed as a deliberate attempt to destabilise the country's Pyrrhic victory over the military/ Islamic domination. This proclamation of Sharia generated a lot of debate about how a part of the country would operate under a separate law that differed from the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The age-long tension between the Christians and the Muslims soon began to resurface. The northern Muslims were uncomfortable with the large number of Christian employees that surrounded President Obasanjo (his aides and the theocratic class). Therefore, the Obasanjo presidency was perceived to be "a born-again" presidency (Obadare, 2006:607). This perception generated a fresh desire for power to return to the North after his tenure. To sustain the infant democracy and to give peace a chance, Obasanjo promised to return power to the North. This led to the election of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, (a Northern muslim in 2007), despite resistance from the south on the ground of issues about his health. In 2010, president Yar'Adua died due to health complications, and his deputy, a Southern Christian, Goodluck Jonathan, was sworn in as the president, to complete Yar'Adua's tenure after series of protest by the 'Save Nigeria group' (SNG), a group led by Pastor Tunde Bakare, a barrister and the Founder and serving General Overseer of the Citadel Global Community church formerly known as The Latter Rain Assembly (Adegoju& Adetunji, 2019:197-198). President Goodluck Jonathan contested for the presidency in 2011, having completed the tenure of his former principal. This move was believed to be against the wish of many politicians from the North who saw it as a breach of the zoning

⁷ Except General Yakubu Gowon a northern Christian head of state from 1966-1975 and General Olusegun Obasanjo a southern Christian.

arrangement operated by the (PDP) since 1999. However, Goodluck Jonathan became the flag bearer of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) defeating Atiku Abubakar, a northerner who seemed to be the consensus candidate of the Northern region (Onapajo, 2012:55).

In the build up to the 2011 presidential campaign, religion again became a veritable divisive factor among the electorates who were torn between choosing Goodluck Jonathan - a southern Christian of the (PDP) - and Muhammad Buhari, who was generally believed among the Christians to be an Islamic fundamentalist from the north, and the candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) (Oguntola-Laguda, 2015:227). Both presidential candidates played the religious card, and both were accused of using religious images, symbols, and icons as tools for negotiation with the electorate (Obadare, 2006). Goodluck Jonathan, whose running mate was a Muslim from the north, was reported to have visited notable churches with large congregations both to canvas for support and as a sign of solidarity with the Christian faith. On the other hand, Buhari, believed to be a fanatical Muslim, in the bid to win the Christian community, decided not only to visit churches but also chose Citadel Global Community Church Founder and Pastor Tunde Bakare, a southerner who is based in Lagos, as his running mate (Oguntola-Laguda, 2015: 227-228; Onapajo, 2016:120-121). The voting pattern in the 2011 election reflected the religious divide, as Goodluck Jonathan was the strong favourite in the middle belt and in southern regions winning 23 states with a total of 22 495 187(58%) of the federation's votes. Buhari, his closest rival, won 12 214 853 (31%) votes from twelve states of Islam-dominated core northern region of the country (Onapajo, 2016: 120).

The result of the 2011 presidential election was rejected by Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) candidate, Muhammad Buhari and he therefore called on Nigerians and the international community to disregard any government based on the poll result (Oguntola-Laguda, 2015: 229). To make the matter worse, he instructed his followers to go in mass action against the government, the aftermath of which was the killing of over 800 persons and the destruction of property worth millions of naira (Oguntola-Laguda, 2015:228). According to Onapajo (2016:121), the electioneering politics of 2015 were clearly a follow-up of the politics of 2011. The Northern Muslims swung into action with plans on how to defeat the then-incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan. Allegations of marginalisation by the Muslims, issues of corruption, and security challenges further fuelled their readiness to – by all means-switch power to a northern Muslim candidate whom they believed would protect their interest. In February 2013, the opposition parties resolved to form a merger of one big political party that could confront /challenge the People's Democratic Party (being the largest political party at the time), the party that had held onto power at the federal level since 1999. This merger formed the All-Progressives' Congress (APC) that later defeated the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and ushered in the present administration of the incumbent till date. Thus, religion in Nigeria is politicised, and politics is religionised (Agbibo, 2014:44).

2.3.7 The concept of Identity in Nigeria Politics

Identity, as a phenomenon, is a social category that is either created by the group itself or by others outside the group. Identity, therefore, is a social category with a distinct membership code that separates it from other societies and their members (Olawale, 2020:4). Discussions around the percentage population between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria have generated vociferous debate among followers of the two faiths. The Pew Research Survey in 2016 indicates the population of Christians and Muslims in Nigeria at 50 percent each. The equal division of the dominating religions accounts for the contentious rifts in the relationship of the two countries' main religions. Ikem & Ogbonna (2020:13) confirm that religion occupies a critical position in social life in Nigeria. Judging from the country's antecedent, religion in recent years is a conscious political determinant factor in government activities. Nigerians are keen about ethnic-religious identities of the leaders, as religion is a truce for political stability.

An interreligious struggle for political supremacy exists in the Nigeria's political atmosphere wittingly or unwittingly (Obadare, 2018: 4). Political power is defined and acquired based on the religious identity of candidates. Candidates' dispositions to religious matters and their views carry much weight on their public perception. For example, Buhari's comment in support of Sharia in the year 2000 earned him a peevish bigot personality especially amidst the Christian community till today. According to Bandele (2014: 29), religious identities cumulated into absence of mutual social trust, thereby enhancing an illusionary desire for national integration. The avid interest of the political class in religion creates identity issues in Nigerian politics. Politicians use religion as a political tool to deepen Christian-Muslim fracas in power exchange (Olawale, 2020: 10-12).

2.3.8 The causative influence of politics and religion on insurgencies in Nigeria

Religious ties in Nigeria are stronger than ethnic ties as more people are bound together by religion rather than tribal affiliations or language. This is because, in the practice of religion, the same belief is shared by every member of the group, whose membership spans different ethnic entities. Meanwhile, Nigeria has had a history of political, ideological, ethnic, and religious agitation since the precolonial period (Oyeniyi, 2010:4). These agitations have resulted in the formation of different groups. One may note that such groups, such as age-grade and guild associations acting as pressure groups on the local authorities of their various societies, existed during the colonial era (although without aggressive ideological dispositions). Later, agitating groups were formed in the spirit of unionism, with some violent demonstrations and protests. Examples of such groups are O'Odia Peoples' Congress (OPC), Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF), Movement for the Actualisation for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Ogoni Youth, Ijaw Youth, Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys and so on (Oyeniyi, 2010:4). In the early 1990's the nation began to witness insurgency groups like the Niger Delta militant group that were violently agitating for resource control for oil producing states and for their social welfare (Obi, 2015:12).

Religious insurgencies have been peculiarly characteristic of Northern Nigeria. In section 2.3.3, I discussed how clashes in religious ideologies and religious practices in Nigeria (being a

supposedly secular state) have resulted in numerous riots since in 1980s. Foremost religious/political insurgencies in Nigeria is traceable to Uthman dan Fodio-led Jihad in 1804. The ideology behind Jihad is rooted in religious beliefs anchored on establishing the supremacy of the Quran, Sunna and Ijma, in the Northern Nigeria. The ideology that underlies religious insurgency groups in North Nigeria is the belief that western education is evil, and the perception that western education and Christianity are tools with which Islam is being undermined (Iyekekpolo, 2016: 2217). In 1972/73, Maitatsine sect, a violent insurgent group driven by the Islamic supremacy ideology, invaded North Nigeria major cities beginning from Kano under the leadership of Muhammed Marwa, an Islamic scholar from Northern Cameroon. The sect indoctrinated the region with its mission, which initially took the form of purification against Western values and culture, but later evolved into an insurgency group due to its provocative teachings that modernisation and state formation were corrupting Islamic values (Shuaibu and Salleh, 2015: 218; Iyekekpolo, 2016: 2213). By 1980s the sect was successfully overpowered through the combined efforts of security agents.

Boko Haram is the current insurgency group in Nigeria (as at the time of this dissertation), which is believed to have evolved from religious fundamentalism and extremist ideology of Uthman dan Fodio Jihad and Maitasine activities in Northern Nigeria (Malefakis, 2019:2; Loimeier, 2012:139; Shuaibu and Salleh, 2015:218; Iyekekpolo, 2016:2213). We may safely agree to this since the sect, like the previous ones, is propagating teachings that oppose western education but promote Islamic education. Officially, Boko Haram is called “Jama’atulAlhul Sunnah Lidda’watiwal Jihad” which means “people committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s teachings and jihad.” Boko Haram is a coinage of Hausa and Arabic languages, Boko is term for “Western education” Haram in Arabic means “sinful or forbidden” the combination of two word means “western education is sinful” (Forest, 2012:1; Iyekekpolo, 2016:2212). It emerged as a non-violent group, in 2002, when one Mohammad Yusuf assumed the leadership of the group after its former leader, Mallam Lawal. Yusuf opened the group to political influence with the state government. Due to some disagreement between the group and the government, Boko Haram turned violent in 2009 after a clash with the polices and its members. During that face-off, some members of Boko Haram group were injured. Boko Haram issued some threats to the government. Subsequently, in reaction to threats issued by Boko Haram, the army launched an attack on the group killing its leader, Yusuf.

Following the killing of its first leader (Yusuf), Abubakar Shekau successively took over the leadership in 2010. Under the leadership of Abubakar, the group has become sophisticated and, especially after it gained international connections with other terror groups like al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Boko Haram, since then, has carried out several terror attacks in Nigeria mainly in the Northeast and Federal capital Territory. With the use of machetes, guns, improvised explosive devices (IED) and suicide bombers, the group has successfully attacked government establishments like polices station, United Nation Building in Abuja, military base, Churches and Mosques, motor packs, schools, markets and other public places. According to Forest (2012: 2), the “spate of attacks against churches from December 2011 through February 2012 are seen by many as but the latest attempt to provoke Christians into retaliatory attacks against Muslims, part

of an overall effort to spark widespread sectarian conflict in order to destabilise the government”. In April 2014, the group incorporated kidnapping into its terror activities with the abduction of 276 girls from Government Girls Secondary School Chibok (boarding school). Seeing the effectiveness of that single abduction which generated much international attention, the group went ahead to abduct several other school children in other schools like the Dapchi Girls Science Secondary (Yobe State) on 19 February 2018; Boys Secondary School, Kankara (Katsina State) on 11 December 2020; and so many other private and collective abductions.

Boko Haram has been ranked as one of the world’s deadliest terrorist organisations by the Global terrorism index ahead of Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) (Afzal 2020: 2). United Nations Development Agency reported that 350,000 lives have been taken with Boko Haram attacks from 2009 till 2020. Direct death caused by Boko Haram attacks is in total number of 35,000 persons while 314,000 people have died as result of indirect consequences of Boko Haram operations, and over 4.6000,000 are internally displaced, in dare need of humanitarian assistance and many IDP camps across the country. Boko Haram is broken into different fractions taking up names like Islamic State’s West African Province (ISWAP) and some are identified as Bandits. So far, Boko Haram has successfully spread to the neighbouring countries around west Africa sub-region like Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. What is common to all these insurgencies both past and present is that they all evolved from certain misinterpretation of some religious beliefs and some political games played by the elites. according to Iyekekpola (2016) “understanding the recurring insurgency in northern Nigeria requires an understanding that the insurgency is a result of the Nigerian political environment, which gives meaning to other factors”. The other factor implied here from literature is economic factor as many scholars (Malefakis 2019; Loimeier. 2012, Shuaibu and Salleh, 2015; Iyekekpola, 2016, Forest, 2012) agree that poverty is a major factor of youth recruitment into insurgency groups.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the relationship that politics and religion share, examining the subject at a global viewpoint. To contextualise the subject to my study case, I presented the political history of Nigeria from the (post-) colonial to the present the involvement of religion in politics of the Nation. In section 2.3.2, I discussed the emergence of the two main religions, Islam and Christianity, but a more particular focus, however, on Christianity in line with my scope for the study. Thus, I discussed subsections such as Christianity and politics, Pentecostal politics in Nigeria, Pentecostal political dispensation. Lastly in that section 2.3.8, I discussed the causative influence of politics and religion. The aim of this was to present the result that the mixture of religion in politics has produced, which is insecurity in the Nigeria state. Although political communication was not the actual focus in this chapter, it became imperative to discuss this issue in the pre-colonial history of Nigeria, especially how the indirect rule was engineered through propaganda by the colonial masters and some influential private citizens of the then Britian. A detailed discussion on political communication (especially propaganda) in the in religious communication will form the focus of the next chapter. In general, therefore, this chapter explored the socio-political and religious contexts for the current study, with both global and local

(Nigerian) perspectives. The chapter thus provides the relevant sociopolitical ‘world’ within which the analyses in chapter six and seven are situated.

3.1 Introduction

In the introductory chapter of this dissertation, I discussed the close connection that politics and religion share in Nigeria. In chapter 2I discussed in detail the relationship between the two, particularly the debate around clergy involvement in politics and the various roles that pastors in Nigeria have played in Nigerian politics. Furthermore, instances were provided regarding clergy involvement and participation at various levels of political organisation, with some vying for different political offices. These two first chapters aim to show how politics and religion have influenced each other in Nigeria. Furthermore, from the relevant literature, I explained how propaganda has been used in Nigerian politics since the pre-colonial period and how politicians have profited from its use both to win elections and to govern. It has been indicated, in other words, that political communication is inherently propagandistic. When you set out to understand political communication, it is essential that you also comprehend how language is used to convey religious, societal, and political ideas. This chapter therefore explores how political language features are absorbed into religious texts, potentially transforming them into vehicles of propaganda. For the purpose of the present study, the term ‘propaganda’ is not used in either a negative or a positive sense, but rather refers specifically to communicative strategies as identified in the literature reviewed in this chapter. In this chapter, I advance my discussion in order to establish a clear understanding of propaganda. Having done that, I proceed to provide a detailed analysis of specific instances of propaganda in the Nigerian Christian and political context. This is the central focus of this third chapter, which will serve as a foundational exploration to disseminate the multifaceted aspects of propaganda, drawing relevant and available literature. By doing so, I aim to contextualise propaganda within the unique framework of the Nigerian Christian and political context, setting the stage for a more nuanced analysis of its presence and influence in subsequent chapters.

To do this, I will structure the chapter as follows: Firstly, in section 3.2, I will contextualise the broader use of propaganda in Nigeria, that is, propaganda as used in the political context without yet specifically focusing on the religious context of propaganda used in Nigeria. The section aims to provide insight into the way political discourse is conducted in Nigeria, utilising propaganda, which sets the stage for other forms of propaganda, such as religious propaganda. In this section, still, in 3.2.2, I focus specifically on Christian religious propaganda as used during the Nigerian civil war because, to my knowledge, there is generally no substantial amount of literature discussing propaganda in the religious setting in Nigeria. The reason for this is to show that propaganda also has a history in the religious settings in Nigeria. The next section, section 3.3, is devoted to defining propaganda. This section aims to define propaganda and its application or usage in various fields. Once the concept of propaganda has been clearly laid out, it becomes necessary to draw a clear demarcation between propaganda and its most closely related mode of communication within religious contexts, namely persuasion. I therefore leverage the insights

garnered from the definition provided in Section 3.3 to effectively differentiate between the constructs of propaganda and persuasion (Section 3.3.1). In 3.3.3, propaganda is classified based on a comprehensive literature review. The aim of this is to categorise propaganda appropriately, as the term can be split not only into positive and negative, but can also vary in degrees of negative connotation. After the classification, the types of propaganda are discussed (3.3.2). Recipients of day-to-day communication, such as sermons, need to know how propaganda works so that they can identify it in religious communications. Thus, 3.3.3 deals with propaganda strategies. Since propaganda and religious communications are different forms of communication, in 3.3.5, it is explained what religious communication is all about, a discourse that will flow into 3.3.6, where religious propaganda is specifically discussed. This section is important because it forms the core of the current research, which aims to identify political content in sermons of pastors from Nigeria. Lastly, the concept of speech act theory is touched upon since this study views the pastors as performing actions with their sermons.

3.2 The use of propaganda in Nigeria

This section provides an overview of publications discussing the use of propaganda in Nigeria. It focusses on two discussions, namely i) the use of propaganda in the political context in Nigeria; and ii) the use of propaganda in the religious Nigerian context.

3.2.1 Propaganda in Nigeria's political context

The disharmony between Northern and Southern Nigeria is greatly influenced and sustained by propaganda. Many scholars have studied propaganda in Nigeria's political sphere, and I review some of their work here to demonstrate the prevalence of propaganda and its use in Nigeria over several years.

A research article titled “Propaganda or Persuasion? A Review of the Nigeria 2015 Presidential Election Campaign Process Via social media” by Olubunmi Akomolede-Onafuwa (2017:1-21), discussed the Nigerian 2015 Presidential campaign process aided by the massive involvement of social media, to evaluate whether it should be regarded as propaganda or as persuasion. The study examined the role and impact of the propaganda model disseminated via social media during the 2015 presidential campaign. Her findings revealed a 51% increase in social media participation among the entire population compared to the previous level. As part of the manifestations of propaganda, she noted that disinformation was prevalent during the 2015 presidential campaign. According to her, many were aware of the inaccurate information but passed it on to gain support for their preferred candidate, regardless of its consequences. Her research revealed that the propaganda model during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was politically motivated. Various false information and doctored pictures were circulated online, used by supporters of both presidential candidates to discredit their running opponents. Words and phrases such as *incompetence, corrupt, sexist and religious fanatic, dictator, deceit, forgery, false promises, misappropriation of public funds, and extortion* were employed to describe both 2015 presidential candidates via social media. The foregoing, therefore, reveals an active use of social media to mediate propaganda. However, before the advent of social media as a tool for political campaigns,

online participation was limited mainly to email and online feedback forms. This research suggests that online campaigns are effective due to the large online population, allowing them to reach a wide range of supporters. According to her the key players were online news and media reporters, online bloggers, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp. These social media platforms feedback is instantaneous, as information is shared and redistributed online. Thus, the use of 'hashtags' became popular, and it is the simplest way of identifying political affiliation and support. Akomolede-Onafuwa (2017:1-21) says that "[s]ocial media is creating a new generation of Nigerians who have neither power nor money but have influence". Although the study has Nigeria as its geo-political context, it neither developed identifiable propaganda strategies nor did it include religious perspective into the propaganda discourse in Nigeria, as the current study will do.

Also noteworthy is another research article titled "Campaign propaganda, electoral outcome, and the dynamics of governance in the post-2015 presidential election in Nigeria" by Okolie, Enyiazu, and Nnamani (2021:1-25). These researchers acknowledged the effects of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Bloggs, and Flickr as propaganda tools used by political parties and candidates to determine the outcome of elections. These platforms are tools that can be used in addition to existing media channels such as newspapers, magazines, books, radio stations, and television stations. Okoli et al. (2021:1-25) traced the use of propaganda in Nigerian society to the pre-colonial days. Most importantly, they noted that the pluralistic and multicultural nature of the Nigerian state afforded the political players the unrivalled opportunity to deploy ethno-religious propaganda to appeal to the psyche of the diverse nationalities in the country. In the 2015 election, particularly, the country polarised into two antagonistic factions of Muslim-North and Christian-South. Their study reveals three types of propaganda employed in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, namely i) ethno-religious propaganda, ii) externally oriented propaganda, and iii) politicians-activists-propelled propaganda (see 3.3.3 for details). Their study exposes the need for Nigeria to have fact-checking tools just like the US, which will enable the electorate the opportunity to rate the accuracy of electoral promises and will help prevent politicians from making outrageous promises, disinformation, and propaganda. Their findings further revealed that, after five years in power, the APC-led government had an unbridgeable gap between what was promised and the reality on the ground. The research focused on the type of propaganda employed by the then-opposition party in winning the 2015 elections and examined the use of propaganda as a feature of Nigerian elections, as well as its role in determining the election outcomes in Nigeria. This paper investigated political language content as mediated through the social media with the apparent gap of the intersection of religious sermons and political language which is the research aim of the current study.

In a research publication titled "The Construction of Fear in Jihadist Propaganda: A Critical Appraisal of Boko Haram's Messages", Bello (2021:121-142) explains how Boko Haram engages in propaganda both in words and deeds. The study analysed 40 video speeches by the leader of the sect, Abubakar Shekau, in which he aimed to arouse extreme fear in his audience. The findings of the study reveal how fear can be created through spoken words and horror-filled virtual images as

propaganda tools, all to have a firm grip on his audience. Also, from Bello's findings, Boko Haram are quick to claim responsibility for casualties and they deliberately invoke the power of "Allah" to deceive most of the population. Bello (2021:122) notes that these strategies are peculiar to the Boko Haram sect and have yielded tangible results for the sects over the years. The article exposes the actions of fear that proceed from the power of spoken words and how Boko Haram terrorists have successfully engaged this as a propaganda technique to inflict terror on the Nigerian people. Although his context or case study is Nigeria and he touches on fear as a strategy of propaganda, he did not trace any religious history or implication for Nigeria's democracy, nor did he attempt to find out if there is any connection between terrorism and political/ religious rivalry in Nigeria. Although there is a religious dimension included in this study, it is restricted to Islam. The current study is primarily concerned with Christianity and Christian sermons.

In "Newspaper Headlines as a tool for political propaganda in Nigeria's 2015 general elections" The *Sun* newspaper in focus", Adomi, Kwita Ojong and Otakore, George A. (2017:166-181) expose how misleading newspaper headlines in Nigeria can sometimes be, considering the fact that most of its readers only scan through the headlines. This, according to them, has been exploited by the propagandist to spread propaganda content about their opponents, especially in the *Sun* newspaper. They then argue that the newspaper is one of the fastest ways to spread information in Nigeria, and in their words, the *Sun* newspaper is one of the leading newspapers in the country with about 130,000 copies on weekdays and 135,000 weekend distributions. They further observe that hate speeches and massive propaganda were the main characteristics of the 2015 general election among leading political parties - the PDP, and the APC - in the election, which was achieved through the active involvement of the media. They report that over 40% of respondents who completed their questionnaire are convinced by newspaper headlines. Thus, they conclude that political propaganda is a tool politicians use during elections in Nigeria. However, the overall finding of the research reveals that propaganda does not have much effect on voters' choices, because –according to them – voters vote for their preferred candidates. This research on propaganda is limited to Calabar municipality in Cross Rivers State, and the survey was conducted on headlines only and limited to the Sun Newspaper. There was no linguistic consideration of propaganda, nor were religious texts investigated.

The studies reviewed above shared the same special context, namely Nigeria, with the current research. All four articles also studied propaganda in politics and media or as a terrorist strategy. The gap for this current study is that propaganda was not studied in Nigerian (Christian) religious contexts or religious communications in a wider context. For instance, Akomolede-Onafuwa (2017), Okoli, et al (2021), and Adomi and Otakore (2017) focus on political/media propaganda. Apart from Bello (2021), who did a discourse analysis of terrorist propaganda in the reviewed literature, no other study explained propaganda from a linguistic perspective as this research aims to do. Also, none of the research works drew their data from religious communications.

3.2.2 Propaganda in Nigeria's religious context

Even though religion and politics are intertwined in Nigeria, there are not a lot of sources available focusing specifically on the use of propaganda in the religious Nigerian context. However, there is one noteworthy source, namely, Omenka's (2010) article, titled "'Blaming the Gods': Christian religious propaganda in the Nigeria-Biafra War". This source provides valuable insight into the way that propaganda strategies are utilised in religious discourse. The study focuses on the use of propaganda in the religious setting during the Nigerian civil war from 1967-1970. According to Omenka (2010:367), the turn of events both in words and actions during the war was laden with propaganda such that one could as well call the civil war "a religious propaganda war". Contrary to this popularly held belief, however, the researcher claims that the Nigeria-Biafra war cannot simply be reduced to a religious battle between the Muslim/North and the Christian/South, with the claim that such a popular belief is an oversimplified narrative. Following his report, therefore, it could be concluded that although Christian soldiers from the Biafra side fought against the Nigerian government, it is equally important to note that Christians from the North, which is Muslim dominated, were actively involved in the Nigerian military side.

Generally, the Biafrans reported the war as a pogrom of their people in the north and an attempt to silence their faith. Omenka (2010), in his account, stated that during the civil war, the Nigerian government used state engagements to focus on how to incorporate the church and religious bodies on both sides to get them to play their parts in the war labour. On the other hand, Biafrans set up six propaganda outlets created in October 1968 to marshal a common belief in order to sustain the cause of the war. The six mediums are i) the church, ii) farmers, iii) youths, iv) traders, v) community efforts, and vi) through workers. These propaganda platforms were set up by the Biafra Ministry of Information. Through these channels, information about what Biafra represented, the nature of the war, and the people's roles in the war was broadcast to the Biafran side of the civil war.

During the war, the church (particularly, Catholic) was initially used as one of the propaganda fronts and was very effective because of the dominant influence it had on the masses. Later, the Catholic Church withdrew its support and ceased to be named among the propaganda outlets, stating that the church ought not to be subjugated and subservient to any government or organisation. Going forward, the church preferred to act autonomously and was willing to support the new state by honouring invitations for the state events, such as preaching at state ceremonies. An example of this was the sermon delivered by the Catholic bishop of Enugu John Anyiogwu at an international service organised to bless the Biafran flag and to ask for God's protection for the novel state. In addition to this, the church also provided Biafra State with army chaplains who oversaw the spiritual aspect of the war. There were backlashes on foreign missionaries, which were accused of being used for political and religious propaganda in the Biafra state. Although the Church on the Nigeria's side was considerably quiet despite being aware of biased letters written by church leaders from Ireland and Britain, there were consistent efforts by Church to refute the propaganda in the Biafran church, which tagged the civil war as a "religious war". Omenka's findings are as follows: religious propaganda clearly pitted Christianity against Islam, a condition

that defines the relationship between eastern and northern Nigeria. For the rest of Nigeria there is no clear-cut religious dichotomy in existence. Another fact revealed was the lack of cooperation on the side of the Christians in Nigeria to engage in religious propaganda. His findings on the Biafra side gave credit to the effectiveness of religious propaganda, though it was not overtly utilised. The objective of the religious propaganda was to depict a common identity or motivation among the eastern region and to win the empathy of the world's Christians. In the overall, he finds that relief cannot be separated from politics. His research is beneficial to this current study because it provides a detailed account of the existence of propaganda within the Church in Biafra and how the Church in Nigeria resisted it. Furthermore, Omenka (2010: 379-381) reports that propaganda use in churches is mainly traceable to the Catholic Church in the secessionist Biafra state. Possibly, propaganda can be thought of as a weapon employed to get the attention of the world to what the secessionist Biafran state wanted to present as their deplorable plight. To the best of my knowledge, the issue of religion-based propaganda has not been spotlighted for research purposes since the end of the civil war in 1970, except for the notable criticism or commendation of the government policies through sermon deliveries in churches. My task in the current research is to investigate whether there is an element of propaganda in sermons delivered in Nigerian churches, as this will shed light on the intricate relationship between religion and politics in this context and give insight into the use of persuasive language and propaganda in the religious context. From the above historical discussion of how propaganda has been used in Nigeria, it is imperative to understand what propaganda is, and its nature to differentiate it from similar communication i.e., persuasive communication and religious communication.

3.3 Defining Propaganda

Propaganda is often conceived of in relation to the description of the areas where propaganda functions, since propaganda cuts across different fields such as politics, communication, education, sociology, history, psychology, linguistics, and religion. To understand propaganda, I begin by exploring the origin of the word “propaganda” and then review how the term has evolved, as well as its applications in various fields of study. In doing so, I aim to formulate a workable definition that will inform the empirical analysis for this study, which is presented at the end of this section.

The word "propaganda" was originally used to refer to a congregation or society of cardinals for the care and oversight of foreign missions founded by Pope Urban in 1627, specifically for the education of missionary priests (Walton, 1997:383; Ngoa, 2011:237; Fitzmaurice 2018:64, Ross 2002:16; Martino et al. 2020:1378). The conceptualisation of propaganda changed over time. According to Cunningham (2002:37), propaganda is a broad concept and it “lacks utility as an interpretive or explanatory concept”. This nature of propaganda affects its description or definition both as an idea and as a word, and consequently, propaganda, as conceived of by Cunningham, (2002:15) is understood in two parts: i) negative propaganda, and ii) neutral propaganda. For the purpose of relevant reference and understanding, negative propaganda and neutral propaganda are still mentioned in this section.. However, it will later be seen how and why the term ‘propaganda’

should be conceptually restricted to negative propaganda, while neutral propaganda will be best regarded as persuasion.

Continuing our discourse on the divisions within propaganda, various studies and diverse interpretations of this phenomenon assert that propaganda can encompass elements of truth, falsehood, or even a fusion of both. Additionally, it involves the strategic use of deliberate statements taken out of their original context. In defining propaganda, many scholars have agreed on certain underlying factors that are core to the concept of propaganda, whether labelled positive or negative. Reflecting the etymology of the word, "propaganda" is also understood as any institution or scheme for propagating a doctrine or system. Since the word "propaganda", in its historically first usage, semantically denotes the notion of positive propagation. It, therefore, became closely associated with the field of communication (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:2). Understanding propaganda in this view, McLuhan (1964) describes propaganda as "a new message system that dunks the entire population in a new imagery". In other words, McLuhan describes propaganda as information that attracts a larger population and not just a few people. The content of the propaganda causes propaganda to gain popularity, which somehow helps breed acceptance.

According to Snow (2018:1), mass media is one of the most effective channels to propagate. He defines mass media as the vehicle for spreading the intended goal of altering public belief systems and hindering critical conscious awareness of different opinions. The public relies on the media to get information. Therefore, propaganda stands between the public and the events. In relation to the present research, one may consider a public sermon as a form of mass media, as its aim is to communicate to a broader public, and sermons are made available on the internet or published.

Ross (2002:17) argues that the word *propaganda* became widely used in the early part of the 20th century. With the birth of various mass media institutions, such as magazines (in the 1880s), film (in 1895), radio (in 1930), and television (in 1950), the media were seen as propaganda agents because they provided access to broader audience, and this development in the media made propaganda to become more viable and desirable (Jowett and Odonnell, 2012:16).

We may note here that media formation and ownership in post-colonial Nigeria have closely followed the trajectory of ethnic and religious divisions. Consequently, the Nigerian media has willingly been utilised as a tool to promote the political agendas of the privileged class. Therefore, these media outlets have transformed into conduits for orchestrating the mobilisation of voters based on religious and ethnic affiliations (compare Okoli *et al.*, 2021:8).

In agreement with the relationship and the growth of modern propaganda and media, Ellul (1965:4-5) explains propaganda as a Siamese twin of the technological society. According to him, modern propaganda cannot exist without mass media. In today's landscape, propaganda thrives within social media platforms, which have emerged as the most accessible global institutions, surpassing traditional print and broadcast media. Modern tools like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others provide propagandists with the ability to reach the public directly and instantaneously. Since

communications are not immune to social media manipulative propagation, a study such as the current one will help alert the public to such propaganda.

Lasswell (1927) describes propaganda as the management of collective attitudes by manipulation of significant symbols. He expresses the sophisticated nature of the pen and voice as the tool being employed to reaffirm or redefine attitude. The form in which the significant symbols are embodied to reach the public may be spoken, written, pictorial, or musical, representations.

Propaganda is seen as an invisible force that controls how people think and the reason behind the choices they make. That is, propaganda is the invisible force that controls the mind and the actions of the populace or the masses (also compare Bernays, 2004:25). Thus, Jowett and O'Donnell (2018:6) describe propaganda as an art that is premeditated. They went further to define propaganda as the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviours to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. There is always a goal that the propagandist wants to achieve. Conceptualising propaganda with politics in mind resonates well with the definition offered by the Institute of Propaganda Study (IPA) as follows:

“Propaganda is an expression of opinions and actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups to influence the opinions and actions of other individuals or groups for a predetermined end through psychological manipulations” (IPA 1937).

Negative propaganda is highly effective in wartime, as it serves as an additional weapon. Propaganda enables the growing rate of terrorism in the world today. It is the main instrument used to legitimise violence, generate chaos, and influence a population to gain people's consent and participation in the struggle (Corcoba and Portilla, 2019:59). Fear has been identified as one of the greatest weapons of terrorists (see Bello, 2021; Corcoba & Portilla, 2019) and propaganda's main concern is the spreading of information that brings a powerful blending of the two.

Lewinska (2016:38) notes that communication is key to successful military leadership, and most military communications are laden with propaganda-oriented messages. During the Nigeria civil war that spanned 1967-1970 as discussed earlier, war propaganda was sufficiently engaged both by the Biafra secessionists and the Nigerian government. According to Omenka (2011), Biafra propaganda was built on two narratives: namely, “genocide” and “religious war propaganda”. According to Omenka's account of the Biafran leader, Col. Ojukwu's utterances, fear and frustration motivated this form of propaganda. The aim of propaganda on the Biafra side was, hence, to let the world know that their adversary intended to blot them out as a people mainly because of their religion (i.e., Christianity). On the federal government's end, propaganda was intensified on diplomatic press releases from overseas missions and from Christian leaders who were pressured by the Nigerian government to refute the propaganda of the Biafrans of tagging the war as a religious war (Omenka, 2011: 376-367). War propaganda was highly effective during

the Civil War and a contributing factor to the prolonged war⁸. In modern warfare, propaganda is used to mobilise hatred against the enemy, convince the population of the justness of one's cause, enlist the active support and cooperation of neutral countries, and strengthen the support of one's allies. (Overy, 2015:374).

It does appear that the negative association of the word “propaganda” is becoming conventionalised. Most people now associate propaganda with negative, manipulative forms of communication. However, neutral propaganda shares the positive conception of the word. Mark (2021) notes that the varying definitions of propaganda help to illustrate the complex relationship between people and propaganda. According to him, propaganda can be traced back to the earliest days of human communication, when images and persuasive words were used to convey ideas and persuade people. Thus, the definition of propaganda by Thomson (1977) equally has defined propaganda as “any means of projecting or transmitting images, ideas, or information which influences behaviour in an active or passive sense”, a definition which relates to the theory of neutrality in propaganda. He explains further that all messages in almost all aspects of art communication, either deliberately or accidentally, have persuasive content. This form of communication or action predates the formal identification of the word 'propaganda' and its current semantic implications. The basic distinction between positive and negative propaganda is what the propaganda intends to achieve, that is, the aim of the communication, whether it is to persuade or propagate.

3.3.1 Relationship between propaganda and persuasion

Propaganda and persuasion are closely related types of communication. Most of the time, propaganda is confused with persuasion or used interchangeably because certain aspects of propaganda employ persuasive techniques to achieve its goal. As Martino et al. (2020:1378) rightly put it, propaganda can be “recognised by its persuasive function.” A good example is war propaganda, where appeals are used to persuade people to support or join the fight, while simultaneously demoralising the enemy. This suggests that although propaganda and persuasion are distinct, propaganda often employs the tools of persuasion.

In support of this view, Jowett and O'Donnell (2005:2) explain that “propaganda employs persuasive strategies but differs from persuasion in purpose.” The truth remains that persuasion and propaganda are very close forms of communication. For example, Simon et al. (2011:7) define persuasion as “human communication designed to influence autonomous judgments and actions of others.” The keywords here—“influence,” “autonomous,” “judgments,” and “actions”—highlight the fact that persuasion allows room for critical thinking and voluntary choice. Similarly, O'Keefe (2016:27) describes persuasion as “a successful intention at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom.”

⁸ The Nigerian civil war lasted for about three and a half years. See section 2.3 again for more on Nigeria's war history.

These definitions reveal that persuasion focuses on appealing to the listener's reasoning and moral conscience. The hearer is free to make up their mind. According to Soules (2015:3), persuasion requires an existing belief or attitude to latch onto for it to be successful. Furthermore, O'Keefe (2016) notes that persuasion should ideally result in a fair outcome for both the speaker and the listener. In this regard, Jowett (2005:27) notes that the purpose or intent behind a message provides clues as to whether it qualifies as persuasion or propaganda. It is the speaker's intent—whether to engage or control—that serves as a defining marker (see also Maritz, 2019:13). But, perhaps, the most important point of differentiation between persuasion and propaganda is manipulation.

While persuasion is directed at reason, propaganda may distort or exaggerate facts to serve a goal. The main aim of propaganda is to win people over to a particular cause or idea—by any means necessary, sometimes even using lies or manipulation. This is not the case with persuasion, which respects the intelligence of the audience and engages them ethically. In persuasion, the speaker appeals to the audience's conscience to influence their attitude toward an idea. Propaganda, on the other hand, often exploits its audience's ignorance to achieve a predetermined goal.

Some people overtly perceive propaganda as negative, associating it with deceit, manipulation, and control. Therefore, Cunningham (2002:1) and Jowett (2005:3), for example, describe propaganda as being synonymous with terms like lies, distortion, mind control, brainwashing, spin, and mass persuasion. Indeed, any form of communication that lacks integrity or that distorts facts to suit a particular agenda can be labelled as propaganda. However, propaganda is not always deceitful. “White propaganda,” for instance, may convey truthful information from a known source, but it still promotes a particular ideological interest (3.3.2.1). In such cases, it is the intent and the strategic shaping of the message, not necessarily its truth value, that marks it as propaganda (compare Jowett, 2005:14; Maritz, 2019). Likewise, for the purposes of this study, I do not take a stance on whether propaganda should be regarded as a form of positive or negative communication. Instead, the main aim of this study is to investigate the possible use of propaganda strategies by Nigerian pastors to communicate their theological, societal and political ideas to their followers.

In this study, the above discussion serves as the foundation for identifying propaganda in religious discourse. While persuasion and propaganda share tools and techniques, it is the intended effect, level of transparency, and strategic manipulation that separate one from the other. To systematically evaluate this, the research adopts Maritz's (2019) linguistic-analytic framework. developed to analyse political speech in South Africa, Maritz's model identifies several propaganda strategies such as name-calling, symbolic transfer, emotion activation, testimonial appeals, and binary oppositions.

In this research, the model is adapted not to compare persuasion with propaganda, but to serve as a diagnostic tool—to determine whether a sermon can be categorised as propagandistic or not. The framework is applied through corpus-assisted discourse analysis, identifying specific patterns and rhetorical strategies consistent with propaganda. Sermons that do not exhibit these patterns are considered non-propagandistic, even if persuasive in tone. In this way, Maritz's model provides a

reliable method for distinguishing propaganda from other forms of persuasive religious communication.

3.3.2 *Types of propaganda*

To enhance our comprehension of the intricate relationship between propaganda and other forms of communication, it is essential to categorise propaganda based on its diverse dimensions and objectives. Such categorisation is a collection from the existing literature on propaganda, primarily Maritz (2019), Okoli (2021), and Onobe (2012). This classification approach will facilitate a more insightful analysis of text types associated with propaganda's close associations with various communication forms. From the available literature (which are already cited above), eight types of distinguishable propaganda can be recognised, namely i) white propaganda, ii) integration propaganda, iii) ethno-religious campaign propaganda iv) foreign-based propaganda, v) politician-activist-propelled propaganda, vi) agitation propaganda, vii) grey propaganda, and viii) black propaganda.

3.3.2.1 *White propaganda*

This type of propaganda spreads a half-truth. It is the method or act of presenting facts about a story and preventing people from being confronted with opposing points of view (Lamprecht 2001, in Folayan et al. 2021:32). This type of propaganda is commonly used by marketers or advertising companies. Marketers or advertising companies commonly use this type of propaganda. In such communication, customers are told about the positive functions of a product, but are silent about the negative. In wartime, white propaganda is employed basically for psychological warfare and psychological operations (Lizarski, 1992: 687). White propaganda is like factual propaganda that relies on facts and claims (Cunningham, 2002:67). White propaganda, for instance, was employed when Nigerian president, Bola Tinubu, in a speech, tagged fuel subsidy as a “once beneficial measure” that had “outlived its usefulness” (*Premium Times*, 2023). Now one may reason that while it is true that such subsidy gulps huge amount of money, it equally serves to relieve the citizens of economic hardship thereby implying that it cannot be outrightly said to have outlived its usefulness.

3.3.2.2 *Integration propaganda*

This type of propaganda aims to unite and harmonise society through messages that promote social interactions among the people (Sharndama, 2016:24). It may take the form of an over-emphasised concept that is calculated to the benefit(s) of the propagandists. This form of propaganda is civilised propaganda common with the developed nations. It is sometimes referred to as sociological propaganda that became common in the twentieth century (see Cunningham, 2002:66; Ellul, 1973:74-79). This propaganda was instantiated when a major contender in the just-concluded 2023 Nigerian presidential election, Peter Obi, remarked that “there is nowhere in Nigeria where a Muslim buys cheaper bread because he is a Muslim, ditto Christian...there is no separate electricity for Christian or Muslim, everyone is suffering the same thing”. The implication

is to paint a picture of oneness that transcends religious differences, differences that have actually been a big deal in Nigerian socio-political setting.

3.3.2.3 *Ethno-religious campaign propaganda*

The use of ethno-religious propaganda is a feature in Nigerian politics, because of the social circumstances of the Nation. This form of propaganda has been effectively used in Nigeria since the pre-colonial period. According to Okoli et al. (2021:5), this type of propaganda is used “to ignite sentiments and tactically elicit the support of voters who have been historically embroiled in the pursuit of parochial interests” The explanation is that during the 2015 electioneering campaign, Muhammad Buhari, the candidate of APC was described to the southern voters as a jihadist (from the north) bent on accomplishing the Islamisation agenda of Sheik Usman Dan Fodio. On the other hand, President Goodluck Jonathan was portrayed as an infidel (a non-believer) and sponsor of the Boko Haram insurgency. As a result, Christians were encouraged to support Goodluck Jonathan (a Southern Christian) and Muslims were asked to vote for Buhari (a Northern Muslim) (Okoli *et al.*, 2021:9).

3.3.2.4 *Foreign-based propaganda*

This type of propaganda is also referred to as “externally-oriented propaganda” (Okolie, Enyiazu, and Nnamani, 2021: 8). It is influenced or motivated by foreign or Western countries. To achieve this, they team up with the opposition of that country to spread negative information about the incumbent administration, thereby frustrating the government and turning the hearts of the people against it to achieve their self-interested goal. To explain this further, Okoli et al. (2021:9) noted that in 2015 Nigerian general election, powerful countries collaborated with APC (then opposition party) to hire Axelrod, Kupper, Plouffe, and Del Cecato (AKPD) Media and Message, a US-based political and media consulting firm to propagate and overblow information in three strategic areas meant to attract international attention: The Kidnapped Chibok girls, Exaggeration of corruption in the then incumbent administration, and inaccurate report of human right abuses in fight against terrorism (by Boko Haram)⁹.

3.3.2.5 *Politician-activists-propelled propaganda*

This type of propaganda may be undertaken by a group or an individual. This category of propagandists is known as “influentials”. They may begin by calling themselves political activists, but as they gain more followers, some use their platforms to spread some information, disinformation, and misinformation to influence the voters in the populace especially their followers (Okoli *et al.*, 2021:12). Although politician-activist propelled propaganda is not new in Nigeria politics, it began to be notable from 2015 as this form of propaganda agents became lucrative in Nigeria. Prominent political parties in Nigeria often recruit these influentials to engage

⁹The infamous Boko Haram Islamic terrorist group domiciled majorly in the north-eastern part of Nigeria abducted more than two-hundred girls from an all-girl secondary school in Chibok town, northeast Nigeria on the April 14, 2014 (Wariboko 2016: 3).

in campaigns of defamation, hate speeches, character defamation of opponent candidates, and exploiting divisions among voters along ethnic and religious boundaries. According to Nwonwu et al (2022) these “influentials” are heavily rewarded with cash out, lavish gifts, government contracts, and even political appointments. For example, party spokespersons like Dino Maleye, (PDP), Festus Keyamo (APC), Kenneth Okownkwo (LP)

3.3.2.6 *Agitation propaganda*

Agitation propaganda is a purposeful form of propaganda designed to stir the public by inducing feelings of instability, fear, and discontent, ultimately promoting the rejection of prevailing social structures and conditions (Cunningham, 2002:66). This active propaganda approach may employ various means, including protests, violent or terrorist acts, speeches, posters, books, tapes/videos, and more (Ellul 1973:70-74). An example of this type of propaganda is a series of videos released and deliberately propagated through social media platforms by the infamous Boko Haram terrorist group. In one such video, the leader of the group, as cited by Bello (2021: 126), declared to the members of the public *inter alia*: “...by God, I will slaughter you”. Obviously, the choice of the verb ‘slaughter’ was to create morbid fright in the population.

3.3.2.7 *Grey propaganda*

This type of propaganda is a mixture of truth with polished lies. It is synonymous with disinformation. This kind of propaganda contains truths that can be verified and at the same time promotes unverifiable content. Grey propaganda is the most potent form of propaganda, because of the slim truth it contains not minding the rest of the story. This may be due to the brazen lies contained in black propaganda and the heavy impacts obtained when the truth is mixed with falsehood (compare Folayan 2021:32; Klaehn et al. 2018). Grey propaganda is regarded as having low credibility of certain black propaganda.

3.3.2.8 *Black propaganda*

Black propaganda is the spreading of pure lies. It is a deliberate transmission of false information to the public. This type of propaganda is peculiar in times of crises or war. Black propaganda is usually directed at a group or groups. Black propaganda rapidly spreads in the form of rumour and gossip (Jowett and O'Donnell 199:31-33). A typical example of black propaganda in the Nigerian political scene is the recent white elephant project of the purported Nigerian national carrier airline, in which the former aviation minister, Hadi Sirika, deceptively hired an Ethiopian airline as Nigerian Air. The entire project, as Akhaine (2023) puts it, is “widely viewed as a scam. The plane that was unveiled as Nigeria Air was said to be over 10 years old and had been previously operated by Ethiopian and Malawi Airlines”.

Considering that the sermons that constitute the data for the current work are responses to the government's actions and inactions in the face of sociopolitical imbalances, one can expect to find copious instances of agitation propaganda as well as integration propaganda in such sermons. It will also not be out of place to find some instances of white propaganda and politician-activist-

propelled propaganda. This sixth category (i.e politician-activists-propelled propaganda) is most especially expected since the two research subjects regarded as political pastors are well-known activists, while the political commitment of one of them in particular has seen him contesting political positions on two occasions.

3.3.3 Properties and classification of propaganda

Propaganda is a concept that has been widely explored. For example, Cunningham (2002:12), argued that propaganda (both as a word and as an idea) generates a lot of confusion and disagreement about its meaning and usage. As mentioned in Section 3.3.1, propaganda can be used positively or negatively. Propaganda, however, seems to be more associated with negative meanings (Walton, 1997:383). This explanation addresses why negative assumptions are triggered when the term 'propaganda' is mentioned. However, Cunningham (2002:62) argues that even though the negative connotation of propaganda became entrenched and widely used earlier, latter descriptions of the word emphasise facts and truth that tend towards knowledge. On the other hand, Walton (1997:383-4) argues that propaganda's negative connotation appears to be intrinsic to it. He explains that in the Catholic Church (from where the word originated), it was used to connote a widespread of information and that information represents a particular point of view of a religion which may be propaganda to other types of religion as well (Walton, 1997:384).

Common features of propaganda in literature portray propaganda as something amoral, manipulative, coercive, and deceptive. Whichever way propaganda is defined (negative or neutral), some scholars believe that “intent” constitutes a critical feature in the definition of propaganda when compared with other forms of communication, especially those adjacent to propaganda (e.g., persuasion and informative texts). The intent, as used above, is mostly synonymous with purpose.

To effectively categorise propaganda according to her non-linguistic model which had the aim of drawing general conclusions on the language features of propaganda in selected South African political texts, Maritz (2019) suggests a two-step approach that involves determining its underlying aim. The two essential questions to ask are as follows:

- Is there a call to action or no action?
- Who will be favoured by the outcome of the action or no action?

According to Maritz (2019:18-19), when the aim is clearly only or largely to the advantage of the propagandist, then the text is regarded as propaganda. Soules (2015:3) further states, “When a persuasive message is designed to benefit only the sender, it moves towards propaganda or coercion”. On the other hand, if the purpose of the text does not in any way benefit the propagandist, then it can be regarded as informative text and categorised as neutral text when the advantage is mutual (Maritz, 2019:18-19). Maritz’s non-linguistic framework, therefore, helps to objectively identify and classify propaganda according to the content of a text and the intent of the speaker. It must be borne in mind that the current thesis, which is CDA-based, in principle, applies Maritz’s framework, which is not CDA-based.

Of course, the purpose of the text offers clues to understanding its direction. However, the aim of the texts may clash with the propagandist's point of view. Bodi (1995:22) argues that propagandists tend to present one point of view as the only point of view.

As indicated before, propaganda is not necessarily communication that is an outright lie. Still, propaganda is managed through different kinds of truths, half-truths, limited truths, and truths out of context (Bodi, 1995:22). Because these communications contain some measure of truth, most times the receivers of the propaganda do not consider it with the critical attitude that may prevent them from being victims of the propagandist intent. In essence, according to Bodi (1995), propaganda is undertaken for a specific target goal of misinformation or disinformation.

3.3.4 *Propagation strategies*

Truth does not distinguish between propaganda and “moral forms” because propaganda often employs truth, half-truth, and partial truth (Ellul 1965). According to Thomson (1977:7), propaganda techniques “may exploit the credulity, twist ideas or play on emotions, but they do not include the application of brute strength or straight threats.” Every propaganda has a focus, and all propagandists have a goal. Propaganda relies on words to achieve its goal. Therefore, propaganda is a thoughtful activity – usually premeditated with strategies to achieve these set goals. Scholars like Thomas (1977), Jowett & O'Donnell (2005), Bodi (1995), Cunningham (2002), and Maritz (2019) seem to be unanimous as to the view that propaganda does not come in its true colour, but rather pretends to be what it is not. This is well explained in this statement about propaganda: “We are fooled by propaganda chiefly because we don't recognise it when we see it” (IPA, 1937).

Propaganda is most successful when it goes unnoticed by the reader or listener. It requires training for its target audience to recognise (Martino et al., 2020:137). It is part of the propagandist goal to keep its audience ignorant or unable to perceive it. Therefore, to achieve this purpose, propagandists engage in several strategies. Oftentimes, these techniques have been identified by scholars as a means of recognising propaganda in communication. Given that this study's context does not revolve around propaganda domain, it becomes challenging to associate propaganda with the sermons. Thus, the propaganda strategies I am focusing on are those used in speech delivery, rather than those involving physical activities. From literature, different authors often explore their distinct perspectives on how propaganda is portrayed and how recipients are educated to identify propagandistic content in communication. As different authors conduct their investigations, notable overlaps emerge in the techniques they discuss. In order to align and establish a helpful framework for this study regarding the various and coinciding strategies found in the literature, I have therefore compiled a summary table (see Table 2 below) where I reconcile the various identified strategies with each other. These strategies were drawn from Miller (1937), Martino et al. (2020), Adebisi and Salaudeen (2016), and Maritz (2019). This list of strategies, both linguistic and non-linguistic in nature, will serve as a starting point for the current research to develop specific propaganda techniques relevant to religious communications, especially sermons, and will act as a springboard for future research.

Table 2 below outlines some propaganda strategies commonly employed by propagandists. The semantic labels are the meaning-targets of the strategies, that is, what the propagandists hope to achieve with each strategy. Studies so far have focused on this dimension of the strategies with a few others such as Maritz (2019) further exploring the grammatical structures that realise them. The current study dives further into more grammatical structures that realise the strategies in a manner that shows the potentiality of grammar to achieve meaning in context or what, in systemic functional approach, is regarded as the meaning-making potential of grammar. Therefore, I have identified the underlying grammatical structures (the grammatical labels) that characterise each strategy to expand the scope of view of the strategies. Because a grammatical structure may realise more than one strategy and one strategy may be realised by more than one grammatical feature, paragraphs following the table are dedicated to explicating these grammatical structures in relation to the propaganda strategies..

Nr	Propaganda strategy	Definition	Sources
1	<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	Acting on a premeditated prejudice in favour of an idea by creating fear towards any other possible alternative (idea).	• Martino et al, 2020
2	<i>Audience predisposition</i>	This is a propaganda technique whereby the propagandist harps on the existing opinions and beliefs well known to the audience to sway them.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012
3	<i>Bandwagonism</i>	This strategy is used to convince and persuade an individual to accept or adopt a norm since every other person favours it. Often, it is employed to persuade a seeming non-conformist member of a group to conform to the general opinion. Maritz (2019: 23-25) particularly includes this as part of non-linguistic feature of propaganda.	• Miller, 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
4	<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	The propaganda tool is engaged when the propagandist obliterates all but two alternatives, such that the recipient of the propaganda has no option but to do the bidding of the propagandist.	• Martino et al., 2020
5	<i>Card Stacking</i>	A deliberate use of manufactured or correct information, explanation, or diversion, to create the most favourable or unfavourable portrayal of a concept, initiative, individual, or item. The propagandist employs <i>card stacking</i> to <i>presents the best or worst part of an entity acording the propagandist's motive</i> .	• Miller, 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
6	<i>Casual oversimplification</i>	Adopting a single (but mostly favourable to the target of the propagandist) cause of an event whereas there are other causes (mostly unfavourable to the target of the propagandist).	• Martino et al., 2020
7	<i>Doubt casting</i>	Doubt, in propaganda, is an expression or state of disbelief meant to sway the audience to believe the propagandist's ideology.	• Martino et al., 2020
8	<i>Emotion activation</i>	In propaganda, emotional language usually can be determined by identifying the purpose which such emotional utterances are meant to achieve, that is, the ideology behind the emotion activation. This is what will help listeners to associate communication with propaganda or persuasion.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019
9	<i>Emotional stereotyping</i>	This technique is employed when the propagandist intentionally conceals the information that could rectify the inaccurate impression.	• Adebiyi and Salaudeen, 2016
10	<i>Subversive rhetoric</i>	It is employed to undermine or criticise an individual's (opponent's) intention, idea whereas such opponent's intention or idea has the potential of leading to a positive outcome.	• Adebiyi and Salaudeen, 2016
11	<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	Whereas Exaggeration, as an instrument of propaganda, is the deliberate, verbal enlargement of an idea or concept, minimisation, conversely, entails an intentional verbal shrinking of an idea or concept.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:303
12	<i>Flag-waving</i>	Leveraging on the inherent emotion of a group identity to promote or discredit an idea.	• Martino et al., 2020

13	<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	This is the representation of an entity or phenomenon with a positive lexical item (which would gain the approval of people) without allowing for proof. <i>Glittering Generalisation</i> therefore is the opposite of <i>Name Calling</i> .	• Miller, 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
14	<i>Maintaining control over communication</i>	If a communication source holds a monopoly, like being the sole newspaper, television network or sermon in religious communication, and consistently delivers a repetitive message, individuals are less inclined to question such a message	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:300 • Maritz 2019:24
15	<i>Name calling</i>	This is a way of giving a person or a plan a bad tag or negative association. It can be used positively or negatively with the sole aim making the audience reject and condemn the plan even before examining its evidence	• Miller 1937; • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
16	<i>Opinion leaders</i>	This is closely connected to the credibility of the source. Here, the propagandist circumvents what is likely going to be a an antagonism or backlash by showing respect to well-known leaders generally held in high esteem by the people. In other words, the speaker attempts to win the approval of the listeners by somewhat adoring their human idols.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:300 • Maritz, 2019:24
17	<i>Plain folking</i>	This involves the uses of "false humility" or stage-managed behaviours with the aim of winning a person or the public. The plain folk devices portray the politician as one who cares and feels for the people.	• Miller, 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
18	<i>Questioning source credibility</i>	Propaganda thrives when the recipient trusts the origin of the information associated with prominent personalities or bodies often gain acceptance because people are willing to get direction from their leaders. Propaganda then occurs when the propagandist discredit a piece of information associated with an important personality.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012: 209
19	<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	<i>Symbolic Transfer</i> is the conscious extension of the prestige of an ideally respected entity to earn the prestige for another entity. On the other hand, it can also be the extension of the disrepute of an entity to discredit a supposedly reputed entity.	• Miller, 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016
20	<i>Testimonial endorsement</i>	Testimonial is utilizing the affirmation from a heroic or villainous persona to authenticate or undermine a particular concept, initiative, or product.	• Miller 1937 • Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019 • Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016

21	Repetition	Repetition is both a useful technique for persuasion and propaganda. In propaganda repetitions aim at emphasising certain words or phrases that will generate emotion and drive home a point. Repetition is a purposeful accentuation employed to attain a specific objective. It is an elaborating grammatical device through which, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 646) put it, “one lexical item restates another”. Since it is useful in “reinforcing the message” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 463), it is a veritable weapon of propaganda.	• Martino et al.2020 • Maritz 2019
22	Symbolic language	Propaganda leverages on language to bestow a sense of enchantment upon the cause it advocates, simultaneously casting the opposition in an intentionally unfavourable position. Language can be used to magnify and create a verbal symbolisation. Symbolic expressions involve the use of words in an unconventional usage to convey a deeper meaning that is not expressed in the surface structure. A symbolic expression can be interpreted in terms of figures of speech such as personification, simile, metaphor, analogy, rhetorical questions, and so on.	• Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237 • Maritz, 2019
23	Slogans	A short, catchy, and memorable phrase meant to market or promote an idea or a concept. it is a common and effective strategy of propaganda in Nigerian politics.	• Martino et al., 2020
24	Thought-terminating cliché	A propaganda strategy used when the propagandist deliberately offers a simple explanation for an event with the sole aim of discouraging critical thoughts about the event.	• Martino et al., 2020
25	Whataboutism, straw man, or red herring (or logical fallacies)	<i>Whataboutism, straw man, or red herring</i> are closely related but somewhat different propaganda tools. Whataboutism is a label the opponent points to as being ungenuine without substantiating such a claim. Straw man is the replacement of the opponent point with a weak point in order to discredit the opponent point. Red herring is to introduce a point that is immaterial to the subject of discourse to cause a diversion from the point of discourse. For the purpose of this study, however, logical fallacies will henceforth be adopted in place of the three foregoing strategies. Logical fallacies is considered more appropriate because	• Martino et al., 2020

Table 2 - Propaganda strategies

The table above is non-linguistic description of the extant propaganda strategies in that it shows the semantically derived labels for the strategies. As will be seen in the succeeding paragraphs, a particular propaganda strategy may be realized by different grammatical structures/elements. This foregrounds the basic Systemic Functional Linguistics standpoint in which, according to Matthiessen and Halliday (1997: 2), grammar is seen as “a resource of creating meaning by means of wording”. In this specific study, the focus is on the realisations of political communication in religious communications within the Nigerian socio-political experience.

As Maritz (2019) argues, propaganda is not merely a matter of content but manifests systematically through identifiable linguistic and grammatical patterns, making language itself a strategic tool for manipulation and persuasion. Several propaganda strategies often rely on straightforward sentence constructions—especially verb phrases (*They lied*) and declarative forms (*Everyone must join us*)—to assert messages with confidence and finality. For instance, Exaggeration/Minimisation can employ declarative sentence structures, which may convey categorical, non-tentative claims and thereby enhance the strategy’s impact (Greenbaum, 1996: 45). Similarly, Repetition can use verb phrases and simple sentence structures, allowing for emphasis and clarity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 463, 646). Casual Oversimplification sometimes reduces complex realities into single-clause assertions, for example by employing either a simple sentence or a main clause within a complex one, like *The enemy is weak*.

Strategies like Whataboutism, Straw Man, and Red Herring also tend to operate through assertive declaratives, exploiting their syntactic authority to misdirect or distort opposing arguments (Saeed, 2007: 223; Greenbaum, 1996: 45).

Other strategies rely more on lexical items—particularly noun phrases, adjectives, and emotionally charged vocabulary—to evoke sentiment or bias. For example, Appeal to Fear and Prejudice often draws on noun phrases (*savage attack*; *murderous sect*), verb phrases (*perish*), and adjectives, with verbal elements and evaluative descriptors conveying threat or animosity (Martino et al., 2020; Greenbaum, 1996: 29; Thompson, 2014: 93). Name Calling depends on epithets—typically realised through evaluative nouns (e.g. *dog* as derogatory term) and adjectives (*cowardly*)—to negatively label individuals or ideas (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 376; Bolinger, 1980: 72). In contrast, Glittering Generalisation capitalises on positively loaded lexical items such as nouns, adjectives (*glorious*), and adverbs, while Subversive Rhetoric exploits the bias inherent in comparative (*worse than before*) and superlative adjectives (e.g. *the best decision*) (Adebiyi & Salaudeen, 2016; Bolinger, 1980: 75).

Pronouns and proper nouns (*Washington stands with us.*) are useful to establish group identity or project credibility. Flag-Waving, for example, can use proper nouns and third-person pronouns

(*They betrayed us*) to construct an us-versus-them narrative (Martino et al., 2020). Maintaining Narrative Control may be marked by first-person pronouns in subjective, objective, or possessive forms (e.g. *We must act now*) to assert authority and claim ownership of the discourse. Opinion Leaders may also rely on proper nouns to lend immediate legitimacy to the message (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 627). Likewise, Symbolic Transfer and Testimonial Endorsement often involve proper nouns, attributive verbs, and verbal processes (i.e., verbs of saying) to transfer reputational value or associate a message with admired figures (Thompson, 2014: 105).

Grammatical devices like quantifiers (*All citizen agree*), determiners, and indefinite pronouns (e.g. *Everyone knows*) help to generalise claims and invoke consensus. Therefore, Bandwagonism may exploit this by using quantifiers such as *many*, determiners like *all*, and universal indefinite pronouns prefixed by *every* (Quirk et al., 1973; Greenbaum, 1996). Generic references, particularly nationality terms in the plural definite form (e.g. *Americans believe in freedom*), further reinforce this sense of widespread agreement.

Negation serves as a rhetorical device to question or reject competing claims. In Doubt Casting, negation through particles such as *not* or determiners like *no* can be used to reverse the polarity of a statement (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997: 7). Questioning Source Credibility similarly may leverage negation to undermines association with authority.

Syntactic complexity also plays a key role in some strategies. The Black-and-White Fallacy can employ subordination—where one clause is dependent on another (*If you're not with us, you're against us*)—or correlative constructions like *either...or* to restrict reasoning and present binary choices (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 440, 474). Thought-Terminating Clichés tend to use compound structures (e.g. *They promised peace, but they brought chaos*) for example, to pre-empt critical engagement (Greenbaum, 1996: 45).

Other strategies engage the audience more directly through interrogative clauses (*How could they betray us?*) and abstract nouns (e.g. *justice, betrayal, hope*). Emotion Activation, for instance, may use interrogatives to provoke reaction and abstract nouns to elicit internalised associations (Greenbaum, 1996: 192; Thompson, 2014: 98). While Emotional Stereotyping is highly context-dependent, it frequently hinges on emotionally loaded language rather than fixed grammar (Adebisi & Salaudeen, 2016).

Adverbials of time (*Yesterday*), place (*In the streets, we stood*), and manner add specificity and realism, which tends to support credibility. These can therefore establish Card Stacking and Audience Predisposition. The former may use time/place adverbials to anchor arguments in real-world contexts (Thomson & Martinet, 1986: 37), while the latter can also employ subject complements introduced via copula verbs (e.g., *is, are*) to align the statement with prevailing audience beliefs (Greenbaum, 1996: 67; Thomson & Martinet, 1986: 226).

Figurative and symbolic language add a layer of affective resonance. Symbolic Language often uses lexical metaphors (e.g. *The iron curtain fell across Europe*)—words used in a figurative, rather than literal, sense—to trigger deeper associations (Thompson, 2014: 234). Meanwhile, Slogans tend to employ simple sentence structures (e.g. *Freedom for all!*) that are memorable and ensure an emotional imprint, and Plain Folking can make use of vocatives (*My friends, we stand together*) to present the speaker as relatable and aligned with the in-group (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 159).

Based on the above, focusing on lexical items provides a clear and reliable way to understand how propaganda strategies are expressed through language, given their high frequency, strong semantic load, and centrality to evaluative and emotive framing. Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, I focus on lexical items—specifically nouns, verbs, and adjectives—in the corpus linguistic analysis of political discourse (Chapter 7).

3.3.5 Propaganda strategies and religious communication

Propaganda as a subtle communication is likely to be found in genres where communication is needed to pursue personal or societal interests. Arens (2011:249) affirms that the practice of religion and communication are closely related, as religion is transmitted through various forms of communication, such as preaching, prayer, and worship. The current study examines propaganda strategies in religious communications, particularly, sermons and homilies. Thus, I briefly discuss the nature of religious communication.

According to Williams (2018:2), religious communication is divided into two parts. Firstly, it is a communication act among believers, where they discuss their faith with one another or explain it to others. Secondly, it is a communication act about beliefs, even when the communicator may not necessarily share those beliefs. Both types apply to the study of propaganda strategies in religious communication. The communication in focus here is that of religious communication among believers or from believers to unbelievers. This is also the area or part of religious communication that most researchers investigate (see Schultze, 2010:193).

Preaching is an aspect of religious communication. According to Emslie (2013:2), preaching is more than presenting a speech or oration; preaching, to him, is “speaking the very words of God to people”. Malmström (2015:335) describes preaching “as persuasive and performative social-communicative action in a religious setting”. An early example of a sermon can be traced back to the practice of preaching demonstrated by Jesus Christ in the New Testament (Mark 3:13-17) (Gaines, 2017:31). Authors of the gospel books (i.e. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) used the word “preaching” and “teaching” interchangeably to refer to sermons or instructions he passes directly to his disciples and sometimes the multitudes. Jesus Christ also used parables to preach kingdom-centered messages to his audiences. Even though Jesus practically preached, scholars like Norrington (1996), and Alikin (2010) believes that there was no evidence of preaching until

the third century in the early church (Gaines, 2017:31). Preaching is a crude form of sermon presentation; it is transformed from a 'delivered message' to a 'creative event' (Vos, 2005:371). One could therefore conclude that every sermon is preaching. Still, not every preaching can be said to be a sermon because preaching is closely associated with prophets who are meant to deliver the messages as they receive them. Sermons are commentary made to emphasise scripture by providing more details. Usually, sermons are structured and spiritually prepared speaking engagements delivered to a congregation.

Rhetoric was one of the powerful instruments for delivering sermons in the early centuries. Rhetoric was used as a persuasive but subtle means of manipulation, and the pulpit served a dual purpose in the seventeenth century. It is a platform for sharing political and religious ideas. Sermons at that time could serve as a press statement and an effective means of reaching out to society (Garrigos, 2009:101). A pastor, therefore, must be eloquent, if not an orator. Eloquence is a key feature needed to sustain the interest and attention of the audience. Sermon in the eighteenth century was more of a scholarship enterprise associated with the secular works of T.S Eliot, John Donne, Edward Taylor, and Aristotle. Using their work, sermons were categorised into three perspectives: sociological (the content and the audience), historical (time and place), and rhetorical (language use) (Garrigos, 2009:102). These scholars combined poetic, rhetoric, and imagery to captivate their listeners. This practice portrays sermons as a social tool.

Dramatic concepts are sometimes used in delivering sermons. This is known as Theo-dramatic performances. Although relatively recent in the homiletic discourse, Nell (2017) traces the Bible narrative as dramatic instances where God is portrayed as the most important character (Balthasar 1988). As typical of drama, the plot of the drama starts with the creation, and moves to the history of the Israelites, their kings, and prophets, climaxing in the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. All these can be summed up as the meta-theoretical framework for Christian understanding (Nell 2017:312). In contemporary times, dramatic tendencies are evident in the passionate and energetic displays of pastors. Nell (2017:320) speaks of a paradoxical stage, drawing examples from the sermon of John de Gruchy on 11 Nov 1990 in the Rondebosch United Church in Cape Town, where he told his listeners about the historic moment of confession for Church leaders who were either supporting or opposing the apartheid regime. This, according to him, culminated in the warm embrace of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Professor Jonker, as a dramatic act of forgiveness (Nell, 2017: 309-326).

Preaching is an aspect of religious communication that heavily relies on language use. In response to this, some scholars, such as Schultse (2010:193) and William (2018:2), consider religious communication a distinct type of communication among others. According to William (2018: 2), it is an attempt to "describe the indescribable". In the same vein, Schultse (2010:195) argues that, even though the field of communication seems to be able to fit into other fields such as religion, subjectivity renders the study of religious communication unpredictable mainly because it lacks

an intra-theoretical perspective on some basic phenomena. Religious communication, such as sermons, gives the pastor freedom of linguistic expression in presenting their sermons. This is the basic distinction between hermeneutics (an interpretation that involves the pastor's creativity and technique) and new homiletics (the concept of *new* in homiletics simply underscores a turning away from traditional preaching and the kerygmatic preaching of Karl Barth Gibson (2005:476). Hermeneutic construing allows a pastor the liberty to take a stance (personal attitude or behaviour, point of view) in delivering their messages to their congregation, which contrasts with the Homiletic principle of declaring the Biblical truth in preaching.

Hermeneutics is the combination of general science and linguistic meaning to provide interpretation to biblical texts. *Hermes* originally is the name of a Greek god who is gifted with transmuting beyond human explanation. It was believed that he was the god of literature and eloquence in the Greek world. Doing hermeneutics is a double task of finding an interpretation analogous to the act and art of unravelling the container to access the content. To emphasise this further, Buttrick (1987) describes the content and the language as “the shell” and “the kernel” stressing that eternal truth never changes, that is, content cannot be separated from the word. Even if the content is translated from one language to another, translation does not affect meaning. If anything will be affected, then it is the contexts and that is linked to the fact that language is affected by contexts. To underscore this, Kruger (2016:1-2) argues that the language used in worship services by Christians is never ordinary, random conversation. This is because liturgical language is about the gospel itself. Therefore, it is not right to consider language only as a shell, as doing this will reduce the Christian faith to a propositional truth (Buttrick, 1987: 287).

On the other hand, Vos (2005: 371) argues that the term “new homiletics” has been in use since 1987. According to him, “it is the radical change from the old rationalist paradigm to the concept of preaching as a creative event” (Vos, 2005:371). Recently, Eugene Lowry's book, *The Sermon: Dancing the Edge of Mystery* (1997), demonstrated and projected the new homiletics. The most significant contribution of Lowry's work that differentiates the new homiletic from homiletics, in general, is the concept of a *Homiletical* plot and how to preach a parable” (Fleer 2000:1). He emphasises the plot-based approach to preaching as a form of creativity in narrative preaching where the pastor develops his sermon by looking out for conflicts, proceeding to complications, and wraps up the sermon with resolutions using the texts (Guthrie, 2016). The new homiletics conceives the sermon as an experience; the pastor, experiencing the text, helps him order the narration of the text to his audience. Gibson (2005: 477) emphasises that Randolph posits that the evocation of an event is key, even when pastors rely on plot, induction, experience, imagination, performative language, metaphor, story, and narrative. To conclude this, (Gibson, 2005:477) explains new homiletics as the introduction of a new way of listening to the Bible and a new way of understanding preaching.

3.3.6 *Religious Propaganda*

From literature (for example, Barron, 1964:35-48; Goulder, 1995:662-665; Bowers, 1980:316-323), religious propaganda discourse is mainly approached from the perspective of disagreements within Bible narratives and contestable archaeological write-ups, especially in the New Testament period and Church histories. Contemporary religious propaganda takes the form of religious communication (or anti-religious propositions – see the contributions of scholars like Shaw, 1952; Powell, 1967; 1975; Ro'I, 1984, Craig & Litzenberger, 1993; Omenka, 2010; Ahyar, 2019) in religious propaganda discourse. According to Arens (2011:249) religious communication includes, but is not limited to, activities such as preaching, praying, and worshipping, and all these are mostly possible through the medium of language. As Kruger (2016: 2) observes, “people also use language to deepen their relationship with God”. Language is the primary or major channel of communicating sermons, and this makes the role of language in sermons crucial, more so in this study as it relates to the use of linguistic features in sermon delivery. Religious communication, such as sermons, goes beyond verbal communication to those types of communication that involve extra linguistic forms i.e., signs or gestures. To expatiate this, let me reiterate Franks and Green's (2011:107) view on language. They argue that language is more than just speaking or describing, as it implies actions from both speakers and hearers. Given the disclosure above about the linguistic and extra-linguistic capacity of language in religious communication. Nevertheless, my focus on the language of religious communication here is partially linked to J. L Austin's (1976) theoretical conception of language as a means of connecting to the real world (constative and performative). In fact, since both persuasion and propaganda are meant to create some effects, as it were, in the real, extra-linguistic world, Austin's Speech Act theory is relevant to the entire discussion encapsulated in this chapter and thus will be given a bit of attention here.

3.3.7 *The Speech Act Theory*

In discussing the extra-linguistic impacts of language as captured in Austin's (1976) Speech Act Theory, Saeed (2003: 219) has succinctly presented “speech as action”. Indeed, Austin's lectures, which serve as the springboard for the theory, were titled *How to Do Things with Words*. Austin's remark about speech act application particularly to religious communication and ceremonies- as baptising, marrying, ordaining (Arens, 2011:250) opens the connection that speech act has with effecting change in the real world. Thus, Austin identified three types of speech acts, namely, (i) locution, (ii) illocution, and (iii) perlocution. My discussion about sermons in this study is related to locutions and illocution. I will briefly explain for more details about these (but also see Austin, 1976 and Searle, 1969 for more context).

- Locutionary act is the physical act of producing a meaningful utterance in a particular language (Saeed, 2007:228). This, of course, will be executed by the means of speech or writing. The implication of this is that even if correctly formed individual lexical items of

a language, English, for example, are arranged in a manner that is incongruent with the grammar of a language, locution act is yet to be performed. Therefore, the famous expression by Chomsky, *colourless green idea sleep furiously*, does not carry any locutionary force. However, the expression "I am a Christian" has locutionary weight since it is semantically coherent in accordance with the grammar of English. does not is saying something.

- Illocutionary act, according to Saeed (2007:228) (my parenthesis) is “the action intended by the speaker (or writer as the case may be)”. illocutionary act, therefore, is the meaning proposition contained in an utterance. This is the aspect of the act that receives scholarly attention since meaningful utterances can be studied in linguistics via grammar.
- Perlocution is what is done as result of an utterance made. Citing Austin (1976), Taillard (2015:147) says it is the “certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts or acts of the audience, or of the speaker or of the other persons”. Therefore, perlocutions is the production of effect through locution and illocution. (Renkema, 2012:13). Perlocution will demonstrate the success of the location and illocution on the audience, resulting in a tangible change in attitude. i.e., Being convinced, surprised, annoyed, or disgusted. However, because the effect of an utterance is beyond the purview of linguistics, it does not receive as much attention as (il)locutionary act (Saeed, 2007:228).

Through language locution and illocutions, propaganda can be achieved via both verbal and non-verbal means (visual propaganda). Based on literature (Millar, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012; Martino et al., 2020), propaganda is more associated with verbal communication, just as a sermon is a verbal communication. Hermeneutics freedom gives contemporary pastors linguistic liberty and a chance to engage a church audience in communication that deviates from the persuasive form in which religious communication is known, to uncertain terms like linguistics hedging (Malmström, 2015:332), which, by the way, refers “are lexical and syntactic features of text that have the goal of modifying and mitigating a proposition” (Vlasyan, 2019:621). Thus, hedges have goals just as propaganda. Although a hedge is a common feature of conversation and interpersonal communication, sermons also are often interpersonal interactions. Some uncertain terms used by pastors are regarded as hedges (Malmström, 2015:33) So hedges can as well be a propaganda feature because of the evaluative compositions since some propaganda's strategies are often expressed with the help of evaluative language use especially through nouns (Maritz, 2021:18). It should be noted, however, that the concepts of locution and illocution will not be directly involved in the analysis of the corpus for this study in chapters six and seven. Rather, they are inherently part of the speech acts being investigated and therefore relevant to the understanding and interpretation of the analysis as well.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed propaganda as a genre of communication, particularly as it may be found in religious communication. 3.2 devoted to contextualisation of propaganda in Nigerian politics and the Christian context, and in 3.3, I examined different definitions of propaganda, especially in relation to their area of use and presented a definition for my study. 3.3.1 focussed on the differences between propaganda and persuasion. Since propaganda varies in degree, I classified it in the section 3.3.3 to inform about possible types of propaganda that may exist in the religious texts from Nigeria. In 3.3.3, I discussed propaganda techniques identified in relevant literature. In 3.3.5, I explained what religious communication is and how propaganda can function in religious communication and attempted to trace religious propaganda in 3.3.6, the chapter was concluded with discussion about speech acts in 3.3.7. This chapter has helped to expound and highlight the extant literature as far as propaganda and political communication both at global level and local Nigerian level are concerned. The contents of the chapter, therefore, provide the discoursal context within which the data will be analysed in chapters six and seven.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins this investigation into the use of political communication in the religious texts of Nigerian pastors. I explain theoretical elements that guide my analysis and interpretation of the data. Such frameworks provide the theoretical templates for two dimensions of analysis adopted for the study: macro and micro.

The next two sections explicate relevant theories and related methodologies pertaining to macro and micro levels of linguistic meaning. This discussion helps to provide the theoretical orientation within which the analyses in chapters six and seven will be executed. At the macro level, to start with, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL henceforth) is shown as the overarching theory, that is, the theoretical view of language that I adopt. SFL thus serves the function of theoretical footing for the study in its entirety. Attention is then given to the three functions (more technically, metafunctions) of language as conceived in SFL. So, in 4.2.1, I discuss ideational metafunction; in 4.2.2. interpersonal metafunction; and in 4.2.3. textual metafunction. Then, I discuss the realisation of discourse (4.3) in which, first, the concept of text receives some attention. This is so since the text is the basis for any form of communication piece. The sermons to be investigated are texts. It is worthwhile examining the inherent features of text. Then comes the concept of cohesion. In the discussion of cohesion, linguistic instantiations (tools that realise cohesion) are discussed; such instantiations as conjunction, reference, ellipsis/substitution as well as lexical cohesion. To further explore the relationship between the form and function of the language of Nigerian sermons from SFL theoretical perspective, however, there is a need to consider Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analytic tool. This is an actual/practical execution of the SFL at macro level of data analysis, which is, as it were, non-linguistic in nature. On the micro level, linguistic analysis was conducted on the texts. This aspect focuses on the linguistic forms selected to convey the message's function. To address the traditional segregation between forms and functions, the corpus linguistics (CL) methods are considered useful for both Critical Discourse Analysis and linguistic analysis. All these, then, serve to motivate the selected methodology as a novel approach to persuasive communication with reference to religious texts, particularly in the Nigerian context. Consequently, Systemic Functional Linguistics associated primarily with Halliday (e.g. 1976), and Halliday and Matthiessen (e.g. 2014), Fairclough (1981)'s framework for Critical Discourse Analysis and Maritz' (2019)'s non-linguistic framework of propaganda along with corpus analytic methods are outlined as relevant to doing this study in a novel way.

4.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) serves as the springboard from which to examine a study such as this, which aims to distinguish language in use. The primary objective of

this study is to examine the potential application of propaganda strategies in the sermons of selected pastors in Nigeria, as well as the linguistic patterns employed in such strategies. The linguistic form of the texts can serve a persuasive and/or propagandistic function, depending on the pastor's goal. SFL dwells on the functional use of language and is therefore an appropriate theoretical stance on the nature of language to inform the present research.

Since this research focuses on the choices of wording of some selected pastors from Nigeria with the aim of knowing the types of communication they are engaged in, it is only necessary to have a look at the dichotomy in language use, in terms of formalist and functionalist views about language.

Functionalists are interested in the function that language performs when in use; they believe that words are chosen based on intentionality. Thompson (2004:30) argues that lexico-grammar provides wording as the resource or content belonging to different aspects of grammar despite several meanings. Lexico-grammar is the pool of words that users are free to choose from, according to Matthiessen and Halliday (2009:3). Here, emphasis is placed on wording, that is, individual words, rather than structures (structures are the combination of words to form a clause or group of clauses). For this study, I assume that all pastors are also presented with a number of options for wording from which they could choose to present their messages to their different congregations. This is the essence of the system as projected by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:22): Language is a set of alternatives available in a paradigm to the speaker of a language from which he can choose according to the contexts of the speech, not just the correctness of the structure. Accordingly, therefore, Eggins (2004:1,5) notes that anyone using language is motivated by a purpose, and this purpose becomes the goal of transmitting meaning through the functions assigned to language to perform in our conversations and interactions. This means that speakers choose some lexico-grammatical options that serve their intention better than other options.

SFL, as conceived by Halliday and Matthiessen (1997:13), simultaneously expresses three forms of meaning in a clause structure (Eggins, 2004:5). The term “metafunctions” has come to be used to capture these three forms of meaning as we make our choices, under the influence of context, for communication (Thompson, 2014: 30). Rather than just “function”, as is popular with formal linguistics, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:31) choose to use *metafunction*, which is meant to underscore the fact that functionality is an inherent and immanent property of language. In essence, whatever form language in use assumes, it is because of the function the speaker wants it to perform. These metafunctions, according to Thompson (2004:30), are ideational, interpersonal, and textual, all of which will be thoroughly discussed subsequently. The context plays a significant role and thus determines language per time.

Essentially, this study, by investigating how linguistic elements (at lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential levels) are used to create propaganda strategies, has a deeply rooted interest in the

relationship that exists between form and function. For this reason, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is well-suited as the theoretical foundation for the study.

4.2.1 Ideational meaning

Ideational meaning, also known as experiential meaning, refers to the use of language to describe the world, both within and outside the language user. For Thompson (2004:30), ideational or experiential meaning ignites the original source view. Whenever language is used, there is something going on, that is, language validates our personal and social relationships with other people around us. In other words, the experiential component is the linguistic construing of the going-on, which has transitivity as its system, and the nuclear (the fundamental, the core) part is the processes, which are functionally available verbal group resources in language. Within the grammatical resources of processes, six choices are available which include i) material, ii) mental, iii) relational, iv) verbal, v) behavioural, and vi) existential (Wang, 2010: 257).

The material process encompasses the verbal group which construes “...the material realm (the concrete world outside the language user) ...covering events, activities, and actions involving both animate actors and inanimate ones (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 228; my parenthesis). Consequently, this process encompasses all the unfolding events or activities that can be observed as being done or happening. Mental process is the direct opposite as it captures the inner world of the speaker, and thus “construes sensing — perception, cognition, intention, and emotion...” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1997: 18). *Relational process is the verbal group known as the linking or copular verb (is/was, are/were) in the traditional grammar, which expresses the relationship between two participants (Thompson, 2014: 101). A typical example involving the participant being God is the supreme creator.* In the case of verbal process, we have the Process that construes saying. We can thus conclude that the *verbal process* straddles material and *mental Processes* since, according to Thompson (2014: 106), “saying something is a physical action that reflects mental operations”. Like the verbal process, behavioural process is also an interface between the material process *and* mental process (Halliday & Matthiesene, 2014: 215). We can label it as the conscious materialisation of inner state such as ‘*listen*’ (behavioural) is the conscious activation of ‘*hear*’ (mental). Existential process “expresses the mere existence of an entity without predicating anything else of it ...and they are normally recognizable because the Subject is ‘there’. Each process determines the nature of its participants as seen in Wang’s (2010) table below:

Process type	Core meaning	Participants
Material	‘doing’, ‘happening’	Actor, Goal
Mental	‘sensing’	Sensor, Phenomenon
Relational	‘being’	
Verbal	‘saying’	Sayer, receiver, verbiage
Behavioural	‘behaving’	Behaver
Existential	‘existing’	Existent

Table 3: Different processes in the transitivity system, adapted from Wang (2010:257)

From the above, for example, material process entails *doing / happening + actor (goal)*. In other words, when the event that is unfolding through time in the extralinguistic world can be seen as *happening* or *being done*, the participant in the event is the actor, driving the event, while the goal (which may or may not be present) receives the effect of the event. We may note that the table above does not show any participants for the *relational Process* because “... neither of the experiential terms ‘process’ and ‘participant’, is completely appropriate for this category” Thompson (2014: 101). For instance, nothing is seen as going on in such a statement as *He is unusually sane*.

The circumstances such as time, place, reason, extent, and frequency are optional members in transitivity, whereas participants, as Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:221) put it, are inherent in processes.

Furthermore, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 20, 30) split ideational metafunction into a system of two choices: *logical* and *experiential* functions. The logical component involves the sequential presentation of experiences within what is known as a clause complex (Caffarel 2009: 897). A clause complex refers to logically linked events, and so the system (the grammatical choice pool) is a clause complex system (Caffarel, 2009: 898). The two grammatical resources (available options) in the English system of clause complexity are *projection* and *expansion* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 434). In the case of projection, the second clause is advanced through the primary clause as what is said or what is thought, locution, and idea, while the secondary clause takes the message of the primary clause and expands it in the case of expansion (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009: 24; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014:443). The two examples below illustrate projection and expansion, respectively.

- 1 *I believe that God is good.*
- 2 *That God is good is the fundamental principle of justice.*

In the case of the sentences above, the second clause “*that God is good*” in example a *is* projected through the mental process “*believe*” in the first clause. In example b, the second clause is an expansion of the first one. The case of expansion has to do with the subject complement in traditional grammar. Propaganda employs strategies that engage the mental cognition of its recipient through wording that expresses underlying meanings and propagating intentions.

4.2.2 *Interpersonal metafunction*

Interpersonal metafunction refers to language being used not only for communication alone, but also for meaningful exchange of information and interaction in a social relationship among participants in a discourse situation (Thompson, 2014: 45). It is the meaning resources of language (the rich systemic pool from which the language user makes choices to express different nuances of meaning) that enable the speakers to create and maintain the purpose of communication through

interaction relations and ‘the social order that lies behind them’ (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009: 3). Some of these may include, making request, describing, ordering, rejecting, apologising or confirming and so on Thompson (2014:47). So, language is organised such that a speaker adopts a speech role and by implication, assigns a complementary role to his co-interactants. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 135) show that a speaker is either giving or demanding information or goods-&-services.

The primary system (grammatical pool of choices) of interpersonal metafunction is Mood, and the systemic components are Indicative and Imperative (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 143). Indicative mood can either be informative or interrogative, which define statements and questions respectively, and their semantic function is an exchange of information in the form of offers, statements, and questions among the participants (ibid). The imperative component is the exchange of goods-&-services, as Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: 165) explain it. In effect, the speaker makes an order and thus assigns the role of giving to the other participant(s). The potential of language for interpersonal metafunction is relevant in exploring propaganda strategies built on social connections with either the audience or the absent addressee such as *appeal to fear and prejudice, audience predisposition* that are audience-based.

4.2.3 Textual metafunction

Textual metafunction is a deliberate organisation of the wording of language to fit into an intended speaking event. It may be a conversation, a speech, a sermon or an article. In other words, it is the function performed by language to organise the other two metafunctions (ideational and interpersonal) to achieve the intended meaning (Thompson, 2014: 145). Matthiessen & Halliday (2009: 13) explain that this metafunction is intrinsic to language, and this is because the context of textual metafunction is the language itself whereas the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions have their context outside the language. In relation to propaganda strategies, the socio-cultural context is definitely outside of the language, but it is organised and structured through the instrumentality of language. In other words, language has the grammatical resources to arrange the linguistically configured worlds of experiences and social interactions into a meaningful output through logical connections with the co-text (Caffarel, 2009: 884). For instance, as the grammar of language enables repetition, conjunction, and thematisation, it performs textual metafunction. One of the major systems of textual metafunction is Theme: ‘the resource for setting up a local context for a clause by selecting a local point of departure in the flow of information (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009: 13). In other words, the clause is organised in such a way that there is, as it were, an information origin from where the information flows to the remaining part of the clause to form a message. For example, in the sentence *that God is good is a cornerstone of justice*, the message originates from *that God is good* and then flows to the rest of the clause: *is the cornerstone of justice*. In other words, systemically, the choice of *is the cornerstone of justice* is constrained by *that God is good*, which is the information origin. In English Language, the first

grammatical unit in a clause, as seen in the example, is the theme while the remainder of the clause is the rheme. Certainly, pastors explore these internal grammatical intricacies of language to craft their messages effectively for their congregations. Since, according to Quirk et al (1973: 406), "items can be manipulated within the structure of sentences for different kinds of prominence" (choosing, for instance, the information that constitutes the Theme or Rheme), pastors can create propaganda strategies, and thus convince their congregations.

The entire projection of Systemic-Functional Linguistics is that language is context-dependent and is a meaning resource (Caffarel, 2009:883). SFL expounds contextual elements that roughly translate to the linguistic metafunctions already discussed. These are the three slices of context (extra-linguistic world) that are configured into functional linguistic realisations: Field, Tenor, and Mode (Caffarel 2009: 892-3). Field, Tenor and Mode are the realities of non-linguistic world that form the bases for ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions respectively. Field is what is happening or the activity taking place. The field is the contextual component (in the extralinguistic world) of the ideational metafunction, just as tenor is to the interpersonal metafunction and mode is to the textual metafunction. Tenor is the role and social status relationships that hold among the participants. The focus is on those taking part in the activity. As Field is too ideational metafunction so is Tenor to interpersonal metafunction. Mode is the place of language in the organisation of Field and Tenor, and this is the contextual underlining of textual metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 33; Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009:11; Caffarel, 2009: 893, Remkema, 2004:48). In plain language, field is the topic or subject of discourse, such as an Easter sermon. Tenor is a social relationship between the interlocutors which can be either formal or informal. So, in a field like Easter sermon, the tenor will consist of a quasi-formal relationship between the pastor and the congregation in a speaker/ listener arrangement. Mode is the medium through which the message is communicated, i.e., written or spoken and for example, the mode in the Easter sermon example above will be the spoken medium (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014:34). Analysing political content in sermons finds a fitting standing in Systemic-Functional Linguistics. Sermons, being instances of language in use, can be seen as performing the three metafunctions simultaneously. As the pastors are using language to refer to the worlds around and with them (i.e., ideational metafunction) at the same time the language is being used both to negotiate and create social relations between them and their audiences (i.e., interpersonal metafunction). Concurrently, these two metafunctions, for which realities are outside the language, are being coordinated internally by the language (i.e., textual metafunction). SFL, therefore, provides a theoretical framework for contextual and co-textual intermingling of religion and politics. In line with this aim, Caffarel (2006b) as cited in Caffarel (2009: 893) submits that 'each text instance is in part predictable from context, from the Field of discourse, the Tenor of discourse and the Mode of discourse'. Particularly, and in alignment with the corpus orientation of the current study, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 72) state that 'compiling the corpus of situated discourse means using Field, Tenor, and Mode to define ecological criteria for sampling text in

context'. This aligns with the presentation of discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis as a cultural practice. This thesis is concerned with context, field, tenor and mode, which offer contextual information, and will be integrated into the study to consider the language in use within the context of use, since understanding propaganda strategies requires this. Textual metafunction, in particular, provides a theoretical explanation for co-textual elements of *Symbolism* strategies such as alliteration and assonance.

4.3 Realisation of Discourse: Text and Cohesion

Text, as a concept in discourse analysis, is discussed in this study because text is the actual or rather a tangible, realisation of discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:6). It is necessary to discuss text in order not to conceive discourse, which I will be discussing in the following section, as an abstract concept. Thus, text is the domain of discourse, which, in Halliday and Hassan's (1976:1) words, "is any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole". Put differently, "text is any instance of language in any medium of language that makes sense to someone who knows the language" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:3). Brown and Yule (2003:9) see the text as a verbal record of a communicative act. Texts can be produced as spoken or written. In spoken discourse, paralinguistic gestures help the speaker convey (communicate) meaning to fellow interlocutors. On the other hand, in the written text, the speaker has the freedom to select, or rather, choose his words carefully to produce the meaning he intends to pass across to his readers (Brown & Yule 2003:4). In this study, text is to be understood as any given passage, be it long or short, that expresses (or is connected in meaning to) an idea.

According to Halliday & Hassan (1976:2), certain linguistic attributes that are recognisable in a text or passage enhance the overall unity of the text, thereby creating a texture. In hermeneutics practice, for instance, scholars like Ricoeur (1976) believe that the main characteristic of spoken language is that the speaker's intention changes the moment the words are put into writing. This means that the process through which a text is produced has a significant impact on the interpretation of the text. Sermons are mostly delivered in verbal or oral form, and so when the sermon is transcribed into text, the extralinguistic context (e.g. gesticulation and its potential meanings) is lost; readers are left alone with the sermon text, and therefore, meaning is most likely lost if the appropriate context of the sermon is not applied to the text's script. In the case of the present study, especially, it will be most difficult, if not impossible, to understand and analyse some sermon texts from Nigeria without a firm grasp of the Nigerian religious and political context (which was therefore presented in 2.3). Consequently, Pieterse and Wepener (2021:2) notes that written language makes the text independent of the speaker's original intention, thereby creating a distance between the speaker, his wording and the context. So then when sermons are turned into text, readers are left to find suitable interpretations by themselves. Therefore, texts are subject to

diverse meanings arising from different contexts and different interpretations by different readers. For my study, the data, which consist of sermons collected from the same social context (Nigeria) but different denominations (or rather different pastors), will constitute the focus of attention to explore the peculiar ways Nigerian pastors deploy language in their sermons to project their theological, societal and political views to their followers in a manner that may either result in propaganda or persuasion. Thus, in this study, our discourse body is the sermon texts collected to be analysed for useful insights to be drawn on communication/language distinctions of sermon delivery in the Nigeria context. Discourses, either as utterances or sentences, are the way they are because they have connectors that link the sentences together. The essence of this is to form a texture as mentioned earlier. The idea of texture also raises the notion of “tie”, which is a cohesive device that enables a text to be analysed through the properties inherent in it. Cohesion and coherence are two ways by which texts are linked together to create texture in discourse, the same way different grammatical choices differentiate one text from another. It is through the choice of words that context is derived (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:4). According to Thompson (2004:215), cohesion and coherence are closely related and sometimes even used interchangeably. I now briefly turn to the concept of cohesion.

Cohesion, as defined by Halliday and Hassan (1976:4), is the relation of meaning that exists within the texts and therefore, explains the text. Horne and Heinemann (2003:184) see cohesion as the “links” that exist between the individual parts of a text. Thompson (2014: 215) views it as a linguistic device by which the ideational (i.e. experiential) and interpersonal coherence of the text can be indicated by a speaker. Therefore, cohesion refers to the process (or processes) of creating meaning within a given text to enhance the flow of thought. To provide a clearer picture as to what cohesion is all about, Halliday and Hassan (1976:4) explain further that cohesion happens when the interpretation of some elements of discourse relies on that of (an)other(s). This means that one cannot understand or convey a sense of one linguistic unit without resorting to another. According to Halliday & Hasan (1976:28), there are two ways that cohesion is achieved in English: grammatical and lexical cohesion. Grammatical cohesions are subdivided into Conjunction, Reference, Substitution, and Ellipses while on the other hand, lexical cohesion is achieved by careful selection of vocabulary (Halliday & Hassan, 1976:274). The listed elements of grammatical cohesion are highlighted as follows.

Conjunction: This is the combination of two textual but coherent complex semantic units (Thompson, 2014:225). The conjunction shows how subsequent sentences or clauses should be linked together to the preceding linguistic elements (Renkema, 2012:104). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 257-259) have, however, shown that conjunctions do not merely link two linguistic units, but they also encode the semantic relationship between the units they link. For instance, coordinating conjunction *and* can show that “the event in the second clause is a consequence of the event in the first” (e.g., I shone the light, *and* he became happy), or that “the first clause is a condition of the second” (e.g., Tell me the truth *and* I will not report you).

Reference: Reference shows the semantic relationship between a discourse element and the preceding or following element. Exophoric and endospheric are two means of referencing in English, with the former pointing to a referent outside the text and the latter to an entity mentioned within the text. Exophoric reference essentially indicates a particular situation outside the text; therefore, it is a situational reference (Thompson, 2014: 217; Halliday and Hassan, 1976: 32-25). We may infer then that there is some similarity between exophoric referencing and ideational and interpersonal metafunctions on one hand, and endophoric referencing and textual metafunction on the other hand. Endophoric referencing or Endophora indicates a referent within the text. It is thus known as the textual reference. Endophoras are further divided into Anaphoric reference and Cataphoric reference. Anaphoras are used as a back-looking device that functionally serves the purpose of referencing preceding items, which are technically known as the antecedents while Cataphoras, on the other hand, are used to signal a linguistic item ahead in a sentence (Trask and Stockwell, 2007: 16).

Ellipses/Substitution: According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:561), Ellipses and substitutions are variants of the same type of cohesive device. Since they perform similar functions, the grammatical environment determines which of the two fits. Substitution uses or allows for the replacement of one word by another provided they are in the same grammatical category. Ellipses are substitutions without replacement. In this case, meaning is inferred.

Lexical cohesion: This, unlike grammatical cohesion, is activated by the choice of lexical items (i.e. words) (Halliday and Mathiessen, 2016: 606). Essentially, therefore, we may infer that lexical cohesion involves the use of content words which form the open set system (i.e. nouns, main verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). The choice of these lexical items in a text creates lexical relations such that “...it may be more accurate to think of the lexicon as a network, rather than a listing of words as in a published dictionary” (Saeed, 2003: 63). In de Saussure’s (1959: 122-127) structuralist approach, lexical items in a discourse create two relations: syntagmatic and associative (or paradigmatic) relations. A syntagmatic relation is achieved by a word in relation to the co-occurring or “accompanying words”, as Saeed (2003: 83) would call them. This implies that syntagmatic relation is discourse-internal and linear. According to de Saussure (1959: 123), “in discourse... words acquire relations based on the linear nature of language because they are chained together”. For example, the word *history* in the phrase *Nigerian history*, is in a syntagmatic relationship with *Nigerian* as its meaning is partly shaped by the word *Nigerian* with which it co-occurs. Paradigmatic relation, on the other hand, is discourse-external and thus non-linear. It is a relationship between a word in a text and other related but non-occurring words (Saeed, 2003: 83). For instance, the word *strong* in a discourse is in a paradigmatic relation and thus has its semantic content determined in some way by other semantically related but non-occurring words like *weak*, *frail*, *reliable*, *powerful* etc. Therefore, a propagandist can exploit the paradigmatic language resource by using a lexical item that readily brings to mind unstated but targeted words in the minds of his listeners, relying on a well-established socio-cultural context. Thus, the consideration

lexical cohesion is important because, as I have stated before, the choices of words from the vocabulary of the language enable the pastors to pass their messages in their preferred type of communication and this is the task of this study: to show the type of communication they engage in with the choices of vocabulary they make.

Lexical cohesion can be created through such relationships as semantic sameness (synonymy e.g. *dark* and *obscure*), semantic oppositeness (antonymy e.g. *dark* and *bright*), formal sameness (homography e.g. *minute* as a unit of time and *minute* meaning something very small), phonetic sameness but formally difference (homophony e.g. *sachet* and *sashay*), different but semantically related senses of a word (polysemy e.g. *head* as the topmost part of the human body and *head* as the leader of an organisation), different and semantically unrelated senses of a word (homonymy e.g. *bank* of a river and *bank* as a financial institution) (Saeed, 2003: 63-65).

The current study, as has been severally enunciated, is poised to investigate propaganda strategies that characterise extended religious communications of selected Nigerian pastors in a series of sermons. Thus, what forms the point of interest is the textual aspect of the sermons (as against phonetics/phonology). This highlights the relevance of the concept of text as a unit of discourse, cemented together by a unity of ideas. The real element that helps a text hang together is cohesion. And it is for this reason that grammatical elements of cohesion have been discussed above. . In the next section, I consider the notion of ‘discourse analysis’ in more detail, as discourse refers to an expanded text.

4.4 Discourse Analysis

From available literature (Halliday, 2004; Van Dijk, 1995; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2020; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), discourse analysis (DA) seems to be a more recent methodological research tool for applying Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Chilton, 2004:x). It has also readily been applied to explore propaganda strategies (Vamanu 2019; Wanda *et al.*, 2020). I now critically consider DA in view of the present research to motivate its application. Discourse Analysis is useful for this study because what this research intends to do is to analyse sermons and to show how the content of text can be used as bases to understand what discourse all is about. SFL emphasises the importance of context in interpreting meaning. DA provides a methodological way to interpreting meaning through context.

A major contribution of DA is the exposure of the context as a rich concept of analysing and interpreting a text. Discourse has been generally defined as language in use in relation to specific social context (Tannen *et al*, 2015: 1). In keeping with the modular view of language (the view of language as a set of components in a coordinated way), some discourse analysts have presented discourse as the ‘organisation’ of language above and beyond the sentence’ (ed. Fasold & Connor-

Linton, 2006: 2; Schiffrin, 2006: 169; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). In this view, discourse is considered as one of the subsystems of language, just like phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Other discourse analysis linguists have countered the definition of discourse in this way as not sufficiently capturing what discourse is (Fairclough, 1995: 7; Tannen *et al*, 2015: 12). Broadly speaking, discourse analysis can be discussed from the two broad perspectives of language study, that is, the formal linguistics and the functional linguistics views. For this study, I adopt the functionalist view because it aligns with functional use of language, and it is useful in contextual study such as this. Before I discuss functionalist views, it is perhaps worthwhile to touch on the interpretation of discourse in terms of its structures.

Structuralists are concerned with the constituent's alignment without any consideration for the context of the discourse. Harris (1951:11) argues, in his opinion, that structure is the pattern by which segments of discourse occur (and recur) relative to each other. In other words, it is what differentiates discourse from a random sequence of sentences. Meanwhile, Van Dijk (1985:12) argues that "[o]nce we start analysing all the details in discourses, including the apparent 'deviance' in unscripted impromptu dialogue, we shall obviously need methods different from those of traditional linguistic description". The implication of this is that linguists need more than the constituents of a structure in analysing a discourse. Similarly, Schiffrin (1994:23) critiques Harris's view above on discourse on the ground that Harris' somewhat aims at extending the notion of linguistic unit to a higher level above the lower level that it operates within the sentence. In Schiffrin's view Harris' intention was that the regular recurrence of constituents would correspond to a semantic interpretation for a discourse (Schiffrin, 1994:24). This will mean that the unit will begin to operate even above the sentence, and, in this case, the rule of the structure itself will be broken.

Furthermore, functionalists conceived discourse analysis as the study of any aspect of language in use (Fasold, 1990:65). Fairclough (1995), for example, defines discourse as the use of language seen as a form of social practice...." Consequently, discourse is the representation of socio-cultural background in which it is produced. Discourse is the encoding of the social-cultural and other extralinguistic factors into phonetics/phonology, lexis, and syntax; therefore, discourse cannot be seen just as an independent level beyond the sentence (Labov 1963; Fairclough 1995; ed Tannen et al 2015). Renkema (2004:2) argued that "The aim of discourse study is to provide an explanatory description of the intricate relations between forms of discourse elements and their functions in communication". According to him, the relationship between form and function requires contributions from various disciplines, including linguistics, literature, rhetoric, stylistics, and pragmatics, as well as psychology, sociology, and philosophy. Therefore, discourse study is the common ground that serves as the multi-discipline which enhances interaction or connection among other disciplines (Renkema, 2004:2). Indeed, Adriel (2009:5) notes that "discourse depends on grammar, which in turn depends on discourse". This is because the choices within the language that a speaker or a writer makes can only be understood when they are examined against the

discourse situation. For instance, the semanticity of a lexical item in a discourse is coloured by the context (Fairclough, 1995).

In other words, context is an essential requirement for text interpretation and in relation to the study at hand, a rich knowledge of Nigeria political/religious context is needed for textual analysis. This study intends to do so that appropriate contextual information can be placed side by side along with the textual information for proper, meaningful, and accurate interpretation. On the other hand, as (Tannen. 2015:12) submits, “a full understanding of the discourse structures of a language depends on the recognition of grammatical devices that signal them”. Grammar, in this sense, refers to subsystems such as phonetics, phonology, and syntax.

Discourse analysis, then, is the examination of the text and/or talk that is of sociocultural relevance (Van Dijk, 1995; Tannen, 2015). Blommaert (2005:2) contributes to the discourse, stating that discourse encompasses all forms of significant human semiotics that involve social, cultural, and historical arrangements and developments of use. This means that a speaker is presented as someone who is at liberty to tune his speech to suit the social arrangement or context for which he is speaking. Thus, I assume that pastors all deliberately choose their grammatical expressions to fit into the context of their preaching and their audience. For instance, a pastor preaching to a child audience is most likely not to dwell on sinful attitudes like adultery and fornication; rather, his emphasis might be on lying. In like manner, it will not be expected of a pastor to preach, perhaps, a solemn content message on Christmas. However, in some contexts, such as in Nigeria, pastors take advantage of festive periods, like Christmas and Easter, to address some of the nation’s challenges, including issues like security and poverty, in their sermons. In reality, one does not expect the use of propaganda strategies in a sermon text. The possibility of having such may also be a matter of deliberateness on the side of the pastor.

In addition, some scholars argue in favour of discourse as an utterance. According to Schifffrin (1994:23), the goal here is to describe discourse analysis “not as a collection of decontextualised units of language structure, but as a collection of inherently contextualized units of language use”. An utterance is naturally connected to context and does not necessarily adhere to grammatical rules (Fasold,1990), while, on the other hand, sentences might lack context but intrinsically conform to grammatical rules. Discussing discourse as an utterance did not really emphasise language properties either in functional or in formal use. However, the context is seen as important to overall structure of discourse. This means that grammatical arrangement or choices are not as relevant to discourse as context is. Woods (2006: viii) argues that meaning in discourse is derived from context because meaning is usually negotiated when language is conceived as a social practice. Explaining further, Woods asserts that we produce our utterances to mean what we want them to mean, that is, common linguistic knowledge is shared through our social behaviours, which helps us to effectively communicate these intentions (Woods, 2006: viii). Conceiving or interpreting discourse in terms of utterance may be a drawback for linguistic analysis because grammatical

structures and choice are necessary; otherwise, the context in which the utterance is emphasised may be lost or completely misunderstood without good structures.

Insights from these perspectives on discourse as a branch of linguistics demonstrate that the primary aim of using language is to communicate, thereby highlighting the relationship between structure and context. This explains Scollon's (2007) view that discourse analysis entails at least some of these relations among human actions, more importantly, among linguistic descriptions of human action. Actions are summarized, hierarchized, decomposed into components or constituents, sequenced, and batched. As I have stated before, a functional perspective on discourse is in line with the aim of my study, and from Scollon's explanation above, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will help me to link up the relationship between the speaker's text (in this case, the pastors), that is, their expressions and the context (that is the atmosphere). I will now briefly discuss CDA to demonstrate this.

4.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is the linguistic theory aspect and replication of the more general Critical Theory that covers many fields of scholarly works (Fairclough and Graham 2002: 4). Critical Theory, particularly associated with Frankfurt School, as Celikates and Flynn (2023: 1) observe, refers to a group of theories that is devoted to critical appraisal and transformation of the society by analysing the social conflicts and inequalities being perpetuated and exploited by the powerful against the powerless. Although CDA originally draws on the Marx's concept of ideology, it has evolved to include discursive power, not just economic power as traditionally conceived (Herzog 2018: 1-5). Based on the foregoing background, therefore, CDA is not just about language use, but about uncovering power, dominion, and ideology in discourse

Prior to CDA, discourse analysis was approached, as highlighted by Fairclough (2006: 13), using several tools such as the model for therapeutic discourse proposed by Labov & Fanshel (1977); framework for the description of classroom discourse by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), etc. CDA is thus composed of many components, with pioneering scholars focusing on different areas. Furthermore, Teun van Dijk (1996), for example, focuses on the social-cognitive approach, Norman Fairclough (1992) develops a three-dimensional framework as a method of analysing CDA, Ruth Wodak (2001) works on the Discourse historical approach, and Van Leeuwen (1993) specialises in the representation of social actors. Essentially, CDA takes a critical look at text from a functional linguistic perspective, as noted in the last discussion.

Perhaps, the most distinguishing characterisation of CDA is that it is the linguistic theory instantiation of neo-Marxist approach to the society (Mullet 2018: 118). As Fairclough (2010: 228) would put it, "it was based upon the view of language as an element of material social processes which is dialectically related to other elements...Such social element to which language is dialectically related, as conceived in CDA, is power dynamics and inequality". In other words,

language as discourse, in this framework, is seen as a veritable tool of expressing, negotiating, and sustaining power relations and social stratifications. It is this social origin that makes CDA “tuned to transdisciplinary research...” (Fairclough 2010: 230-231). The power relations reflected in discourse will be seen in more practical terms in the course of the analysis in chapters six and seven where discourse (sermons, in this instance) with political content constitutes the data..

Furthermore, CDA is motivated by the consideration that the choice of words alone is not enough for analysis or interpretation of text, considering the complex background from which the text originated. Therefore, the current study aligns with CDA in that the study requires a methodology that analyses the structure or utterance relation to the appropriate context where those discourses are produced. Indeed, CDA is a veritable tool in the hands of discourse analysts which has yielded insights into social understanding of discourse over years. Therefore, the following studies, based on CDA, serve as evidence of the usefulness of CDA in conducting textual analysis.

To illustrate the specific application of CDA, I will present several examples where it has been used to analyse political texts (Tian, 2021; Haider & Gujjar, 2021; Sharndama, 2016; Sipra & Rashid, 2013; Ivana & Supraogi, 2020; Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015), religious texts (Mansouri 2023; Eldin 2014), and newspaper articles (Zohre & Reza, 2015; Nurjannah, 2018).

Mullet (2018: 116) defines CDA as ‘a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain and legitimise social inequalities. What might need to be corrected in this definition is that CDA is not limited to qualitative design in its analysis of language it can be used.

CDA is a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of discourse. Perhaps, what is unifying across different disciplinary approaches that coalesce into Critical Discourse Analysis is the rigorous analytical approach to text and talk such that the hidden underlying social representations are brought to the fore (Dijk, 1995; Fairclough, 1995; Tannen, 2015; Ogunmuyiwa, 2015). This, according to Fairclough (1995: 131), is because discourse, in the perspective of CDA, is a socially and historically situated mode of action which is ‘socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping’. The implication is that CDA assumes that society is reflected in, and influenced by, discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis, therefore, explores the tension that results from these two sides of language use (ibid). Consequently, one of the major aims of CDA is to unravel how the social relations of power and dominance are expressed, legitimated, reproduced or queried in discourse (Van Dijk, 1995: 18; 2015: 467; Wonhoff, 2017: 3). CDA screws through the rocky linguistic manipulations and organisations in text and talk, especially those of the elites, to unveil the underlying ideologies upholding or resisting social dominance or inequalities (Van Dijk 1995: 18). The social relations behind the discourse form what Van Dijk (ibid) calls patterns of control in discourse which manifest in ‘language variants, genres, topics, grammar, lexical style, rhetorical

figures...’ By employing CDA in the present research, such patterns are traced in the selected Nigerian sermons via corpus-mediated approach.

Most scholars working with CDA, according to Chilton (2004:x), have tended to adopt not the Chomskian generative model, but the Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). This is because, in line with the social commitment of CDA, Systemic-Functional Linguistics presents language as social semiotics (Fairclough 1995:4).

For this research to effectively query the sermon language in Nigeria, context is of utmost importance, and CDA has been used to undertake context-related study in past research (Tian, 2021, Sipra & Rashid 2013; Sharififar and Rahimi 2015; Sharndama 2016; Mansouri 2023; Eldin 2014; Ivana and Suprayogi, 2020, Haider & Gujjar, 2021). This list of research confirms that CDA has been applied mostly to political discourses in different contexts. I will review two related research projects that utilised CDA to demonstrate the effectiveness of this methodology in contextual studies. I will discuss in detail the research of Sharndama (2016) and Ivana and Suprayogi (2020). As I noted earlier, CDA has been popular mostly with political texts as is typically demonstrated in the chosen works just referenced. This is the reason for the choice of these two works for discussion at this juncture.

Sharndama (2016:15-28), using CDA studied the Discursive strategies in political speeches of selected inaugural speeches of the 2015 Nigeria’s Gubernatorial inaugurals. His data for the study was drawn from the inaugural speeches of six governors spread across the six geopolitical zones, regardless of the political and religious affiliations of those selected, to ensure a balanced representation across party lines and religious lines. The texts were analysed using Fairclough’s three-dimensional steps of linguistic description, interpretation, and explanation. The texts were analysed through the macro structure analysis, divided into three sections (i.e., the opening remarks, the content, and the conclusion).

By applying CDA tool, Sharndama (2016) successfully identified the discursive strategies employed by the governors to pass to the people the message of hope and inclusiveness in their administration. These discursive strategies include the use of the first-person personal pronoun “I” and “We” in the opening remarks of the speeches, a mark of personal involvement employed to create a sense of responsibility and self-relevance. Additionally, the governors convey a general theme of welcome, expressing gratitude for the mandate given to them by the people. After the opening formalities, content is next according to the macro structure analysis. His finding reveals a similar theme of challenges or problems affecting people across the board, a theme which is also a recurring element in their manifestos. The speech maker also uses “I” as a commissive act to persuade the people to regain their confidence in the new administration. “We” is used to include the cabinet members as part of the administration’s representatives alongside the governor.

Sharndama (2016) touches on the use of propaganda as an effective discursive strategy in political discourse. He identifies the following propaganda types which were used in the inaugural speeches: i) hyperbolic propaganda, ii) integration propaganda, iii) religious propaganda and iv) card sticking. Note that some of the above-listed types of propaganda have been explained in 3.3.2, except hyperbolic propaganda and card-stacking propaganda. This is because, the two have been listed as strategies of propaganda as found in literature. Generally, his findings reveal that the inaugural speech is a persuasive text, unlike the other political speeches (Sharndama, 2016:25). The themes identified in the speeches overlap, cutting across the states of the governors. A very strong strategy is the use of pronouns for inclusion and exclusion. His findings also distinguish between the propaganda used for electioneering campaigns and that used at inauguration. Politicians use propaganda at inaugurations to build hope and to convince the people to believe in their administration. On the other hand, they use propaganda before elections to manipulate people's opinions and attitudes to their advantage.

Although the study uses Fairclough's model (1985) of CDA, the gap for my study is that religious text was not used for the analysis and corpus linguistic tools were not employed for the study. More so, the subject of propaganda was not dealt with in-depth because there was no intention or attempt to detect or distinguish propaganda and non-propaganda language use.

Ivana and Suprayogi (2020:20-45) is another example of study that employs CDA, but outside of the Nigerian context. This example further shows the suitability of CDA methodology to a political context. Ivana and Suprayogi (2020) explored the representation of Iran and the United State in Donald Trump's speeches. The authors adopted Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to analyse President Donald Trump's speech after the Iran attack on January 9th, 2020. The data were analysed based on macrostructure, superstructure and microstructures.

On microstructure, the theme focuses on Iran's use of nuclear weapons, especially against the United States. Superstructure reveals the speech contents as follows: the safe condition of the American troops, acts of terror and sanctions to be given to terrorists, Iran's nuclear ambitions, hopes for Iran to become a peaceful country, and the unmatched strength of the United States. On the micro level, textual analysis of the texts was performed to identify the synthetic elements, semantic elements, lexical elements. Syntactic elements and sentence forms reveal the use of pronouns, and sentence forms include the use of active and passive voice, as seen in Donald Trump's construction of sentences when describing the two countries. The pronouns "we" and "you" were used by Trump in the speech to refer to Americans, Iran and terrorists. At the semantic level, details and presuppositions were employed to convey a clear message to the world, while presuppositions suggest that the punishment already outlined would be applied in case of future misbehaviour on the part of Iran. The lexical analysis reveals the use of rhetoric to persuade the audience for support. His opinion and attitude are revealed in his opening formalities i.e., greeting

his audience, and expression of happiness. The third level of social cognitive analysis is his ideology of power as conveyed in the action taken by Trump on behalf of Americans.

For the socio-cognitive analysis, Ivana and Suprayogi (2020) focused on knowledge, opinion, attitude, and ideology. Knowledge here refers to the knowledge detected in the speech of the author, especially in presenting facts about his actions and decisions.

The last level of analysis, which Ivana & Supraogi (2020) included, is the social context analysis. The author reveals the non-cordial relationship that existed between Iran and America since Islamic revolution in 1979. The speech's social context reveals the escalating tension, not only between the two countries but among the nations of the world. The social context also gives insight on world politics, as revealed by the authors. Americans were backed by Saudi Arabia, which is also in the same region and shares the same religion as Iran. Though this paper is not in the Nigerian context, the applicability of critical discourse analysis as a theory is universal. Moreover, this research has an underlying element of religion as shown in the social context analysis which makes it relevant to the current research. However, propaganda was not examined. The text analysed is not a religious text, and, as already mentioned earlier, it is not in the Nigerian context.

As it can be seen from the above studies, CDA is not only on discourse of class-based power but also on ideological and political uses of language (Fairclough and Graham 2002: 5-6). Indeed, Fairclough (2006: 92) has associated CDA with “domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of the society”. In line with this position, although the current study does not focus on class or race, it still investigates how religious authority is used to shape political views, which is a form of discursive power. Furthermore, applying CDA to nurse-patient and nurse-relative interactions, Mayor and Bietti (2017: 55) have shown that CDA has an ethical and political stance by looking at how discourse contributes to injustice or inequality. This justifies the choice of the current study to examine sermons critically, and not just descriptively. Essentially, therefore, CDA has moved beyond old-school Marxism but now includes symbolic power: how language shapes thinking in media, religion and other fields (Beetz, Herzog and Maesse 2018: 321-322). It then shows that CDA is apt for religious discourse in which the current study is based.

In conclusion, CDA is useful for the current study because it constitutes the tool for in-depth investigation into the selected texts. CDA is the methodology that enables the implicit ideologies of the speakers to be unravelled through an exhaustive explication. The methodology provides an intricate connection between form, which in this case is the sermonic texts, and function, which is the ideologies being propagated by the pastors. In essence, CDA is the rigorous, multi-faceted, approach of bringing to bear the deep meanings behind the communications of the pastors as captured in the selected sermons.

4.4.2 *Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistic Methods*

Scholars like Baker (2006), Baker et al. (2008), Stegmeier (2012) and Kong (2022) attest to the possible purposeful combination of CDA and Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL) for in-depth research. Baker (2006:12) asserts that the use of CDA and CL could help to place restrictions on our cognitive biases in analysing and in our data selection, since CL offers objectivity as a quantitative method. CL in combination with CDA will, therefore, enable my research to have access to a more comprehensive view of the available data which will also translate to a wider context for CDA exploration enhanced with a purpose-¹⁰built corpus stored and processed by computer to establish rich text-based research that ensures that CDA is not lacking in data (Baker 2012:35). I have already provided examples of possible propaganda strategies that Nigerian pastors may use in their sermons to achieve certain goals (see Table 2 again). A CL approach will further enable me to investigate and identify the specific grammatical strategies employed in the propagation of sermons.

According to Stefanowitsch (2020:56), CL is the investigation of a linguistic research question that has been framed in terms of the conditional distribution of linguistic phenomena in linguistic corpora. In other words, it is related to studying language in terms of the frequency of use in a given context. A linguistic corpus is a large collection of real-life language use that is compiled to solve or investigate a language phenomenon or question as indicated in the definition offered by Stefanowitsch above.

The combination of CDA and CL, sometimes also termed Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (e.g., Partington, 2004 & 2006), is not novel, although the two are not commonly applied. Baker (2008: 274) explains that the use of “assisted” does not in any way suggest the superiority of one over another; rather it is an enhancer to the methodological synergy of the two frameworks. Baker et al. (2008: 274) demonstrates the application of a useful synergy of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to examine the discourse of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. The purpose of using CDA was to examine the discursive presentation of refugees and asylum seekers and immigrant/migrants in the British media for a period of ten years (1996-2005). Additionally, CL was employed to handle data synchronously and diachronically. Suffice it to say

¹⁰ Corpus linguistics" refers to a broad approach that relies on corpus-based research and derives insights from corpus investigations. While some linguists use the term to describe highly specific analyses, such as statistical methods, I use it to refer to research in which corpora serve as the primary data source for examining linguistic patterns, comparing language use across different contexts, and drawing conclusions about language structure and usage. Although some interpretations in Chapter 7 are based on statistical results from specific CLA tools, the primary goal of CLA in this study is not to make statistical derivations but rather to identify the grammatical strategies employed by Nigerian pastors, and also to uncover possible propaganda strategies.

here that the combined method informs a rich analysis of texts in question. The choice of the combined approach for this research will be briefly explained below.

According to Stegmerie (2012: 94), discourse analysis relies on the use of text corpora and should therefore be a part of, or at least benefit from, the rapid development in corpus linguistics. Similarly, Baker (2006:5) affirms that discourse analysts have used corpora to analyse data such as political texts and to him, such studies have shown how corpus analysis can uncover ideologies. Stegmerie (2012:94) further notes that discourse analysis could be conducted without computer-aided corpora. However, he explained that using CADS will lead to a better understanding of language use. With the effective use of the two methods, empirical analysis of the actual pattern of use in natural texts is generated. Again, such research is open to large samples of natural collection of text which then enables the use of automatic and interactive techniques together through computers for analysis (Biber *et al*,1998:4).

A thoughtful examination of the above benefits of the combination of CDA and CL justifies the reason for using the two methodologies in the current research. Indeed, Baker et al. (2001:281) posit that critical discourse analysis takes into account the absent and the present elements in the data. This informs us of the critical role of the context that CDA offers to a corpus-based approach to linguistic analysis. This also exposes the decision of the speaker in a discourse of the lexical choices he makes given the availability of other grammatical words. Thus, CL will assist to provide accurate data for analysis and will also serve to justify the contextual analysis for which CDA is implored to do. Specifically, the corpus frequency tool, for instance, stands to validate the claims of CDA for the study by comparing the figures against the analysis.

To understand the type of communication in the sermons, that is, persuasive or propaganda, it will be sensible for me to employ the frequency tool to see the ratio between words that connote persuasion and those that indicate propaganda, thereby helping to categorise them as propaganda and non-propaganda objectively. Frequency is important in discourse study because words tend to occur in association with other words that are most predictable. This is owing to the fact that language is conventionalised in creating a variety of patterns from which the speaker is free to use any form. The choice of the speaker is not, however, innocent; it reveals his or her ideological position, which frequently helps us to unearth the underlying dispositions. Also, frequency offers insights into the narrative structure of a text. In other words, it shows us where a particular word occurs most: at the beginning, in the middle or the end, and whether it is so across the corpus or with a particular corpus. Therefore, frequency provides focus for the research and helps the researcher to know what to focus on (Baker, 2006:47-49).

The corpus for this research serves as a repository where samples of language patterns are selected. Being an objective research tool, however, CL alone cannot explain contexts of a discourse. Nonetheless, it does provide insights into the context of use in the corpus. In this regard, concordances assisted me in spotting the theme and patterns. The linguistic patterns were identified through corpus methods and serve as evidence for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analysis. It helps me to recognise the choices that the pastors made, hence enabling the categorisation of the texts into propaganda and non-propaganda, as the case may be¹¹. The corpus concordance mostly serves to complement the other method.

Therefore, this research involves the combination of not just CDA. In addition, a linguistic framework of propaganda will be employed to inform the CDA analysis and serve as validation of potential findings.

4.5 Maritz's (2019) Linguistic Analytic Framework

This framework is a contribution by Maritz (2019) in a doctoral thesis, titled *Die linguistiese eienskappe van propaganda*. The aim of developing this framework was to introduce an alternative method for analysing propaganda that avoids circular reasoning. It first classifies texts using non-linguistic criteria before conducting a linguistic analysis, incorporating Systemic Functional Linguistics as the theoretical tool to characterise propaganda. The implication is that Maritz did not actively engage all the tenants of CDA in the sense that the study was not concerned with how propaganda to enforce or maintain inequality and power. Maritz observes that previous studies on the language of propaganda in linguistics have been conducted with the help of Discourse Analysis, and these studies are geared toward contexts and issues related to power relations only. However, according to Maritz, those studies could not make relevant distinctive grammatical input on the language characteristics of propaganda as a phenomenon. Thus, the inherent features or characteristics that make propaganda what it is or that could help an individual to identify it remain, to a large extent, unaccounted for in grammatical terms. Hence, there is gap in the use of CDA for propaganda study and especially for a study that aims at distinguishing between propaganda and non-propaganda text types (Maritz, 2021:1). To solve the problem of linguistic distinctions of propaganda as identified by Maritz, a formal linguistic (grammatical) study on propaganda as text type was conducted to be able to draw a general conclusion on the subject (Maritz, 2019). In doing this, Maritz developed non-linguistic properties of propaganda text model derived from already existing propaganda identification models and narratological elements. The model needed such non-linguistic characterisation of propaganda to avoid a circle that would have resulted if linguistic features were used to describe the same linguistic features that constitute the main outcome of the study. In Maritz's view, this model does not use linguistic properties to separate propaganda from non-propaganda; rather, the content of words is used in this distinction, and by this, the aim of the

¹¹For a detailed explanation of this see Chapter 5

text serves as the main discerning factor that assists in the categorisation of propaganda and non-propaganda texts. Furthermore, part of what makes up the model is that the aim of a text (propaganda text) can be indicated when there is a discrepancy between actual events and the way in which a propagandist presents these events. According to Maritz, asking two questions can help determine the aim of a text: Is there a call to specific action or to deliberate passivity? If the execution of the specific action (or the neglect thereof) takes place, is there a beneficiary?

Maritz (2019) answers these questions by building on the existing models for propaganda analysis, including the following: Jowett and O'Donnell's (2012) propaganda plan of analysis; Black's (2001) six steps, according to which propaganda can be composed and understood; the US Army's SCAME approach (PSYOP, 2003), and George's (1959) exposition, which portrays the different components of a propaganda analytical section and the relationship between these components. The foregoing provides a useful template for the current study to distinguish between propaganda and non-propaganda even when the same strategy is used by two speakers, such that one may be propaganda while the other is not.

The importance of Maritz's (2019) framework lies in its consideration of the contextual information within a text, the important techniques a propagandist employs to integrate into a text, and the author's intention. Maritz (2019:4) says that the "difference between these models and the non-linguistic propaganda identification model is that the latter must be used to identify texts as propaganda or not, rather than making an informed assumption about the type of text, before a full analysis is conducted". Maritz furthermore emphasises the importance of having an informed assumption, which can be achieved by using this model both before and during the process of selecting suitable texts for analysis. According to the researcher, this model provides a more concrete, systematic manner to determine the nature of the text's aim. The framework also helps the researcher maintain objectivity, as the sorting of the analysed text would depend less on the researcher and more on the model's outcome. With the help of the framework, an assumption is not made about whether a text is propaganda or not, but the text at hand is systematically identified as being either one or the other. Thus, this model serves as a screening device to determine whether a text is propaganda or not when juxtaposed against the themes (Maritz, 2019:5).

From the foregoing, we can gather that Maritz's (2019) model effectively distinguishes between non-linguistic and linguistic features of propaganda, a task noted not to have been clearly addressed in previous studies. Indeed, the study acknowledges that previous studies thitherto have investigated linguistic and non-linguistic; only that there is "no strict distinction between the non-linguistic and linguistic features of propaganda" (Maritz, 2019: 13). This lack of distinction, the study reveals, is due to the sole reliance on CDA which does not provide a framework for making a clear distinction between the two features. First, Maritz's study clarifies the non-linguistic features as relating to the content (i.e. semantic target or direction) of a text while linguistic features have to do with formal (grammatical) features. The work employs the non-linguistic features

mainly to differentiate between propaganda and non-propaganda texts so that ‘purely’ linguistic features can subsequently be applied to the identified propaganda and non-propaganda texts, the latter being the focus of Maritz's (2019) framework. In a way, Maritz's (2019) model may be seen not as a critique of the existing CDA model but as an expansion of its scope to account for the separability of linguistic and non-linguistic features vis-à-vis the separability of propaganda and non-propaganda texts.

While Maritz's (2019) model was designed for political communication, its adaptation to religious discourse is justified on the basis of the functional and rhetorical similarities between political and sermonic communications. Both genres are ideologically charged, audience-oriented, and deployed in institutional contexts to influence belief and behaviour. Religious sermons, particularly in socio-political contexts like Nigeria, often extend beyond theological instruction to address national identity, governance, and morality. As Fairclough (1995) argues, discourse is a form of social practice that shapes and is shaped by power structures. Sermons—like political speeches—can thus serve as vehicles for disseminating ideological content and propagating certain worldviews. Maritz's criteria, which identify non-linguistic features such as symbolic transfer, emotion activation, and testimonial appeals, are equally present in religious rhetoric aimed at rallying believers, framing enemies, or delegitimising dissent. Therefore, the adaptation of Maritz's framework to this study is both theoretically sound and contextually appropriate.

The current study will be expanding Maritz (2019) framework chiefly in two ways. First, the linguistic-feature model for identifying propaganda and non-propaganda texts which Maritz applied to her political texts (political texts being the general exclusive researched texts of CDA thus far) will be applied to religious texts, a genre, like many others, that has been outside the purview of CDA thus far. Thus, the study will test the applicability of the Maritz framework to non-political genres, thereby giving a broader suitability of the model (in the case of its applicability).

Indeed, Bolton (2018: 71) has noted CDA as one of “those approaches that are largely...political in orientation”. This seems to be an echo of Chilton (2004: x) who remarks that CDA provides the theoretical banner for politically-motivated linguists from different backgrounds. Therefore, the current thesis expands the textual scope of CDA, considering that Maritz's (2019) model, on which it is built, is not a total dismissal of the CDA model. However, in line with Maritz's (2019) model, the current study uses the non-propaganda religious texts as a control for the propaganda religious texts. In other words, the distinct features of the non-propaganda texts will activate a paradigmatic relation with propaganda texts, thus helping to establish the distinctive features of the latter. The second expansion that the current study brings upon Maritz's (2019) framework is the likely expansion of the pool of linguistic features identified from the latter (i.e. propaganda religious texts). In other words, since the current study is foraying into a genre that has hitherto been

uninvestigated in CDA studies, new linguistic features are most likely to be identified. Therefore, the work will expand formal linguistic tools relevant for describing propaganda texts.

Using a formal linguistic (grammatical) approach to analyse propaganda can be a comprehensive alternative to existing strategies for detecting propaganda in conversation or text. It is sufficient for analysing propaganda and it can be combined with CDA and CL or used alone. For example, Maritz (2019) used it in conjunction with CL. For my study, I will use this framework in conjunction with CDA and CL. I represented this framework in Chapter 3 as a grammatical strategy. The reason for this is to demonstrate to readers that this framework provides an alternative approach for dissecting propaganda-laden texts using the grammatical tools presented therein. In this research the knowledge of this framework will help my CDA analysis in Chapter 6 and in Chapter 7. It will serve as the framework that guides the investigation.

Furthermore, this study will incorporate Maritz's (2019) linguistic framework to ensure that assumptions are not made and that the data are systematically identified as constituting propaganda or not. In addition, by applying Maritz's (2019) framework for the purpose of the present research, this study serves to test the above claims in order to validate the usefulness and effectiveness of Maritz (2019) model beyond the political discourse genre in which the model was employed initially since, this time around, it will be applied to religious communications. For this research, a combination of this model of linguistic analysis with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used to identify the major themes in the data. Then, the aim and theme of the texts can be compared to determine the actual text types that sermons are composed of, namely persuasive or propaganda. In other words, methodological triangulation is employed in the present research to ensure reliable and objective exploration and identification of the subject of possible religious propaganda in Nigeria for the purpose of this study. More generally, the points of similarity between Maritz's model and the current study will be in the adoption of the overarching theoretical framework of SFL, and the interest in propaganda study in public texts. Generally, however, it should be noted that only a basic application of Maritz's model will be used in this study, specifically to identify what counts for propaganda or otherwise.

In Chapter 5 (the first section of the analysis), I presented the parameters for analysis in an in-depth manner, and provided details of the corpus, including the total word count and also the count of each of the subcorpora.

4.6. Summary

In the chapter under review, the focus was placed on the theoretical pivot upon which this study is built. Thus, the chapter is a further exploration of the relevant literature that has bearing with the study, one way or the other (as evident in the preceding chapters two and three). The first issue discussed was the place of text and cohesion in the realisation of discourse. This naturally (and

seamlessly too) led to the explication of the overarching theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as conceived by Michael Halliday (e.g. 2014) and other scholars working within the framework. Then came the germane issue of discourse analysis itself as has been approached so far in the extant literature. A more recent subsidiary of discourse analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, and which will serve as a major component of the data analysis in this study); so CDA was discussed. Also extensively contemplated was the combination of CDA and Corpus Linguistics methods, as will be practically executed at the data analysis level of this study. Finally, I highlighted Maritz (2019) Linguistic Analytical Framework, carried out on political discourse but whose relevance beyond political genre (i.e. on religious discourse, this time around) will be (in)validated by the current study. Hence, the chapter expounds the theoretical footing for the data analysis and interpretation to be carried out later in both chapters six and seven.

5.1 Introduction

Earlier in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.3), I provided a list of strategies (choice of words/styles) used by various speakers to communicate their opinions, objectives, or their intentions towards their respective audience. Pressing further (see 3.3.4), it was stated that the objective of the data analysis was to detect the possible use of propaganda strategies in religious texts such as sermons preached by Nigerian pastors. The task for this current chapter (Chapter 5) is to provide the practical steps that would be taken to analyse the sermonic data for the study. Such steps would enable the realisation of the above-stated objective (i.e. detecting propaganda strategies or their absence in the selected sermons).

It is important to note that it has been made explicit in chapter 1 (see 1.5.2) that section B of this dissertation will comprise of the results of two broad methodologies. While one of these methodologies will be at the macro level (that is, CDA), the other is on the micro level (which is CLA). Maritz's (2019) methodological framework for analysing propaganda, to the extent to which it relates to the current thesis, has been discussed in the preceding chapter (see 4.5) as a relevant framework to assist in achieving the set goal of detecting the use of propaganda in a non-political environment, like sermons.

What follows immediately below is the explanation of how CDA and CLA constitute methodological tools, as will be employed in the following two chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7).

5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a method

As I mentioned in 1.5.2), the data analysis involved a multifaceted examination of religious texts (sermons and homilies) delivered by Nigerian pastors. A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be conducted to identify the linguistic propaganda strategies at a macro level. Subsequently, corpus analytic methods can be employed to dissect grammatical elements of the texts at a micro level, using Maritz's (2019) research framework to focus on religious texts to identify propaganda strategies in sermons.

The primary purpose of using CDA is to gain valuable insights into the understanding of discourse in terms of ideological concepts that are often expressed in relation to the historical context of the discourse. Maritz's (2019) linguistic framework of propaganda aligns with the linguistic focus of this study, which aims to provide a linguistic interpretation for each element in the text and examine how they facilitate propaganda.

For CDA, I am focusing on identifying the linguistic propaganda strategies employed by pastors in their sermon delivery. Maritz's (2019) framework also aids in the CDA. Drawing on the model of linguistics (which I refer to as grammatical), I was able to identify the use of propaganda strategies in the texts based on the grammatical categorisations in the relevant sections of each text.

Another point worth noting is Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model, which is relevant to the current study, as it is to Maritz's. This model comprises three distinct facets: discourse as text or textual analysis ('description'), discursive practice or process analysis ('interpretation'), and discourse as social practice or social analysis ('explanation') (see 4.4.1). According to Fairclough (1993, 1995), the first step in analysing discourse is to examine the text itself, that is, the character elements on which text or talk is manifested. This textual level involves content and form-the structure of content and the functionality of the message (Titscher *et al.*, 2000:150) (Haider & Gujjar, 2021:6). Fairclough regards form and content as somewhat inseparable from one another because, through certain forms, content is realized and through certain content, some forms are identified (Titscher *et al.*, 2000:150).

In textual analysis of propaganda strategy, the elements that constitute the focus are the choice of words and their arrangements in terms of lexicon, grammar, semantics, cohesion, and so on as used or as seen in the text. Essentially, the textual analysis will be dealt with in two phases (i.e.CDA phase and Corpus analysis phase). I will explore the text bearing in mind the existing propaganda strategies (i.e. those that are ready associated and identified with the help of CDA).

For the purpose of this study, the CDA was done manually on the computer as each sermon text was closely read, bearing in mind the peculiar Nigerian context with which the author is quite familiar. Elements that constitute each propaganda strategy were searched for and identified by the means of colour-coding after repeated reading. Then, such strategies were analysed intra-textually and extra-linguistically (i.e. in relation to the social, religious and political realities of Nigeria in particular, and where applicable, in relation to international realities).

5.3 Corpus linguistic Analysis (CLA)

Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA) is employed in conjunction with Maritz's (2019) linguistic framework to investigate language patterns of four Nigerian pastors. The aim of this is to see whether their language use is indicative of propaganda strategies or not. The framework presents a set of language elements relevant to identifying propaganda strategies in the corpus.

5.3.1 Research subjects

As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, the research subjects for this study are coded as aliases PP1/PP2 for political pastors. A similar alias code is used for non-political pastors, that is, NPP3/NPP4 (see 1.5.2.1.1).

5.3.2 Corpus information

The corpus used in this study comprises of four subcorpora compiled from the homilies and sermons of popular and well-known pastors in Nigeria (see 1.5.2.1). Therefore, four subcorpora were created using Sketch Engine, namely:

- PP1 (homilies and sermons of Political Pastor 1)
- PP2 (homilies and sermons of Political Pastor 2)
- NPP3 (homilies and sermons of Non-political Pastor 1)
- NPP4 (homilies and sermons of Non-political pastor 2)

These four subcorpora are the main corpus for the study, otherwise referred to as the focus corpus. Each of these corpora were, where applicable, compared to a neutral English corpus as reference corpus, namely Sketch Engine's English Web Corpus 2021 (enTenTen21). This corpus is a collection of words from the internet sourced from different genres such as culture and entertainment, health, politics and government, art, science, beauty, sport, travel and technology and so on including religion having about 748,916,755 contents. The corpora were built by using technological means to collect only linguistically valuable Web content. The most recent version of the English Web corpus is fifty-two billion (52 billion) running words collected from the web between October and December 2021 and January 2022 (enTenTen21).

5.3.3 Corpus compilation

For this study, I have compiled one corpus consisting of four subcorpora, namely:

- Political pastor one (PP1)
- Political pastor two (PP2)
- Non-political pastor one (NPP3)
- Non-political pastor two (NPP4)

I intended to compile a corpus numbering a minimum of five hundred thousand running words. However, I was able to compile a total of 450,867. One major challenge in compiling the corpus was obtaining the informed consent of the pastors, given their extremely busy schedules and administrative protocols. For example, I had to visit the headquarters church of PP2 and identify myself to be allowed to see the senior pastor who is also the serving general overseer to obtain his

permission. This experience was not unique to PP2 only, I initially selected about seven list of pastors who were all prospective subjects. This was so planned because, aside from the carefully selected political pastors, any other pastors can fill the needed role of controlling non-political pastors. Emails were sent to each of them, and their personal assistants through calls and electronic message as a means of close follow-up just to get the consent forms signed. Ultimately, four pastors graciously consented to have their messages used for the study.

PP1, PP2 and NPP3 indeed granted me audience that enabled their signing of the consent form while NPP4 generously signed the consent form via an intermediary. The first group (i.e., PP1, PP2, and NPP3) made it clear that I could find their sermons on my own in the public domain. They particularly told me that their sermons were available on internet and in printed forms.

Most of the data were collected through the pastor's personal staff. For example, PP1 sermons were sent to me via email by his secretary. Similarly, I got those of PP2 from his personal editor. As for NPP3, I got his published messages from a book form and then digitised them from PDF to Word format and then I transcribed all my data into TST files text.

I would have achieved my goal of five hundred thousand and even more corpus word-count if afforded more time to digitise more of the NPP3 sermon books that are available. Having more of NPP3, however, would have compromised the balance that needs to be maintained in terms of data quantity from the four research subjects.

5.3.4 Research Design

Since CDA has to do with a close reading, I selected average of 5 to 6 sermons per pastor depending on the length of the sermon. Particularly, the sermons of PP1, PP2 and NPP3 were selected chronologically. This is because the dates on which those sermons were preached are indicated in the sermon texts, allowing them to be arranged into a series and cumulatively present the pastor's thoughts over a period of time. For example, the sermons of PP1 are a stretch of sermons preached on Christmas and Easter celebrations from 2019 to 2022. Those of PP2 were the series of broadcasts of the state of the nation from 2015-2019, while NPP3 are from 2018-2022. However, I have selected five NPP4 sermons, although from the topics that I selected I noticed that the sermons fall within the same political period as when other subjects preached their selected sermons.

5.3.5 Corpus query tools

The corpus tool used for this component of the study is Sketch Engine. Sketch Engine is a corpus query software used by linguists, lexicographers, translators, teachers and students. It is "a primary text tool used to navigate how text works" (Sketch Engine 2003). The algorithms of Sketch Engine are capable of analysing a large number of texts. Sketch Engine is an online corpus service that

have a user-friendly function useful for building and analysing KWIS concordances for item such as lemma and others Thomas (2016:503). Sketch Engine can provide characteristics and uncommon language uses of words. Sketch Engine has several working tools such as word sketch¹², word sketch difference¹³, thesaurus¹⁴, concordance¹⁵, wordlist^{16, 17} N-gram, ¹⁸keyword, ¹⁹text types of analysis,²⁰ one quick dictionary (Lexical computing LTD). However, three specific Sketch Engine tools are employed in this study, namely: the i) frequency tool, ii) keywords tool, and ii) concordance tool.

- **Frequency tool:** the frequency tool is the statistical tool used to determine the number of times a word appears in a given corpus. According to Stefanowitsch (2020:54), a frequency list is a summary outline of the quantitative distribution of lexical items in each corpus. In other words, frequency list helps us to know how many times a word is used in a particular corpus. This gives the researcher an idea of how important or relevant that word is to the overall text. Apart from providing numerical information about a word occurrence, a frequency list can also be used to categorise both the content and the grammatical words. It can be further used to classify words in the corpus into the traditional parts of speech (i.e. word classes).
- **Keyword tool:** The notion of keyword as described is a word which appears with remarkable frequency in a given corpus in comparison with a reference corpus (Scott, 1997). A keyword tool brings to focus information of what a text is all about, especially

¹² Word sketch is a page summary of words collocation and their grammatical behaviour around other words (Users guide, 2003, Thomas, 2016:504)

¹³ Word sketch difference compares and contrasts collocational differences of words. This can be done at three levels: 1) lemma, 2) word form and 3) sub corpora. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁴ Thesaurus it is an automatic generation of word synonyms from sketch engine. It highlights the semantic environment in which a given word occurs. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁵ Concordance is used to search word context, whether at a lexical or phrasal level. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁶ Wordlist is used to generate frequency list for words, lemma and part of speech i.e. nouns, verbs etc. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁷ N-gram tool generates frequency list of the sequence of tokens. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁸ Keywords are single token terms that appear frequently in the focus corpus more than any other word in the reference corpus. It is used to identify what is specific to a corpus. (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

¹⁹ Text type analysis manages metadata information (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

²⁰ One quick dictionary combines the features of lexicon (Users guide, 2003; Thomas, 2016:504)

the underlying relationship that exists among word clusters. Costas argued that “Keyness” in linguistic is traceable to the mid-1990s and according to him, Keyword is a word that appeared in a corpus in an unusual frequency in a giving text by comparison with a reference corpus of the same (Costas, 2018:1). The implication of this is that keywords are words or tokens that occurs more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus. They are words that define the focus corpus and distinguish it from regular language use. The application of a keyword tool to a text helps identify the thematic focus and stylistic features of the text's structure. It can be useful in identifying a language variety of text (Stefanowitsch, 2020:354-355). Thus, according to Costas 2018: there are two types of keyness analysis approaches: they are focused approach and explanatory approaches. Focused Keynes analysis can be done by comparing the normalised frequency of particular items in two corpora to address a particular research question or hypotheses. On the other hand, the explanatory approach, which is mostly used in the corpus-based approach to discourse study. In the explanatory approach, the frequency of all items in the two corpora is compared, and then the concordance line of each key item is considered to establish a pattern of differences, absence or similarity. For the study, explanatory approach is useful and appropriate, combined with a mixture of the focused approach as suggested by Costas “The research starts with an exploratory approach, by deriving a list of key items ranked according to the value of the keyness metric used in the study. At this point, the researcher may switch to a targeted approach and select particular types of items for concordance analysis according to explicit criteria, such as their normalised or raw frequency, part of speech, core sense, or relation to a particular topic.” (Costas, 2018:3)

- **Concordance tool:** defining the concordance tool, Stefanowitsch (2020: 51) asserts that it is a “quick overview of the typical usage of a particular (set of) word form or more complex linguistic expressions”. The concordance tool can find and bring out words in their various contexts of use within the corpus. Going forward, the current chapter is divided into four sections, similar to what was done under the CDA in the previous chapter. Each section will focus on a pastor's data set at a time. Therefore, sections 2 and 3 will present the results of a CLA of PP1's and PP2's sermons, respectively, while sections 4 and 5 are dedicated to the discussion of the results of a CLA of the two non-political pastors, NPP3 and NPP4, respectively.

5.4 Ethical Considerations

As a Nigerian scholar conducting research within my own socio-religious environment, I remain acutely aware of the interpretive and ethical complexities inherent in a study that interrogates religious communication for propagandistic features. Given that sermons are often perceived as sacred, labelling aspects of such discourse as propaganda requires a careful, reflexive, and ethically sound approach (Tracy, 2010:841; Mullet, 2018:116).

At no point is the intent to critique or discredit theological or political content or religious practice. Instead, the goal is to explore the linguistic construction of ideological messaging, as discerned through the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics Analysis (CLA), framed by the adapted model of Maritz (2019). The use of these methods allowed for analytical triangulation, reducing bias and ensuring consistency across both politically inclined and non-political sermons (Gee & Handford, 2012:179; Baker, 2006:2).

This ethical and reflexive engagement is not merely procedural but is fundamental to the credibility and integrity of the study. In a context where religion and politics are often entangled, the ability to investigate linguistic patterns while honouring the spiritual and social functions of sermons is critical. This study, therefore, stands as both a scholarly and ethically accountable contribution to the understanding of political communication in religious discourse.

5.5 Summary

This chapter addressed the matter of methodology to provide panoramic details as to how to analyse the data. In essence, therefore, the chapter serves as a connecting bridge between the research questions and the realisation of the research aim, utilising the harvested data. The discussion began by examining how CDA and CLA are usually engaged for textual analysis. While particular pieces of information of CDA as touching Maritz (2019) non-linguistic framework (to which Fairclough's (1995) is relevant as it is to the current study) were mentioned, fine details were provided for the quantitative instruments of CLA. How the foregoing will be deployed in interpreting the data was fully discussed. Essentially, then, this chapter lays out relevant information regarding the study's data and methodological steps that will guide their analysis for the purpose of arriving at empirically sound results. The chapter provides the analytical direction for the following to chapters, chapters six and seven.

SECTION B

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 (see Section 3.3.4 and Table 2), I compiled a list of 25 propaganda strategies derived from the literature (e.g., Miller 1937; Maritz 2019; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Sumanat and Dispanya 2016; Adebiyi and Salaudeen 2016; Jowett and O'Donnell 2012; Akhimien and Farotimi 2018; Mesthrie 2000; Martino et al. 2020). In this chapter, I analyse the data with these strategies in mind, addressing the overarching research question:

How do Nigerian pastors use their sermons for political messaging to their followers ?

My primary focus with this chapter is to comprehensively report the CDA as it relates to the discursive propaganda strategies identified in Chapter 3. This analysis helps assess how each preacher constructs their messages and whether their discourse exhibits characteristics commonly associated with political communication (especially propagation strategies). By identifying these discursive strategies, I can determine the aim of each sub-corpus of sermons by addressing the two key questions posed by Maritz (see again 3.3.3).

In this chapter, therefore, I report on the findings of the CDA. I conducted a close reading of sermon samples from the selected pastors (see Chapter 1.5.2.1) using Fairclough's (1995) CDA framework, while finding relevance in Maritz (2019) non-linguistic separation between propaganda and non-propaganda texts.

This approach enabled a detailed examination of the textual features, allowing me to identify the propaganda strategies present in the sermons. Through this method, not only were the strategies from my initial list confirmed, but additional linguistic and non-linguistic features—previously unaccounted for in the taxonomy—also emerged. In this chapter, I present a synthesis of the CDA results for each pastor by:

- Identifying the specific strategies each preacher employs,
- Illustrating these strategies with textual examples, and
- Interpreting the findings at the discourse practice level as defined by Fairclough (1995), linking the textual aspects to the socio-political context discussed in Chapter 2.

- Identifying where language, in keeping with the Critical Theory feature of CDA, is used to legitimise or delegitimise political figures or where religious authority is employed to communicate political judgement.

As Fairclough's framework includes a textual aspect, I also note some grammatical elements in this chapter that were evident in the CDA.

In the next chapter (Chapter 7), I report on the second approach of the study's data analysis, namely the Corpus Linguistic Analysis. This analysis was conducted to gain an overall perspective on how these propaganda strategies are employed across the texts. The CLA serves as the quantitative complement to the CDA reported on in this current chapter. It allows me to systematically verify the grammatical structures the four pastors used to realise these propaganda strategies, specifically the prevalence of key verbs, nouns and modifiers associated with propaganda strategies against the comprehensive list compiled earlier (see again 3.3.4), ensuring consistency and robustness in the findings. In doing so, I employ Maritz's strategy of delineating between the linguistic (e.g., grammatical, syntactic features) and non-linguistic (e.g., the content, intent, and contextual discrepancies) characteristics. Previous studies often blurred these distinctions by relying solely on CDA, which did not offer a strict separation between the two.

6.2 Results of the CDA of the language use two Nigerian political pastors

In this chapter, I report on the results from a qualitative analysis conducted through a critical discourse analysis of sermons from four Nigerian pastors: two who can be regarded as political figures and two who are not. These results are presented in relation to each pastor, starting with the Political Pastors (thus analysing the subcorpora for PP1 and PP2) and followed by the Non-Political Pastors (i.e. analysing the subcorpora for NPP3 and NPP4). In this section, relevant excerpts from the corpus will be used to illustrate each propaganda strategy. These excerpts will be highlighted and sequentially numbered for easy reference during interpretation. However, before proceeding with the analysis, a brief recap of the contextual background of each pastor will be provided. This review aims to reacquaint the reader with the complex interplay between Nigeria's religious and political landscapes. I provided comprehensive contextual background information in Chapter 2. CDA of the language use of Political Pastor 1 (PP1)

The sermons to be discussed under PP1 are 6 sets of sermons preached on various occasions of celebration of Easter Sundays and Christmas days from 2019 to 2022. This period spans the period marking the end of President Muhammadu Buhari's first tenure and his entire second tenure as the president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This was also a period when the president just returned to the country after spending about 105 days in London over ill health that took a better time of his first tenure (Ngwu, 2017: 15). At this time, the security situation had grown worse than it ever was as more and indeed new forms of security challenges emerged – such as banditry, kidnapping, and secessionist groups like IPOB (Indigenous

People of Biafra) and Oduduwa. These exacerbated the already existing security threat posed by the infamous Boko Haram terrorist group, which had been operating in the country before President Buhari was elected (Onuoha, Ichite, and George, 2015: 4-5). The expectations of the citizens, especially his supporters, were being undermined by the realities on the ground, and a general sense of disillusionment seemed to hang over the nation. As Omilusi (2018: 338-339) puts it, "The emergence of President Buhari and his party... poured in high hopes and expectations from Nigerians, considering the huge promises which the APC and its presidential flag bearer made during the campaigns. However, there have been mixed reactions on whether the administration has made any significant difference...as anger and disenchantment build over his inaction". The president had campaigned on three main agendas, which were security, anti-corruption stance, and job creation. It was based on these three main agendas that the president received massive support. All his supporters and most Nigerians believed that he would bring an end to insecurity when he was elected president in 2015. Being a retired general in the army, it was believed that he would be able to decisively deal with insecurity which was the topmost of the nation's problems.

As I will show below, the major themes that run through the sermons are i) the deteriorating state of the nation, ii) negative attitudes and anti-people policies, and iii) inadequate responses from those in government. Out of the 25 propaganda strategies identified in 3.3.3, I found that PP1 used 16 of them, along with 3 additional newly discovered strategies in his sermons, bringing the total to 19.

I was able to find examples of the following known propaganda strategies (see 3.3.3) in the sample of selected sermons from PP1 using a CDA:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*
- *Audience predisposition,*
- *Black and white fallacy dictatorship,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Doubt casting,*
- *Emotion activation,*
- *Subversive rhetoric,*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation,*
- *Flag-waving,*
- *Maintaining control over communication,*
- *Name Calling,*
- *Symbolic transfer,*
- *Testimonial Endorsement,*
- *Repetition,*

- *Symbolic language*, and
- *Whataboutism, straw men, red herring*.

From the PP1 sample, I was not able to identify any clear examples of the following known propaganda strategies: *Bandwagonism; Casual oversimplification; Emotional stereotyping; Glittering generalisation; Opinion leadership; Plain folking; Questioning source credibility; Symbolic language; Slogans and Thought-terminating clichés*.

However, as mentioned, I found examples of the following three additional propaganda strategies, which, as I will motivate below, will be named as follows:

- *Rhetorical questions*,
- *Pre-emptive move*, and
- *Optimism*.

I will discuss each of these found strategies in the order below and illustrate them with corpus examples.

6.2.1.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudices*

This strategy is engaged when the speaker, by linguistic choice, makes the listeners to see dangers in any way that is alternative to his/her own favoured idea (see 3.3.3 for details). In the six sermons of PP1 I analysed, I found the following five examples of the *Appeal to fear and prejudices* propaganda strategy:

3	<i>The gathering clouds are clear for us to see and even those who cannot see can hear the rumbling and rolling sound of thunder. We ignore them at our own risk.</i>
4	<i>Another Christmas with Dark Clouds of Death.</i>
5	<i>Yet, it could get even worse if we do not pause and pause very seriously.</i>
6	<i>Nigeria drifts irreversibly into a dark tunnel</i>

In the first two examples, the pastor successfully engaged the strategy of *Appeal to fear and prejudice s* to instil fear in his audience. For example, the statement '*we ignore them at our own risk*' in the first example is meant to tell the listeners that there is danger ahead if they do not heed the warning. The heading *Another Christmas with Dark Clouds of death* in a Christmas sermon automatically changes the merriment of Christmas to gloom and anxiety in the audience; from what Christmas ought to be to the ugly situation or occurrence that had bedevilled Christmas some years back. In example 5 the pastor warns that the situation of the country might grow worse if necessary urgent steps are not taken. The whole expression in example 6 is totally scary as the picture an *irreversible* spiral to destruction is evoked.

6.2.1.2 Audience predisposition

Audience predisposition is activated when opinions and beliefs that the listeners are well acquainted with are exploited by the speaker to sway them (i.e. the listeners) (see 3.3.3 for details). In the six sermons of PP1 sermons analysed, the following two instances of *Audience predisposition* were found.

- 7 *Recall the bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla on Christmas day in 2011. In the wake of the Christmas day bombing, I issued a statement titled, An Appeal to Nigerians.*
- 8 *The sleepy town of Kankara, just 130 kilometers outside Katsina, like Chibok and Dapchi before it, has leapt into prominence...*

The pastor knows that his audience is abreast of the security situation within the country, they only need a little reminder or description of whichever stories, and the memories will be fresh vividly to the audience. By doing this, the pastor can go on to make his point. In the first example the pastor's urge to the congregation to recall reminds the audience about terror attack on the widely publicised St. Theresa Catholic church in Madalla (a town in Niger, State, Nigeria, in the neighbourhood of the Federal Capital Territory) some years back in which many worshippers were killed. The essence of this is to paint the possibility of perhaps having another Christmas of gloom and doom. The overall goal here is to let his audience know that the government has not done so much on improving the level of security in the country.

6.2.1.3 Black and white fallacy dictatorship

The speaker uses this strategy when he/she presents only two options (whereas more than two are probable) such that the addressee is restricted to choosing a seemingly good one (favoured by the speaker) and a bad one (see 3.3.3 for details). An example of *Black and white fallacy dictatorship* found in the six sermons of PP1 is as highlighted below.

- 9 *You must very quickly find a way of connecting with your people before the devil takes over the space.*

Here the pastor dictates what the president needs to do. The use of *must* in the sentence presents no alternative to the president. This will subtly present the president to the listeners' minds as being indebted to some moral responsibility.

6.2.1.4 Card stacking

This is the presentation of correct information in a manner that supports the speaker's ideology, either by validating his/her projected view or by vilifying the opponent's view. *Card stacking also ensues when the speaker when the speaker emphasises certain facts while hiding others.* (see 3.3.3

for details). Six instances of *Card stacking*, as listed below, were found in the six sermons of PP1. These are instances of well-known facts or information which the pastor has deliberately used to marshal his point of view.

- 10 *Mr. President, I have decided to speak to a cross section of Nigerians, beginning with you and going right down to the many nameless men and women who do not even qualify to be classified as the ordinary man in the street because they live on water and have no streets on which to walk. I believe that this country is so split both vertically and horizontally today.*
- 11 *Christmas is here. Let us all rejoice and be glad. Christmas is not just a date on our calendar. Christmas defies a calendar or dates. Christmas is our life. Christmas is ever present with us. After all, the one whom we celebrate is called, Emmanuel, God-with-us.*
- 12 *Against the backdrop of our endless woes, ours has become a nation wrapped in desolation. The prospects of a failed state stare us in the face: endless bloodletting, a collapsing economy, social anomie, domestic and community violence, kidnappings, armed robberies etc. Ours has become a house of horror with fear stalking our homes, highways, cities, hamlets and entire communities*
- 13 *We waited in hope right to the end of the first year, but somehow, amidst some hazy weather, all we heard was the sound of screeching tyres with the plane carrying our hopes seemingly unable to take off. It finally did but we had barely gained altitude when sickness struck and you spent the better part of a year seeking healing. The nation prayed for you and miraculously, you recovered. Evidently, you had been saved for a purpose. Our prayer is that this realisation will help you understand that you have a date with history and divine judgment.*
- 14 *When Michael Nnadi our teenage Seminarian from Sokoto Diocese stared down the nozzle of the guns of terrorists and called them to repentance, he knew he was signing his signature with the blood of martyrdom. When Mrs. Bolanle Ataga, a Kaduna based housewife of a medical doctor, defied the evil hands of the head of her captors who sought to violate her honour in exchange for freedom, she knew she was signing her signature with the blood of martyrdom. When Lawan Andimi leader of the Christian community in Michika, Adamawa State stretched out.....*
- 15 *As at June 2015, the unemployment rate was 8.2% of a labour force of 74 million, meaning that about 6 million Nigerians were unemployed. By September 2017, despite such efforts as N-Power and a range of policies aimed at improving enterprise development and facilitating job creation, the unemployment rate had risen to 18.8% of a labour force of 85.1 million, indicating that between 2015 and 2017, the number of unemployed Nigerians rose from about 6 million to almost 16 million.*

The pastor copiously employed *Card stacking* strategy in his sermons. In these instances, the pastor resorted to irrefutable, neutral information or facts because they are well-known but now skewed to suit the pastor's arguments. In example 10, for example, the pastor subtly pointed attention to the huge social gap between the haves and have-nots by bringing up the case of people who *live on water* and are thus lower on social scale than those thitherto believed to be the lowest, *the ordinary man in the street*. A certain ecological reality in Nigeria is that there are coastal communities where people have been known to live literally on water. Although some of these people may not want to vacate their ancestral homeland and may even have better economic privilege than those living in the hinterland, the pastor has nonetheless used their case to typify the poverty of men who are less than *the ordinary man on the street*. By doing this, the pastor has subtly delegitimised the political authorities whom he has painted as creating a wide socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor. This position is particularly amplified by the part that reads *beginning with you and going right down to the many who do not even qualify to be classified as the ordinary man in the street...*". The second person personal pronoun *you* (referring to the president) stands in a sharp socio-economic contrast to *the many* citizens who are less than ordinary. Furthermore, from examples 12 and 14 the pastor, through *Card stacking*, presented the insecurity that has bedevilled the country, thus delegitimising the political leasers whose responsibility it is to ensure the security of life and properties. While example 12 catalogues the different forms of this insecurity, making it to serve a kind of introductory function for example 14 which reports traceable real-life instances of the insecurity that resulted in the gruesome murder of innocent citizens. Religious dimension of this insecurity was amplified by citing instances of Christians who were killed for their faith. It has to do with the murder of innocent citizens who were put under pressure by terrorists to renounce their faith, but they (the Christian captives) stayed true to their belief. These examples are real incidents of which the audience is quite likely to be aware. PP1 stressed this information as truthful by using the adverbial *when* to signify time and the fact that these events did take place. He furthermore repeats the construction of *when... he/she knew*. This enhances the effect of this accurate information. Example 15 is yet another unfavourable *Card stacking*. Using statistical figures, PP1 exposed the then-ruling administration's retrogression in the area of unemployment. This example also demonstrates how PP1 employs accurate information to increase his credibility as a speaker. In this case, he uses dates and statistical percentages to showcase legitimate information. The pastor intentionally discloses this information to communicate to his audience that the government is performing inadequately, or to be more direct, is failing in its responsibilities. Consequently, this choice of expression serves to convey the illocutionary force of criticism against the government.

Example 11 is an example of a favourable *Card stacking*. The pastor used his statement to encourage his listeners about the importance and essence of Christmas.

6.2.1.5 Doubt casting

Doubt casting is the manipulation of language in a way that is capable of creating scepticism in the mind of the audience (see 3.3.3 for details). I found five examples of *Doubt casting* the PP1 sermon sample.

16	<i>Mysteriously, the government is investing billions of naira in rehabilitating so-called Boko Haram repentant members and their other partners in crime in the belief that they want to turn a new leaf</i>
17	<i>Nigerians have no access to the transcripts of the texts of the confessions of these terrorists not to talk of evidence of their commitment to not sin again</i>
18	<i>As a priest, I cannot be against a repentant sinner or criminals changing their ways. After all, the doors of forgiveness must always remain open. However, in this case, Nigerians have very little information as to the entire rehabilitation processes. Have these terrorists felt the heat or have they seen the light or, is their repentance a mere strategic and tactical repositioning? So far, we have no evidence that these terrorists have been able to confront their victims not to talk of seeking forgiveness from them. Something is wrong.</i>
19	<i>If the President can end this tragedy, he will immediately get the support of all citizens and hopefully leave office with his head held high.</i>
20	<i>Tales and promises about planned rescues have since deteriorated into mere whispers.</i>

Doubt is prominently conveyed in PP1 locution example 16, particularly through the use of specific disjunct adverb and adjective like *Mysteriously* and *so-called*. The pastor strategically employs these chosen words to encourage his listeners to cast scepticism on the authenticity of the government's actions regarding the rehabilitation of terrorists. Furthermore, the phrase *their other partners in crime in the belief* underlines the pastor's uncertainty of the government sincerity. The phrase conveys to his audience how he perceives the government's actions regarding repentant Boko Haram members—investing substantial funds in such a program—as misguided.

In example 17 above, the pastor offers explanations for why the credibility of the Boko Haram rehabilitation process is questionable. He accomplishes this by seemingly representing the collective voice of Nigerians to articulate these reservations. Implicitly, he urges the listeners to demand from the government concrete evidence substantiating their claims. He alludes to the idea of presenting transcripts or texts containing the confessions of the terrorists and, perhaps, tangible proof of their sincere commitment to avoid further aggression.

In the instance of example 18, the pastor states his positions as someone who should be an expert on repentance matter, being a pastor himself, serving as validation for the proper approach and

credibility of repentance. Subsequently, he raises inquiries designed to stir the listener's indignation, such as questioning whether their professed repentance is merely a calculated and strategic manoeuvre. Given the absence of substantiating evidence concerning the rehabilitation process, his conclusion appears akin to a sceptical judgment, casting doubt on the entire undertaking, suggesting that something is amiss.

The conditional subordinating conjunction *if* in the example 19 is employed in the text to introduce scepticism regarding the president's capacity to ensure security. The pastor uses *hopefully* to imply the likelihood that the president might not leave his position as someone whom the citizens consider as an achiever.

The nouns *tales* and *promises* in example 20 are examples of subjective expressions, posing the president's words as unrealistic fairy-tale. These terms reflect the speaker's assessment and perspective regarding the planned rescue. For instance, the word *report* might fulfil the function of conveying tales. Similarly, the verbs chosen also carry subjectivity and are emotionally charged, such as *deteriorate*, *whispers*. By choosing these two verbs the pastor is able to tell his listeners of Government's silent withdrawal attitude about the recuing of the people. The aim is to strengthen the audience's doubt in the governing body. The effect is heightened by the use of symbolic language.

6.2.1.6 *Emotion activation*

As the name implies, emotion activation is the deployment of words that can arouse emotions in audience. Such words, usually, are not based on logical facts (see 3.3.3 for details). The following eight cases of *Emotion activation* were discovered in the six sermons of PP1:

21	<i>Is Government in Suspended Animation? As our country drifts almost rudderless, we seem like people travelling without maps, without destination and with neither Captain nor Crew. Citizens have nowhere to turn to</i>
22	<i>When will it all end?</i>
23	<i>We have borne enough humiliation as communities and a country.</i>
24	<i>Why should rehabilitating the perpetrator be more important than bringing succour to the victims?</i>
25	<i>How long can this circle of deceit last for given that every kidnap merely strengthens their arsenal?</i>
26	<i>On our national Coat of Arms, we profess our motto to be: Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress. But let us ask ourselves: Is Nigeria united today? Do citizens still have faith in the country? Where are the signs of peace or progress? Today, before our very eyes,</i>

these words have been emptied of their flavour and have lost their resonance and capacity to summon our citizens to patriotism

- 27 *Is being the poverty capital of the world and one of the most violent states in the world an achievement? And our suffocating internal and international debts? And you do not think our glory has departed?*
- 28 *Nigeria must now ask itself: What is left of our glory? Where are the values that held us together?*

Using the strategy of *emotion activation*, the pastor stirred the audience's emotions by the depiction of a leadership that appears to lack direction, potentially steering the country towards an uncertain future in example 21. The pastor's deliberate selection of words, such as *drift almost rudderless, travelling without a map, and neither captain nor crew, all serve* to evoke a sense of purposelessness and directionlessness. By using a simile—comparing the situation to something else—the pastor vividly communicates the notion of an aimless journey, effectively resonating with the audience's emotions.

Sentence 222, couched in the form of a Rhetorical question, evokes a sense of hopelessness in the listeners regarding the duration of the ongoing challenges that the nation is facing. In the instance of sentence 23, the pastor employs the pronoun *we* to invoke a shared sense of humiliation among all citizens concerning the country's condition. The deliberate choice of this first-person personal pronoun aims to create a sense of inclusivity that resonates with every individual in Nigeria.

In the example 24 above, the pastor questions the government's prioritisation of rehabilitating *repentant* terrorists rather than addressing the needs of the victims of terror attacks. This serves to intensify the ambivalent emotions of the citizens toward the program and shed light on the suspicions surrounding potential concealed intentions or motives behind implementing such policies. The suspicion raised in the example 244 is reinforced in the example 25 as the pastor leaves the audience with no chance other than to believe that indeed the government is being deceitful, and the only thing that is not clear is when the deceit will end.

Again, the pastor employs an interrogative technique in examples 26 and 27 to stimulate contemplation among the listeners and assess the validity of the country's motto. This is intended to determine whether the ideals of Unity, Faith, Peace, and Progress, as depicted in the national coat of arms, genuinely reflect Nigeria's reality or are only mere labels. In example 27, the pastor continued with a disheartening question about Nigeria's poor rating as one of the poorest countries in the world. The pastor employs his final question as an avenue to elicit responses from the audience. By phrasing it as *And you do not think our glory has departed* is an indirect way to say that the national respect and honour that once distinguished the country has become voided by the recent unsavoury experiences.

The expression *Nigeria must now ask itself* in example 28 is strategically employed to prompt focused contemplation on both the historical Nigeria and its existing state. The subsequent questions further encourage the listeners to collectively ponder the nation. This approach aims to create an opportunity for the audience to discern and contrast the disparities between the past and the present.

6.2.1.7 *Subversive rhetoric*

This is a deliberate undermining of what may count as genuine and germane (see 3.3.3 for details). Four instances of *Subversive rhetoric* were found in the six sermons of PP1.

29	<i>Will the federal government continue to reward and fund Boko Haram by playing its game?</i>
30	<i>Christmas is a celebration. In our daily lives, despite the hardships and disappointments, the threats and the insecurity, the failure of our government and the ongoing corruption, we celebrate in faith and joy because we know that God is with us.</i>
31	<i>Defend your dignity as human beings and children of God. Do not allow the rich and powerful, who are rich because you are poor, to divide you. They have light and water in their high fenced houses not because they are Muslims or Christians or that they are from this or that or the other tribe but simply because they are rich. You are poor, homeless, have no road, no water, and your children are sick and illiterate, not because you are Christian or Muslim or from this tribe or the other, but simply because you are poor. You and your children vote, but their children do not vote because they are abroad. Your children beg and die on the streets while their children are abroad fraternizing with those they call infidels. They give you a fake religion that enslaves you while they give their own children the religion of education that will liberate them and make them rule over you.</i>
32	<i>The President may have concluded that Christians will do nothing and will live with these actions. He may be right and we Christians cannot feel sorry that we have no pool of violence to draw from or threaten our country. However, God does not sleep. We can see from the inexplicable dilemma of his North</i>

In example 29, the pastor employed *Subversive rhetoric* by presenting the supposed de-radicalisation, rehabilitation and reintegration of the repentant terrorists by the government as an act of funding and, indeed, providing incentives for terrorism. By this, the pastor subverts the government. For instance, the question in this example, 29, is subversive in the sense that, either the answer is yes or no, the government is somewhat implicated in the act of sponsoring terrorism. In example 30, pastor uses the same strategy to subvert the inaction of government, in the sense that the speaker, while focusing on and calling the listeners to the joy of Christmas, has, in passing, subtly thrown a jab at the government in a manner that no one can condemn him (i.e. the pastor).

After all, he was simply encouraging people to be joyful and look away from potential sadness. Examples 31 and 32 are cases of the use of pronouns' polarities. In example 30, the pastor created two poles with the use of pronouns *you/they* to emphasise the gap between the rich and the poor. In example 32, using the same pronoun poles *he/we*, the pastor verbalises his imagination of the president's thoughts towards the Christian community.

6.2.1.8 Exaggeration/minimisation

Exaggeration is an intentional overstatement of a fact while minimisation works in the opposite direction by understating a fact but both in an attempt to make the listeners see the severity of the matter being presented (see 3.3.3 for details). There were found three cases of *exaggeration* and one of *minimisation* in the six sermons of PP1 as presented below:

- 33 *Our people are all in a state of stupor.*
- 34 *Now, a journey to the toilet is considered by the poor an extra luxury. Our country's inability to feed itself is one of the most dangerous signs of state failure and a trigger to violence.*
- 35 *Traumatised citizens are tortured daily by bandits.*
- 36 *We thank God that the children have been returned safely. This is the easy part.*

The above are cases of *exaggerations* and *minimisations* as employed in the texts. Examples 33-35 are exaggerations. The whole expression in 33 and 35 are exaggerated. In example 34 , *exaggeration* is expressed in this sentence *now, a journey to the toilet is considered by the poor an extra luxury*. The statement in example 36 *This is the easy part* is used to downplay the difficulties the government must have encountered in getting the kidnapped girls out of captivity. In the first part of the example, the children have been returned safely, as the pastor puts it, making it look as if they were just sent on an errand, thereby minimising the negotiations, protests and agitations that resulted in the eventual release of some of the girls. The *exaggerated/minimised* facts (although meant to effectively drive home the point being made by painting clear mental pictures) were reinforced subtly by the declarative (non-tentative) structure (refer to Table 2) whose nature gave the pastor the authoritative leeway to make statements that look like panoramic truth.

6.2.1.9 Flag-waving

Flag-waving involves taking the advantage a residual identity emotion associated with a group a people in order to antagonise the opponent (see 3.3.3 for details). Below are the five instances of *Flag-waving* strategy I found in the six sermons of PP1:

- 37 *what seemed like a programme to stratify and institutionalise northern hegemony by reducing others in public life to second class status*
- 38 *Every honest Nigerian knows that there is no way any non-Northern Muslim President could have done a fraction of what President Buhari has done by his nepotism and gotten away with it. There would have been a military coup a long time ago or we would have been at war*
- 39 *I, therefore, on behalf of myself and Millions of my fellow countrymen, women, children those enslaved by bandits, victims of forced marriages, force conversions, make the following appeal:*
- 40 *You know Sir, that you rode into town like a knight in shining armour, carrying the joys, pains, anxieties and fears of a people whose broken dreams had littered and turned the landscape into a kaleidoscopic scenery of desolation and despair.*
- 41 *When kidnapped or killed, victims and their families are left to their wits. They cry alone, bury their loved ones alone. And our government expects us to be patriotic? The victims of violence need empathy, which the dictionary defines as the ability to understand and share the feelings of the other. A critical deficit of empathy on the side of the government makes healing almost impossible for the victims. We have not heard anything about a rehabilitation programme for the thousands of schoolchildren who have been victims of abduction. We seem to assume that their return to their schools is sufficient. Left unaddressed, the traumatic effect of their horrors will haunt them for a long time. Tomorrow's parents, military generals, top security men and women, governors, senators, and ministers will come from today's pool of traumatised children. The security quandary is the greatest indictment of this government.*

In examples 37 and 38 the pastor takes the advantage of the likely feeling of political marginalisation by the majority of southern Christians and the minority northern Christians to easily sell the president (who is a northern Muslim) as executing ethno-religious agenda in favour of his religious and ethnic members. Obviously, many Christians and southerners would easily align with such a view since it is apparently sympathetic with their religious and ethnic identity. In examples 39, 40 and 41 The pastor leveraged the feelings of the victims of the many challenges facing (i.e. the ordinary citizens) to address the president about citizens' expectations of him, and the neglect of necessary action(s) that his government ought to have taken.

6.2.1.10 Maintaining control over communication

This happens when the speaker subtly provides a level of justification for his/her action which would ordinarily have attracted some criticism such that the listeners are now less inclined to question the authenticity or veracity of the message (see 3.3.3 for details). Two examples of the

strategy of *Maintaining control over communication* were found in the investigated six sermons of PP1. They are as itemized below:

- 42 *We have not engaged this government out of malice. We have done so out of a sense of duty, to ensure that our glory does not depart.*
- 43 *Finally, in the last few years, my Messages have been borne out of a sense of moral revulsion over how life has been destroyed in my country.*

The pastor takes cognizance of the fact that his sermons extend beyond the confines of the pulpit and the congregation. Recognising his exclusive control over the sermon's content, he seizes this opportunity to address pertinent social matters, particularly those that impact the everyday lives of individual citizens.

6.2.1.11 Name calling

Name calling is to verbally designate an opponent in a negative term (see 3.3.3 for details). Clear cases of name-calling found in the sermons PP1 are the ones quoted below

- 44 *We need a new strategy to confront those who sit on the throne of power in arrogance and are determined to reduce our country to a jungle. We need a new strategy that separates men and women of honour from those who have chosen dishonour.*
- 45 *I have listened as the President's Friday men, wearing their laurels won from chasing shadows, have accused me of attacking the President, or not being a patriot.*
- 46 *We have paid the price of nepotism entrusting power into the hands of mediocres who operate as a cult and see power purely as an extension of the family heirloom*
- 47 *the throne of power often turns into a cage, and the occupant is turned into a prisoner*

From the above, the phrase *those who sit on the throne of power in arrogance* is used to refer to the executive - specifically the president - who seem not to be bothered by the insecurity concerns in the country. In addition, by *Symbolic language* phrases such as *throne of power* and *a jungle* (example 44), the pastor also magnified the social situation of the country. The reference to the jungle is used here to create the picture of disorderliness in the administration of the country.

Name-calling strategy is activated, in the example 45, as the pastor refers to the president's Friday men²¹ (i.e. his public image makers/aids) as *wearing laurels won from chasing shadows*. By this,

²¹This is also an example of idiomatic speech as it plays on the reference 'a man Friday' from Daniel de Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The online Oxford Learner's dictionary defines a 'man Friday' as "a male assistant who does many different kinds of work". In this extract, the reference is meant as a derogative name given to the Czech

the putatively noble men in government have been presented as mere beneficiaries of dishonest and shadow-chasing ventures. This becomes intensified in example 46, as the government officials (the president, inclusive, possibly!) were presented by the pastor as nothing but mediocre, thereby stripping them of any honour they might have previously had in the minds of the listeners. The name-calling becomes even more apparent as such people are clustered together under the umbrella of the appellation of *a cult*. The pastor employed the noun *arrogance*, *honour*, *dishonour* to engage in a form of name-calling, which communicates derogation or at least disrespect. Through these nouns, the executive was described in an unpleasant or rather insulting way as leaders who do not listen to the people they are leading.

Also, in example 46, the pastor, through the use of the noun *mediocre*, *cultists* and *heirloom*, calls those in power incompetent men. The pastor uses the noun *cultists* to accuse the leaders of being members of a cult. The intention of the pastor here is to tell his listeners that the collective behaviour of their leaders is reflected in that of people having a connection beyond the ordinary realms. It exposes the government's behaviour regarding their deafness to the cries of the citizens. The equation to a cult serves to underline the fact that the opposing party only works to serve their own interests and to do so under false pretences.

In the example 47 above the *cage* was used to describe the presidential villa derogatorily and *prisoner* was used to describe the president. By this language use, the pastor has voided any infallible view his listeners might hold for the otherwise exalted office of the presidency, and thus rendered the office and its holder questionable. Simply put, the pastor removed any grain of restraint in the mind of his listeners about criticising the government, particularly the presidency, which is the highest public office in Nigeria.

As has been identified in Table 2, and as now instantiated in examples 42-45 above, the grammatical categories that realise *Name calling* are nouns (e.g. *arrogance*, *dishonour*, *cage*, *cult* etc)

6.2.1.12 Optimism

Optimism, as a strategy, often portrays the speaker as presenting positivity in the face of apparent negativity. This implies that the preceding message must have been a portrayal of some negativity. Therefore, like *rhetorical questioning*, the preceding element(s) would determine if a positive statement is used for propaganda purpose or not. In the data, the speaker makes expressions that serve as relief amidst the many problems highlighted by other propaganda strategies. *Optimism*, therefore, serves the purpose of intermittently injecting listeners with the much-needed dose of

intellectual and political circle who frequently met with the president in the garden. “Friday men” is also a form of newspeak – i.e., propagandist language that is characterised by euphemism amongst other linguistic aspects.

hope, so they can endure the gloom-painted message to the end. The following examples show this.

- 48 *Yet, we stand firmly with the unshaken belief that no matter the temptations, the world has known worst times.*
- 49 *But we do not fear because the Lord is with us (Ps. 41:10). Our names are written on the palm of God's hand (Is 49:16).*
- 50 *Even if you do not hear us, our prayers are with you always. In the end, the righteous will triumph. I wish you who are held against your will a merry Christmas. Please stay strong.*
- 51 *Christmas is here. Let us all rejoice and be glad. Christmas is not just a date on our calendar. Christmas defies a calendar or dates. Christmas is our life. Christmas is ever present with us. After all, the one whom we celebrate is called, Emmanuel, God-with-us. Christmas is a celebration. In our daily lives, despite the hardships and disappointments, the threats and the insecurity, the failure of our government and the ongoing corruption, we celebrate in faith and joy because we know that God is with us.*

Each of the examples provided above features phrases that inspire a sense of *optimism*. For instance, in *we celebrate in faith and joy because we know that God is with us*, the entire sentence each in 48 and 49, as well as the statement *in the end, the righteous will triumph*, collectively serve as motivational expressions. The pastor employs these phrases as a way to subtly encourage his audience to cultivate optimism by placing their trust in God rather than in a government that appears indifferent to the well-being of its citizens.

6.2.1.13 Pre-emptive move

There are instances in the data where the political pastors deliberately presume some actions to be carried out by the addressees, which they (the pastors) actually contrived and thus subtly committed the addressee(s) to their (the pastors') terms. For there to be *pre-emptive move*, there must be an action to which the speaker is subtly committing the addressee. Such an action may be stated before or after the statement that amounts to *pre-emptive move*. I have named this strategy *pre-emptive move* as illustratable from the sermons of PP1 thus.

- 52 *For taking on this challenge and connecting with Nigerians Happy Easter*
- 53 *For accepting to make some sacrifice, respect and listen to our people, a happy Easter.*
- 54 *For agreeing to make political parties more respectable, a happy Easter.*
- 55 *For seriously rethinking our role in moulding our society, a happy Easter*

56 *For deciding today to shake off the shackles of bondage and free yourselves so as to your future and your family, a happy Easter.*

The pastor makes these statements in his 2019 Easter sermon as he targeted different categories of people starting with the president, political leaders, political parties, religious leaders and the citizens. He concludes his address to each group with preemptive sentences, as seen in examples 81-85. This way, the pastor is committing them to the actions he expects/wants them to take (which they may not be willing to take).

6.2.1.14 Repetition

Repetition is the reiteration of a point in a discourse either verbatim as the antecedent or by paraphrasing (e.g. synonyms). By repetition, an idea gains prominence and influence (see 3.3.3 for details on repetition). Below are the identified instances of repetition in the sermons of PP1.

57 *So, Pastor Adesina was right. On the sad situation in Nigeria, the United Nations has wailed. The Pope has wailed. Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Pastors have wailed. Emirs have wailed. Politicians have wailed. The Sultan has wailed. Surely, it is time for the Lord to hear the wailer as they have sung their redemption songs. With St. Paul, I say: The hour has come for you to wake up from your slumber because our salvation is nearer now than when we first believed. The night is nearly over, the day is almost here; so let us put aside the deeds of darkness and put on the armour of light (Rom. 13:11-12). Let us unite and seek the Lord in sincerity because the Lord will vindicate the righteous.*

In this example 57, the pastor was reacting to the president's media and publicity adviser, who, in a Christmas message, labelled all critics of the President Buhari administration as *wailing individuals*. In a subsequent Christmas message, PP1 responded to Mr. Adesina's (the said president's media and publicity man) remark with a touch of sarcasm, humorously enlisting himself among the *wailers*. He intentionally repeated the term *wailed* when mentioning those who might have criticized the administration. By doing so, the pastor emphasized and highlighted the government's disposition toward criticism to his audience. In fact, the calibre of people PP1 sarcastically – and deliberately- enlisted and highlighted as the government-labelled *wailers*, among whom PP1 also put himself, are people held in honour in the society, whose comments about the government the listeners would not readily take as being that of *wailing*. So, mentioning such people, PP1 was subtly turning his listeners against the president's aid who has labelled them as *wailers*, beating him to his game, as it were.

58 *There is a time for everything under the sun (Eccl. 3:1). Perhaps, we can paraphrase this by saying there is a time for war and a time for peace. There is a time for poverty and a time for wealth. There is a time for stealing and a time for returning what has been stolen. There is a time for politics and a time for governance. There is a time for tethering to the brink of chaos and a time for recovering the soul of a nation. There is a*

time for the collapse of morality and a time for moral recovery. There is a time for leadership and a time for statesmanship. There is a time for losing greatness and a time for achieving greatness broken

PP1 reiterates the statement *there is time* to highlight the government's obligation to prioritise its fundamental responsibilities. Once more, the pastor reiterates the term *broken* following each system which he believes to be in a state of breakdown. This technique was employed to accentuate the nation's condition across various sectors, effectively directing his listeners' focus towards the prevailing issues that the nation is confronting.

- 59 *Before our eyes, the notion of patriotism was becoming alien in the minds of our young people. Before our eyes, the capital letters that spelt Nigeria are falling to the pressures and irruptive forces of primal ethno-religious nationalisms. Before our eyes a dubious jihadist culture has held our nation to ransom with the government simply looking away.*
- 60 *We need a new strategy that separates men and women of honour from those who have chosen dishonour. We need a new strategy that provides a clearer moral guide for ordinary citizens who, based on the moral strength of culture and religion, are seeking to build a good society, even if with straws. We need to stand up and stand firm. We need new mechanisms for saying no to the violence of governance.*

In the two examples above the pastor is deliberately repeating some phrases in examples. In example 599, the phrase *Before our eyes* is repeated three times in the paragraph. While in example 60 *we need a new strategy* is repeated three times, the fourth time with a synonym, *mechanism*.

6.2.1.15 Rhetorical questioning

A rhetorical question is such an interrogative sentence, but it is not intended to elicit immediate feedback or for which the speaker implicitly has the answer. To the best of my knowledge, no previous author has identified Rhetorical questioning as a propaganda strategy. Rather, it is a feature of persuasive communication. In this study's data (being sermon and typically of the persuasive genre), it has been observed that Rhetorical questions could be exploited for political communication. This is so because of two interconnected reasons; 1) it stimulates the listeners into finding answer subconsciously for an ideological probing embedded in the question, and 2) it affords a hiding place for the speaker's ideology such that it avoids the questionable assertiveness that a declarative sentence would have possibly provoked. From the sets of data for this study, one may note that the Rhetorical questions are slightly different from one another (PP1 & PP2 and NPP3 & NPP4). The parameters to test whether a Rhetorical question is a propaganda strategy or not are the elements that precede and those that succeed the Rhetorical question (e.g. did the speakers answer the question or leave the question unanswered? And if they answered, how did they answer? etc.). Rhetorical questions in political pastors' texts sometimes are subtly done to promote the pastors' ideology. These pastors may prefer rhetorical questions to shield their

ideologies from potential rejection since such ideologies are not expressed as categorical statements. Thus, Rhetorical question in political pastors is often thought-provoking questions irrespective of whether they are answered or not. The following are the instances of Rhetorical questions found in the investigated sermons of PP1:

61 *why has progress eluded us? Who would have imagined, after listening to the campaign speeches ahead of the 2015 elections, the new president's inaugural speech that we will be so worse off than we were?*

62 *Now, what next for the children of the north?*

63 *What will they remember and how will they remember?*

In example 61, the pastor raises two thought-provoking Rhetorical questions left for the readers/listeners to ponder on and to find the answers to. The first question is arguably over-bloated. Although one may say that Nigeria indeed has not made substantial progress here and there, it will be entirely untrue to say that the nation has remained where she was at inception. In examples 62 and 63, the pastor presents his ideology in form of a Rhetorical question, the pastor himself being an advocate of the abolition of the Islamic education system in the northern Nigeria that includes the culture of begging and scavenging popularly known as Almajiri system ²².

6.2.1.16 Symbolic language use

Symbolic language use is the extended use of a word to have a meaning beyond its unmarked, normal meaning. Therefore, figurative expressions naturally count as *Symbolic language use* (see 3.3.3 for details).

64 *Our dear country, Nigeria, still totters and wobbles as we screech towards a dangerous and avoidable canyon of dry bones.*

In this instance, the pastor personifies the nation by drawing a direct analogy between the progress or advancement of the nation and the growth of a child. Words like *totters*, *wobbles*, *dangerous*, and *avoidable* are employed with connotations that evoke the sense of innocence typically associated with children. The pastor deliberately uses a toddler description to describe Nigeria that is a 63-year old nation (as at the time the sermon was preached). It is intended to portray a sense of retarded growth, thereby creating the same disgusting feeling anyone would nurse towards child whose growth is stunted. The two adjectives, *dangerous* and *avoidable*, further describe the behaviour of that age.

65 *Over time, we have seen long, good promises caught in the web of bureaucratic fraud.*

²²For more details, see Edinyang, Bassey and Ushie (2020)

The phrase *caught in the web of bureaucratic fraud* is a figurative expression used to depict unfulfilled promises of government due to complicated instances of administrative corruption.

66 *it is because of large footprints of the evil men who have passed through their terrain*

In this context, the pastor employs a figurative reference *large footprints* to symbolise the enduring impact of terrorist activities in locations where terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, Bandits, kidnappers have concentrated their operations.

67 *he knew he was signing his signature with the blood of martyrdom*

This symbolic expression employed by the pastor likens the passing of the young seminarian Michael Nnadi to acts of martyrdom. The figurative substitution of *blood* for *ink* and the noun *signing* is euphemistically used to represent death in this context.

68 *A cloud of trepidation envelopes everywhere*

69 *A thick and suffocating cloud*

Once more, we can observe the pastor employing a nominal group, such as a *cloud of trepidation* and the verb *envelopes* to effectively evoke imagery that instils a sense of fear about the country's situation within his audience. In the second example, the utilisation of adjectives like *thick* and *suffocating* by the pastor is used to further describe the imagery of doom and gloom as in the first example.

70 *You have given us so much, but like selfish animals in a pool of water, our leaders drink and mess up the water for those coming behind them*

In this example, PP1 addresses God, and symbolically relays the misconduct of political leaders in a prayerful manner. The pastor employed the simile-invoking adverb *like* to draw a parallel between the behaviours of country's leaders and animals devoid of rational thinking. Furthermore, this portrayal evokes imagery reminiscent of pigs that frolic in a water pool, subsequently muddying the water with their actions. This example demonstrates *Symbolic language* used to evoke emotion in the public. The audience would have revered the speaker's address to God and understood the seriousness of the simile.

71 *Ours has become a house of horror with fear stalking our homes, highways, cities, hamlets and entire communities*

The concrete noun *house* in the above example has undergone semantic manipulation. Its reference is not to the tangible structure where individuals reside. Had it referred to the physical dwelling, it would not have been employed alongside the abstract noun "horror."

72 *this moral scar of shame on our face cannot be wished away*

73 *Our cup of sorrow is permanently full; hence the exponential rise in the frustration curve across the country*

Once more, abstract concepts are employed in tangible manners to depict vivid imagery. The phrase "*scar*" represents a form of lexical ambiguity, given that "*scar*" is a concrete term while "*moral*" remains abstract. Likewise, the term "*shame*" contrasts with concrete words like "*face*" and the verb "*wish*." In the second passage, there's a resemblance to the first, as *our cup of sorrow* also involves lexical ambiguity. The inclusion of *curve*, a statistical term, in conjunction with *frustration*, gives rise to this ambiguity. Additionally, *sorrow* is an uncountable abstract noun, similar in nature to *frustration*.

74 *The night has in its womb, a combination of the derision and curiosity binding the observers and waiters.*

In the example above, the concept of *night* is endowed with living attributes, like that of a womb, and it bears abstract qualities like *derision* and *curiosity*, which are linked to concrete terms such as *waiter* and *observer*.

Metaphor is also another form of *Symbolic language*; metaphor involves drawing a direct comparison of two entities that do not belong to the same class. Grammatical metaphors provide an opportunity for wordings and meanings to be rearranged for a purpose that differs from their conventional purpose, such as creating a question structure to serve the purpose of a statement (Thompson, 2004:234). This can work to the advantage of propagandist.

75 *Truth has drowned falsehood*

76 *Tragedy has been standing as our gate keeper*

77 *For over ten years now, at almost each Christmas, a dark pall of horror, sorrow and death has consistently hung in our horizon threatening to eclipse the promises of the joy of Christmas*

The verb *drowned* is metaphorically used to directly connect abstract nouns *truth* and "falsehood". In the second example, *tragedy* is metaphorically used not just as a person but as a watchman, a direct comparison of two contrast.

78 *our country has become one big emergency national hospital with full occupancy*

The above example 78 is a direct comparison as *our country* is directly compared with a *national hospital*, and in another sense, it is used to denote that the country is in need of revitalisation.

6.2.1.17 Symbolic transfer

This is the description/designation of an entity in terms of another either paint the former as a virtue or vice but, in any case, to suit the speaker's opinion (see 3.3.3 for details). The following are the instances of *Symbolic transfer* strategy detected in the investigated sermons of PP1:

- 79 *both Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Mosque, Egypt, Shaikh Mohammed Al-Tayeb in 2019, when both of them met and signed the Document on Human Fraternity. Pope Francis followed up with the publication of an Encyclical titled, Fratelli Tutti, We are all Brothers.*
- 80 *Today, Egypt's President, Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi has made unprecedented progress in creating religious harmony with Christians. In 2019, he built a massive Cathedral in Cairo known as the Cathedral of the Nativity for the Christian community*
- 81 *Black Americans responded to caste by founding, Black Lives movement. We need to rally together to destroy those who have institutionalised a caste system in our societies because every life matters*
- 82 *For Jerusalem (Nigeria's sake), I will not be silent until her vindication shines forth like the dawn*
- 83 *Easter teaches us the message of love and of gentleness and of true strength. It tells us that to defend oneself does not mean to turn to violence or to any other misdeed or evil. But it means to recognise one's dignity as a child of God and remember that each one is created and called to enjoy the fullness of life. Easter means to recognise one's right to be considered and respected, it means being determined to stand up for what is right and just, it means being strong and steadfast, full of hope and full of love, both for oneself and for others*

The pastor cited the instances of Pope Francis and Shaikh Mohammed, in example 79 Above, as evidence of how both Islam and Christianity can peacefully coexist within the country, serving as a testimony to the possibility of a harmonious relationship between these two religions. The pastor thus successfully invoked a reality that contradicts the ugly reality of perpetual violence that has characterised the Muslim-Christian relationship in Nigeria, a situation the pastor subtly claimed the government was aiding and abetting.

The pastor, in example 80, went ahead to direct the focus of his audience to the actions taken by Egypt's president to foster a peaceful coexistence between the Christian and Muslim populations. This is done to illustrate the possibility for Nigeria's President to follow a similar path as his Egyptian counterpart, establishing a fair and balanced Nigerian society for both Christians and Muslims.

In sentence 81 above, the pastor wanted Nigerians to emulate Black Americans in pulling down institutionalised caste system in the society, something similar to the famous Black lives matters Movement.

The pastor, in example 82, transferred the ideal and prophecy of Jerusalem to Nigeria, but in an ironic turn, such that whereas the cited Biblical passage spells hope for the biblical Jerusalem, Nigeria, as captured by the speaker, gropes in hopelessness.

The pastor, in example 83 above, transfers what Easter stands for to invalidate oppression and validate peaceful self-defence against oppression and poverty.

As identified in Table 2 in Chapter 3, the grammatical units that usually realise *Symbolic transfer* are proper nouns and verbs. We can identify such grammatical categories in the examples above such as *Pope Francis* (proper noun, example 79), *Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Mosque* (proper noun, example 79), *met and signed the Document on Human Fraternity* (Verbal, example 79), *Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi* (proper noun, example 80), *built a massive Cathedral* (verbal, example 80), *founding Black Lives movement* (verbal, example 81), *Jerusalem* (proper noun, example 82), *Easter* (proper noun example 83).

6.2.1.18 Testimonial Endorsement

Testimonial endorsement is used when the speaker cites another speaker, usually famous, to support or oppose a point (see 3.3.3 for details). The following instances of *Testimonial endorsement* were found in the investigated sermons of PP1.

84	<i>Similarly, the Northern Elders Forum, NEF, and the House of Representatives have finally called on the President to resign since, in their view it is now clear that he cannot protect his citizens. This has come three years after the Catholic Bishops' Statement issued on April 26th, 2018 made the same call that was greeted with cynicism.</i>
85	<i>Two weeks ago, I came across a video in which a very frustrated Muslim cleric, addressing a Muslim audience, lamented: If you killed 200 chickens in the farm of any of the big farmers, you will be dealt with. But today, we are being killed. It is your fault. On the day of elections, you say, it is Jihad! Christians will take over Nigeria! Ok, the Christians did not take Nigeria. It has been left in the hands of those who sit and see us being killed. If we are killed, the head says, God forbid! He was not elected to say God forbid. This imaginary jihad won the elections now where are the jihadists?</i>

In example 84 above, the pastor highlighted the recent calls for the president's resignation by both the Northern Elders Forum²³ and the Nigerian lower chamber parliament (the House of Representatives), emphasising that these calls mirror a similar instance in 2018 when the Catholic Bishops also made a call for the president's resignation. The intention behind this is to communicate to his congregation that the perspective expressed by the Catholic Bishops, urging the president's resignation, is not an isolated one. Moreover, these significant entities aligning with the speaker's viewpoint further emphasises this shared stance. Grammatically, a testimonial uses (in)direct speech through the verbal process, or quotative verb (called, issued), as seen in the example above.

From sentence 85 above, PP1 was foregrounding the insecure state of the nation and that such an observation was not a product of his somewhat parallel religious affinity to that of the president: people of the same religious persuasion with the president also shared the same view. To achieve this end, the pastor referenced a video clip featuring a Muslim cleric who shares a similar perspective to his own (PP1). By combining a manner adverbial and a descriptive adjective *very frustrated* the pastor was able to tell his listeners the degree of the struggles of his colleague pastor. All of these underscore the intricacies of the religious challenges experienced by both Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. As can be seen in the data examples above, testimonials have grammatical realisations as (in)direct quotations, further illustrated in the examples below.

- 86 *The Emir of Katsina, the President's home state, only recently said; We cannot continue to live like animals. I have not seen this type of country. His Eminence, the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar said that the north has now become the worst part of the entire country. The Senate whose leadership is almost totally dominated by Northern Muslims has raised alarm. The Northern Elders' Forum has called on the President to resign.*
- 87 *St Augustine once said: Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but gangs of criminals on a large scale? He further said that: A gang is a group of men (and women) under the command of a leader, bound by a compact of association, in which the plunder is divided according to an agreed convention.*

In examples 86 and 87, the pastor quotes prominent personalities as testimonials to support his argument. The first argument is about some individuals and groups calling on the president to resign from office because of poor performance.

²³The Northern Elders' Forum (NEF) is a pressure group consisting of elder statesmen of the northern Nigeria extraction.

- 88 *Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world, The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere. The ceremony of innocence is drowned; The best lack all conviction, while the worst Are full of passionate intensity...WB Yeats*
- 89 *I saw a quote somewhere which said: We were all humans until Race disconnected us, Religion separated us, Politics divided us and Wealth classified us. True, while the politicians have used race, politics and wealth to divide us, we religious leaders must stand firm in the face of injustice. When the politicians embark on outright favouritism or nepotism, we must not be carried away by the belief that our religion is being favoured.*
- 90 *In frustration, I vividly recalled him saying that, from the decay and neglect, it seemed as if preceding governments had been doing nothing but just eating and going to the toilet!*

Examples 88 to 90 are mostly exact quotations of prominent figures. In the context of political communication, these direct quotations function as a form of projection. The initial three quotes are sourced from esteemed and well-regarded authors. They are external voices that have been incorporated into the text to reinforce and endorse the pastor's own assertions. Sentence 88, for example, is from the popular Irish poet, W.B Yeats' poem 'The Second Coming'. This particular quotation was probably purposively cited by the pastor because in it is the title of arguably the most popularly (but certainly the most read) Nigerian novel, *Things Fall Apart* by the famous Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe (Kortenaar, 1999: 319). In the final example, the pastor cites a statement made by the president during a meeting involving himself (i.e. the pastor), the president and some individuals. The propagandistic element lies in how the pastor presented the quote, emphasising the president's statement being relayed *in frustration*.

6.2.1.19 Whataboutism

Whataboutism is a label the opponent points to as being ungentle without substantiating such a claim. Straw man is the replacement of the opponent's point with a weak point in order to discredit the opponent's point. Red herring is to introduce a point that is immaterial to the subject of discourse to cause a diversion from the point of discourse (see 3.3.3 for details). There is an instance of this strategy in one of the sermons of PP1 as highlighted and discussed below.

- 91 *We found our way here by the choices we have made as a nation over time.*

The pastor is making an assertion here without substantive evidence or proof to back up his statement. According to him, the Nigerian people are responsible for the current state of the country because it is a product of their choice. This is his assertion against those who *blame the military* (who, in the words of the pastor, *neither run the economy or bureaucracy*), *the political class* or *the president*. However, the pastor did not state how and when the culprit's choices were made in connection with the prevailing conditions. Thus, it is a case of *whataboutism*.

6.2.1.20 Summary on PP1's CDA

The propaganda strategies used by PP1 and their notable instances, as referenced in the analysis are summarily captured in the Figure 3 that follows.²⁴

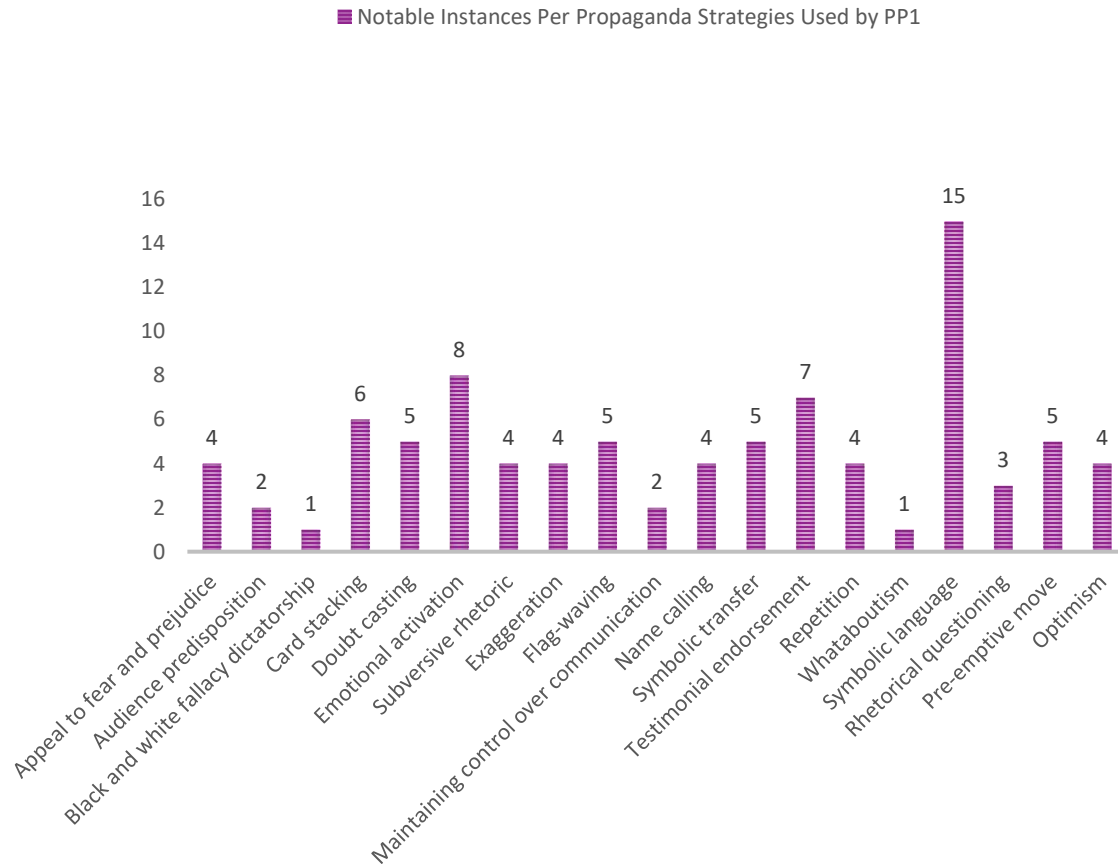


Figure 3: Notable instances per propaganda strategy used by PP1

The foregoing analysis has shown PP1 employing a substantial number of the propaganda strategies identified in Chapter 3. It is noteworthy that, within the relatively small selection of six sermons preached by PP1, nineteen distinct strategies have been employed. More interestingly, perhaps, is the fact that these nineteen include three new strategies not included in the existing literature, as highlighted in Chapter 3 (i.e. optimism, pre-emptive move and Rhetorical questions;

²⁴ We acknowledge that no statistical inferences can be drawn from these frequencies, as the interpretation is based on a sample of sermons from the pastors. A different sample would likely include other strategies as well as different frequencies. Nevertheless, we present these frequencies here as they provide an indication of the extent to which the pastors employ propaganda strategies and how frequently they do so.

against those identified in the extant literature as highlighted in Chapter 3) were found to characterise the sermons of PP1.

Of all the strategies used by the pastor, the least used is *Whataboutisms*. This shows that PP1 was almost always substantiating his claims/assertions, considering that *Whataboutism* strategy ensues when a claim is not substantiated. Perhaps, the pastor's attempts to corroborate his claims led to the preponderance of another strategy, namely *Testimonial endorsement*, which, in this case, involves quoting the statements of respected individuals to augment an argument. Seven instances of this strategy were found in the analysed sermons. In other words, PP1 outsourced the assertions of notable figures within and outside Nigeria to back up his claims. This was meant to convince the listeners by all means possible. PP1 also exploited *Symbolic transfer* (five instances), drawing from some cited symbolic acts to earn respect (and acceptability) for his ideology. Moreover, this strategy is closely related to *Testimonial endorsement*, as it spotlights the actions of prominent individuals, while the latter focuses on the words of well-known entities, which can include people, as was the case in the sermons of the pastor in question.

However, the most frequently employed strategy by the pastor is *Symbolic language*, which appears in fifteen instances in the analysed sermons. What this may suggest, especially in contrast to the concrete and physically traceable cases of *Testimonial endorsement* and *Symbolic transfer*, is that the pastor relied more on the flowery element of symbolic language (i.e. linguistic aesthetics) to convince his listeners than on what can be seen or traced. It is worth noting that the pastor, however, still engaged some other strategies that derived from physical evidence, although there is no single one that was up to the number of instances recorded for the *Symbolic language*. For example, while there are six cases of *Card stacking* (in which the pastor took the advantage of well-known facts and figures to corroborate his argument), there are two instances of *Audience predisposition*, which, like *Card stacking*, exploits the existing knowledge (about insecurity) within the reach of the audience. In a way, we may equally see such existing knowledge as the discursual basis for a strategy that appeals to the mental world of the listener, i.e. *Appeal to fear and prejudice* strategy, which has four instances.

Other strategies used by the pastor that do not rely on physical evidence (i.e. in the real extralinguistic world of experience) include *Black and white fallacy dictatorship* (one case), *Doubt casting* (five cases), *Emotion activation* (eight cases), *Subversive rhetoric* (four cases), *Exaggeration/minimisation* (four cases), *Flag-waving* (five cases), *Maintaining control over communication* (two cases), *Name calling* (four cases), *Repetition* (four cases), *Rhetorical question* (three cases), *Pre-emptive move* (five cases), and *Conveying optimism* (four cases). We may conclude, therefore, that PP1 employed more strategies that evoke the emotions of the listeners than those that deal with neutral, commonly known experiences. In summary, PP1 employs a range of lexical and rhetorical strategies—such as imperative constructions, declarative statements, and emotionally charged language—that are deliberately employed to shape public

perception. The complexity and deliberate nature of the lexical choices (i.e. specific noun phrases, verb phrases and modifiers) identified provide a strong rationale for employing corpus analysis to gain deeper, quantitative insights into the text's linguistic strategies. Corpus analysis can reveal patterns and nuances that might not be immediately apparent through qualitative analysis alone. Consequently, I employ CLA to explore these linguistic elements further in Chapter 7.

6.2.2 CDA of the language use of Political pastor 2 (PP2)

PP2's sermons that were subjected to CDA comprise the transcripts of his annual so-called State of the Nation addresses. These addresses are typically presented as sermons within his church, broadcast live on state and national televisions and radio stations. Since its inception in 2010, the State of the Nation address has been delivered at the beginning of each year. The specific texts chosen for this aspect of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) study encompass twenty-six (26) sermons as spanning from 2015 to 2019. This selection is aligned with the first term of President Muhammadu Buhari, as the previous analysis of PP1's sermon covered his second term. By selecting PP2's sermons, the intention is to cover the first term of President Buhari's tenure as represented and interpreted in the chosen sermons of PP2. This political period is quite critical as it is the longest permissible time within which a person can be a Nigerian president, as stipulated in the Nigerian constitution.

Initiating the analysis with textual examination, I will refrain from redefining the terms previously explained in 3.3.3. Before delving further, I will provide a succinct background to the sermons to ensure contextual clarity. The initial sermon within this collection, titled "The Gathering Storm and Avoidable Shipwreck: How to Avoid a Catastrophic Euroclydon," was delivered amidst the nation's preparations for the general election in 2015. The election's feasibility was uncertain due to heightened insecurity, particularly in the North-East region, where Boko Haram terrorists had gained control over certain areas.

Subsequent sermons were delivered during President Buhari's first term. Anticipation was considerable both before and after the 2015 election that brought President Buhari into power. His supporters held high expectations, believing he would meet those expectations. The President's campaign was marked by substantial promises to the citizens. Importantly, PP2, the pastor, is politically active and had aspired to political leadership himself. His ambitions for power persist.

The pastor's main theme that runs through the sermons is the need for the national restructuring of the political structure. To relate the theme to the audience, the pastor uses specific propaganda strategies. From the sample, I was able to identify examples of 23 propaganda strategies.

I was able to find examples of the following known propaganda strategies (see 3.3.3 and 6.2.1.12) in the sample of selected sermons from PP2 using a CDA:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*
- *Audience predisposition,*
- *Black and white fallacy dictatorship,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Doubt casting,*
- *Emotion activation,*
- *Emotional Stereotyping,*
- *Subversive rhetoric,*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation,*
- *Flag-waving,*
- *Glittering generalisation,*
- *Name calling,*
- *Opinion leader,*
- *Plain Folking,*
- *Symbolic transfer,*
- *Testimonial endorsement,*
- *Repetition,*
- *Thought-terminating cliché,*
- *Symbolic language,*
- *Rhetorical question, and*
- *Optimism.*

From the PP2 sample, I was not able to identify any clear examples of the following known propaganda strategies: *Bandwagonism, Casual oversimplification, Maintaining control over communication, Questioning source credibility, Slogans and whataboutism.*

However, I found examples of the following two additional propaganda strategies, which, as I will motivate below, will name as follow:

- *Neologism, and*
- *Unverifiable spiritual information.*

I will again discuss each of these found strategies in the order below and illustrate them with corpus examples.

6.2.2.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

This strategy is engaged when the speaker, by linguistic choice, makes the listeners to see dangers in any way that is alternative to his/her own favoured idea (see 3.3.3 for details). I was able to identify four examples of the propaganda strategy to *Appeal to fear and prejudice*.

92 *I will briefly highlight certain crucial developments that we may be disregarding as we set sail into the general elections but I must first point out that the purpose for highlighting these red flags is to challenge decision makers and political stakeholders as well as security, military and intelligence agencies to take the steps necessary to avert crisis before elections, during elections and after elections whenever they hold. I must also warn that if we sail into general elections at this time without fixing the fundamentals, no matter what precaution is taken by the helmsman and the owner of the ship, once the ship sets sail from Fair Havens, an encounter with Euroclydon would be inevitable. Against this backdrop, I present the signs of the gathering storms:*

Through these carefully chosen words, PP2 sought to alert the citizens and his listeners about the potential peril such as an irreversible destruction if the electoral body should decide to go with the elections as scheduled then.

93 *tales of woe that have trailed the Permanent Voters' Card collection exercise have raised a lot of questions as to the level of preparedness of the Commission with many Nigerians fearing disenfranchisement*

Once more, the pastor raises concerns about the potential exclusion of a significant portion of citizens based on his assessment of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Through the expression *tales of woe*, he succinctly presents his rationale for advocating a postponement of the election.

94 *We might have succeeded in organizing some gubernatorial elections in the South, and the aborted gubernatorial election in Adamawa due to the subsequent swearing-in of the deputy governor, by massively deploying military and civil defence forces; however, we cannot ignore these threats ahead of the general elections*

95 *Given the state of the nation, in spite of the excitement trailing the emergence of candidates, the 2015 elections threaten to record an even worse turnout*

In this instance, the pastor employs a pessimistic tone to convey uncertainty and concurrently instil apprehension among citizens regarding the feasibility of the then upcoming general election. He employs the noun *threat* to characterise the challenging nature of conducting the election under the worsening secure conditions. In the subsequent quotes, he also fosters the fear of a reduced voter turnout, an unfavourable prospect for politicians.

96 *But I would want to ask, are the signs not there? If we can predict the weather, would it not be hypocritical to feign ignorance regarding the foreboding state of the nation? Can we not see the clouds gathering ahead of a major storm? Warning!*

97 *...there are dire consequences... the current edifice of state has become a death trap*

In example 96, the pastor engaged fear-laden words and phrases to call the attention of his listeners to what he called the gathering cloud ahead of a major storm. He ended with a fearful exclamation *warning!* In example 97, the pastor used two terrifying noun phrases, *dire consequences*, and *death trap*, to communicate fear to the hearts of the listeners. This was done to ensure that they buy into his ideal that the nation needs to be restructured.

6.2.2.2 Audience predisposition

Audience predisposition is activated when opinions and beliefs that the listeners are well acquainted with are exploited by the speaker to sway them (i.e. the listeners) (see 3.3.3 for details). Instances of its use in the investigated sermons of PP2 are discussed below.

98 *The Nigerian economy is clearly regional in structure with comparative advantages defined by climate, geology, biogeography, population and culture. It is why, in the era of the regions, even though agriculture and mineral production were the mainstays of the economy, there were areas of specialisation.*

The pastor knew that his members of the audience were quite familiar with the geography of Nigeria and what is obtainable in different regions. Thus, he built on their knowledge to sell his ideal of a regional system of government (rather than the federal system being currently practised) to them in order to gain their support.

6.2.2.3 Bandwagonism

This strategy is used when the speaker invokes the prevalent acceptance or rejection of an idea/opinion to promote his/her own opinion (see 3.3.3 for details). Below are the instances of *Bandwagonism* in the investigated sermons of PP2.

99 *With the world transiting from crude oil, the northern zonal economies will become hubs of sustainable energy harnessing solar power and biomass while deploying solid minerals like lithium in the emerging electric automobile industry*

The pastor obviously wanted Nigeria to diversify its economy from crude to include other lucrative sectors for the much-desired economic turnaround. After all, the world is shifting to an alternative economy besides the crude oil-based one. Thus, the pastor was persuading the government to do it because, after all, everyone else was doing it.

6.2.2.4 *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*

The speaker uses this strategy when he/she presents only two options (whereas more than two are probable) such that the addressee is restricted to choosing a seemingly good one (favoured by the speaker) and a bad one (see 3.3.3 for details). *Black and white fallacy dictatorship* was used by PP2 in the instances that follow.

- 100 *It is either the path of divine judgment reminiscent of a Jehu revolution or a choice to renegotiate our union through a pragmatic approach to restructuring the nation.*
- 101 *Failure to embrace this wise option, brilliantly articulated with patriotic fervour in 1947 by the sage Chief Obafemi Awolowo in his book, Path to Nigerian Freedom, is at the root of the unfortunate challenges we face today as a people*
- 102 *I warned the nation through a broadcast and press conference held at the Latter Rain Assembly on Sunday, July 22nd, 2012. I told the nation that I perceived that there would be no 2015 if we failed to fix 2014*

The pastor, using dictatorship strategy in example 100, offers the nation two options to choose from in order to get the country out of its present challenges. By doing this, he is indirectly implying that there are only two options from which the nation must choose: either revolution or restructuring. PP2 has used a Biblical allusion of Jehu (who overthrew the villainous family of King Ahab in a sweeping national revolution as recorded in 2Kings chapter 9) to suggest a confrontation of political injustice. Again, in example 101 With a bit of threat, the pastor dictated that the nation had to follow the ideal of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (a popular but late politician from the southwestern Yoruba part), written in 1947, as the only option for a new Nigeria. He deliberately used the personal pronoun *I* in example 102 as a means of according some accolade to himself. He presented his ideas in a manner that suggests the indispensability of his recommendations for a successful election and transition process with the use of the conditional adverb *if*.

6.2.2.5 *Card stacking*

This propaganda strategy comes to play when the speaker uses accurate or manufactured facts/information to sway the audience (see 3.3.3 for details). Its examples in the sermons of PP2 are listed and explained below.

- 103 *As for those calling for secession, they should bear in mind the fact that, before the creation of the Nigerian state, there was no Yoruba nation, there was no Igbo nation, there was no Hausa nation, neither was there an Ijaw nation. We must not be misled by nostalgia for a spurious harmonious past or the myth of homogenous ethnic groups that is far removed from reality. The area around the Niger was marked with unrest, continuous intergroup conflict, subjugation, enslavement and oppression of the weaker*

by the stronger until Nigeria provided the possibility for peaceful coexistence. For this, we must appreciate the Nigerian state, we must celebrate our Nigerian-ness and we must gravitate towards strengthening our nationhood rather than cursing our blessing.

- 104 *As at June 2015, the unemployment rate was 8.2% of a labour force of 74 million, meaning that about 6 million Nigerians were unemployed. By September 2017, despite such efforts as N-Power and a range of policies aimed at improving enterprise development and facilitating job creation, the unemployment rate had risen to 18.8% of a labour force of 85.1 million, indicating that between 2015 and 2017, the number of unemployed Nigerians rose from about 6 million to almost 16 million.*
- 105 *The Vanguard of November 15, 2014, in an article titled “Permanent Voters’ Cards, PVC: How INEC Failed Nigerians”, reported that more than 75% of the PVCs in rural areas in Lagos were left uncollected. Similar and even worse tales of woe trailed the exercise in other states such as in Edo State where PVCs were stolen. The Nigerian Pilot of November 17, 2014 reported a collection rate of less than 50% in Abia State. A survey conducted by News Agency of Nigeria on public perception regarding INEC’s preparedness for the elections*

The above are few instances of *Card stacking* out of many others used by PP2. In example 103, the pastor backed up his explanation with a bit of history on how profitable it is for Nigeria to remain as one. To him, that is our blessing. The pastor did not, however, make mention of the other challenges that the continuous union of the different nations, such as Nigeria, has generated and failed to solve, such as the festering religious crises generated by the religious division. In 104 and 105, the pastor, provided us with accurate information to support his claims that the economy was collapsing under the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan. The pastor, as a member of the opposition party, using a card stack, subtly pointed his listeners to consider the need for change as they approached election season. Like PP1, he also referred to specific dates and statistical percentages to show that his information was valid.

6.2.2.6 *Doubt casting*

Doubt casting is the manipulation of language in a way that can create scepticism in the mind of the audience (see 3.3.3 for details). This strategy was used by PP2 as captured below.

- 106 *Given the circumstances, the government may have already begun to do all within its power to combat terrorism*

The pastor used the modal auxiliary *may*, a modal auxiliary that shows probability rather than certainty (see Quirk et al 1973: 53), to cast doubt on government effort in dealing with the issue of terrorism.

6.2.2.7 Emotion activation

Emotion activation is the deployment of language that can stir up emotions in audience. Such words, usually, are not based on logical facts (see 3.3.3 for details). It was engaged by PP2 as seen below.

- 107 *Who authorised them to bear arms? Who gave them immunity against section 3 of the Robbery and Firearms (Special Provisions) Act 1990, which prescribes punishment for illegal possession of arms? Who monitors the use of these guns? Why have the relevant government agencies failed to act? In particular, why has the name Department of State Services (DSS) become synonymous with the phrase “Deliberate Sinful Silence” (DSS)?*
- 108 *we are compelled to ask where recent huge campaign donations are coming from and for what purpose such humongous donations in clear violation of the law are made. It appears the PDP campaign slogan for the 2015 election is “to hell with the poor”.*

PP2 employed the strategy of activating emotions through words in example 107 and 1088 using emotionally charged questions to evoke strong sentiments among his audience. He raised queries regarding the authorisation of armed herdsmen, such as *Who authorised them to bear arms?* and *why have the relevant government agencies failed to act?* He also questioned whether laws existed to penalise illegal possession of firearms. Given the herdsmen's frequent involvement in criminal activities, incorporating this topic into his sermon was likely to resonate with the emotions of his listeners, particularly those from the Christian communities who were disproportionately affected by these herdsmen's actions.

In example 108, the pastor took a stance against the opposing political party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), by raising questions about corruption primarily targeted at the PDP, while implicitly absolving his own party and others. The discourse of the pastor, in this example, while delegitimising the then ruling party (PDP) is a contention with the social polarity between those who, by the virtue of their political privilege, have access to *humongous donations* and *the poor*. This is a reminder of “power and political-economic issues” of Critical Theory from which CDA originated (Beetz, Herzog and Maesse 2018: 323).

This approach appears to be a form of propaganda with the intention of depicting the PDP as a corrupt entity. The goal is to shape his listeners' perception, leading them to view the PDP as corrupt and consequently favour his own political faction. Overall, by utilizing emotionally charged questioning, the pastor adeptly tapped into his audience's emotions, potentially influencing their beliefs, attitudes, and even political preferences.

6.2.2.8 *Emotional Stereotyping*

This is a deliberate undermining of what may count as genuine and germane (see 3.3.3 for details). Instances of *Emotional Stereotyping* in PP2's investigated sermons are provided below.

109 *Who would have thought that Nigerians would one day be displaced from their homes and would become refugees in countries like Chad and Niger? Who would have thought that entire communities in one geo-political zone of the country would one day be under the control of terror groups or that the time would come when hundreds of women and children would be carted away by terror groups on more than one occasion with no intervention by security forces? Who would have expected that Nigerian soldiers would one day be helpless against insurgents to the extent of abandoning inferior weapons and fleeing to neighbouring Cameroon? Who would have thought that Nigeria would one day be classified alongside Iraq and Afghanistan on the list of terror-stricken nations?*

Through emotional stereotypes, the pastor gave his listeners the impression that the government was doing nothing about insecurity and displaced persons. He deliberately did not mention instances of people that had been freed from terrorist groups through federal government intervention, neither did he give any instance of victory achieved by the Nigerian military forces in combating terrorism.

6.2.2.9 *Employing Subversive rhetoric*

Subversive rhetoric is a subtle an individual's (opponent's) intention, idea whereas such opponent's intention or idea has the potential of leading to a positive outcome (see 3.3.3 for details). This strategy was used by PP2:

110 *In his new year address, Mr. President further alienated his government from the voice of reason in relation to the call for to restructure Nigeria. In his words: "I have kept a close watch on the on-going debate about "Restructuring "... when all the aggregates of nationwide opinion are considered, my firm view is that our problems are more to do with process than structure,"*

There may actually be some merit in the president's view about *process* rather than *structural* reforms. However, the pastor apparently subverted such a possibility by emphasising the government's failure to restructure the country and the resulting insecurity, claiming that the president's response constituted a departure *from the voice of reason*. This is a serious discursal attempt by PP2 to delegitimise the president, whom he has presented as being *alienated* from the citizens.

6.2.2.10 Exaggeration/minimisation

Exaggeration is an excessive verbal enlargement of a matter beyond its actual state while minimisation is understatement of a matter beyond its original state (see 3.3.3 for details). Instances of this strategy in PP2's sermons are explained below.

- 111 *There is too much turbulence ahead! A competent helmsman knows not to sail in such a situation instead of ignoring the weather forecast only to subsequently shipwreck, kill himself, the crew and the passengers, as well as destroy the ship and cargo! an issue of communal misunderstanding”,*
- 112 *It is clear that a great storm lies ahead as we are approaching elections without addressing the fundamental flaws in the polity*
- 113 *the PDP brought pain on the APC in elections into the key offices of the National Assembly -an injury the APC is still trying to recover from.*

In the example above, the pastor utilised an *Exaggeration* strategy in the exclamation *there is too much turbulence ahead!* This involves presenting amplified facts regarding the potential hazards of proceeding with the then upcoming general election. In example 112, the pastor's words appear to be susceptible to being perceived as an *Exaggeration*, as a more compelling standpoint could potentially counter his argument against the election. In example 113 the pastor use of words like *pain* and *injury* is an Exaggeration of what might have played out between the two major political parties in Nigeria, APC and PDP. PP2 has thus de-marketed the opponent political party as being responsible for *pains* while legitimising his own party as *trying to recover*. Listeners would indeed have ill-feelings towards a political party that causes *pain* but empathetic with the one *trying to recover*.

6.2.2.11 Flag-waving

Flag-waving involves taking advantage an inherent identity emotion associated with a group a people in order to antagonise the opponent (see 3.3.3 for details). It was thus used by PP2:

- 114 *They include the Niger Delta activists and militants demanding outright resource control, which is the exclusive right to regulate the exploitation of resources in a geographical area. Their clamour simply reminds us that we need a more pragmatic resource distribution and management system*
- 115 *When I first alerted the nation that there would be no 2015 if the fundamentals were not addressed, I was asked if I was giving a prophecy in the order of “thus saith the Lord”*
- 116 *But I would want to ask, are the signs not there? If we can predict the weather, would it not be hypocritical to feign ignorance regarding the foreboding state of the nation? Can we not see the clouds gathering ahead of a major storm? Warning!*

In example 114 the pastor in his last sentence, referring to the protesting people of the oil-rich southern people, said “*their clamour simply reminds us that we need a more pragmatic resource control distribution and management system*”. This raises a matter that has generated (and is still generating) divisive standpoint among Nigerians. The pastor is well aware that the issue of resource control will evoke strong emotions related to group identity, particularly among communities where the nation’s primary economic resource (i.e., crude oil) is largely exploited. In examples 115 and 116, the pastor seems to be reflecting on the impact of his *Flag-waving* strategy. For instance, he recalls how he initially cautioned the nation about the non-feasibility of holding an election in 2015. These phrases tapped into the profound emotions circulating within the nation, prompting unspoken inquiries within individuals. Consequently, the pastor manages to sway certain individuals to align with his perspective, asserting that without addressing the issue of restructuring, a seamless transition for the nation remains uncertain.

6.2.2.12 *Glittering generalisation*

This is the strategy used when a concept or an ideology is described with such positive words as to win the approval of the listeners (see 3.3.3 for details). There is one notable instance of it in PP2’s sermons.

117 *I stand on this because it is a return to the winning formula, albeit improved upon and better suited. With this plan, Nigeria can leapfrog, within ten years, the phases of industrialisation to become a global industrial powerhouse comprised of six geo-economic zones.*

Using attractive phrases and words like *winning formula*, *leapfrog*, *industrialisation*, *a global industrial powerhouse*, the pastor aimed at persuading his listeners to accept his proposal about restructuring the nation and the advantages it will produce.

6.2.2.13 *Neologism*

This strategy, which, to the best of my understanding is not in the extant literature as a propaganda strategy, involves the creation of a new term. It speaks to the linguistic creativity of the propagandist so that he/she is able to stretch beyond the available lexicon to express new meanings. The pastor employed a strategy of neologism to introduce terminology that appears to have been crafted by him. These terms serve as vehicles for conveying his concepts and advocating his perspectives. For instance, in example 118 below, he devised a new acronym “*Deliberate Sinful Silence*” to create some parody of the elite government security outfit known as the Department of State Service.

118 *why has the name Department of State Services (DSS) become synonymous with the phrase “Deliberate Sinful Silence” (DSS)? Or is it now the Department of Sinful Silence?*

- 119 *This Commission shall undertake a geoeconomic and geosocial path to geopolitical restructuring by creating geoeconomic frameworks, mending geosocial fault lines, and attaining a geopolitical climax.*
- 120 *For this, we must appreciate the Nigerian state, we must celebrate our Nigerian-ness and we must gravitate towards strengthening our nationhood rather than cursing our blessing.*

In example 119, the pastor introduced novel terms like *geoeconomics*, and *geosocial* an apparent adaptation of the term *geopolitical* also used by the pastor but which has been commonly used in Nigeria to refer to the various geographical divisions that each serves as a political bloc at the same time. Similarly, in the final passage, example 120 the term *Nigeria-ness* is a coinage he employed to articulate his thoughts effectively. The pastor strategically created these innovative terms to persuade his audience to adopt his viewpoints. This approach can be likened to a form of newspeak, wherein new language is constructed to convey specific ideological content compellingly.

6.2.2.14 Name Calling

Name calling involves using derogatory or pejorative language to describe the opponent (see 3.3.3 for details). It was used by PP2 as follows.

- 121 *... almost eight years ago when a cabal hijacked power in circumstances bordering on the health of a sitting president.*
- 122 *Ladies and gentlemen, the south wind blew recently, when Gen Muhammadu Buhari against formidable contestants and money bags won with a landslide majority at the APC primary in the heart of Lagos, South-western Nigeria – and that against all odds.*
- 123 *I am almost certain that, like the helmsman and owner of the Alexandrian ship in Acts 27 as well as the majority in the ship, the handlers of our nation will prefer to set sail rather than winter at Fair Havens*
- 124 *Fellow citizens of our great country, let me begin this annual State of the Nation broadcast with a preamble in the hope that mischief makers will give us the benefit of the doubt that we truly do what we do for two compelling reasons: love of God and love of country.*
- 125 *...bringing an end to sixteen years of misgovernance, the PDP*
- 126 *...not only must we not allow the counterfeit to overshadow the genuine, we must also not allow the voice of cynicism to drown the voice of reason.*

- 127 *We must think, not as sectionalists but as nationalists; not as sceptics who only see obstacles, but as optimists, who see opportunities; not as politicians, mindful only of the next election, but as statesmen mindful of the next generation.*
- 128 *Be that as it may, let no one confuse the genuine call to restructure the nation with the gimmicks of political opportunists who ride on the restructuring wave for their perceived advantage.*

In the examples above, the pastor engaged in a series of *Name calling* as he passed across his sermon to his listeners. For example, in example 121, he used the word *cabal* to refer to those who are around or closest to the president and can influence his decisions. In example 122, he referred to the contestants in the 2015 APC presidential primary election as *money bags*. While delegitimising these unnamed *money bags*, the pastor has equally spotlighted a political figure, General Muhamadu Buhari, for legitimacy. This is a manifestation of political power manoeuvring in discourse. Handler is the *Name calling* instance in example 123, It is notable that in this context, describing a sitting President as a mere handler carries a negative, derogatory connotation and can be seen as disrespectful. In example 124, he employed the phrase *mischievous* to label his own critics. Likewise in example 125, he also used the nominal element *misgovernance* to describe sixteen-year tenure of the former ruling party, PDP. In 126, PP2 described those who might have an opposing view to his as being *counterfeit* and *cynics*. In 127, the pastor engaged in *Name calling* as he referred to some groups (those not in support of his view on national matters) as *sectionalist*, *sceptics*, and *politicians*. The last *Name calling* word in this example 127, *politician*, shows how indeed the speaker set about the manipulation of words, himself being a politician who has sought political offices on two occasions, albeit without success. From the context, his description of his opponents is that of irresponsible and selfish individuals, while he presents himself as responsible. Lastly, in the selected example 128 above, the pastor referred to some other advocates of restructuring the country (such advocates whose views did not align with his) as *political opportunists*. In this way, he referred to himself as the genuine advocate of the proposed country's restructuring.

6.2.2.15 *Opinion leader*

This is a mention of well-known respected leaders in a discourse in a positive manner in order to give some credibility to the idea being propagated. Thus, the audience is won over by the speaker's respect for such leaders. By this, the speaker reduces the chances of his views being rejected (see 3.3.3 for details). PP2 used this strategy as highlighted below.

- 129 *Let me begin this address with gratitude to God for the recovery and return of our dear President Muhammadu Buhari. As I have done privately, I once again congratulate Mr President on this pleasant climax to a trying period in his personal life and that of the nation.*

- 130 *Moreover, the hue and cry over President Buhari's last address to the nation on August 21, 2017, suggests Mr President is perceived by some stakeholders as opposed to restructuring. But, from my interactions with the president in the past seven years as an advocate of a properly structured polity, I am convinced that this is not the case.*
- 131 *Rather than pay heed to the warnings, many of our politicians kept on with their "business as usual" attitude that brought the nation very close to the brink of disaster. Fortunately, by divine intervention through the efforts of distinguished Nigerians, the international community, and through a demonstration of statesmanship unprecedented in Nigeria's history, we scaled through the 2015 elections by a hair's breadth*

Mainly, the pastor had a clear intention of using his sermons to engage with the Nigerian state about the necessity for political and structural remedies. To achieve this, he employed a tactical approach that involved appealing to those in authority, all the while being careful not to upset influential *opinion leaders*. In example 129, the pastor personally greeted the president and hinted at private discussions they had together, both in a manner that shows some approval for his addressee. In doing so, he highlights what had transpired in private conversations. In 130, the pastor brought up the president's statement on the matter of restructuring and was mild in his appraisal of such expressed view. He did this even though the President apparently leaned towards an opposing view to his (i.e. PP2), illustrating a deliberate strategy of avoiding antagonizing a prominent opinion leader. Lastly, in 131, the pastor skillfully avoided directly addressing specific politicians. Instead, he employed a more general language, similar to that used by many of our politicians, thus adopting a softer approach to evade direct criticism of the leaders.

6.2.2.16 Optimism

Optimism, a strategy I discovered in this study through a particular pattern of positive language use in the corpus, presents the speaker as a hope-bearer amid the national difficulty with which the audience is well acquainted. The pattern which makes this quite effective is that of painting a gloomy first, usually for the greater part of the given sermon and then offering hope as a form of psychological escape from the prevalent gloom. The following instances from the investigated sermons of PP2 are characteristic of optimism:

- 132 *I am fully persuaded that Nigeria can and will change for the better.*
- 133 *I believe that no matter how unstable the polity may become, we will transit from shame to fame in the name of Jesus. Amen. I am persuaded that no matter the level of economic collapse, the economy of Nigeria will recover*
- 134 *Therefore, come rain, come shine, by the grace of the living God, Nigeria will be saved, Nigeria will be changed, and Nigeria will become great in my lifetime.*

135 *Challenging as all these may be, our confidence is in the fact that no matter the degree of shaking that will occur, it will only produce a glorious church without spots or wrinkle, for Jesus, the true Head of the Church, said He would build His church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Alleluia! (Matthew 16:18)*

Through the use of optimistic expressions PP2 expressed confidence in the possibility of a better Nigeria and his determination to keep pursuing the peace and progress of Nigeria. In example 132, PP2 sold the hope for a better Nigeria to the audience. Unlike the gloomy present he had supported with logical argument, he did not provide any other ground for this hope except his personal conviction. The optimism in example 133 is bolstered by the rhyming of the two lexical items *shame* and *fame*. The ease with which the former phonetically changes to the latter might have subtly convinced the audience that indeed *no matter how unstable the polity may be*, better days await the listeners. Then, in example 134, the speaker tied the better future to the grace of the living God. The last example, 135, was narrowed down to the Church, the Christian community in Nigeria. This would be readily acceptable to the audience, considering that the president in power then, whom many Nigerians (PP1, for example) had seen as being anti-Christian in his politics and policies.

6.2.2.17 *Plain folking*

This is a language use that shows a deliberate condescending to the status of the audience (see 3.3.3 for details on repetition). PP2 engaged *Plain folking* with the following cases.

136 *Fellow citizens of Nigeria*

137 *Fellow citizens of our great country*

138 *Fellow Nigerians, we cannot rearrange the old and label it the new*

PP2 employed the expression *Fellow citizens* and *Fellow Nigerians* as a straightforward method of employing the plain folk strategy. This strategy aimed to create a sense of connection and togetherness between the pastor and the ordinary people of Nigeria, portraying himself as an average citizen without any special influence and conferring a common identity with every Nigerian as demonstrated by the examples above. These phrases serve to reveal his political engagement, as it is a common rhetorical device employed by politicians to address the general populace to market the politicians as being the same as the citizens by linguistically de-emphasising the VIP social status of the former. It is worth noting that this phrase is frequently used in presidential addresses as a means of addressing the citizens.

6.2.2.18 Repetition

Repetition is the reiteration of a point in a discourse either verbatim as the antecedent or by paraphrasing (e.g. synonyms). By repetition, an idea gains prominence and influence (see 3.3.3 for details on repetition). It was used by PP2 in the following examples.

- 139 *I am an advocate of progressive and pragmatic restructuring; progressive because ours is a long-term approach, and pragmatic because the interests of every segment of the country are taken into consideration.*
- 140 *The stones are crying out (mention 3 times on page 17 and 18)*
- 141 *Its time to renegotiate our union (repeated in pg 1,10 and 19)*
- 142 *Fellow Nigerians*

In example 139, the pastor deliberately repeated *progressive* and *pragmatic* to score emphasis and attention. Examples 140 and 141 are instances of repeated phrases. The phrase *fellow Nigerians* is repeated severally across the sermon of PP2. In example 141, in particular, the pastor has implicitly employed his religious authority to pass a judgement that the political structure in place was unacceptable and thus nudged his listeners to demand a renegotiation of the power arrangement among the different ethnic groups that make up the Nigerian union.

6.2.2.19 Symbolic language

This strategy is the use of language in its literary sense (as against the literal sense). Therefore, figurative expressions naturally count as *Symbolic language* use (see 3.3.3 for details). Symbolic language was used in the following instances in the investigated sermons of PP2.

- 143 *"Merry Christmas" uttered by many Nigerians was to their fellow compatriots in fuel queues at petrol stations.*
- 144 *I totally agree with Mr. President that we need process reforms; otherwise, we would not be appointing dead men to head parastatals.*

Examples 143 and 144 are definitely cases of sarcasm, *symbolic language* used to present in an indirect manner something that could have been otherwise offensive. For example, the expression *merry Christmas ... by fellow compatriots... at fuel station* on long queues is apparently not something to be happy about or proud of. But the comic effect of the expression bellies its tragic content. The pastor equally sarcastically referred to the president's so-called *process reform* (rather than the pastor-backed restructuring) as indeed being needed since the president himself had inadvertently appointed dead people to some leadership positions! This is a subtle discursive delegitimation of the person of the president.

- 145 *...states are nothing but institutional and constitutional vegetables on life support from Abuja*
- 146 *We kept on pushing in the spirit until our political euroclydon was averted and a successful transition took place.*
- 147 *After going up and down like a pendulum between the incoming and outgoing presidents,*
- 148 *those in the theatre of the prolonged war against Boko Haram*

Examples 145, 146 and 147 are cases of metaphoric expressions such as *constitutional vegetables on life support*, *political euroclydon* and *theatre of...war*. Example 148, however, is a case of simile in which the pastor indirectly likened his reconciliatory intermediary engagements with between opposing political forces to that of *a pendulum*. The pastor here engaged this figurative expression to draw a sympathetic attention to his supposedly patriotic, selfless efforts for the country.

- 149 *I stand today to prick the conscience of a nation that has turned the other eye in deliberate sinful silence*
- 150 *The stones are crying out in every state in the federation where workers' salaries are unpaid and poverty prevails because states are nothing but institutional and constitutional vegetables on life support from Abuja.*
- 151 *In like manner, the journey of the ship of the Nigerian state has thus far been difficult and we have largely been drifting under the influence of the winds.*
- 152 *shows that the right dose of political will can sustain a policy when the need is universally appreciated.*

PP2 strongly employed metaphors, as demonstrated in phrases such as "*prick the conscience of the nation*," "*stones are crying out*," and *the journey of the Nigerian state*, as seen in the examples above. In example 151 the speaker characterised the nation as a human being who has a conscience that can be pricked. However, the fact that humans comprise a nation makes this expression quite successful in the communication transaction. These instances involve attributing living qualities to inanimate objects, symbolically. For example, the concept of a stone crying out is figurative, that is, personification (giving human attribute to inanimate entities).

6.2.2.20 Testimonial endorsement

Testimonial endorsement is used when the speaker cites another speaker, usually famous, to support or oppose a point (see 3.3.3 for details). PP2 used *Testimonial endorsement* in his investigated sermons as follows.

- 153 *in the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, “The government is us; we are the government, you and I.”*
- 154 *Recently, the Minister of Finance, Mrs Kemi Adeosun, was reported as stating that the Nigerian economy has struggled so far because it is not structured to meet demographic needs. She, therefore, cited, as regards respites, the government’s policies aimed at diversification from an oil-based economy.*
- 155 *And as Cardinal John Onaiyekan said: “Every citizen must be involved in politics...Only people who are irresponsible will say they are not interested; even if you are not interested in politics, politics will be interested in you”i.*
- 156 *First, I will read examples from the 2018 New Year address by Chinese President Xi Jinping that show the heart of a leader mindful of his people:*
- 157 *Some years ago, the word “restructuring” was the exclusive lingo of pro-democracy groups like the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), the Pro-National Conference Organisation (PRONACO), and The Patriots. The leading individual voices in this call emerged mainly from the southern part of the country, including the likes of Chief Rotimi Williams, Chief Gani Fawehinmi and Chief Anthony Enahoro, all of blessed memory. Others included the likes of Prof. Ben Nwabueze, Prof. Wole Soyinka and Chief Emeka Anyaoku. However, in more recent times, leaders from the northern part of the country have increasingly lent their voices to this call. From the former vice president, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, who has aired this opinion since around 2012ii, to a former governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Balarabe Musa, and, most surprisingly, former Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida, the call for restructuring appears to be reaching a tipping point.*
- 158 *it has treated the menace with kid gloves even after the Global Terrorism Index 2015 described “militant” herdsmen as “the fourth most deadly group of 2014”iii.*

PP2 uses many *Testimonial endorsement* strategies in his sermon. Starting from example 153-158, the pastor quoted prominent personalities in and out of the country to support his argument on different issues. He gave external individuals, as it were, voice in his sermon. The pastor thus demonstrated that whatever he was proposing was not just his view, but a view that others have equally expressed. This confers a sort of legitimacy on his views and opinions.

6.2.2.21 *Thought-terminating cliché*

This propaganda strategy is employed when the propagandist deliberately offers a simple explanation for an event with the sole aim of discouraging critical thoughts about the event. PP2 exploited *Thought-terminating cliché* thus:

- 159 *This president does “give a damn” as far as public declaration of assets is concerned.*

- 160 *Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the current structure cannot hold the greatness that awaits the nation but rather will hinder it*
- 161 *However, due to the reputation that members of the hallowed chambers have created in the minds of Nigerians, many have expressed doubts as to the ability and willingness of the National Assembly to midwife the structural, institutional and constitutional solutions demanded by Nigeria's historical and present circumstances. As a result, Nigerians from all walks of life are questioning Mr President's recommendations as to proper channels for agitations, even though the National Assembly and by extension the State Houses of Assembly ...*

In the first example, *give a damn* is an example of a thought terminating strategy. In this case, however, it is not the pastor saying it in reference to himself, but rather in reference to the President's actions, thus discursively legitimising the power that be. In example 160, *be that as it may* is an adjunct used to distract the audience from the preceding discussion. Propagandist can use this to focus the attention of his listeners to his own point of view. In example 161, the pastor employs several connectives to direct attention to the subsequent statement, thereby enabling the effective expression of his concepts as conveyed in the subsequent lines. For linking sentences, the pastor employs conjunctions like *however*, *moreover*, *fortunately*, *in like manner*, and *even though*, among others. These conjuncts serve the purpose of connecting sentences, considering that the pastor does not structure his content into distinct sub-sections.

The next three strategies are, as it were, novel propaganda strategies found in this data, and thus not listed on the table presented in subsection 3.3.4 capturing propaganda strategies in the extant research as therein explained.

6.2.2.22 *Rhetorical questioning*

This is an interrogative sentence, but which is not intended to elicit immediate feedback or for which the speaker implicitly has the answer. To the best of my knowledge, no previous author has identified Rhetorical questioning as a propaganda strategy. Rather it is a feature of persuasive communication. In this study's data (being sermons and typically of the persuasive genre), it has been observed that Rhetorical question could be exploited for the purpose of propaganda. This is so because of two interconnected reasons; 1) it stimulates the listeners into finding answer subconsciously for an ideological probing embedded in the question, and 2) it affords a hiding place for the speaker's ideology such that it avoids the questionable assertiveness that a declarative sentence would have possibly provoked. PP2 particularly seems to be projecting his ideologies through Rhetorical questions as seen below.

- 162 *How can we effectively diversify the economy as regards mining and allied industries, for instance, without taking another look at item 39 of the Exclusive Legislation List of the*

1999 Constitution which confers powers in this regard exclusively on the federal government?

163 *Is it a coincidence that every state of the federation is endowed with mineral resources? Would it not be a better strategy for state to be empowered to manage these resources?*

164 *Can the states, as presently constituted, maximise their endowments even if more power were to be devolved to them?*

165 *But can process reforms replace foundational structural reform?*

166 *Do we still need to wonder why corruption is so endemic and very pervasive in our nation today?*

167 *Have we exhausted potions with respect to electricity generation, transmission and distribution? Is deregulation without devolution a sustainable pathway to uninterrupted electricity supply? Must the national grid constitute a gridlock to progress?*

PP2 used a number of *Rhetorical questioning* in his sermons deliberately to present his ideology and to marshal the substance of his argument. Enwrapped in the rhetorical question are the real points being made. In example 167, for example, the pastor raised three rhetorical questions in relation to electricity supply. In the last rhetorical question, the pastor added a bit of flavour to it using pun in the last line, playing on the lexical element *grid*²⁵ and *gridlock*. This is capable of activating an aesthetic selling point in the listeners' mind for the pastor's point of view.

6.2.2.23 *Unverifiable spiritual information*

This is an assertive statement validity of which the speaker ties to a personal, private experience with God. Since there is no way the audience can verify such a statement, it is difficult to (in)validate the speaker's claim. This strategy has not been identified in the existing literature on propaganda but was discovered in the current study. There is an instance of this in a sermon of PP2.

168 *I did say that, while waiting on God, the Spirit of God said to me: "Politics is not over for you. There is still one thing left for you to do: Run for President...I will work it out Myself and make it happen in due course."*

Unverifiable spiritual information, as can be seen above, can be a source of propaganda, especially when someone claims to have received it from God. In the above example, the pastor claims to have heard the above statement from God. The purpose of saying this to his listeners is to portray

²⁵ *Grid* is a technical term referring to the national electricity power-source known for its constant failure, thereby leading to paucity in electricity supply nationwide

his ambition as a divine mandate and in that way win some support for himself. In that sense, it also serves the purpose of the *Testimonial endorsement* strategy, namely, to make the speaker seem more credible.

6.2.2.24 Summary on PP2's CDA

PP2's use of propaganda outshot PP1 by a difference of four, implying that the former employed twenty-three propaganda strategies. The count of these strategies I was able to identify in the sample of PP2, is visualised in Figure 4 below:

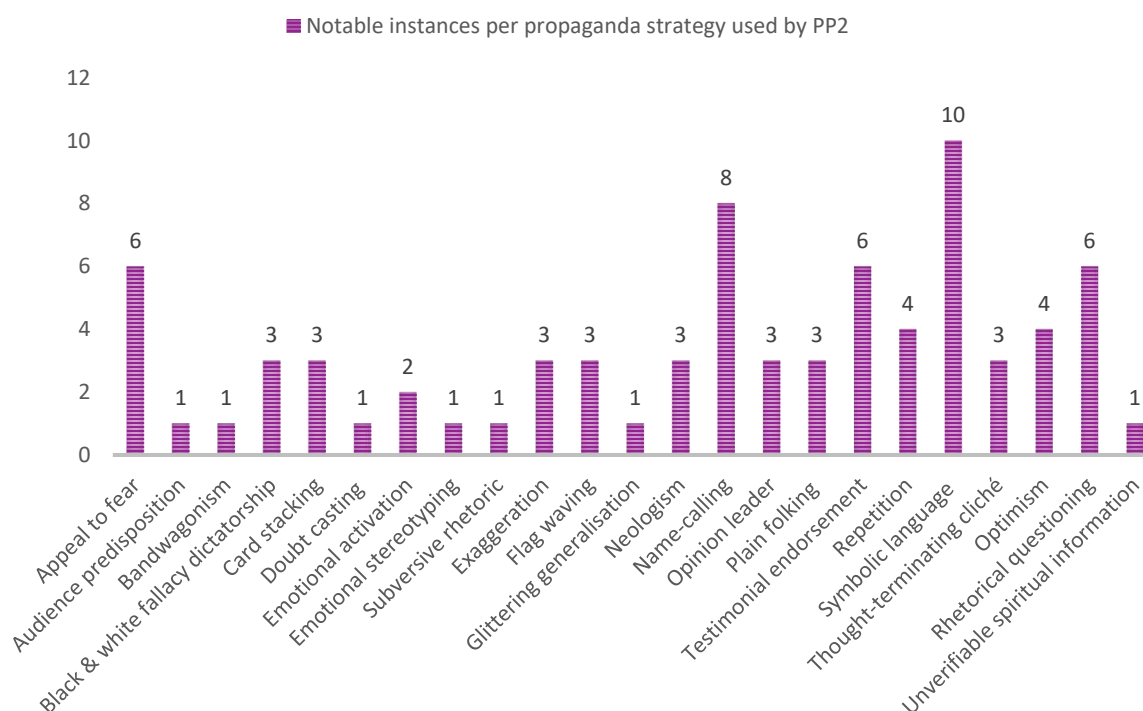


Figure 4: Notable instances per propaganda strategies used by PP2

As can be seen from Figure 4 above, PP2 engaged propaganda strategies extensively. A great number of these strategies covers his observation about and response to political incidences rather than spiritual or clerical matters. This, as is characteristic mainly of political speeches, predisposes him to propaganda as has been severally hinted on in the process of the analysis. Hence, besides the extant strategies as identified in 3.3.3, four out of the five new strategies discovered in the course of this study (see the last paragraph in 6.2.3 below for details) were verified via CDA analysis of PP2's sermons.

The CDA also reveals certain 'textual' features, to use Fairclough's term, or what Maritz (2019) calls linguistic characteristics. PP2 employs a highly rhetorical, emotionally charged, and

nationalistic language in his sermons, which is reinforced by strategic grammatical choices aimed at persuading, exaggerating, and positioning his ideologies. These choices are essential in shaping his message and making it resonate with the audience, while also underscoring the urgency of the issues at hand. The key elements of PP2's discourse include several grammatical and rhetorical strategies that work in tandem to persuade and emotionally engage listeners.

One of the notable strategies used by PP2 is the use of complex sentence structures. These structures allow him to present multiple ideas simultaneously, creating depth and nuance in his arguments. Complex sentences highlight the urgency of his message while also providing a space for deeper, layered meanings.

Another significant feature of PP2's discourse is the use of modal verbs, which instil a sense of possibility or obligation in the audience. By using words like *must*, PP2 urges his listeners to take action, subtly positioning certain ideas as necessary or inevitable. A clear example of this would be, *We must act now to ensure our future*, where the modal verb *must* emphasises a strong sense of obligation to act.

In addition to modal verbs, PP2 employs parallelism and repetition as persuasive devices. By repeating key phrases and structures, he reinforces central themes and makes them more memorable to his audience. This repetition serves to emphasise the core message of unity and strength. An example of this can be found in the phrase, *We stand united, we fight united, and we shall prevail united*, where the repeated use of *united* strengthens the call for solidarity and collective action.

PP2 also strategically uses rhetorical questions to guide the audience toward specific conclusions subtly. These questions are not meant to be answered directly but are intended to influence the audience's perception and provoke reflection. For instance, *What kind of future do we want for our children?* encourages the audience to consider their values and priorities, leading them to an implicit understanding of the speaker's message.

To add emotional weight to his speech, PP2 frequently employs exclamations and figurative language, including metaphors, to evoke strong responses from the audience. A prime example of this is when he refers to a political crisis as *the political Euroclydon*, using the metaphor of a violent storm to convey a sense of urgency and danger.

Another notable grammatical strategy used by PP2 is the passive voice, which serves to obscure responsibility or agency. By shifting the focus away from the doer and toward the action or result, passive constructions allow PP2 to present certain events or decisions in a way that minimizes direct accountability. For instance, *The decision was made to save the people*, removes specific responsibility for the decision and focuses instead on the act itself.

PP2 also makes use of nominalisation, which involves transforming actions or processes into abstract nouns. This creates a sense of authority and detachment, making his claims appear more formal and universally accepted. An example of this is, *The administration's implementation of this policy shows commitment*, where the noun implementation abstracts the action and gives it a more official tone.

Additionally, PP2 employs intensifiers to underscore the urgency and importance of his message. These words serve to heighten the emotional involvement of the audience, making the situation feel more immediate. For example, *We are in serious danger if we do not act now*, where the word *serious* intensifies the urgency of the message. We see here that this pastor also employs the lexical meaning of words (i.e. noun phrases, verb phrases and modifiers) to realise the propagation.

Lastly, PP2 frequently relies on metaphors and symbolic language to make abstract ideas more tangible and resonant with the audience. Through symbols, he ties his message to larger concepts that evoke emotional and intellectual responses. For example, he might say, *Our nation is a great ship, and we must steer it through the storm*, using the metaphor of a *ship* to symbolize the nation's trajectory and the need for collective effort to navigate challenges.

In summary, PP2's sermons are characterised by a rich array of lexical, rhetorical and grammatical strategies that work together to persuade, engage, and emotionally move his audience. These strategies not only serve to reinforce his ideological message but also ensure that it resonates deeply with listeners on both an intellectual and emotional level. In consideration of these findings, I further explore linguistic elements using CLA in Chapter 7. More specific details of the use of propaganda strategies emerge from the comparison between the two political pastors below.

6.2.3 A comparison between the language use of PP1 and PP2

Overall, PP2 has engaged more propaganda strategies than PP1. Out of the twenty-seven known strategies in literature as identified in Chapter 3, the former used nineteen, thereby leaving just eight strategies unused. PP1, however, employed sixteen of the twenty-seven known strategies, hence leaving eleven unused. Furthermore, four new propaganda strategies were found in the investigated sermons of PP1 and PP2. The foregoing may be taken as a reflection of the real world in which, although both pastors are politically inclined, PP2, unlike PP1, is, aside from his pastoral calling, a card-carrying member of a political party, even the ruling party at the time of this study. PP2's deeper political engagement, therefore, must have predisposed him to more propaganda strategies than PP1.

We can consider more details of the use of propaganda strategies by the two pastors. As can be established from the sections above, both pastors used sermons *symbolic language*. This speaks to the disposition of both to flowery language that appeals to the mental and imaginary states of the audience. The use of *symbolic language* by both pastors is at the lexical level. Typical of

politicians, PP2 used more instances of *Name calling* than PP1. However, it is noticeable that in both cases, the pastors targeted those whose views did not align with theirs, a clear attempt to present their opponent in bad lights before their listeners. The linguistic unit that featured mostly as *Name calling* are words and phrases; namely, nouns or noun phrase (e.g. *arrogance, mediocres, cabal, money bags, mischief makers*). But PP1 used more of *emotion activation* strategy than PP2. Another strategy worth comparing is *Testimonial endorsement*, which provides evidence of how much the pastors invested in backing up their claims with statements from respected individuals in society. Both tried to validate their claims via the expressed views of others. Whereas PP1 used direct reported speech in all cases of *Testimonial endorsement*, PP2 had some instances of paraphrasing. This again, perhaps, speaks to the sophistication of the pastor (PP2) that is more politically involved, a proof of the connection between form and function. *Bandwagonism* (a strategy which, like *Testimonial endorsement*, advocates a particular action based on evidence derivable from other people's actions) was employed only by PP2. Another evidence-based strategy is *Card stacking* (the purposeful use of accurate information to favour the propagandist's projected view). Both pastors employed this strategy by using the same means of introducing socio-historical facts through either adverbial phrases of time or place, thereby providing information that listeners were expected to be familiar with. Both pastors also engaged *Audience predisposition* strategy to sway their audiences based, that is, relying on what the audience knew to persuade them to accept a proposal. Both pastors likewise exploited groups' identities' sentiments by using *Flag-waving* strategy, although not in the same proportion. In both cases, *Flag-waving* is activated by noun phrase designating well-known geographical elements (e.g. *Niger Delta activists, non-northern Muslim*). But *Plain-folking*, a close strategy to *Flag-waving* in the sense that both identify the speaker with the audience somewhat, had zero record in PP1's investigated sermons, while having three notable instances in the investigated sermons of PP2.

Further on strategies that appeal directly to the minds of the listeners, both pastors took advantage of *Appeal to fear and prejudice* strategy, which recorded more incidences in PP2 sermons. But it was common with both pastors to use terror-inspiring lexical items and noun phrases (e.g. *death, dark cloud, threat*). Conversely, PP1 made more use of *Doubt casting* strategy than PP2. Both pastors engaged the strategy of *Exaggeration*. Also, whereas PP2 used both *Emotion activation* and *Emotional Stereotyping* to woo his listeners, PP1 only had the record of *Emotion activation*.

Coming to the use of strategies not listed in the existing propaganda literature (and thus not captured in chapter three), both PP1 had three (i.e. *Rhetorical questioning, Pre-emptive move, and Conveying optimism*) while PP2 recorded four; namely, Neologism, Rhetorical question, *Conveying optimism*, and *Unverifiable spiritual information*). Thus, five new strategies (*Rhetorical questioning, Pre-emptive move, Optimism, Neologism, and Unverifiable spiritual information*) were discoverable from the sermons of the political pastors. Essentially, while it might be said that the two pastors had a great deal in common regarding their use of propaganda strategies, PP2 outperformed PP1 somewhat. And this, as has been previously observed, is not

unrelated to the varying degrees of political commitment among the two pastors, a validation of the fact that language is functionally tuned.

6.3 Results of the CDA of the language use of two Nigerian non-political pastors

Non-political pastors, as referred to in this research, denote a category of pastors who are not involved in politics and lack any official ties with the government. The sermons delivered by these non-political pastors serve as a benchmark dataset for comparison with those given by political pastors. Given their lack of political engagement, it is anticipated that the sermons of non-political pastors will contain little or no political subject matter. One, however, expects a substantial engagement of the same (persuasive) communicative strategies employed by the political pastors. However, this time around, the purpose is expected to be focused on achieving their gospel-based pastoral ministry of spiritual experiences. As such, we expect communicative strategies that serve no other purpose other than to elucidate the contents of such pastors' sermons.

6.3.1 CDA of the language use of Non-Political Pastor 3 (NPP3)

Non-political pastor 1 (NPP3)'s sermons encompass a collection of messages delivered during the annual organized by the interdenominational Christian organisation he leads. These sermons are a series preached during the December retreats spanning from 2019 to 2022. Each of these sermons comprises more than ten thousand words, is spread and preached across four days of meetings, and each holds its distinct thematic focus. Central to the sermons' themes are subjects such as human mission in the world, the mystery and ministry of the cross as a symbol of Christian lifestyle, the establishment and growth of Christians in Christ, and the individual pursuit of the invisible God. The sermons were delivered via clear and uncomplicated language. The pastor intentionally adhered to the chosen subject of discussion. For example, in one of his sermons, the pastor underscored the significance of Christians' understanding of the various dimensions of their mission in and to the world. I did a close reading analysis of these sermons using the propaganda strategy table presented in 3.3.3 to find out whether these strategies are also present in non-political sermon test.

I was able to find examples of the following known potential propaganda strategies in the sample of selected sermons from NPP3 using a CDA:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice s*
- *Audience predisposition expression*
- *Card stacking*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*
- *Name calling*
- *Symbolic transfer*
- *Testimonial Endorsement*

- *Repetition*
- *Symbolic language*
- *Rhetorical questioning*

However, to determine whether these are strategies used for propagation, Maritz (2019)'s two questions will be administered in principle (see 3.3.3)

From the NPP3 sample, I was not able to identify any clear examples of the following known propaganda strategies: *Bandwagonism*, *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Casual oversimplification*, *Doubt casting*, *Emotion activation*, *Emotion stereotype*, *Subversive rhetoric*, *Flag-waving*, *Glittering generalisation*, *Maintaining control over communication*, *Opinion Leaders*, *Plain folkling*, *Questioning the credibility of source*, *Slogans*, *Thought-terminating cliché*, and *whataboutisms*.

I will again discuss each of these found strategies in the order below and illustrate them with corpus examples.

6.3.1.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudices*

This strategy is engaged when the speaker, by linguistic choice, makes the listeners to see dangers in any way that is alternative to his/her own favoured idea (see 3.3.3 for details).NPP3 employed *Appeal to fear and prejudice* as captured below.

- 169 *If we do not preach the gospel clearly, we would have endangered the souls of men. Men will perish unless they hear the good news of the saviour*
- 170 *...the church on earth has the mandate to shine the light and point the way of light to the entire world, if it will not get drowned in the dungeon of death and destruction.*
- 171 *If you lay a wrong foundation for your life, It became your permanent problem and almost irreplaceable. It becomes your reoccurring challenge with recurrent problems. To deal with it is to be ruthless and go and start from the scratch on another note entirely. The only challenge is that you cannot recover the year wasted and the scars on your destiny that has already been formed.*
- 172 *...but what is built is your life, that may suffer damages from the storm and the wind...*

Using *Appeal to fear and prejudice* strategy, the pastor presented the danger ahead if the listeners fail to preach the gospel or do not clearly present Christ to people. Consequently, NPP3 employed words like *endangered*, *perish*, *drowned*, *dungeon*, *death*, *destruction*, and phrases such as *permanent problem*, *almost irreplaceable*, *recurrent problems*, *scars*. All the foregoing are fear-laden words meant to instil fear in the mind of listeners so they could take the appropriate actions as being put forward by the pastor. This action is intended by the pastor to cause a change in the

lives of the audience for their own benefits. Thus, the fear created here is not for propaganda, since there were no immediate personal benefits the action of the audience would bring to the pastor (see Maritz 2019: 18-19).

6.3.1.2 Audience predisposition

Audience predisposition is activated when opinions and beliefs that the listeners are well acquainted with are exploited by the speaker to sway them (i.e. the listeners) ((see 3.3.3 for details).

173 *One is obscure and buried under the soil, the other is outgoing and upward and visible for all to see and perhaps to pluck and use for their needs. But one is the cause, the other is the effects. One is the source, the input and it grow downward, the other is the output, the outcome and the result. One must begin and the other can only follow. Root is primary and fruit is secondary.*

The pastor here leverages on the people's knowledge of simple agricultural practice to explain spiritual growth to the congregation.

6.3.1.3 Card stacking

This is the systematic presentation of accurate or self-contrived information in manner that is skewed towards the speaker's end (see 3.3.3 for details). *Card stacking* featured in the sermons of NPP3 as captured below.

174 *Whenever builders are working, you will notice that they normally connect the next bricks with the previous ones. sometimes, a brick may be longer than the space available; so they cut it and chop off the excess until it fits. They use their plumb at each point to ensure the same level, the straight line symmetry.*

175 *All the materials to be used are specified in terms of qualities and quantities, sizes and dimensions. The concrete must be mixed according to the specifications. Pillers and columns, beams and roof-members are all to be in congruent with overall design.*

176 *Darkness reigns anywhere there is no light. That is life.*

177 *Esther subdued Hamman and the whole government was handed over to her and Mordecai to do as it pleased them. Daniel became the executive vice president in Babylon with so much power. Josphe ruled Egypt and run their economy great in those days. He ruled the senators and no one could move a hand unless at Joseph's Permission*

The explanations and examples above were intended to support the pastor's idea of explaining the subject of discussion or theme to the listeners. Examples 174 and 175 stack, as it were, indisputable information about architectural processes. This underscores the concepts of diligence and precision the speaker was advancing for a Christian life that would be profitable. Then, in 176, the pastor

alluded to a well-known natural phenomenon—the mutual exclusiveness (i.e., the impossibility of co-occurrence) of light and darkness — to make the audience realise that if they are not morally active, immoral forces will take over. Example 177 stacks different but similarly-themed historical Biblical events that the listeners, being Christians, must have been acquainted with, to drive home his point about their (listeners’) moral responsibility to lead on behalf of God.

6.3.1.4 Exaggeration/minimisation

Exaggeration is an intentional overstatement of a fact while minimisation works in the opposite direction by understating a fact but both in an attempt to make the listeners see the severity of the matter being presented (see 3.3.3 for details). Below are the instances of this strategy from the sermons of NPP3:

- 178 *I must be in love affair with my Lord. I must long for the full kisses of his mouth and so knitted with him.*
- 179 *They were men and women of his bedchamber. He elopes with them severally from all the strange distractions of the world, so he can have exclusive time with them and expose them to more and more of himself.*
- 180 *...the engulfing darkness*
- 181 *...the overwhelming darkness that is engulfing everywhere and every profession on the face of the earth*
- 182 *Everything we were before the power of the cross came on our live, have become rubbish and mere dung.*
- 183 *The only life that conquers the world is a life that is dead to sin, dead to the world and its toys, dead to fame and its trappings, dead to death itself and its fears, dead to pleasure which is only for a season, and dead to life itself, as if we are only living to protect life lives.*
- 184 *When the owner of your soul signals you to come over?*

Both Exaggerations and minimisations strategies were used in the sermon texts of NPP3. Examples 178 to 181 are cases of Exaggerations. The whole expression in both 178 and 179 are Exaggerations meant to amplify the extent of the pastor’s relationship with the Lord. Examples 182 and 183 are cases of minimisation. In 182, the pastor said that all life’s achievements are rubbish and dung. In a similar fashion, all life’s essential material was called toys by the pastor in 183, doing this to minimise people’s attraction to them. In 184, with the help of euphemism the pastor minimises the pain of death as thou it like taking a stroll.

6.3.1.5 Name Calling

Name calling is to verbally designate an opponent in negative term (see 3.3.3 for details). Clear cases of name-calling found in the sermons NPP3 are the ones quoted below

- 185 *Many there are still in our own generation, who are still so ignorant of God's own way of making man right with himself, who are so zealously engaged in futile efforts to subdue their flesh in all form of Barbaric rituals.*
- 186 *His excitement is superficial.*
- 187 *We must raise disciples rather than mere members who are miracle seekers and bread eaters*
- 188 *Many are mere puppets on pulpits. Man whose concern first and foremost is their belly who will easily bow and the knees and bend the sword just to make bread out of should have been lively stone for God.*
- 189 *Don't marry a woman who is merely cosmetic, who just love to make up and dress gorgeously.*
- 190 *They sound very high and very impressive but it empty, and vague. It can only make you a man of the earth not a man come from God. It is hollow philosophy and empty psychology....*

Name calling in non-political sermon simply describes referent behaviours in a manner that seems objective. Moreover, such instances do not target particular personal enemies, unlike as used in the sermons of the political pastors. For example, the use of the epithets such as *ignorant* and *barbaric* to describe people who are ironically *zealously engaged* (example 185), *superficial* (example 186), and *miracle seekers and bread eaters* in 187 were not meant to undermine any referent who may fit into such a lifestyle of external show of piety but lacking the internal strength and loyalty to God. The pastor was simply cataloguing them as fair-weather Christians. NPP3 was calling implicitly calling for positive changes by such people, a change that will not have been to his personal benefit, and thus not a propaganda. In 188, we have *Name calling* instances as follows: *puppets on pulpit, men whose concern is their belly*. In 189, *a woman who is "merely cosmetic, empty and vague"* refers to pastors who are out to propagate self-ideology which has no bearing with the moral, life-changing depth of the Biblical ministry. So, as I started earlier, there is no element of propaganda in the name-calling here. It is rather a communicative strategy.

6.3.1.6 Repetition

Repetition is to say the same thing that has been said earlier either verbatim or by paraphrasing (usually synonymous lexical items) (see 3.3.3 for details). Below are instances of this strategy in the sermons of NPP3.

- 191 *We must multiply disciples who are disciples indeed.*
- 192 *The mission of the church on earth as God's lifeline to a dying world*
- 193 *You are God's lifeline to this dying world.*
- 194 *...indeed became a God's lifeline for a dying world*
- 195 *It was a joyful reporting to people who stood by them as they went. It was a reporting to people who have been eagerly waiting for their return. It was a reporting to those who were ready with a warm welcome for the missionaries.*
- 196 *Born and born again*
- 197 *The life that conquers the world is a life that is dead to sin and its allures, dead to the world and its toys, dead to fame and its trappings, dead to death itself and its fears, dead to pleasure which is only for a season, and dead to life itself, as if we are only living to protect life lives.*
- 198 *The rod of his strengthen*
- 199 *The result we get from prayer is not only a reward: a reward of something we have done in the secret.*
- 200 *It is a priority and priority must be given to it.*
- 201 *It takes some years to build a prayer life, a prayer life that is trustworthy has been built.*
- 202 *A Christian life is a building; Christian spirituality is a building; a consecrated life is a building. Understanding God's world and been able to rightly divide it is a building.*
- 203 *Sustain my personal pursuit of God in progress.*

From the above examples, NPP3 engaged more of a repetition strategy in his sermons than any other strategy. Ranging from repetition of words, phrases and sometimes sentences, he used this strategy deliberately to emphasis his main points especially those relating to the theme of the retreat meeting during which the sermons were delivered. For example, in the utterance *we must multiply disciples who are disciples indeed*. The repetition of *disciples* in the dependent clause is to lay emphasis on the meaning of the word *disciples*. Similarly, in examples 192-194 the pastor

repeatedly used the phrase *lifeline and dying world* to emphasis life and death respectively. Repetition in propaganda can stamp a particular concept (whose linguistic representation is made to re-occur) on the mind of the listeners such that it becomes an unforgettable reminder of the need to continue giving attention to such a concept even long after the speech event has ended. Repetition thus creates retention.

6.3.1.7 *Rhetorical questioning*

A rhetorical question is such an interrogative sentence, but it is not intended to elicit immediate feedback or for which the speaker implicitly has the answer. This strategy is novel in the current study as no previous study has identified it as a propaganda strategy. Examples in NPP3's sermons are:

204 *What must we do as we lead God's church at a time like this both in preparing them for the coming days and in preparing them to fulfil this mandate to the world that sits in the region of darkness?*

205 *How do we suspend life and underpin it to achieve foundational repair?*

NPP3 used a few Rhetorical questions, and they are mainly used to deepen the understanding of the audience on the subject of discussion and further make the audience to grasp the message intended by the pastor. For instance, in sentence 205, the pastor used the criticality of foundation (to a building) in the Rhetorical question to underscore the irreparability of a life that has grown but is built on wrong principles.

6.3.1.8 *Symbolic language*

NPP3 copiously employed connotative language which amounts to *Symbolic language use* as instantiated below.

206 *Flushed into the drains by flood...*

207 *That is on the brink of destruction*

The pastor employed a lot of symbolic language to illustrate and expatiate on given subjects to his congregation. These symbolic linguistic codes help to paint the picture of the concepts being communicated. Metaphor is the most employed in this sermon. In example 206, the pastor painted the image of the ease with which the world of humans (and indeed everything in it) can be wiped out by God as exemplified in the destruction of the antediluvian world²⁶. Two symbolic words in

²⁶ The Antediluvian world refers to the prehistoric time, as recorded in the Biblical book of Genesis chapters 1-7, that preceded the universal flood that destroyed life in that world except Noah and his family (as well as the selected animals) all of who escaped by an ark (Parady 2018: 6).

the example are thus *flushed* and *drain*, comparing the manner in which the first world ended by God to how we dispose of useless water into the drainage. By this, the act of destroying the first earth was made light even though was a terrifying experience. Pressing on this foregoing theme, the pastor used sentence 207 above to capture how the current world is close to destruction like that of the antediluvian age by showing the precarious state of the former being on the *brink of destruction*. Thus, the pastor created a communicative link between the world then and now by the means of symbolic language, both showing the inability of man to halt his destruction. The aim here, however, was apparently not to motivate the listeners against any human figure or political order but to instil the fear of God that leads to a moral rebirth.

- 208 *The nations melting together into one big force against the Lord*
- 209 *Engineers abandoned their careers to come to Africa to pour out their lives for God among the heathen.*
- 210 *They did all that they could do just to bring the light to a dying world then.*

Further metaphors occur in 208 and 209 as humans solid life was likened to liquid form to indicate particular transformative commitments. These metaphorical forces are enwombed in the verbs *melting* and *pour* in 208 and 209 respectively. The former shows a negative instance of a group of people unified by rebellion against God while the latter shows a positive instance of people abandoning a comfortable living for an uncomfortable one for humanitarian, evangelical purpose of bringing *light* to the *dying world* (example 210 with *light* symbolising the civilising gospel, and *dying* symbolising a morally bankrupt human society). By engaging the same metaphorical dimension for both cases, the pastor has presented both groups in an unbiased manner thus foreclosing the propaganda of personal interest.

- 211 *To spread abroad the aroma of his life among the nations...(metaphor)*
- 212 *The rod of His strengthen (metaphor)*
- 213 *The tyranny of sin and self (personification)*
- 214 *I must consistently allow him to hand me over to death so that more of his life may be revealed in me.... They are actually dead men and women walking about on the street. (paradox)*

In example 211 is another symbolic language conveyed via metaphor. The metaphorical content, unlike in previous cases, is contained in the nominal phrase *the aroma*. There are other paradigmatically related words to the head word *aroma* in English such as *odour*, *smell* but the pastor chose *aroma* because of its incontrovertibly positive connotation. By this, the pastor was implying that the lifestyle of Jesus, which he has used *the aroma* to symbolise, is incontrovertibly positive, and the seamlessness by which aroma spreads should be the same way by which his

listeners should *spread* (i.e. live out) *abroad* this positivity *among nations*". There is another instance of symbolic language in example 212 *the rod of His strength*. Like in the preceding example 211, the word conveying the metaphor is the noun phrase *the rod* but this time around, a concrete noun. The phrase was metaphorically used to evoke a sense of authority suggesting the rod of a shepherd with which herds of cattle, no matter how large, are controlled. Sin, an abstract concept, was personified in example 213 as being a tyrant. The pastor has thus successfully created the picture of a mean and wicked ruler in a repugnant manner. Again, the pastor aimed to stir the mind of the listeners not against a particular human entity (as is usually the case in the previous PP1 and PP2) but against an anti-moral practice. A new twist is brought into the discourse with example 214, a paradoxical expression in which *death* is presented as *life*. This would invariably pique and arrest the interest of the audience considering the general understanding of death as an unpleasant experience. Interestingly, however, the pastor presented himself, rather than any particular person, as a specimen of this experience. This then presupposes a kind of death that is different from the known death, a death that brings life, perhaps analogous to the death of a parasitic organism, which then means life for the host. Mean, the fact that the pastor did not exclude himself from what, on the face value, would have amounted to a negative experience is a pointer to non-propaganda posture. It counts for the pastor not putting himself into some advantaged position while stirring the listeners into some action.

- 215 *Fable fiction and fancies (alliteration)*
- 216 *Furniture, furnishing, and finishing of our buildings.(alliteration)*
- 217 *It gives shape and sharpness to the ministry and missionaries (alliteration) 2018:30)*
- 218 *It is not the official filings and writings that no one actually reads...(assonance)*
- 219 *Satan with his kingdom was dislodged, disposed, disgraced, dethroned, disarmed and displayed as impotent. (alliteration)*
- 220 *The Christian life is not a scattered, sporadic, spurious kind of life.(alliteration)*

All instances of the preceding *Symbolic language use* largely exploited the ideational and interpersonal dimensions of metafunctions of language since their symbolisms refer to the realities of the world outside language. NPP3's symbolic language, however, also touches on textual metafunction in which cases the pastor engaged co-textual devices to create symbolism. The use of alliteration (successive repetition of the initial consonant sound) and assonance (successive repetition of internal vowel sound) enact this category of symbolism. The successive repetition of the initial the labiodental /f/ in example 215 gives the picture of the utter intangibility of the concept being described. In contrast, the repetition of the same sound in 216 depicts perfectness in the mind of the listeners, thereby showing that the intention of the speaker was not semantically locked in a particular sound (no particular sound has a particular meaning) but in the repetitiveness

of it. The repetition of fricative consonant /ʃ/ orthographically represented by ‘sh’, and then nasal /m/ in example 217, provides stability for the idea being propagated by the pastor. In example 218, the repetition of diphthong /ai/ in *filing* and *writing* gives some mellifluousness and melody that sells the idea being communicated by the pastor. The long repetition of the initial /d/ in sample 219 was meant to communicate the all-round defeat of *satan and his kingdom* through Jesus’ sacrifice on the cross. Then /s/ is repeated in 220 to show the emptiness that contrasts with the expected substantial life of *the Christian life*. All the foregoing provides some aesthetic beauty that aids the acceptability of the pastor’s sermons to the audience.

6.3.1.9 Symbolic transfer

Symbolic language use is the extended use of a word to have a meaning beyond its unmarked, normal meaning. Therefore, figurative expressions naturally count as *Symbolic language use* (see 3.3.3 for details).

- 221 *Each one of us must locate himself and herself in the specific vineyard in which you will fulfil your mission in this life while it is day for night come, when no man can work.*
- 222 *We have been blessed with the very sound evangelical of the gospel and it a debt we owe our generation, first in our own Jerusalem of our nation.*
- 223 *They shall be His willing army, who says with joy, “for thy sake we are killed all day long...”*
- 224 *But if you look at a heavy might tree like an oak, before you will see any little seedling coming out, it has probably taken years to grow its root underground.*
- 225 *The next consideration we must give attention to as we come to this “Rehoboth” in our pursuit of his life and of his revival....*
- 226 *If the material used to build your life is the hay, the stubble, the wood, rather than the gold the precious stones and the enduring elements....*
- 227 *Salt must be in the midst of the decay world to preserve it.*

Here, NPP3 uses different symbolic elements to explain his points to his listeners. In 221, the pastor used the word *vineyard* to symbolise different professional occupations of Christian-believers where they can work for God and his Kingdom. In 222, *Jerusalem* as a prestigious place for Christianity is symbolically used to represent Nigeria. The lexical item *army* in 223 is symbolically used to represent Christian. Furthermore, in example 224, *oak tree* is used to symbolise how a Christian ought to grow and in 225, *Rehoboth* is used to symbolise an experience of fruitfulness while enjoying rest as explained by the pastor. In 226, items like *the hay*, *the stubble*, *the wood* were used to symbolise inferior lifestyles while *gold* and *precious stones* were used to

represent a superior and quality way of living. Thus, *Symbolic transfer* co-occurs here both negatively and positively.

6.3.1.10 *Testimonial endorsement*

Testimonial endorsement is used when the speaker cites another speaker, usually famous, to support or oppose a point (see 3.3.3 for details). Examples of *Testimonial endorsement* in the sermons of NPP3 are as follows:

- 228 *Paul was definite in his pursuit of God. I want to know him. I want to be more intimately acquainted with Him. I want Him and nothing more. That was also the object of his pursuit in the ministry. He determined to know nothing among the brethren except Christ and Him crucified.*
- 229 *Moses was also a man of this one thing. He plea with God was “show me your glory that I may know and that we may be different from all the nations around us”*
- 230 *David would rather be a doorkeeper in the court of the Lord than be a king or an estate owner anywhere else. Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ as better riches than pleasures of sin in Egypt.*
- 231 *When Paul came to this reality for his own life, his response was so definite. He saw the prophecy of the scripture as words sent to his own life. As he saw the son of the living God, and heard his charge for his life, he did not confer with flesh and blood. He was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. The love of Christ left him no choice. For to him, to live is Christ and to die is gain.*
- 232 *Caleb, who could say “Give me this mountain” even at their advancing years; women like Deborah, who could arise and take stand for God; Esther, who could remain uncorrupted the power and pomp of palace...(MLR 2018:13)*

NPP3 used iconic biblical characters like Moses, Caleb, Deborah, Esther, and Paul for *Testimonial endorsement* strategy pointing them to his listeners as worthy examples for them to follow. He highlighted each for their stand and sacrifices in the pursuit of God. This was meant to show his listeners that others have gone ahead of them in the pursuit of God. This would serve as a form of encouragement for them.

6.3.1.11 *Summary of the NPP3 sermons*

The instances of the use of propaganda strategies by NPP3 are as captured in Figure 5 below.

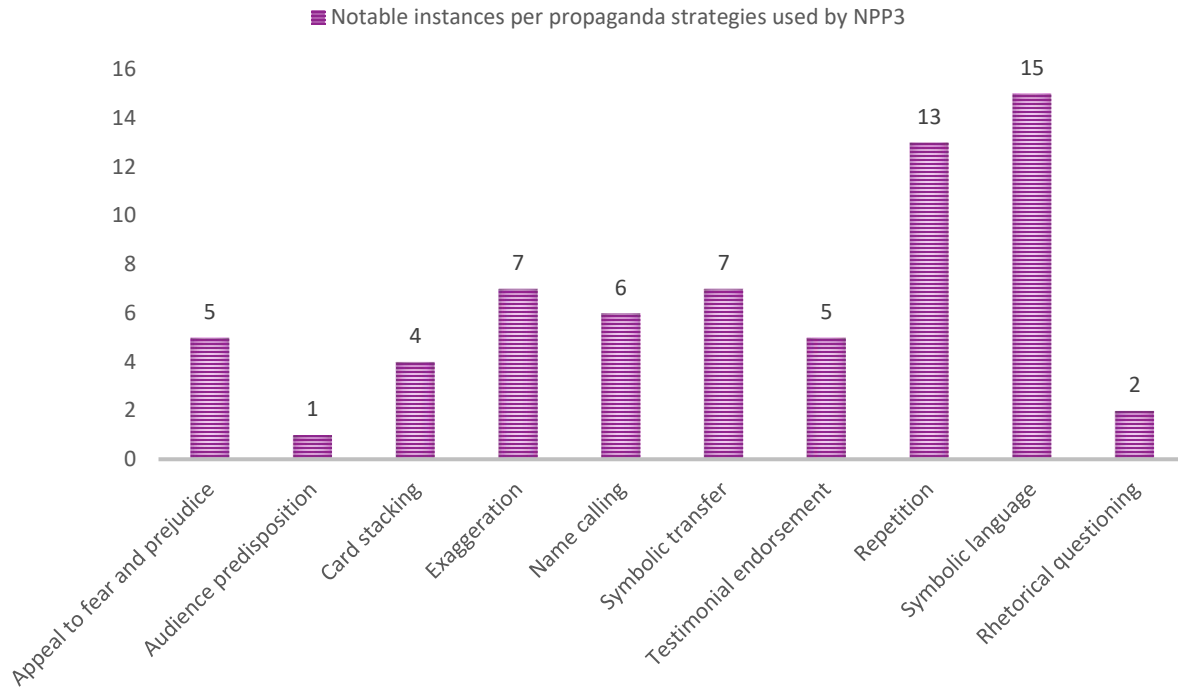


Figure 5: Notable instances per propaganda strategy used by NPP3

As can be seen in Figure 5 above, only ten propaganda strategies (out of the total of twenty-five I identified in chapter three and five newly discovered strategies) were notably used by NPP3. But like the political pastors, the most used strategy is Symbolic Language. However, there is a significant difference in the orientation of deploying this strategy between NNP3 and the political pastors. Whereas *Symbolic language used* by the political pastors meant to elucidate political messages as they relate to nation-building, NNP3 used this strategy for a spiritual purpose. Using of repetition (13 instances) also featured prominently in the investigated sermons of NPP3. Like in the political pastors' sermons, this strategy was meant to foreground the essential elements in the investigated sermons so that they can register firmly in the listeners' minds. The next, in terms of frequency, is *Symbolic transfer*, and Exaggeration with 7 instances each. There is not any critical connection between the two, except to note that they were both employed to ensure the success of the message being communicated, with the former describing the current spiritual variables in terms of Biblical symbols while the latter enlarged facts to create special effects. Then comes *Name calling* strategy. Here again, what counts as *Name calling* is instances where the pastor contemplates people not living up to high spiritual/moral standards. Of course, it contrasts with instances of the political pastors where men were described in pejorative terms for their political views. So, people who were name-called were so tagged not for their religious views or persuasions but for their political ideologies. NPP3 had five instances of *Appeal to fear and prejudice* strategy. All such instances were all meant to communicate the danger of not acting in accordance with the scriptural principles. Obedience on the part of the listeners to avoid such

dangers would not have been to the immediate benefit of the pastor; therefore, it does not count as propaganda.

NPP3 engaged *Card stacking* in four instance relative to the overall strategies used by him. In those instances, the pastor took advantage of pieces of accurate information, factual or Biblical, to achieve his communication targets. A related strategy, *Audience predisposition*, had only one instance. Out of the five newly discovered strategies in the sermons of PP1 and PP2, only one featured in the investigated sermons of NPP3: Using of Rhetorical question. Even at that, there are only two notable instances of it, as revealed in Figure 5 above.

PP3 employs persuasive discourse strategies primarily aimed at reinforcing theological messages. Though not politically inclined, these strategies serve to strengthen the preacher's authority and guide the audience's spiritual journey. Key grammatical elements include imperative sentences like *Repent now*, which create urgency and prompt immediate action. The use of passive voice, as in *'They were handed over to destruction,' emphasises divine intervention, shifting the focus from individual responsibility to spiritual destiny*. Conditional constructions, such as *If you remain in sin, you will be lost*, introduce moral accountability, highlighting the consequences of faith-related choices.

Parallelism and repetition, as seen in *He came to heal, He came to save, He came to restore*, enhance the memorability of core themes, ensuring that the preacher's message resonates deeply. Declarative statements like *Salvation is the only way* assert theological certainty, eliminating doubt and reinforcing doctrinal truths. The use of personal pronouns, such as *we, the faithful* versus *they, the lost*, fosters a sense of unity and communal identity while distinguishing the believer from the non-believer. Emotive language, characterised by hyperbolic expressions like *a world drowning in sin*, intensifies emotional engagement, making the sermons more compelling and spiritually moving.

Through these deliberate linguistic choices, NPP3's discourse not only conveys religious teachings but also strengthens the persuasive impact of the message, ensuring that the audience is spiritually moved and called to action. Choices such as imperative sentences, passive voice, conditional constructions, parallelism, repetition, and declarative statements are all strategic choices that reinforce the persuasive and theological aims of NPP3's discourse.

Structures like personal pronouns and parallelism are key to building identity and emotional engagement, which could be explored in greater depth through corpus methods, as these grammatical strategies outlined are central to NPP3's persuasive approach. On the other hand, lexical items (nouns, adjectives, verbs) play a role in the emotional and persuasive impact of the discourse. Corpus analysis will provide more detailed insight into how these structures function within the overall rhetorical strategy of the sermons.

6.3.2 CDA of the language use of Non-Political Pastor 4 (NPP4)

NPP4 is also a non-political pastor. However, some content of his sermon suggests that the pastor in some very few instances speaks about what is going on in the country in his sermon. This also confirms that many other pastors, who are not political figures, sometimes dive into societal challenges as a matter of concern for everyone. Although the sermon under NPP4 do not contain information about the time it was preached, the theme of some of the sermons falls between the seasons of celebration like Christmas. The sermons of NPP4 are very short in length, consisting of just about one thousand words per sermon. So, all the analysis to be made under this section is about five thousand words. Some of the themes of the sermons analysed under NPP4 are: All hail the King of Kings, Christmas is a family celebration, Nigeria, my adopted country, the centrality of mercy, and the core of Christian resilience.

Just like I have done in previous sections of this analyses, I will once again check for the strategies already identified in 3.3.3 to see those found in the sermons of NPP4.

I was able to find examples of twelve known potential propaganda strategies in the sample of selected sermons from NPP4 using a CDA:

- *Bandwagonism*
- *Card stacking*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*
- *Flag-waving*
- *Glittering generalisation*
- *Name calling*
- *Symbolic transfer*
- *Testimonial endorsement*
- *Repetition*
- *Symbolic language*
- *Thought-terminating cliché*
- *Rhetorical questioning*

However, to determine whether these are strategies used for propagation, Maritz (2019)'s two questions will be administered in principle (see 3.3.3).

From the NPP4 sample, I was not able to identify any clear examples of the following known propaganda strategies: *Appeal to fear and prejudice s*, *Audience predisposition Expression*, *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Casual oversimplification*, *Doubt casting*, *Emotion activation*,

emotional stereotype, Subversive rhetoric, Maintaining control over communication, Opinion leaders, Plain folking, Questioning the credibility of source, Slogan, and Whataboutism.

I will again discuss each of these found strategies in the order below and illustrate them with corpus examples.

6.3.2.1 *Bandwagonism*

Bandwagonism is the strategy employed when the speaker premises the validity of his point on its acceptability either universally or among a group of people (see 3.3.3 for details). NPP4 used it in the following instances.

233 *From politicians to students, businessmen to traders, pastors and students, everybody invokes that phrase to put a stamp of assurance on whatever they say or plan to do. There is justification in this practice.*

234 *About 2 years ago, the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria, CBCN, called on the Federal Government to seek outside help to deal with our security challenges. Many voices nationwide did the same.*

The pastor used the indefinite pronoun *everybody* and the determiner *many*, both creating a sense of endorsement by a large number of people, in the first and second examples respectively, to give the impression that his view about the popularity of the phrase *with God on our side* is widespread and so should be accepted. To him everybody uses it as a form of encouragement of God's presence. The lexical item *many* in the second example was also used by the pastor to justify the view of the CBCN suggestion to the president over which, according to him, *many* people have the same view. In the second phrase, the pastor did not mention the persons or groups that share that same view. In this case, the determiner *many* as used by the pastor might have been exploited for propaganda purposes since the determiner creates a sense of indefinitely large number (whereas only a relatively handful might have been the actual referent).

6.3.2.2 *Card stacking*

Card stacking strategy is used when the speaker uses accurate or manufactured facts/information to sway the audience towards a particular communicative goal (see 3.3.3 for details). It featured in the investigated sermons of NPP4 as follows.

235 *Millions of Nigerians have unfortunately taken other options among which is seeking greener pastures in other countries. No one needs to be reminded of the terrible fate which many of them come to, drowning in foreign seas and dying painfully in the desert. Yet more of those who actually do arrive foreign shores go through hell as illegal immigrants and face all sorts of exploitation and dehumanisation. Some simply die in the hands of robbers or hostile company. Among millions of Nigerians who either have*

nowhere to go or choose to stay we sadly also see those who give up and commit suicide.

236 *The abduction of over 200 Nigerian girls at Chibok by the murderous Boko Haram blew our cover and brought us to our sinful, self-conceited knees. All of a sudden our doors, formerly sealed by the platitudes of propaganda and conspiratorial complacency, have been thrown open to all comers with any guise of helping out.*

237 *Joseph and Mary showed their commitment to that relationship in the Bible; when they fled to Egypt to protect the baby Jesus (Matt. 2:14-18) and when they went looking for him, believing that he was lost, during their journey (Lk.2:41- 50). The same was the case when Mary went looking for Jesus as he preached to the people (Matt 12: 46-50) and even as she accompanied him at the foot of the cross (Jn. 19).*

The narrative in the above passage is deliberate. In line with the meaning of *Card stacking*, the explanation in the first two examples presents the unpleasant condition of Nigerian masses. The last *Card stacking* in example 237, however, is a positive narration and a testimonial about Jesus. In NPP4's sermons, both *Card stacking* and testimonials can be found in the Bible, which demonstrates a non-political commitment stance. When the pastor cites a biblical personality, it is a testimonial, but when he simply quotes a biblical incident, it is *Card stacking*.

6.3.2.3 *Exaggeration/minimisation*

NPP4 use more of *Exaggeration* strategy than minimisation. The following are examples of Exaggeration.

238 *Millions of Nigerians have unfortunately taken other options among which is seeking greener pastures in other countries.*

239 *In reality I think that Nigeria itself had long been "abducted" before Boko Haram took our girls.*

240 *Sin abducted Nigeria*

In the first example above (238), there could be a possible *Exaggeration* of figures because the pastor only used estimation and assumed numerical figures. In the second and third examples, the pastor exaggerated the state of insecurity in Nigeria by claiming that the nation was abducted. But when we consider the abductor, *sin*, as revealed in example 240, we are brought nearer the possible interpretation of the pastor's statement. It refers to the all-pervasive wrongdoing that has held the nation to ransom. Since the pastor did not tie the exaggerated fact here to any political cause for which he could benefit, it does not constitute propaganda. Rather, it is a communicative strategy.

6.3.2.4 *Flag-waving*

Flag-waving involves taking the advantage an inherent identity emotion associated with a group a people in order to antagonise the opponent (see 3.3.3 for details). In the investigated sermons of NPP4, the following cases of *Flag-waving* were found.

241 *The Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC) teaches that the family is prior to any recognition by public authority, which has an obligation to recognise it. It should be considered the normal reference point by which the different forms of family relationship are to be evaluated (CCC 2202).*

Here the pastor activated the identity of his congregation, being Catholics, to validate his stand or teaching on marriage. The pastor was advocating public value for the family, and since such value will apparently be for the benefit of the society (that is made up of families) and not just the pastor, it is not a propaganda.

6.3.2.5 *Glittering generalisation*

This is a deliberate attributing of glowing terms to a concept or idea in order to sell it to the listeners (see 3.3.3 for details). This strategy stands out in an instance as seen below.

242 *African culture however has as much compassion content as any culture anywhere in the world*

Using *Glittering generalisation*, the pastor presented the African culture as having compassionate content. In this way, the pastor attempted to portray African culture as possessing virtues, perhaps contrary to the generally held view that African culture is unprogressive. There may be a bit of propaganda here since the speaker is an African. Thus, the speaker is a beneficiary of the call to appreciate his culture. This is coupled with the fact that the speaker has ‘shielded’ what is likely to be an unsavoury aspect of African culture.

6.3.2.6 *Name Calling*

Name calling is the use of a derogatory or pejorative language to describe the opponent or an idea. Opposite direction to *Glittering generalisation*, *Name calling* is an attempt to de-market (see 3.3.3 for details). It was used in the following instances in the sermons of NPP4.

243 *Sin has gripped Nigeria when we gave our highest national honours to world-renowned thieves and tyrants and protected that affront obnoxious theories of national sovereignty.*

244 *To be fed with such an insensitive and reckless remark while many queue for days to get fuel was like a terrorist bomb to the public psyche*

- 245 *The Bible shows that human beings live on symbols and only the blind or the recalcitrant can deny that fact in human life even today.*
- 246 *All provided the environment and nurtured the overall bloody and brutish manifestations of terror which we find today.*
- 247 *not The abduction of over 200 Nigerian girls at Chibok by the murderous Boko Haram blew our cover and brought us to our sinful, self-conceited knees. All of a sudden our doors, formerly sealed by the platitudes of propaganda and conspiratorial complacency, have been thrown open to all comers with any guise of helping out*

In example 243, those who are given highest national honours were branded by the pastor as *world-renowned thieves and tyrants*. In 244, an address by a government official was tagged as *insensitive and reckless*. Then, those who do not agree that human beings live on symbols were considered to be *blind* and *recalcitrant* in example 245. . All of these are instances of *Name Calling*, as they are. The *Name calling*, in examples, 246 and 247 are inherent descriptions of groups being described. For example, Boko Haram, described as *murderous* in 247, is an internationally recognised terrorist group. Thus, *Name calling* in non-propaganda text is used to describe bad entities as they are, and not the pastor's attempt to ill-describe them to the listeners as such.

6.3.2.7 Repetition

Repetition is the reiteration of a point in a discourse either verbatim as the antecedent or by paraphrasing (e.g. synonyms). By repetition, an idea gains prominence and influence (see 3.3.3 for details on repetition). It was prominently used NPP4 thus:

- 248 *Sin has abducted Nigeria...sin has gripped Nigeria...sin abducted Nigeria...iniquity has abducted Nigeria.*

There is a repetition of an idea about peculiar Nigerian experiences using near synonyms. The pastor expressed this using different lexicons such as *abducted*, and *gripped*. This is done deliberately to emphasise a point about Nigeria. If people desist from sin because they have been made to see the repercussion of sin as described above by the pastor, then the entire society stands to gain security. Therefore, there is no propaganda here. Moreover, the pastor did not target a specific (personal) enemy. Rather, he painted a bleak reality about the entire society in which he is a part. In other words, he did not exclude himself or his ethnic/religious background from the sad reality.

6.3.2.8 Rhetorical questioning

Rhetorical question is an interrogative expression, but, unlike other categories of interrogatives, it is not intended to elicit immediate feedback or for which the speaker implicitly has the answer. The following are the instances of Rhetorical questions in the sermons of NPP4.

- 249 *If God is really on everybody's side then what happens when we pursue different purpose different interests? What then then makes the difference between good and evil people.? If God indeed is on everybody's side what does that make God?" Does that make him indecisive or two-timing?*
- 250 *What then is it that determines who God actually sides with?*
- 251 *But how ever did we come to this sorry pass?*
- 252 *Could that abduction ever have happened without help from inside Nigeria and from Nigerians?*
- 253 *How on earth have we managed in this situation?*

The above are instances of the use of rhetorical questions. But there is some discursual difference between different Rhetorical questions as used above. The rhetorical questions in examples 249 and 250 were meant to raise a theological argument about the universality of God's solidarity with every human being. The pastor was attempting to prove that although God can be said to be on everyone's side, He does not support every action of every man. This is purely a non-political matter, and indeed, non-propaganda. The last three examples deal with the socio-political situation of Nigeria. The rhetorical questions contained therein were intended to highlight the bewilderment that has plagued the country's latest security challenge. The questions suggest a situation that seems to be beyond human comprehension, thus underscoring the magnitude of the problem the nation was grappling with.

6.3.2.9 *Symbolic language*

This strategy is the use of language in its literary sense (as against the literal sense). Therefore, figurative expressions naturally count as *Symbolic language* (see 3.3.3 for details). Instances of symbolic language in the investigated sermons of NPP are reported below.

- 254 *our country is ailing*
- 255 *Boko haram abducted our honour and dignity as a nation.*
- 256 *These were the first values to be abducted in Nigeria.*
- 257 *when we abandoned the development of our educational institutions and our youth and chose instead to reward thugs and pacify kidnappers in the name of amnesty.*
- 258 *we all must work harder to bring back honesty, respect*
- 259 *temperature for mercy must not drop*

Here, I focus on the use of symbolic language employed by the pastor in delivering his sermons. In example 254, the pastor medically described the bad state of nation, personifying the country as a patient in need of treatment or recovery. Metaphor is used in 255, 258 and 259, personifying and concretising abstract concepts employing such phrases as *honour* and *dignity*, *bring back honesty*, *respect* and *temperature for mercy*. In 257, the pastor created oxymoronic concepts by juxtaposing *reward* and *thugs* on one hand, and *pacify* and *kidnappers* on the other hand. The use of these words presents the government to the mind of the listeners as being self-contradictory and thus unserious. Specifically, examples 258 and 259 are calling for actions for which he did not stand to make a personal gain; hence, there is no propaganda.

6.3.2.10 *Symbolic transfer*

This is the strategy used when the virtue of an entity is used to promote the speaker's ideology or when the vice of an entity is invoked to condemn another (see 3.3.3 for details). This can be found in the following instances from the investigated sermons of NPP4.

- 260 *Islamic State (ISIS), Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, or Al Shabbab are really not the only terrorist groups of our contemporary world. Long before them were the terrorism of slavery, mindless exploitation and capitalism, of totalitarianism and dictatorship, of institutionalized corruption in the highest places of governance, the judiciary and administration, of racial discrimination and domestic violence and many more.*
- 261 *Like Tyre and Sidon, sin has adopted Nigeria.*
- 262 *To be fed with such an insensitive and reckless remark while many queue for days to get fuel was like a terrorist bomb to the public psyche. Even the electric power situation has got much worse*

Here with the use of *Symbolic transfer*, the pastor extended the negative transfer of international terror groups like *ISIS*, *Al-Qaeda*, *Boko Haram* and so on to the oppressive government systems such as capitalism, totalitarianism etc. In the same manner, he also compared the Nigerian situation with those of the biblical cities like *Tyre and Sidon*. The aim of this is to portray Nigeria as a country that can be ranked among those experiencing the debilitating effects of misgovernment. In example 262, the pastor compared the remarks of a minister in the government to a psychological bombing of the masses. There is no element of propaganda in the use of *Symbolic transfer* cases above since they describe what one can readily see as realities.

6.3.2.11 *Testimonial endorsement*

Testimonial endorsement is used when the speaker cites another speaker, usually famous, to support or oppose a point (see 3.3.3 for details). NPP4 used *Testimonial endorsement* in his investigated sermons as follows.

- 263 *An exuberant pastor in the United States once publicly denounced his country, "If God does not punish America, he will have to apologise to Sodom and Gomorrah", he exclaimed. He sentenced "god's own country", in such apocalyptic language because as he said, its leaders claim to be right in everything. Indeed, the "mea culpa" act requires enormous spiritual energy. When Saint John Paul II apologized to the entire world for the sins of the Catholic Church during the Jubilee Year 2000, not a few people recoiled at what they saw as an act of betrayal of the Church*
- 264 *A recent Nigerian newspaper cartoon character put it very neatly for the Nigerian situation: "Finally, brethren when situations are like this, when you have padded budget, padded poverty and pains, padded fuel shortage and power outage, then even your faith needs to be padded".*
- 265 *Winston Churchill, the great British wartime leader once said "Courage is what it takes to stand up and speak; it is also what it takes to sit down and listen"*
- 266 *After all, Isaiah, the prophet, said of the son of God: "For a child is born unto us, a son is given to us; the royal ornament is laid upon his shoulder, and his name is proclaimed: 'Wonderful Counselor Mighty God, everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. To the increase of his powerful rule there will be no end'" (Is 9: 5-6).*
- 267 *The psalmist, contributing an eloquent expression of such sentiments, wrote: " The earth and its fullness belong to the Lord, the world and all that dwell in it. He has founded it upon the ocean and set it firmly upon the waters" (Ps. 24: 1-2). Holy Job got more than more than a mouthful of that when he denounced God for allowing his sufferings.*
- 268 *Saint Peter wrote in his first letter: "...share each other's troubles with mutual affection, be compassionate and humble. Do not repay evil for evil or answer one insult with another. Give a blessing, instead, since this is what you are called to do, and so you will receive the blessing" (1Pet. 3:8-9).*
- 269 *A recent Nigerian newspaper cartoon character put it very neatly for the Nigerian situation: "Finally, brethren when situations are like this, when you have padded budget, padded poverty and pains, padded fuel shortage and power outage, then even your faith needs to be padded".*

The above examples are instances of the use of testimonial endorsements taken from personalities, organisations, and scriptures. Personalities speak out of the text and the pastor re-echoed it by quotation to validate his ideal and perspective. Examples 263, 264, and 265 are examples of this. He also used scriptural personalities and passage to support his claims as seen in 266, 267, and 268.

6.3.2.12 Thought-terminating clichés

This strategy is the use of common, simple saying to dismiss a weighty matter (see 3.3.3 for details). An instance of the use of this strategy was found thus:

270 *All said and done*

This cliché above is a popular but over-flogged expression denoting the aggregate of all actions and words. The pastor used it to re-direct the listeners' attention to summarily dismiss all the expressed opinions thus far and then introduce another line of communication on which the pastor wanted his listeners to focus. There is no propaganda here since the pastor did not call for an action for which he was to personally benefit.

6.3.2.13 Summary of NPP4 sermon.

NPP's uses of propaganda strategies are captured in Figure 6 below.

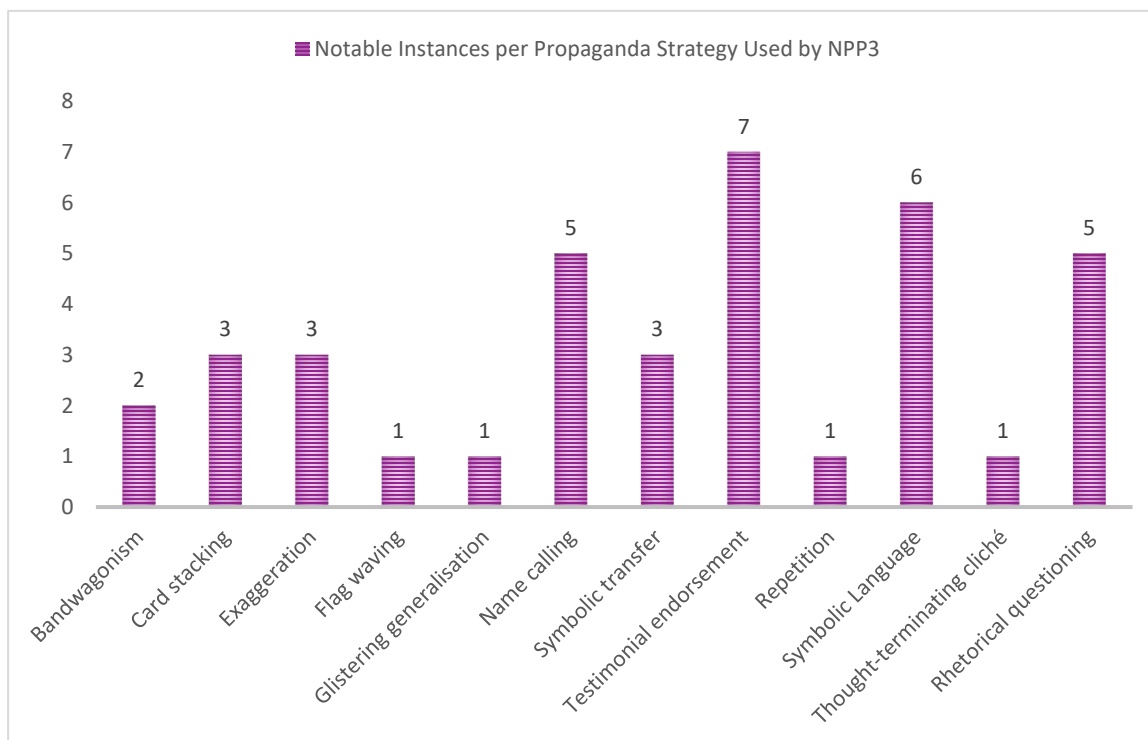


Figure 6: Notable instances per propaganda strategies used by NPP4

NPP4 used twelve strategies, lagging in the number used by each of the political pastors. This is a pointer to the non-propaganda posture of NNP4. The two examples of *Bandwagonism* found in his sermon, however, split between propaganda use and non-propaganda use, although both were successfully expressed through the use of indefinite pronoun *everybody* and the determiner *many*. NPP4's use of *Card stacking* also shows a non-propaganda disposition. In fact, in his stacking of

information, he did not exclude himself from those guilty of social misconduct as he used the first-person pronoun *our* to characterise the collective responsibility for the insecurity that has befallen the nation. The use of Exaggeration by this pastor equally has no propaganda undertone as he was not a beneficiary of the exaggerated facts. This is the same for *flag waving*. However, the *Glittering generalisation* used by NPP4 shows propaganda since the pastor is a cultural beneficiary of the action being subtly called for. In his *name calling*, NPP4 did not target any personal enemy and thus had no propaganda posture in his *Name Calling*. The pastor also made use of repetition, but which featured a kind of moral reiteration. Other strategies (*Rhetorical question*, *symbolic language*, *Symbolic transfer*, *Testimonial endorsement* and *thought-terminating clichés*) by NPP4, as has been explained in the analysis above, have no trace of propaganda.

Reflecting on the textual aspects revealed in the CDA, NPP4's sermons utilise a combination of lexical and functional linguistic strategies that enhance their persuasive impact. These elements can be further explored through corpus analysis to uncover how they shape the message. In terms of lexical elements, NPP4's use of indefinite pronouns (e.g., *everybody*, *many*) fosters a sense of collective identity. The hyperbolic expressions (e.g., *millions of Nigerians...*) intensify emotional engagement, and a corpus study could reveal how often hyperbole is used in relation to key issues. Additionally, metaphors and symbolic language (e.g., likening governance failures to biblical calamities) can be analysed to identify recurring metaphors and their function in deepening the moral and existential weight of his message.

As for functional elements, NPP4 uses rhetorical questions to subtly guide the audience to intended conclusions. A corpus analysis could identify how often and in what forms these questions appear. An active voice in which an abstract entity is subjectified (e.g., *Sin abducted Nigeria*) shifts responsibility from individuals to larger forces, and its frequency and use in specific contexts can be explored. Parallel structures (e.g., *padded budget*, *padded poverty*, *padded fuel shortage*) create rhythmic repetition to reinforce key themes, which can be tracked to understand their persuasive effect. Lastly, biblical quotations serve as testimonial endorsements, providing divine authority, and analysing their frequency can shed light on their role in reinforcing the preacher's credibility.

A corpus analysis of the data will reveal how NPP4's language engages the audience emotionally and intellectually, reinforcing the persuasive and theological power of his messages.

6.3.3 A comparison between the language use of NPP3 and NPP4

Perhaps, the first thing to note is that NPP4 exceeded NPP3 in terms of the notable number of propaganda strategies used but by only two. How this played out is that whereas NPP3 used two strategies that NPP4 did not use (namely, *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, and *Audience predisposition*), NPP4 used four strategies that NPP3 did not use (namely, *Bandwagonism*, *Flag-waving*, *Glittering generalisation*, and *Thought-terminating cliché*). This, perhaps, suggests that NPP4 was more intense in his effort to convince his audience of his ideological projections.

However, this view wanes when we consider that there is just one instance each for the use of these differing strategies. Conversely, there are five instances of one of the two strategies used by NPP3 but not used by NPP4: *Appeal to fear and prejudice*.

Unlike in NPP's investigated sermons, where the most used strategy is Symbolic Language, NPP4's most used strategy is *Testimonial Endorsement*, having seven tokens. But a good number of such instances is based on immediate Biblical context, thus unifying the source of this strategy in both pastors' sermons somewhat. What is more, NPP4's use of *Testimonial endorsement* outshot his use of Symbolic Language only by one instance. In other words, there are six instances of his use of Symbolic Language. The symbols he used, however, were a mix of contemporary Nigerian socio-political context and Biblical. It might as well just be a case of one using physical symbols to explain physical experiences, and the other using spiritual symbols to explain physical realities. NPP4 used *Name calling* in five instances but whereas his counterpart, NPP3, targeted spiritual/doctrinal dissidents in his *Name Calling*, NPP4 targeted more of socio-political villains. However, *Name calling* strategy was simple and direct, describing a phenomenon as it is. The pastor did not have to force his listeners to see it in his perspective. In the case of *Card stacking* and Testimonials, both are most often taken from biblical references, which are not propaganda-focused. When the pastor cites a biblical personality, it is a testimonial, but when he simply cites a biblical incident, it is Card stacking, and this proves that the pastor is non-politically committed. NPP4's use of Exaggeration, however, is themed on the Nigerian socio-political problem. Even then we may excuse this, as we also have it in some other strategies, as the 'interference' of context in the discourse. Although a number of propagating strategies are found in the sermon text as listed above, these strategies were not used for propaganda per se. By and large, NPP4 and NPP3 are more similar than different in their use of propaganda strategies.

6.4 Summary of the CDA of the sermons of four pastors

Propaganda is generally perceived as deceptive, immoral, coercive and manipulative. In 3.3.2 I have considered that propaganda can be negative or neutral. This is because propaganda ranges from fair to bad propaganda; white-black propaganda. It is necessary to understand this about propaganda because of the close features some propaganda (white propaganda, integrating,) share with other forms of communication such as persuasion or informative texts (informative texts being texts composed for the purpose of sharing, explaining or instructing. In other words, they are texts meant for sharing and gaining mutual understanding of accurate information or data (Jowett and Odonnell 2012:31). Propaganda is similar to informative text. However, A major feature that separates propaganda is that a propagandist advances the cause of a matter purely for self-interest. In this study, many of the propaganda strategies, for example, repetition and emphasis, emotion activation, *Symbolic language use* are at the same time common features of persuasive or information texts which are considered as non-propaganda text (Maritz 2019:18).

As I have mentioned in previous chapters, this study context is not naturally expected to be propaganda (the data having been obtained from the religious genre), and the major aim was to see if propaganda is used in sermons from Nigeria. The suspicion about the possibility of propaganda in the data was borne out of the fact that some pastors, in recent times, have become card-carrying members of registered political parties, while others have become famous for their political inclinations. The reason for this is to detect whether the pastor-politicians exploit their position to their advantage (that is, speaking for their own benefit or benefits) (Maritz 2019:18). From the peripheral view, we might begin the comparison of the two sets of pastors (i.e. the political and non-political) by considering the preponderance of the propaganda strategies they employed. As has been shown, the two political pastors used far more strategies than their non-political counterparts. This reality is captured in the figure below which graphically reveals the number of old and new strategies, the old strategies being those in the extant literature highlighted in chapter three while the new ones are those discovered in the course of analysing the sermons.

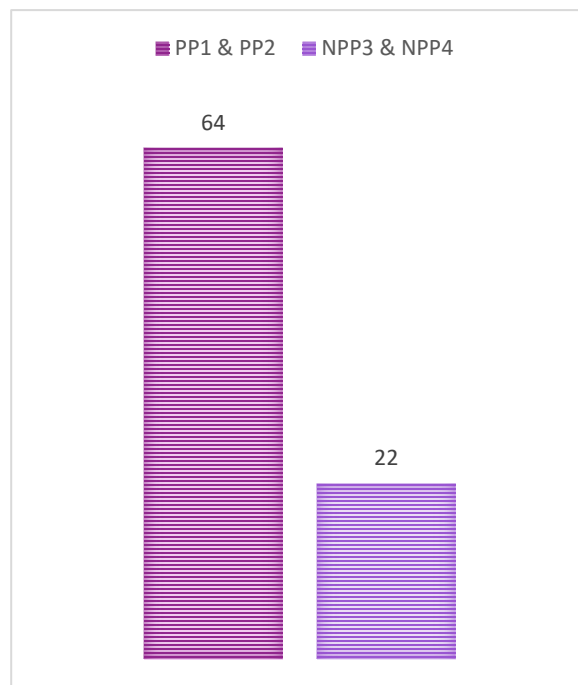


Figure 7: Comparison of the number of propaganda strategies found per sample of sermons

Figure 7 above shows that there are propaganda strategies that characterise the sermons of the political pastors, but which are not employed by the non-political ones, although not exactly the same length of sermons were accessible for analysis across the two groups of pastors. The table below shows the details of the distribution of the overall strategies across the investigated sermons of the four pastors.

Strategy	PP1	PP2	NPP3	NPP4
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND

<i>Audience predisposition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Bandwagonism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Casual oversimplification</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Doubt casting</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Emotion activation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Emotional stereotyping</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Subversive rhetoric</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Flag-waving</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Maintaining control over communication</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Name calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Opinion leader</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Plain folking</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Questioning credibility of source</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Testimonial endorsement</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Repetition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Symbolic language</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Thought-terminating cliché</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Whataboutism</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Rhetorical questioning</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Pre-emptive move</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Optimism</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Neologism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Unverifiable spiritual information</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Slogan</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
TOTAL	19	23	10	12

Table 4: Distribution of the Overall Strategies as Found across the Four Pastors' Sermons

As can be seen in Table 4 above, some strategies were found across the sermons of the four pastors. Those strategies include *Card stacking*, *Exaggeration/minimisation*, *Name Calling*, *Testimonial Endorsement*, *Using Repetition*, *Using Symbolic Language*, and *Using Rhetorical question*. Almost all these afore-mentioned strategies, one may argue, are employable for non-propaganda (but communicative) purposes. *Name Calling*, for example, seems susceptible to both propaganda and non-propaganda purposes. This fact is evident from the differences in the objects of *Name calling* in the sermons of the political pastors and non-political pastors. In the political pastors' sermons, the objects of *Name calling* were specific, personal opponents of the pastors. On the other hand, objects of *Name calling* in the non-political pastors' sermons were non-personal, generic, doctrinal dissidents, a communicative role that is consistent with their pastoral calling, one may say. Exaggeration was generally as a form of linguistic aesthetics by the non-political pastors. Indeed, McCarthy and Carter (2004: 152), citing Clerk (1996), have placed Exaggeration, also known as hyperbole, as “a kind of joint pretence in which speakers and addressees create a new

layer of joint activity’’ and as such, does not constitute deception since both the speaker and the addressees share the mutual understanding of the real meaning.

Table 4: Distribution of the Overall Strategies as Found across the Four Pastors’ Sermons above also shows five strategies that characterised the sermons of the political pastors but that were absent in the sermons of the non-political pastors. Those strategies are *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Doubt casting*, Emotion activation, Using *Subversive rhetoric*, and *Conveying optimism*. These are critical propaganda strategies. *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, for example, involves a deliberate obliteration of all options but leaving only two such that the addressee can only do the bidding of the speaker. *Doubt casting* engineers doubt in the listeners against the given opponent action. *Subversive rhetoric* is a propaganda strategy as it largely undermines what would have been a kind of heroic deed of the opponent. *Emotion activation* plays on the emotions of the audience to manipulate them towards the speaker’s view and against their opponent’s view. *Conveying optimism*, a new strategy discovered in the political pastors’ sermons, were found to have been used to raise the hope of the audience so they can endure the uncomfortable present of the bad leadership. Such a strategy could make the listeners take their mind off the people in government (who were, more often than not, the targets of the pastors’ addresses) and look up to the pastors somewhat.

As a final consideration, the use of grammatical structures to support the text's aim further helps confirm the classification of these texts as propaganda or non-propaganda. The grammatical structures in each preacher's sermon serve different persuasive purposes. PP1 focuses on symbolic language and rhetorical strategies to highlight socio-political issues. PP2 employs an emotionally charged, dramatic style with heavy use of modal verbs, parallelism, and metaphors to shape audience perception. NPP3 emphasizes imperative statements, declarative truths, and repetition to reinforce spiritual messages. NPP4 blends rhetorical questions, metaphors, and symbolic transfer to engage the audience in socio-political discourse while maintaining a non-political stance. Despite their differences, all four preachers strategically use grammatical structures to shape audience perception, reinforce ideological or theological points, and enhance the persuasive power of their sermons. Table 5 below presents a summary of the grammatical constructions used by all the pastors.

Grammatical Category	Pastor 1 (PP1)	Pastor 2 (PP2)	Pastor 3 (PP3)	Pastor 4 (PP4)
Sentence Structure	Uses complex and compound sentences to create depth (e.g., <i>As the nation falters, its people suffer.</i>)	Uses parallel structures and rhetorical questions (e.g., <i>Shall we continue to endure this injustice?</i>)	Uses imperative and declarative sentences (e.g., <i>Repent now and turn to God.</i>)	Uses long, elaborative sentences with clauses to create flow (e.g., <i>While our leaders falter, the people cry out.</i>)

Use of Passive Voice	Frequently used to obscure agency (e.g., <i>Decisions were made without consulting the people.</i>)	Strong use of passive voice to emphasize suffering without naming responsible parties (e.g., <i>Our rights have been trampled.</i>)	Used to attribute agency to divine forces (e.g., <i>The world is being redeemed by His grace.</i>)	Used to highlight societal issues (e.g., <i>Injustice has been normalized in our land.</i>)
Use of Modal Verbs	Uses modal auxiliaries to express obligation (e.g., <i>We must stand firm.</i>)	Strong use of must, shall, and should to command action (e.g., <i>We shall rise from these ashes.</i>)	Uses will and shall for prophetic emphasis (e.g., <i>God's light will shine upon you.</i>)	Uses should and must to emphasize moral duty (e.g., <i>The nation must not forget its people.</i>)
Nominalization	Converts actions into abstract concepts (e.g., <i>The misgovernance of our leaders.</i>)	Frequently used to generalize systemic problems (e.g., <i>Corruption is the enemy of progress.</i>)	Less frequent but used in moral contexts (e.g., <i>Salvation is the answer.</i>)	Common in political discourse (e.g., <i>The exploitation of the poor.</i>)
Intensifiers & Adjectival Phrases	Uses descriptive language to emphasize severity (e.g., <i>A deep and suffocating crisis engulfs us.</i>)	Strong use of adjectives and intensifiers (e.g., <i>utterly corrupt, completely unjust</i>)	Uses repetitive and emotionally charged adjectives (e.g., <i>The mighty and powerful God</i>)	Uses emphatic adjectives to paint vivid images (e.g., <i>A bleeding, broken nation.</i>)
Rhetorical Questions	Occasionally used for emphasis (e.g., <i>How much longer can we endure this?</i>)	Frequently used to provoke thought (e.g., <i>Shall we remain silent while injustice prevails?</i>)	Used to challenge faith (e.g., <i>Who shall stand against the Lord?</i>)	Used to critique leadership and governance (e.g., <i>Are we not tired of false promises?</i>)
Imperative Sentences	Occasionally used for emphasis (e.g., <i>Let us rise above division.</i>)	Frequently used to direct action (e.g., <i>Stand up and fight!</i>)	Commonly used in religious teachings (e.g., <i>Repent and believe!</i>)	Used to call for social change (e.g., <i>Resist oppression!</i>)
Parallelism & Repetition	Uses repetition to reinforce messages (e.g., <i>Before our eyes, before our leaders, before our conscience.</i>)	Strong use of parallelism and repetition to create rhythm (e.g., <i>We have been lied to. We have been cheated. We have been betrayed.</i>)	Repeats key biblical phrases (e.g., <i>He came to heal. He came to save. He came to restore.</i>)	Uses synonyms and repetition to reinforce points (e.g., <i>Padded budget, padded poverty, padded fuel shortage.</i>)
Conditional Sentences	Used to present possible consequences (e.g., <i>If we do not act now, we will regret it later.</i>)	Strong use of if-clauses to create urgency (e.g., <i>If we do not rise, we shall perish.</i>)	Frames consequences in a moral context (e.g., <i>If you remain in sin, you will be lost.</i>)	Used to highlight cause-and-effect in governance (e.g., <i>If corruption persists, suffering will continue.</i>)

Table 5: Summary of the textual features (i.e. grammatical) employed by each pastor as revealed in the CDA

The grammatical structures used in sermons can shape whether a message leans toward persuasion or propaganda. Persuasion encourages critical thinking, ethical reflection, and audience engagement through the use of rhetorical questions, conditional sentences, and logical argumentation. It uses inclusive language to build unity without creating division. In contrast, propaganda often relies on intensifiers, exclamatory sentences, and emotionally charged language to manipulate audience sentiment, simplify complex issues, and create a sense of urgency or fear. Passive voice and nominalization in propaganda can obscure responsibility, while parallelism and repetition reinforce ideological slogans. By analysing these grammatical elements, I can distinguish between sermons that guide audiences toward thoughtful moral decisions and those that pressure them into unquestioning belief.

All pastors use rhetorical devices like repetition, rhetorical questions, and imperative sentences to strengthen their message. Passive voice is common in most of their speeches to obscure responsibility or emphasize suffering, divine forces, or societal issues. Modal verbs and nominalizations also help establish urgency, authority, and moral duty in their discourse.

However, there are distinct differences in thematic focuses. PP1 and PP2 use language to emphasise political themes and mobilise action, while NPP3 and NPP4 centre on theological themes. PP1 and PP2 rely heavily on parallelism and rhetorical questions for political rhetoric, while NPP3 and NPP4 use more religious and moral framing. PP2 employs a stronger use of modal verbs to express obligation and authority, while NPP3 focuses on moral consequences.

The focus of this chapter is on the results of the CDA. Based on the analyses presented, PP1 and PP2 appear to propagate their own agendas and incorporate political elements, whereas NPP3 and NPP4 rather persuade their audiences and are focused on religious topics. Further exploration by means of CLA will give insight into how each pastor mobilises linguistic elements to realise their rhetorical strategies. Essentially, the CLA will be focusing on lexical choices and specifically, content words such as nouns, verbs and modifiers (not any other grammatical structures). Although word choices are also relevant for other structures, it is also relevant since it is “easy” to extract with a CLA to make inferences. Indeed, Saeed (2003: 63) has argued that lexical choices help to track network of ideas in a text. Furthermore, Stefanowitsch (2020: 261) scores lexical choices as a viable means of conducting corpus linguistics. Meanwhile, more can be done in future with a CLA, but given the limitation of this study, I had to make a sensible choice. In essence, the analysis carried out in the chapter has helped to reveal the extent of political communication in the selected sermon, and whether such communication counts as propaganda or not.

As could be seen in several instances (e.g. subsections 6.2.1.4, 6.2.1.5, 6.2.2.18, 6.2.2.19), identifying the propaganda strategies also has helped to reveal how the pastors, particularly, the political pastors, employed discourse to manifest ideological power. Instances were seen where they used their language to legitimise or delegitimise political figures or institutions. They also

manifested in their discourse the use of their religious position to tilt their audiences towards particular socio-economic and political directions.

7.1 Introduction

In 5.2 and 5.3, I stated that the data analysis would be done using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistic Analyses (CLA). Chapter 6 is devoted to CDA with the aim of determining if pastors really engage in propaganda through sermon delivery or not. As a reminder, this approach was adopted following Maritz (2019)'s point of departure, which posits that texts should be classified as propaganda or non-propaganda based on discourse strategies, before examining their linguistic characteristics. In that Chapter 6, both groups of sermons (political and non-political) were tested using the propaganda strategies presented in 3.3.3. As a result, important observations were made about the propaganda content in sermons.

The current chapter shifts to a CLA that provides a comprehensive “bird-eye-view” of the entire data set for this study (i.e. all available sermons of all four pastors). This approach allows for a micro-level observation of the linguistic choices made by the preachers, whether as propaganda or persuasion and their possible impacts.

I specifically pay attention to the linguistic expressions (i.e. the grammatical realisation of their language choices) used by the four pastors in Nigeria, either as a way of persuading or propagating (see 3.3.1).

The main aim of using this dual approach (using both a CDA and CLA analysis), is to verify the findings of the CDA in firstly Chapter 6, but also to possibly expand and extend on the results, specifically with more or new examples of propaganda strategies, and further insight about potential linguistic differences between political and non-political sermons.

Based on the summary presented in Table 2, some linguistic elements have been acknowledged as characteristic of propaganda.

Together, these lexical and grammatical elements can reveal systematic patterns in language use that underpin persuasive and manipulative discourse in propaganda. A corpus analytic exploration of the data for the present study may therefore reveal these elements.

Corpus analytic methods enable the quantification of how frequently certain lexical items or rhetorical devices appear, providing empirical evidence for their strategic use. Also, by analysing collocations, concordances, and distributional patterns, I can uncover how these devices function in different contexts and across various texts. This method facilitates comparisons between texts,

allowing me to explore whether similar persuasive strategies are consistently employed in propaganda and persuasive communication.

However, to ensure that my interpretations are reliable, I followed a deductive approach to the CLA for the purpose of the current study, because the aim is to reveal how the four pastors realise their discursive strategies (identified in the CDA reported on in Chapter 6) linguistically. An inductive approach would only serve to confirm or not confirm these specific elements in the data, while ignoring any other potential discoveries.

The CLA of the corpus in this chapter will be lexically based, with a focus on content words (verbs, nouns, and modifiers). Although future research attention can be inclusive of other grammatical structures other than the content words, I have to make the choice that is viable and at the same time more sensible to my immediate analysis need. Moreover, Stefanowitsch (2020: 261) has affirmed that such lexically-based analysis provides the easiest entry point into the corpus.

As already mentioned in 1.5.2, the data for this study comprises 406,723-word count of four Nigerian pastors, named in Table 1: Summary of the corpus compilation

(see again below). As stated previously in 1.5.2.1.1 and Chapter 5, the pastors have also been given coded names to disenable familiarity with the pastor's identity which may affect pastors' sermons, categorised The pastors are referred to as PP1, PP2, NPP3 and NPP4. The third column indicates the number of documents obtained from each pastor. Column four indicates the word count for each of the four pastor's sermon, categorise into the four sub corpora for the study.

S/N	Alias name	Number of sermons	Word count
1	PP1	37	102,279
2	PP2	26	101,076
3	NPP3	20	107.968
4	NPP4	100	95.400

Table 6: Statistics of the investigated sermons

7.2 Results of the CLA of the language use of two Nigerian political pastors

In the remainder of this chapter, I report the quantitative results as obtained from the corpus linguistics analysis of the four pastors, two out of the four are regarded as political pastors and the other two are not. As with the approach that was followed with the CDA, the corpus is divided into two sub corpora (political and non-political corpora). Furthermore, the sub corpora are sub divided into 2 sets of results, viz. political pastor (1&2) and non-political pastors (3&4). Results for each sub-corpus are treated separately as it also represents each pastor's sermons, as it has been named beforehand.

It should be noted, however, that not all of these strategies could be identified via CLA. This is because what is visibly identifiable at the macro level of CDA is not as identifiable at the micro level of CLA. CLA, using the Sketch Engine software, can identify strategies at the word level or a maximum of the phrasal level. Thus, those strategies that can only be traced at sentential or inter-sentential levels (e.g. pre-emptive move, *whataboutism*) are not accounted for under CLA. The usefulness of CLA, however, lies in 1) detecting more strategies that are lexis-driven (e.g. *Glittering generalisation*) not discovered in CDA, and 2) generating more or new instances of strategies than those discovered in CDA (i.e. where a strategy feature both in CDA and CLA).

In this section (and indeed all other subsections), I explore the lexical choices – but more specifically the content words (nouns, main verbs and modifiers) – that the pastors are making in order to manifest or realise the propagation strategies (see again Table 2) the pastor may be employing. Content words namely are used to manifest these strategies on a grammatical level. I therefore examine the specific types and semantic categories of the nouns, verbs, and modifiers the pastors used, utilising their entire dataset for this investigation, which includes the keyword list for each pastor.

7.2.1 *CLA of the language use of Political Pastor 1 (PP1)*

In the CDA of the six selected sermons for PP1, I was able to identify at least nineteen propagation strategies used by this pastor namely,

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice s*
- *Audience predisposition*
- *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*
- *Card stacking*
- *Doubt casting*
- *Emotion activation*
- *Subversive rhetoric*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*
- *Flag-waving*
- *Maintaining control over communication*
- *Name Calling*
- *Optimism*
- *Pre-emptive move*
- *Repetition*
- *Rhetorical questioning*
- *Symbolic language use*
- *Symbolic transfer*

- *Testimonial Endorsement*
- *Whataboutism*

I look at the corpus of PP1 in bearing in mind the propaganda strategies in Table 2. The study being an explorative one, I looked into the corpus to find relevant lemma in line with these strategies. For PP1, Sketch Engine generated 1,304 key words. choices will stop at 1,206. which will give us the minimum significant testing score of 3.84 since it will be difficult to present the whole keyword list here, largely because of space and to avoid too long list of words. Table 7 below lists the first 50 keywords in PP1 corpus. A list with the top 500 keywords is presented in the addenda. After this, I will present the result strategy-by-strategy as found in relevant examples from the corpus. I used Sketch Engine to generate a keyword list of the PP1 corpus in order to explore the kinds of words that are most salient. The software generated 1,304 keywords, with the top 1,206 keywords being statistically significant at the threshold level of 3.84 (p, 0.05). This means that the keyness score of these words exceed 3.84, and that the likelihood of them occurring by chance is less than 0.05%. The keyword list enabled me to consider Table 3.34 critically. In the table below, I only report the 50 words with the highest keyness values for reference.

S/N	Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency reference	Score
1	<i>Sokoto</i>	101	12930	868.85455	0.20995	718.92
2	<i>Inculturation</i>	39	3439	335.49829	0.05584	318.7
3	<i>Kukah</i>	36	1395	309.69073	0.02265	303.81
4	<i>Syncretism</i>	41	11368	352.70334	0.18459	298.59
5	<i>Boko</i>	36	80511	309.69073	1.30729	134.66
6	<i>Chibok</i>	17	7447	146.24284	0.12092	131.36
7	<i>Syncretic</i>	17	7943	146.24284	0.12897	130.42
8	<i>Haram</i>	36	98684	309.69073	1.60238	119.39
9	<i>Nigerian</i>	125	495987	1075.31506	8.05357	118.88
10	<i>Nigeria</i>	229	974009	1969.97717	15.81543	117.21
11	<i>Kaduna</i>	18	31221	154.84537	0.50695	103.42
12	<i>Buhari</i>	31	107670	266.67813	1.74829	97.398
13	<i>evangelisation</i>	11	5988	94.62772	0.09723	87.154
14	<i>Bakhita</i>	10	969	86.02521	0.01573	85.677
15	<i>Zaria</i>	11	10053	94.62772	0.16324	82.208
16	<i>Katsina</i>	11	10648	94.62772	0.1729	81.531
17	<i>Annus</i>	10	5728	86.02521	0.09301	79.62
18	<i>homelessness</i>	54	302328	464.5361	4.90904	78.784
19	<i>Nepotism</i>	13	34143	111.83276	0.5544	72.589
20	<i>Lenten</i>	12	29404	103.23025	0.47745	70.548
21	<i>exhortation</i>	16	60411	137.64034	0.98092	69.988
22	<i>Bolanle</i>	8	913	68.82017	0.01482	68.8
23	<i>Nnewi</i>	8	2325	68.82017	0.03775	67.28
24	<i>Psalmist</i>	12	35724	103.23025	0.58007	65.966
25	<i>Hassan</i>	32	207046	275.28067	3.3619	63.34
26	<i>ordination</i>	21	115374	180.65294	1.87338	63.219
27	<i>Synodal</i>	8	7308	68.82017	0.11866	62.414
28	<i>Kidnapper</i>	14	58860	120.43529	0.95574	62.092
29	<i>Diocese</i>	58	466479	498.9462	7.57443	58.307
30	<i>Archduke</i>	9	23627	77.42268	0.38364	56.678
31	<i>Alhaji</i>	9	25558	77.42268	0.415	55.423
32	<i>Foretell</i>	14	82777	120.43529	1.34409	51.805
33	<i>contextualisation</i>	7	11635	60.21764	0.18892	51.49
34	<i>Sanneh</i>	6	2355	51.61512	0.03824	50.677
35	<i>Seminarian</i>	9	35203	77.42268	0.57161	49.9
36	<i>Catechist</i>	7	14261	60.21764	0.23156	49.707
37	<i>Lent</i>	15	100831	129.03781	1.63724	49.308
38	<i>Gaudium</i>	6	4921	51.61512	0.0799	48.722
39	<i>Laity</i>	11	59843	94.62772	0.9717	48.5
40	<i>Chrism</i>	6	6372	51.61512	0.10347	47.682
41	<i>Anomie</i>	6	6553	51.61512	0.1064	47.555
42	<i>Kano</i>	10	51762	86.02521	0.84048	47.284
43	<i>Christianity</i>	86	922714	739.81677	14.98253	46.352
44	<i>Destitution</i>	7	21661	60.21764	0.35172	45.289
45	<i>Squalor</i>	7	21781	60.21764	0.35367	45.224
46	<i>Ataga</i>	5	340	43.0126	0.00552	43.771

47	<i>Starkloff</i>	5	427	43.0126	0.00693	43.71
48	<i>Sharibu</i>	5	878	43.0126	0.01426	43.394
49	<i>Graces</i>	6	13260	51.61512	0.21531	43.294
50	<i>Dapchi</i>	5	1279	43.0126	0.02077	43.117

Table 7: The First 50 keywords in the investigated sermons of PP1 and their frequencies and scores as captured by Sketch Engine

Table above presents the first 50 (i.e. strongest) keywords of the PP1 subcorpus. This, in a way, is a microcosm of what the corpus looks like. The table above is made of seven columns, and I will briefly explain the information contained in each column. The first column is for the serial number itemising the keywords numerically. The second column was created for word extracts (lexical item), the third column is an indication for focus corpus (the study corpus, namely the PP1 subcorpus), the fourth column is the reference corpus (i.e. the corpus that the study corpus is being compared with, namely Sketch Engine's EnTenTen21 corpus – see again 1.5.2.5). Columns five and six indicate relative frequency, that is, the normalised frequency of both focus corpus and reference corpus respectively. Lastly, the seventh column is for the score (this indicates the difference between each of the lexical items appearing in a corpus).

These results reveal that lexical items are very prominently employed by PP1. Therefore, in the following sections, I explore the lexical choices – but more specifically the content words (nouns, main verbs and modifiers) – that the pastors use in order to manifest or realise the propagation strategies (see again Table 2) the pastors employ. Content words namely are used to manifest these strategies on a grammatical level. I therefore look at the specific types and semantic categories of the nouns, verbs and modifiers the pastors used. I report on the full results for the entire data set of PP1.

From the table, one can see different categories of words such as political words, religious, and social words. Religious words are lexical items that are used in the religious setting or that pertain to a particular religious worship. In the above corpus example, the following are words that have their root in the Christian religion: *evangelisation, Lenten, Psalmist, ordination, diocese, seminarian, catechist, Lent, Chrism, laity* and *Christianity*. These lexical items constitute about 11/50. The lexical items that relate to politics and society are about 10 namely: *Nigeria, Nigerian, Sokoto, Boko Haram, Kano, nepotism, Katsina* and *Chibok*. What this confirms, firstly, is that the text is a religious text with a mixture of political information. The corpus also indicates some words or conceptual definitions that present some kind of knowledge related to doctrine. This can be observed in the 2nd word of the corpus “inculturation”.

The keyword list above guided me in confirming PP1's use of at least eleven propaganda strategies, namely:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*

- *Audience predisposition,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Emotion activation,*
- *Glittering generalisation,*
- *Name calling,*
- *Opinion leaders,*
- *Repetition,*
- *Symbolic language,*
- *Optimism, and*
- *Testimonial endorsement.*

Similar to my approach in discussing the CDA of PP1's selected sermons, I will again examine each of the identified strategies using the keyword list and illustrate them with examples from the corpus.

7.2.1.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

In the CDA (see section 6.2.1.1), I identified that PP1 employed the propagation strategy of *Appeal to fear and prejudice* in the six selected sermons. The content words listed (see Table 7: The First 50 keywords in the investigated sermons of PP1 and their frequencies and scores as captured by Sketch Engine

Table 7 above suggests that PP1 frequently uses this strategy. In Table 8: below, I present the words identified as potential indicators of PP1's use of *Appeal to fear and prejudice*. Column one is for the lexical items under investigation, the next column indicates the part of speech of each word, and next to the part of speech is the score that indicates the difference between the lexical items. The last column "examples from the corpus" displays the concordance analysis for each of the content words. This is to verify their contextual correlation with the strategy under review, whether they indeed reflect the use of the propaganda strategy.

Below are words (lexical items) that demonstrate fear and prejudices in the corpus.

Item	Word class	Scores	Example from the corpus
<i>Boko Haram</i>	N	134.66	271 <i>We all rave and foam until some Boko Haram explosion interrupt</i>
<i>Chibok</i>	N	131.36	272 <i>After over seven years, our over one hundred Chibok Girls are still marooned in the ocean....</i>
<i>Abduction</i>	N	12.85	273 <i>With the killings, kidnappings and abductions of Emirs and other traditional rulers in the north, the signals have gone out that no one is safe and nothing is sacred</i>
<i>Kidnapping</i>	N	24.589	274 <i>frantically immediately after the news of the kidnapping of the Seminarians went out.</i>

<i>Kidnappers</i>	N	62.092	275	<i>Brutal, hash, senseless and haranguing of the kidnapper who are totally empty of show of human....</i>
<i>Banditry</i>	N	37.548	276	<i>We need to start thinking of a Nigeria beyond banditry and kidnapping and the endless circles of violence that have engulfed our communities and nation. We cannot continue</i>
<i>Herdsmen</i>	N	29.819	277	<i>Today, a band of illiterate so-called herdsmen has taken an entire nation hostage.</i>
<i>Fulani/s</i>	N	25.662	278	<i>The Fulani, his innocent kinsmen have become subject</i>
<i>Biafra</i>	N	24.526	279	<i>he demonstrations of the Indigenous People of Biafra , IPOB bring the robust commercial city an</i>
<i>IPOB</i>	N	16.053	280	<i>barrel of a gun called, Independent People of Biafra , IPOB, perhaps an offshoot of MASSOB</i>
<i>#ENDSARS</i>	N	26.262	281	<i>In the wake of the ENDSARS protest, the traditional ruler across the country...</i>
<i>Dapchi</i>	N	43.117	282	<i>From Chibok through Dapchi to Kankara: The sleepy town of Kankara</i>
<i>Kankara</i>	N	26.506	283	<i>From Chibok through Dapchi to Kankara: The sleepy town of Kankara</i>
<i>IDP</i>	N	13.04	284	<i>Victims have been forced to make the various IDP camps their new homes.</i>
<i>Bolanle</i>	N	68.8	285	<i>With Michael by the same criminal was Mrs Bolanle Ataga who have been kidnapped along with her...</i>
<i>Ataga</i>	N	43.771	286	<i>With Michael by the same criminal was Mrs Bolanle Ataga who have been kidnapped along with her...</i>
<i>Sharibu</i>	N	43.394	287	<i>Over three years after Leah Sharibu is still unaccounted for</i>
<i>Leah</i>	N	26.18	288	<i>before we were rescued, they told us that if Leah would convert to Islam, they would free us, so w</i>
<i>Precariously</i>	ADV	23.9	289	<i>Nigeria where the lives of citizens hang precariously on a balance between physical insecurity</i>
<i>Jihad</i>	N	4.5	290	<i>But today, we are being killed. It is your fault. On the day of elections, you say, it is Jihad ! Christians will take over Nigeria! Ok, the Christians did not take Nigeria. It has been left in the hands of those who</i>

Table 8: Words Used by PP1 to Invoke Appeal to fear and prejudice

From the above, it is clear that certain content words that are used to propagate fear in the audience are mostly nouns, such as *Boko Haram*, *kidnapper*, *herdsmen*, *bandits* and many others. Bolinger (1980: 79) projects that nouns carry more powerful bias than other parts of speech in propaganda text. Nouns are more amenable to propaganda discourse than even adjectives. The nouns in this section are more of terror naming words, most of which are Nigerian-specific, thereby rendering such (Nigerian-specific) words difficult to compare to other nouns or adjective. The first two words on the table *Boko* and *Haram* is a compound noun *though* keyword list separated it. Therefore,

since keyness score²⁷ for 134.66. *Boko* and *Haram* constitutes a compound word referring to the same terrorist group. Henceforth, I will refer to it as it ought to be, that is, *Boko Haram*, which literally translates as *western education is forbidden*. *Boko Haram* is a second most deadly terrorist group in the world (Forest 2012: 1), a sect that has become a metaphor for violence in Nigeria. This is because the group often claims responsibilities for bloody bombing incidences across Nigeria, particularly in the northern part where Islam is prominent. *Kidnapper/kidnapping* (with scores of 62 and 24 respectively) and *banditry* (with a score of 37.5) are other forms of terrorist menace faced by Nigerians with a countless number of attacks. *Arm-bearing herdsmen* (score: 29.8) also constitute another anti-safety group (although not yet officially declared as a terrorist group). They have been responsible for several killings and kidnappings. Fulani (score: 9), an ethnic group, is dreaded because they are, more often than not, the herdsmen. Lately, herdsmen in Nigeria have been in the news for terror activities, for example, the 2016 Benue mass killing of the Agatu tribe and the continuous killings allegedly perpetrated by the Fulani herders (John 2024, Gursoy 2020:17). Biafra appeared 24.526 times. Biafra is the secessionist group whose formation of a parallel government triggered the 1960s civil war. IPOB (16.053) is the contemporary group in the southeast whose mission is closely linked with that of Biafra as they are agitating for the secession of that region with high degree of violence. This militia group was officially declared a terrorist group by president Buhari because of their violent operations. ENDSARS (26.3) is the name for a popular movement against police brutality in Nigeria, which in October 2020 undertook a massive protest against the police and other forms of corrupt practices in Nigeria. That protest took place in major cities in Nigeria. The protest hashtag #Endsars attracted the support and sympathy of prominent personalities around the world such as the USA President Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton. All these groups and what they stand for have their (fear-inducing) effects on the government and people this is because #Endsar protest exposed the bad government and inhuman treatment suffered by Nigerian most especially the youths. It was also a period when attention all over the world was focused on Nigeria and its leadership. This moment and the publicity generated could easily be exploited for propaganda for both side of the divide (the government and the youth). So, it is difficult to discuss in the Nigeria context without reference to them because they have their defining moments.

Some names of places and persons in Nigeria (proper nouns) also invoke fear and some level of prejudice due to past events associated with them. So, we have places that are associated with terror also. The next word directly following *Boko Haram* is *Chibok* with 131.36 as the score. This occurrence is noteworthy in the context of this study, because of the violent history of this place. See 2.3.8 *Chibok*, a southern area in the volatile north-east Nigeria, is a small town that came into prominence in 2014 after over 200 schoolgirls were kidnapped from their school on April 14, 2014.

²⁷ The score is the quantified degree to which a given word is important in the corpus and can be read in comparison to the reference corpus

Chibok today has become a metaphor of abduction or large kidnapping in Nigeria. It is always a reference point when discussing insecurity in Nigeria. The name *Nigeria* occurred 229 times with a score of 70. This suggests that the pastor is focused on the Nigerian political context; hence, the constant mention of it in the sermon text. *Dapchi* (43.1), and *Kankara* (26.509) both appeared. These are names that are quite symbolic and have a direct historical reference. *Dapchi* and *Kankara* are names of towns, both in the troubled northeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria, where some schoolgirls and schoolboys were also kidnapped. IDP (Internally Displaced Persons, a government-designated place where those that have lost their homes because of insurgency are living²⁸) recorded 13.04 frequency. The frequent occurrence of these items suggests that the content of the sermons may be propaganda related. Successive administrations engaged in a blame game over the failure to properly rehabilitate those displaced from their homes and towns, so the prominence of this element in the corpus confirms political consideration as an important theme in the sermons of PP1.

Furthermore, mentioning some names of persons might arouse fear and prejudice. According to their appearances in the corpus, the analysis of this group of nouns will begin with the names of ordinary citizens who became suddenly famous as a result of their predicaments courtesy the issue of insecurity in Nigeria: *Sharibu* (43.394), and *Leah* (26.18). Both names, however, have the same human referent (Leah Sharibu) who became famous after she was left in captivity as her captors held her back because of her faith, even when others were released. *Bolanle* (68.8) and *Ataga* (43.8) both also referring to the same person, is another woman who Boko Haram killed because she refused to be raped by their leader (Muhammed) when the group kidnapped her alongside her two daughters.

Buhari is also significantly mentioned 97.398 times. This is not unexpected, the referent being a president at the time of mounting insecurity challenges. We may postulate that the featuring of his name in the corpus is also heightened by the fact that he is of Fulani origin in the north, which has been the hardest hit by the insecurity. In fact, his Muslim Fulani identity seems to have added somewhat additional weight of complicity on him since the perpetrators of the insecurity in the country are Muslim Fulanis. *Obasanjo*, the former president of Nigeria, recorded a frequency of 10.823. *Abiola* (8.5) was a historic political figure who, although did not become a president in his lifetime, was the acclaimed winner of the June 12 election in 1993. Using proper nouns can help a propagandist to easily achieve his goal. This is because a deliberate mentioning of places and people whose victimisation is nationally known recalls fresh pains of what these names of places typify in the real word. In the last column, there is the use of a fearful adverbial that ascertains how circumstances and unknown conditions can endanger the lives of citizens in Nigeria. The word precarious describes the vulnerability of the human life.

²⁸ A large camp is usually set for these people where the government sees to their upkeep)

7.2.1.2 Audience predisposition.

PP1 used the strategy of *Audience predisposition* in the six sermons analysed for CDA (see 6.2.12). Two instances were identified and discussed. Via CLA, however, only one case of this strategy is found in the corpus. The beautiful thing that shows the complementation of both CDA and CLA in this study is that the instance of this strategy discovered through CLA was not discovered while carrying out CDA and vice versa. Below is an example of this strategy in the word “Sharia” (the Islamic legal system that has generated strong controversies in Nigeria).

Item	Word class	Score	Example from corpus
Sharia	N	23.8	291 <i>life has been a major constraint to all Nigerians. This issue has trailed all debates surrounding the status of Sharia Law in the Nigerian Constitution. And, as any casual observer knows, debates around the role and place of Sharia law has</i>

Table 9: An Instance of Audience predisposition Use by PP1

The word *Sharia* is controversy-laden in Nigeria because of the inter-religious crisis that has dogged its implementation by some Muslim governors of the in the northern part of Nigeria. Thus, Christians (who constituted the audience of PP1) have a negative belief about this Islamic legal system, owing especially to its non-recognition by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which makes the Christians see it as a ploy by the predominantly Islamic north to Islamise the rest of the country. PP1 in this instance has therefore exploited this belief to agree with his projected idea that *life has been a major constraint to all Nigerians*.

7.2.1.3 Card stacking

In the CDA (see 6.2.1.4**Error! Reference source not found.**), I identified that PP1 used *Card stacking* strategy in the six-sermon analysed. In CLA also, PP1 uses this strategy also as it will be seen below:

Item	Word class	Score	Example from corpus (concordance)
Nepotism	N	72.3	292 <i>what President Buhari has done by his nepotism and gotten away with it</i>
Coup	N	23.0	293 <i>There would have been a military coup, a long time or we would have being at war</i>
INEC	N	42.3	294 <i>Yes, we can blame INEC and the politicians, but it is each and every one...</i>
APC	N	9.3	295 <i>sad if we focus on the failures and foibles of the APC government and their blaming the past</i>
Nation	N	12.9	296 <i>First, I will briefly mention where our nation is coming from, historically</i>

<i>Citizens</i>	N	10.9	297 <i>The elections will come and go. We as citizens would have done our duty. Going forward, we must ensure that we do not leave the future entirely in the hands of the</i>
<i>Politician</i>	N	11.2	298 <i>When the politician embark on outright favouritism or nepotism</i>
<i>Nepotistic</i>	Adj	9.2	299 <i>Despite running the most nepotistic and narcissistic government in known history...</i>

Table 10: Words used by PP1 for *Card stacking*

Although the *Card stacking* strategy is mostly done using fact and figures, some political words like those above can serve as indication for *Card stacking* also. This can be observed in examples like *Nepotism* (72.6). This word was popular in the president Buhari's administration with the popularly alleged reality of the word in his pattern of appointment. *Coup* is another abstract noun the subcorpus with 23.041 score. Coup d'état has been a part of independent Nigerian experience. So, it is difficult to talk about Nigerian context without the mention of it. Next to this word is the name of one of the military coups' culprits *Babangida*. It is not just a coincidence. There is a connection in the fact that the two words follow each other in frequency. General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida is a former military figure who seized the political power in 1985 via coup d'état and who was prominent for his anti-democratic posture demonstrated, for example, by his infamous annulment of 1993 election (Ekanade and Odoemene 2012: 77; Omogu 2013: 33). Other names of past military heads of state like Gowon (25.0), Abacha etc were all found in the corpus. *INEC* (42.3), *APC* (9.253), *nation* (12.934), *politician* (11.282).

7.2.1.4 *Emotion activation*

Many examples of this strategy were found in CDA (see 6.2.1.6). In CLA, below are the word choice that portray emotion awakening or arouser in the audience.

Item (Word)	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Traumatised</i>	18.8	Adj	300 <i>today in Nigeria, we have become so traumatised and sedated by horrible news that have gripped our nation that we are comfortable in this swamp of evil.</i>
<i>Hopelessness</i>	13.1	N	301 <i>vindication is near at hand (Lk 22: 28). We who believe ought not be afraid. In similar circumstances of instability and hopelessness, the Apostles locked themselves in a</i>
<i>Corruption</i>	19.8	N	302 <i>, critics still call is a product of the undemocratic military rulers. A third issue has been the problem of the corruption of the judicial system in Nigeria. The Constitution has often been the first casualty in military interventions since</i>

<i>Greedy</i>	9.4	Adj	303 <i>as opposed to waiting for the crumbs from our greedy leaders.</i>
<i>Sorrow</i>	31.9	N	304 <i>each Christmas, a dark pall of horror, sorrow and death has consistently hung in our horizon</i>
<i>Frustration</i>	13.1	N	305 <i>in squalor and so on. It is in this ocean of neglect that the viruses of violence reside. Nigerians live daily with these frustrations and it is their cumulative impact that leads commentators to speak about religious or communal crises in Nigeria. As a</i>
<i>Unaddressed</i>	12.8	Adj	306 <i>Widespread serious insecurity for long unaddressed has left the sad and dangerous impressions</i>
<i>Tragedy</i>	19.6	N	307 <i>Tragedy has been standing as our gate keeper</i>
<i>Helplessness</i>	13.1	N	308 <i>respect for the state and its law enforcement agencies, etc State failure creates a season of anomie, disorientation, helplessness and despair among citizens. Citizens feel increasingly unsure of the rules and they create their own rules of survival</i>
<i>Lament</i>	12.9	V	309 <i>Retired military and intelligence officers lament over what has become of their glorious profession as they watch the humiliation of our military personnel.</i>

Table 11: Words used by PP1 to arouse *Emotion activation*

The words listed above, and their different context of use, have the potential to arouse the reader's or audience's sympathy on various issues raised. Another point worth noting is that all the words denote negative experiences which were implicitly linked to the actions and inactions of those in government. All the words can thus be divided into two broad categories: those that denote the faults of the leaders and those that denote the negative consequences of the leaders' actions. Words like *corruption*, *greedy*, and *unaddressed* capture the tendency of the leaders towards illegal personal acquisition of the nation's commonwealth, the avaricious psychology that drives such illegal wealth acquisition, and the failure to attend the relevant issues respectively. Consequently, citizens *lament* as they are *traumatized* and suffer *frustration*, *hopelessness*, *helplessness* and *tragedy*. The result is *sorrow*. It is easy for all of these words to activate strong emotions in the audience as their daily experiences were spelt out by the pastor, who equally made them see the source of such unsavoury experiences, the government. Consequently, the words could arouse feelings of anger and sadness in the mind of the audience especially towards their leaders, particularly those in government. What could make this a propaganda is that the anomalies in the society were linked to leaders in government, whereas it is possible that citizens were responsible in one way or the other.

7.2.1.5 Glittering generalisation

In CDA, examples of *Glittering generalisation* were not found in the six selected sermons. However, in CLA 6.2.1.13, some examples of this strategy were found with the help of the concordance information.

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Example
<i>Courageous</i>	19.0	Adj	310 <i>but we can start with one courageous step in the right direction.</i>
<i>Eloquently</i>	16.4	Adv	311 <i>Father Pope Frances has spoken out most eloquently on the creeping.....</i>

Table 6: Words in PP1's sermons that create Glittering generalisation

As noticed from the corpus example, the word 'courageous' is fulfilling the glittering generality role. In other words, the word 'courageous' is meant to entice the audience to step up action that seems to favour the pastor perception or view. 'Eloquently' is also a glittering word modifying the speech of Pope. Since such a word subtly conveys the pastor's approval of the reported speech of the Pope, he was also (though indirectly) inviting his audience to approve of the content of the Pope's speech.

7.2.1.6 Name calling

Examples of *Name calling* strategies were found in CDA see 6.2.1.12 in the six selected sermon analysed. Below are some of the *Name calling* instances found in the corpus indicated through CLA method

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Gangsters</i>	4.7	N	312 <i>Today, unable, unwilling to find solace around shared values, Nigerians are , frustrated by the gangsters that masquerade as politics and the perennial theft and waste of state resource, and the glue of shared values is</i>
<i>Narcissistic</i>	4.6	Adj	313 <i>Why have the gods rejected this offering? Despite running the most nepotistic and narcissistic government in known history, there are no answers to the millions of young children on the streets in northern Nigeria,</i>
<i>Cabal</i>	4.3	N	314 <i>that has engulfed the land is the results from the President and his tiny, insulated and self-indulgent so called cabal that only hears its own voice. It is difficult to say where this government has derived its seeming contempt for the</i>
<i>Cynic</i>	18.7	N	315 <i>The cynics among us say that our days as a nation are number</i>

<i>Illiterates</i>	38.7	N	316 <i>A movement, Boko Haram, led by an illiterate has taken on the entire security apparatus</i>
<i>Dubious</i>	21.8	Adj	317 <i>Haram was not about religion and despite their dubious claims to trying to bring about an Islamic state</i>
<i>Prodigality</i>	9.2	N	318 <i>Our politicians must end their prodigality and irresponsible misuse of our resources.</i>
<i>Wailers</i>	22.7	N	319 <i>who were calling attention to our situation as Wailers</i>
<i>Quarrelsome</i>	15.8	Adj	320 <i>A quarrelsome, incoherent and selfish National Assembly is</i>
<i>Misfortune</i>	14.5	N	321 <i>Despite tragedies and misfortunes, despite our sinfulness, God does not ever</i>
<i>Greedy</i>	9.4	Adj	322 <i>we look back at what might be referred to as the fat years, for example the years of oil boom, the sight of the insatiably greedy locusts who devoured everything in its wake convey only sorrow and gloom. The culture of suffering and smiling</i>
<i>Foolishly</i>	23.3	Adv	323 <i>some Christians have been foolishly debating such irrelevances as,</i>
<i>Waywardness</i>	17.4	N	324 <i>the waywardness of that period merely validated what most Nigerians considered to be the misguided views expressed by Col Gideon Orkar</i>
<i>Senseless</i>	23.4	Adj	325 <i>when the abductions, kidnappings, brutality, senseless, and endless massacres of our citizens will end? When will our refugees from Cameroon, Chad or Niger return home?</i>
<i>Murderous</i>	10.5	Adj	326 <i>on a state that has failed them. To be sure, there are kidnappers roaming across Nigeria, but none have been as brutal, murderous, cold blooded, monstrous and brutish as those in the northern pool. They have slaughtered their fathers and mothers,</i>
<i>Mindless</i>	9.186	Adj	327 <i>fiddling among the entire political class must end now. Indeed, Nigeria has to become one thing or the other: a mindless, senseless kingdom of blood ruled by Boko Haram or a new society freed from the senseless clutches of madmen and</i>
<i>Fraudster</i>	8.838	N	328 <i>with prejudice to create the falsehood that somehow, one religion is superior to the others. With so many ill equipped fraudsters posing as religious leaders, there is an obsession with defaming the others and widening our differences. 9:</i>
<i>Stupor</i>	18.1	N	329 <i>our communities, our people are all in a state of stupor</i>

Table 7: Words in PP1's Sermons that Count for Name Calling

Table 7 The above shows instances of words indicating name-calling (dysphemism) in nouns, adjectives and adverbs. These words are used to insult or disapprove of some behaviour as could be seen from the corpus. For example, the first two words were directly used to insult the political class as being self-centred and irresponsible. The pastor also referred to the Boko Haram terrorists as illiterates and some people who might not have agreed with his views as cynics. Adjectives such as *dubious*, *greedy* are used to address some perceived unethical behavioural patterns that threaten the collective economic prosperity and well-being of the citizenry. Meanwhile, it is certainly not an impossibility, for example, to see those who might describe the actions herein tagged *dubious* and *greedy* (by the pastor) as being smart and ambitious which would then ascribe positive values to the actions the pastor has presented as negative. This highlights the argument of Systemic Functional Linguistics that language is a meaning resource and that functions, rather than rules, determine language use (Matthiessen and Halliday, 1997: 2).

7.2.1.7 Opinion leaders

Although no example of *Opinion Leaders*' strategy was found in CDA (see 6.2.1.16), CLA method was able to detect this strategy with examples presented below:

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
Gowon	25.0	N	330 In his speech of May 1967, General Gowon , the head of states, decided to avert a civil war...
Awolowo	31.7	N	331 Our founding fathers, Awolowo , Ahmad Bello....
Nnamdi Azikiwe	22.5	N	332 We are told that while Dr Azikiwe pleaded with the Sardauna
Ahmadu Bello	32.7	N	333 Dr Azikiwe pleaded with the Sardauna, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, that they should sink their differences and

Table 8: Words in PP1's Sermons that Count for Opinion Leader

The table above contains some names of respectable former leaders who can be best described as *Opinion Leaders* (Jowett and O'Donnel 2012:175). The pastor carefully mentioned them in appraisal of their contributions to the nation's progress. As is typical with this propaganda strategy, these referenced *Opinion Leaders*, like every other human, may have their shortcomings, but the pastor was silent over such weaknesses.

7.2.1.8 Repetition

Examples of repetition strategies were found in CDA (see 6.2.1.14) in the six selected sermon analysed for PP1. Below are some of the instances of repetitions found through CLA method below.

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Example from corpus (concordance)
<i>Wail</i>	30.7	V	334 <i>Sad situation in Nigeria, the United nation has wailed the Pope has wailed</i>
<i>Homeless/homelessness</i>	15.9	Adj/N	335 <i>When Jesus said he had nowhere to lay His head, what did He mean? Was He elevating and presenting homelessness as a model of life?</i>
<i>Destitution/squalor</i>	45.3	N	336 <i>rise again. As the vaults of deceit are thrown open, the secrets behind our poverty, squalor, deprivation, misery and destitution are about to be laid bare. The millions of dollars stolen by criminals in power which are today being exposed are merely a</i>

Table 9: Words in PPI's Sermons that featured in Repetition

The repetitions here are mostly grammatical repetitions. *Wail/wailer* as used in the corpus (example 332 above) is an instance of repetitions use sarcastically to trivialise the insult that president Buhari media aid threw at the president's critics. In 335 and 336 and third example there a kind of repetition in meaning in those words that call for emphasis on the message the pastor intends to pass across to the audience. Destitution and squalor activate repetition by the lexical relation means of synonymy.

7.2.1.9 Symbolic language

Examples of *Symbolic language use* were identified in CDA (see .6.2.1.16). In CLA with the concordance tool two instances of figurative language are identified below.

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Locusts</i>	9.8	N	337 <i>back at what might be referred to as the fat years, for example the years of oil boom, the sight of the insatiably greedy locusts who devoured everything in its wake convey only sorrow and gloom. The culture of suffering and smiling gradually took</i>
<i>Bottomless pit</i>	5.2	N	338 <i>Today, Power and Transportation have become the bottomless pits into which our resources are being sunk. Yet, the challenge is not so much over the commitment of those trying to</i>

Table 10: Words in PPI's Sermons that Count for Symbolic Language

Locust is an economic noun semantically associated with destruction. *Locusts* in the table above is used by the pastor to refer to politicians that are feeding on the country's wealth and prosperity while the citizens are living below the poverty line. The use of the word locust figuratively paints the picture of the destruction/ damage which corrupt leaders and their practices are wreaking on

the overall well-being of the nation. The phrase *bottomless pit* on the other hand, is used to figuratively mock the endless sending of power in the power sector that is not yielding impressive results.

7.2.1.10 Optimism

Just like it was found in CDA, here below are words expressing optimism (note that optimism is not part of strategies found in literature), but I was able to identify this additional propaganda strategy during the CDA of PP1 (see again 6.2.1.12).

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Context of use from the corpus
<i>Resolute</i>	15.5	Adj	339 <i>These may be the worst of times, but for men and women of faith, they could be the best of times. We must stand firm and resolute because, our redeemer liveth (Job 19:25).</i>
<i>Relent</i>	12.9	V	340 <i>We have all enough deep wounds, bruises and scars to show for our pains, but we cannot relent. We are at a watershed now and perhaps this may be the best moment for us as a people. Perhaps before us lies the Red sea</i>

Table 11: Words in PP1's Sermons that Amount to Optimism

The two words in the above passage semantically convey an attitude of perseverance (that not giving up), the second expressing this meaning by its co-occurrence with the negative element 'cannot'. The pastor invited the listener to continue their pursuit and not to give up no matter the circumstance. The propagation is that if the people in authority fail to perform their responsibilities, then they should repose their confidence in God and ignore their present circumstances.

7.2.1.11 Testimonial endorsement

PP1 engaged the words of important personalities to bolster his arguments, thus resulting in *Testimonial endorsement* as can be seen in the table below.

Item (word)	Score	Word Class	Context of use from the corpus
<i>Said</i>	9.6	V	341 ... said his Apostolic Exhortation, <i>The Joy of the Gospel</i> , the Holy Father captures this dilemma by stating that: Today, in many places, we hear a call for greater security
			342 The German theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer... said that the choice open to Christians was a choice between what he called, cheap and costly grace.
			343 as Jim Reeves said , This world is not my home, I am just passing through.

Table 12: Words in PP1's Sermons that Amount to Testimonial Endorsement

The three personalities whose speech PP1 evoked to support his arguments are The Pope, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (a German theologian) and a Christian hymn singer, Jim Reeves. The first instance was to support the need for security in Nigeria while the second supports the ideal of Christians nobly bearing the injustice in the Nigerian state. This last point was buoyed by the statement credited to *Jim Reeves*; *This world is not my home, I am just passing through*. Thus, the suffering Christians are to be encouraged that their suffering is temporary

7.2.1.12 Summary for PP1 CLA

We may evaluate the extent of the success CLA in analysing the data by considering five levels of discoveries; overall strategies found in CDA, overall strategies found in CLA, strategies found in both analyses (i.e. overlapping strategies), strategies found only in CDA (but not in CLA), and strategies found only in CLA (but not in CDA).

The strategies discovered via CDA are 17, the overall CLA-detected strategies are 11. Out of the overall CDA-detected strategies, however, 9 overlapped with those of CLA; namely,

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice* ,
- *Audience predisposition*,
- *Card stacking*,
- *Emotion activation*,
- *Name Calling*,
- *Repetition*,
- *Symbolic language*,
- *Optimism*
- *Testimonial endorsement*

Thus, the point of intersection between the strategies discovered through both methods have 8 strategies. Consequently, there are eight strategies found only through CDA (but not in CLA) and two detected only by CLA (but not in CDA).

For the sake of further clarity, the table below captures the distribution of the strategies as employed by PP1 between CDA and CLA.

Strategies	CDA	CLA
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Audience predisposition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Doubt casting</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Emotion activation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Employing Subversive rhetoric</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Flag-waving</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Maintaining control over communication</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Name Calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Opinion Leader</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Testimonial Endorsement</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using Repetition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using of Symbolic Language</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using of Whataboutism, Strawman and Herring</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Rhetorical question</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Preemptive Move</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Conveying optimism</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND

Table 13: Distribution of the Strategies as Found through CDA and CLA in PP1's Sermons.

The table above shows that key strategies overlap in both analyses. The two additional strategies identified using CLA are: *Glittering generalisation*, and *Opinion Leaders*. It is worth noting that *Optimism*, a new strategy found in this study, was also detected via CLA. This point will be copiously and relevantly captured in the summary chapter, where all the latest strategies as discovered in CDS and CLA analyses of all the sermons will be spotlighted. Meanwhile, for PP1, the following strategies (that feature in the literature) were not found using CLA (although some were found in CDA).

- *Black and White Dictatorship*
- *Casual Oversimplification*
- *Doubt casting*

- *Emotional Stereotyping*
- *Employing Subversive rhetoric*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*
- *Flag-waving*
- *Maintaining control over communication*
- *Plain Folking*
- *Questioning Credibility of Source*
- *Symbolic transfer*
- *Testimonial Endorsement*
- *Using Slogans*
- *Using Thought-terminating cliché*

The possible reason for their non-discoverability via CLA is either because of their longer structural identity as against other strategies whose use can be tracked via lexical contents (i.e. single word level) or the fact that they are indicated by function words rather than content words.

7.2.2 CLA of the language use of PP2

In the CDA of the five selected sermons for PP2, I identified at least nineteen (19) propaganda strategies used by this pastor; namely,

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice ,*
- *Audience predisposition,*
- *Bandwagonism,*
- *Black and white fallacy dictatorship,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Doubt casting,*
- *Emotion activation,*
- *Emotional Stereotyping*
- *Subversive rhetoric*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*
- *Flag-waving*
- *Glittering generalisation*
- *Name Calling*
- *Opinion Leaders*
- *Plain Folking*
- *Testimonial Endorsement*
- *Repetition*
- *Symbolic Language*

- *Thought-terminating clinchés*
- *Conveying optimism*
- *Rhetorical questioning*

Like I did for PP1 above, in this section again, I use CLA to first verify where possible that these twenty-two strategies I are employed throughout this pastor dataset (i.e. strategies frequently used by this pastor), and to expand on my findings. Specifically, I firstly identify additional examples of the already identified, and second, use a CLA to determine if any other strategies, beyond those identified in the CDA, are used by PP2.

In 6.2, I noted several textual or linguistic elements revealed in the CDA of PP2's sermons. Based on that, lexical choices, such as nouns representing abstract concepts (e.g., implementation, danger), adjectives that intensify emotion (e.g., serious), and verbs that convey urgency and obligation (e.g., must act, ensure), are central to the persuasive power of the speech. This suggests that analysing lexical items can reveal how PP2 constructs ideological positions, evokes emotional responses, and influences the audience's perceptions. Nominalisation in PP2's rhetoric creates abstraction and authority by turning actions into broad, accepted concepts, lending credibility to his arguments. Analysing nouns can reveal how this technique is used. Intensifying adjectives like *serious* and *united* activate emotions and amplify urgency, while examining their use with other lexical items will show how emotional responses are triggered. Verbs, particularly modal verbs like *must* and *should*, convey obligation and urgency, guiding the audience toward action. Corpus analysis of these elements can uncover how PP2 constructs persuasive, action-oriented narratives.

While grammatical structures like sentence complexity, passive voice, and parallelism contribute to the overall flow of the discourse, it is the lexical choices that directly shape the content, persuasive force, and emotional resonance of PP2's speeches. Therefore, a focus on the lexical items using CLA is essential for a deeper understanding of how PP2 manipulates perception, triggers emotions, and conveys ideological positions.

However, to avoid the circularity of thought which Maritz (2019) warns against, I use a deductive approach to the CLA so that my conclusions are data driven. Results that support the above suggestion will enhance the reliability of my findings,

As noted, content words – namely, nouns, verbs and modifiers – are used to manifest these strategies on the grammatical level

I now report results for the corpus analysis of the PP2 data using a keyword list generated through Sketch Engine, that will serve as the basis for my investigation. For PP2, a total of 7,642 keywords were identified. Of these, 1,582, have scores above the statistical significance threshold of 3.84. I present the top 50 keywords in the table below, with the top 500 keywords reported in the addenda. The essence of doing this is to give a panoramic view of the corpus which is afforded by the more

comprehensive list in the addenda. After this, I will list the strategies one after another again with the intention of verifying and expanding examples of lexical words that project or replicate the strategy in focus from the keyword list.

Like with PP1, the 50 words with the highest keyness values are lexical items and so my focus remains on the lexical choices that the pastor in question makes to manifest the propagation strategies (cf. 3.3.3). The reader is reminded that content words; namely, nouns, verbs and modifiers are used to manifest these strategies on the grammatical level. I will therefore have a look at the specific types and semantic categories of the nouns, verbs and modifiers the pastor is using, and will use his entire dataset for this investigation (using the generated keyword list).

S/N	Item (word)	Frequency focus	Frequency reference	Relative frequency focus	Relative frequency reference	Score
1	<i>Nigerian</i>	454	495987	3906.9895	8.05357	431.652
2	<i>Zonal</i>	73	41167	628.21637	0.66845	377.127
3	<i>nationhood</i>	53	22570	456.10229	0.36648	334.511
4	<i>Nigeria</i>	617	974009	5309.71924	15.81543	315.824
5	<i>Buhari</i>	79	107670	679.85059	1.74829	247.736
6	<i>Muhammadu</i>	40	32580	344.22815	0.52902	225.784
7	<i>Bakare</i>	24	3006	206.5369	0.04881	197.878
8	<i>Tunde</i>	24	7507	206.5369	0.12189	184.988
9	<i>electocracy</i>	19	89	163.50838	0.00145	164.271
10	<i>geopolitical</i>	65	157738	559.37073	2.56126	157.352
11	<i>Boko</i>	39	80511	335.62244	1.30729	145.895
12	<i>restructuring</i>	91	304774	783.11908	4.94875	131.812
13	<i>Haram</i>	39	98684	335.62244	1.60238	129.352
14	<i>tepperman</i>	15	770	129.08556	0.0125	128.479
15	<i>Chibok</i>	16	7447	137.69127	0.12092	123.73
16	<i>Goodluck</i>	20	28139	172.11407	0.45691	118.823
17	<i>Sectional</i>	39	114291	335.62244	1.8558	117.873
18	<i>reintegration</i>	24	47041	206.5369	0.76383	117.663
19	<i>Federate</i>	23	42801	197.93118	0.69498	117.365
20	<i>CBN</i>	20	34933	172.11407	0.56722	110.459
21	<i>Obasanjo</i>	21	42004	180.71979	0.68204	108.035
22	<i>Fulani</i>	16	23393	137.69127	0.37984	100.512
23	<i>geo-economic</i>	12	3024	103.26845	0.0491	97.041
24	<i>subnational</i>	14	15510	120.47985	0.25184	92.586
25	<i>Naira</i>	16	30668	137.69127	0.49797	87.358
26	<i>Polity</i>	23	78658	197.93118	1.27721	86.782
27	<i>euroclydon</i>	10	195	86.05704	0.00317	86.406
28	<i>Igbos</i>	11	6598	94.66274	0.10713	86.406
29	<i>restructure</i>	43	203964	370.04526	3.31186	86.052
30	<i>Bukky</i>	10	722	86.05704	0.01172	86.048
31	<i>Korah</i>	11	7404	94.66274	0.12022	85.396
32	<i>south-south</i>	13	19977	111.87415	0.32438	85.228
33	<i>reformative</i>	10	1796	86.05704	0.02916	84.59

34	INEC	14	27616	120.47985	0.44841	83.871
35	APC	35	174084	301.19965	2.82668	78.972
36	Habakkuk	11	14329	94.66274	0.23267	77.606
37	Ezekwesili	9	1547	77.45133	0.02512	76.529
38	Oby	9	2054	77.45133	0.03335	75.919
39	Destiny	90	583201	774.51337	9.4697	74.072
40	chairperson	47	276470	404.46808	4.48917	73.867
41	Olusegun	10	11986	86.05704	0.19462	72.874
42	Niger	29	155654	249.56541	2.52743	71.034
43	Obafemi	9	7112	77.45133	0.11548	70.33
44	PDP	23	123945	197.93118	2.01255	66.034
45	Abuja	17	77060	146.29697	1.25126	65.429
46	Havens	10	20817	86.05704	0.33802	65.064
47	thirty-six	13	48048	111.87415	0.78018	63.406
48	Lagos	32	207335	275.38254	3.36659	63.295
49	federalism	15	65524	129.08556	1.06394	63.028
50	Awolowo	8	7196	68.84563	0.11684	62.538

Table 14: The First 50 Keywords in the investigated sermons of PP2 and their frequencies and scores as captured by Sketch Engine

A close look at the list of words in Table 14 above show that it contains mainly social-political words. ‘Habakkuk’ is the only religious word among the first fifty words of the corpus. This, one may begin to speculate, is an indication of what to expect in the rest of the keywords list for this pastor. Also, the semantic contents of these words suggest that the pastor under review is politically-inclined.

The keyword list above guided me in confirming PP2's use of at least fifteen propaganda strategies, namely:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*
- *Audience predisposition,*
- *Bandwagonism,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Casual oversimplification,*
- *Doubt casting,*
- *Emotion activation,*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation,*
- *Flag-waving,*
- *Glittering generalisation,*
- *Name calling,*
- *Opinion leaders,*
- *Plain folking,*

- *Whataboutisms*, and
- *Neologism*.

I will again examine each of the identified strategies using the keyword list and illustrate them with examples from the corpus.

7.2.2.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

In the six sermons of PP2 examined for the CDA, some uses of this strategy were identified. Likewise in the result of the CLA below are examples of *Appeal to fear and prejudice*.

Item (word)	Score	N	Example from corpus
<i>Boko</i>	145.9	N	344 Given the new tactics being adopted by the Boko Haram sect especially suicide bombing by teenage girls who, it appears, the sect is increasingly targeting for
<i>Haram</i>	129.4	N	345 the other states. Further compilation of recorded incidents from other sources showed that towards mid-2014, Boko Haram attacks had become an almost daily occurrence in Borno State. Terror attacks or threats of same were also reported in
<i>Chibok</i>	123.7	N	346 the 2015 elections to a resort to suicide attacks by the turn of 2016. Under this administration, 21 of the abducted Chibok girls were also released to their parents in October 2016, and, last Friday, Rakiya Abubakar, the latest rescued
<i>Fulani</i>	100.5	N	347 The tension generated by the incursion of the Fulani herdsmen into the South West including the recent abduction of Chief Olu Falae allegedly by Fulani herdsmen which
<i>Herdsmen</i>	59.0	N	348 Haram in the North East, to the ugly developments involving the Shiites in the North West, from the violent attacks by herdsmen in parts of the North West, especially the wanton destruction of lives and properties in Southern Kaduna, and in the
<i>Dapchi</i>	51.6	N	349 to admit is that our economy has often caved in to the stress of our values-deprived and money-driven elections; 9. The Dapchi Syndrome: From Chibok in 2014 to Dapchi in 2018, a new trend is arising in Nigeria where, one year to elections, hapless
<i>Biafra</i>	42.4	N	350 (ARG) and the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in the South West, to the push for secession by the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South East, from the terror unleashed by Boko Haram in the North East, to the ugly developments involving
<i>Banditry</i>	37.6	N	351 such as reports of mass graves of soldiers and the seemingly relentless reports of killings, kidnappings and banditry , has made it abundantly apparent that our nation is dancing on the razor's edge. Reacting to the situation, Nigerian
<i>abduction</i>	15.4	N	352 Boko Haram sect especially suicide bombing by teenage girls who, it appears, the sect is increasingly targeting for abduction , the risk

			factor in massive political rallies and polling units across the North of the country and, to a lesser extent,
Sambisa	34.3	N	353 , had almost lost all hope of completing her education, or of even surviving those dark days that she spent as a captive in Sambisa Forest; a nation where the sons and daughters of farmers in Logo and Guma will come together with the sons and daughters
Sharibu	26.4	N	354 condolences to the families of the girls who lost their lives, permit me to use this occasion to demand that Leah Sharibu , who is still being held by the terrorists, be brought back home alive and unhurt, not just because her parents and the
Ojota	60.8	N	355 Threats In January 2012, when Save Nigeria Group (SNG) mobilised a critical mass of Nigerians to Freedom Park, Ojota , we were not simply asking for a reversal of the fuel price hike that threatened the daily bread of the so-called average
kidnapper	13.7	N	356 as agents and informants. By rewarding and guaranteeing protection for those who blow the whistle on terrorists, kidnappers , criminal herdsmen, cattle rustlers and bandits, we will shrink the population of the antagonists. Furthermore, we
IPOB	16.059	N	357 and the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) in the South West, to the push for secession by the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South East, from the terror unleashed by Boko Haram in the North East, to the ugly developments involving the
OPC	18.0	N	358 of Chief Olu Falae allegedly by Fulani herdsmen which attracted warnings from the militant Oodua People's Congress (OPC), threats of reprisals or secession by the Yoruba socio-cultural group, Afenifere and defiance by the Fulani
Ferocious	10.2	Adj	359 to premature electioneering. My call for election postponement was hinged on seven signs that show that a ferocious storm is about to hit the nation. These signs include poor level of election preparedness by INEC (despite its honest
tension-soaked	9.6	Adj	360 Nigeria, as it were, narrowly escaped the storms. The tension-soaked transition process saw the ascendance of President Muhammadu Buhari after many attempts, somewhat in the similitude
Assassination	4.7	N	361 as Nigeria escaped disaster by a hair's breadth; 2. Death: Our elections have been characterised by political assassinations as well as voter killings during and after elections; 3. Destruction: Election-related violence since 1999 has led to

Table 15: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 Invoking Appeal to fear and prejudice

The first point worth noting is that there are instances of the keywords that embody the propaganda strategy under consideration overlapping in the corpus of both PP1 and PP2 simply because both pastors share the same sociopolitical context of Nigeria although the former is based in the north while the latter is domiciled in the south. To avoid the repetition of such words namely, Boko

Haram, Chibok, Fulani, Herdsmen, Biafra, Dapchi, abduction, banditry, Shaibu, IPOB, and kidnappers. I will only discuss new words that are different from those found in PP1. Names of places that are propaganda-prone in in this corpus because of their socio-political relevance are the places that receive focus here. Sambisa (34.293) became a popular forest as the physical location of hide-out of the Boko Haram terrorist group in the northeast of Nigeria. Sambisa is one of the (if not the most) dreaded places in Nigeria because of its association with the Boko Haram group. Ojota (60.821) is the scene “OccupyNigeria”, a popular nationwide protest in 2012 which was in response to the policy of fuel subsidy removal by the then Jonathan government. This location during the protests is prone to attacks, arrest and sometimes death (as a result of the bloody confrontations between the protesters and the military). Prominent personalities participated in the protest including the pastor himself. Ojota has thus become a reference for the largest opposition protest in Nigeria. The adjective *Ferocious* and the noun *tension-soaked*, as used by the pastor, is meant to create fear in the minds of the listeners. Even though, as the time of the sermon delivery, the action had been concluded, the adjective evokes a freshly fearful atmosphere for those listening while the pastor almost assumes the status of a saviour.

7.2.2.2 Audience predisposition

In the five sermons of PP2 for CDA, examples describing *Audience predisposition Expression* were found and discussed (see 6.2.2.2). Below are also examples of this strategy at word level in line with CLA.

Item (word)	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Devolution</i>	56.8	N	362 a "Contract to Save and Transform Nigeria" to President Goodluck Jonathan which, among other demands, made a case for devolution of powers, called for a review of the revenue formula, and advocated the convocation of a national conference towards
<i>CBN</i>	110.5	N	363 the argument by economists that sound monetary policy, including proper management of the exchange rate regime by the CBN , would eliminate the need for subsidies. The intricate connection between monetary policy on the one hand, and the
<i>Naria</i>	92.6	N	364 through years of mismanagement and corruption, coupled with the fall in crude prices, has severely weakened the naira in relation to the dollar. The naira was 218 to a dollar at the parallel market as at the time the new government came into
<i>NNPC</i>	56.1	N	365 subsidise our petrol imports - at least not from the Federation Account. The same crude that should have been refined by NNPC is simply sold on the international market

			(since our refineries barely work) and the money is used to buy petrol.
Crude	12.0	N	366 laziness to blame the global economic downturn for Nigeria's economic woes, or to wait expectantly for a rise in crude oil prices in order to sustain our consumptive economic patterns. Our problems are not the result of global economic
Refinery	9.8	N	367 of government functionaries. Like other nations, some less endowed, we have the opportunity to set up our own refineries , refine our products, sell and export refined products, and make money. Instead of doing that, both NNPC and the
Subsidy	46.2	N	368 be made scapegoats for their poor choices. On the heels of this position, when the government suddenly removed the fuel subsidy without admitting to its complicit and compromised involvement in the maladministration of petroleum resources in
IPPIS	26.5	N	369 recent policy transitional success stories, including the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS), the Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS), and the Treasury Single Account (

Table 16: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 Showing Audience predisposition

All the economy-based words in the Table 16 above are words that are of common knowledge i.e. familiar to the Nigerians (and consequently the listeners). Thus, they are more likely to generate reaction from members of the public with differing opinions and beliefs. PP2 tried to focus on the economy of the nation by giving statistical explanations in his sermon. For example, topic on devaluation of the Naira and how bad such a policy has weakened the Naira will generate approving or disapproving arguments from different groups, depending on variables such as the affiliation of individual to the government and the degree of individuals' knowledge about the nitty-gritty of economy. The pastor presented facts about the state of the economy to validate his opinion, giving credit to the government in power or criticising it. The following are some references made to economy using proper nouns: *CBN* (central Bank of Nigeria) has 110.46 scores. *Naira*, 92.586 (naira is the country's currency), *geo-economic* (in the same morphological pattern as the word *geo-political* that enjoys a nation-wide currency in Nigeria) is a lexical creation of the pastor meant to capture the peculiar economic potential of a region or areas where each region has economic comparative advantage over the others. It has 99.388 scores. *NNPC* (56.126) is the Nigeria National Petroleum Cooperation, a government organisation which many Nigerians perceive as the most corrupt. Other statistics include *Crude* (11.97), *economic* (11.768), and

refinery (9.768). Facts about these organisations or agencies can be harped on by the propagandist to sway the public either positively or negatively.

7.2.2.3 *Bandwagonism*

In the CDA (see 6.2.2.3) an instance of *Bandwagonism* was identified and discussed. Below are some uses of *Bandwagonism* strategy identified in CLA.

Word	Score	Word class	Example from the corpus
<i>Yorubas</i>	25.823	N	370 . Decades after the civil war, we are yet to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state.
<i>Igbos</i>	86.4	N	371 after the civil war, we are yet to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos , Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the
<i>Hausas</i>	18.0	N	372 the civil war, we are yet to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas , Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing
<i>Fulanis</i>	26.3	N	373 war, we are yet to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for
<i>Kanuris</i>	35.4	N	374 , six years post-amalgamation, our forebears still regarded themselves not as Nigerians but as Edos, Ijaws, Igbos, Kanuris , Hausas, Yorubas, and so on. They still viewed themselves as diverse local tribes under the rule of colonial masters.
<i>Tivs</i>	9.6	N	375 to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs , Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for restructuring
<i>Idomas</i>	9.6	N	376 true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for restructuring are
<i>Nupes</i>	9.6	N	377 and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for restructuring are motivated

<i>Ijaws</i>	18.137	N	378 <i>on land and cuts across many states on the sea. The state comprises the Ikaes, Ilajes, Apoi, Akokos, Ondos, Akures, Ijaws, Idanres, Owos. Though the state is yet to attain a quarter of her potentials due to bad leadership over the years but</i>
<i>Edos</i>	17.8	N	379 <i>Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos , Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for restructuring are motivated by the aim of</i>
<i>Urobos</i>	9.5	N	380 <i>still tend to think of themselves as Yorubas, Igbos, Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs, Idomas, Nupes, Ijaws, Edos, Urhobos and so on, within the Nigerian state. Some of the ongoing calls for restructuring are motivated by the aim of finding</i>

Table 17: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Bandwagonism*

Bandwagonism is subtly used by the pastor in the above table. With addition of the suffice ‘s’ to each of the ethnic groups mentioned in the corpus (e.g. *Edos*, *Urhobos*), the pastor was rallying the generalism (or the universalism in the Nigerian context) of disunity among Nigerians. Thus, the pastor was subtly tilting the listeners towards accepting his view of this unity since, as he has proven, it is trans-ethnic. On a larger scale, however, the pastor alluded to the centrifugal tendency (as seen in the widespread ethnic consciousness in Nigeria) to reinforce his proposal for geo-political restructuring which will allow each ethnic group to retain its distinctiveness without undermining the requisite unity of the country. In essence, the pastor was saying (as is the usual discursal characteristic of *Bandwagonism*) that every ethnic group is already practising as a de facto arrangement, and so government should give it de jure endorsement.

Other instances of *Bandwagonism* as used by the pastor are in form of supporters of persons his or their collective idea or an era. Examples of these are outline below:

Item	Score	Word class	Examples
<i>Buharis</i>	9.592	N	381 <i>But when, beyond the elections, the Buharis , the Atikus, the Moghalus, the Ezekwesilis, the Durotoyes, the Sowores and the like come together to minimise our</i>
<i>Durotoyes</i>	9.6	N	382 <i>to build a nation. But when, beyond the elections, the Buharis, the Atikus, the Moghalus, the Ezekwesilis, the Durotoyes , the Sowores and the like come together to minimise our weaknesses and maximise our strengths, as one political family</i>
<i>Balewas</i>	9.6	N	383 <i>the first set of Nigerian leaders – the Nnamdi Azikiwes, the Obafemi Awolowos, the Ahmadu Bellos and the Tafawa Balewas who demonstrated selfless service. However, just as the security guards took over the house, the military took over</i>

Table 18: Additional instances of *Bandwagonism* in the Investigated Sermons of PP2

Throughout the corpus, all the names of the persons in the above examples are highlighted one by one by keywords with the same sentence, by adding suffixes -s at the end of their names to show that whatever view each of them carries, they are not alone in it. The -s suffixes this time is not possessive of themselves rather, it indicates followership. And this followership is bandwagon because the followers share the views of the person in whatever respect reasonable and even when it seems unreasonable.

7.2.2.4 *Card stacking*

I identified some instance of these *Card stacking* strategies as employed by PP2 in the course of the CDA (see 6.2.2.5) Here again, I explore it using CLA methods. Below are the word indicators for *Card stacking* purpose.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
INEC	83.9	N	384 disenfranchisement. The Vanguard of November 15, 2014, in an article titled "Permanent Voters' Cards, PVC: How INEC Failed Nigerians", reported that more than 75% of the PVCs in rural areas in Lagos were left uncollected. Similar and
Secession	24.7	N	385 business; • Anti-igbo pogroms in the North following the January and July 1966 coups, resulting in the declaration of secession by the Igbos under Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu and climaxing in the Nigeria-Biafra war; • Allegations of genocidal
Recession	5.5	N	386 That year, we hid under the carpet of the global financial crisis; in 2016, a year after the 2015 elections, we suffered a recession and hid under the umbrella of one finger as we blamed oil prices. What we have failed to admit is that our economy has often
Corruption	24.6	N	387 13Owete, Festus. "Obasanjo Writes Saraki, Dogara, Accuses National Assembly of Corruption , Greed, Lawlessness, Impunity - Premium Times Nigeria." Premium Times Nigeria. January 27, 2016. Accessed March 21,
Petroleum	18.6	N	388 meetings it had with stakeholders in 2011, the government had promised gradual changes in the administration of the petroleum subsidy. Even before these stakeholders had begun to organise to shut down the Nigerian economy through strikes, we at
underdevelopment	34.9	N	389 sustained distrust amongst Nigerians against one another and against the Nigerian state, CONCERNED that lingering underdevelopment and failure to harness our diverse

			human and material resources to combat our common socio-economic problems such as
Allocation	10.4	N	390 of our treasury and that it had to replace the monies that had been expended or misappropriated outside of budgetary allocation , it quickly and suddenly removed subsidies on petrol. The clear message was that the government wanted the so-called
Nepotists	9.6	N	391 the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as Ministers or VIPs at least; the tribalists, the nepotists , those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles; those that have corrupted our society
Manifesto	16.8	N	392 in order to entrench Federalism and the Federal spirit ". This provision subsequently made its way into the APC manifesto . In 2014, we took our demands for restructuring to the National Conference, where a case was made for a unicameral

Table 19: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Card stacking*

From Table 19 above, it can be observed that PP2 utterances were aimed at *Card stacking* some events by making statements with some details such as figures. This can easily and convincingly sway his audience to concur with him since he showed that that he knew what he was talking about. In this way, however, he could have been either be objective (not propagating) or subjective (propaganda).

7.2.2.5 *Casual oversimplification*

In CDA of PP2, *casual oversimplification* example was not identified. With the use of CLA, however, we may note the instance below represented in this corpus.

Items	Score	World class	Examples from the corpus
Restructuring	131.8	N	393 demand self-examination beyond the subsidy question - they are a call for a new geo-economic order. The call towards restructuring must be embraced while ensuring, through intelligent engagement, that the government is kept on its toes in
Avoidable	30.0	Adj	394 Ladies and gentlemen, my heartfelt prayer at this juncture is that our leaders will listen and do the needful to avert an avoidable disaster, so that there will be no need for anyone to say at the end, "we told you so". I find it very useful to repeat the

Table 20: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Casual oversimplification*

From Table 20 above, PP2 was presenting the ideal that the restructuring of the political arrangement of Nigeria is a non-optional arrangement if the country must progress. In other words, he wanted his audience to believe that the only means to a good governance in Nigeria is to restructure the state. Such a statement propaganda-laden because the view being projected is that of the pastor; there could be (and indeed, there are) other views. What is more, the restructuring, up unto the time of this study, has not taken place because those at the helms of affairs do have contrary views.

7.2.2.6 *Doubt casting*

In CDA analysis of PP2, only one instance of *Doubt casting* strategy was identified (see 6.2.2.7). But in CLA, I found three lexical representations of this strategy use.

Items	score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Precariously</i>	12.3	Adv	395 we are also mindful of the state of the nation whose great destiny is up till now hanging in the balance, and very precariously so.
<i>Window-dressing</i>	9.6	N	396 to be seen. Considering the negative correlation between growth and public debt, does this not suggest a statistical window-dressing of our claims of growth? Why do we store our excess earnings in foreign reserves that give us a paltry 3% interest while we
<i>So-called</i>	7.3	Adj	397 allocation, it quickly and suddenly removed subsidies on petrol. The clear message was that the government wanted the so-called average Nigerian to pay back what corrupt politicians and their private collaborators had stolen. This was not

Table 21: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Doubt casting*

The adverbial *precariously* is disapproving and thus used by the pastor to describe the nation's situation as being uncertain. Doubt is consequently created about the country's existence going by the prevailing socio-political realities. Whatever positive effort the government was making has been rendered as being insufficient and the listeners were tilted towards doubting the policies of the government. This ploughs the minds of the listeners in readiness to believe whatever solution the pastor was to present. In addition, by referring to the statistical figure presented about the economy as "window-dressing", the pastor subtly painted a doubtful coloration of both the government and its handling of the nation's foreign reserve.

7.2.2.7 *Emotion activation*

In PP2 five sermon texts, for CDA emotion activation was identified and discussed. Using CLA method also, some examples of this strategies were also identified and discussed below:

Item		Word class	Example from corpus
<i>disenfranchisement</i>	26.0	N	398 <i>exercise have raised a lot of questions as to the level of preparedness of the Commission with many Nigerians fearing disenfranchisement. The Vanguard of November 15, 2014, in an article titled "Permanent Voters' Cards, PVC: How INEC Failed Nigerians",</i>
<i>Retrogression</i>	8.8	N	399 <i>. It is unfortunate that what was once the rallying cry for progressive development has now become associated with retrogression and suffering. Nevertheless, the way forward is not so complex for those interested in genuine change. To begin with,</i>
<i>Toothless</i>	17.4	Adj	400 <i>transfer of PHCN assets to GENCOs and DISCOs that lack financial and technical capacity²²? How did EFCC become a "toothless bulldog"²³? Worse still, why did the Obasanjo administration bequeath to us a legacy of lame and limping successor</i>
<i>Fraudulence</i>	17.2	N	401 <i>...unrivalled in the history of political falsehood, thereby laying the foundation for a culture of political fraudulence.</i>
<i>Xenophobia</i>	13.9	N	402 <i>It challenges us to put an end to homegrown " xenophobia " and to unite as one people so we can overcome common challenges and provide leadership to Africa.</i>
<i>Lopsided</i>	9.9	Adj	403 <i>the people had great expectations. We thought that, having come from a part of the country that had borne the brunt of our lopsided political structure, Mr. President would understand, like the Biblical Queen Esther, that "for such a time as this he</i>
<i>Disheartening</i>	4.2	Adj	404 <i>protest at Ojota Park, the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) adopted the slogan "Kill Corruption, not Nigerians." It is very disheartening that allegations of corruption remain rife in our country, even against key office holders in the present government.</i>
<i>Truncated</i>	5.0	Adj	405 <i>occurred during Nigeria's unstable political history, characterized by successive military takeovers and a truncated democracy, shows that the right dose of political will can sustain a policy when the need is universally appreciated.</i>
<i>Enslavement</i>	9.8	N	406 <i>from reality. The area around the Niger was marked with unrest, continuous intergroup conflict, subjugation, enslavement and oppression of the weaker by the stronger until Nigeria provided the possibility for peaceful coexistence. For</i>
<i>Oppression</i>	11.8	N	407 <i>I saw in January 2012 when I led the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) to protest the corruption in the fuel subsidy regime</i>

			and the oppression of the Nigerian people by the handlers of the Nigerian economy; the placard read: "One day the poor will have nothing
<i>Perfidious</i>	16.0	Adj	408 of the constitution was not even ready until after Obasanjo and the governors were sworn-in"26. Can anything be more perfidious than for leaders to take oaths to govern a nation by a constitution prepared under such circumstances and whose content

Table 22: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Emotion activation*

All the words exemplified and highlighted in Table 22 are indeed words that have negative connotation. The lexical items ‘disenfranchisement’ and ‘enslavement’ arouse emotions of a deliberate denial of fundamental rights of the citizens by the government. A word like ‘lopsided’ reinforces the fear of ethno-political dominance by one or some ethnic groups. While the adjective ‘toothless’ emotionally suggests a lack of capacity on the part of the government to execute what is right, the noun ‘fraudulence’ connotes a wilful perversion of ethics in handling the nation’s resources such that the leaders feed fat on the available resources to the detriment of the citizens. PP2 employed ‘xenophobia’, itself a disapproving word, to create an emotion of discontentment with the practice of discrimination along the ethnic divides and the probable poor handling of the situation by the government.

7.2.2.8 *Exaggeration/minimisation*

In CDA, (see 6.2.2.10) *Exaggeration/minimisation* strategy was identified and discussed. Below is the use of the strategy at word level.

Item		Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Stupor</i>	12.3	N	409 goose that lays the golden eggs is humming along to the soundtrack of foul play, the others stagger in a state of economic stupor .

Table 23: An Instance of *Exaggeration* in the Investigated Sermons of PP2

Stupor was here is used to exaggerate the economic prosperity of the nation a given period.

7.2.2.9 *Flag-waving*

In section (6.2.2.11) of CDA, I identified some *Flag-waving* utterances made by PP2. In CLA also, below are the examples of *Flag-waving* lexical choices that PP2 made. The table below presents the items and other information about the words especially examples of usage in the corpus data.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Marginalisation</i>	51.3	N	410 <i>have survived independence and are still reflected in our social interactions and intensified by perceptions of marginalisation. Decades after the civil war, we are yet to forge true nationhood and Nigerians still tend to think of themselves as</i>
<i>Incumbency</i>	28.8	N	411 <i>elections and the opposition will not be rigged out of victory once again? What is the guarantee that the power of incumbency will not successfully manipulate the presidential elections? Even if General Buhari wins, what would happen if, in</i>
<i>Deregulation</i>	21.4	N	412 <i>Have we exhausted options with respect to electricity generation, transmission and distribution? Is deregulation without devolution a sustainable pathway to uninterrupted electricity supply? Must the national grid constitute a</i>

Table 24: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2's showing *Flag-waving*

Words reported on in Table 24 above are words that awaken the feeling of individual identity agitations among the ethnic makeup of the nation. For example, some tribes believe that they are 'marginalized' in the governance of Nigeria. And so, such a word like 'marginalised' generate a lot of interest especially among such people and in so doing it provide a good ground to breed propaganda. 'Incumbency' is also another word that excels with propaganda. By using this word, opposition political parties have been known to attract sympathy from the members of the public easily and thus deliberately put the government in power in a bad light. 'Deregulation' especially in the oil sector of the Nigerian Petroleum is one word in Nigeria political-economy space that is exploited for propaganda since this sector generates 90% of the nation's foreign exchange and over 70% of revenue (Nkogbu and Okorodudu 2015:35), each group trying to outshine the other in order to poll resources to their side.

7.2.2.10 *Glittering generalisation*

In section 6.2.2.13, I identified and discussed the use of glittering generalities. In this CLA section also, I have found some lexical items that indicate the use of glittering generalities as presented below

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Afore-prepared</i>	7.3	Adj	413 <i>preparation for a previous prophecy, let us begin to expect the emergence of the tender plant from the side of the North, afore-prepared before the foundation of the world to steer Nigeria into her prophetic destiny. We are in the season of his emergence.</i>
<i>Prosperous</i>	23.4	Adj	414 <i>It is time to demonstrate leadership, wise judgment and astute public policy that guarantees stable and prosperous nationhood</i>

			upon a foundation of peace; it is time to build a well-ordered nation with strong institutions dispensing
Greed-free	9.6	Adj	415 the breaches of the past so that in forging our nation there shall emerge on this continent a hate-free, fear-free and greed-free people, who shall be in the vanguard of a world task force, whose assignment is not only to revive the stature of man in
New Nigeria	446.8	N	416 for national deliverance. In the past 27 years of our ministry, we have accepted the mandate for the emergence of the New Nigeria and we have strategically intervened from the pulpit to the podium. By the mercy and grace of God, we have prayed
New nation	98.1	N	417 governments had institutionalized misgovernance, change of government provides an opportunity to create a new nation , through the replacement of old attitudes with new ones and through the introduction of reforms in

Table 25: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing *Glittering generalisation*

From the above, PP2 employed some attractive words to woo the citizens to hope for something better in the future, even though the present circumstances or conditions do not suggest that. Using words like “afore-prepared” to describe the then incoming president presents some sacredness around the person of the president. Such choice of words also invites the citizens to view that personality with an extra ordinary eye of all manner of possibility under his leadership. To describe Nigeria with optimism-exuding words such as ‘prosperous’, ‘greed-free’, ‘new Nigeria’, ‘new Nation’ will literally gladden and melt the heart of any hopeful Nigerian. The attributive adjective ‘new’ subtly suggests positive possibilities despite what was then obtainable. Thus, the pastor employed the opportunity to propagate his intention to win more people to his side.

7.2.2.11 Name calling

In the six-sermon selected for CDA (see 6.2.2.14), *Name calling* strategy was identified as one of the strategies frequently used by this pastor. This fact was equally confirmed in the CLA as presented below

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Impostors</i>	11.4	N	418 , it was on this platform that we defended our course of action on Sunday, January 17, 2010 as we refused to cower to the impostors who held our nation to ransom. In 2011, when the government of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan prevaricated over
<i>Mischief-makers</i>	9.3	N	419 I, too, have been a target of social media vitriol. I have been misrepresented, maligned and falsely characterised by mischief-makers on social media, but I will not

			support the suppression of the most potent tool for citizen engagement in the 21st
Looters	17.4	N	420 of our nation headlong and to free the Nigerian people from the grip of her oppressors. We must stop calling treasury looters generous and noble. They are not. They are economic terrorists and the true enemies of Nigeria. Indeed, the need for
Cabal	11.9	N	421 to transmit power to the current president, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, and the hijack of presidential powers by a cabal following the incapacitation of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, as I was inspired by God to take action, I gathered the
Opportunists	5.0	N	422 people but have evidently lost the plot somewhere along the line, perhaps because they were infiltrated or hijacked by opportunists who do not share the founding vision. I am, therefore, persuaded that the biggest problem in Nigeria's partisan
Toothless	17.4	Adj	423 transfer of PHCN assets to GENCOs and DISCOs that lack financial and technical capacity ²² ? How did EFCC become a " toothless bulldog" ²³ ? Worse still, why did the Obasanjo administration bequeath to us a legacy of lame and limping successor
Shameful	10.6	Adj	424 Is it not shameful that we have been subsidizing consumption and practicing the economics of laziness? As stated in Proverbs 12:27 (NKJV
Grumblers	9.3	N	425 They are grumblers and complainers who work according to their own lusts, mounting great swollen words, and flattering people to gain an
Crooked	5.2	Adj	426 of persons indicted in the unlimited kleptocratic consumption of our common patrimony all the while hiding under the crooked finger of fuel subsidy . How else can one explain, for instance, the payment of N999 million 128 times within 24 hours to

Table 26: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 showing Name Calling

The content words in Table 26 are *Name calling* instance identified through CLA. Lexical items such as *imposter*, *mischief makers*, *looter*, *cabal*, *toothless*, *shameful* were employed by the pastor to cast aspersions on all those who oppose him directly or indirectly and to thus skew the view of the audience toward such opponents. Invariably, the pastor presented himself as the positive opposites of the people (or groups) who were ‘*impostors*’, ‘*mischief-makers*’, ‘*looters*’, ‘*cabal*’, ‘*toothless*’ and ‘*shameful*’.

7.2.2.12 Opinion leaders

Opinion leader strategy was effectively used by PP2 in the six selected sermons as identified in CDA (see 6.2.2.15) and here in CLA. The table below captures the keywords that show this strategy.

Item		Word class	Example from corpus
Gowon	49.0	N	427 which, perhaps, was the first ever official reference to the subject of a "new Nigeria" was made by General Yakubu Gowon in his 1967 Independence Day speech when Nigeria was in the throes of civil war. Seeking to discourage ethnic
Awolowo	62.538	N	428 opening the first television station, to building the first skyscraper in tropical Africa, courtesy of Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Western Region.
Nnamdi Azikiwes, Ahmadu Bello and Tafawa Balewa	9.603	N	429 represents the first set of Nigerian leaders – the Nnamdi Azikiwes , the Obafemi Awolowos, the Ahmadu Bellos and the Tafawa Balewas who demonstrated selfless service.
Olusegun	108.0	N	430 Credit must be given to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo for assembling that team. Armed with the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS),
Gani	46.195	N	431 ... the likes of Chief Rotimi Williams, Chief Gani Fawehinmi and Chief Anthony Enahoro, all of blessed memory.
Afenifere	34.3	N	432 Groups such as Afenifere are inclined in this direction, taking a cue from the 1963 Constitution.

Table 27: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 Showing the Strategy of Opinion Leaders

Table 27 above comprises of the list of leaders and association of people that the pastor accords much respect to and was probably not willing to offend. So, they are *Opinion Leaders*. By differing to their views, the pastor, in some way, was giving credit to his own view. By so doing, the pastor would find it easy to penetrate the minds of his listeners.

7.2.2.13 Plain folking

In CDA, I identified some lexical items that denoted *Plain Folking* in the sermons of PP2. The multi-word subsidiary of the keyword feature of Sketch Engine (i.e. the tool that is able to identify lemme beyond word level) was able to pick up some of such phrases (for CLA) which presented below.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Fellow Nigerians</i>	297.6	N	433 <i>do things right, few years from now, we may find ourselves asking: "Where is the Change Agenda?" Brothers and sisters, fellow Nigerians, I submit to you that the state of the nation is not merely a phase in a transformational or evolutionary</i>
<i>Fellow citizen</i>	38.1	N	434 <i>people who are called by my name..." . Who are His people? Israel. iv) Acts 15:12-8: Declaration: Peace be upon Nigeria. Fellow citizens of our great country, today's lecture is titled: "The Courage to Do the Right Thing". This title was inspired</i>

Table 28: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 Showing the strategy of Plain Folking

The attributive adjective ‘fellow’ identifies the speaker with all other Nigerians. It creates the humbling impression of the speakers and every Nigerian being at the same level, thus selling the pastor well to his audience. This is likely to favourably contrast the speaker with some other opponent leaders whom he presented as being unduly classy (such as he described as ‘impostors’, ‘looters’ etc²⁹). For more on the *Plain Folking* strategy as employed by PP2, see 6.2.2.17 for discussion.

7.2.2.14 Whataboutisms

Under the five sermons of PP2 for CDA, no example of the use of *whataboutism*, straw man, and red herring was identified. However, under the CLA an example of *whataboutism* is identified and presented below.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Opportunistic</i>	13.5	Adj	435 <i>...talking restructuring without any intelligent and coherent strategy as to how to restructure. Beyond hollow opportunistic statements here and there, almost no politician has, as yet, brought to the table a political and economic</i>

Table 29: Words in the investigated Sermons of PP2 showing the strategy of Whataboutism

From the examples from the corpus as seen in Table 29 above, the word *opportunistic* was used as a *whataboutism* propagating strategy to discredit the views of others on the thematic issue of political restructuring. The pastor condemned the advocacy of others on restructuring lacking “a coherent strategy” and thus subtly presented his own advocacy as the only one with “a coherent

²⁹ See subsection 7.2.3.14 above for *Name Calling* propagating strategy

strategy”. Meanwhile, the pastor provided no proof as to why the views of others should be so discredited.

7.2.2.15 *Neologism*

This strategy was found in PP2 in CDA, and again by keyword feature of Sketch Engine as seen in the table below.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Filthlanthropy</i>	9.6	N	436 of godliness to manipulate the vulnerable; those economic behemoths who window dress their underhandedness with filthlanthropy; those who are perpetually "not on seat" because they can't "come and go and die;" those who rob, rape, raze, pillage,
<i>geo-social</i>	52.1	N	437 provisions while the 1999 Constitution is progressively amended. This Commission shall undertake a geoeconomic and geosocial path to geopolitical restructuring by creating geoeconomic frameworks, mending geosocial fault lines, and
<i>geo-strategic</i>	17.0	N	438 constitutional amendments. Not only does the output fall short of the geo-economic, geo-social, geo-political and geo-strategic elements of the pragmatic approach, there is no demonstration of the conviction or political gravitas required to see

Table 30: Words in the Investigated Sermons of PP2 Showing the strategy of *Neologism*

PP2 created the new lexical labels to capture new concepts as conceived by him to create special effects. The three instances of neologism in the Table 30 above can be divided into subjective (*filthlanthropy*) and objective (*geo-social* and *geo-strategic*) usages. *Filthlanthropy* is a deliberately corrupt form of the noun “philanthropy”. This was meant to mock the financial profligacy of corrupt and dysfunctional leaders. Of course, this would make the listeners perceive the excessive, self-tending spendings of the public fund by such leaders as being “filthy” and socially abhorrent. The adjectives *geo-social* and *geo-strategic* appeal to (what should be) the peculiar realities.

7.2.2.16 *Summary for PP2 CLA*

In terms of the relationship between the propaganda strategies of PP2 in CLA and CDA, there are five breakdowns; overall strategies found in CDA, overall strategies found in CLA, overall strategies found in both analyses (overlapping strategies), strategies found only in CDA (but not in CLA), and strategies found only in CLA (but not in CDA).

PP2 used twenty-three propaganda strategies (23.36%) in the five sermons analysed in CDA (see 7.2.3). CLA revealed sixteen strategies (16.25%) in the investigated sermons. Both CDA and CLA overlapped with fourteen strategies (14.22%) of analysis); namely, *Appeal to fear and prejudices*, *Audience predisposition*, *Bandwagonism*, *Card stacking*, *Doubt casting*, emotion activation, *Subversive rhetoric*, *Exaggeration*, *Flag-waving*, *Glittering generalisation*, neology, *Name Calling*, opinion leader, and *Plain Folking*. Nine strategies were found exclusively via CDA (i.e. not in CLA and constituting 9.14%); namely, black and white fallacy/dictatorship, *Emotional Stereotyping*, *Testimonial Endorsement*, *using of repetition*, *using of symbolic language*, *using thought terminating cliché*, *Conveying optimism*, using Rhetorical question and Unverifiable/unempirical spiritual information were not detected by CLA method. For a detailed explanation on why the CLA and could not pick these strategies (see 7.2.2). However, using CLA method, two additional strategies (not found in CDA and constituting 2.3%) were discovered from the existing strategies identified from literature and they include: *Casual oversimplification* and using *whataboutism*. This proves the fruitfulness of CLA (and of course, CDA) methods. Altogether, PP2 used a total number of twenty-five propagating strategies. Three out of these strategies were discovered within this study, while twenty-two are from the existing study list on table 2. The following are strategies that were not identified using CLA, even though some of them were identified using CDA.

The table below captures the distribution of the strategies across CDA and CLA.

Strategies	CDA	CLA
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Audience predisposition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Bandwagonism</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Casual oversimplification</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Doubt casting</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Emotion activation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Emotional stereotyping</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Employing subversive rhetoric</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Flag-waving</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Name calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Opinion leader</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Plain folking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Testimonial endorsement</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Repetition</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Symbolic Language</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Whataboutism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Rhetorical questioning</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Optimism</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND

<i>Neologism</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Unverifiable spiritual Information</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND

Table 31: Distribution of the Strategies as Found through CDA and CLA in PP2's Sermons.

As can be seen in the table above, there are two strategies discovered through CLA but that were not discovered in the CDA, and they are *Casual Oversimplification* and *Using of Whataboutism, Strawman and Herring*.

Some of the strategies not identified by CLA are mostly executed using grammatical words such as *and*, *either*, *if* and so on which indicate grammatical categorisations of co-ordination, subordination, correlation and conditional adjuncts which are not captured by the keywords list. This can only be verified using wordlist. Given the focus of the present research, I focus only on the keyword lists, which direct my focus to the lexical items. It must be acknowledged, though, that there remains room for exploration of the functional words.

In the following two subsections, I turn to the results of the two pastors that were classified as being non-political, based on the CDA results reported in Chapter 6. As with the political pastors, I explore the linguistic realisations of the discursive strategies employed by NPP3 and NPP4 to gain an understanding of how their linguistic choices may differ from, or be similar to those of the political pastors.

Based on the explanations provided under the CLA analysis of each strategy discovered, it can be concluded that PP2 used most of the strategies for his benefit, whether personal or for the group affiliation such as political party. Hence, NPP can be said to be propagating.

7.2.3 CLA of the language of NPP3

While the two political pastors' corpus constitute the first category of CLA, the two non-political pastors make up the second category. So, here is the first part of the second category (NPP3). In chapter 6 (i.e. the CDA of the four selected sermons for NPP3), I identified ten propaganda strategies used by this pastor; namely,

- *Prejudice*,
- *Audience predisposition*,
- *Card stacking*,
- *Exaggeration/minimisation*,
- *Symbolic transfer*,
- *Testimonial endorsement*,
- *Repetition*,
- *Symbolic Language*,
- *Rhetorical questioning*

Like I did for PP1 and PP2 above, in this section again, I used CLA to first verify where possible that these ten strategies were employed throughout this pastor's dataset (i.e. strategies frequently used by this pastor), and to determine if I can expand on my findings. Specifically, I first identify additional examples of the already identified strategies, and second, use a CLA to determine if any other strategies, beyond those identified in the CDA, are used by NPP3.

As stated before, I was able to identify some propaganda strategies that are relevant to the current study (see 3.3.4) in chapter 3. I explore data generated from the corpus of NPP3 using a keyword list extracted with Sketch Engine that serves as the basis for my investigation of language use. As I indicated before, the focus is on the Keywords as these are words or tokens that appear more frequently in the focus corpus than in the reference corpus. Words that are used frequently to associate or frame experiences in a particular way can convince people that share that experience. Keywords therefore give insight into the pastor's mechanisms to persuade. In Chapter 6, I noted that lexical items (nouns, adjectives, verbs) play a role in the emotional and persuasive impact of the discourse, while the functional or grammatical strategies outlined are central to NPP3's persuasive approach. The keywords list generated guides my focus, as for PP1 and PP2.

As before, the generated keyword list reveals a string of content words and hence my focus remains on the lexical choices that the pastor makes to manifest the propagation strategies (see again Table 2). Content words (namely, nouns, verbs and modifiers) are used to manifest these strategies on the grammatical level. I therefore look at the specific types and semantic categories of the nouns, verbs and modifiers the pastor uses. Again, I base my conclusions on an exploration of the entire dataset for the CLA investigation (using the generated keyword list), though I only report a snapshot of the top 50 keywords in the table below. The essence of doing this is to give room for a panoramic view of the corpus as made affordable in the addenda.

For NPP3, a total of 5,231 keywords were identified. I consider the first 1,035 as these are statistically significant with scores above the threshold level of 3.84 ($p < 0.05$). Following the table, I once again discuss the strategies one after another, with the intention of finding examples of keywords that project or replicate the strategy in focus.

Table 32 presents the first fifty words of the corpus of NPP3. This list mainly comprises of religious words, such as names of persons and places in the Bible and some other words whose semantics are religious based. This is an indication of what to expect in the rest of the keywords list for this pastor. Also, from the above it could be observed that this pastor is religiously minded, committed only to pastoral calling.

S/N	Item	Frequency focus corpus	Frequency reference corpus	Relative frequency focus	Relative frequency reference	score
1	<i>Balaam</i>	439	20896	3618.67871	0.3393	2702.67
2	<i>Balak</i>	166	7280	1368.33862	0.11821	1224.58
3	<i>Moab</i>	146	58793	1203.47852	0.95465	616.212
4	<i>Boaz</i>	101	25309	832.5434	0.41095	590.766
5	<i>Naomi</i>	164	205350	1351.85266	3.33436	312.123
6	<i>Elimelech</i>	24	4106	197.83209	0.06667	186.404
7	<i>Redeemer</i>	51	83650	420.39319	1.35826	178.688
8	<i>Kinsman</i>	39	51637	321.47714	0.83845	175.407
9	<i>Midian</i>	24	8554	197.83209	0.1389	174.583
10	<i>Ruth</i>	205	594924	1689.8158	9.66005	158.612
11	<i>Midianite</i>	20	5007	164.86008	0.0813	153.389
12	<i>Moabite</i>	18	7244	148.37407	0.11762	133.653
13	<i>Discipler</i>	16	1510	131.88806	0.02452	129.708
14	<i>Discipleship</i>	34	76749	280.26212	1.24621	125.216
15	<i>Diviner</i>	17	13207	140.13106	0.21445	116.21
16	<i>Judah</i>	51	166486	420.39319	2.70331	113.788
17	<i>Inheritance</i>	103	410603	849.02936	6.66715	110.866
18	<i>Tamar</i>	24	52690	197.83209	0.85555	107.155
19	<i>Thresh</i>	19	1	156.61707	0.58033	99.737
20	<i>Beor</i>	12	1448	98.91605	0.02351	97.621
21	<i>Donkey</i>	56	243860	461.60822	3.95967	93.274
22	<i>Baal</i>	20	50613	164.86008	0.82183	91.041
23	<i>Barefooted</i>	12	8665	98.91605	0.1407	87.592
24	<i>Divination</i>	20	56857	164.86008	0.92321	86.241
25	<i>Zippor</i>	10	247	82.43004	0.00401	83.097
26	<i>Sceptre</i>	14	25152	115.40205	0.4084	82.648
27	<i>Blessedness</i>	12	15553	98.91605	0.25254	79.771
28	<i>Wickedness</i>	22	83431	181.34608	1.35471	77.439
29	<i>Iniquity</i>	20	72810	164.86008	1.18225	76.004
30	<i>Anoint</i>	32	159378	263.77612	2.58789	73.797
31	<i>Barnabas</i>	16	50960	131.88806	0.82746	72.717
32	<i>Curse</i>	127	828283	1046.86145	13.44921	72.52
33	<i>Consecration</i>	19	72425	156.61707	1.176	72.434
34	<i>Phinehas</i>	9	4063	74.18703	0.06597	70.534
35	<i>Esau</i>	15	47750	123.64506	0.77534	70.209
36	<i>Crucify</i>	16	139745	214.3181	2.2691	65.865
37	<i>Mahlon</i>	8	5817	65.94403	0.09445	61.167
38	<i>Backslide</i>	10	24511	82.43004	0.398	59.678
39	<i>Disciple</i>	87	708898	717.1413	11.5107	57.402
40	<i>Perilous</i>	17	89833	140.13106	1.45866	57.402
41	<i>Immorality</i>	14	63548	115.40205	1.03186	57.288
42	<i>Harlotry</i>	7	2549	57.70103	0.04139	56.368
43	<i>Righteousness</i>	42	319623	346.20615	5.18986	56.093
44	<i>Antioch</i>	18	102446	148.37407	1.66346	56.083
45	<i>Soothsayer</i>	8	13255	65.94403	0.21523	55.088
46	<i>Accursed</i>	9	26164	74.18703	0.42484	52.769

47	<i>Bethlehem</i>	22	159426	181.34608	2.58867	50.812
48	<i>Peril</i>	30	239511	247.29012	3.88905	50.785
49	<i>Misbehaviour</i>	7	11311	57.70103	0.18366	49.593
50	<i>Lord</i>	540	5490184	4451.22217	89.14663	49.389

Table 32: The First 50 Keywords in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 and their Frequencies and Scores as Captured by Sketch Engine

The keyword list above guided me in confirming NPP3's use of at six propaganda strategies, namely:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Name calling,*
- *Testimonial endorsement,*
- *Repetition,* and
- *Symbolic language.*

Once again, I will examine each of the identified strategies using the keyword list and illustrate them with examples from the corpus. I explore this further in relation to each of the discursive strategies identified for NPP3 in the CDA.

7.2.3.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

In CDA section in chapter 6 (see section 6.3.1.1), I identified and discussed the use of *Appeal to fear and prejudice*. In this CLA section, I report lexical items that indicate the use of *Appeal to fear and prejudice* in Table 7.30 below.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Peril</i>	50.8	N	439 of death. put that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead. He delivered us from such a deadly peril, and he will deliver us. On him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again 2Cor. 1:8-10 always carrying in the body
<i>Perilous</i>	57.4	Adj	440 going to believe God that we will not die prematurely, but the truth of the matter is that living the Christ-life in these perilous days, may cost our lives. The very call that Jesus placed on our lives in Luke 17:33 is that: if any man loves to preserve
<i>Perish</i>	44.5	V	441 he was a friend of God. He dwelt under the canopy of that godly man but did not carry anything of his grace. We are doomed to perish as long as this God remains faithful. And are you saying, forever He will keep this covenant with the children of Israel?

Table 33: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 showing *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

From the table above, the words “peril”, “perilous” and “perish” were used to create fear in the minds of the listeners. In these instances, however, the pastor was aiming to tend the listeners towards God (and not towards himself, as was the case with PP2, for example), rather than towards himself. This, of course, is a major distinguishing feature of persuasive communications rather than propaganda.

7.2.3.2 Card stacking

Card stacking was identified in CDA section. Likewise, in CLA, two instances of *Card stacking* were identified as highlighted and explained below.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Pharaoh's</i>	10.8	Adj	442 <i>could not be anything less than a ruler anywhere he was thrown. Whether in Potiphar's house, in the prison cell or in the Pharaoh's palace, he emerged as the ruler he was destined to be. What you see in me that has drawn you here is just the crumbs that fell</i>
<i>Plumb</i>	11.3	N	443 <i>They use their plumb at each point to ensure the same level, the straight line and symmetry.</i>

Table 34: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 Showing *Card stacking*

Pharaoh is a general title for Egyptian monarchs, a well-known historical fact. Other Biblically based factual lexical items that co-occur with *Pharaoh* in the example above are *Potiphar*, *prison cell* and *palace*. The pastor leveraged on the Biblical cum historical fact woven together by these words to underscore the feats that are within the reach of every Christian. The rendition of this historical fact emphasises the need for Christians to rise to their God-ordained responsibility of ensuring a prosperous world wherever they find themselves. Needless to say, the congregation was well acquainted with the Biblical story that is being put forward here; hence, the expected persuasive force of the point being made by the pastor.

From a biblical context, the pastor employed a more general fact accessible to all members of the congregation, even those who might not be very conversant with the biblical story referenced in the first example. Now, the pastor used a well-known masonry process to drive home his point that they are being built into some predetermined personality and, as such, must trust the superior wisdom of the builder, who is God.

7.2.3.3 Name calling

The following instances of *Name calling* strategy were found in the corpus of NPP3.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Madness</i>	15.8	N	444 <i>I would also have killed you by now, and let her live."</i> <i>Num.22:28-33 The Lord opened the mouth of the donkey to rebuke the madness of the prophet. In a humble and passionate way, the donkey spoke in human words... It was like saying, what have I done to</i>
<i>Soothsayer</i>	55.1	N	445 <i>. It also may not have bothered his heart that he had exchanged a glorious ministry of hearing God for becoming a mere soothsayer . Several men there are today, who have also abandoned the right way and have gone on this 'way of Balaam'. They are mere</i>
<i>Foolishness</i>	45.9	N	446 <i>He appeared hypnotized, mad or drunk with this foolishness ; and God wondered what Balaam wanted to exchange his place in God with. Nothing short of a drastic drama would call him to</i>
<i>Wickedness</i>	77.4	N	447 <i>the straight road they have gone astray; they have followed the wag of Balaam [the son] of Beor, who loved the reward of wickedness ." 2Pet 2: 15 (AMP) There is a straight road of walking with God and of getting support for the ministry and for our lives.</i>
<i>Greed</i>	33.4	Adj	448 <i>money. The promise of Balak to honour him and to give him the rewards of divination overtook him. Balaam went in the way of greed to the extent that he 'compelled' God to grant him permission to go on a trip that He had expressly warned him against!</i>
<i>Rottenness</i>	8.7	N	449 <i>the ICT, Education, and all the areas of human endeavor The gospel that saves and delivers a man from the flesh and all the rottenness of the lust of the flesh, the gospel that replaces the old nature with Christ life, as the treasure within the earthen</i>
<i>Myopic</i>	10.5	Adj	450 <i>heart of Esau. "This right of redemption will only impair my immediate inheritance so why should I cling to it" was the myopic consideration of this nearer kinsman. He gave out his right of redemption along with his shoes and bowed out in shame.</i>
<i>Spuriousness</i>	9.2	N	451 <i>. The phrase, 'built up' indicates deliberateness, cumulativeness, progressiveness and purposefulness as against spuriousness . You could have many single building blocks scattered all over the place. But they never become a building until they</i>

Table 35: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 showing *Name calling*

The above lexical items were employed to discredit or show some displeasure in the character of those the pastor was addressing or some biblical characters by using negatively connoting words. For example, whereas the descriptive nouns “madness” and “foolishness” were used to describe the insensitivity of the Biblical character Baalam, the adjective “myopic” was used to characterise the Biblical personae Esau, who lost his birthright by lack of foresight.

7.2.3.4 Testimonial endorsement

Presented in the table that follows is an instance of *Testimonial endorsement* as discovered by CLA.

Item	Score	Word Class	Example from Focus
<i>Dung</i>	11.3	N	452 <i>Paul counted everything as mere dung if he might gain Christ.</i>

Table 36: Words in the investigated sermons of NPP3 showing *Testimonial Endorsement*

The pastor, in 452 above, resorted to the statement of a Biblical character well-known to the congregation (the Apostle Paul) to back up his point about the ephemerality or the inconsequentiality of material possession in relation to the blessedness of having Christ. The congregation’s knowledge that such a respected character in the universal Christian world held this view during his lifetime would help the pastor pass his message successfully to them.

7.2.3.5 Repetition

In CDA, repetition strategy was identified. Below are instances of the use of the repetition strategy CLA.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Blessed</i>	33.5	Adj	453 <i>...that if he was given the right challenge to make a turnaround of his own life, he would have asked, "How can I belong to this blessed people?" Balaam could have led him to make a definite decision for the God of Israel.</i>
<i>Blessedness</i>	79.8	N	454 <i>go to see a man of God, you must pay a fee. Balaam had so much knowledge of God and the way of righteousness that he knew the blessedness of the righteous. He would speak with such candour of the preciousness of the death of the righteous in the eyes of God and</i>
<i>Saviour</i>	18.4	N	455 <i>! Mine must not be less. Have you resolved to follow Him come what may? Is there anything that has come between you and the Saviour ? Are you ready to cleave unto the Man of Calvary as Ruth did? As for me, this is my own cry to the Lord: O Lord, this is what I</i>

<i>Redeemer</i>	178.7	N	456 <i>of Mahlon; I am now married to the invisible God of Israel. He is my Redeemer-husband now. " Ruth indeed was married to the Redeemer before meeting the kinsman redeemer in Boaz. Ruth was thorough with her decision. She thought it through in every</i>

Table 37: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 featuring in Repetition

Although the words *blessed* (past participle form of the verb *bless* but performing the grammatical function of an adjective in the example) and *blessedness* (the nominalised form) belong to different grammatical classes, they both have the same semantic core derived from the stem *bless*. Indeed, Thompson (2014: 216) has affirmed that repetition, as a resource for textual cohesion is “understood to include repetition of meaning not just of words...”. Therefore, the two words in question create a network of lexico-semantic repetition. Likewise, *Saviour* and *Redeemer* in the table above, not sharing any formal (orthographic) similarity, activate semantic repetition. This performs the textual metafunction of enabling cohesion within the text. Such cohesion will doubtless enable the textual *smoothness* that can imperceptibly aid persuasion in the listeners.

7.2.3.6 Symbolic language

In CDA, *Symbolic language* strategy was identified as one of the strategies employed by NPP3. Below are instances of the use of symbolic language strategy as detected in the CLA.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples of corpus
<i>Inheritance</i>	110.9	N	457 <i>entered their inheritance. Jethro played a great role in helping Moses, yet he would not accept to have a share in the inheritance of the children of Israel even though they urged him to come along. He preferred to remain in his own land allotted to him</i>
<i>Life-light</i>	42.2	N	458 <i>has capacity to bring darkness down and make you a light unto the people that sits in the region of darkness. If this life-light is not flowing out and shining forth, you may shout or even preach hard, it will not affect men who are bound in darkness</i>
<i>Altars</i>	44.5	N	459 <i>eyes open. I believe that Balaam knew the ways of God so much that God found it easy to commune with him. He knew how to build altars and call on the name of the Lord. If he pronounced a curse on anyone with a right and justifiable cause, such a person would</i>

Table 38: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP3 Showing Symbolic Language

The following words are metaphorically used in the corpus: “*inheritance*” (eternal life), “*altar*” (used to symbolise prayer life), *life-light* (used to symbolise Jesus), *root* (a strong foundation).

Such symbolic language creates special effects for the concepts or personality (e.g. prayer life) being represented by bringing in the qualities of the symbols (e.g. altar) to bear on them (i.e. the concepts being represented).

7.2.3.7 Summary for NPP3 CLA

Unlike in the previous political pastors' sermons, the realities of strategies discovered in CLA in relation to CDA are four. First, there are strategies found in CDA. Second, there are strategies found in CLA. Furthermore, there are strategies found in both CDA and CLA (i.e. overlapping). Then, there are those strategies found exclusively in CDA, but which were not discovered by the CLA. There is no new strategy found via CLA. The number of the propagating strategies identified in the investigated sermons of NPP3 via CLA in relation to those identified in CDA can be tabulated as below.

Strategies	CDA	CLA
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Audience predisposition</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Name Calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Testimonial Endorsement</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using Repetition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using of Symbolic Language</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Rhetorical question</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND

Table 39: Distribution of the Strategies as Found through CDA and CLA in NPP3's Sermons.

Table 39 above shows that CDA method found ten strategies in the sermons of NPP3 while six out of these were found in CLA. Since CLA did not discover any exclusive strategy (i.e. such as is not in CDA), the strategies in CDA and CLA overlapped with six; namely, *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, *Card stacking*, *Name Calling*, *Using Repetition*, *Testimonial endorsement* and symbolic language. The remaining four were found only in CDA, and they are *Audience predisposition*, *Exaggeration/minimisation*, *Symbolic transfer*, and *Rhetorical question* strategies. These strategies were not visible to CLA because most of them (if not all) are only identifiable in a sentence stretch and not in single or multi word base. That the breakdown here are not mathematically the same as the preceding political pastors can be suggestive of a major difference in communication motive (propaganda or persuasive). The following propaganda strategies were unidentified using CLA:

- *Audience predisposition*
- *Bandwagonism*
- *Black and white/ dictatorship*
- *Casual oversimplification*

- *Doubt casting*
- *Emotion activation*
- *Emotional stereotyping*
- *Subversive rhetoric*
- *Exaggeration*

Given that NPP3, as has been seen in the explanations provided in the CLA, did not call for actions from which he was to derive a personal benefit, his strategies were mainly to persuade and not to propagate. This also testifies to his non-political posture.

7.2.4 CLA of the language use of NPP4

NPP4 is the last sub corpus for the CLA section. In chapter 6 through the CDA of the five selected sermons for NPP4, I identified twelve propaganda strategies used by this pastor namely,

- *Bandwagonism,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Exaggeration/minimisation,*
- *Flag-waving,*
- *Glittering generalisation,*
- *Name Calling,*
- *Symbolic transfer,*
- *Testimonial endorsement,*
- *Repetition,*
- *Symbolic language,*
- *Thought-terminating cliché,* and
- *Rhetorical questioning.*

Like I did for PP1, PP2 and NPP3 above, in this section again, I report results of the CLA to first verify where possible that these twelve strategies are employed throughout this preacher's dataset (i.e. strategies frequently used by this pastor), and to expand on my findings. Specifically, I firstly identify additional examples of the identified strategies (see 3.4.4) , and second, use a CLA to determine if any other strategies, beyond those identified in the CDA, are used by NPP3.

In this section, I report on the results of the CLA for NPP4 using a keyword list generated through Sketch Engine. For NPP4, a total of 6,827 keywords were extracted. Of these, 1,118 are statistically significant at the threshold level of 3.84 ($p < 0.05$). I present a snapshot of these results below by reporting the top 50 keywords in the table. This gives a panoramic view of the corpus. The top 500 keywords are presented in the addenda. Following these results, I explore each strategy in view of the total corpus with the intention of finding examples of lexical words that project or replicate the strategy in focus from the keyword list

S/N	Item	Frequency focus	Frequency reference	Relative frequency focus	Relative frequency reference	Scores
1	<i>Yahweh</i>	49	132130	447.30069	2.14546	142.523
2	<i>Cbcn</i>	15	330	136.92877	0.00536	137.194
3	<i>Zacchaeus</i>	16	8233	146.05736	0.13368	129.716
4	<i>Nigeria</i>	238	974009	2172.60327	15.81543	129.262
5	<i>Nigerian</i>	126	495987	1150.20178	8.05357	127.154
6	<i>Herod</i>	30	81630	273.85754	1.32546	118.195
7	<i>Chibok</i>	14	7447	127.80019	0.12092	114.906
8	<i>Secam</i>	13	4519	118.67161	0.07338	111.491
9	<i>Boko</i>	27	80511	246.4718	1.30729	107.256
10	<i>Alleluia</i>	15	18021	136.92877	0.29262	106.705
11	<i>Lent</i>	29	100831	264.72897	1.63724	100.76
12	<i>Haram</i>	27	98684	246.4718	1.60238	95.095
13	<i>Nineveh</i>	15	32577	136.92877	0.52897	90.21
14	<i>Bartimaeus</i>	10	5075	91.28585	0.08241	85.26
15	<i>Synod</i>	37	184484	337.75766	2.99555	84.784
16	<i>Merciful</i>	24	102200	219.08604	1.65947	82.756
17	<i>Mercy</i>	137	870543	1250.61621	14.1354	82.695
18	<i>Psalmist</i>	14	35724	127.80019	0.58007	81.516
16	<i>Catechism</i>	17	71064	155.18594	1.1539	72.513
17	<i>Herodias</i>	8	4850	73.02868	0.07875	68.624
18	<i>evangelisation</i>	8	5988	73.02868	0.09723	67.469
19	<i>Ibadan</i>	10	25631	91.28585	0.41618	65.165
20	<i>Onayekan</i>	7	16	63.9001	0.00026	64.883
21	<i>Pope</i>	133	1121694	1214.10181	18.21346	63.242
22	<i>Holiness</i>	30	220013	273.85754	3.57245	60.112
23	<i>Jonah</i>	22	146089	200.82887	2.37211	59.852
24	<i>anti-life</i>	7	5968	63.9001	0.09691	59.167
25	<i>Sanctity</i>	15	84392	136.92877	1.37031	58.19
26	<i>Kingship</i>	10	39879	91.28585	0.64753	56.015
27	<i>Jubilee</i>	28	222205	255.60039	3.60804	55.685
28	<i>Admonish</i>	14	81533	127.80019	1.32389	55.424
29	<i>godlessness</i>	6	3642	54.77151	0.05914	52.658
30	<i>Indifference</i>	21	166805	191.70029	2.70849	51.962
31	<i>Lenten</i>	8	29404	73.02868	0.47745	50.106
32	<i>Christendom</i>	10	53566	91.28585	0.86978	49.357
33	<i>Abuja</i>	12	77060	109.54302	1.25126	49.103
34	<i>Prodigal</i>	9	44723	82.15726	0.72619	48.174
35	<i>Jesus</i>	402	4824857	3669.69116	78.34341	46.263
36	<i>Insurgency</i>	16	135827	146.05736	2.20549	45.877
37	<i>Goodluck</i>	7	28139	63.9001	0.45691	44.547
38	<i>Oyo</i>	7	28362	63.9001	0.46053	44.436
39	<i>Exalt</i>	14	117984	127.80019	1.91576	44.174
40	<i>pro-life</i>	16	147382	146.05736	2.39311	43.34
41	<i>Liturgical</i>	14	122440	127.80019	1.98811	43.104
42	<i>Likeness</i>	16	149152	146.05736	2.42185	42.976
43	<i>Solemnity</i>	7	33723	63.9001	0.54758	41.937

44	<i>Jettison</i>	8	48738	73.02868	0.79138	41.325
45	<i>Indiscipline</i>	5	9729	45.64293	0.15797	40.28
46	<i>Homily</i>	8	53728	73.02868	0.87241	39.537
47	<i>Woe</i>	22	257306	200.82887	4.178	38.978
48	<i>Pilate</i>	10	85259	91.28585	1.38439	38.704
49	<i>Magi</i>	7	43359	63.9001	0.70404	38.086
50	<i>Canticle</i>	5	14653	45.64293	0.23793	37.678
50	<i>Canticle</i>	5	14653	45.64293	0.23793	37.678

Table 40: The First 50 Keywords in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 and their Frequencies and Scores as Captured by Sketch Engine

Table 40 presents the first fifty words of the corpus of NPP4's sermons. This list mainly comprises religious and social-political words. This is an indication of what we can expect to see in the rest of the keywords list for this pastor. Also, from the above, it could be observed that this pastor is both religiously and politically minded. This is because in the table above, words relating to religion are about twenty-six namely (e.g. *Yahweh Psalmist, mercy, merciful*) out of fifty words. The remaining words such (e.g. *Nigeria, Nigerian, boko haram, Chibok, Ibadan*) are socio-politically in reference.

The keyword list above guided me in confirming PP2's use of six propaganda strategies, namely:

- *Appeal to fear and prejudice,*
- *Card stacking,*
- *Name calling,*
- *Testimonial endorsement*
- *Repetition, and*
- *Symbolic language.*

As with the CLA of the other pastor's keyword lists, I will examine each of the identified strategies using the keyword list and illustrate them with examples from the corpus.

7.2.4.1 *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

Using CDA method, I could not find *Appeal to fear and prejudice* instance of use both at sentence and word level. However, using CLA methods, I was able to identify some lexical words that projects fear and some prejudices. Below are such words.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from the corpus
<i>Chibok</i>	114.9	N	460 , Chibok could have been avoided. Just Perhaps! Crashing from the High Horse The abduction of over 200 Nigerian girls at Chibok by the murderous Boko Haram blew our cover and brought us to our sinful, self-conceited knees. All of a sudden our doors,
<i>Boko haram</i>	107.3	N	461 upped its violence towards the elimination of Christians in the North East as has been recently reported. Last week, Boko Haram took over the Catholic Church, the parish rectory and the homes of many Christians in Madagali, Adamawa State.
<i>Murderous</i>	22.0	Adj	462 have been avoided. Just Perhaps! Crashing from the High Horse The abduction of over 200 Nigerian girls at Chibok by the murderous Boko Haram blew our cover and brought us to our sinful, self-conceited knees. All of a sudden our doors, formerly sealed
<i>Kidnapping</i>	17.5	N	463 human beings. He spoke of forced labour, slave labour, forced prostitution, trafficking of people for organ sales and kidnapping by terrorists especially the use of victims as sex slaves, sold several times over and even eventually killed. He
<i>Abduction</i>	16.3	N	464 left home on Easter Sunday, when our nation was still reeling under the tragic news of the first Nyanya bomb blast and the abduction of as yet unknown number of girl students in Borno state. Since my arrival here in Rome, we have heard of another Nyanya
<i>Fulani (Herdsmen)</i>	13.956	N	465 Far too many lives are daily brutally wasted today in the country. Terror, religion-related killings, alleged Fulani herdsmen rampage, kidnapping, armed robbery, mob killings and other murderous activities seem to occur weekly and do not seem

Table 41: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing *Appeal to fear and prejudice*

The words listed in Table 41 above were meant to elicit some sense of fear and horror in the minds of the listeners. There is the thread of insecurity that connects all the words together in the Nigerian sociopolitical context. Both *Boko Haram* and *Fulani Herdsmen* are each a group of people who have been known to foment trouble in the country with the former being responsible for the infamous *kidnapping/abduction* of schoolgirls in the town *Chibok*, north-west Nigeria. Of course, both groups have become associated with the afore-mentioned insecurity experiences. Perhaps, the most fear-invoking word that capture the end of these groups' nefarious activities is *murderous*, with its manner of use capable of sending fearful wave down the spines of the listeners so they could see the Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen as indeed antithetical organisations they are.

7.2.4.2 Card stacking

In CDA, *Card stacking* strategy was identified and discussed. Below are the instances of *Card stacking* examples for CLA

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Insurgency</i>	45.9	N	466 land. More damning allegations have emerged that powerful government organs and officials are behind the Boko Haram insurgency and are responsible for the scandalous mess-up of the recovery of the Chibok girls. That the Federal government seems
<i>Nepotism</i>	12.4	N	467 to craft a better country where truth and justice will reign. This can only happen if we all reject using favouritism, nepotism tribalism and sectionalism as yardstick for day-to-day interactions. We must all pay this price otherwise there will
<i>Lamentable</i>	21.3	Adj	468 manoeuvres to redefine marriage in order to include 'same sex marriage'. We wish to state that this is a sad, unjust and lamentable situation based largely upon a distorted perception of natural law, the will of God and human nature". Pressure
<i>Injustice</i>	20.8	N	469 when serious hurt has been inflicted and great injustice perpetrated, it is natural to feel deeply aggrieved and even angry. But the effort still needs to be made to look at

Table 42: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing *Card stacking*

From the contextual examples above, using the noun *insurgency*, NPP4 is making some statements that could either be true or not. But whether it is true or not, the pastor's aim was to propagate his belief about the security situation. The obvious is that his audience are likely to share his views as their spiritual father. He also through the noun *lamentable* express his displeasure or opinion about same sex marriage. Furthermore, the disapproving concept *nepotism* is such that has become generally accepted as one of the banes of the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria. This becomes an easily sellable point considering the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of the Nigerian society where, if there is no proper policy implementation, public office holders can be carried away by the ethno-religious affiliation. NPP4 built on this information to project his view about Nigeria. NPP4 also decried a related word *injustice* which is as true in relation to Nigeria as the concept captured by *nepotism*. What is common across all the instances of *Card stacking* is that they all depict disapproving concepts which the audience can easily relate with.

7.2.4.3 Casual oversimplification

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, the use of *Casual oversimplification* was not found. However, using CLA, an instance of *Casual oversimplification* is found. See below

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Goodluck</i>	44.5	N	470 This kind of goodluck is indeed what we need in Nigeria today for a smooth transition and maturation of democracy. If Nigerians did not think

Table 43: An Instance of *Casual oversimplification* in the investigated sermons of NPP4

NPP4 engaged in play on the word *goodluck* which, while it was used as an abstract noun, the context of its use also strongly suggests an implied reference to the then immediate former president of Nigeria whose name is “Goodluck” and whom Nigerians were beginning to develop nostalgic feeling for after some unprecedented economic and security upheavals. Meanwhile, by using the noun as an abstract noun, the pastor was not apparently liable to any political persecution for discrediting the then current administration by calling for the previous one. The *Casual oversimplification*, however, lies in the fact that the pastor was presenting a particular view as being the solution to the national problem without considering the possibility of other likely solution. Thus, the listeners were meant to be *blind* to other possible solutions except the one offered by the pastor.

7.2.4.4 Emotion activation

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA emotion activation strategy was not used. However, in the larger data set in the CLA the use of this strategy was confirmed, as reported in Table 44.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from the corpus
<i>Lament</i>	21.3	V	471 That is why we need a Nigeria Remembrance Day, an opportunity to lament our faults and repent as we live like exiles in our own country. It could do a lot of good for us to sing our own sorrowful
<i>Lamentable</i>	21.3	Adj	472 manoeuvres to redefine marriage in order to include 'same sex marriage'. We wish to state that this is a sad, unjust and lamentable situation based largely upon a distorted perception of natural law, the will of God and human nature". Pressure
<i>Helplessness</i>	14.1	N	473 How else can we cope with the incomprehensible killings around us? How do we interpret the apparent helplessness and in some cases apathy of our leaders to

			terrorism, corruption and indiscipline in high places? How do we take in the

Table 44: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing Emotion activation

The verb *lament* in the corpus also co-occurs with its adjective counterpart *lamentable* both referring to the situation of the country Nigeria. By using the verb *lament* and its adjectivisation *lamentable*, the pastor has not only created a textual network but has also enacted the ideational metafunction since the verb *lament* shows a behavioural process (a verb showing a physical action that mirrors a mental state (Thompson 2014: 109)). In the second example, the pastor also uses the noun helplessness to show the vulnerability of the citizen to bad leadership, thus presenting the leaders as ruthless.

7.2.4.5 Glittering generalisation

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, *Glittering generalisation* was identified and discussed. Here in the CLA section also, *Glittering generalisation* strategy was equally found and is presented below

Item	Score	Word class	Example from the corpus
<i>Courageous</i>	26.2	Adv	474 that the criminal sect is as much an embarrassment to many good Muslims as they are to good Christians. We have heard courageous condemnation of the sect from top Nigerians Christians and fortunately from notable Muslims. Perhaps a more eloquent
<i>Eloquently</i>	13.2	Adv	475 , the activities of Pro-life and Pro-family groups and sympathetic media organisations, Africans have eloquently established that the continent is ready to step forward and offer the world her rich appreciation of family life and the

Table 45: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing Glittering generalisation

The adverb *courageous* is used here by the pastor to commend Christians who were brave enough to speak up against the terrorist sect harassing the country. What this strategy was intended to achieve was to encourage others to keep speaking against the perpetrators of insecurity. By commending such an act with a superlatively approving word, the pastor was implicitly arousing the minds of those (among his listeners) who might have sat idly and fearfully in silence in the face of the insecurity plaguing the country. On the other hand, the adverb “eloquently” also used to commend Africans.

7.2.4.6 Neologism

This is strategy was not found in the six sermons of NNP4 investigated via CDA approach, Here in CLA the following are the use of Neologism in NPP4

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>thanks-grumbling</i>	19.3	N	476 They celebrate what I call the harvest of " thanks-grumbling ". They are perennially dissatisfied with their life situation, complaining and grumbling to God:
<i>thanks-getting</i>	19.3	N	477 In other words, the harvest of thanksgiving has now practically become a "harvest of thanks-taking" or " thanks-getting ", so to speak, to receive something from God. It demonstrates indeed a diminished sense of appreciation to God when the
<i>prayer-jamborees</i>	10.129	N	478 New prayer-related terminologies have emerged as well. Prayer-preneurs, prayer-warriors, prayer-jammers and prayer-jamborees , "storm the heavens", "bombard God with prayers" and continue to update the prayer lexicon of our time. I once read an

Table 46: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing *Neologism*

The terms above are the creation of NPP4, capturing spiritual services done in manners considered by him to be wrong. Creation of new terminologies suggests the pastor found no appropriate terms to describe these spiritual abnormalities, thus presenting the perpetrators as wild and unnatural. For example, a common term for a special occasion to appreciate God is *thanksgiving*. But the pastor created *thanks-grumbling* to describe the practice of not being grateful for the goodness of life and offering thanks to God unwillingly.

7.2.4.7 Name calling

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, *Name calling* was identified and discussed. Here in the CLA section, name-calling was identified as presented below

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Murderous</i>	22.0	Adj	479 have been avoided. Just Perhaps! Crashing from the High Horse The abduction of over 200Nigerian girls at Chibok by the murderous Boko Haram blew our cover and brought us to our sinful, self-conceited knees. All of a sudden our doors, formerly sealed
<i>Selfish</i>	24.8	Adj	480 succinctly: "As long as I am relatively healthy and comfortable. I don't think about those less well-off. Today, this selfish attitude of indifference has taken on

			global proportions, to the extent that we can speak of a globalisation of
Cowardice	19.5	N	481 down and some Muslims are said to be pointing out the Christians among them to be executed or conscripted into Islam. Of cowardice and weak authority In all this our leaders' attitude reminds us of Herod in the times of John the Baptist. That fellow was
Greed	17.8	V	482 for the return of the Chibok girls increase in momentum we Nigerians would also do well to march against our personal greed , superstition and laziness, against religious fanaticism and do-or-die politics our country. We would do well to

Table 47: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing *Name Calling*

This table above consists of words that can be taken as name-calling. Indeed, labels like *cowardice*, *selfish*, *murderous*, and *greed* designate the persons being addressed in negative way. What is, however, worth noting here is that they were not used in a manner that amounts to propaganda. Boko Haram terrorist group, for example, is internationally known its savagery (Forest 2012: 1; Wariboko 2016: 3). Therefore, the pastor's designation the activities of such an organisation as *murderous* does not pass for propaganda, as the pastor had nothing personal to benefit from such an expression.

7.2.4.8 Opinion leader

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, no instance opinion leader strategy was identified. In the CLA section, however, opinion leader strategy was identified and presented below.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
John cardinal Onayekan	64.9	N	483 The Voice in Ramah John Cardinal Onayekan , Catholic archbishop of Abuja, is an apostle of peace. His commitment to inter religious dialogue and harmony is
Malala	21.816	N	484 way would gladly echo Papal messages to galvanise young people to fight for a better world and would point out Malala as a model to emulate. At the 17th World Youth Day of 2002, Saint John Paul II said to the youth of the world: "Dear young

Table 48: Words in the Investigated Sermons of NPP4 showing *Opinion Leaders*

John Cardinal Onayekan is a respected priest in the Catholic Faith both in Nigeria and in diaspora. The pastor, as revealed in Table 48 above, referenced the priest in question (i.e. Cardinal John Onayekan) in order to give credence to his sermon before his congregants. NPP4 transcended the

local Nigerian setting in his use of *opinion leaders* by approving reference to such an international figure as *Malala*.

7.2.4.9 Testimonial Endorsement

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, *Testimonial endorsement* strategy was identified and discussed. Here in CLA still, I discovered an instance of this strategy as presented in the table below.

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Bloodshed</i>	18.9	V	485 Reverend Gabriel Leke Abegunrin, at a Press Conference before the event said: "The present situation of continual bloodshed due to wanton killing, terrorism, inter-ethnic conflicts, ritual killing, armed robbery, murders, traffic

Table 49: An instance of *Testimonial endorsement* in the investigated Sermons of NPP4

The noun *bloodshed* serves as a pointer that led to the discovery of the testimonial strategy in the above example. This is because the word “bloodshed” occurred as part of the quoted example by NPP4 from another pastor, whose pedigree the pastor was implicitly using to support his own projected view.

7.2.4.10 Using of repetition

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, using of repetition was identified and discussed. Additionally, two instances were discovered in CLA. Below are examples of these instances.

Item	Score	Word class	Example from corpus
<i>Christ</i>	24.7	N	486 Church, every 34th Sunday of the liturgical year, formally celebrates Solemnity (eminently special day) of Christ , King of the Universe. It is the Sunday that closes the official Liturgical Christian year before the beginning of
<i>Saviour</i>	30.4	N	487 YOUR PRIORITIES Throes of expectation Advent is a two-sided reality. On one side is the period of the expectation of the saviour and author of our redemption. That side is proclaimed by John the Baptist, the voice crying out in the wilderness which
<i>Womb</i>	31.0	N	488 When the womb of life is turned into the tomb of death by the very custodian of the womb then there can be no limit to violence in society.

Table 50: Words in the investigated sermons of NPP4 featuring *Repetition*

The repetition here is in the fact that the two instances in the table above, *Christ* and *Saviour* refer to the same personality. Certainly, such a repetition as this provides cohesion for the text and serves

as a further proof to its Christian religion base. We may add that it links back to the non-political posture of both NPP3 and NPP4 (or at least overlap in being non-political) as the word *Saviour* equally featured in the strategy of *repetition* in the corpus of NNP3 (see 7.2.3.5 above). The word *womb* was also repeated for emphasis by NPP4. Since, it was used figuratively, its import receives attention under the strategy of *using of symbolic language* in 7.2.4.11 below.

7.2.4.11 Symbolic language

In the six sermons of NPP4 for CDA, *Symbolic language* was identified and discussed. Here also at the CLA level using of symbolic is identified and discussed below

Item	Score	Word class	Examples from corpus
<i>Womb</i>	31.0	N	489 When the womb of life is turned into the tomb of death by the very custodian of the womb then there can be no limit to violence in society.

Table 51: An instance of *Symbolic language* in the investigated sermons of NPP4

The word *womb* in Table 51 above is a connotative term for a place of protection and security. It has to do with the government to which authority has been putatively submitted. The expression therefore is a metaphor.

7.2.4.12 Summary for NPP4 CLA

Like PP1 and PP2 (and unlike NPP3), there are five realities in terms of the relationship between the propaganda strategies of NPP4 in CLA and CDA; namely, overall strategies found in CDA, overall strategies found in CLA, overall strategies found in both analyses (overlapping strategies), strategies found only in CDA (but not in CLA), and strategies found only in CLA (but not in CDA). The table that follows captures these realities.

Strategies	CDA	CLA
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Bandwagonism</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Casual Oversimplification</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Emotion activation</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Flag-waving</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Name Calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Opinion Leader</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Testimonial Endorsement</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using Repetition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Using of Symbolic Language</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND

Using of <i>Thought-terminating cliché</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Rhetorical question</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Neologism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND

Table 52: Distribution of the Strategies as Found through CDA and CLA in NPP4's

Table 52 above reveals that the CDA method yielded ten strategies while the CLA produced eleven. The two strategies overlapped with six strategies. In other words, out of the ten strategies identified with CDA, six were found in CLA. Consequently, four strategies were identified in CDA that were not discovered by CLA (CDA Exclusive). Conversely, there were five strategies found in CLA that were not yielded in CDA (CLA Exclusive). The proximity of NPP4 pattern in this regard to the political pastors may be a subtle signal of some degree of political consciousness we have seen in his data. It does appear, therefore, that the more politically conscious a pastor is, the more likely the feature of propaganda in his sermons.

7.3 Conclusion

So far, this chapter has attempted to use CLA to verify, and where possible, expand the earlier findings of the CDA component that was carried out exclusively in chapter 6. Each of the sectional summaries has revealed the findings for each pastor. For clear understanding, different dimensions of the quantitative relationship between the findings of the two methods (Namely, CDA and CLA) were graphically represented for each pastor. The main finding in this study is that PP1 and PP2 are more politically conscious than NPP3 and NPP4. As a result, they employed more strategies than NPP3 and NPP4. However, NPP4 had some political overlap with PP1 and PP2, unlike NPP3, which showed no trace of any political commitment in its sermons. From the findings, this study has proven that CDA yields more result for this type of study than the CLA because CDA findings produced more strategies than the CLA.

As was done in section 6.4 for CDA in the previous chapter, the distribution of the strategies across the sermons of the four pastors as revealed through CLA is captured in the table below:

Strategies/Pastors	PP1	PP2	NPP3	NPP4
<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Audience predisposition</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Bandwagonism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Card stacking</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Casual oversimplification</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Doubt casting</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Emotion activation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Emotional stereotyping</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Subversive rhetoric</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND

<i>Flag-waving</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Glittering generalisation</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Maintaining control over communication</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Name Calling</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Opinion leader</i>	+FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Plain folking</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Questioning credibility of source</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Testimonial endorsement</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Repetition</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Symbolic language</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Thought-terminating cliché</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Whataboutism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Rhetorical questioning</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Pre-emptive move</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Optimism</i>	+FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Neologism</i>	-FOUND	+FOUND	-FOUND	+FOUND
<i>Unverifiable spiritual information</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
<i>Slogan</i>	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND	-FOUND
TOTAL	10	15	6	11

Table 53: Distribution of the overall strategies as found across the four pastors' sermons with CLA

From Table 53 above, it is evident, like it was with CDA, that the propaganda strategies were not evenly distributed across the sermons of the four pastors. Three strategies cut across the four pastors: namely, *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, *Card stacking*, and *Name Calling*. We may again here reference the divergence in the reasons for the deployment of each of these three strategies by the four pastors. Whereas the political pastors stacked accurate pieces of information from either political or statistical source, the non-political pastors largely sourced their information from the Bible. *Name calling* in the sermons of PP's targeted personal enemies of the pastors but in the sermons of their non-political pastors, the targets were impersonal (somewhat abstracted) individuals. What all these amounts to is that the political pastors were indeed propagating while the non-political pastors were, in comparison, out to persuade their audiences. The former had political gains they eyed but not so with the latter.

Apart from *Testimonial endorsement* (which Sketch Engine picked up in the sermons of the non-political pastors but did not find in the sermons of their political counterparts), there was no other instance of a strategy used by the NPPs that was not found in the PP's sermons. Quite the opposite, there is a couple of strategies that were found in the political pastors' (at least one) sermons but not in the non-political pastors at all. Such strategies include *Audience predisposition*, *Doubt casting*, *Exaggeration*, *Flag-waving*, *optimism*, *whataboutism*, *Plain Folking*, and *Bandwagonism*. The presence of *Audience predisposition* in the sermons of the political pastors and its absence in those of their non-political counterparts is a testament that the political pastors, unlike the non-

political ones, were more posed towards manipulating their audiences, a proof of propaganda. As discovered in the CDA, the non-political pastors did not envision any personal enemy whose ideology they sought to invalidate before their audiences. But the PP's had such enemies; hence, the presence of *Doubt casting* in the sermons of the latter and its absence in those of the former. *Plain Folking* activates the act of playing to the gallery to win the audience, and thus, its presence in PP2' sermons is a pointer to propaganda. The same can be said of *Flag-waving* which was equally used by PP2 but totally unaccounted for in any of the non-political sermons. The overall picture paints the employment of propaganda by the PP's who had some personal political interest which were not evident in NPP's.

8.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates the language use of selected pastors in Nigeria in selected texts. Religion is a serious subject matter in Nigeria. Therefore, religious figures are also considered as social stakeholders because religion and politics in Nigeria are interconnected. Religion is considered to be the most powerful influences on the Nigerian political landscape. In addition to religious influence, political communication—particularly in the form of propaganda—has also played a significant role in shaping Nigerian politics since the pre-colonial era. Thus, this research examined the language use of four Christian religious figures in their sermons to determine how their language choices have influenced or can influence the political decisions of their followers. The main aim of this study was, therefore, to explore the extent to which selected pastors from Nigeria incorporate political communication strategies in order to influence or persuade their members with a particular political aim in mind, specifically, when they engage in religious communications through sermons or homilies.

To reach this aim, a primary research question was formulated for this study, namely:

1. How do Nigerian pastors use their sermons for political messaging to their followers ?

To deal with this, strategies for political communication were gathered from literature, the essence of which was to identify the specific forms through which political ideologies are communicated to the public. In other words, the focus of the study was on the linguistic and semantic features that the pastors use to communicate their intention to their followers. From the relevant literature, a list of 25 specific communication strategies for influencing the public, i.e., propaganda strategies, was compiled (see Table 2 in Chapter 3). This table summarises the strategies, their definitions, and references to the sources. Also in Sub-section 3.3.4, the possible grammatical features that underlie each of these strategies are explained. This table serves as a handy resource for anyone who intends to study patterns of political communication from a linguistic standpoint.

Two further secondary research questions were formulated for this study to answer the primary research question, namely:

2. What are the particular linguistic features that separate political sermons from religious sermons?
3. To what extent are these linguistic features that separate political sermons from religious sermons, evident in the religious texts of selected Nigerian religious actors?

The second research question pertains to the particular linguistic features that separate political sermons from religious sermons. This was done by using the list of propaganda strategies compiled in chapter 3 as a check list for the categories of sermons - that is, political group and non-political group - to see whether the use of the strategies applies to both groups of pastors and then to see how each of the groups of pastors uses the strategy. Here, the aim of communication as identified in Maritz's study (2019) plays a critical role in identifying the intention of the pastors and determining if their goal was selfish or selfless.

To deal with the third research question, the sermon texts of the four pastors (distinguished into two categories) were analysed on two levels, that is, the macro and micro levels of analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistic Analysis were adopted as suitable methods to approaching the data for this study. Over the years, the CDA has yielded fruitful insight on discourse, a category under which sermons broadly fall as a methodological unit. However, in the study the CLA was employed for a narrower view of lexical items that separated the two sets of sermons, and this was made possible through the use of CLA tools like keywords and concordances. The keywords of each subcorpus specifically helped identify the words that are prominent or significant in each pastor's language use. Meanwhile, the concordance tool revealed the context of use for each identified keyword, a necessary step in determining or evaluating each pastor's intent.

Below, I summarise the development of the dissertation to address these questions.

8.2 Summary of Chapters

In **Chapter 1**, I provided background on how politics in Nigeria has been influenced by political communication in the form of propaganda and how the division in religious loyalty has been exploited for political gains by Nigerian politicians. Apart from the conceptualisation, the chapter also states the problem of the study, the research questions and the study aim. Also, the theoretical frameworks, viz. CDA and CLA, were briefly introduced. Therefore, chapter one serves as the guideline to support the reader navigating the entire dissertation.

Chapter 2 was devoted to the understanding of the complex interconnectivity between politics and religion, particularly in the Nigerian context. Therefore, relevant literature that could help readers to gain a better understanding of the subject of religion and politics in Nigeria were reviewed. In addition, the global perspectives on the matter of religion and its relation to politics, were discussed. The aim was to determine if religion and politics generally share the close links that exist in Nigeria. Furthermore, Chapter 2 traces the historical background of the relationship between politics and religion in Nigeria from the pre-colonial period till date. Then the chapter focused on Christianity, the religion whose selected sermons were to be analysed. The chapter considered how Christianity has co-existed with other religions like Islam in Nigeria, especially

the relationship between Christians and Muslims and how this relationship has affected or rather shaped political choices of the adherents of the two main religions in the country.

Chapter 3 focused on political communication, providing a review of the literature that reveals a strong connection between political communication and propaganda. In other words, most political communications heavily rely on propaganda in order for politicians to influence the voting behaviour of their followers and possibly gain new ones. It was also established that, while the term propaganda seems to be more associated with negative meaning, for the purposes of this study no stance was taken on whether propaganda should be regarded as positive or negative communication. Rather, the main aim of this study was to investigate the possible use of propaganda strategies by Nigerian pastors to communicate their theological, societal and political ideas to their followers. This distinction is important to the overall understanding of the dissertation. The importance of this chapter lies in its definition of propaganda, both in its real-time usage and biased conceptions, classification and identification of the various types of propaganda. A very significant aspect of this chapter is the gathering of the communicative features of propaganda which I preferred to refer to as “propaganda strategies” (In literature, they are sometimes called “techniques”). These strategies signal the use or the presence of propaganda in a text. The rest of the chapter focused on religious communications to find out if propaganda was in any way connected with the reverend religious communication.

Chapter 4 presented and discussed in detail the relevant theoretical frameworks for the study. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) remains the main theoretical foundation for the study, since SFL is helpful for the analysis of linguistic choices available to speakers of a language. On the other hand, Discourse Analysis (DA), and Corpus Linguistics Analysis (CLA) in conjunction with Maritz’s (2019) framework provided the specific directions to implement the main theoretical framework as useful for the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Maritz’s (2019) framework, which was developed with reference to political context to detect propaganda, was used in order to test its applicability even in a non-political text. Thus, Maritz’s (2019) framework assisted to highlight the specific lexical items to look for, in terms of their grammatical make-up, that is the (nouns, verbs, adjective and adverbs) lexical categories that are capable of projecting propaganda. This classification helped distinguish the sermons as political or non-political as a starting point.

Pressing further, **Chapter 5** discussed the working tools for the actual analyses of this research, namely CDA and CLA, used as methodologies suitable for the analysis of data in Chapter 6 and 7. As said earlier, CDA was broadly employed on a macro level to identify the linguistic themes that reveal propaganda in the sermon’s texts of the pastors, while CLA and Maritz’s (2019) framework were both used for the micro analysis. Specifically, the CLA was conducted using Sketch Engine, which comprises necessary tools such as keywords to indicate the peculiarity of language use in each of the sermons and their respective contexts, as exemplified by the

concordance tool. The rest of the chapter dealt with a detailed discussion on the research design, corpus information, ethical considerations for the data approach, and corpus compilation.

Chapter 6 focused on the CDA analysis of the four pastors' sermons, selected for a close reading. In doing this, Table 2 in Chapter 3 became a useful resource with which the propaganda features in those sets of sermons were analysed. The four pastors' sermons were investigated and only two out of the 25 old strategies (*Slogan* and *Questioning Credibility of source*) were not found to have been used by any pastor at all, although not all the 25 other strategies were equally used by all the four pastors as can be seen in Table 4. In the cause of doing a close reading, new strategies were identified and formulated by identifying the linguistic elements that mark out the patterns capable of making up propaganda. These strategies are listed below:

- *Optimism*
- *Pre-emptive move*
- *Rhetorical questioning*
- *Neologism*
- *Unverifiable spiritual information*

Maritz's (2019) contribution facilitated the classification of propaganda with reference to the following questions: Is there a call for action or (inaction) for which the pastor would be a personal beneficiary in some way? Then it was regarded as propaganda if the answer was in affirmative. This was useful in determining whether the sermon was employed for propaganda or mere persuasion. At the end of the day, though some communicative features were identified as propaganda, in the real sense, they might have served only a persuasive purpose. Thus, many of the propaganda strategies could be regarded as persuasion if the goal was not selfish. Essentially, whereas PP1 and PP 2 were found to use their sermons to propagate politically themed ideologies, NPP3 and NPP 4 were mostly merely persuading their audiences towards religious topics. Further relevant discussion on the findings at the individual level of each pastor will be made in section 8.3 below.

In **Chapter 7**, the micro-level analysis by means of Corpus Linguistics was done using Sketch Engine. The corpus was processed and then analysed at the lexical or, at most, phrasal level, focusing mainly on content words rather than function words (see Section 7.1 for details). Again, investigating the sermons at the lexical level provided a simple yet viable access point into the ideologies of the pastors, as Saeed (2003: 63) reveals that lexical items create a network of ideas and are not just discrete entities. Also, in his guide to the methodology of corpus linguistics, Stefanowitsch (2020: 261) particularly observes that "... corpora are most easily accessed via words (or word forms) ..." Therefore, the Keywords (single word) tool of Sketch Engine generated all salient words, from which I selected the content words. The contexts of the keywords were identified using the Concordance tool, and where propagandistic in nature, were checked for the appropriate propaganda strategies they corresponded to. So, words that fitted into the propaganda

strategies identified in Table 2, were collated and presented accordingly in different tables which showed each word's frequency, score and the word class category. The findings, as enabled through the content words, corroborated the previous chapter as the political pastors used more propaganda strategies and tilted towards political ideologies while the non-political pastors used fewer strategies and were mostly promoting theological/spiritual information. Further relevant discussion on the findings will be made in section 8.4 below.

This current chapter, namely **Chapter 8**, summarises the development of the research and presents the final answers to the research questions.

8.3 Results from the two-pronged data analysis (CDA & CLA)

The analyses of the sermon texts were done on two levels, that is, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistic Analysis (CLA) respectively. The result of each of the methods are presented below.

However, before I discuss the findings, I recap the study's main aims; namely, to explore how Nigerian pastors use language to communicate theological, societal, and political ideas. To achieve this main aim, two secondary aims were formulated, namely to i) identify the linguistic features that distinguish political sermons from religious sermons; and ii) assess the extent to which these features are present in the sermons of selected Nigerian pastors.

8.3.1 Results from the CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed to analyse the selected data from a macro-level perspective. This methodology, being a qualitative approach, critically analyses lexical/semantic conception of the pastors and appropriate propaganda strategies that connote such expression for propaganda indication. Language use patterns, which reveal existing propaganda strategies from the literature, were identified and explicated in the sermons. In addition, however, some other patterns that could also be considered propaganda (but which, to the best of my knowledge, have not yet been identified in the existing literature) were also identified and discussed.

The findings from the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) contribute to achieving the aims of the study as mentioned in Section 8.3 above. Using a qualitative, macro-level approach, the analysis revealed both established propaganda strategies included in Table 2, as well as new propaganda strategies, namely: optimism, Preemptive move, *Rhetorical questioning*, *Unverifiable spiritual information*, and *Neologism*. The following two sections discuss how the data addressed the two secondary aims formulated to achieve the main of the study.

8.3.1.1 *Linguistic features distinguishing political sermons from religious sermons*

In line with the first secondary research aim, the analysis revealed several propaganda strategies that distinguished political sermons from religious sermons, which are evident both in nature and purpose. First, the four pastors employed several strategies. These strategies include *Card stacking*, *Exaggeration/Minimisation*, *Name calling*, *Repetition*, *Testimonial endorsement*, *Symbolic language*, and the newly discovered *Rhetorical questioning*, but their function and tone are significantly different. For instance, PP1 used *Card stacking* to show the injustice perpetrated by the political class. PP2, in the same manner, engaged *Card stacking* in a way that showed political implications, targeting identifiable individuals or government policies. While in non-political sermons, it took the form of Biblical references or general moral concerns. Instances of *Card stacking* in NPP3's sermons were Biblically-based and tailored to ensure moral discipline and commitment on the part of the listeners while NPP4 used both Biblical and contemporary facts/information as *Card stacking* to advocate for social/religious responsibility among the citizens.

Exaggeration was used by political pastors, through different quantifiers and modifiers, to criticise political leadership and highlight government failures. PP1 blew realities out of proportion to indict the political leaders while PP2 painted a gloomy future as being created by those in government. The non-political pastors used *Exaggeration* to deepen theological revelations and values without personal attacks. NPP3 used *Exaggeration* to either amplify the extent of his relationship with God or to show the ephemerality of earthly luxury. NPP4, on the other hand, used *Exaggeration* to refer to the all-pervasive wrongdoing that has held the nation to ransom.

Name calling as used in political sermons, directly targeted known figures in the public or political sphere, attempting to influence the audience's perception of those individuals. Specifically, PP1 name-called those who have antagonised him in the past while PP2 name-called individuals who opposed his political/economic ideologies. In contrast, non-political sermons used *Name calling* to refer to abstract or generalised ideas, such as personifications of sin or moral decline. In NPP3's sermons, *Name calling* was used for impersonal antagonists of the moral lifestyle contained in the Bible. NPP4 used it to catalogue social evildoers such as terrorists.

Rhetorical questions also served different purposes: PP1 used it to arouse politically inclined agitation while PP2 used it to safely advance his ideological positions. NPP3 and NPP4 followed the same direction by using this strategy to reinforce Christian teachings and encouraged reflection.

These findings clearly demonstrate that while both groups of pastors used similar linguistic tools, the intention, targets, and rhetorical effects differed substantially, highlighting key features that set political sermons apart from religious ones.

8.3.1.2 Extent to which these linguistic features are used in CDA

The extent to which propaganda was used differs from one pastor to another. The political pastors made use of more propaganda strategies than their non-political ones. For instance, PP1 used 64% of the existing strategies identified (i.e. 16 out of 25) and three new strategies (*Optimism*, *Pre-emptive move* and *Rhetorical questioning*), all making 19 strategies. PP2 used 76% of the old strategies (i.e. 19 out of 25) and four new strategies (*Neologism*, *Optimism*, *Rhetorical questioning* and *Unverifiable Spiritual information*), all making 23 strategies. So, from PP1's sermons, the only strategies not found are *Bandwagonism*, *Casual oversimplification*, *Emotional stereotyping*, *Glittering generalisation*, *Opinion leader*, *Plain folking*, *Questioning credibility of source*, and the use of *Slogan*. From the investigated sermons of PP2, only the following strategies were missing: *Casual oversimplification*, *Maintaining control over communication*, *Questioning credibility of source*, and *Symbolic transfer*. One may argue that the absence of just these few strategies, particularly in the sermons of PP2, shows that the pastors indeed copiously used propaganda strategies in passing across their messages. For example, the absence of *Casual oversimplification* shows that the pastors did not make light of any point they were making. They attached utmost seriousness to the contents of their messages.

On the other hand, in the data of the non-political pastors, I found that NPP3 used only 36% of the established strategies (i.e. 9 out of 25) and one new strategy (*Rhetorical questioning*). Therefore, 64% of the old strategies (i.e. 16 out of 25) and four (of the five new strategies) were not used by NPP3 (see Table 4). This particular pastor's sermons had almost no political content, and so correspondingly used the least number of strategies, which show his non-propaganda posture. For example, he did not use *Doubt casting* and *Subversive rhetoric*, meaning that he was not out to attack another person's message. Also, that NPP3 did not employ *Bandwagonism*, *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Emotion activation*, *Emotional stereotyping*, *Flag-waving*, *Plain folking*, and *Pre-emptive move* proves that the pastor was not manipulating the emotions of his listeners. The absence of strategies like *Glittering generalisation* and *Thought-terminating cliché* show that the pastor was not to unduly manipulate the contents of his own messages to suit the audience.

NPP4, on the other hand, used 44% (i.e. 11 out of 25) of the old strategies and one new strategy (*Rhetorical questioning*). Thus, 56% of the old strategies (i.e. 14 out of 25) and four (of the five new strategies). This observation, as with NPP3, is a pointer to the fact that NPP4 was less disposed to propaganda, unlike his political counterparts. Even more so, was the fact that some key strategies were absent in his sermons. For example, there was no case of *Black and white fallacy* in his sermons, a strategy that was copiously used by the political pastors. This implies that NPP4 was not out to obliterate any fact. Also, there was no use of *Doubt casting* in his investigated sermons. Even when he had to bring up some antagonism, there was no attempt to cast doubt on his opponents, who were, in any case, impersonal. Moreover, neither *Emotion activation* nor *Emotional Stereotyping* was used by NPP4, thus showing that he was not really engaging in

emotional manipulation of his audience. Another key strategy that was actively engaged by the political pastors but not in the sermons of NPP4 is *Subversive rhetoric*. The absence of *Subversive rhetoric* shows that this pastor's sermons were not meant to score cheap point for which the strategy is known to be used. Of the new strategies discovered in the course of the analysis, only the use of Rhetorical question was found in the sermons of NPP4.

8.3.2 Results from the CLA

Here again, like the CDA, CLA methods were employed to identify specific linguistic item that may indicate or signal propaganda due to their contextual implications at the micro level (i.e. at lexical level). This method is essentially quantitative, since the determining factor of a keyword, for example, is the numerical frequency of its occurrence. Also, relevant statistical details (e.g. the scores) of a word indicating a particular strategy are given by the Sketch Engine.

8.3.2.1 Linguistic features distinguishing political sermons from religious sermons

The third research aim was to know how the unique discursive elements of propaganda and persuasive sermons are employed as patterns of meaning. Only three 3 strategies were commonly used by the four pastors in the CLA; namely, *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, *Card stacking*, and *Name calling*. Although, these are shared by all the pastors, the patterns of meaning for the four pastors differs, especially along the two broad groups of pastors (i.e. political and non-political). *Appeal to fear and prejudice* was used by PP1 to instil fear in the listeners such that the listeners see the government's ineptitude as the ground that breeds their fear. PP2 equally used the strategy to create a sense of potential dangers if the government should act or fail to act according to his (PP2)'s opinion. The aim of *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, therefore, as used by the political pastors, was to pitch their listeners against the government. The psychology was to make the people see that they are in danger and the cause of the danger is the government. Let's consider this example from the corpus concordance.

490 *With the killings, kidnappings and abductions of Emirs and other traditional rulers in the north, the signals have gone out that no one is safe and nothing is sacred*
 491 *Today, a band of illiterate so-called herdsmen has taken an entire nation hostage.*

The above examples are a few instances from PP1 corpus. The discursive elements employed by the preacher to communicate the nation's insecurity status is presented in such a way that make the government to look like it does not care and that the people are totally hopeless.

On the other hand, the non-political pastors used appeal to fear and prejudice in form of persuasion to warn their listeners of the dangers of following or not following the precepts of God. Here is an example below from NPP3

492 *going to believe God that we will not die prematurely, but the truth of the matter is that living the Christ-life in these perilous days, may cost our lives. The very call that Jesus placed on our lives in Luke 17:33 is that: if any man loves to preserve*

From the above extract, what would have counted as gentle fear (about death) was pushed to the listeners by the preacher if they are committed to following Christ. In other words, the implication of being Christ followers in this generation might actually cost an individual to encounter physical death. Apart from *Appeal to fear and prejudice*, *Card stacking* also was used across the pastors' sermons. While NPP3 and NPP4 used well known Biblical stories as analogies to encourage and strengthen Christians, both PP1 and PP2, on the other hand, used political and social stories as examples to emphasise their personal points or opinions in order to project their ideologies.

8.3.2.2 *Extent to which these linguistic features are evident in selected texts*

Using CLA, I found that PP1 used eleven strategies. He did not use *Bandwagonism*, *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Casual oversimplification*, *Doubt casting*, *Emotional stereotyping*, *Subversive rhetoric*, *Exaggeration*, *Flag-waving*, *Maintaining control over communication*, *Plain folking*, *Questioning credibility of source*, *Symbolic transfer*, *Thought-terminating cliché*, *Whataboutism*, *Rhetorical questioning*, *Pre-emptive move*, *Neologism*, *Unverifiable spiritual information*, and *Slogan*. This shows a less propaganda committed PP1 than was shown by CDA (see Subsection 8.3.2.1 above). CLA analysis of PP2's sermons showed fifteen strategies (see Table 59). Thus, PP2 used the highest number of strategies, thereby gravitating most towards propaganda. This is likely traceable to his deeper political involvement than PP1. Six strategies were found in the sermons of NPP3 while NPP4 used eleven (see Table 59). NPP3's sermons have no political content, and this might have accounted for his least disposition to the use of propaganda strategies. NPP4, on the other hand, infused some political commentaries into his sermons, and this reality might have led to the higher number of strategies in his sermons than those in NPP3's. In fact, NPP4 had the same number of strategies as PP1: eleven (see Table 59). Meanwhile, the number of strategies used by the political pastors, but not used by their non-political counterparts, includes the following nine: *Audience predisposition*, *Optimism*, *Exaggeration*, *Casual oversimplification*, *Bandwagonism*, *Doubt casting*, *Subversive rhetoric*, *Flag waving*, and *Plain folking*. By exceeding the non-political pastors' use of strategies by 90%, the political pastors have been shown to be more committed to propaganda in their communications than their non-political counterparts. Secondly, the nature of the propaganda strategies exclusively used by the political pastors, as revealed through CLA, equally proved that the political pastors were more disposed to propaganda use of language than their non-political counterparts. The use of *Bandwagonism*, *Plain folking*, *Audience predisposition*, and *Optimism* show that the pastors were taking advantage of their audiences' feelings and biases while the use of *Exaggeration*, *Casual oversimplification* and *Subversive rhetoric* show the pastors as taking advantage of the language resource to make their messages appeal to their audiences in ways that

suite their purposes. So, CLA, like CDA, revealed that the two political pastors, taken together, used substantially more propaganda strategies than the two non-political pastors, taken together.

8.4 Comparison between the findings from the CDA and the CLA

The CLA explored the sermons of the four pastors via Sketch Engine. Keywords were exemplified alongside their frequencies for the purpose of tracking the propaganda strategies as revealed by the keywords. CLA, therefore, served the purpose of verifying/expanding the findings of CDA. To this end, some strategies identified via CDA were equally found via CLA while some others, which CDA could not find, were picked by CLA. This was at individual pastor's level as captured in the table below.

		PP1		PP2		NPP3		NPP4	
		CDA	CLA	CDA	CLA	CDA	CLA	CDA	CLA
1	<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2	<i>Audience predisposition Expression</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
3	<i>Bandwagonism</i>				✓			✓	✓
4	<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓				
5	<i>Card stacking</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	<i>Casual oversimplification</i>				✓				
7	<i>Conveying optimism</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓				
8	<i>Doubt casting.</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓				
9	<i>Emotion activation</i>	✓	✓		✓				
10	<i>Emotional Stereotyping</i>			✓	✓				
11	<i>Exaggeration/minimisation</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
12	<i>Unverifiable spiritual information</i>			✓					
13	<i>Flag-waving</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
14	<i>Glittering generalisation</i>			✓	✓			✓	✓
15	<i>Maintaining control over communication</i>	✓	✓						
16	<i>Neologism</i>			✓					
17	<i>Name Calling</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
18	<i>Opinion Leaders</i>			✓	✓				
19	<i>Plain Folking</i>			✓	✓				
20	<i>Pre-emptive move</i>	✓	✓						
21	<i>Questioning source credibility</i>								
22	<i>Repetition</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
23	<i>Rhetorical questioning</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
24	<i>Slogans</i>								
25	<i>Subversive rhetoric</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓				
26	<i>Symbolic language</i>		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
27	<i>Symbolic transfer</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
28	<i>Testimonial endorsement</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
29	<i>Thought-terminating cliché</i>			✓	✓			✓	✓
30	<i>Whataboutism, straw man, or red herring</i>	✓	✓						

Table 54: Propaganda strategies found via CDA and CLA, and those found via only CLA

As already pointed out in Chapter 7, findings from CLA show that it was indeed fruitful as it could pick out some strategies, although few, not found via CDA.

Generally, however, the political pastors used their messages to refute or advance their political ideologies, to convince the audience for some form of personal gain, to instigate the listeners against some foes. The non-political pastors were more concerned about deepening Biblical knowledge and changing the world by the word of God.

During the course of the study, the following strategies, not found in the existing literature, were formulated based on their relevance to propaganda strategy as discovered in the data: *Conveying optimism*, *Unverified/unverifiable spiritual information*, *Neologism*, *Pre-emptive move*, and *Rhetorical questioning*. Discovery, as used here, may not necessarily mean that they are all “brand new”. For example, *Rhetorical questioning*, as a literary device, has been in use as a term but has not been listed as linguistic tool that can work as a strategy for propaganda. Each of these discovered strategies has been explained briefly in the cause of the analysis. However, further explanation on each of these strategies is provided in the table below.

Nr	Strategy	Definition
1	<i>Conveying optimism</i>	To engage in Conveying optimism, the propagandist directs or points his audience to hope usually after a series of negative expressions and hopelessness have spread through the use of other propaganda strategies. The propagandist through this strategy presents those on his side as being weak and oppressed, thereby creating or pointing a superior figure to his audience as the only one who can rescue.
2	<i>Unverifiable spiritual information</i>	This strategy entails utterances that the listeners cannot validate because it lacks empirical truth or reality. When only the speaker knows the truth about a matter or when he or she involves a supreme personality into the issue, then it is easy for propaganda to thrive in such discussion.
3	<i>Neologism:</i>	The act of creating new words in a language to describe a concept. This process often involves a blend of two words. The first part of the word created is most time intelligible to the listeners while the second part may include word that the speaker intends that the listener will be able to figure out on their own, taking a clue from the context of the discussion. (Lehrer 2003:371-372). Blending of words that is subjected to individual interpretations could be exploited for propaganda
4	<i>Pre-emptive move</i>	A strategy used when the propagandist verbally commits his listeners to an action without given them the chance to make their choice over such an action (i.e. to either reject or accept it).
5	<i>Rhetorical questioning</i>	A literary device used for questioning to make a point rather than soliciting a response from people. A propagandist is likely to avoid criticism of an idea presented not through a declarative, assertive structure but as a form of question or arouse the emotions of the listeners, and it may lead them to take certain actions they would not have taken if they were not psyched

Table 55: Newly discovered propaganda strategies as produced from the current study

Of all the five newly discovered strategies captured in Table 55 above, only *Rhetorical questioning* was found across the four pastors' sermons both in CDA and CLA as can be seen in Table 57 above. The same is true of the old strategies such as *Card stacking*, *Exaggeration*, and *Repetition*. Generally, however, key propaganda strategies like *Black and white fallacy dictatorship*, *Conveying optimism*, *Doubt casting*, *Emotion activation*, *Emotional stereotyping*, *Maintaining control over communication*, *Opinion leader*, *Plain folkling*, *Pre-emptive move*, *Subversive rhetoric*, and *Whataboutism* were only used by the political pastors. On the other hand, there was not any strategy exclusively used by the non-political pastors. The foregoing reality shows indeed that the political pastors were more committed to the use of propaganda strategies in their sermons than their non-political counterparts.

8.5 Limitations of the study and openings for future research

While this study offers valuable insights, it is important to consider the limitations that may affect the interpretation and generalisability of the findings.

The number one limitation of this research is that the dissertation only looked at the Christian sermons, in a multi-religious/ethnic society like Nigeria where there are at least two dominant religions. Another religion, such as Islam, could have been included to see what is obtainable with the sermons in relation to the mingling of religion and politics. However, the research was limited to Christianity because the language with which most sermons are preached in Islam is Arabic and the researcher does not speak nor understand the Arabic language. Therefore, reading and interpretation would be difficult if not impossible. Future researchers who can read and write in Arabic can investigate Islamic sermons and propaganda, or comparative investigation of propaganda strategies used in Christian and Muslim sermons in general. The researcher is aware that the two religions have different ideologies which would definitely impact their sermonic language. The projection here, however, is that the extent of political communication in the sermons of both religions can be researched into, compared and contrasted.

Another limitation of the present research is the limited number of pastors selected, due to the rigorous process required to secure the consent of the selected pastors for the use of their sermon texts in this study. Some pastors I approached earlier were sceptical as to the purpose and eventual outcome of the dissertation. Essentially, they were being careful, because they did not want anything that would affect their ministry adversely. As a result, the study is limited to only those who willingly gave their consent for their sermons to be used and results may not be generalisable to pastors of other countries and religions.

Furthermore, the process of collecting data was tedious. For instance, some of the pastors gave their consent, but left the gathering of the text needed to me. NPP4 sent his compiled sermon texts, electronically typed, to me via email. So, whereas data from PP1, PP2 and NPP4 were available in the right format especially for CLA, data from NPP3 was in a book print format and so took a

long time for me to digitise it for the purpose of Sketch Engine processing. Furthermore, a related limitation for this study is that, not all the spoken words of the preachers could be captured in the process of transcription or digitalising. It may well be that there would have been some side comments by the pastors while preaching the sermons which were not captured in the written texts but which would have offered more insights into the extent and manner the pastors used the propaganda strategies. In other words, audio sermons transcribed (possibly with an appropriate application) could have probably yielded more propaganda strategies.

There is also a limitation regarding size of available data. The corpora, and indeed each corpus, would have been bigger than they are if data were available in the proportional amount. This has to do with lack of access to all the messages preached by the pastors. For the pastors that gave their consent, only sermons delivered on special occasions were documented and made available for the purpose of this study because their regular sermons are not usually documented. This was especially so with PP1. Having access to a wide array of their messages would probably have increased the corpus to work with.

In terms of analysis, as was stated in the summary of chapter 7 above, CLA was restricted to lexical items. The time and space limitation pressure of a single PhD study as this did not allow for wider grammatical considerations. However, further study can look at the inter-textual relationship, that is, how one meaning builds up another. In this research, the focus has been on the pastors and what they do with their texts explored through CDA and CLA. Further research can be done focusing on language impact on the recipient of religious communications to test their perception and understanding of the types of communication they are being engaged in through their various religions. Although the Speech Act Theory (SAT) was briefly discussed in chapter three of this study, future research may be tailored in this direction. Perlocutionary effect as presented in SAT will be resourceful in explaining what the impact of those communication are on the recipient.

Furthermore, this study has expanded propaganda studies by tracking propaganda use in the genre of religion, as previous studies have mainly been confined to the political field. Being a relatively novel study in this sense, therefore, there is more to be done to explore the use of propaganda in the field of religious discourse. Besides enlarging the size of the data, future studies can approach the subject from inter-faith perspective where not only Christian sermons will be considered, but messages of Islamic clerics also included for comparative purpose.

Another possibility for future research is in relation to the CLA approach. In conducting the CLA of this study, there was no list of predetermined words to be searched out in the corpus. This implies that the study was exploratory. However, future studies may focus on predetermined words, such as are believed to hide certain biases and sentiments. Such studies will further establish the involvement of propaganda in religious sermons.

8.6 Contribution of this study

In section 1.6, the study set out to make certain contributions (see again 1.6).

Firstly, this study has largely exposed the readers to the different strategies of political communication as used by religious leaders to communicate their theological, societal and political ideas in religious communication. Drawing on existing literature, the study has identified relevant techniques used in political communication within sermons and speeches, while also formulating new strategies that emerged during the research.

Secondly, the present research identifies lexical items that separate religious sermons from the political sermon in the selected data and reveals that lexical items can be exploited for propaganda in a multifaceted society like Nigeria (see chapter seven). By constructing four distinct corpora, the study analyses the keywords and their concordances for each pastor, thereby revealing whether specific lexical items are employed for purposes of propaganda or persuasion.

Thirdly, this study has applied Maritz's (2019) framework for detecting propaganda use of language by considering whether a particular utterance was aimed at personally benefiting the speaker (pastor, in this context) or not. Taking this further, however, this study has discovered that there are strategies (or verbal acts) that yield propaganda in one context but persuasion in another. Thus, the study was able to expand the scope of persuasive features of communication particularly in religious texts. In essence, nonetheless, both political and non-political pastors use their religious offices to propagate and persuade for a more enlightened/better society.

In addition, the present study may serve as a template for further researchers who wish to investigate propaganda either in religious text or speeches in general. Table 59 below, showing the compiled strategies in addition to the formulated ones in this study, can be used as a bases for detecting propaganda. Scholars in the field of discourse will find this research useful both for religious texts and political communication.

This study makes a significant scholarly contribution by deepening the understanding of propaganda strategies within religious discourse. It advances current knowledge by identifying both established and newly formulated techniques used by religious leaders to communicate ideological, political, and theological messages. The insights offered are particularly valuable for scholars of discourse analysis, political communication, and religious studies. A comprehensive table summarising both the strategies drawn from existing literature and those developed through this study is provided below.

Nr	Strategy	Definition and Source	Example from data
1	<i>Appeal to fear and prejudice</i>	Acting on a premeditated prejudice in favour of an idea by creating fear towards any other possible alternative (idea) (Martino et al, 2020)	493 <i>the gathering clouds are clear. (PP1)</i> 494 <i>The purpose of this broadcast is to give a timely warning before the storm arrives. (PP2)</i>
2	<i>Audience predisposition Expression</i>	This is a propaganda technique whereby the propagandist harps on the existing opinions and beliefs well known to the audience to sway them. (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012)	495 <i>The Nigerian economy is clearly regional in structure... (PP2)</i> 496 <i>we profess our motto to be: Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress. (PP1)</i>
3	<i>Bandwagonism</i>	This strategy is used to convince and persuade an individual to accept or adopt a norm since it is favoured by every other person. Often, it is employed to persuade a seeming non-conformist member of a group to conform to the general opinion. Maritz (2019: 23-25) particularly includes this as part of non-linguistic feature of propaganda. (Miller, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz 2019; Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	497 <i>the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria, CBCN, called on the Federal Government to seek outside help to deal with our security challenges. Many voices nationwide did the same (NPP4).</i> 498 <i>From politicians to students, businessmen to traders, pastors and students, everybody invokes that phrase to put a stamp of assurance on whatever they say or plan to do. There is... (NPP4).</i>
4	<i>Black and white fallacy dictatorship</i>	This is the propaganda tool engaged when the propagandist obliterates all but only two alternatives such that the recipient of the propaganda has no option but to do the bidding of the propagandist. (Martino et al., 2020)	499 <i>You must very quickly find a way of connecting with your people before the devil takes over the space (PP1)</i> 500 <i>Either a political party was devising unlawful schemes in which case culprits ought to be prosecuted and details exposed or the DSS was acting out a script written to repress opposition parties. (PP2 SN2015)</i> 501 <i>we are either all saved together or no one is saved. (PP2)</i>
5	<i>Card stacking</i>	Card stacking is a deliberate use of manufactured or correct information, explanation, or diversion, to create the most favourable or unfavourable portrayal of a concept, initiative, individual, or item. (Miller, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	502 <i>For two weeks (Oct 31st – Nov 13th), World leaders met in Glasgow for the Climate change Conference (COP26). (PP1)</i> 503 <i>at the beginning of the Year 2010, when our nation was in the iron grip of a power-hijacking cabal...(PP2)</i>

6	Casual oversimplification	Adopting a single (but mostly favourable to the target of the propagandist) cause of an event whereas there are other causes (mostly unfavourable to the target of the propagandist). (Martino et al., 2020)	504 <i>The call towards restructuring must be embraced while ensuring, through intelligent engagement, that the government is kept on its toes in (PP2)</i>
7	Conveying optimism	Conveying optimism: to engage in Conveying optimism the propagandist direct or points his audience to hope after series of negative expression and hopelessness has spread through the use of other propaganda strategy. The propagandist through this strategy presents those on his side has been weak and oppressed, thereby creating or pointing a superior figure to his audience as the only one who can rescue.	505 <i>We must stand firm and resolute because, our redeemer liveth (PP1 example from CLA)</i> 506 <i>I believe that no matter how unstable the polity may become, we will transit from shame to fame in the name of Jesus. Amen. I am persuaded that no matter the level of economic collapse, the economy of Nigeria will recover (PP2)</i>
8	Doubt casting	Doubt, in propaganda, is an expression or state of disbelief meant to sway the audience to believe the propagandist's ideology. (Martino et al., 2020)	507 <i>the federal government has shown ... commitment to integrating so called repentant terrorists. Nigerians have no access to the transcripts of the texts of the confessions of these terrorists not to talk of evidence of their commitment to not sin again.(PP1)</i>
9	Emotion activation	In propaganda, emotional language usually can be determined by identifying the purpose which such emotional utterances are meant to achieve, that is, the ideology behind the emotion activation. This is what will help listeners to associate communication with propaganda or persuasion. (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019)	508 <i>When will it all end? (PP1)</i> 509 <i>Who authorised them to bear arms? (PP2)</i>
10	Emotional Stereotyping	This technique is employed when the propagandist intentionally conceals the information that could rectify the inaccurate impression (Adebisi and Salaudeen, 2016)	510 <i>Who would have thought that Nigerians would one day be displaced from their homes and would become refugees in countries like Chad and Niger? Who would have thought that entire communities in one geo-political zone of the country would one day be under the control of terror groups or that the time would come when hundreds of women and children would be carted away by terror groups on more than one occasion with no intervention by security forces? Who would have expected that Nigerian soldiers would one day be</i>

			<i>helpless against insurgents to the extent of abandoning inferior weapons and fleeing to neighbouring Cameroon? Who would have thought that Nigeria would one day be classified alongside Iraq and Afghanistan on the list of terror-stricken nations? (PP1)</i> 511
11	Exaggeration/minimisation	Whereas Exaggeration, as an instrument of propaganda, is the deliberate, verbal enlargement of an idea or concept than it is, minimisation conversely entails an intentional verbal shrinking of an idea or concept than it is. (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:303).	512 <i>Our people are all in a state of stupor (PP1)</i> 513 <i>the first "Merry Christmas" uttered by many Nigerians was to their fellow compatriots in fuel queues at petrol stations (PP2)</i> 514 <i>This is an easy part...the federal and state governments...rescue operation (PP1).</i>
12	Unverifiable spiritual information	This strategy entails utterances that only the speakers/listeners cannot validate because it lacks empirical truth or reality. When only the speaker knows the truth about a matter or when he or she involves a supreme personality into the issue then propaganda it is easy for propaganda to thrive on such discussion Greenbaum (1996:356) .	515 <i>I did say that, while waiting on God, the Spirit of God said to me: "Politics is not over for you. There is still one thing left for you to do: Run for President...I will work it out Myself and make it happen in due course (PP2)</i>
13	Flag-waving	Leveraging on the inherent emotion of a group identity to promote or discredit an idea. (Martino et al., 2020)	516 <i>...the Niger Delta activists and militants demanding outright resource control...their clamour simply reminds us that we need a more pragmatic resource distribution and management system (PP1)</i>
14	Glittering generalisation	This is the representation of an entity or phenomenon with a positive lexical item (which would gain the approval of people) without allowing for proof. Glittering generalisation therefore is the opposite of Name Calling. (Miller, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016	517 <i>...it is a return to the winning formula (PP1)</i> 518 <i>with this plan, Nigeria can leapfrog...the phases of industriliasation to become a global industrial power house (PP2)</i> 519 <i>World leaders met in Glasgow for the Climate change Conference (COP26)... to preserve the future for its civilisations(PP1)</i>

15	Maintaining control over communication	If a communication source holds a monopoly, like being the sole newspaper, television network or sermon in religious communication, and consistently delivers a repetitive message, individuals are less inclined to question such a message. (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:300; Maritz 2019:24).	520 <i>We have not engaged this government out of malice. We have done so out of a sense of duty, to ensure that our glory does not depart (see PP1).</i> 521 <i>Finally, in the last few years, my Messages have been borne out of a sense of moral revulsion over how life has been destroyed in my country (PP1).</i>
16	Neologism	it is the act of creating new words in a language to describe a concept. This process often involves a blend of two words. The first part of the word created is most time intelligible to the listeners while the second part may include word or phrase that the speaker intend that the listener will be able to figure out on their own, taking a clue from the contexts of the discussion. (Lehrer 2003:371-372). Blend of words that is subjected individual interpretations could be exploited for propaganda.	522 <i>They celebrate what I call the harvest of " thanks-grumbling (PP4)</i>
17	Name Calling	This is a way of giving a person or a plan a bad tag or negative association. It can be used positively or negatively with the sole aim making the audience reject and condemn the plan even before examining its evidence. (Miller 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	523 <i>For the cynics who query the authority and audacity by which I speak... (PP2)</i> 524 <i>I have listened to the president's Friday men, wearing their laurels won from chasing shadows, ... (see 6.2.1.11)</i>
18	Opinion Leaders	This is closely connected to the credibility of the source. Here, the propagandist circumvents what is likely going to be an antagonism or backlash by showing respect to well-known leaders generally held in high esteem by the people. In other words, the speaker attempts to win the approval of the listeners by somewhat adoring their human idols. (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:300; Maritz, 2019:24).	525 <i>In his speech of May 1967, General Gowon, the head of states, decided to avert a civil war...(see 7.2.2.12)</i>
19	Plain Folking	This involves the uses of "false humility" or stage-managed behaviours with the aim of winning a person or the public. The plain folk devices portray the politician as one who cares and feels for the people.	526 <i>Fellow Nigerians, ...is there not a cause? (PP2)</i> 527 <i>My citizens of our great country, let me begin... (PP2)</i>

		(Miller, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	
20	Pre-emptive move	It is a strategy used when the propagandist commits his listeners to an action without given them the chance them chance to make their choice over such an action, that is to either reject or accept it.	528 For accepting to make some sacrifice, respect and listen to our people, a happy Easter (PP1)
21	Questioning source credibility	Propaganda thrives when the recipient trusts the origin of the information associated with prominent personalities or bodies often gain acceptance because people are willing to get direction from their leaders. Propaganda then occurs when the propagandist discredit a piece of information associated with an important personality.	
22	Repetition	(Martino et al.2020; Maritz 2019) Repetition is both a useful technique for persuasion and propaganda. In propaganda repetitions aim at emphasising certain words or phrases that will generate emotion and drive home a point. Repetition is a purposeful accentuation employed to attain a specific objective. It is an elaborating grammatical device through which, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 646) put it, "one lexical item restates another". Since it is useful in "reinforcing the	529 Sad situation in Nigeria, the United nation has wailed the Pope has wailed (PP1)
23	Rhetorical questioning	is a literary device use for questioning to make a point rather than soliciting response from people. A propagandist is likely to sway the people through questions that arouses the emotions of the listeners, and it may lead them to take certain action/action they will not have take if they were not psyched.	530 Now, what next for the children of the north? (PP1) 531 164 Do we still need to wonder why corruption is so endemic and very pervasive in our nation today? (PP2)
24	Slogans	A short, catchy, and memorable phrase meant to market or promote an idea or a concept. it is a common and effective strategy of propaganda in Nigerian politics. (Martino et al., 2020	

25	Subversive rhetoric	It is employed to undermine or criticise an individual's (opponent's) intention, idea whereas such opponent's intention or idea has the potential of leading to a positive outcome (Adebiyi and Salaudeen, 2016)	532 <i>our nation gasped for breath under the stranglehold of a fraudulent subsidy regime...(PP2)</i> 533 <i>the federal government has shown far greater commitment to integrating so called repentant terrorists than getting our children back from kidnappers or keeping our universities open. (PP1)</i>
26	Symbolic language	Propaganda leverages on language to bestow a sense of enchantment upon the cause it advocates, simultaneously casting the opposition in an intentionally unfavourable position. Language can be used to magnify and create a verbal symbolisation. Symbolic expressions involve the use of words in an unconventional usage to convey a deeper meaning that is not expressed in the surface structure. A symbolic expression can be interpreted in terms of figures of speech such as personification, simile, metaphor, analogy, Rhetorical questions, and so on (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019)	534 <i>After going up and down like a pendulum between the incoming and outgoing presidents, ... (PP2)</i> 535 <i>...you rode into the town like a knight in shining armour (PP1)</i>
27	Symbolic transfer	Symbolic transfer is the conscious extension of the prestige of an ideally respected entity to earn the prestige for another entity. On the other hand, it can also be the extension of the disrepute of an entity to discredit a supposedly reputed entity. Miller, 1937; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	536 <i>We must move quickly before Arewa, our beloved Arewa, descends into Arewanistan³⁰!</i>
28	Testimonial endorsement	Testimonial is utilizing the affirmation from a heroic or villainous persona to authenticate or undermine a particular concept, initiative, or product. (Miller 1937;	537 <i>The Emir of Katsina... only recently said; We cannot continue to live like animals. I have not seen this type of country 2019 (PP1)</i>

³⁰The term *Arewa* refers to the northern Nigeria as a singular political entity. The coinage *Arewanistan* to lexically imitate *Afghanistan* here is a deliberate transfer of the political scenario of Afghanistan where Islamic Jihadists (better known as Taliban) took over the reins of government. In essence, it is an extension of the disrepute of the latter to the former.

		Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012:237; Maritz, 2019 Sumanat and Dispanya, 2016)	538 <i>the statement by Papa Chief Obafemi Awolowo before the High Court on September 11, 1963... (PP2)</i>
29	<i>Thought-terminating cliché</i>	A propaganda strategy used when the propagandist deliberately offers a simple explanation for an event with the sole aim of discouraging critical thoughts about the event. (Martino et al.,2020)	539 <i>Many of them talk the talk but neither walked the talk (PP2)</i>
30	<i>Whataboutism, straw man, or red herring</i>	These are three closely related but somewhat different propaganda tools. Whataboutism is a label the opponent points to as being unguine without substantiating such a claim. Straw man is the replacement of the opponent point with a weak point in order to discredit the opponent point. Red herring is to introduce a point that is immaterial to the subject of discourse to cause a diversion from the point of discourse (Martino et al., 2020)	540 <i>It is not enough to blame even the political class or even the President alone. We found our way here by the choices we have made as a nation over time (PP1)</i>

Table 56: Compilation and characterisation of Old and New Propaganda Strategies

8.7 Conclusion

In summary, some propaganda strategies are useful for religious purpose because they serve the persuasive purpose that is associated with religious communication. Thus, in response to the main research question, it can be said that the subtle use of propaganda strategies is highly instrumental to how Nigerian pastors use language to communicate their theological, societal and political ideas with their followers. As has been copiously revealed, there is propaganda feature in religious communication especially sermons. Considering the heavy disposition of the political pastors towards what amounts to their defence of their actions or antagonism against personal enemies, we can draw the conclusion that their messages show elements of propaganda. Those pastors that have no explicit political affiliation, on the other hand, show no evidence of propaganda. Rather, the strategies found in their sermons were mostly meant for persuasive communication. Generally, this chapter has served the purpose of tying the entire study together, detailing its highlights in a compacted manner. It compresses what has been done from chapter one to seven.

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ADDENDA

Addendum 1: Top 500 keywords for PP1

	Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
1	sokoto	101	12930	868.85455	0.20995	718.918
2	inculturation	39	3439	335.49829	0.05584	318.702
3	kukah	36	1395	309.69073	0.02265	303.809
4	syncretism	41	11368	352.70334	0.18459	298.588
5	Jn	53	86247	455.93359	1.40043	190.355
6	Lk	37	70255	318.29327	1.14076	149.149
7	Boko	36	80511	309.69073	1.30729	134.656
8	chibok	17	7447	146.24284	0.12092	131.359
9	syncretic	17	7943	146.24284	0.12897	130.422
10	haram	36	98684	309.69073	1.60238	119.387
11	nigerian	125	495987	1075.3151	8.05357	118.883
12	nigeria	229	974009	1969.9772	15.81543	117.212
13	kaduna	18	31221	154.84537	0.50695	103.418
14	buhari	31	107670	266.67813	1.74829	97.398
15	evangelisation	11	5988	94.62772	0.09723	87.154
16	bakhita	10	969	86.02521	0.01573	85.677
17	Zaria	11	10053	94.62772	0.16324	82.208
18	katsina	11	10648	94.62772	0.1729	81.531
19	annus	10	5728	86.02521	0.09301	79.62
20	homelessness	54	302328	464.5361	4.90904	78.784
21	nepotism	13	34143	111.83276	0.5544	72.589
22	lenten	12	29404	103.23025	0.47745	70.548
23	exhortation	16	60411	137.64034	0.98092	69.988
24	bolanle	8	913	68.82017	0.01482	68.8
25	nnewi	8	2325	68.82017	0.03775	67.28
26	psalmist	12	35724	103.23025	0.58007	65.966

27	hassan	32	207046	275.28067	3.3619	63.34
28	ordination	21	115374	180.65294	1.87338	63.219
29	synodal	8	7308	68.82017	0.11866	62.414
30	kidnapper	14	58860	120.43529	0.95574	62.092
31	diocese	58	466479	498.9462	7.57443	58.307
32	archduke	9	23627	77.42268	0.38364	56.678
33	Alhaji	9	25558	77.42268	0.415	55.423
34	foretell	14	82777	120.43529	1.34409	51.805
35	contextualization	7	11635	60.21764	0.18892	51.49
36	sanneh	6	2355	51.61512	0.03824	50.677
37	seminarian	9	35203	77.42268	0.57161	49.9
38	catechist	7	14261	60.21764	0.23156	49.707
39	Lent	15	100831	129.03781	1.63724	49.308
40	gaudium	6	4921	51.61512	0.0799	48.722
41	Laity	11	59843	94.62772	0.9717	48.5
42	chrism	6	6372	51.61512	0.10347	47.682
43	anomie	6	6553	51.61512	0.1064	47.555
44	Kano	10	51762	86.02521	0.84048	47.284
45	Acw	6	7942	51.61512	0.12896	46.605
46	christianity	86	922714	739.81677	14.98253	46.352
47	destitution	7	21661	60.21764	0.35172	45.289
48	squalor	7	21781	60.21764	0.35367	45.224
49	Ataga	5	340	43.0126	0.00552	43.771
50	starkloff	5	427	43.0126	0.00693	43.71
51	sharibu	5	878	43.0126	0.01426	43.394
52	graces	6	13260	51.61512	0.21531	43.294
53	dapchi	5	1279	43.0126	0.02077	43.117
54	yorubas	5	2370	43.0126	0.03848	42.382
55	Inec	7	27616	60.21764	0.44841	42.265
56	eminence	10	65433	86.02521	1.06247	42.195

57	Cor	20	196776	172.05042	3.19514	41.25
58	Pilate	11	85259	94.62772	1.38439	40.106
59	illiterate	12	104094	103.23025	1.69022	38.744
60	priesthood	18	186688	154.84537	3.03134	38.658
61	ecclesia	6	23126	51.61512	0.37551	38.251
62	banditry	5	10604	43.0126	0.17218	37.548
63	supplication	7	38936	60.21764	0.63222	37.506
64	Jos	7	39880	60.21764	0.64755	37.157
65	golgotha	5	11429	43.0126	0.18558	37.123
66	apostolic	15	154407	129.03781	2.50718	37.078
67	kasper	6	26902	51.61512	0.43682	36.619
68	korukawa	4	1	34.41008	0.00002	35.41
69	ndagoso	4	23	34.41008	0.00037	35.397
70	africae	4	498	34.41008	0.00809	35.126
71	horribili	4	581	34.41008	0.00943	35.079
72	cynicism	10	91406	86.02521	1.4842	35.031
73	munus	4	873	34.41008	0.01418	34.915
74	Heb	10	92626	86.02521	1.50401	34.754
75	caliphate	8	62259	68.82017	1.01093	34.72
76	formator	4	1599	34.41008	0.02596	34.514
77	muhammadu	6	32580	51.61512	0.52902	34.411
78	mirabili	4	1853	34.41008	0.03009	34.376
79	easter	50	715847	430.12604	11.62353	34.153
80	morel	6	33524	51.61512	0.54434	34.07
81	evangelii	4	2445	34.41008	0.0397	34.058
82	arewa	4	2516	34.41008	0.04085	34.02
83	joviality	4	2619	34.41008	0.04253	33.966
84	encyclical	6	35831	51.61512	0.5818	33.263
85	redeemer	9	83650	77.42268	1.35826	33.254
86	Godâ	4	4226	34.41008	0.06862	33.136

87	surpassing	4	4697	34.41008	0.07627	32.901
88	ahmadu	4	5089	34.41008	0.08263	32.707
89	missionary	46	688757	395.71594	11.18366	32.561
90	half-truth	5	22602	43.0126	0.367	32.197
91	vigour	7	56391	60.21764	0.91565	31.957
92	apostles	11	122846	94.62772	1.99471	31.932
93	sorrow	29	421940	249.4731	6.85123	31.902
94	awolowo	4	7196	34.41008	0.11684	31.705
95	yoruba	6	41285	51.61512	0.67036	31.499
96	vindication	6	41565	51.61512	0.67491	31.414
97	ratzinger	5	24853	43.0126	0.40355	31.358
98	Wail	12	147797	103.23025	2.39985	30.657
99	Jesus	281	4824857	2417.3084	78.34341	30.479
100	Th	33	519872	283.88318	8.4414	30.174
101	Liveth	4	11166	34.41008	0.18131	29.975
102	powerlessness	5	29064	43.0126	0.47193	29.901
103	cohesion	13	170809	111.83276	2.7735	29.901
104	herdsman	5	29313	43.0126	0.47597	29.819
105	translatable	4	11827	34.41008	0.19204	29.705
106	entrust	17	247258	146.24284	4.01484	29.361
107	joy	123	2190922	1058.11	35.575	28.957
108	resurrection	29	473272	249.4731	7.68473	28.841
109	repentance	14	199010	120.43529	3.23142	28.698
110	bishop	106	1900794	911.86719	30.86406	28.649
111	succour	4	14894	34.41008	0.24184	28.514
112	invariable	4	15516	34.41008	0.25194	28.284
113	steadfast	9	111117	77.42268	1.80426	27.966
114	mt	53	948241	455.93359	15.39702	27.867
115	gospel	77	1431192	662.3941	23.23892	27.369
116	thirdly	9	115562	77.42268	1.87643	27.264

117	discipleship	7	76749	60.21764	1.24621	27.254
118	ecclesial	4	19026	34.41008	0.30893	27.053
119	cermenatti	3	0	25.80756	0	26.808
120	shokoto	3	40	25.80756	0.00065	26.79
121	farde	3	97	25.80756	0.00158	26.765
122	bonheoffer	3	148	25.80756	0.0024	26.743
123	self-mediation	3	170	25.80756	0.00276	26.734
124	berengario	3	206	25.80756	0.00334	26.718
125	nahcon	3	244	25.80756	0.00396	26.702
126	blood-dimmed	3	306	25.80756	0.00497	26.675
127	cbcn	3	330	25.80756	0.00536	26.665
128	jeeringly	3	354	25.80756	0.00575	26.654
129	anoint	11	159378	94.62772	2.58789	26.653
130	kontagora	3	394	25.80756	0.0064	26.637
131	bulus	3	505	25.80756	0.0082	26.59
132	religiousity	3	598	25.80756	0.00971	26.55
133	kankara	3	700	25.80756	0.01137	26.506
134	historicity	4	20851	34.41008	0.33857	26.454
135	crucifiction	3	883	25.80756	0.01434	26.429
136	politicization	4	20947	34.41008	0.34013	26.423
137	yohanna	3	1145	25.80756	0.01859	26.318
138	sacredness	4	21277	34.41008	0.34548	26.318
139	self-propelling	3	1147	25.80756	0.01862	26.317
140	endsars	3	1279	25.80756	0.02077	26.262
141	leah	11	163369	94.62772	2.6527	26.18
142	lamentation	5	42480	43.0126	0.68977	26.047
143	brutish	4	22308	34.41008	0.36223	25.994
144	refiner	5	43409	43.0126	0.70485	25.816
145	intercede	5	43880	43.0126	0.7125	25.701
146	fulani	4	23393	34.41008	0.37984	25.662

147	agadez	3	2793	25.80756	0.04535	25.645
148	christian	284	5813144	2443.1157	94.39067	25.622
149	pancasila	3	2967	25.80756	0.04818	25.575
150	earthenware	4	23685	34.41008	0.38458	25.575
151	priest	83	1660677	714.00922	26.96517	25.568
152	desolation	6	65729	51.61512	1.06727	25.451
153	undimmed	3	3669	25.80756	0.05958	25.3
154	secularity	3	3748	25.80756	0.06086	25.27
155	prophet	57	1136589	490.34366	18.45531	25.255
156	seduce	11	173004	94.62772	2.80914	25.105
157	eucharist	8	109838	68.82017	1.78349	25.084
158	aje	3	4281	25.80756	0.06951	25.065
159	azikiwe	3	4282	25.80756	0.06953	25.065
160	rosary	8	110644	68.82017	1.79658	24.966
161	gowon	3	4578	25.80756	0.07434	24.953
162	ethno-religious	3	4862	25.80756	0.07895	24.846
163	humungous	3	5169	25.80756	0.08393	24.732
164	discontentment	3	5419	25.80756	0.08799	24.64
165	plotter	5	48511	43.0126	0.7877	24.62
166	kidnapping	12	199467	103.23025	3.23884	24.589
167	geertz	3	5611	25.80756	0.09111	24.569
168	biafra	4	27331	34.41008	0.44379	24.526
169	muslims	35	698149	301.08823	11.33616	24.488
170	enjoin	7	92742	60.21764	1.50589	24.429
171	bello	5	49545	43.0126	0.80448	24.391
172	sma	6	72204	51.61512	1.17241	24.22
173	synod	11	184484	94.62772	2.99555	23.934
174	precariously	4	29845	34.41008	0.48461	23.851
175	usman	4	29876	34.41008	0.48511	23.843
176	lucre	3	7861	25.80756	0.12764	23.773

177	sharia	7	97146	60.21764	1.5774	23.752
178	zacchaeus	3	8233	25.80756	0.13368	23.646
179	naira	4	30668	34.41008	0.49797	23.639
180	theologian	12	211178	103.23025	3.42899	23.534
181	abuja	6	77060	51.61512	1.25126	23.371
182	senseless	7	99814	60.21764	1.62073	23.359
183	pope	52	1121694	447.33105	18.21346	23.334
184	foolishly	5	54812	43.0126	0.89001	23.287
185	shechem	3	9677	25.80756	0.15713	23.167
186	emir	5	55716	43.0126	0.90469	23.108
187	ruination	3	9922	25.80756	0.16111	23.088
188	coup	23	469947	197.85797	7.63074	23.041
189	babangida	3	10384	25.80756	0.16861	22.94
190	ethnicity	17	334203	146.24284	5.42661	22.911
191	calabar	3	10497	25.80756	0.17044	22.904
192	ps	33	704953	283.88318	11.44664	22.888
193	wailer	3	11044	25.80756	0.17933	22.731
194	suffragan	3	11312	25.80756	0.18368	22.648
195	dangote	3	11658	25.80756	0.1893	22.541
196	faith	183	4244583	1574.2612	68.92123	22.529
197	tinubu	3	11710	25.80756	0.19014	22.525
198	colonial	41	907165	352.70334	14.73005	22.486
199	nnamdi	3	11860	25.80756	0.19258	22.479
200	abacha	3	11977	25.80756	0.19448	22.443
201	mismanagement	6	83550	51.61512	1.35664	22.326
202	godless	4	38244	34.41008	0.62099	21.845
203	dubious	13	256664	111.83276	4.16757	21.835
204	martyrdom	6	87420	51.61512	1.41948	21.746
205	faithfulness	6	88211	51.61512	1.43232	21.632
206	secularism	5	63749	43.0126	1.03512	21.627

207	beckon	7	112761	60.21764	1.83095	21.624
208	nuncio	3	14890	25.80756	0.24178	21.588
209	lordship	7	113146	60.21764	1.8372	21.577
210	temptation	19	408233	163.44789	6.62867	21.557
211	particularity	4	39683	34.41008	0.64435	21.534
212	despondency	3	15669	25.80756	0.25442	21.37
213	despair	20	437298	172.05042	7.10061	21.363
214	partisanship	4	40901	34.41008	0.66413	21.278
215	religion	140	3437499	1204.3529	55.81624	21.215
216	eurocentric	3	16256	25.80756	0.26396	21.209
217	apostolate	3	16575	25.80756	0.26914	21.123
218	captor	5	67255	43.0126	1.09205	21.038
219	plenary	9	168195	77.42268	2.73106	21.019
220	criminality	5	68005	43.0126	1.10423	20.916
221	ember	6	94233	51.61512	1.5301	20.796
222	alleluia	3	18021	25.80756	0.29262	20.739
223	catholic	94	2347569	808.6369	38.11855	20.697
224	reconciliation	21	482742	180.65294	7.8385	20.552
225	persecute	11	226526	94.62772	3.67821	20.441
226	pastoral	14	304787	120.43529	4.94897	20.413
227	forgiveness	19	436535	163.44789	7.08822	20.332
228	prophecy	7	123887	60.21764	2.01161	20.327
229	egalitarian	5	72484	43.0126	1.17696	20.217
230	joyfully	4	46798	34.41008	0.75988	20.121
231	fraternal	5	73207	43.0126	1.1887	20.109
232	lagos	10	207335	86.02521	3.36659	19.93
233	repentant	3	21312	25.80756	0.34605	19.916
234	metaphor	22	528406	189.25545	8.57997	19.86
235	emirate	4	48612	34.41008	0.78934	19.79
236	corruption	49	1253906	421.5235	20.36025	19.781

237	tragedy	33	826247	283.88318	13.41615	19.761
238	greed	14	319963	120.43529	5.19539	19.601
239	jer	4	50879	34.41008	0.82615	19.391
240	mandela	7	132890	60.21764	2.1578	19.386
241	phenomenally	3	23951	25.80756	0.3889	19.301
242	mohammedan	3	24040	25.80756	0.39035	19.281
243	lawlessness	4	51575	34.41008	0.83745	19.271
244	yeats	4	51948	34.41008	0.8435	19.208
245	gavel	3	24398	25.80756	0.39616	19.201
246	parched	3	25067	25.80756	0.40702	19.053
247	frightened	6	108566	51.61512	1.76284	19.044
248	courageous	10	219946	86.02521	3.57136	19.037
249	homily	4	53728	34.41008	0.87241	18.912
250	blessed	10	222261	86.02521	3.60895	18.882
251	risen	3	26100	25.80756	0.4238	18.828
252	traumatise	3	26157	25.80756	0.42472	18.816
253	discernment	5	82614	43.0126	1.34144	18.797
254	cynic	4	54949	34.41008	0.89223	18.713
255	despondent	3	27203	25.80756	0.44171	18.594
256	non-christian	4	56288	34.41008	0.91397	18.501
257	foible	3	27657	25.80756	0.44908	18.5
258	metaphorically	4	57523	34.41008	0.93403	18.309
259	christians	3	28771	25.80756	0.46717	18.272
260	beatitude	3	28856	25.80756	0.46855	18.254
261	colonialism	7	145184	60.21764	2.35742	18.234
262	liberate	13	319900	111.83276	5.19436	18.215
263	feudal	6	116335	51.61512	1.88898	18.212
264	religionisation	2	3	17.20504	0.00005	18.204
265	translability	2	7	17.20504	0.00011	18.203
266	nagakin	2	19	17.20504	0.00031	18.199

267	legani	2	36	17.20504	0.00058	18.194
268	boulaga	2	40	17.20504	0.00065	18.193
269	theodramatic	2	55	17.20504	0.00089	18.189
270	theodrama	2	66	17.20504	0.00107	18.186
271	ensconce	3	29202	25.80756	0.47417	18.185
272	prebendalism	2	83	17.20504	0.00135	18.181
273	inculturating	2	101	17.20504	0.00164	18.175
274	cathedraticum	2	107	17.20504	0.00174	18.173
275	willinks	2	115	17.20504	0.00187	18.171
276	revolutionalise	2	147	17.20504	0.00239	18.162
277	taparelli	2	166	17.20504	0.0027	18.156
278	ethnisation	2	171	17.20504	0.00278	18.155
279	malumfashi	2	189	17.20504	0.00307	18.149
280	madalla	2	227	17.20504	0.00369	18.138
281	orkar	2	232	17.20504	0.00377	18.137
282	daboh	2	304	17.20504	0.00494	18.116
283	evangeliser	2	305	17.20504	0.00495	18.115
284	secondly	21	557000	180.65294	9.04426	18.085
285	stupor	3	29834	25.80756	0.48443	18.059
286	overconcentration	2	530	17.20504	0.00861	18.05
287	canossian	2	554	17.20504	0.009	18.043
288	demagogue	3	29944	25.80756	0.48621	18.037
289	amidst	14	353129	120.43529	5.73392	18.033
290	sardauna	2	633	17.20504	0.01028	18.02
291	ajegunle	2	654	17.20504	0.01062	18.014
292	asokoro	2	665	17.20504	0.0108	18.011
293	nyanya	2	688	17.20504	0.01117	18.004
294	irreformable	2	693	17.20504	0.01125	18.002
295	kisho	2	696	17.20504	0.0113	18.002

296	namadi	2	767	17.20504	0.01245	17.981
297	adrenalin	3	30261	25.80756	0.49136	17.975
298	gratuitousness	2	835	17.20504	0.01356	17.962
299	nnadi	2	873	17.20504	0.01418	17.951
300	habila	2	880	17.20504	0.01429	17.949
301	exigency	3	30724	25.80756	0.49888	17.885
302	almajiri	2	1110	17.20504	0.01802	17.883
303	re-stating	2	1298	17.20504	0.02108	17.829
304	vanhoozer	2	1333	17.20504	0.02164	17.819
305	dethronement	2	1603	17.20504	0.02603	17.743
306	christ	134	3943450	1152.7378	64.0316	17.741
307	mazrui	2	1700	17.20504	0.0276	17.716
308	igboland	2	1801	17.20504	0.02924	17.688
309	chronical	2	1892	17.20504	0.03072	17.662
310	morganatic	2	1937	17.20504	0.03145	17.65
311	disorientation	3	32132	25.80756	0.52174	17.616
312	gusau	2	2139	17.20504	0.03473	17.594
313	falsehood	6	123072	51.61512	1.99838	17.548
314	lugard	2	2366	17.20504	0.03842	17.532
315	redemption	16	425721	137.64034	6.91263	17.521
316	insatiably	2	2565	17.20504	0.04165	17.477
317	syncretistic	2	2644	17.20504	0.04293	17.456
318	boundless	5	93733	43.0126	1.52199	17.452
319	revulsion	3	33158	25.80756	0.5384	17.426
320	exaltation	3	33251	25.80756	0.53991	17.409
321	waywardness	2	2915	17.20504	0.04733	17.382
322	harcourt	4	64124	34.41008	1.04121	17.348
323	illustrious	6	125233	51.61512	2.03347	17.345
324	aphorism	3	33649	25.80756	0.54637	17.336
325	bandit	9	217166	77.42268	3.52622	17.326

326	wordless	3	33790	25.80756	0.54866	17.31
327	vagary	3	33821	25.80756	0.54917	17.305
328	daura	2	3351	17.20504	0.05441	17.266
329	opulence	3	34118	25.80756	0.55399	17.251
330	christian-muslim	2	3428	17.20504	0.05566	17.245
331	num	5	95710	43.0126	1.55409	17.232
332	cretans	2	3513	17.20504	0.05704	17.223
333	incomprehensible	5	96262	43.0126	1.56305	17.172
334	moneychanger	2	3750	17.20504	0.06089	17.16
335	patriotism	7	158273	60.21764	2.56995	17.148
336	ikoyi	2	3822	17.20504	0.06206	17.141
337	non-western	3	34889	25.80756	0.56651	17.113
338	graduand	2	3987	17.20504	0.06474	17.098
339	unaccountable	3	35105	25.80756	0.57002	17.075
340	joyfulness	2	4145	17.20504	0.0673	17.057
341	obeid	2	4175	17.20504	0.06779	17.049
342	steppingstone	2	4355	17.20504	0.07071	17.003
343	retrogressive	2	4634	17.20504	0.07524	16.931
344	unredeemed	2	4743	17.20504	0.07701	16.903
345	truth-teller	2	4881	17.20504	0.07926	16.868
346	manger	4	67897	34.41008	1.10247	16.842
347	relativize	2	5146	17.20504	0.08356	16.801
348	dictum	3	37006	25.80756	0.60088	16.745
349	goshen	3	37032	25.80756	0.60131	16.741
350	insecurity	12	322242	103.23025	5.23239	16.724
351	prophecy	17	480968	146.24284	7.8097	16.714
352	theocracy	3	37269	25.80756	0.60515	16.701
353	inebriation	2	5590	17.20504	0.09077	16.69
354	indictment	12	323864	103.23025	5.25873	16.654
355	isaiah	12	324818	103.23025	5.27422	16.612

356	sarajevo	4	69906	34.41008	1.1351	16.585
357	onitsha	2	6023	17.20504	0.0978	16.583
358	disciple	24	708898	206.46049	11.5107	16.583
359	fraternize	2	6352	17.20504	0.10314	16.503
360	spes	2	6513	17.20504	0.10575	16.464
361	priestly	4	70873	34.41008	1.1508	16.464
362	adesina	2	6564	17.20504	0.10658	16.452
363	igbos	2	6598	17.20504	0.10713	16.443
364	eloquently	4	71280	34.41008	1.15741	16.413
365	self-giving	2	6728	17.20504	0.10925	16.412
366	asaba	2	6736	17.20504	0.10938	16.41
367	redemptive	3	39027	25.80756	0.6337	16.409
368	fratelli	2	6866	17.20504	0.11149	16.379
369	salvific	2	6921	17.20504	0.11238	16.366
370	rudderless	2	7055	17.20504	0.11456	16.334
371	yola	2	7153	17.20504	0.11615	16.311
372	igbo	3	40178	25.80756	0.65239	16.224
373	heed	9	236396	77.42268	3.83847	16.208
374	ours	22	662512	189.25545	10.75751	16.182
375	eccl	2	7934	17.20504	0.12883	16.127
376	indescribable	3	41243	25.80756	0.66968	16.055
377	ipob	2	8256	17.20504	0.13406	16.053
378	cassock	2	8419	17.20504	0.1367	16.016
379	profligacy	2	8494	17.20504	0.13792	15.999
380	scapegoat	4	74756	34.41008	1.21385	15.995
381	penance	4	74942	34.41008	1.21687	15.973
382	muslim	67	2167355	576.3689	35.19233	15.953
383	homeless	25	774456	215.06302	12.5752	15.916
384	quarrelsome	2	9284	17.20504	0.15075	15.82
385	catholics	14	411532	120.43529	6.68223	15.807

386	catechumen	2	9395	17.20504	0.15255	15.795
387	opprobrium	2	9623	17.20504	0.15625	15.745
388	rugged	12	346134	103.23025	5.62034	15.744
389	lamin	2	9834	17.20504	0.15968	15.698
390	suffering	32	1028544	275.28067	16.70094	15.608
391	ontologically	2	10314	17.20504	0.16747	15.594
392	misery	12	350475	103.23025	5.69082	15.578
393	navigational	4	78491	34.41008	1.27449	15.568
394	lord	163	5490184	1402.2108	89.14663	15.566
395	matthew	41	1339671	352.70334	21.75285	15.545
396	resolute	4	78728	34.41008	1.27834	15.542
397	scar	20	627297	172.05042	10.18571	15.471
398	bala	3	45187	25.80756	0.73372	15.462
399	seminary	12	354059	103.23025	5.74902	15.444
400	statesmanship	2	11583	17.20504	0.18808	15.323
401	chr	3	46211	25.80756	0.75035	15.316
402	kuti	2	11776	17.20504	0.19121	15.283
403	relativism	3	46934	25.80756	0.76209	15.214
404	graciousness	2	12138	17.20504	0.19709	15.208
405	epochal	2	12177	17.20504	0.19772	15.2
406	commend	11	326356	94.62772	5.29919	15.181
407	paganism	3	47300	25.80756	0.76803	15.162
408	imbibe	3	47697	25.80756	0.77448	15.107
409	god-given	3	47803	25.80756	0.7762	15.093
410	catechesis	2	12889	17.20504	0.20928	15.054
411	superficiality	2	13111	17.20504	0.21289	15.01
412	shylock	2	13114	17.20504	0.21294	15.009
413	northerner	2	13144	17.20504	0.21343	15.003
414	presto	3	48729	25.80756	0.79124	14.966
415	communion	12	368650	103.23025	5.98594	14.92

416	vengeance	8	226737	68.82017	3.68163	14.914
417	divinely	3	49255	25.80756	0.79978	14.895
418	lawton	3	49322	25.80756	0.80086	14.886
419	eko	2	13755	17.20504	0.22335	14.881
420	purification	7	192340	60.21764	3.12311	14.847
421	sambo	2	14392	17.20504	0.23369	14.757
422	believer	25	844481	215.06302	13.71222	14.686
423	exploitative	3	50923	25.80756	0.82686	14.674
424	polytheism	2	14847	17.20504	0.24108	14.669
425	quarrel	6	159324	51.61512	2.58702	14.668
426	realisation	5	123341	43.0126	2.00274	14.657
427	afflict	7	196838	60.21764	3.19615	14.589
428	kinsman	3	51637	25.80756	0.83845	14.582
429	sanctified	2	15481	17.20504	0.25137	14.548
430	trepidation	3	51946	25.80756	0.84347	14.542
431	blessedness	2	15553	17.20504	0.25254	14.534
432	rump	3	52034	25.80756	0.8449	14.531
433	hilltop	4	88549	34.41008	1.43781	14.525
434	probity	2	15613	17.20504	0.25352	14.523
435	ecclesiology	2	15728	17.20504	0.25538	14.502
436	kgs	2	15736	17.20504	0.25551	14.5
437	misfortune	6	162053	51.61512	2.63133	14.489
438	travelled	2	15801	17.20504	0.25657	14.488
439	patronage	6	162483	51.61512	2.63831	14.461
440	fullness	5	125848	43.0126	2.04345	14.461
441	saviour	6	162591	51.61512	2.64006	14.454
442	irritant	3	53062	25.80756	0.86159	14.4
443	chalice	3	53542	25.80756	0.86939	14.34
444	befall	4	90745	34.41008	1.47347	14.316
445	multilayer	3	54338	25.80756	0.88231	14.242

446	sanctification	3	54795	25.80756	0.88973	14.186
447	bogeyman	2	17712	17.20504	0.2876	14.139
448	enticement	2	17922	17.20504	0.29101	14.101
449	plural	8	244320	68.82017	3.96714	14.056
450	bestiality	2	18287	17.20504	0.29693	14.037
451	incoherence	2	18328	17.20504	0.2976	14.03
452	injustice	15	510235	129.03781	8.28492	14.005
453	persecution	13	434848	111.83276	7.06083	13.998
454	cenotaph	2	18554	17.20504	0.30127	13.99
455	god	459	17376889	3948.5569	282.15649	13.948
456	palmas	2	18828	17.20504	0.30572	13.943
457	kaleidoscopic	2	18887	17.20504	0.30668	13.932
458	non-muslim	3	57161	25.80756	0.92815	13.903
459	theological	15	514581	129.03781	8.35549	13.9
460	preach	21	744761	180.65294	12.09303	13.874
461	moral	59	2198895	507.54871	35.70446	13.855
462	hypocrisy	7	210660	60.21764	3.42058	13.848
463	altar	13	441873	111.83276	7.17489	13.802
464	decamp	2	19652	17.20504	0.3191	13.801
465	bureaucracy	9	289674	77.42268	4.70357	13.75
466	inferno	4	97121	34.41008	1.577	13.741
467	canonization	2	20022	17.20504	0.32511	13.739
468	sinfulness	2	20042	17.20504	0.32543	13.735
469	cronyism	2	20348	17.20504	0.3304	13.684
470	judaic	2	20367	17.20504	0.33071	13.681
471	caesar	9	291545	77.42268	4.73395	13.677
472	islam	33	1221715	283.88318	19.83755	13.672
473	timeless	9	291704	77.42268	4.73653	13.671
474	silversmith	2	20439	17.20504	0.33188	13.669
475	sultan	8	254251	68.82017	4.12839	13.614

476	cohesiveness	2	20974	17.20504	0.34056	13.58
477	nonchalant	2	20999	17.20504	0.34097	13.576
478	amos	6	177226	51.61512	2.8777	13.569
479	selfishness	4	99675	34.41008	1.61847	13.523
480	harangue	2	21520	17.20504	0.34943	13.491
481	departments	6	180412	51.61512	2.92943	13.39
482	crucifixion	4	102172	34.41008	1.65901	13.317
483	characterise	8	261499	68.82017	4.24608	13.309
484	wasteland	4	102329	34.41008	1.66156	13.304
485	religious	104	4096824	894.66211	66.522	13.265
486	elicit	8	263035	68.82017	4.27102	13.246
487	intolerance	6	183555	51.61512	2.98047	13.218
488	benedict	7	223926	60.21764	3.63599	13.205
489	cutlery	3	63445	25.80756	1.03019	13.204
490	msgr	2	23342	17.20504	0.37901	13.201
491	institutionalize	4	103779	34.41008	1.68511	13.188
492	melchizedek	2	23564	17.20504	0.38262	13.167
493	frustration	20	750710	172.05042	12.18962	13.12
494	tutti	2	23892	17.20504	0.38795	13.117
495	dietrich	3	64529	25.80756	1.04779	13.091
496	hopelessness	3	64844	25.80756	1.0529	13.058
497	jonah	5	146089	43.0126	2.37211	13.052
498	idp	3	65018	25.80756	1.05573	13.04
499	tempting	7	228350	60.21764	3.70782	13.003
500	behold	11	392297	94.62772	6.36991	12.975

Addendum 2: Top 500 keywords from PP2

	Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
1	nigerian	454	495987	3906.9895	8.05357	431.652
2	zonal	73	41167	628.21637	0.66845	377.127
3	nationhood	53	22570	456.10229	0.36648	334.511
4	nigeria	617	974009	5309.71924	15.81543	315.824
5	buhari	79	107670	679.85059	1.74829	247.736
6	muhammadu	40	32580	344.22815	0.52902	225.784
7	nkjv	33	26151	283.98822	0.42463	200.044
8	bakare	24	3006	206.5369	0.04881	197.878
9	tunde	24	7507	206.5369	0.12189	184.988
10	electocracy	19	89	163.50838	0.00145	164.271
11	geopolitical	65	157738	559.37073	2.56126	157.352
12	boko	39	80511	335.62244	1.30729	145.895
13	sng	20	12850	172.11407	0.20865	143.229
14	restructuring	91	304774	783.11908	4.94875	131.812
15	haram	39	98684	335.62244	1.60238	129.352
16	tepperman	15	770	129.08556	0.0125	128.479
17	chibok	16	7447	137.69127	0.12092	123.73
18	goodluck	20	28139	172.11407	0.45691	118.823
19	sectional	39	114291	335.62244	1.8558	117.873
20	reintegration	24	47041	206.5369	0.76383	117.663
21	federate	23	42801	197.93118	0.69498	117.365
22	cbn	20	34933	172.11407	0.56722	110.459
23	obasanjo	21	42004	180.71979	0.68204	108.035

24	fulani	16	23393	137.69127	0.37984	100.512
25	geo-economic	12	3024	103.26845	0.0491	99.388
26	subnational	14	15510	120.47985	0.25184	97.041
27	naira	16	30668	137.69127	0.49797	92.586
28	polity	23	78658	197.93118	1.27721	87.358
29	euroclydon	10	195	86.05704	0.00317	86.782
30	igbos	11	6598	94.66274	0.10713	86.406
31	restructure	43	203964	370.04526	3.31186	86.052
32	bukky	10	722	86.05704	0.01172	86.048
33	korah	11	7404	94.66274	0.12022	85.396
34	south-south	13	19977	111.87415	0.32438	85.228
35	reformative	10	1796	86.05704	0.02916	84.59
36	inec	14	27616	120.47985	0.44841	83.871
37	apc	35	174084	301.19965	2.82668	78.972
38	habakkuk	11	14329	94.66274	0.23267	77.606
39	ezekwesili	9	1547	77.45133	0.02512	76.529
40	oby	9	2054	77.45133	0.03335	75.919
41	destiny	90	583201	774.51337	9.4697	74.072
42	chairperson	47	276470	404.46808	4.48917	73.867
43	olusegun	10	11986	86.05704	0.19462	72.874
44	niger	29	155654	249.56541	2.52743	71.034
45	obafemi	9	7112	77.45133	0.11548	70.33
46	pdp	23	123945	197.93118	2.01255	66.034
47	abuja	17	77060	146.29697	1.25126	65.429
48	havens	10	20817	86.05704	0.33802	65.064
49	thirty-six	13	48048	111.87415	0.78018	63.406

50	lagos	32	207335	275.38254	3.36659	63.295
51	federalism	15	65524	129.08556	1.06394	63.028
52	awolowo	8	7196	68.84563	0.11684	62.538
53	hausa	9	15787	77.45133	0.25634	62.444
54	hypnocratic	7	1	60.23993	0.00002	61.239
55	ojota	7	424	60.23993	0.00688	60.821
56	tafawa	7	1660	60.23993	0.02695	59.633
57	herdsman	10	29313	86.05704	0.47597	58.983
58	protectorate	12	47638	103.26845	0.77352	58.792
59	god-given	12	47803	103.26845	0.7762	58.703
60	nnamdi	8	11860	68.84563	0.19258	58.567
61	secretariat	36	266456	309.80533	4.32657	58.35
62	yoruba	11	41285	94.66274	0.67036	57.271
63	el-rufai	7	4668	60.23993	0.0758	56.925
64	devolution	14	70170	120.47985	1.13938	56.783
65	nnpc	8	15052	68.84563	0.24441	56.128
66	mallam	7	5956	60.23993	0.09671	55.84
67	reconciliation	57	482742	490.52512	7.8385	55.612
68	kuan	8	18904	68.84563	0.30695	53.442
69	alexandrian	8	19029	68.84563	0.30898	53.359
70	infrastructural	11	49093	94.66274	0.79715	53.23
71	stakeholdership	6	110	51.63422	0.00179	52.54
72	borno	8	20531	68.84563	0.33337	52.383
73	geosocial	6	603	51.63422	0.00979	52.124
74	kaduna	9	31221	77.45133	0.50695	52.06

75	fawehinmi	6	1201	51.63422	0.0195	51.627
76	dapchi	6	1279	51.63422	0.02077	51.563
77	geo-economic	6	1523	51.63422	0.02473	51.364
78	marginalization	10	42929	86.05704	0.69706	51.299
79	ebele	6	1634	51.63422	0.02653	51.274
80	nation	652	6701919	5610.91895	108.82212	51.1
81	balewa	6	2234	51.63422	0.03627	50.792
82	sokoto	7	12930	60.23993	0.20995	50.614
83	azikiwe	6	4282	51.63422	0.06953	49.213
84	gowon	6	4578	51.63422	0.07434	48.992
85	ptb	7	15550	60.23993	0.25249	48.894
86	ethno-religious	6	4862	51.63422	0.07895	48.783
87	macaulay	9	37593	77.45133	0.61041	48.715
88	pre-independence	6	5035	51.63422	0.08176	48.656
89	prophetic	22	180678	189.32549	2.93375	48.383
90	abubakar	8	27703	68.84563	0.44983	48.175
91	north-south	13	83015	111.87415	1.34795	48.073
92	subsist	10	53022	86.05704	0.86094	46.781
93	anti-corruption	14	98668	120.47985	1.60212	46.685
94	agitation	19	156625	163.50838	2.54319	46.429
95	rascality	6	8371	51.63422	0.13592	46.336
96	subsidy	63	661833	542.15936	10.74648	46.24
97	gani	6	8585	51.63422	0.1394	46.195

98	yakubu	6	9105	51.63422	0.14784	45.855
99	isaiah	33	324818	283.98822	5.27422	45.422
100	centurion	11	69809	94.66274	1.13352	44.838
101	rebirth	18	155330	154.90266	2.52216	44.263
102	abacha	6	11977	51.63422	0.19448	44.065
103	nation-building	7	24204	60.23993	0.39301	43.962
104	diversification	19	171635	163.50838	2.78692	43.441
105	rascality	5	1646	43.02852	0.02673	42.882
106	mobilise	14	113967	120.47985	1.85053	42.617
107	biafra	7	27331	60.23993	0.44379	42.416
108	laziness	11	78739	94.66274	1.27852	41.985
109	politico-economic	5	3190	43.02852	0.0518	41.86
110	bridge-building	5	3947	43.02852	0.06409	41.377
111	kelechi	5	4474	43.02852	0.07265	41.047
112	ahmadu	5	5089	43.02852	0.08263	40.668
113	okonjo-iweala	5	5138	43.02852	0.08343	40.638
114	helmsman	6	18664	51.63422	0.30306	40.393
115	ijaw	5	6962	43.02852	0.11305	39.557
116	patrimony	6	20934	51.63422	0.33991	39.282
117	postponement	10	74976	86.05704	1.21742	39.261
118	abimelech	5	7909	43.02852	0.12842	39.018
119	non-executive	8	51324	68.84563	0.83337	38.097
120	melchizedek	6	23564	51.63422	0.38262	38.068

121	shechem	5	9677	43.02852	0.15713	38.05
122	kano	8	51762	68.84563	0.84048	37.95
123	disintegration	10	79736	86.05704	1.29471	37.938
124	ngozi	5	10036	43.02852	0.16296	37.859
125	adamawa	5	10259	43.02852	0.16658	37.742
126	convener	7	38634	60.23993	0.62732	37.632
127	banditry	5	10604	43.02852	0.17218	37.561
128	short-change	5	11249	43.02852	0.18266	37.229
129	prompting	6	25935	51.63422	0.42112	37.037
130	storeroom	6	27244	51.63422	0.44237	36.491
131	reconfiguration	7	42447	60.23993	0.68923	36.253
132	junction	11	102477	94.66274	1.66397	35.91
133	nasir	6	29231	51.63422	0.47464	35.693
134	atiku	5	14712	43.02852	0.23889	35.539
135	dirpa	4	5	34.42282	0.00008	35.42
136	intra-culture	4	9	34.42282	0.00015	35.418
137	akilo	4	48	34.42282	0.00078	35.395
138	sippai	4	67	34.42282	0.00109	35.384
139	kanuris	4	81	34.42282	0.00132	35.376
140	ishbi-benob	4	105	34.42282	0.0017	35.363
141	post-amalgamation	4	110	34.42282	0.00179	35.36
142	lahmi	4	136	34.42282	0.00221	35.345
143	grundnorm	4	257	34.42282	0.00417	35.276
144	rechab	4	651	34.42282	0.01057	35.052

145	zonally	4	713	34.42282	0.01158	35.017
146	oodua	4	758	34.42282	0.01231	34.992
147	underdevelopment	5	16168	43.02852	0.26253	34.873
148	misgovernance	4	1310	34.42282	0.02127	34.685
149	perversity	5	16664	43.02852	0.27058	34.652
150	ogba	4	1422	34.42282	0.02309	34.623
151	hydra-headed	4	1433	34.42282	0.02327	34.617
152	electioneer	5	17090	43.02852	0.2775	34.465
153	afenifere	4	2029	34.42282	0.03295	34.293
154	sambisa	4	2057	34.42282	0.0334	34.278
155	sociocultural	6	33197	51.63422	0.53903	34.2
156	threats	7	49388	60.23993	0.80194	33.986
157	yew	7	49397	60.23993	0.80208	33.983
158	clamour	6	33834	51.63422	0.54938	33.971
159	incorruptible	5	18742	43.02852	0.30432	33.756
160	constitutionalism	5	18877	43.02852	0.30651	33.699
161	nuhu	4	3331	34.42282	0.05409	33.605
162	dasuki	4	3471	34.42282	0.05636	33.533
163	shoddily	4	3560	34.42282	0.05781	33.487
164	lawlessness	7	51575	60.23993	0.83745	33.329
165	forebear	6	35811	51.63422	0.58148	33.282
166	governance	89	1365824	765.90765	22.17751	33.088
167	psalm	31	441325	266.77682	7.166	32.792
168	intergroup	5	21564	43.02852	0.35014	32.61

169	socioeconomic	16	201697	137.69127	3.27505	32.442
170	yobe	4	6837	34.42282	0.11102	31.883
171	igbo	6	40178	51.63422	0.65239	31.853
172	ikeja	4	6919	34.42282	0.11235	31.845
173	reformist	8	73545	68.84563	1.19418	31.832
174	gath	4	7636	34.42282	0.12399	31.515
175	maladministration	4	8141	34.42282	0.13219	31.287
176	inter-agency	5	25399	43.02852	0.41242	31.173
177	pragmatic	17	231183	146.29697	3.75382	30.985
178	yemi	4	9223	34.42282	0.14976	30.809
179	bauchi	4	9447	34.42282	0.1534	30.712
180	grievance	21	304347	180.71979	4.94182	30.583
181	zephaniah	4	9987	34.42282	0.16216	30.48
182	amalgamation	8	80281	68.84563	1.30356	30.321
183	katsina	4	10648	34.42282	0.1729	30.201
184	oyo	5	28362	43.02852	0.46053	30.146
185	indolence	4	11043	34.42282	0.17931	30.037
186	ten-year	7	64040	60.23993	1.03985	30.022
187	goliath	9	99466	77.45133	1.61507	30
188	subsidise	8	81825	68.84563	1.32863	29.994
189	avoidable	7	64299	60.23993	1.04405	29.96
190	militancy	6	48082	51.63422	0.78073	29.558
191	secession	8	84671	68.84563	1.37484	29.411
192	post-independence	4	12984	34.42282	0.21083	29.255

193	unquestionable	5	31613	43.02852	0.51331	29.094
194	incumbency	4	14163	34.42282	0.22997	28.8
195	aberration	9	106228	77.45133	1.72487	28.791
196	bayelsa	4	14840	34.42282	0.24096	28.545
197	emergence	29	485368	249.56541	7.88114	28.213
198	genesis	36	618199	309.80533	10.03798	28.158
199	constitutional	70	1268581	602.39929	20.59853	27.937
200	reorientation	4	16569	34.42282	0.26904	27.913
201	amen	14	207235	120.47985	3.36497	27.831
202	état	5	36148	43.02852	0.58695	27.744
203	blunder	10	132138	86.05704	2.14559	27.676
204	rtd	5	36880	43.02852	0.59884	27.538
205	malady	6	56637	51.63422	0.91964	27.419
206	governors	9	117029	77.45133	1.90025	27.05
207	sani	4	19286	34.42282	0.31316	26.975
208	upheaval	10	137825	86.05704	2.23793	26.887
209	gifmis	3	142	25.81711	0.00231	26.755
210	devolutionist	3	217	25.81711	0.00352	26.723
211	anti-igbo	3	229	25.81711	0.00372	26.718
212	bio-geographical	3	296	25.81711	0.00481	26.689
213	buzzword	6	60326	51.63422	0.97954	26.589
214	inter-zonal	3	551	25.81711	0.00895	26.579
215	ippis	3	733	25.81711	0.0119	26.502
216	nassarawa	3	775	25.81711	0.01258	26.484

217	sharibu	3	878	25.81711	0.01426	26.44
218	wetin	3	920	25.81711	0.01494	26.422
219	unholiness	3	1120	25.81711	0.01819	26.338
220	fulanis	3	1212	25.81711	0.01968	26.3
221	akinyemi	3	1450	25.81711	0.02354	26.2
222	kanuri	3	1594	25.81711	0.02588	26.141
223	south-east	11	164822	94.66274	2.67629	26.022
224	well-governed	3	2014	25.81711	0.0327	25.968
225	disenfranchisement	4	22482	34.42282	0.36505	25.95
226	fola	3	2276	25.81711	0.03696	25.861
227	overseer	7	84288	60.23993	1.36862	25.855
228	chukwuma	3	2365	25.81711	0.0384	25.825
229	yorubas	3	2370	25.81711	0.03848	25.823
230	adeola	3	2624	25.81711	0.04261	25.721
231	ribadu	3	3243	25.81711	0.05266	25.476
232	patriotic	15	255998	129.08556	4.15676	25.226
233	massob	3	3997	25.81711	0.0649	25.183
234	crete	8	109703	68.84563	1.7813	25.113
235	jigawa	3	4254	25.81711	0.06907	25.084
236	kebbi	3	4429	25.81711	0.07192	25.018
237	socio-cultural	5	46814	43.02852	0.76014	25.014
238	bpe	3	4468	25.81711	0.07255	25.003
239	princely	5	46985	43.02852	0.76292	24.975
240	efcc	4	25998	34.42282	0.42214	24.908
241	emancipation	9	132551	77.45133	2.15229	24.887

242	propositional	4	26118	34.42282	0.42409	24.874
243	inter-group	3	4840	25.81711	0.07859	24.863
244	pre-election	4	26471	34.42282	0.42982	24.774
245	institutionalization	4	26692	34.42282	0.43341	24.712
246	secessionist	4	26894	34.42282	0.43669	24.656
247	taraba	3	5434	25.81711	0.08823	24.643
248	corruption	61	1253906	524.94794	20.36025	24.623
249	sworn-in	3	5546	25.81711	0.09005	24.602
250	conflictual	3	5579	25.81711	0.09059	24.59
251	nasarawa	3	5776	25.81711	0.09379	24.518
252	non-viable	3	5833	25.81711	0.09471	24.497
253	institutionalise	4	27715	34.42282	0.45002	24.429
254	governmental	25	483741	215.14259	7.85472	24.41
255	cpc	8	115591	68.84563	1.8769	24.278
256	colonialist	4	28610	34.42282	0.46455	24.187
257	statesman	10	162331	86.05704	2.63584	23.944
258	trustful	3	7563	25.81711	0.1228	23.884
259	oba	4	29910	34.42282	0.48566	23.843
260	parable	11	185842	94.66274	3.0176	23.811
261	greatness	14	252916	120.47985	4.10671	23.788
262	lawal	3	8072	25.81711	0.13107	23.71
263	unshaken	3	8194	25.81711	0.13305	23.668
264	discordance	3	8199	25.81711	0.13313	23.666
265	zamfara	3	8331	25.81711	0.13527	23.622
266	hitherto	9	144280	77.45133	2.34274	23.469

267	prosperous	13	235296	111.87415	3.82061	23.415
268	seven-point	3	8996	25.81711	0.14607	23.399
269	dey	5	54904	43.02852	0.8915	23.277
270	incapacitation	3	9746	25.81711	0.15825	23.153
271	n6	3	9957	25.81711	0.16168	23.085
272	ethos	11	197162	94.66274	3.20141	22.769
273	throes	4	34343	34.42282	0.55764	22.741
274	counterproductive	6	80959	51.63422	1.31457	22.74
275	antecedent	6	81013	51.63422	1.31545	22.732
276	post-election	4	34613	34.42282	0.56203	22.677
277	preamble	6	81532	51.63422	1.32387	22.649
278	osinbajo	3	11419	25.81711	0.18542	22.623
279	mobutu	3	11519	25.81711	0.18704	22.592
280	dla	4	35926	34.42282	0.58335	22.372
281	selah	3	12354	25.81711	0.2006	22.336
282	benue	3	12915	25.81711	0.20971	22.168
283	transformational	8	132941	68.84563	2.15862	22.113
284	intelligentsia	4	37105	34.42282	0.60249	22.105
285	admonition	5	61373	43.02852	0.99654	22.052
286	fifty-eight	3	13652	25.81711	0.22167	21.951
287	rustler	3	13755	25.81711	0.22335	21.921
288	irreducible	4	38248	34.42282	0.62105	21.852
289	osun	3	14098	25.81711	0.22892	21.822
290	centripetal	3	14190	25.81711	0.23041	21.795

291	ascendancy	4	38691	34.42282	0.62824	21.755
292	sambo	3	14392	25.81711	0.23369	21.737
293	kogi	3	14409	25.81711	0.23397	21.732
294	actualization	3	14701	25.81711	0.23871	21.649
295	cann	3	14763	25.81711	0.23971	21.632
296	usher	15	310387	129.08556	5.0399	21.538
297	skill-set	3	15413	25.81711	0.25027	21.449
298	deregulation	6	89687	51.63422	1.45629	21.428
299	strongman	4	40270	34.42282	0.65388	21.418
300	quagmire	4	40393	34.42282	0.65588	21.392
301	edifice	6	90042	51.63422	1.46205	21.378
302	birthright	5	65777	43.02852	1.06805	21.29
303	abia	3	16114	25.81711	0.26165	21.256
304	tempestuous	3	16202	25.81711	0.26308	21.232
305	sub-national	3	16536	25.81711	0.2685	21.141
306	two-pronged	3	16815	25.81711	0.27303	21.066
307	lagarde	3	16892	25.81711	0.27428	21.045
308	nehemiah	4	42434	34.42282	0.68902	20.972
309	city-state	4	42991	34.42282	0.69806	20.861
310	geo-political	3	18479	25.81711	0.30005	20.628
311	salute	13	276526	111.87415	4.49008	20.56
312	unresolved	8	147646	68.84563	2.3974	20.559
313	priestly	5	70873	43.02852	1.1508	20.471
314	philippians	4	45331	34.42282	0.73606	20.404
315	misdeed	4	45349	34.42282	0.73635	20.401
316	unification	8	149666	68.84563	2.4302	20.362

317	bequeath	6	98035	51.63422	1.59184	20.308
318	precipice	4	45949	34.42282	0.74609	20.287
319	well-structured	3	19906	25.81711	0.32322	20.267
320	end-time	3	19966	25.81711	0.3242	20.252
321	reintegrate	3	20019	25.81711	0.32506	20.238
322	devolve	7	125195	60.23993	2.03285	20.192
323	idi	3	20363	25.81711	0.33064	20.153
324	coexistence	5	72988	43.02852	1.18514	20.149
325	re-examination	3	21057	25.81711	0.34191	19.984
326	cutting-edge	12	260323	103.26845	4.22698	19.948
327	astute	6	101195	51.63422	1.64315	19.913
328	commander-in-chief	5	74585	43.02852	1.21107	19.913
329	acts	8	154459	68.84563	2.50802	19.91
330	globalised	3	21448	25.81711	0.34826	19.89
331	constitution	82	2133150	705.66772	34.63693	19.83
332	zion	10	209047	86.05704	3.39439	19.811
333	amalgamate	5	75313	43.02852	1.22289	19.807
334	righteousness	14	319623	120.47985	5.18986	19.626
335	institutionalize	6	103779	51.63422	1.68511	19.602
336	indict	9	185139	77.45133	3.00619	19.583
337	born-again	3	23314	25.81711	0.37856	19.453
338	groundwork	7	133488	60.23993	2.16751	19.334
339	north-central	3	23912	25.81711	0.38827	19.317

340	romans	10	216706	86.05704	3.51875	19.266
341	citizenry	5	79193	43.02852	1.28589	19.261
342	preconceive	4	52063	34.42282	0.84537	19.196
343	posterity	5	80110	43.02852	1.30078	19.136
344	u-turn	4	52606	34.42282	0.85419	19.104
345	socio-economic	11	246913	94.66274	4.00924	19.097
346	north-east	7	137155	60.23993	2.22705	18.977
347	alhaji	3	25558	25.81711	0.415	18.952
348	preponderance	4	53915	34.42282	0.87544	18.888
349	non-negotiable	3	26085	25.81711	0.42355	18.838
350	exodus	12	282700	103.26845	4.59033	18.652
351	backdrop	18	453236	154.90266	7.3594	18.65
352	mariam	3	27079	25.81711	0.43969	18.627
353	despondent	3	27203	25.81711	0.44171	18.601
354	petroleum	21	540137	180.71979	8.77045	18.599
355	pervert	6	113209	51.63422	1.83823	18.545
356	distrust	8	170776	68.84563	2.77297	18.512
357	self-sustain	3	27638	25.81711	0.44877	18.51
358	long-suffering	3	27986	25.81711	0.45442	18.438
359	terror	38	1045146	327.01675	16.97051	18.253
360	elhanaan	2	0	17.21141	0	18.211
361	hypnocrat	2	0	17.21141	0	18.211
362	devolutionists	2	6	17.21141	0.0001	18.21
363	npc-led	2	7	17.21141	0.00011	18.209

364	six-digitd	2	9	17.21141	0.00015	18.209
365	geo-polity	2	13	17.21141	0.00021	18.208
366	northernization	2	43	17.21141	0.0007	18.199
367	self-reverse	2	44	17.21141	0.00071	18.198
368	ethno-geographical	2	44	17.21141	0.00071	18.198
369	currency-driven	2	54	17.21141	0.00088	18.195
370	sibbecai	2	57	17.21141	0.00093	18.195
371	lasea	2	168	17.21141	0.00273	18.162
372	dpem	2	182	17.21141	0.00296	18.158
373	teniola	2	189	17.21141	0.00307	18.156
374	meritoriousness	2	190	17.21141	0.00309	18.155
375	egbesu	2	192	17.21141	0.00312	18.155
376	akran	2	205	17.21141	0.00333	18.151
377	made-in-nigeria	2	236	17.21141	0.00383	18.142
378	ijaws	2	251	17.21141	0.00408	18.137
379	socio-politico-economic	2	256	17.21141	0.00416	18.136
380	cpib	2	269	17.21141	0.00437	18.132
381	adramyttium	2	280	17.21141	0.00455	18.129
382	clusterization	2	281	17.21141	0.00456	18.129
383	inter-sectional	2	308	17.21141	0.005	18.121

384	king-making	2	312	17.21141	0.00507	18.12
385	cratic	2	360	17.21141	0.00585	18.106
386	nadeco	2	415	17.21141	0.00674	18.09
387	salmone	2	417	17.21141	0.00677	18.089
388	provisionary	2	469	17.21141	0.00762	18.074
389	geo-social	2	515	17.21141	0.00836	18.06
390	tensive	2	543	17.21141	0.00882	18.052
391	ergp	2	572	17.21141	0.00929	18.044
392	anyaoku	2	574	17.21141	0.00932	18.043
393	pro-biafra	2	576	17.21141	0.00935	18.043
394	funmilayo	2	605	17.21141	0.00982	18.034
395	anti-north	2	624	17.21141	0.01013	18.029
396	opc	4	59443	34.42282	0.9652	18.025
397	ransome-kuti	2	648	17.21141	0.01052	18.022
398	crony	5	88897	43.02852	1.44346	18.019
399	interventive	2	668	17.21141	0.01085	18.016
400	gencos	2	675	17.21141	0.01096	18.014
401	unsustained	2	692	17.21141	0.01124	18.009
402	odumakin	2	708	17.21141	0.0115	18.004
403	hausas	2	748	17.21141	0.01215	17.993
404	wine-press	2	806	17.21141	0.01309	17.976
405	annulment	3	30358	25.81711	0.49294	17.963
406	pppra	2	869	17.21141	0.01411	17.958
407	enahoro	2	881	17.21141	0.01431	17.955
408	lest	11	266796	94.66274	4.33209	17.941
409	ncnc	2	1033	17.21141	0.01677	17.911

410	oputa	2	1051	17.21141	0.01707	17.906
411	omoyele	2	1092	17.21141	0.01773	17.894
412	phcn	2	1141	17.21141	0.01853	17.88
413	bornu	2	1198	17.21141	0.01945	17.864
414	cnidus	2	1221	17.21141	0.01983	17.857
415	harbinger	4	60717	34.42282	0.98589	17.837
416	pre-transition	2	1367	17.21141	0.0222	17.816
417	accountant-general	2	1431	17.21141	0.02324	17.798
418	classicus	2	1437	17.21141	0.02333	17.796
419	productized	2	1480	17.21141	0.02403	17.784
420	anti-robbery	2	1498	17.21141	0.02432	17.779
421	edos	2	1500	17.21141	0.02436	17.778
422	departments	8	180412	68.84563	2.92943	17.775
423	incentivisation	2	1591	17.21141	0.02583	17.753
424	overemphasised	2	1591	17.21141	0.02583	17.753
425	counter-coup	2	1643	17.21141	0.02668	17.738
426	bokassa	2	1826	17.21141	0.02965	17.687
427	bolaji	2	1874	17.21141	0.03043	17.674
428	terror-stricken	2	1935	17.21141	0.03142	17.657
429	abishai	2	1960	17.21141	0.03183	17.65
430	non-inclusion	2	1994	17.21141	0.03238	17.64
431	pro-people	2	1998	17.21141	0.03244	17.639
432	caliphate	4	62259	34.42282	1.01093	17.615
433	mobilisation	4	62824	34.42282	1.0201	17.535

434	value-creating	2	2397	17.21141	0.03892	17.529
435	knowledge-driven	2	2440	17.21141	0.03962	17.517
436	dogara	2	2498	17.21141	0.04056	17.502
437	arewa	2	2516	17.21141	0.04085	17.497
438	pfn	2	2552	17.21141	0.04144	17.487
439	needful	3	32869	25.81711	0.53371	17.485
440	threadlike	2	2679	17.21141	0.0435	17.452
441	founding	28	792395	240.9597	12.86648	17.449
442	forsake	6	124247	51.63422	2.01746	17.443
443	anpp	2	2777	17.21141	0.04509	17.426
444	soludo	2	2857	17.21141	0.04639	17.404
445	tarry	3	33342	25.81711	0.54139	17.398
446	shagari	2	2893	17.21141	0.04697	17.394
447	looter	3	33412	25.81711	0.54253	17.385
448	reconciliatory	2	2936	17.21141	0.04767	17.383
449	toothless	3	33427	25.81711	0.54277	17.382
450	watchman	5	94461	43.02852	1.53381	17.376
451	skiff	3	33554	25.81711	0.54483	17.359
452	lamido	2	3045	17.21141	0.04944	17.353
453	n500	2	3118	17.21141	0.05063	17.334
454	flag-bearer	2	3270	17.21141	0.0531	17.293
455	sowore	2	3298	17.21141	0.05355	17.286
456	falana	2	3433	17.21141	0.05574	17.25
457	regionally	5	95745	43.02852	1.55466	17.235
458	fraudulence	2	3497	17.21141	0.05678	17.233

459	glocal	2	3864	17.21141	0.06274	17.136
460	intersectional	3	34957	25.81711	0.56761	17.107
461	seko	2	4009	17.21141	0.0651	17.098
462	caprice	3	35051	25.81711	0.56914	17.09
463	anoint	7	159378	60.23993	2.58789	17.068
464	meshach	2	4132	17.21141	0.06709	17.066
465	thisday	2	4169	17.21141	0.06769	17.057
466	forthrightness	2	4186	17.21141	0.06797	17.052
467	mandara	2	4189	17.21141	0.06802	17.052
468	murtala	2	4214	17.21141	0.06842	17.045
469	rebasing	2	4363	17.21141	0.07084	17.007
470	inescapable	4	66778	34.42282	1.0843	16.995
471	geo-strategic	2	4419	17.21141	0.07175	16.992
472	conundrum	5	98201	43.02852	1.59453	16.97
473	tiwa	2	4668	17.21141	0.0758	16.928
474	pulpit	6	129900	51.63422	2.10925	16.928
475	surmount	4	67318	34.42282	1.09307	16.924
476	aggrieve	4	67539	34.42282	1.09666	16.895
477	yinka	2	4825	17.21141	0.07835	16.888
478	sese	2	4842	17.21141	0.07862	16.884
479	dof	3	36358	25.81711	0.59036	16.862
480	obiang	2	4975	17.21141	0.08078	16.85
481	potiphar	2	5095	17.21141	0.08273	16.82
482	aaronic	2	5101	17.21141	0.08283	16.818
483	thrust	21	604441	180.71979	9.81458	16.803
484	manifesto	10	257901	86.05704	4.18766	16.782

485	childlessness	2	5582	17.21141	0.09064	16.698
486	value-driven	2	5588	17.21141	0.09073	16.696
487	kjv	4	69214	34.42282	1.12386	16.679
488	spectatorship	2	6010	17.21141	0.09759	16.592
489	proffer	4	70371	34.42282	1.14265	16.532
490	jogger	3	38488	25.81711	0.62495	16.503
491	rehoboam	2	6498	17.21141	0.10551	16.473
492	shadrach	2	6569	17.21141	0.10666	16.456
493	kleptocracy	2	6642	17.21141	0.10785	16.439
494	insurgency	6	135827	51.63422	2.20549	16.42
495	ebonyi	2	7026	17.21141	0.11408	16.347
496	institutionalisation	2	7206	17.21141	0.11701	16.304
497	re-assessment	2	7631	17.21141	0.12391	16.204
498	generational	5	105835	43.02852	1.71849	16.196
499	self-limit	2	7742	17.21141	0.12571	16.178
500	ilorin	2	7823	17.21141	0.12703	16.159

Addendum 3: Top 500 keywords from NPP3

	Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
1	balaam	439	20896	3618.67871	0.3393	2702.67
2	balak	166	7280	1368.33862	0.11821	1224.58
3	moab	146	58793	1203.47852	0.95465	616.212
4	boaz	101	25309	832.5434	0.41095	590.766
5	naomi	164	205350	1351.85266	3.33436	312.123
6	esv	37	22556	304.99115	0.36625	223.964
7	elimelech	24	4106	197.83209	0.06667	186.404
8	num	57	95710	469.85123	1.55409	184.352
9	redeemer	51	83650	420.39319	1.35826	178.688
10	kinsman	39	51637	321.47714	0.83845	175.407
11	midian	24	8554	197.83209	0.1389	174.583
12	ruth	205	594924	1689.8158	9.66005	158.612
13	midianite	20	5007	164.86008	0.0813	153.389
14	nkjv	23	26151	189.58908	0.42463	133.782
15	moabite	18	7244	148.37407	0.11762	133.653
16	discipler	16	1510	131.88806	0.02452	129.708
17	discipleship	34	76749	280.26212	1.24621	125.216
18	diviner	17	13207	140.13106	0.21445	116.21
19	judah	51	166486	420.39319	2.70331	113.788
20	peor	14	1590	115.40205	0.02582	113.472
21	inheritance	103	410603	849.02936	6.66715	110.866
22	tamar	24	52690	197.83209	0.85555	107.155
23	nkiv	12	1	98.91605	0.00002	99.914

24	thresh	19	35740	156.61707	0.58033	99.737
25	beor	12	1448	98.91605	0.02351	97.621
26	donkey	56	243860	461.60822	3.95967	93.274
27	baal	20	50613	164.86008	0.82183	91.041
28	barefooted	12	8665	98.91605	0.1407	87.592
29	divination	20	56857	164.86008	0.92321	86.241
30	rth3	10	15	82.43004	0.00024	83.41
31	zippor	10	247	82.43004	0.00401	83.097
32	sceptre	14	25152	115.40205	0.4084	82.648
33	rth	11	7170	90.67304	0.11642	82.113
34	blessedness	12	15553	98.91605	0.25254	79.771
35	wickedness	22	83431	181.34608	1.35471	77.439
36	iniquity	20	72810	164.86008	1.18225	76.004
37	anoint	32	159378	263.77612	2.58789	73.797
38	barnabas	16	50960	131.88806	0.82746	72.717
39	curse	127	828283	1046.86145	13.44921	72.52
40	consecration	19	72425	156.61707	1.176	72.434
41	phinehas	9	4063	74.18703	0.06597	70.534
42	esau	15	47750	123.64506	0.77534	70.209
43	crucify	26	139745	214.3181	2.2691	65.865
44	mahlon	8	5817	65.94403	0.09445	61.167
45	backslide	10	24511	82.43004	0.398	59.678
46	kjv	15	69214	123.64506	1.12386	58.688
47	disciple	87	708898	717.1413	11.5107	57.402
48	perilous	17	89833	140.13106	1.45866	57.402
49	immorality	14	63548	115.40205	1.03186	57.288

50	harlotry	7	2549	57.70103	0.04139	56.368
51	righteousness	42	319623	346.20615	5.18986	56.093
52	antioch	18	102446	148.37407	1.66346	56.083
53	soothsayer	8	13255	65.94403	0.21523	55.088
54	accursed	9	26164	74.18703	0.42484	52.769
55	joh	8	18235	65.94403	0.29609	51.651
56	bethlehem	22	159426	181.34608	2.58867	50.812
57	peril	30	239511	247.29012	3.88905	50.785
58	misbehaviour	7	11311	57.70103	0.18366	49.593
59	lord	540	5490184	4451.22217	89.14663	49.389
60	behold	44	392297	362.69217	6.36991	49.348
61	needful	9	32869	74.18703	0.53371	49.023
62	birthright	12	65777	98.91605	1.06805	48.314
63	harlot	9	34307	74.18703	0.55706	48.288
64	barley	26	216082	214.3181	3.50862	47.757
65	lhe	6	3844	49.45802	0.06242	47.494
66	uncircumcised	7	15302	57.70103	0.24847	47.019
67	stumbling	11	59295	90.67304	0.9628	46.705
68	mother-in-law	15	105551	123.64506	1.71388	45.929
69	foolishness	11	61534	90.67304	0.99916	45.856
70	deliverance	15	108539	123.64506	1.7624	45.122
71	redemption	43	425721	354.44916	6.91263	44.922
72	altar	44	441873	362.69217	7.17489	44.489
73	perish	27	248041	222.5611	4.02755	44.467
74	amalek	6	9362	49.45802	0.15202	43.8
75	utterance	16	126365	131.88806	2.05185	43.543

76	ministration	7	23739	57.70103	0.38546	42.369
77	rth4	5	0	41.21502	0	42.215
78	life-light	5	76	41.21502	0.00123	42.163
79	chilion	5	445	41.21502	0.00723	41.912
80	unto	70	801912	577.01025	13.02101	41.225
81	ampc	5	2104	41.21502	0.03416	40.82
82	righteous	34	365473	280.26212	5.93435	40.561
83	perverseness	5	2516	41.21502	0.04085	40.558
84	bountifully	5	3508	41.21502	0.05696	39.94
85	shelah	5	3529	41.21502	0.0573	39.927
86	backslider	5	4452	41.21502	0.07229	39.369
87	god	1350	17376889	11128.05469	282.15649	39.304
88	iesus	5	4690	41.21502	0.07615	39.228
89	surpassing	5	4697	41.21502	0.07627	39.224
90	unrighteousness	6	17647	49.45802	0.28654	39.22
91	burnt	18	177588	148.37407	2.88358	38.463
92	lioness	7	34203	57.70103	0.55537	37.741
93	preciousness	5	7938	41.21502	0.12889	37.395
94	repent	20	211950	164.86008	3.44153	37.343
95	permissive	8	52757	65.94403	0.85664	36.057
96	severally	6	26001	49.45802	0.42219	35.479
97	saul	19	214664	156.61707	3.4856	35.138
98	fruitfulness	5	12619	41.21502	0.2049	35.036
99	nakedness	6	28992	49.45802	0.47076	34.308
100	ofthe	6	29191	49.45802	0.47399	34.232
101	preaching	18	207489	148.37407	3.36909	34.189

102	wemust	4	107	32.97202	0.00174	33.913
103	ifwe	4	397	32.97202	0.00645	33.754
104	bless	92	1334201	758.35632	21.66403	33.505
105	moabites	4	878	32.97202	0.01426	33.495
106	preach	53	744761	436.87921	12.09303	33.444
107	greed	25	319963	206.07509	5.19539	33.424
108	shittah	4	1556	32.97202	0.02527	33.135
109	yoke	13	140345	107.15905	2.27885	32.987
110	jeopardise	6	33016	49.45802	0.5361	32.848
111	fullness	12	125848	98.91605	2.04345	32.83
112	subdue	15	172919	123.64506	2.80776	32.734
113	moabites	4	2345	32.97202	0.03808	32.726
114	rehoboth	5	18424	41.21502	0.29916	32.494
115	midianites	4	3537	32.97202	0.05743	32.127
116	ox	15	179780	123.64506	2.91917	31.804
117	dwel	30	420608	247.29012	6.8296	31.712
118	luk	5	20594	41.21502	0.33439	31.636
119	sandal	14	165586	115.40205	2.6887	31.556
120	redeem	26	359817	214.3181	5.84251	31.468
121	enchantment	9	85978	74.18703	1.39606	31.379
122	pursuit	59	899668	486.33722	14.60832	31.223
123	colossians	6	39403	49.45802	0.6398	30.771
124	korah	4	7404	32.97202	0.12022	30.326
125	limelight	9	91670	74.18703	1.48849	30.214
126	unconquerable	4	7763	32.97202	0.12605	30.169
127	heb	9	92626	74.18703	1.50401	30.027

128	iscariot	4	10800	32.97202	0.17536	28.903
129	christ	227	3943450	1871.16187	64.0316	28.788
130	nameless	8	81905	65.94403	1.32993	28.732
131	scepter	5	29077	41.21502	0.47214	28.676
132	valiantly	5	29260	41.21502	0.47511	28.618
133	obscurity	9	101355	74.18703	1.64575	28.418
134	daughter-in-law	8	83924	65.94403	1.36271	28.334
135	covetous	4	13253	32.97202	0.2152	27.956
136	townsman	4	13586	32.97202	0.2206	27.832
137	harmoniously	5	32329	41.21502	0.52494	27.683
138	forsake	10	124247	82.43004	2.01746	27.649
139	intimately	11	143574	90.67304	2.33128	27.519
140	preacher	25	402123	206.07509	6.52945	27.502
141	cajole	5	33991	41.21502	0.55193	27.202
142	perverse	9	109298	74.18703	1.77472	27.097
143	principality	7	72942	57.70103	1.18439	26.873
144	covetousness	4	16738	32.97202	0.27178	26.712
145	mammon	4	16744	32.97202	0.27188	26.71
146	israel	219	4170747	1805.21777	67.72233	26.283
147	moses	37	658660	304.99115	10.69496	26.164
148	jacob	45	816997	370.93518	13.26595	26.072
149	glean	11	155584	90.67304	2.52629	25.997
150	veiled	5	38516	41.21502	0.6254	25.972
151	obedience	20	333542	164.86008	5.41587	25.852
152	whosoever	5	39061	41.21502	0.63425	25.831
153	midianitish	3	123	24.72901	0.002	25.678

154	manaen	3	289	24.72901	0.00469	25.609
155	reapeth	3	316	24.72901	0.00513	25.598
156	repentance	13	199010	107.15905	3.23142	25.561
157	foryour	3	422	24.72901	0.00685	25.554
158	ashamed	17	282138	140.13106	4.5812	25.287
159	empty-handed	4	21601	32.97202	0.35075	25.151
160	glory	64	1234253	527.55225	20.04113	25.12
161	lest	16	266796	131.88806	4.33209	24.922
162	thati	3	2018	24.72901	0.03277	24.913
163	lor	4	22880	32.97202	0.37151	24.77
164	uprightly	3	3083	24.72901	0.05006	24.502
165	impartation	3	3092	24.72901	0.05021	24.499
166	cleave	8	106943	65.94403	1.73648	24.464
167	astray	7	86355	57.70103	1.40219	24.437
168	displease	6	65994	49.45802	1.07157	24.357
169	midst	33	632947	272.01913	10.27745	24.209
170	gnb	3	4060	24.72901	0.06592	24.138
171	gibeon	3	4117	24.72901	0.06685	24.117
172	unconnected	5	46849	41.21502	0.76071	23.976
173	peradventure	3	4551	24.72901	0.0739	23.959
174	servant	57	1149301	469.85123	18.66173	23.948
175	whoredom	3	5016	24.72901	0.08145	23.791
176	root	186	3938616	1533.19873	63.95311	23.62
177	doorkeeper	3	5960	24.72901	0.09678	23.459
178	sepulchre	4	27716	32.97202	0.45004	23.428
179	hearer	5	49594	41.21502	0.80528	23.384

180	lampstand	3	6374	24.72901	0.1035	23.316
181	mordecai	4	28215	32.97202	0.45814	23.298
182	mercy	42	870543	346.20615	14.1354	22.94
183	worthily	3	7632	24.72901	0.12392	22.892
184	adversary	15	275620	123.64506	4.47537	22.765
185	zion	12	209047	98.91605	3.39439	22.737
186	perpetuate	14	259254	115.40205	4.20963	22.344
187	jethro	4	32097	32.97202	0.52117	22.333
188	covenant	33	698529	272.01913	11.34233	22.121
189	israelite	11	193707	90.67304	3.14531	22.115
190	invisible	35	748482	288.50513	12.15344	22.01
191	discouragement	4	33603	32.97202	0.54563	21.979
192	delilah	4	33647	32.97202	0.54634	21.969
193	oracles	3	10556	24.72901	0.1714	21.964
194	mere	55	1214778	453.3652	19.72491	21.924
195	loin	5	57236	41.21502	0.92937	21.88
196	unreached	3	10844	24.72901	0.17608	21.877
197	philistine	5	57652	41.21502	0.93612	21.804
198	haste	8	128291	65.94403	2.08312	21.713
199	elisha	5	58868	41.21502	0.95587	21.584
200	pulpit	8	129900	65.94403	2.10925	21.531
201	marah	3	12431	24.72901	0.20185	21.408
202	outwork	3	12614	24.72901	0.20482	21.355
203	dregs	3	13501	24.72901	0.21922	21.103
204	impair	17	350722	140.13106	5.69483	21.081
205	missionary	31	688757	255.53311	11.18366	21.056

206	earnestly	6	86040	49.45802	1.39707	21.05
207	pray	81	1895374	667.68329	30.77605	21.044
208	javelin	5	61987	41.21502	1.00651	21.039
209	bosom	6	87370	49.45802	1.41867	20.862
210	abraham	30	673166	247.29012	10.9305	20.811
211	unbroken	6	88192	49.45802	1.43201	20.747
212	wile	4	39460	32.97202	0.64073	20.705
213	wicked	22	485904	181.34608	7.88985	20.512
214	almighty	12	238563	98.91605	3.87366	20.501
215	denounce	16	340876	131.88806	5.53496	20.335
216	afresh	4	42650	32.97202	0.69253	20.072
217	cometh	4	42758	32.97202	0.69428	20.051
218	defile	5	68733	41.21502	1.11605	19.95
219	pageantry	3	18085	24.72901	0.29365	19.889
220	honorarium	3	18179	24.72901	0.29518	19.865
221	afar	7	121928	57.70103	1.9798	19.7
222	prodigal	4	44723	32.97202	0.72619	19.68
223	zealous	5	70957	41.21502	1.15216	19.615
224	trance	8	148695	65.94403	2.41443	19.606
225	edom	3	19572	24.72901	0.3178	19.524
226	blessing	43	1066698	354.44916	17.32046	19.402
227	joyfully	4	46798	32.97202	0.75988	19.304
228	psalm	19	441325	156.61707	7.166	19.302
229	sinner	14	310881	115.40205	5.04792	19.247
230	hypnotize	4	48162	32.97202	0.78203	19.064
231	rebekah	4	48622	32.97202	0.7895	18.984

232	unbelief	4	48719	32.97202	0.79107	18.967
233	perdition	3	21983	24.72901	0.35695	18.961
234	heed	11	236396	90.67304	3.83847	18.947
235	arouse	11	236984	90.67304	3.84802	18.909
236	darkness	44	1127851	362.69217	18.31343	18.831
237	acquaint	11	244824	90.67304	3.97532	18.426
238	devour	10	217666	82.43004	3.53434	18.4
239	saviour	8	162591	65.94403	2.64006	18.391
240	abound	12	273052	98.91605	4.43367	18.388
241	errand	7	135658	57.70103	2.20274	18.328
242	widow	27	690011	222.5611	11.20402	18.319
243	outward	15	360850	123.64506	5.85929	18.172
244	womb	9	194351	74.18703	3.15577	18.092
245	prophet	42	1136589	346.20615	18.45531	17.846
246	freshen	4	55662	32.97202	0.90381	17.844
247	reproach	5	84258	41.21502	1.36814	17.826
248	brethren	14	341171	115.40205	5.53975	17.799
249	lineage	13	312737	107.15905	5.07805	17.795
250	satan	21	546076	173.10307	8.86689	17.645
251	jealousy	9	202061	74.18703	3.28096	17.563
252	pott4ge	2	0	16.48601	0	17.486
253	gafaam	2	0	16.48601	0	17.486
254	nicjv	2	0	16.48601	0	17.486
255	waythatbalaamtrod	2	0	16.48601	0	17.486
256	short-measures	2	0	16.48601	0	17.486
257	galaam	2	2	16.48601	0.00003	17.485

258	huzoth	2	9	16.48601	0.00015	17.483
259	rth1	2	13	16.48601	0.00021	17.482
260	gbile	2	18	16.48601	0.00029	17.481
261	hisfeet	2	23	16.48601	0.00037	17.479
262	senl	2	40	16.48601	0.00065	17.475
263	spiril	2	47	16.48601	0.00076	17.473
264	self-ambition	2	95	16.48601	0.00154	17.459
265	out-of-station	2	101	16.48601	0.00164	17.457
266	sheepshearer	2	102	16.48601	0.00166	17.457
267	cumulativeness	2	106	16.48601	0.00172	17.456
268	kirjath	2	173	16.48601	0.00281	17.437
269	so-to-say	2	177	16.48601	0.00287	17.436
270	adullamite	2	191	16.48601	0.0031	17.432
271	thumim	2	209	16.48601	0.00339	17.427
272	pethor	2	249	16.48601	0.00404	17.416
273	iwanted	2	258	16.48601	0.00419	17.413
274	reechoed	2	318	16.48601	0.00516	17.396
275	oflife	2	331	16.48601	0.00537	17.393
276	hirah	2	340	16.48601	0.00552	17.39
277	gvv	2	425	16.48601	0.0069	17.366
278	onearth	2	451	16.48601	0.00732	17.359
279	self-propagation	2	476	16.48601	0.00773	17.352
280	akanni	2	501	16.48601	0.00813	17.345
281	gboko	2	551	16.48601	0.00895	17.331
282	isrealite	2	558	16.48601	0.00906	17.329
283	congruence	3	29926	24.72901	0.48592	17.315

284	overcomers	2	620	16.48601	0.01007	17.312
285	jesus	166	4824857	1368.33862	78.34341	17.258
286	ephratah	2	823	16.48601	0.01336	17.255
287	heart-searching	2	921	16.48601	0.01495	17.228
288	jezebel	3	30435	24.72901	0.49419	17.219
289	timnah	2	1008	16.48601	0.01637	17.204
290	wehave	2	1103	16.48601	0.01791	17.178
291	disobedient	3	30695	24.72901	0.49841	17.171
292	tum	3	31028	24.72901	0.50382	17.109
293	dislodgement	2	1603	16.48601	0.02603	17.042
294	shua	2	1735	16.48601	0.02817	17.007
295	clear-minded	2	1759	16.48601	0.02856	17
296	gehazi	2	1786	16.48601	0.029	16.993
297	heshbon	2	1811	16.48601	0.02941	16.987
298	orpah	2	1888	16.48601	0.03066	16.966
299	overtake	12	302321	98.91605	4.90892	16.909
300	deliberateness	2	2114	16.48601	0.03433	16.906
301	matrimony	3	32176	24.72901	0.52246	16.9
302	pergamos	2	2173	16.48601	0.03528	16.89
303	honour	45	1294918	370.93518	21.02617	16.886
304	soweth	2	2233	16.48601	0.03626	16.874
305	asshur	2	2268	16.48601	0.03683	16.865
306	sihon	2	2354	16.48601	0.03822	16.842
307	outflowing	2	2376	16.48601	0.03858	16.836
308	nineveh	3	32577	24.72901	0.52897	16.828
309	fulfilment	5	93115	41.21502	1.51195	16.806

310	esus	2	2630	16.48601	0.0427	16.77
311	thirst	9	215682	74.18703	3.50213	16.7
312	communion	14	368650	115.40205	5.98594	16.662
313	plenteous	2	3110	16.48601	0.0505	16.645
314	compromiser	2	3125	16.48601	0.05074	16.642
315	uproot	5	94743	41.21502	1.53839	16.631
316	nazarite	2	3194	16.48601	0.05186	16.624
317	wisdom	51	1503663	420.39319	24.41566	16.58
318	riotously	2	3552	16.48601	0.05768	16.532
319	astir	2	3733	16.48601	0.06061	16.487
320	fulfil	10	250182	82.43004	4.06232	16.481
321	houseful	2	3800	16.48601	0.0617	16.47
322	tetrarch	2	3819	16.48601	0.06201	16.465
323	zebulun	2	3899	16.48601	0.06331	16.445
324	re-affirm	2	3938	16.48601	0.06394	16.435
325	enmity	4	65719	32.97202	1.06711	16.435
326	circumcise	4	65858	32.97202	1.06937	16.417
327	temptation	15	408233	123.64506	6.62867	16.339
328	blessed	9	222261	74.18703	3.60895	16.313
329	flesh	35	1031960	288.50513	16.75641	16.304
330	simeon	4	67109	32.97202	1.08968	16.257
331	keturah	2	4776	16.48601	0.07755	16.228
332	affluence	3	36309	24.72901	0.58957	16.186
333	slackness	2	4976	16.48601	0.0808	16.179
334	potiphar	2	5095	16.48601	0.08273	16.15
335	principalities	2	5260	16.48601	0.08541	16.11

336	bashan	2	5386	16.48601	0.08745	16.08
337	shew	4	68592	32.97202	1.11376	16.072
338	tumult	3	37039	24.72901	0.60142	16.066
339	countenance	5	100568	41.21502	1.63297	16.033
340	prophecy	17	480968	140.13106	7.8097	16.02
341	naphtali	2	5723	16.48601	0.09293	15.999
342	harass	12	323791	98.91605	5.25754	15.967
343	respector	2	5986	16.48601	0.0972	15.937
344	ungodliness	2	5990	16.48601	0.09726	15.936
345	fornicator	2	6014	16.48601	0.09765	15.93
346	isaiah	12	324818	98.91605	5.27422	15.925
347	elder	36	1092079	296.74814	17.73259	15.895
348	amalekites	2	6282	16.48601	0.102	15.867
349	permissiveness	2	6349	16.48601	0.10309	15.852
350	madness	15	424191	123.64506	6.88778	15.802
351	seir	2	6577	16.48601	0.10679	15.799
352	lifeline	6	135141	49.45802	2.19435	15.796
353	galatians	4	70996	32.97202	1.15279	15.78
354	forthe	2	6717	16.48601	0.10907	15.766
355	weep	11	298159	90.67304	4.84134	15.694
356	everlasting	7	168821	57.70103	2.74122	15.69
357	urim	2	7060	16.48601	0.11464	15.688
358	carnal	4	71804	32.97202	1.16591	15.685
359	gospel	46	1431192	379.17816	23.23892	15.685
360	engraft	2	7123	16.48601	0.11566	15.673
361	undoing	3	39924	24.72901	0.64826	15.61

362	disgrace	8	203346	65.94403	3.30182	15.562
363	bringeth	2	7640	16.48601	0.12405	15.556
364	steadfastly	3	40372	24.72901	0.65554	15.541
365	victoriously	2	7717	16.48601	0.1253	15.539
366	amorites	2	7723	16.48601	0.1254	15.538
367	onan	2	7840	16.48601	0.1273	15.511
368	kindness	16	467802	131.88806	7.59591	15.459
369	forthrightly	2	8132	16.48601	0.13204	15.446
370	undertone	4	73984	32.97202	1.20131	15.433
371	rebuke	6	140269	49.45802	2.27761	15.395
372	devourer	2	8851	16.48601	0.14372	15.289
373	corporately	2	8868	16.48601	0.14399	15.285
374	oracle	25	777471	206.07509	12.62415	15.199
375	uprightness	2	9460	16.48601	0.15361	15.158
376	naaman	2	9480	16.48601	0.15393	15.153
377	congruent	3	43023	24.72901	0.69858	15.147
378	heaven	62	2024557	511.06622	32.87366	15.117
379	incapacitate	4	77541	32.97202	1.25907	15.038
380	jonah	6	146089	49.45802	2.37211	14.963
381	widowhood	2	10546	16.48601	0.17124	14.929
382	wither	6	146637	49.45802	2.38101	14.924
383	philippians	3	45331	24.72901	0.73606	14.82
384	spiritualize	2	11437	16.48601	0.18571	14.747
385	likeness	6	149152	49.45802	2.42185	14.746
386	boldly	6	149156	49.45802	2.42191	14.746
387	saltiness	2	11448	16.48601	0.18589	14.745

388	shall	232	7960266	1912.37683	129.25447	14.69
389	potentate	2	12286	16.48601	0.19949	14.578
390	pisgah	2	12350	16.48601	0.20053	14.565
391	fruitful	7	187516	57.70103	3.04478	14.513
392	extravagantly	2	12785	16.48601	0.2076	14.48
393	benue	2	12915	16.48601	0.20971	14.455
394	granted	4	83185	32.97202	1.35071	14.452
395	tenaciously	2	13078	16.48601	0.21235	14.423
396	intercessor	2	13159	16.48601	0.21367	14.408
397	waylay	2	13301	16.48601	0.21597	14.38
398	fall-out	2	13421	16.48601	0.21792	14.357
399	calvary	4	84324	32.97202	1.36921	14.339
400	divinely	3	49255	24.72901	0.79978	14.296
401	pomp	3	49387	24.72901	0.80192	14.279
402	ephesus	3	49609	24.72901	0.80552	14.25
403	sov	2	14041	16.48601	0.22799	14.24
404	gimmick	6	157030	49.45802	2.54977	14.214
405	eternity	11	336465	90.67304	5.46334	14.184
406	harvest	40	1374776	329.72015	22.32286	14.18
407	kish	2	14539	16.48601	0.23608	14.146
408	earthen	3	50493	24.72901	0.81988	14.138
409	candour	2	14650	16.48601	0.23788	14.126
410	deut	2	14691	16.48601	0.23854	14.118
411	emphatically	4	86772	32.97202	1.40896	14.102
412	re-named	2	14900	16.48601	0.24194	14.08
413	unequally	2	15097	16.48601	0.24514	14.043

414	bathsheba	2	15453	16.48601	0.25092	13.979
415	rouse	5	125813	41.21502	2.04288	13.873
416	sower	2	16076	16.48601	0.26103	13.866
417	sidon	2	16141	16.48601	0.26209	13.855
418	waster	2	16163	16.48601	0.26245	13.851
419	ministry	92	3346624	758.35632	54.34066	13.721
420	debar	2	16905	16.48601	0.27449	13.72
421	famine	8	239141	65.94403	3.88304	13.709
422	lick	14	461587	115.40205	7.495	13.702
423	mighty	20	684914	164.86008	11.12126	13.683
424	downward	12	388295	98.91605	6.30492	13.678
425	yourselves	9	277074	74.18703	4.49898	13.673
426	glorious	17	576636	140.13106	9.3631	13.619
427	definite	14	466005	115.40205	7.56674	13.588
428	erode	9	279339	74.18703	4.53576	13.582
429	weakling	2	17856	16.48601	0.28994	13.556
430	seer	4	93466	32.97202	1.51765	13.494
431	squander	4	94024	32.97202	1.52671	13.445
432	mightily	3	56293	24.72901	0.91406	13.442
433	godly	5	132189	41.21502	2.14641	13.417
434	resurrection	14	473272	115.40205	7.68473	13.403
435	sake	28	1015214	230.80411	16.48449	13.258
436	msg	5	135606	41.21502	2.2019	13.184
437	uncoordinated	2	20203	16.48601	0.32805	13.167
438	gomorrah	2	20360	16.48601	0.33059	13.141
439	concerted	5	136299	41.21502	2.21315	13.138

440	winnow	2	20558	16.48601	0.33381	13.11
441	greedily	2	20563	16.48601	0.33389	13.109
442	godhead	3	59321	24.72901	0.96322	13.106
443	excercise	2	20755	16.48601	0.33701	13.078
444	breastplate	2	20888	16.48601	0.33917	13.057
445	honourable	6	176940	49.45802	2.87306	13.028
446	spit	13	451733	107.15905	7.335	12.976
447	vividly	5	139051	41.21502	2.25783	12.958
448	progressively	7	217765	57.70103	3.53595	12.941
449	cyrene	2	21820	16.48601	0.3543	12.911
450	baca	2	21932	16.48601	0.35612	12.894
451	confederacy	4	100721	32.97202	1.63545	12.89
452	aram	2	22032	16.48601	0.35774	12.879
453	prophetic	6	180678	49.45802	2.93375	12.827
454	abiding	3	62301	24.72901	1.01161	12.79
455	discern	8	262415	65.94403	4.26095	12.725
456	abode	4	104583	32.97202	1.69816	12.591
457	obey	15	549136	123.64506	8.91657	12.569
458	samson	4	106173	32.97202	1.72398	12.471
459	wherewithal	2	24796	16.48601	0.40262	12.467
460	diligently	5	147920	41.21502	2.40184	12.409
461	prowl	3	66726	24.72901	1.08346	12.349
462	angel	43	1717521	354.44916	27.88817	12.304
463	shekel	2	26070	16.48601	0.42331	12.285
464	outpouring	3	67401	24.72901	1.09442	12.285
465	imperceptible	2	26100	16.48601	0.4238	12.281

466	bleat	2	26377	16.48601	0.4283	12.243
467	consecrate	5	150861	41.21502	2.4496	12.238
468	elope	2	26446	16.48601	0.42942	12.233
469	graciously	4	110115	32.97202	1.78799	12.185
470	riches	3	68631	24.72901	1.11439	12.169
471	martha	14	528005	115.40205	8.57346	12.159
472	allure	4	110980	32.97202	1.80203	12.124
473	wilderness	17	655313	140.13106	10.64062	12.124
474	ihe	2	27392	16.48601	0.44478	12.103
475	lion	26	1034396	214.3181	16.79596	12.099
476	irresponsibility	2	27443	16.48601	0.4456	12.096
477	judas	4	111383	32.97202	1.80858	12.096
478	tribulation	5	153493	41.21502	2.49234	12.088
479	congregation	21	825763	173.10307	13.40829	12.084
480	signet	2	27696	16.48601	0.44971	12.062
481	irresponsible	6	196566	49.45802	3.19173	12.038
482	heart	242	10213322	1994.80688	165.83838	11.963
483	outwardly	3	70916	24.72901	1.1515	11.959
484	forth	51	2108851	420.39319	34.24238	11.957
485	undress	3	71246	24.72901	1.15685	11.929
486	eloquently	3	71280	24.72901	1.15741	11.926
487	serpent	7	243334	57.70103	3.95113	11.856
488	unspoken	3	72677	24.72901	1.18009	11.802
489	alabaster	2	29853	16.48601	0.48474	11.777
490	commendation	3	73276	24.72901	1.18982	11.749
491	grace	52	2198112	428.6362	35.69175	11.709

492	labourer	5	160951	41.21502	2.61343	11.683
493	dislodge	3	74313	24.72901	1.20665	11.66
494	ordain	8	292680	65.94403	4.75238	11.638
495	gentile	7	249653	57.70103	4.05373	11.615
496	unbeliever	3	75314	24.72901	1.22291	11.574
497	blameless	2	31655	16.48601	0.514	11.55
498	captivity	5	164613	41.21502	2.6729	11.494
499	deceive	9	345441	74.18703	5.60908	11.376
500	closet	15	614041	123.64506	9.97046	11.362

Addendum 4: Top 500 keywords from NPP4

	Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
1	lk	66	70255	602.48663	1.14076	281.9
2	jn	58	86247	529.45795	1.40043	220.98
3	yahweh	49	132130	447.30069	2.14546	142.52
4	cbcn	15	330	136.92877	0.00536	137.19
5	zacchaeus	16	8233	146.05736	0.13368	129.72
6	nigeria	238	974009	2172.60327	15.81543	129.26
7	nigerian	126	495987	1150.20178	8.05357	127.15
8	herod	30	81630	273.85754	1.32546	118.2
9	chibok	14	7447	127.80019	0.12092	114.91
10	secam	13	4519	118.67161	0.07338	111.49
11	boko	27	80511	246.4718	1.30729	107.26
12	alleluia	15	18021	136.92877	0.29262	106.71
13	lent	29	100831	264.72897	1.63724	100.76
14	haram	27	98684	246.4718	1.60238	95.095
15	nineveh	15	32577	136.92877	0.52897	90.21
16	bartimaeus	10	5075	91.28585	0.08241	85.26
17	synod	37	184484	337.75766	2.99555	84.784
18	cepacs	9	72	82.15726	0.00117	83.06
19	merciful	24	102200	219.08604	1.65947	82.756
20	mercy	137	870543	1250.61621	14.1354	82.695
21	psalmist	14	35724	127.80019	0.58007	81.516
22	catechism	17	71064	155.18594	1.1539	72.513
23	herodias	8	4850	73.02868	0.07875	68.624

24	evangelisation	8	5988	73.02868	0.09723	67.469
25	ibadan	10	25631	91.28585	0.41618	65.165
26	onayekan	7	16	63.9001	0.00026	64.883
27	pope	133	1121694	1214.10181	18.21346	63.242
28	holiness	30	220013	273.85754	3.57245	60.112
29	jonah	22	146089	200.82887	2.37211	59.852
30	anti-life	7	5968	63.9001	0.09691	59.167
31	sanctity	15	84392	136.92877	1.37031	58.19
32	ccc	19	124727	173.44312	2.02525	57.662
33	kingship	10	39879	91.28585	0.64753	56.015
34	jubilee	28	222205	255.60039	3.60804	55.685
35	admonish	14	81533	127.80019	1.32389	55.424
36	godlessness	6	3642	54.77151	0.05914	52.658
37	indifference	21	166805	191.70029	2.70849	51.962
38	jer	10	50879	91.28585	0.82615	50.536
39	lenten	8	29404	73.02868	0.47745	50.106
40	christendom	10	53566	91.28585	0.86978	49.357
41	abuja	12	77060	109.54302	1.25126	49.103
42	prodigal	9	44723	82.15726	0.72619	48.174
43	recowa-cerao	5	3	45.64293	0.00005	46.641
44	jesus	402	4824857	3669.69116	78.34341	46.263
45	insurgency	16	135827	146.05736	2.20549	45.877
46	goodluck	7	28139	63.9001	0.45691	44.547
47	oyo	7	28362	63.9001	0.46053	44.436
48	exalt	14	117984	127.80019	1.91576	44.174
49	pro-life	16	147382	146.05736	2.39311	43.34

50	liturgical	14	122440	127.80019	1.98811	43.104
51	likeness	16	149152	146.05736	2.42185	42.976
52	unfpa	6	18971	54.77151	0.30804	42.637
53	solemnity	7	33723	63.9001	0.54758	41.937
54	jettison	8	48738	73.02868	0.79138	41.325
55	indiscipline	5	9729	45.64293	0.15797	40.28
56	homily	8	53728	73.02868	0.87241	39.537
57	woe	22	257306	200.82887	4.178	38.978
58	pilate	10	85259	91.28585	1.38439	38.704
59	magi	7	43359	63.9001	0.70404	38.086
60	canticle	5	14653	45.64293	0.23793	37.678
61	tatad	4	232	36.51434	0.00377	37.374
62	dignity	45	629616	410.78635	10.22336	36.69
63	disciple	50	708898	456.42926	11.5107	36.563
64	muhammadu	6	32580	54.77151	0.52902	36.475
65	rosary	11	110644	100.41444	1.79658	36.264
66	anti-family	4	3263	36.51434	0.05298	35.627
67	manger	8	67897	73.02868	1.10247	35.21
68	advent	29	403906	264.72897	6.55841	35.157
69	gaudium	4	4921	36.51434	0.0799	34.739
70	motherhood	12	137600	109.54302	2.23427	34.179
71	self-giving	4	6728	36.51434	0.10925	33.82
72	contraception	12	141071	109.54302	2.29063	33.593
73	yoruba	6	41285	54.77151	0.67036	33.389
74	heb	9	92626	82.15726	1.50401	33.21
75	exhortation	7	60411	63.9001	0.98092	32.763

76	pastoral	21	304787	191.70029	4.94897	32.392
77	catechetical	4	9776	36.51434	0.15874	32.375
78	isaiah	22	324818	200.82887	5.27422	32.168
79	hymn	23	352008	209.95746	5.71571	31.413
80	crucify	11	139745	100.41444	2.2691	31.022
81	womb	14	194351	127.80019	3.15577	30.993
82	womanhood	6	49532	54.77151	0.80427	30.911
83	commandment	22	340607	200.82887	5.53059	30.905
84	woeful	5	31632	45.64293	0.51362	30.815
85	evangelization	5	31934	45.64293	0.51853	30.716
86	saviour	12	162591	109.54302	2.64006	30.368
87	sinner	20	310881	182.5717	5.04792	30.353
88	succor	4	14850	36.51434	0.24113	30.226
89	ps	41	704953	374.272	11.44664	30.15
90	deconstruction	6	53913	54.77151	0.87541	29.738
91	valentine	30	509863	273.85754	8.27888	29.622
92	encyclical	5	35831	45.64293	0.5818	29.487
93	salvation	45	801324	410.78635	13.01146	29.389
94	prophet	62	1136589	565.97229	18.45531	29.142
95	aifent	3	1	27.38576	0.00002	28.385
96	bagobiri	3	38	27.38576	0.00062	28.368
97	canonization	4	20022	36.51434	0.32511	28.31
98	osotimehin	3	534	27.38576	0.00867	28.142
99	admonition	6	61373	54.77151	0.99654	27.934
100	compassion	35	647389	319.50049	10.51195	27.841
101	destitution	4	21661	36.51434	0.35172	27.753

102	falsehood	9	123072	82.15726	1.99838	27.734
103	abduct	11	164084	100.41444	2.66431	27.676
104	catholics	23	411532	209.95746	6.68223	27.46
105	nationhood	4	22570	36.51434	0.36648	27.453
106	wideness	3	2137	27.38576	0.0347	27.434
107	eminently	6	64420	54.77151	1.04602	27.259
108	enthroned	4	23698	36.51434	0.3848	27.09
109	psalm	24	441325	219.08604	7.166	26.952
110	diocese	25	466479	228.21463	7.57443	26.732
111	pharisee	8	110008	73.02868	1.78625	26.569
112	tribulation	10	153493	91.28585	2.49234	26.425
113	reemphasize	3	4910	27.38576	0.07973	26.29
114	dramatis	3	5005	27.38576	0.08127	26.252
115	courageous	13	219946	118.67161	3.57136	26.179
116	self-destruction	4	26856	36.51434	0.43607	26.123
117	decadence	5	48840	45.64293	0.79304	26.013
118	proclaim	30	596419	273.85754	9.68433	25.725
119	anoint	10	159378	91.28585	2.58789	25.721
120	re-emphasize	3	6423	27.38576	0.10429	25.705
121	spes	3	6513	27.38576	0.10575	25.671
122	yobe	3	6837	27.38576	0.11102	25.549
123	wms	4	29154	36.51434	0.47339	25.461
124	god	787	17376889	7184.19678	282.15649	25.375
125	parable	11	185842	100.41444	3.0176	25.243
126	catholic	108	2347569	985.88721	38.11855	25.228
127	selfless	7	97121	63.9001	1.577	25.184

128	prayer	113	2464055	1031.53015	40.00999	25.178
129	disestablish	3	8055	27.38576	0.13079	25.103
130	moses	32	658660	292.11472	10.69496	25.063
131	apostle	23	456905	209.95746	7.41898	25.057
132	pro-family	3	8504	27.38576	0.13808	24.942
133	selfishness	7	99675	63.9001	1.61847	24.786
134	christ	176	3943450	1606.63098	64.0316	24.721
135	almighty	13	238563	118.67161	3.87366	24.555
136	sanity	11	193077	100.41444	3.13508	24.525
137	sackcloth	3	9814	27.38576	0.15935	24.484
138	epiphany	7	102658	63.9001	1.6669	24.335
139	philistine	5	57652	45.64293	0.93612	24.091
140	francis	49	1093297	447.30069	17.75236	23.906
141	buhari	7	107670	63.9001	1.74829	23.615
142	catechesis	3	12889	27.38576	0.20928	23.473
143	lev	6	86949	54.77151	1.41183	23.124
144	sadducees	3	14140	27.38576	0.2296	23.085
145	eleazar	3	14894	27.38576	0.24184	22.858
146	jos	4	39880	36.51434	0.64755	22.77
147	remembrance	13	262507	118.67161	4.26245	22.741
148	regrettably	5	65100	45.64293	1.05706	22.675
149	simeon	5	67109	45.64293	1.08968	22.321
150	zechariah	4	42287	36.51434	0.68663	22.242
151	saint	89	2193341	812.44409	35.61428	22.217
152	murderous	8	145953	73.02868	2.36991	21.968
153	nazareth	6	94891	54.77151	1.54079	21.95

154	susanna	5	69452	45.64293	1.12772	21.922
155	orthodoxy	8	146665	73.02868	2.38147	21.892
156	needy	10	198204	91.28585	3.21833	21.877
157	malala	3	18548	27.38576	0.30117	21.816
158	repentance	10	199010	91.28585	3.23142	21.81
159	circumspect	3	18857	27.38576	0.30619	21.732
160	take-over	3	18968	27.38576	0.30799	21.702
161	travail	4	45134	36.51434	0.73286	21.649
162	gethsemane	3	19338	27.38576	0.314	21.603
163	episcopal	12	257804	109.54302	4.18608	21.315
164	lamentable	3	20510	27.38576	0.33303	21.294
165	relativism	4	46934	36.51434	0.76209	21.29
166	humanism	5	73508	45.64293	1.19358	21.263
167	goodwill	11	232294	100.41444	3.77186	21.253
168	jubilation	3	20940	27.38576	0.34001	21.183
169	resurrection	20	473272	182.5717	7.68473	21.137
170	heaven	78	2024557	712.02966	32.87366	21.05
171	corruption	49	1253906	447.30069	20.36025	20.988
172	christian	219	5813144	1999.16016	94.39067	20.968
173	repent	10	211950	91.28585	3.44153	20.778
174	injustice	21	510235	191.70029	8.28492	20.754
175	defenseless	4	49849	36.51434	0.80942	20.733
176	wicked	20	485904	182.5717	7.88985	20.65
177	deceitful	4	50345	36.51434	0.81747	20.641
178	adulation	3	23479	27.38576	0.38124	20.551
179	lowly	6	105888	54.77151	1.71935	20.509

180	matt	63	1680548	575.10089	27.28783	20.366
181	giver	6	107470	54.77151	1.74504	20.317
182	demean	5	79881	45.64293	1.29706	20.305
183	jeremiah	10	220703	91.28585	3.58366	20.134
184	bishop	70	1900794	639.00098	30.86406	20.085
185	ez	5	82326	45.64293	1.33676	19.96
186	righteous	15	365473	136.92877	5.93435	19.891
187	paschal	3	26426	27.38576	0.42909	19.863
188	sanctification	4	54795	36.51434	0.88973	19.852
189	rebuke	7	140269	63.9001	2.27761	19.801
190	holy	109	3038229	995.01581	49.33311	19.788
191	mk	12	284559	109.54302	4.62051	19.668
192	habitually	4	56468	36.51434	0.9169	19.57
193	missionary	26	688757	237.34322	11.18366	19.563
194	preacher	16	402123	146.05736	6.52945	19.531
195	archbishop	16	403511	146.05736	6.55199	19.473
196	cowardice	4	57152	36.51434	0.928	19.458
197	ascension	8	172787	73.02868	2.80562	19.452
198	forgiveness	17	436535	155.18594	7.08822	19.31
199	humility	11	261911	100.41444	4.25277	19.307
200	diminished	5	87268	45.64293	1.41701	19.298
201	thanks-grumbling	2	0	18.25717	0	19.257
202	mahlala	2	5	18.25717	0.00008	19.256
203	thanks-getting	2	6	18.25717	0.0001	19.255
204	atheistic	3	29242	27.38576	0.47482	19.247
205	thanks-taking	2	45	18.25717	0.00073	19.243

206	herdsman	3	29313	27.38576	0.47597	19.232
207	beget	6	117185	54.77151	1.90279	19.213
208	obasogie	2	177	18.25717	0.00287	19.202
209	amins	2	242	18.25717	0.00393	19.182
210	iseyin	2	344	18.25717	0.00559	19.15
211	redemptionis	2	373	18.25717	0.00606	19.141
212	odeyemi	2	387	18.25717	0.00628	19.137
213	mulieris	2	398	18.25717	0.00646	19.134
214	kaigama	2	411	18.25717	0.00667	19.13
215	dignitatem	2	413	18.25717	0.00671	19.129
216	kambanda	2	432	18.25717	0.00701	19.123
217	operaio	2	435	18.25717	0.00706	19.122
218	re-express	2	582	18.25717	0.00945	19.077
219	nyanya	2	688	18.25717	0.01117	19.044
220	badejo	2	711	18.25717	0.01154	19.037
221	savior	12	297636	109.54302	4.83285	18.952
222	recalcitrant	3	31016	27.38576	0.50362	18.878
223	spuc	2	1241	18.25717	0.02015	18.877
224	bloodshed	5	90608	45.64293	1.47124	18.874
225	pharaoh	8	179993	73.02868	2.92263	18.872
226	co-responsible	2	1330	18.25717	0.0216	18.85
227	kukah	2	1395	18.25717	0.02265	18.831
228	anti-marriage	2	1564	18.25717	0.0254	18.78
229	sarki	2	1639	18.25717	0.02661	18.758
230	sacramentum	2	1925	18.25717	0.03126	18.673
231	pius	5	92624	45.64293	1.50398	18.628

232	veritatis	2	2113	18.25717	0.03431	18.618
233	vatican	14	365642	127.80019	5.9371	18.567
234	liberalist	2	2347	18.25717	0.03811	18.55
235	eastertide	2	2454	18.25717	0.03985	18.519
236	bisexual	7	154641	63.9001	2.51098	18.485
237	immorality	4	63548	36.51434	1.03186	18.463
238	angola	6	126207	54.77151	2.04928	18.29
239	eph	3	34023	27.38576	0.55245	18.285
240	redefine	6	126431	54.77151	2.05292	18.268
241	num	5	95710	45.64293	1.55409	18.262
242	pastorally	2	3420	18.25717	0.05553	18.244
243	faithful	27	774957	246.4718	12.58333	18.219
244	eminence	4	65433	36.51434	1.06247	18.189
245	decadent	5	96581	45.64293	1.56823	18.162
246	serious-minded	2	3948	18.25717	0.06411	18.097
247	greatness	10	252916	91.28585	4.10671	18.071
248	zeph	2	4334	18.25717	0.07037	17.991
249	outshine	3	35823	27.38576	0.58167	17.947
250	fratricidal	2	4657	18.25717	0.07562	17.903
251	greed	12	319963	109.54302	5.19539	17.843
252	pray	62	1895374	565.97229	30.77605	17.843
253	goliath	5	99466	45.64293	1.61507	17.836
254	missio	2	4980	18.25717	0.08086	17.816
255	sadomasochism	2	5048	18.25717	0.08197	17.798
256	insha	2	5145	18.25717	0.08354	17.772
257	transfiguration	3	36949	27.38576	0.59996	17.742

258	solomon	15	417337	136.92877	6.77649	17.737
259	ritualist	2	5292	18.25717	0.08593	17.733
260	maim	4	68718	36.51434	1.11581	17.731
261	chieftaincy	2	5313	18.25717	0.08627	17.728
262	reconciliation	17	482742	155.18594	7.8385	17.671
263	lepanto	2	5536	18.25717	0.08989	17.669
264	murmuring	2	5541	18.25717	0.08997	17.668
265	discerning	5	101165	45.64293	1.64266	17.65
266	akure	2	5892	18.25717	0.09567	17.576
267	inhuman	5	102092	45.64293	1.65771	17.55
268	hitlers	2	6064	18.25717	0.09846	17.531
269	kayode	2	6182	18.25717	0.10038	17.5
270	amalekites	2	6282	18.25717	0.102	17.475
271	self-mastery	2	6289	18.25717	0.10212	17.473
272	kidnapping	8	199467	73.02868	3.23884	17.464
273	do-or-die	2	6337	18.25717	0.1029	17.461
274	vocation	7	167430	63.9001	2.71864	17.453
275	almsgiving	2	6397	18.25717	0.10387	17.445
276	easter	24	715847	219.08604	11.62353	17.435
277	galatians	4	70996	36.51434	1.15279	17.426
278	chesterton	3	38852	27.38576	0.63086	17.405
279	brazen	4	71296	36.51434	1.15767	17.387
280	babatunde	2	6827	18.25717	0.11085	17.335
281	flamboyance	2	6948	18.25717	0.11282	17.305
282	confounded	2	7094	18.25717	0.11519	17.268
283	extra-marital	2	7249	18.25717	0.11771	17.229

284	counter-cultural	2	7267	18.25717	0.118	17.225
285	synodal	2	7308	18.25717	0.11866	17.214
286	sheen	6	138165	54.77151	2.24345	17.195
287	evangelize	3	40102	27.38576	0.65115	17.191
288	iniquity	4	72810	36.51434	1.18225	17.191
289	abundantly	5	105696	45.64293	1.71623	17.172
290	unconquerable	2	7763	18.25717	0.12605	17.102
291	subjectivism	2	7808	18.25717	0.12678	17.09
292	abortion	38	1197068	346.88623	19.43734	17.022
293	pre-marital	2	8118	18.25717	0.13182	17.014
294	cephas	2	8141	18.25717	0.13219	17.009
295	imbroglio	2	8179	18.25717	0.13281	17
296	re-published	2	8273	18.25717	0.13433	16.977
297	pontifical	3	41412	27.38576	0.67243	16.973
298	assuage	3	41483	27.38576	0.67358	16.961
299	outstation	2	8615	18.25717	0.13989	16.894
300	tempter	2	8634	18.25717	0.14019	16.889
301	maranatha	2	9080	18.25717	0.14744	16.783
302	warri	2	9122	18.25717	0.14812	16.773
303	motherland	3	42705	27.38576	0.69342	16.762
304	eucharist	5	109838	45.64293	1.78349	16.757
305	hypocrisy	8	210660	73.02868	3.42058	16.746
306	amalek	2	9362	18.25717	0.15202	16.716
307	bible	72	2368805	657.25812	38.46337	16.68
308	sinful	7	178223	63.9001	2.89389	16.667
309	dis-ease	2	9659	18.25717	0.15684	16.646

310	complacency	4	77317	36.51434	1.25543	16.633
311	indispensable	8	212871	73.02868	3.45648	16.611
312	zephaniah	2	9987	18.25717	0.16216	16.57
313	tabor	3	43916	27.38576	0.71308	16.57
314	sacramental	3	44178	27.38576	0.71734	16.529
315	deceit	5	112256	45.64293	1.82275	16.524
316	teem	4	78331	36.51434	1.2719	16.512
317	skill-based	2	10647	18.25717	0.17288	16.419
318	oppress	10	285906	91.28585	4.64239	16.356
319	maiduguri	2	11112	18.25717	0.18043	16.314
320	nonchalance	2	11169	18.25717	0.18136	16.301
321	abduction	6	149350	54.77151	2.42506	16.283
322	undying	3	45874	27.38576	0.74488	16.268
323	justifiably	3	46624	27.38576	0.75706	16.155
324	joyfully	3	46798	27.38576	0.75988	16.129
325	samaritan	5	117017	45.64293	1.90006	16.083
326	emmanuel	7	187150	63.9001	3.03884	16.069
327	doubtlessly	2	12225	18.25717	0.1985	16.068
328	wickedness	4	83431	36.51434	1.35471	15.932
329	sokoto	2	12930	18.25717	0.20995	15.916
330	apostolic	6	154407	54.77151	2.50718	15.902
331	cherish	9	261446	82.15726	4.24522	15.854
332	unchanging	3	48996	27.38576	0.79557	15.809
333	charism	2	13590	18.25717	0.22067	15.776
334	rectitude	2	13637	18.25717	0.22143	15.766
335	bedrock	5	121377	45.64293	1.97085	15.7

336	pentecost	4	86474	36.51434	1.40412	15.604
337	peace	136	4853521	1241.48755	78.80885	15.568
338	candour	2	14650	18.25717	0.23788	15.557
339	unreserved	2	14678	18.25717	0.23833	15.551
340	gal	11	340112	100.41444	5.52255	15.548
341	denounce	11	340876	100.41444	5.53496	15.519
342	surreptitious	2	14864	18.25717	0.24135	15.513
343	ignominious	2	14930	18.25717	0.24243	15.5
344	magnificat	2	14958	18.25717	0.24288	15.494
345	toot	3	51698	27.38576	0.83944	15.432
346	uncircumcised	2	15302	18.25717	0.24847	15.425
347	precept	5	125159	45.64293	2.03226	15.382
348	ecclesiastical	6	161881	54.77151	2.62854	15.37
349	abound	9	273052	82.15726	4.43367	15.304
350	gyrate	2	15918	18.25717	0.25847	15.302
351	calumny	2	15988	18.25717	0.2596	15.288
352	certitude	2	16086	18.25717	0.2612	15.269
353	affirm	19	642285	173.44312	10.42908	15.263
354	rom	11	348330	100.41444	5.65599	15.237
355	hinton	3	53508	27.38576	0.86883	15.189
356	lament	10	312801	91.28585	5.07909	15.181
357	triumphant	5	127690	45.64293	2.07336	15.177
358	steadfastness	2	16584	18.25717	0.26928	15.172
359	misery	11	350475	100.41444	5.69082	15.157
360	contrite	2	16677	18.25717	0.27079	15.154
361	whoever	19	649354	173.44312	10.54386	15.111

362	gospel	40	1431192	365.1434	23.23892	15.106
363	primordial	4	91494	36.51434	1.48563	15.092
364	plenary	6	168195	54.77151	2.73106	14.948
365	helpless	8	244122	73.02868	3.96392	14.913
366	provoke	14	470541	127.80019	7.64039	14.907
367	aloof	3	55883	27.38576	0.9074	14.882
368	gs	6	169544	54.77151	2.75296	14.861
369	conscript	3	56160	27.38576	0.9119	14.847
370	scriptural	4	94233	36.51434	1.5301	14.827
371	incontrovertible	2	18938	18.25717	0.3075	14.728
372	clergyman	4	96886	36.51434	1.57318	14.579
373	genuineness	2	19888	18.25717	0.32293	14.556
374	gomorrah	2	20360	18.25717	0.33059	14.473
375	idi	2	20363	18.25717	0.33064	14.472
376	born	2	20531	18.25717	0.33337	14.442
377	exaggerated	5	137514	45.64293	2.23288	14.428
378	corporal	6	176636	54.77151	2.86812	14.418
379	killing	20	722926	182.5717	11.73848	14.411
380	self-realization	2	20738	18.25717	0.33673	14.406
381	unforgive	3	59798	27.38576	0.97097	14.402
382	immoral	6	178089	54.77151	2.89171	14.331
383	impoverishment	2	21290	18.25717	0.3457	14.31
384	indecent	2	21832	18.25717	0.3545	14.217
385	attentiveness	2	21845	18.25717	0.35471	14.215
386	helplessness	3	62394	27.38576	1.01312	14.1
387	immortality	5	142572	45.64293	2.31501	14.07

388	sinless	2	22937	18.25717	0.37244	14.031
389	savour	3	63007	27.38576	1.02307	14.031
390	ostentatious	2	22956	18.25717	0.37275	14.028
391	ecclesia	2	23126	18.25717	0.37551	14
392	sacrament	7	224118	63.9001	3.63911	13.99
393	fulani	2	23393	18.25717	0.37984	13.956
394	liturgy	6	184618	54.77151	2.99773	13.951
395	illumine	2	23521	18.25717	0.38192	13.935
396	unchangeable	2	23752	18.25717	0.38567	13.897
397	evil	75	2978339	684.64392	48.36065	13.89
398	lest	8	266796	73.02868	4.33209	13.884
399	deride	3	64462	27.38576	1.0467	13.869
400	groundswell	2	23981	18.25717	0.38939	13.86
401	coherently	2	24251	18.25717	0.39377	13.817
402	rejoice	9	309780	82.15726	5.03004	13.791
403	ashes	2	24494	18.25717	0.39772	13.778
404	edification	2	24703	18.25717	0.40111	13.744
405	believer	22	844481	200.82887	13.71222	13.718
406	diligently	5	147920	45.64293	2.40184	13.711
407	persecutor	2	24915	18.25717	0.40456	13.711
408	fulton	5	148140	45.64293	2.40542	13.697
409	estrangement	2	25306	18.25717	0.41091	13.649
410	time-tested	2	25391	18.25717	0.41229	13.635
411	relent	3	66676	27.38576	1.08265	13.63
412	inhumanity	2	25714	18.25717	0.41753	13.585
413	xvi	4	108509	36.51434	1.76191	13.583

414	truth	130	5362514	1186.71606	87.07359	13.485
415	levity	2	26401	18.25717	0.42869	13.479
416	non-jews	2	26569	18.25717	0.43141	13.453
417	wayward	3	68378	27.38576	1.11028	13.451
418	inconclusive	3	68689	27.38576	1.11533	13.419
419	contraceptive	5	152735	45.64293	2.48003	13.403
420	germane	2	27277	18.25717	0.44291	13.346
421	tortuous	2	27369	18.25717	0.4444	13.332
422	reap	9	323613	82.15726	5.25465	13.295
423	cor	6	196776	54.77151	3.19514	13.294
424	corrode	3	69930	27.38576	1.13549	13.292
425	messiah	9	324980	82.15726	5.27685	13.248
426	canonize	2	27974	18.25717	0.45423	13.242
427	unabashedly	2	28070	18.25717	0.45579	13.228
428	authentic	24	963362	219.08604	15.64255	13.224
429	grace	53	2198112	483.81503	35.69175	13.213
430	lord	130	5490184	1186.71606	89.14663	13.175
431	eloquently	3	71280	27.38576	1.15741	13.157
432	marriage	85	3576160	775.92975	58.06775	13.153
433	insensitivity	2	28611	18.25717	0.46457	13.149
434	beatitude	2	28856	18.25717	0.46855	13.113
435	unwise	3	71758	27.38576	1.16517	13.11
436	overshadow	5	157692	45.64293	2.56052	13.1
437	reenact	2	29081	18.25717	0.4722	13.081
438	exalted	3	72099	27.38576	1.1707	13.077
439	innocent	27	1105807	246.4718	17.95549	13.055

440	communique	2	29620	18.25717	0.48095	13.003
441	primacy	3	72860	27.38576	1.18306	13.003
442	usman	2	29876	18.25717	0.48511	12.967
443	harvest	33	1374776	301.24332	22.32286	12.959
444	decency	4	116913	36.51434	1.89837	12.943
445	entrust	7	247258	63.9001	4.01484	12.942
446	eloquent	4	116939	36.51434	1.89879	12.941
447	spite	18	727911	164.31453	11.81942	12.896
448	naira	2	30668	18.25717	0.49797	12.856
449	longing	6	207558	54.77151	3.37021	12.762
450	gladly	6	210099	54.77151	3.41147	12.642
451	glory	29	1234253	264.72897	20.04113	12.629
452	impressionable	2	32340	18.25717	0.52512	12.627
453	servant	27	1149301	246.4718	18.66173	12.586
454	sin	52	2270008	474.68643	36.85916	12.565
455	perseverance	5	167662	45.64293	2.7224	12.53
456	ideology	18	753247	164.31453	12.23082	12.495
457	tortoise	4	123325	36.51434	2.00248	12.494
458	spirit	118	5256512	1077.1731	85.35239	12.486
459	xxiii	2	33413	18.25717	0.54254	12.484
460	conscience	13	528958	118.67161	8.58893	12.48
461	everlasting	5	168821	45.64293	2.74122	12.467
462	saul	6	214664	54.77151	3.4856	12.433
463	clamour	2	33834	18.25717	0.54938	12.429
464	imperative	12	486329	109.54302	7.89675	12.425
465	faith	95	4244583	867.21558	68.92123	12.417

466	generosity	8	305688	73.02868	4.9636	12.413
467	downtrodden	2	34003	18.25717	0.55212	12.407
468	nepotism	2	34143	18.25717	0.5544	12.389
469	clothe	5	171458	45.64293	2.78404	12.326
470	depraved	2	34688	18.25717	0.56324	12.319
471	stubbornness	2	34945	18.25717	0.56742	12.286
472	corrosive	3	80889	27.38576	1.31343	12.27
473	courageously	2	35116	18.25717	0.57019	12.264
474	ezekiel	4	126839	36.51434	2.05954	12.261
475	replete	3	81190	27.38576	1.31832	12.244
476	dogma	5	173056	45.64293	2.80999	12.242
477	uncompromising	3	81347	27.38576	1.32087	12.231
478	profusion	2	35577	18.25717	0.57768	12.206
479	yearn	4	127834	36.51434	2.0757	12.197
480	pluralistic	2	35695	18.25717	0.5796	12.191
481	fetter	2	35819	18.25717	0.58161	12.176
482	commendable	3	82231	27.38576	1.33522	12.155
483	redeem	9	359817	82.15726	5.84251	12.153
484	baptist	19	828797	173.44312	13.45756	12.066
485	redeemer	3	83650	27.38576	1.35826	12.037
486	benedict	6	223926	54.77151	3.63599	12.03
487	fad	4	130621	36.51434	2.12095	12.02
488	self-discipline	2	37271	18.25717	0.60519	11.997
489	self-inflicted	2	37386	18.25717	0.60705	11.983
490	shun	5	178328	45.64293	2.89559	11.973
491	morality	11	462508	100.41444	7.50995	11.917

492	self-control	3	85108	27.38576	1.38194	11.917
493	bribery	4	132355	36.51434	2.14911	11.913
494	nurture	13	558740	118.67161	9.07252	11.881
495	humanity	42	1941127	383.40057	31.51897	11.821
496	flattery	2	38794	18.25717	0.62992	11.815
497	wholesome	4	134530	36.51434	2.18443	11.781
498	shrivel	2	39211	18.25717	0.63669	11.766
499	commend	8	326356	73.02868	5.29919	11.752
500	mercifully	2	39443	18.25717	0.64045	11.739

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